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DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE
AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE PROGRAM
MASTER'S THESIS**

**THE ROAD NOT TAKEN:
THE SOCIALIST UTOPIA OF EDWARD BELLAMY**

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İZMİR - 2012

YÜKSEK LİSANS
TEZ/ PROJE ONAY SAYFASI

2009800312

Üniversite : Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi
Enstitü : Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
Adı ve Soyadı : Nuri TUNA
Tez Başlığı : The Road Not Taken: The Socialist Utopia of Edward Bellamy

Savunma Tarihi : 26.09.2012
Danışmanı : Yrd.Doç.Dr.Bülent UĞRASIZ

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Oy Çokluğu ()

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ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

The Road Not Taken:

The Socialist Utopia of Edward Bellamy

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In the aftermath of American Civil War, the United States underwent a serious change in its social, political and economic order. Gone was the Thomas Jefferson's ideal of the United States that stood on the shoulders of the yeoman farmer. The blessings of technology and economic growth in addition to the firm belief in laissez faire capitalism and individualism shaped the future of the American nation. Under the leadership of captains of industry, namely the robber barons, the largest industries rose. Nevertheless, the inevitable consequences of this boom such as urbanization, immigration and pauperization were obviously seen in the growing portrait of an industrial America and the dissenting voices soon heard after many recurring economic depressions and labor unrest.

At the turn of the new century, the attempts to address these social problems of America have been well documented by historians. For many, there was a better road to prosperity than rampant capitalism. Cooperation, planned economy, positive assistance by the state could turn social anarchy, caused by capitalism, to social order for unity and happiness for all. Although these socialistic means were criticized for being anti-American and foreign born ideas, they are in harmony with American traditions because they highlight social justice, economic security, equality of opportunity and peace which were

also underlined by both Declaration of Independence and American Constitution.

In this context, utopian literature undertakes a crucial role to exhibit the ills of the social order and reinvigorate the hopes for a better tomorrow. Their importance is neglected in historical analysis, yet the great bulk of utopian literature produced during the *fin de siècle* portrays another American dream for future. The most significant of these socialist utopian novels was Looking Backward 2000 – 1887 written by Edward Bellamy. It sold millions and inspired many more at a time when the labor question was the most serious issue. Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to study how Bellamy frames the promised American dream for every citizen and to examine the reasons why it fell short of its goals despite its popularity and the great impact it had on society.

Keywords: Gilded Age, Utopian Literature, Edward Bellamy, American Socialism.

ÖZET
Yüksek Lisans Tezi
Gidilmeyen Yol:
Edward Bellamy'nin Sosyalist Ütopyası
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Amerikan İç Savaşı'nın sonrasında, Birleşik Devletler sosyal, politik ve ekonomik düzeninde ciddi bir değişikliğe uğramıştır. Küçük toprak sahibi çiftçilerin omuzlarında duran Thomas Jefferson'ın ideali çoktan yok olmuştur. Serbest piyasa kapitalizmi ve bireyselleşmeye ek olarak teknolojinin nimetleri ve ekonomik büyüme Amerikan ulusunun geleceğini şekillendirmiştir. Endüstride söz sahibi kişilerin liderliği altında, yani soyguncu baronlar, en büyük sanayiler yükselmiştir. Bununla birlikte, şehirleşme, göç ve fakirleştirme gibi bu büyümenin kaçınılmaz sonuçları endüstriyel bir Amerika'nın genişleyen tasvirinde açık olarak görülmüştür ve yinelenen birçok ekonomik buhran ve işçi sınıfı huzursuzluğunun sonrasında görüş ayrılığına düşen fikirler çok geçmeden duyuldu.

Yeni bir yüzyılın başlangıcında, Amerika'nın bu sosyal problemlerinin irdelenmesi için girişimler tarihçiler tarafından iyi bir şekilde belgelenmiştir. Birçokları için, refah ve bolluk için aşırı boyutlara varan kapitalizmden daha iyi bir yol vardı. İşbirliği, planlı ekonomi, devlet tarafından yapılan pozitif yardım, kapitalizmin sebep olduğu sosyal anarşiyi herkes için mutluluk ve birlik olan sosyal bir düzen ile değiştirebilirdi. Bu sosyalist amaçlar Amerikan karşıtı ve yabancı kökenli fikirler olduğu için eleştirilmesine rağmen, Amerikan gelenekleri ile uyumludurlar çünkü hem Amerikan Bağımsızlık Bildirgesi hem

de Amerikan Anayasası tarafından altı çizilen sosyal adaleti, ekonomik güvenceyi, fırsat eşitliğini ve barışı vurgular.

Bu çerçevede, ütöpik edebiyat toplumsal düzenin sorunlarını ortaya koymak ve daha iyi bir yarının umutlarını tekrar canlandırmak için çok önemli bir rol üstlenir. Tarihsel analizde onların önemi ihmal edilmiştir, fakat 19. yüzyılın sonu boyunca üretilen büyük miktardaki ütöpik edebiyat gelecek için bir başka Amerikan rüyası tasvir eder. Bu ütöpik sosyalist romanlardan en önemlisi Edward Bellamy tarafından yazılmış Looking Backward 2000 – 1887'dir. İşçi sınıfı sorununun en ciddi mesele olduğu zamanda milyonlarca satmış ve çok daha fazlasına ilham vermiştir. Bu yüzden, bu tezin amacı Bellamy'nin her vatandaş için vaad edilen Amerikan rüyasını nasıl düzenlediğini çalışmak ve popülerliği ile toplumun üstündeki büyük etkisine rağmen hedeflerinden uzak kalma sebeplerini incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yıldızlı Çağ, Ütöpik Edebiyat, Edward Bellamy, Amerikan Sosyalizmi.

**THE ROAD NOT TAKEN:
THE SOCIALIST UTOPIA OF EDWARD BELLAMY**

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INTRODUCTION

The development of utopian literature dates back to the Renaissance period of Europe. Comparison and contrast of two worlds which are the real world and the ideal world of utopia gained prominence after the publication of Sir Thomas More's Utopia. Surely, the enlightenment functioned as a great catalyzer to form a genre of utopian literature. Since then, the adoption of knowledge brought about more demands and contributed to the development of the genre. Undoubtedly, when western civilization met and rediscovered utopian thought, it was clear that its extension to the New World would endorse it sooner or later.

As regards American Utopia, which is also the first chapter of this thesis, there were several reasons to hinder the emergence of a utopian thought. The strict Puritan worldview excluded any kind of utopian, visionary ideals. Calvinism, the doctrine of predestination, made any kind of reform for the institutions obsolete because it was the nature of human beings that were corrupted. On the other hand, the pragmatism and the realism in practice of early Americans removed the possibility for the chance of utopian plan. However, these reasons do not reflect the whole case about the American utopia. A vast land with great natural sources, the opportunity to have a land of your own and more importantly the strong feelings about economic, political, religious freedom along with Manifest Destiny set the stage ready for the growth of utopian tradition in the New World. In addition to these special American conditions, the growth of industrialism and capitalism opened the gate widely to fulfill the least possible dreams. Nothing was impossible against the strong will and determined actions of the individuals. "Rags to riches" stories seemed feasible and with all these aspects the myth of American Dream was born and Utopian consciousness was formed. Although they seem similar on the surface, it is of great significance to demonstrate the difference between American Dream and American utopia in terms of individual and society.

In the second chapter, the social aspects of the late nineteenth century are presented from a wide spectrum. The American nation got on the road of industrialism to reach the long road ahead in order to realize American Utopia. American people were having both positive and negative feelings about the rising

industrialism. People wanted to enjoy the blessings and opportunities of urban life. Factories changed the mode of production and as a result they lowered the product prices. Varieties of goods were offered to be bought and sold. The steam engine changed the perceptions of mobility, time and space by bringing East and West side together. Rising industry shaped the nation's culture by turning it to a consumer culture. Few people wanted to give up the efficient production system and return to the old days of craftsmen. Living in a land of desire, new attitudes towards wealth were created in the minds of everyday people. Under the domination of captains of industry, namely robber barons, and the illusion of prosperity, Americans felt optimistic about the things to come in the future. Nevertheless, there were also quite a number of people who questioned the status quo of the society. The growth of opposition to the new order of industrial America brought about the conflict between capital and organized labor which resulted in many strikes throughout the late nineteenth century.

Socialist critique of the era, in other words the arrival of Marxism, began after the second wave of immigrants from the Eastern Europe and predominantly German immigrants contributed to the disapproval of the social system. In general, socialists held the opinion that the laissez faire economy and liberal ideology which were prevalent in society produced not only efficiency in factories but also they caused the deterioration of society from a moral point of view. They lamented how robber barons stole from the nation in general and from the workers in particular in order that they could enlarge their capital. Besides, many workers were compelled to live in a state of poverty. All their actions were justified for the sake of social Darwinism. Furthermore, the capitalists did not only affect the social fabric of the United States, but also they had the power to exert their influence on government for their own advantage. Consequently, American institutions were also criticized for their corrupted politics by socialists. Government stopped to be a tool to protect and promote democracy; instead it became the means of a small core group of industrialists to reach their ends. That is to say, democracy turned out to be plutocracy in the late nineteenth century of America. Also, when it is analyzed from a more specific perspective, the effects on the individuals were more obvious. The socialists also believed that the system decreased individuality, increased

dependency, formed wage slavery, changed the role of women, even children and inevitably it destroyed families. However, it became apparent that the new attitudes towards wealth were far away to be a solution for social problems. The suffering and poverty of a large body of population worsened as the time passed by.

Keeping in mind the historical and social framework, the third chapter is set aside to a study of Edward Bellamy's socialist utopian novel Looking Backward 2000 – 1887. In the aftermath of civil war and second industrial revolution, utopian literature was varied, but under the gloomy conditions of the social order, any kind of utopian literature, which seeded the hopes for a better future, was welcomed by the people who were disillusioned and resentful in the society. The growing feeling of dread connected with workers discontent, fading of American dream into black and the influences of free market capitalism all contributed to the dissenting voices in the utopian literature. Therefore, Bellamy's novel was both a sparkle to attract the attention of the nation and also it was the reason of the production of utopian literature in bulk at the end of the nineteenth century. Hence, in the first place in this chapter, it would be better to write about the life of Bellamy because his puritan background and work ethic had an enormous effect on his writing. After briefly introducing Bellamy's life, the chapter continues with the discussion of how Edward Bellamy adapted the principles of socialism to the American conditions. In a place of special circumstances different than Europe, the writer had to defend his utopian scheme against labels such as "foreign" and "socialistic". Even though the book is regarded as a fine example of a socialist utopia, the word "socialism" is never mentioned throughout the book. The author's abstention is intentional to form an American style Marxism. Most probably, this kind of softened literature was needed at a time of tension between social classes. For a better understanding of the novel, the constructed values, which were contrary to the values of that era, will be studied following the writer's biography and discussion of American style Marxism. The book portrays a selfless society replacing selfish individuals and cooperation takes the place of competition in everyday life. With his formula of community and cooperation Bellamy remakes the nation and proposes specific solutions for critical problems such as wealth, labor and education.

For a comprehensive analysis of the novel, the fourth chapter examines the novel's failure in spite of its immediate popularity. This chapter's scope is to examine the fading away social support in general and contrasting points in the book in particular. The movement flourished almost in every part of the country by establishing clubs to promote and spread the ideas of Bellamy and the book. However, the structural problems within the clubs, Bellamy's inability or reluctance to provide a leadership and most important of all, their stance against Marxism along with the concept of class struggle will be explained as the reasons of the fall of the movement in this chapter. On the other side, the book's description of the society in the future evokes dystopian echoes in the minds of some readers. Furthermore, its lack of background to constitute a participating model of society in terms racial issues and approach to immigrants is another problem within the writer's utopian design. Many readers and critics felt sympathy about the ideas put forward by Bellamy in fin de siècle. Nonetheless, the readers of the twenty first century can find a representation of a totalitarian state. In this respect, the book can be regarded as a predecessor of dystopian novels. Since the forms of both genres are close to each other, they operate by giving advice about the dangers of social systems. What's more, Bellamy neglects to include African-Americans and immigrants, who constitute a great sum of overall population, in the book let alone proposing solutions for their specific problems. These groups do not fit into the prescription of the author and therefore the novel remains as the utopia of white middle class people only. In short, upon a close inspection of the novel, there are also adequate reasons to comprehend the obstacles preventing the imagined commonwealth.

As a result of this thesis, I have aimed to demonstrate the meaning of Edward Bellamy's utopian scheme both for his readers and for the country at times of industrial transformation at the turn of the century. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to show the values of utopian novel Looking Backward 2000 – 1887 and the author's attempts to use it as an answer to fundamental problems of the society. Especially, it also attempts to find the reasons of its downfall for the purpose of a complete evaluation of the book. In short, this thesis will give importance to often and long neglected utopian tradition within the framework of Looking Backward in order to make our perception of American (labor) history in the Gilded Age better

because the socialist movements left effects that cannot be easily erased on American literature and social life.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LONG ROAD AHEAD: AMERICA AS UTOPIA

1.1 EMERGENCE OF UTOPIAN TRADITION IN U.S.

A comprehensive history of utopia has not been recorded yet. Therefore, one can give reasons about where utopian traditions were the most intense. It can be in Asia, perhaps in Europe or America. Surely, different civilizations can count persuasive reasons so as to demonstrate that their own utopian backgrounds contain strong and deep origins.

To begin with, Plato's Republic can be regarded as a Utopian classic that gives inspiration to many readers and writers of utopia till our contemporary times. It can be explained as the creation of reflections about a more preferable world and also it is the carefully planned effort to interpret the myth of "Golden Age", which symbolized a time of welfare, unity and peace, for the first time. It is quite obvious from Plato's work that Greek Utopian tradition, which is also the predecessor of today's utopian literature, attempts to put forward fundamental answers to a wide range of social questions that continued to be under debate for many centuries. These questions involved the formation and principles of government, arrangement of leisure and labor, the education system, the marriage and family relations and sometimes even the international relations.

The utopian ideals, which were imagined by the ancient Greek civilization, were improved by the many different European cultures. Specifically, at the time of bourgeois revolutions countries like Italy, France, England and Germany contributed to the productions of utopian literature. To illustrate, Sir Thomas More with his well known master piece Utopia, Tomasso Campanella the writer of City of the Sun and Francis Bacon who wrote New Atlantis are the milestones in this kind of literature. In addition to these works, utopian socialists such as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Henri Saint Simon and many other people tested their ideas within experimental utopian communities, which aimed at fulfilling their expectations of a better tomorrow. Undoubtedly, they are the eminent elements of the history of Utopian thought.

Even though European culture with its varieties and intellectual heritage can be considered as the source of utopian tradition, it grew as an international element of both western and eastern cultures. Even a basic research reveals the fact that without the names of Ibn Rushd, al- Farabi and many other eastern philosophers it would not be possible to make world history of utopia.

After all, it can be argued that the American utopian tradition is not as deep as other cultures. The basic reason of this fact is the history of American nation is relatively shorter and the emergence of a utopian consciousness begins together with the establishment of American settlements. “America began with an idea” (Ravitch, 1990: 3) and its potential status as a “tabula rasa” made it suitable to raise the hopes on which a new society could be built. From the view point of the first immigrants, it was the chance to have a piece of land of their own, it was a place to worship however they wanted and an opportunity to start a new life in the New World. Consequently, following the news of its discovery, all the people suffering in the Old World conceived the new continent as an unprecedented place to reach the salvation in the real world. They saw the possibility of turning their utopian dreams into reality. Thus, the discovery of the new continent influenced the European continent inevitably. For the European people, it meant turning back to the Golden Age or as the Promised Land which was waited for long times. These perceptions shaped the attitude to America both from within the colonists and from across the Atlantic Ocean.

As the time passed, the first settlers came to inhabit the new land and they felt sure about themselves and their land are unique because of the subsequent developments they experienced. Their strong belief about special conditions of America sometimes seemed greater and more important than it really was. However, the new environment around them displayed another aspect at the same time. America turned out to be quite generous to some extent for utopian intentions. It became a country where utopian consciousness and settlements had an impact on cultural, political and social life substantially. In this aspect, “America was indeed an exceptional capitalist society ... [it] made the practical work of transforming the existing order all the more difficult.” (Harrington, 1970: 250). In short, other

civilizations possessed a solid background of utopian awareness, yet more than any other country there were enough reasons for America in order to encourage the Utopian expectations and execute the management of utopian experiments. Its trace can be found in particular circumstances in which American culture flourished. These conditions can be counted as escaping the burdens of the old world, living in a land of abundance and most importantly the well known frontier concept.

First of all, the old world of Europe had undergone serious change in its social relations. A new system was born out of the feudal system and this case hindered the growth of social ties. In this aspect, America was a country freed from the limitations of European capitalism which was the successor of feudalism. To highlight this point, Leon Fink quotes from the letters of Engels in his book In Search of the Working Class: “more favored soil of America, where no medieval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of modern bourgeois society as evolved in the seventeenth century.” (Fink, 1994: 21). In addition to the ideas of Engels, Karl Marx also defined America as a place that “a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century.”

(<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/iwma/documents/1864/lincoln-letter.htm>).

As mentioned in the words of Marx and Engels, it is evident that the circumstances in which American nation emerged were definitely encouraging for the accomplishment of social evolution and social institutions that had been almost impossible to be realized in the Old World. Thus, America became a land of opportunities in the minds of European people. Subsequently, the people decided to leave Europe behind with its restrictions within social ties, oppressions of rulers and long years of wars between countries. That is to say, all these conditions made it difficult to make any progress and upon arrival to the new continent the immigrants found themselves in a place which was open to turn the conditions favorable for them. They enjoyed the benefits of a country in which they did not have any bad memories. According to them the country did not possess a past, yet it had a history of indigenous people inhabiting there for long years. Despite this fact, the first settlers did not feel themselves disturbed or oppressed because the history of the new

lands did not limit their freedom or restrict their actions. Therefore, the people could create any kind of social system they wished for with their strong will.

Furthermore, the optimistic outlook was not only limited to the mindset of the first colonists, but also it was reflected in the observations of foreign people who visited the United States. One of the most significant remarks of these is found in Democracy in America. It is stated that

There is one country in the world where the great social revolution [...] nearly reached its natural limits. It has been affected with ease and simplicity; say rather that this country is reaping the fruits of the democratic revolution. The emigrants who colonized the shores of America in the beginning of the seventeenth century somehow separated the democratic principle from all the principles that it had to contend with in the old communities of Europe, and transplanted it alone to the New World. (Tocqueville, 1945: 13)

J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer is another fine example to demonstrate this situation. In his third letter he attempts to give a definition of "the new man" and points out:

The Americans were once scattered all over the Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born.

(<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/4666/pg4666.html>)

On the other hand, it can be argued that the strict Puritan mindset wouldn't allow broadening the new visions or ideals in the colonial times. In spite of being a more egalitarian society than Europe, it was still hard to perform social experiments or realize the imaginations. Nevertheless, as the time passed in colonial life, education and literacy rate increased greatly since they give importance on the ability to read the Bible. The effects of this became obvious as the time for the revolution came near and theocratic control reduced its strength. Hence, the creative mind, personal enterprise and social experiments found the necessary chance to test themselves. What's more, some of the people failed in making progress about their Utopian plans, but the permanent wave of new immigrants along with new westward territories.

Secondly, America owned enormous natural resources and its significance is great in that subsequent social development and the outcome of the emerging utopian consciousness resulted from this fact. In other words, the settlers were gifted by the abundance of the nature. It is known that the United States of America possess a land more than nine million kilometers of square. Today we know that it is not possible for human beings to discover such a large land which is unfarmed, undeveloped with great natural sources and with a low population. When the European settlers first arrived in the seventeenth century, most of this land was untamed and approximately one million indigenous people inhabited the land. Also, these people didn't have the required organization or weapon to keep the settlers away. Consequently, European colonists took advantage of a fertile land and at the same time they spoilt the ecological balance which had been conserved by the Indians for long years. Soon the difference in their attitudes towards nature became clear. Gary Cross explains the situation while examining the pluses and minuses of a new land. He stresses that "European settlers adopted a very different attitude toward the land. They settled permanently, they assumed the ownership of the land, and thoroughly exploited it. Colonists denied Indians the right to the land because they didn't improve it." (Cross, 2005: 13). Thus, the settlers were able to create a new environment which made them more wealthy and healthy than their condition in Europe. For instance, "a male reaching the age of twenty had a life expectancy of forty five more years" (ibid 14). When they were compared to their European people who had the same characteristics as them, American colonists were on a higher level. However, their exceptional work ethic wasn't the only reason to explain their prosperity. They used the benefits of the advantages of New World and low population. Scholars like David Potter, an American historian, argues that "the abundant material wealth of the United States has been a major factor in the development of the American character" (Potter, 1958: 84). Nonetheless, it would be wrong to claim that living in a land of abundance was the exclusive cause why America turned out to be a rich country. The frontier concept was almost as important as the other reasons.

Another aspect that contributed to the emergence of utopian tradition in the nineteenth century America is the frontier concept. It was the borders of the newly inhabited lands which were continuously moving farther and farther West, in the

direction of the Pacific coast. This case resulted in the opinion that on the western lands a person could push the limits of his luck and he could try to put his social ideals into practice over and over again. Even though daily life on the frontier was generally less surprising than the told adventure stories, it was enough to evoke the feelings of more freedom and equality of opportunity. Americans conceived that as a chance to lead a purer life than the life of those who lived in the more settled social structures in the eastern United States.

Consequently, the opening of the new borders, frontiers for settlement reinforced the idea that a better or depending on the ideals a perfect society could be built from the beginning. People in the eastern parts of the United States came to the conclusion that a perfect society existed somewhere in the western lands. In order to reach this utopia, most people ceased their attempts to reconstruct their existing society. Instead of this, it was enough for them to simply leave the life of eastern colonies and move to the further west frontier boundaries to start their utopia. The route was clear for the average person; he could fulfill his dreams of a better place by moving from the seaport town to the interior country where he could combine his energy and the capacity for achievement with the soil. In this way, he had a chance to enjoy the benefits of a tranquil and righteous life. The existence of the American frontier symbolized a unique alternative to the depression and uneasiness that caused suffering for the man living in the more populated areas of the nation. Similarly, in his guiding work about frontier, Frederick Jackson Turner puts forward the same model to reach the Utopia. In his work The Significance of the Frontier in American History, he points out that “so long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists.” (<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/>).

Furthermore, it must be emphasized the concept of the frontier is quite significant for utopian consciousness because in its broadest meaning, utopian idealism is definitely the process of exceeding not only spatial borders but also temporal borders. Whether it is accepted by body of rules by which order and justice is maintained or social conventions in which the community exists, utopian thinking requires moving beyond the limits of the ordinary life. In general, the utopian consciousness becomes prevalent when the lines of the frontier are drawn too strictly. Certainly, it becomes necessary to go beyond the borders so as to secure further

progress. Besides, as in the example of westward expansion in America, the frontier can move further and further at a great distance. In that connection the limits seem inexhaustible and create the misconception of an enormous area of human activity. Throughout American history, people were inclined to see the frontier settler as the example of the free individual. Most probable reason for this case was that there was less control over the individual on the frontier than anywhere else in the United States. Neither social nor political institutions confined them on the frontier, so it was idealized by almost every generation who gave importance to freedom from outside social controls. Obviously, too much importance was given to the freedom of the settlers and the real opportunities they had to start their lives in accord with their visionary ideals. Ines Murat explains this situation of the field of refugees with the quotation from Ray Billington,

In the west, according to the frontier myth, a veritable garden of the world waited to transform newcomers into superior beings. There, where the nature's abundance stifled the competitive instinct men lived together in peace and contentment freed of the jealousies and meanness inevitable in the crowded East. (Murat, 1976: 130)

Especially in the second part of the nineteenth century of America, frontier concept continued to be a meaningful element in the creation of utopian tradition. The permanent flow of immigrants contributed greatly to the preservation and improvement of the utopian consciousness. Similar to their ancestors, those people were on the long road to reach to American utopia with the hope of removing the obstacles of the past and making a new fresh start for their lives. The frontier provided the space and necessary conditions which helped to reinforce utopian ideals. Nevertheless, the American utopian consciousness didn't only occur as a result of the endless chances accessible to the people of the New World. Particularly, after the civil war and in times of industrial boom, the recurring economic crisis stimulated the different social groups such as workers, farmers and immigrant minorities who immediately opposed the social limitations and current opportunities available for them.

After all these reasons which functioned as contributing to the development of the utopian thinking in the United States, it would be a remiss not to explain the roots of intense social criticism as the key element in the emergence of utopian

tradition. The critical attitude can be found in almost every phase in American history. However, its strongest point dates back to the times of the American Revolution. To some point, it can be argued that the way to the independence war against Britain was paved by social and utopian attempts which raised the critical outlook of the colonists. They started a new life as the subjects of the King of England, yet their new life also included some political complaints regarding taxation. As the time passed, their grievances both political and economical intensified. According to Robert Walker

As these complaints continued unattended, however, the colonists began to imagine a society more nearly ideal than any in Europe. This vision based on freedom, abundant land, and the chance to avoid institutionalized error, expressed itself in essays, declarations and constitutions. Albeit most revolutionaries of 1776 simply opposed British rule, some clearly held in their minds the idea of a model society. (Walker, 1976: 503)

The American Revolution, being liberated from the rule of British King as their subjects, definitely created a sense of optimism in many levels of the society. Having faith in themselves, anticipations of success were unrestricted to make the most radical ideas and projects real. Whereas, the following developments proved that the great expectations were nothing more than a false impression of reality. The ideals which began with the independence war remained unfinished. Therefore, this uncompleted task of transforming the society gave inspiration to the opposers of the existing social structure whose ideas were fed by utopian impulses.

The troubles in social, economical and political life reached to their peak and pushed the nation to its limits when American capitalism was unleashed in the aftermath of the triumph of North over the Southern States in the civil war. At the end of the nineteenth century the gaps and inconsistencies of capitalism became manifest in areas like class relations and ethnic relations. When old institutions, social relations and values fell apart and replaced by new ones, utopian thinking improved in those times of cultural and social upheavals. In those periods, the rise and fall of desperation and expectation, people who were especially responsive to the problems of the society, had the hope and desire so as to change the course of history. Consequently, industrial workers' protest and to some extent the actions of farmers against monopolies increased the tense relations between government and

trusts. This situation, unavoidably, generated the question of America's future once again, after the turbulent times of American Revolution against British Crown and civil war. This time it was crucial for the lower classes and the upper class. Utopian schemes were put forward by different groups such as Grangers which was the union of farmers, Greenbackers who supported a change in the monetary system, the People's Party under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan and most important of all the nationalist movement started by the novel Looking Backward 2000 – 1887. As these examples demonstrate, utopian projects had never been so many in any period of the American history. In his analysis of American Utopian literature Charles Rooney points out that

Neither before 1865 nor after 1920 did utopian fiction form so extensive a part of the literature of social protest in America. In fact only twenty-four fictional utopias were discovered in the 149 years beginning in 1715 and ending in 1864; whereas between 1865 and 1917 at least 120 utopias appeared. (Rooney, 1985: 5)

In spite of the existence of mass discontent, the overflowing feelings to restructure the American society, and the social protest happening as a result of this feeling, the United States has never come near to the revolution conditions since that period. However, it should be kept in mind that whether it is accomplished or not, revolutions usually stimulates and gives a momentum to utopian idealism. Utopian consciousness may seem to be eliminated in American history only to come back suddenly and with much more intensity than ever before.

In other words, despite its lack of historical past, throughout American history, a researcher can come to the conclusion that there were adequate reasons for the beginning and emergence of a utopian tradition. Finding an open land after living a dreadful life in Europe was the basis of the first settlers' motivation, yet much more significant than this was the capitalism with its repeated crisis. The evolution of art of craftsmen to free enterprise capitalism and its evolution to monopoly capitalism, the increasing effect of trusts in all social spheres and the subsequent changes in the social structures inevitably results in raising social consciousness and the field of utopia. The historical background of utopian consciousness is important in that one can understand the development of the society and at the same time it can guide us to understand the possible routes that utopian tradition can take. However, before

talking about its potential future paths, the following task of this thesis is to examine a quite complicated problem which is related to the nature of American utopian tradition and its different characteristics.

1.2 AMERICAN DREAM VS. AMERICAN UTOPIA

While tracing the roots of emergence of utopian tradition throughout American history, it is unavoidable to face the problem of American Dream and its complicated connection to utopia. It is true that American Dream is considered as to be utopian in its character. Therefore, it is usually accepted as the embodiment of all utopias ever produced in the United States. However, the main debate should be different. The important question should be whether American Dream expresses the same idea, intent and meaning as American Utopia does.

When we travel back in time through the social consciousness and intellectual history of the United States, it can be realized that American Dream commenced to take its shape in the colonial times and in the following decades and centuries, it was reproduced over and over again until our contemporary times. It was born in the collective consciousness of the American society to be changed and manipulated by the mass media and political agendas in its long journey. However, it is generally accepted that the first settlers to the New World declared and announced this concept to the rest of the world. The words of Captain Edward Johnson are a unique example of this manifestation. Published in 1654 in London, Wonder Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England, he states

All the people of Christ that are here oppressed, imprisoned and scurrilously derided gather yourselves together, your wives and your little ones, and answer to your several Names as you shall be shipped for His service, in the Western world and more especially for planting the colonies of New England [...] Could Casar so suddenly fetch over fresh forces from Europe to Asia, Pompy to foyle? How much more shall Christ who createth all power, call over this 900 league ocean at his pleasure, such instruments as he meet to make use of in this place [...] Know where this is the place where the Lord create a new Heaven and a new Earth in new Churches and a new Commonwealth together.
(Miller and Johnson, 2001: 144)

In this quoted text the only American factor was the land itself because this dream, which is the same age as humanity itself, had been existing in the minds of many people before the discovery of the New World. In the previous centuries this dream was situated in a particular spot. It could be in Atlantis or in the Garden of Eden, but it always had an imaginary country. Consequently, America functioned as the realization of this centuries old dream on earth. It took the dream out of its religious context and it became secularized.

In the political and literary spectrum this concept underwent serious changes and become evident in the public addresses of presidents like Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson to writers such as Emerson and Whitman. What all they have in common is that each of them emphasized an ideal new world, with different words though. In other words, the American Dream has never been explained precisely and most apparently it can never be defined clearly. The main reason of this problem is that the concept always remained too ambiguous and various. Because of this lack of clarity in definition, people usually fail to notice its importance in American history, yet it affected the individual, social ideals and political thoughts. It had such a profound effect on the intellectual thought of Americans that even in the times of depressions and waking up from the illusions; American dream remained to be the basic instinct of many people.

However, the dreamed continued to be a dream instead of becoming a reality. The choice of the word “dream” so as to identify the many years of old great expectations indirectly involved certain conflicting meanings. For a brief and basic definition of dream, it wouldn’t be wrong to say unreality or unconscious state of mind. Therefore, it is of great significance to redefine the concept of American dream and it must be put in a more realistic and pragmatic context than the usual usage of it. Otherwise, it can hardly be called a great contribution to the improvement of the welfare of the world. In fact, this mostly universal, partially American ideal has created some problems in its practical implementation. In his book American Literature and the Dream Frederick Carpenter explains this situation briefly “this dream has been our distinction, but not our salvation. The modern temper has become increasingly antagonistic to it, for in an age of recurrent world wars, a perfect democracy has seemed increasingly impossible. Yet even today it

distinguishes American writing, if only by the intensity of its disillusion.” (Carpenter, 1955: 5)

Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, after declaring the intellectual independence from the Europe, transcendentalists praised the new ideal democracy of America. According to them, the individual and his ideals were all above anything else and with the help of self-reliance their capability seemed limitless. That is to say, they associated the realization of the dream with the individual and in their optimistic outlook; the dream was something positive and much more important than this, it was something attainable. In this context Carpenter also adds that “only a generation ago most Americans believed it whole-heartedly. Earlier, in the nineteenth century, it was universal.” (ibid 5).

It was natural that this concept, which was widely accepted by the majority of society, had been a key element in the growth of social consciousness. What’s more it has conveyed itself in many various ways. Without regard to specific details and exceptions, it expressed the faith in opportunity of getting into an upright position in the social strata or fulfilling a person’s deepest emotions and dreams. However, it becomes difficult to explain it when its meaning is debated in specific terms. A researcher can make the list of American Dream’s characteristic longer continuously. Many of its meanings can be interpreted, but unfortunately the researcher can be unsuccessful in explain the rage of this concept’s components. On the surface, it is not difficult to define it. It can be said that the dream is the illustration of a happy American citizen living in America. However, it is not easy to separate this social myth into several parts that can be identified as pieces of a definite whole. It is not an unanticipated situation, for we know that American Dream, which is a social myth, possesses utopian ideals, but it is not an equivalent of American utopia. There are some occasions in which the American dream can differ from the utopia.

The first difference between the American dream myth and utopia is that they are constructed in different kinds of intellectual backgrounds. Thanks to some socialist thinkers such as Charles Fourier and Saint Simon or Edward Bellamy, it can be argued that utopian idealism needs intellectuals and theoreticians in order to turn the ideals into reality. On the other side, the American dream remains as a myth to be formulated in the minds of masses. Furthermore, it does not include a systematic plan

to convey its exact meaning. On this issue, Georges Sorel explains his opinions in his book Reflections on Violence. Despite its length, it is worth to mention his ideas on the comparison of myth and utopia. Sorel points out that

The myths are not descriptions of things, but expressions of a determination to act. A utopia is, on the contrary, an intellectual product. It is the work of theorists who, after observing and discussing the known facts, seek to establish a model to which they can compare existing society in order to estimate the amount of good and evil it contains [...] whilst contemporary myths lead men to prepare themselves for a combat which will destroy the existing state of things, the effect of utopias has always been to direct men's minds towards reforms which can be brought about by patching the existing system. A myth cannot be refuted since it is at the bottom identical with the convictions of a group. A utopia on the contrary can be discussed like any other social constitution. It is possible to refute utopias by showing that the economic system on which they have been made to rest is incompatible with the necessary conditions of modern production. (Sorel, 1908: 33)

Sorel counts the main differences between the myth and utopia brilliantly, yet there are still some considerable differences between both of them. The American dream is a myth that possesses a kind of sentimental feeling about man and society. It puts forward the indivisible relationship between man and man, also man and society. Nevertheless, the utopia comes out of the collapse of the order in this mythic order of things. This situation is not something unusual because utopias are created by understanding the conflicting characteristics of men and society. Utopian thought requires a kind of awareness that perceives the inner conflict of men and alienation of men from one another and alienation of men from the nature. Consequently, utopian thinking attempts to prevent this disintegration and functions as a bridge to connect the contradictory features of men, society and nature together again.

Furthermore, American dream myth isn't analytical and a critical approach is missing. Inevitably, it makes and even forces the people to be in accordance with prevailing norms and standards of the society. The strict determinism in its nature removes the possibility of any kind of intervention to the prearranged order of the social system. However, utopian consciousness occurs as a result of the passion to escape from the rigid structures of the order and it is usually in favor of necessary actions to be executed so as to change the laws of the social development. Therefore, it can be argued that contrary to the American dream's reflection of collective

consciousness, utopian consciousness stands for man's self-reliance in his mental capacity and it is increased by his strong dedication to apply his intellect. Some practical transformations of society take place at least in the mindset of people who define themselves as utopian. Undoubtedly, it rejects conformism and becomes a rebellion against the predetermined order of things.

In conclusion, American dream does not need any proof or rational confirmation because it stemmed from collective consciousness. In its complicated relationship to utopia, American dream contains a social ideal and the representation of the desired society. Nevertheless, it partially includes these elements. Thus, it wouldn't be right to consider it as an equivalent of utopia or utopian thought. While the dream is the hope for an individual to realize himself, the utopia longs for the total betterment of the whole society. The American dream, which is also a myth, and America as a utopia are the elements of dissimilar intellectual spheres. As a myth, the dream is not fully united as a whole with Utopia. Utopia only includes it partially since the American dream is composed of values, tendencies and attitudes entirely devoid of Utopian content.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROAD TAKEN: SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE GILDED AGE

2.1 THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS

The American Utopia was the long road ahead, so the nation took the road of industrialism in order to reach the last stop as quickly as they could. Back in 1890 as an engineer and economist David Ames Wells reflected his opinions about the case of growing industrialism in the preface of his book. He stated that

The economic changes that have occurred during the last quarter of a century – or during the present generation of living man – have unquestionably been more important and varied than during any former corresponding period of the world’s history. It would seem, indeed, as if the world, during the inception of civilization, has been working up on the line of equipment for industrial effort. (Wells, 1889: v)

Those industrial efforts brought about the second industrial revolution which was basically an extension of the first industrial revolution. However, it resulted in mass production and great technological advances which had an enormous effect in social life of American people at the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To highlight its importance Rick Szostak states

One must always be careful not to abuse the word “revolution”. Technological revolutions take longer than do political revolutions, but they may have a greater impact on society. The first industrial revolution ushered in the modern era of the factory and rapid technological change. Its innovations were steadily improved throughout the nineteenth century. Late in that century, a new series of innovations emerged that would dominate the industrial society. (Szostak, 2005: 153)

Even today, many devices, which are used by millions of people, had their existence dating back to the second industrial revolution. Unlike the first industrial revolution, the inventions and products were made as a result of scientific experiments and organized research during the second industrial revolution. Furthermore, the first industrial revolution generally revolved around steam power, textile industry, natural resources such as coal and iron. On the other hand the second industrial revolution was built on the experiences about electricity, steel industry and eventually led to

automobile manufacture. Thanks to electricity, the people satisfied their need for communication, the inventions of telegraph and telephone made it possible to have the mass communication in growing cities. Besides, the advancements in steel production enabled people to change the outlook of the buildings and they enjoyed better housing conditions. Most importantly, the new usage of oil industry and improvements of mechanics revealed the potential demand for travel. The innovations in this field supported the development of automobile industry. Therefore, it is significant to analyze these three elements to have a better understanding of their impact on socio-economic life.

In the first place, electricity, thanks to new experiences and knowledge, was used to solve many problems in both manufacturing and social life. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of inventors, some scientist like Thomas Edison, George Westinghouse, Nikola Tesla and Michael Faraday contributed greatly to the usage of electricity in new fields. For instance, Faraday's inventions of diamagnetism and electromagnetic induction paved the way for the foundation of electric motor technology. He invented the electric motor in 1821 and the dynamo in 1831. Besides, Nikola Tesla was able to develop the first motor to translate alternating current to mechanical energy. However, "the effects of electricity on manufacturing productivity were slow to be realized, as factories only slowly learned the advantages of electricity as a form of industrial power." (Mokyr, 1998: 7). On the other hand, electricity also had another field to be used. The growing knowledge and experiments made it possible to have use in communication. The telegraph and telephone was an early demonstration of the new technological systems that raised the levels of communication to a massive degree. Nevertheless, before electricity satisfied the demands of people, the transmission of electric signals had to be understood. Short distance communications were available in general, but long distance telegraph required further studies. Although both of the telegraph and telephone were difficult tasks to achieve, by 1890 there was an international telegraph network connecting major cities worldwide, which greatly facilitated international commerce, travel and diplomacy. In addition to innovations in mechanics and communication, probably the most effective usage of electricity was put forward by Thomas Edison. His search for a cheap and an efficient way of indoor

lighting resulted in 1876. Subsequently, he made his ideas and products marketable. During the Christmas season, he illuminated the Menlo Park with forty incandescent light bulbs, and in 1882 he built a power plant that would light eighty five buildings in New York's Wall Street financial district. When his illumination service began, a New York Times reporter stated that working in his office at night "seemed almost like writing in day light." (Norton and et al. 1999: 306). Gas companies were serving the market for years and it was evident after the successful demonstrations that consumers would choose the light bulb instead of kerosene lighting. Considering the working conditions in factories, electric lighting made working environment much safer and cleaner. Furthermore, the huge potential in the market and the profitability of the investments turned the light bulb into an object that was built on manufacturing companies. Therefore, in the late 1880s Henry Villard and J. P. Morgan consolidated patents in electric lighting and merged equipment-manufacturing companies into the General Electric. As the studies and new uses of electricity continued increasingly, the old trial and error method became obsolete. Thus, for this situation it is noted that "the daunting complexities of electrification were such that it was the first American industry in which organized research laboratories came to dominate the innovative process. Edison blazed the trail that others were to follow." (Szostak, 2005: 158).

Another crucial development in the second industrial revolution occurred in the steel production. Iron played an important role in the first industrial revolution and it was widely used until 1850s. However, when iron was compared to steel, it was inferior relatively. To illustrate, processed iron which was used in machine parts and mostly on railroads were expensive. Therefore, in a booming age where the expectations and demands of the people rose higher each day, it was necessary to turn the attention to the production and usage of steel. Contrary to the developments in the field of electricity, innovations in steel production didn't benefit from the scientific knowledge, yet it contributed to the improvement of science especially in chemistry. In the nineteenth century people had the knowledge to have processed steel, but it was also expensive, so the main problem was to produce steel in cheaply. In its development, steel underwent three important phases. The first stage in steel

making was put forward by Henry Bessemer. It provided many advantages; it was a simple method, though. Its advantages can be summarized like that, it was

a process that had taken days took less than an hour. Large steel plants, using inexpensive pig iron as an input, and considerably less fuel and labor per ton of output, replaced small-scale operations refining wrought into steel. The output was not only much less expensive – less than twice the cost of wrought iron – but of high quality. (Ibid 155)

Nevertheless, the Bessemer process had also faults. The chemical elements such as phosphorus spoiled the high quality of the steel and it limited the places where ores were extracted. Therefore, another phase evolved in steel making. In the next stage, Siemens-Martin process suggested using hot waste gases to preheat incoming fuel and air and mixed cast iron with wrought iron in the correct proportions to obtain steel. “The process allowed the scrap iron and low grade fuels, and thus turned out to be more profitable than the Bessemer process in the long run.” (Mokyr, 1998: 3). However, Siemens-Martin process suffered from the same fault just like Bessemer process. Eventually, it was just an error-trial experimenting which overcame the difficulties to produce high quality and durable steel. The addition of limestone to the molten ore would induce a reaction with the phosphorus and removed the problem of working on high phosphorus content. After getting rid of the technical obstacles, steel production saw a boost eventually. According to statistics, Thomas J. Misa explains the huge difference in iron and steel output in American industries in the book A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925:

More important, the nation's fever for westward expansion produced a boom in transcontinental railroad building whose demands for iron and steel surpassed anything that European steelmakers could dream of [...] The production of iron rails peaked in 1872 at 809,000 tons then fell steadily across the next seventeen years to a mere 9,000 tons. Total iron output fell after the 1873 panic and recovered only by the end of the decade. In contrast steel production grew continuously and vigorously. In 1870 total steel output stood at 69,000 tons; by 1880 it topped 1,200,000 tons.

< http://www.tc.umn.edu/~tmisa/NOS/1.3_develop.html >

Like Edison and J.P. Morgan who made a great fortune in the electric industry, Andrew Carnegie was the man taking action for the investments in this growing and promising steel industry. He closely observed the developments in steel in Europe and then he became “the first steel maker to employ a chemist and

believed that this gave him an advantage over competitors. And he refitted his plant to deal with the evolving market for steel, from railroad rails to structural steel.” (Cross and Szostak, 2005: 156). Expertise eventually resulted in obtaining cheap and quality steel which changed the American industry. In the previous decades, steel was only produced in small scale and it was used in small pieces, but thanks to the improvements buildings, ships, railroad tracks were increasingly made out of steel. It became the fundamental material from which machines, weapons and was made as well as the tools that made them.

The third major factor in the second industrial revolution was the formation of oil industry and in relation to this mass production of the automobile. Although the industry saw an immediate boost in the beginning of the twentieth century, the necessary macro inventions were made at the end of the nineteenth century. Before perfecting a car model, there were two stages which had to be completed. The first stage was to design a suitable engine type and the second stage was to produce a power source suitable to the designed engine. In the midst of industrial improvements and technological innovations, eventually it became evident that the steam engine wasn't good enough to match the people's needs. Personal transport on the train was an obvious example and sign of a growing market. Unlike the steam engine, designers needed a model which could be turned on and turned off in short periods. The initial remarkable design of an internal combustion engine came from Nikolaus Otto who was able to build a four stroke in which the coal gas was compressed for the combustion. “This increased engine efficiency enough that tens of thousands of the machines were in use around the world within a few years. They had considerable advantages over steam engines. They were cleaner and the fuel could be obtained at low cost. [Also] they required less labor to operate.” (Ibid 164). Following this invention, the continuing research resulted in a new model of engine type. Two Germans Daimler and Benz improved the Otto model with a gasoline burning engine. Ultimately, the diesel engine which proved to be still the most useful way of working an engine was planned by Rudolf Diesel. The fact must also be noted that it was only after the improvements of the combustion engine that the other parts of the cars such as radiator, brake control, steering wheel and carburetor were created. Along with the research to find the most effective combustion engine, the

search for the fuel to be used in it continued. Petroleum, which proved to be the best source for the machine, was begun to be produced in 1851. Especially, the large oil fields in Texas and Oklahoma in the United States changed future of the emerging industry. Even in the eve of the Civil War, it played an important role in the social and economic life in the USA. In his book, The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power Daniel Yergin explains the importance of the new industry

The Civil War hardly disrupted the frantic boom in the Oil Regions; on the contrary, it actually gave a major stimulus to the development of the business. When the South seceded; the North no longer benefitted from the foreign revenues from cotton, one of America's major exports. The rapid growth of oil exports to Europe helped compensate for that loss and provided a significant new source of foreign earnings.
(Yergin, 1991: 30)

Similar to almost every evolving industry in the United States, oil industry found its boss in short time. John D. Rockefeller ventured in this business and dominated the industry in almost every field. The Standard Oil, under the control of Rockefeller, turned out to be one of the most successful companies ever established in America. Thus, all these industrial and technological innovations yielded in the automobile industry which gave its fruits after the turn of the century. The mass production of the automobiles by Henry Ford in the land of the plenty meant much more than a possession. According to Gary Cross “with the coming of the automobile, mechanical innovation seemed to promise personal freedom and affluence.” (Cross, 2005: 246) After all, the second industrial revolution was an extension of the first one, but it paved the way for future industrial movements unchangeably. The experiences of obtained from the science based innovations, made all the people ready for the things to come in the future.

On the other hand, when we talk about technology, particularly in social sciences, it both means and consists of more than structures and machines. It contains the necessary skills and knowledge to invent, manufacture, develop and fix those structures and machines. Furthermore, it encompasses the utilization of those structures and machines in the organization, improvement and occasionally destruction of society. Namely, whether it is simple or complex, all those structures and machines exist in a social environment and undoubtedly they fulfill a social function, they had many effects on social structure. Industrialization became a

complex process with different characteristics in the United States. Most importantly, America became the world's leading manufacturing and technological power. Statistics gives us striking information on this matter. For example,

In the colonial times of 1750, America produced only 0.1 percent of the world's total manufacturing output. On the other hand, at the turn of the century industrial production in the USA reached to 23.6% leaving behind the nations which were superior in the first industrial revolution. To illustrate, by 1900 the United Kingdom's relative share of total manufacturing output was 18.5%, Germany 13.2% and France 6.8%. (Kennedy, 1989: 149)

Undoubtedly, this rapid development caused chain reactions which resulted in several transformations in the society. First, an increasing labor force was required for the factories to be in full capacity. The immigration of east European and mostly the Chinese workers together with the flow of emancipated African Americans filled this gap. Second, the continuous arrival of immigrants led to a quick increase of population in the cities and urbanization gave a new shape to the cities. The last but not the least, it caused a change in the living standards of many people for better or for worse.

Immigration was nothing new to America. With the exception of Native Americans, all American people can claim to have an immigrant experience whether during prosperity or despair, brought by force or by choice. However, immigration to the United States reached its peak beginning in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Although those groups would continue to come, this time even greater ethnic diversity would grace America's populace. Many would come from Southern and Eastern Europe and some would come from as far away as Asia. New complexions, new languages, and new religions confronted the already diverse American mosaic. According to statistics "between 1866 and 1900 13,259,469 immigrants were recorded as entering the United States." (Daniels, 2007: 76). Compared with those who had immigrated to America before the Civil war, these "new" immigrants came from different parts of Europe: Italy, Greece, Poland, Hungary, Russia, Lithuania, Romania and mostly from Ireland and Germany. They practiced different religions, including different forms of Christianity, and brought new and strange cultural ideas with them. The new immigrants also frequently isolated themselves, they settled in ethnically solid neighborhoods. Some Americans

feared the new arrivals. This raised the issue of whether the U.S. was still a melting pot or if it had just become a mixed salad and many Americans worried about negative effects on the economy, politics and culture. On the contrary, the wave of immigrants started schools and churches and generally adapted them to American culture while retaining their own individuality, both enriching and being enriched by the interaction. They found much to admire in American democracy and took enthusiastically to politics and education, areas from which they had generally been excluded in their native lands.

America had always needed cheap labor, which provided much of the impetus for immigration. However, all the immigrants weren't welcomed by the long time residents of the nation. British immigrants experienced the least hostility, whereas Irish, Chinese and African American workers had to face the strongest hatred. While factory owners greeted the rush of cheap labor with excitement, laborers often treated them with hostility. Skilled workers usually expressed displeasure that new immigrants lowered the standards of works and wage levels. The low speed of assimilation in these groups rendered them inferior in the eyes of many white men. The Irish group of immigrants was the first one to experience discrimination. Contrary to the majority of the new comers, they were catholic and most of them didn't speak English properly. Their differences were exaggerated by the inhabitants and they were abused. On the other side, the African Americans were coming in masses from the south to the north in pursuit of getting a better job because they were under oppression, violence and economically devastated by the crop lien system. Their arrival changed the population demography so much that "thirty two cities contained ten thousand or more blacks by 1900, and 79 percent of all blacks outside the South lived in cities." (Norton and et al. 1999: 327). However, there wasn't any considerable change in their lives since they were regarded as inferior. It was hard for them to find a decent job in the growing industries, so they had to remain in the service sector. Finally, the limits of prejudice against immigrants overflow from social sphere and reached political arena. To illustrate, in the opening remarks of The Chinese Exclusion Act 1882 it was written that "in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country

endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory”.¹ Emigration from China to the United States was driven by many of the same motives that brought Europeans to this country. However, the Chinese faced problems that were far more significant than those that affected Europeans, even those from Southern and Eastern. Chinese immigrants were subject to an obvious racist bias directed towards all peoples of Oriental background. A clear example of this situation was documented and showed the opinion of an eminent man about the Chinese people.

They care nothing for our institutions, civil, political, or educational. They do not come to make a home among us, to dwell with us as citizens, and so become a part of us; but their purpose is merely to sojourn a few years as aliens, touching us only at a single point, that of work, and, when they have gathered out of us what will satisfy their ends, to get them away to whence they came, and bestow it there. They will not send their children to school if they can help it, but endeavor to crowd them into the mills at the earliest possible age. (Yellowitz, 1969: 66)

To some extent these groups were able to find better employment, although they couldn't adjust themselves to the new conditions. Nevertheless, they were excluded ideologically from the society. They experienced the inconsistency between the promised opportunity of equality and the increasing population. They lived and worked in America but the prevalent discrimination forced them to turn their hard manual labor, poverty and misery. Neither in their homeland nor in America could they find what they were looking for. Therefore, a radical idea to transform the society to fit their immediate needs slowly emerged in the minds of many immigrant laborers.

The other great impact of industrialization on the growing nation was urbanization. Thomas Jefferson had once idealized America as a land of small, independent farmers who became educated enough to participate in a republic. That notion was forever a part of history. The large farms and improved technology displaced the small farmer because the new technology required less labor and increased farm output, but the increased supply decreased farm prices. At the same time, in the last half of the 19th century industrialization saw a huge growth in factories. It created a new demand for labor in the American economy. Factories tended to gather in urban areas, near transportation facilities and financial centers,

¹ http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/chinese_exclusion_act.asp

where ready labor was available. Consequently, the American workforce began to migrate from the countryside to the city. The speed that American cities expanded was shocking. It is pointed out that “fourteen million Americans lived in urban centers in 1880 [...] in some ways this urbanization was independent from the technologies of the Second Industrial Revolution. Yet these technologies and others both encouraged and allowed the growth of the cities.” (Szostak, 2005: 168). These new cities represented both the best and the worst of American life. Until those decades a large number of Americans didn’t live so close to each other in American history. During the gilded age, the city became a symbol of a new America to which people flocked. They were drawn by economic opportunity and the promise of a more exciting life. Cities grew on the basis of technological progress in many aspects. The use of steel allowed architects to raise buildings to previously impossible heights, and the streetcar allowed people with sufficient wealth to move from the crowded city centers to the greener suburbs. Skyscrapers and suburbs became the defining characteristics of the American city. It was difficult to accommodate so many new comers to the cities. The existing buildings capacity couldn’t catch up with the pace of the population. The problem was that “the weight of brick and masonry construction had long placed practical limits on building heights; the higher they went and the heavier they became, the thicker the lower walls and foundations they needed to be.” (Barrows, 2007: 110). Steel provided a plentiful, durable substance that could sustain tremendous weight. Therefore, many cities underwent building boom. Buildings for living and offices with multiple floors began to be seen in the urban skyline in a very short time. Another force that contributed to the urbanization was mass transportation. People could reach their destinations faster and faster because of new methods of mass transit. At first, cable cars replaced the old way of moving with the horse within the city. However, the high maintenance cost and installation process gradually made it unpractical. In the following years, many cities turned electric powered street cars because they “provided an inexpensive and quicker means of getting workers to work, and any pollution was concentrated at the site of power generation rather than strewn throughout the city.” (Szostak, 2005: 168). The mass transportation facilities also extended the borders of the many cities. People whose social status and income were

better began to prefer living in the suburbs instead of the city centers which were in a mess. Because the electric powered street cars functioned to save time in the travels between home and work for middle class people. In general, the industrial city in America established itself to be the center of commerce, communication, transportation, production and consumption. In this context, Barrows comments on the city's importance in American history

Urbanization and industrialization can exist independently; cities obviously existed before the machine age and early factories were often located in rural areas. In late nineteenth-century America, however, the process were closely associated. In the decades following the civil war the twin forces of urbanization and industrialization now fed upon each other. Together cities and their factories transformed the United States from an agricultural debtor nation into a manufacturing and financial power. (Barrows,2007: 113)

The modern American city was truly born in the Gilded Age. The bright lights, tall buildings, material goods, and fast pace of urban life emerged as America moved into the 20th century. However, American values were changing as a result. Urban dwellers sought new faiths to cope with new realities. Relations between men and women, and between adults and children also changed. As the 20th century approached, American ways of life were not necessarily better or worse than before. Nevertheless, they surely were different.

2.2 ROBBER BARONS AND NEW ATTITUDES TOWARD WEALTH

The Civil War marks a very important turning point in American life; the increasingly industrialized America of the latter decades of the 19th century was quite different from pre-Civil War America. Most Americans, before this period, lived in villages and small towns, farming was the major occupation, and rural life was a struggle for survival. The economy of the first part of the last century engaged in some manufacturing, but the businessman of the period was typically a merchant and a trader rather than a factory owner or mine operator. Following this period, from the ashes of the American Civil War sprung an economic powerhouse. The factories built by the Union to defeat the Confederacy were not shut down at the war's end. Now that the fighting was done, these factories were converted to peacetime purposes. Although industry had existed prior to the war, agriculture had represented

the most significant portion of the American economy. After the war, beginning with the railroads, small businesses grew larger and larger. By the century's end, the nation's economy was dominated by a few, very powerful individuals. In 1850, most Americans worked for themselves. By 1900, most Americans worked for an employer. New technologies and new ways of organizing business led a few individuals to the top. The competition was ruthless. Those who could not provide the best product at the cheapest price were simply driven into bankruptcy or were bought up by hungry industrialists. The so-called captains of industry became household names: John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil, Andrew Carnegie of Carnegie Steel, and J. Pierpont Morgan, the powerful banker who controlled a great many industries. Their tactics were not always fair, but there were few laws regulating business conduct at that time. The small nation once seen as a playground for European empires had now surpassed them all. The United States had become the largest industrial nation in the world. However, the prosperity of America did not reach everyone. In the middle of the fabulous wealth of the new economic elite was enormous poverty. How did some manage to be so successful while others struggled to put food on the table? Americans contemplated on this great question as new attitudes toward wealth began to emerge. The role of the government should also be questioned in these circumstances. Basically, it was pro-business. Congress, the presidents, and the courts looked favorably on this new growth. But leadership was generally lacking on the political level. Corruption spread like a plague through the city, state, and national government.

John D. Rockefeller was a Gilded Age industrialist and the founder of Standard Oil. Born in New York, he was trained as a bookkeeper but entered the oil business shortly after the discovery of oil in Titusville, Pennsylvania in 1859. In 1869, he formed the Standard Oil Company; within fifteen years, Standard Oil had acquired near-monopoly control over the American petroleum industry. Rockefeller's strategy of establishing a virtual monopoly over one aspect of the production process was labeled horizontal integration. To eliminate his competitors, Rockefeller used his firm's superior size to negotiate preferential rates from the railroads that transported both his and his competitors' oil, making it nearly impossible for his competitors to stay in business. Nevertheless, he was also one of the most hated people in the

American business. Daniel Yergin explains both good and bad attitudes towards Rockefeller

Admired by some as a genius of management and organization, he also came to rank as the most hated and reviled American businessman in part because he was so ruthless and in part because he was so successful. His lasting legacy would be strongly felt in terms of his profound influence on the petroleum industry and on capitalism itself, as well as the continuing impact of his vast philanthropy and in terms of the darker images and shadows he would cast permanently into the mind of the public. (Yergin, 1991: 36)

Standard Oil faced a series of lawsuits due to its controversial monopolistic control over the oil industry, eventually it was declared illegal by the state supreme court and it dissolved in 1899. It was then reorganized as a holding company, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Before his death in 1937, Rockefeller gave away nearly half of his fortune. Churches, medical foundations, universities, and centers for the arts were established by large sums of oil money. He became a hero to many Americans that carried the spirit of entrepreneurship.

Oil was not the only commodity in great demand during the Gilded Age. The nation also needed steel. The railroads needed steel for their rails and cars, the navy needed steel for its new naval fleet, and cities needed steel to build skyscrapers. Every factory in America needed steel for their physical plant and machinery. This field of industry would be the fate of a young man who worked as a bobbin boy and a telegraph messenger before taking a job with the Pennsylvania Railroad at the age of eighteen. At the Civil War, he held an administrative position with the railroad. At the war's end, this man entered the iron industry, and recognizing that steel rails would soon replace iron rails, he invested in the steel business. It was Andrew Carnegie who saw this demand and decided to utilize this opportunity. Carnegie utilized the newest technologies, such as the Bessemer process, to expand his steel company. He also used vertical integration. In this way, he was able to take control over every aspect of the industry from the mining of iron ore through the production and distribution of steel in order to increase his control over the industry and the profitability of his firm. As an illustration, "by the turn of the century, Carnegie Steel combined 750 steel companies into one; by 1901 it had combined the other eleven

largest firms into the United States Steel Corporation (USS), the first \$1 billion company and the largest steel company in the world.” (Dowd, 2004: 55). When Andrew Carnegie retired, he dedicated his time and money to various philanthropies consistent with the philosophy that he had advanced in his article The Gospel of Wealth. Among these philanthropies there are many institutions still effective in today’s world. To name just a few, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Carnegie Mellon University, The Carnegie Institution of Science are the notable institutions named after him.

Between such big industries like oil and steel, huge amounts of money were at stake and in an industrial and a capitalist social order finance was the sine qua non sector in every branch of industry. J.P. Morgan came to dominate banking and financing field in the Gilded Age. Contrary to the backgrounds of Rockefeller and Carnegie, he didn’t have the rags to riches story. He was born into a family of great wealth. His father had already made a name for himself in the banking industry. With Morgan's family resources, he enjoyed the best business education that money could buy. Morgan's first business ventures were in banking. By 1860, he had already established his own foreign exchange office. He knew the power of investment. During the Civil War, he paid the legally allowed fee to purchase a substitute soldier and evaded military service. Morgan made great profits by providing war materials. He felt his investments benefited America. His railroad dealings helped consolidate many smaller, mismanaged firms, resulting in shorter trips and more dependable service. Furthermore, J.P. Morgan invested in everything from Thomas Edison's electric company to railroads and steel companies to insurance firms. However, his most famous purchase was in 1901, when he bought the Carnegie Steel Company for \$500 million to create U.S. Steel. Within ten years U.S. Steel was worth over a billion dollars. Morgan's actions marked a shift in thinking among American industrialists. He proved that it was not necessary to be a builder to be successful. Smart investment and efficient consolidation could result in massive profits. Young entrepreneurs changed their goals to banking in the hopes of mirroring Morgan's success.

Those three examples demonstrate the fact that America was a land of opportunity. To some extent, it would be absurd to deny this fact. However, there are still some questions that must be answered regarding their status. Were they really the captains of industry as many entrepreneurs labeled them or were they the robber barons that the great mass of society abhorred? Concluding that those people were lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time, they were smart enough to see particular economic opportunities and seize them, they foresighted enough to have gathered a large share of a highly-profitable enterprise into their hands is the easy answer. Nevertheless, it is known that this is not as easy as it seems. In his famous novel The Godfather Mario Puzo starts with a quotation from the renowned French novelist Balzac “behind every great fortune there is a crime”. This statement must be true in the case of American industrialist of the Gilded Age because of their covert actions in politics, and their approaches to social and religious institutions.

Those people were just the primary objects of the criticism, yet the list of robber barons can be longer with many more names. Generally, the common points of those businessmen were that their characters were demonstrated as the model of free individualism, relentless competitors and strong believers of laissez faire capitalism. Contrary to the popular belief of many people, it is definitely hard to call them as the examples for the rest of the society. Their main purpose was so far away from demanding a free market that they didn't hesitate to buy senators or hire lobbyists to manipulate the laws in their favor. In this way, they overcame the obstacles from opposing party politicians whether they were democrat or republican. The relationship between business and politics became so corrupt that

It matters not iota what political party is in power, or what political President holds the reins of the office. We are not politicians, or public thinkers; we are the rich; we own America; we got it, God knows how; but we intend to keep it if we can by throwing all the tremendous weight of our support, our influence, our money, our political connection, our purchased senators, or our hungry congressmen, and our public speaking demagogues into the scale against any legislation, any political platform, any Presidential campaign that threatens the integrity of our estate. (Martin, 1911: 149)

As this lengthy example shows, they didn't want a government to promote the idea of a competitive, free market economy. Instead of this, they willingly preferred a government that could be used for their own interests. If they had internalized the real meaning of laissez faire, most probably, they would have objected it. In addition to being manipulative in politics, they were also corrupt. As one of the big four of investors of transcontinental railroad building Collis Huntington explains his reason of a visit to Washington about his business. He clearly expresses that "If you have to pay money to have the right thing done, it is only just and fair to do it [...] If a man has the power to do great evil and won't do right unless he is bribed to it. I think it is a man's duty to go up and bribe". (Josephson, 1962: 354). The relationship between business and politics became so notorious in Gilded Age that it became imperative for businessmen to manipulate in the corrupt system that they built. Almost every big company formed a political office to secure their investments. Edmund Opitz explains the seriousness of the situation

This was done openly, and virtually everyone knew about it. Witty commentators referred to certain politicians as the Senator from coal, or the Senator from railroads, or the Senator from steel. Observing the situation in Pennsylvania, one critic was led to remark that Standard Oil had done everything with the legislature—except refine it!"

<http://www.thefreemanonline.org/columns/the-robber-barons-and-the-real-gilded-age/>

It was obvious that the ideals of the founding fathers and the reality of the Gilded Age politics did not fit in the expectations of the society. In short, there was an illusion of a free society, but the economy was not totally free, otherwise there wouldn't have been a single robber baron.

Another way that rich businessmen concealed their actions was through the relationship of society. Like Presidents, military heroes or religious leaders, it was time for the robber barons to gain the respect of the society. There were two important ways to brighten their public image. The first way was through charitable donations and the second way was the demonstration of a solid commitment to religious virtues. A successful implementation of these tactics would make them a permanent hero in the mindset of the public. Nevertheless, when their so-called patriotic, philanthropic actions were on stage, the critics should be wise enough to

look off the stage. Basically, they intended to become the guardian of national unity and they presented themselves as both a philosopher on current affairs and a friend to the average man. They directed the public opinion in many fields whether it is politics or church, science or education, law or morals, literature and arts. Regardless of their knowledge or background, they offered themselves as virtuous man to the community. Rich merchants, railroad investors, steel masters, oil kings, rulers of the finance achieved to be Senators or hired them so as to have effect in policy making thanks to their fortunes. After this, it was time to become the leader of the churches, trustees of universities, owners of newspapers or members of accepted and cultural society. All these social activities possessed two fundamental purposes. They managed to hide their corrupt dealings from society and much more important than this, they attempted to promote their own policies and ideology throughout the society.

Examples of this kind of attitudes can be found in the life of robber barons such as Rockefeller and Morgan. Starting from his teenage years, Rockefeller became a more pious man in order to glorify God in many ways. In his youth he collected small amounts of money to give away his local churches. Besides he urged many people to adhere to Puritan values. Throughout his actions in the society, he sought God and invoked God. According to him, in the end it was the Lord that made him prosper with the worldly goods in return of his strong faith to religious virtues, for his hard working actions, self-discipline, his reluctance to spend money unnecessarily. That's why he became sure of himself and defended himself on accusations about the source of his earned fortune. To illustrate, in an interview with William Hoster, quoted in God's Gold the Story of Rockefeller and His Times by John T. Flynn, Rockefeller clearly states "I believe the power to make money is a gift from God... Having been endowed with the gift I possess, I believe it is my duty to make money and still more money, and to use the money I make for the good of my fellow man according to the dictates of my conscience." (Flynn, 1932: 401). His strict Puritan work ethic made it certain to get money and similar to him other businessmen became an important factor for the church that could rely on no other means of financial source. As a result, it became necessary to trust the Lord. All the rich men like Rockefeller, acted as the servant of God. The money just didn't belong

to hem. What they did was to share the wealth of the Lord with his average people in the society. Consequently, in his mindset, it was necessary to give away his wealth to the University of Chicago, Rockefeller Institution and Institute of Medical Research.

Despite the differences of background, J.P. Morgan followed the same way as Rockefeller and many others did. He was born into the wealth of his family and enjoyed the privileges of richness since he was a young man. He was known to be proud, rude and lonely because of his inherited wealth. He also didn't respect to the rights of his colleagues. Although he couldn't get along with even with the many people close to him, he was able to reflect the image of a good man to the society. Like Rockefeller, he also donated huge amounts of money to the charities, but also to sell his so-called good image Morgan used many writers of the press. What those writers produced neither contained a literary importance nor something extraordinary about Morgan's life. However, they continuously handled the same issues to be remembered such as baron's integrity, toil, and thrift, their great ability of earning a fortune, their patriotic deeds in times of political and economic crisis and their enormous donations to charities, institutions and churches. A striking example of this kind of journalism can be found with the title "Morgan the Magnificent" in published in the Pearson Magazine. Gustavus Myers quotes a passage of this article in his famous book History of the Great American Fortunes. Myers tells the actions of greedy and selfish men in business and industry in the absence of government regulation of economic life. It is worth quoting in length

Plain Mr. Morgan, fresh from the droning of a great Episcopal Church convention at Richmond, was suddenly aroused by the peril of the financial situation to a demonstration of courage, strength and personal masterfulness that brought order and confidence out of chaos and despair. And there is a little history to compare to the sight of this stout, secretive American banker of seventy years withdrawing from the passionless company of bishops and ministers intent on religious ideals, to take command of the fierce, clashing money forces of Wall street, gone crazy out of sheer fright to become the protagonist and hero of the most cynical, suspicious, treacherous, cruel, arrogant and cowardly human elements in the world. (Myers, 1910: 288-289)

Written in time of an economic crisis, this passage, and many others like this, this text tries to demonstrate Morgan as "the savior of the nation". In the middle of many

frauds and thefts, so-called captains of industry were impersonated as heroic and patriotic men. Their corrupted actions were changed into acts of greatest purity in magazine or newspaper lines and common people were required to applaud and respect seriously. As it can be seen, robber barons took control of the existing institutions like government through hiring lobbyists or bribing senators, universities and churches by giving away large sums of money and having journalists praise themselves in the newspapers' columns.

After all, there were still many questions looking for their right answer. In spite of being more important, bigger and wealthier than any social class in the history of the United States, the new wealthy class was still quite small. Life standards rose to some extent, but it was prevalent that everybody wasn't getting rich. As a matter of fact, there was plenty of poverty in the middle of great progress. The expectations of people who immigrated to America and the reality which they faced were quite contradictory. Thus, they raised some questions to find out the requirements to obtain wealth. For a long time they believed that hard work and discipline were the fundamental elements. To some extent education and skills were also necessary. However, these answers still didn't satisfy them. People accepted that inherited wealth was a reason, but they believed that America was a classless society since it was founded. When the distress among masses began slowly and grew each day, the elite class had to shape the social thought about the attitudes towards wealth. That's why; they put forward and defended two new concepts about the attitudes towards wealth in order to secure their wealth and win the general consent of the public. The robber barons advocated Social Darwinism and also attempted to spread the Gospel of Wealth which was written by Andrew Carnegie himself.

When a popular conception of "survival of the fittest" grew from Charles Darwin's idea of the process of natural selection in the wild, the world was forever changed. Church leaders condemned him as a religious outcast, and ordinary people everywhere surprised and shocked by the idea that humans may have evolved from apes. Intellectuals soon pointed Darwin's concepts at human society. These Social Darwinists, led by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner, believed that the humans who were the most fit became the most successful. Whatever people had the

necessary skills to prosper perhaps talent, brains, or hard work would be the ones who would rise to the top. According to the Social Darwinist, the reason of the poverty of many people was very clear. They simply did not have the required skills. Social Darwinists went further in their application of Darwin. Darwin stated that the weaker members of a species in nature would die and that over time only the stronger genes would be passed on. Social Darwinists believed the same should happen with humans. This social theory was also applied to the economics. As the companies grew larger and turned to form pools and trusts, the competition in the market was reduced. However, many Americans came to this land for the opportunity of equality and open competition for everyone else. Consequently, big monopolies felt obliged to defend themselves and create a way to justify their power and profits. They stated their firm belief in the laissez faire doctrine which meant rejecting the idea of government regulation and interference in financial affairs. Furthermore, they argued that any kind of interference to the social, especially economic, institutions would prevent the natural improvement and help the weak. Therefore, “in a free society operating according to the principle of survival of the fittest, power would flow naturally to the most capable. Holding and acquiring of property were therefore inalienable rights, and wealth was a mark of well-deserved power and responsibility.” (Norton and et al. 1999: 312). In addition to this, this doctrine was also interpreted from different angles. Defenders of the idea pointed out that government shouldn't make the rich people behave more philanthropic by means of regulation and high taxation. However, it was very ironic that guardians of this doctrine tried to prevent government assistance to the needy whereas they strongly demanded economic incentives like low rates of corporation tax and protection of government by high tariffs in times of financial crisis. They declared any kind of beneficial action towards labor unions as the paternalistic approach of government and objected it. In short, it is not difficult to find inconsistencies between the theory of Social Darwinism and its practice in the economic life.

On the other hand, some Americans wanted to reconcile their Christian beliefs with Social Darwinism. It was definitely hard for religious people to accept Social Darwinism since the Church was an ardent opponent of Darwin's theory. In the church a miraculous controlling force for the masses of people existed and its

value could scarcely be compared to anything else. In the industrial age production increased greatly and naturally the total wealth also increased. The main debate was around this total wealth, it was at stake but whose wealth was it? To answer this question, Andrew Carnegie wrote an article in 1889 offering his opinions about the subject. He argued that the most successful people were the ones with the necessary skills and God granted only a few with the talent to be successful so Christian virtue demanded that some of that money must be shared. This is where the difference lies between Social Darwinist and the people suggesting the Gospel of Wealth. The obvious fact was that it absolutely created a distinction between people as masters and servants. As masters Carnegie and Rockefeller and other robber barons donated money for the public good. On the surface, it seems a better idea than the social Darwinists argued, yet there are still several issues that need to be discussed about the Gospel of Wealth.

It is true that the “administration of wealth” is a problem. A great deal of thought and energy are spent regarding the solution of it. One of the attempts in this context was the article “Gospel of Wealth” written by Andrew Carnegie. The article’s name soon enlarged its meaning and it became a term for all the rich businessmen. Nevertheless, it was just a euphemism of social darwinism or the expression of survival of the fittest. Throughout the pages, Carnegie implies the ethic responsibilities that rich people owe to the society, yet the main problem was not the “administration of wealth” but it was the “accumulation of wealth”. Even though he conceives this as a process towards the betterment of civilization, it is hard to come to terms with some points in the article. His concept of competition, belief in shrinking all the wealth of a society into the hands of few and lack of regulations on corporations are the points that need to be criticized.

First of all, his ideas about the law of competition should be examined carefully. It is pointed out in the article this competition happens to be among industrial or commercial businessmen and it means free competition. However it should not be free from the laws. This aspect of freedom in business makes it hard for the average citizen to reach the goods in the market because the corporations have the means of establishing prices as they wish. In addition to this, what Carnegie ignores is that law of competition also ignores the equality of opportunity. Even if it

is a so called “law”, it has to give necessary conditions to every entrepreneur. However, there is a clear contradiction between the words and the actions of Andrew Carnegie. He set up a monopoly for himself in the steel industry to keep the other businessmen away from a fierce competition which could be risky for his advantage. Consequently, the phrase “law of competition” was used just to hide the true meaning of the right to have equal chances and let alone implementing it in business life, Carnegie founded trusts like other robber barons Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan to give an end to competition.

Secondly, his thoughts on the concentration of business and accumulating the money in the hands of a few is another point that draws criticism. This fact shelters many negative approaches in relation to society. For instance, the government structure of the United States is based on the principle of checks and balances system. It enables each branch of government to take action in case another branch gets more powerful or abuses its responsibilities. Thus, it is also not rational to give more power than needed to the businessmen, namely robber barons, because there is no one or no institution to check their implementations on the market. Another negative aspect is that, it creates an elite upper class society within the society. Binary oppositions such as capital and labor, employer and employee or in other words rich and poor live on the extreme edges of social order. Hence, they began to look down on each other, it results in an unharmonious community. Whereas it was their right to pursuit their happiness as Thomas Jefferson stated in the declaration of independence. Therefore, Carnegie’s belief in shrinking all the wealth of a society into the hands of few is unwanted because it both threatens political and social order of the country in a negative sense.

The last but not the least important issue is that there is an obvious lack of regulations over the companies or trusts. In order to avoid governmental interference or heavy taxations. Trusts or big companies always demanded freedom to exercise their own policies. In turn, they offered philanthropic activities and established many libraries and universities all around the country, yet their actions were not more than a cheat. What society needs is more than libraries because they are the ones who were toiling in the factories. By this way, the companies found a way to escape the government actions and pacified public protests against themselves. The truth is that

these trusts enjoyed the well being of good times. On the other hand, in times of financial crisis they urgently demand government assistance while laying off their workers. In general their behaviour is privatizing profits and socializing losses. Even in the latest global financial crisis The United States Government passed an Economic Stabilization Act and supported the companies up to 700 billion dollars which were collected from the taxes that citizens pay. As a result the natural question evokes in the minds of everyone thinking about the wealth possessed by rich people. Whose wealth is it?

In conclusion, it can be said that Andrew Carnegie's opinions regarding the problem of administration of wealth is only a trivial matter when compared to the problems aroused by the accumulation of wealth. Carnegie defends himself on the religious basis and it is in vain to change the functioning system which established today's civilization. His opinions are just a way to mitigate the public demonstrations in the progressive era. Trickery in competition, having faith in only a privileged class of businessmen and government's deficiency in controlling them can be the major criticisms about his article "Wealth". Although he considers the difference between the rich and the poor as the measurement of civilization, it should be the measurement of shame in a world where the earth supplies all people abundantly.

2.3 CAPITAL VS. ORGANIZED LABOR

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a great change in the working conditions. Although the great deal of work took place on the farms; the working conditions changed and began to be conducted in the banks, offices and factories. The agrarian economy turned out to be an industrial one in those decades. Most of the people, whose labor created the value of the rise in American economy, didn't have any idea about the million dollars that J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie or other robber barons made from laborers' toil. Workers, especially unskilled ones and in extreme cases women and children, had a daily working hours of ten or twelve. These long working hours kept many children away from regular education. Besides, most of the workers were also working at the weekends. Despite their long working hours, they couldn't make ends meet. They consumed all their energy in front of

machines, and again it was those machines caused many workers to be disabled as a result of poor working conditions and flawed machines. In such cases, it was nearly impossible to receive compensation for the accidents. On the other hand, their bosses generally didn't show sympathy towards the workers. Capitalists were looking for submissive employees that would do their work without expression of regret or sorrow. Naturally, there were millions of workers who were employed in construction and manufacturing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a result of industrialization and immigration. The workers didn't have any right to make decisions in a factory. All those people were laborers not producers, so they had to live by their limited salary. From the point of an employer, the laborer was nothing more than a commodity whose labor could also be bought and sold. Furthermore, the employers didn't need to communicate with their workers to understand their grievances. Workers were the unfortunate people who suffered from these adverse circumstances.

In those conditions workers came to the conclusion that they had to come together to make their voices heard. In spite of the lack of financial sources, educational background, they realized a vital fact. They strongly outnumbered their bosses. Therefore, they began to participate in unions. It wasn't illegal to establish unions, yet their capitalist employers did all they could in order to prevent their formation or minimize their effects. Their precautions included actions of wages cut and even intimidation. In response to their employees, workers usually didn't hesitate to resort to violence when they couldn't see the good will of their bosses. As a consequence of growing discontent and numerous strikes a lot of Americans thought that a bloody, violent revolution might occur in the United States. Robber barons were living in their ivory towers, so they wanted to ignore this possibility. However, unions emerged slowly and confidently. Members of the unions attempted to form a greater union to include more people around the country and they had to stand against greater difficulties. In their search to unite all the workers, they occasionally opposed federal troops and decisions of courts which were usually on the side of capitalists. On the other hand, the laborers also had their own contradictions. They debated over the rules of admission to the unions for the women, immigrants and African Americans; they proposed radical solutions of Marxism. Other pragmatic

workers insisted on just an increase in their wages. Although many of them were in agreement on the subject of eight hour work in a day, even this issue couldn't keep the different perspectives together in the last instance. The Union movement with its results such as Knights of Labor and American Federation of Labor and strikes turning to almost "battles" such as Haymarket Riot and Pullman Strike caused a stimulus in the minds of many Americans about the struggle between capital and organized labor.

Organized labor's attempts to make a nationwide union dated back to the early nineteenth century, yet their tendency to exclude many laborers from participation to the organization made them weaker against the bosses. To illustrate National Labor Union was the first great one to bring workers under the same roof, but the financial crisis during the 1870s prevented the union from flourishing. In the meanwhile another group of workers established The Knights of Labor which was able to overcome the economic hard times of that period. Through the guidance of Terrence Powderly, the union became more prominent. Contrary to the old craft union's structuring, The Knights of Labor welcomed women, immigrants, African Americans and also unskilled workers. The wide range of membership of the union reflected their simple ideology. Gender or race consciousness was not as important as the class consciousness. Their basic intention was to form solidarity among workers of different industries and races to affect the government in favor of them. As a result of their admission policy to the union they saw a boost in their membership. In less than ten years, it reached from 10,000 to 730,000. With this strong support from the workers, the Knights showed their main difference than the other unions. According to Robert Hoxie, quoted in The Future of the American Labor Movement, this union was one of the best examples of "uplift unionism" and he adds that The Knights of Labor

... aspires chiefly to elevate the moral, intellectual and social life of the worker, to improve the conditions under which he works, to raise his material standards of living, give him a sense of personal worth and dignity, secure for him the leisure for culture, and insure him and his family against the loss of a decent livelihood. (Wheeler, 2002: 86)

In this context, the union's main objective was more than the betterment of wages and working hours. If they had been able to establish a cooperative system of

production in the society, they would have been successful. However, the fashionable method of strikes at that time caused an obstacle for their long term goals. In addition to the strikes, the variety of its members also created another problem. While Powderly believed in the future cooperative society, many other members preferred aggressive actions against robber barons. Their activities contributed to the Haymarket Riot and eventually led to the failure and separation from the Knights of Labor.

When the difficult economic conditions especially the wounds of panic of 1873 were healed, relatively good conditions began to occur. A large group of workers, including the members of The Knights of Labor, demanded an eight hour working day. The center of the mass protest was Chicago which became the symbol of industrialization and urbanization of those decades. Largely led by radicals who suggested extreme action against the existing social order and many other craft unions came together. On May 1, 1886 the city witnessed the largest spontaneous mass protest in the American history. Tragic events and death of several people occurred in the protests. Labor groups were protesting the excessive force of police officers when a group of policemen came near to the meeting. A bomb exploded in the middle of many protesters and policemen and it killed and injured many people. Even today, the murderer is still unknown, but eight of the anarchists were arrested for the crime. In the court they were found guilty, in spite of the lack of evidence. Four of the convicts were sentenced to death and one of them hanged himself in the prison. The ongoing demonstrations, events happened in the protests and its aftermath had a great impact in the American nation's conscious. To compare Haymarket Riot and other events in American history, would give us a better understanding of its impact

Few events have had such national and international repercussions as the Haymarket bomb outrage of 1886. There has been no equivalent in the twentieth century. To get some idea of the public hysteria it generated one would have to imagine such events as the Great Red Scare of 1917-1921, the election of 1928, and the case of Sacco and Vanzetti that came in between, all happening in a single month instead of being spread over a decade. (Cashman, 1993: 114)

The Haymarket Riot not only raised public awareness to the increasing discontent of the workers, but also it created a fear of anarchism in the minds of many people

especially the middle class. Consequently, police forces were strengthened and in the following strikes and protests even federal troops were sent in order to prevent further actions of workers. Most important of all, the Haymarket Riot influenced the union movement in a negative way. Due to the worries about labor militancy, public opinion held the idea that anarchists and radicals guided all the other workers in the wrong direction for their cause, also workers alliances were regarded as a menace to social order and laws.

The growth and success of The Knights of Labor was an event like a flash in the pan. There were still many workers in America, but they didn't have a nationwide organized labor union. After the date "The Knights" dissolved, a power vacuum emerged for the other organizations to take up. The American Federation of Labor began to be a major actor in the issue of organized labor under the leadership of Samuel Gompers. Throughout his dominance in the organization, they followed a different path and put forward different solutions to the labor question than the Knights of Labor. For instance,

Gompers and Powderly were rivals, but there was more to their quarrel than a clash of conflicting personalities. In the field of labor relations Powderly's strategy was political education and his policy law reform. Gompers' strategy was economic opportunism and his policy law observance. (Ibid 122)

As opposed to the previous approaches of Terrence Powderly and his theoretical suggestions for the long term victory of working class, Gompers realized that the laborers' main concerns were personal; they didn't care much about the improvement of working class as a whole. In simple terms, they wanted money and good working conditions. In order to appeal to the workingmen, their attitude shouldn't be complicated. By following this method, they would also avoid the bad reputation of radicals after the Haymarket Riot. He also mentioned this subject in his book Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography

I saw how professions of radicalism and sensationalism concentrated all the forces of organized society against a labor movement and nullified in advance normal, necessary activity. I saw that leadership in the labor movement could be safely entrusted only to those into whose hearts and minds had been woven the experiences of earning their bread by daily labor. (Gompers, 1925: 34)

Consequently, it can be said that Gompers and his union didn't want to change the social order and institutions; they aimed at making the workers' interest compatible with the capitalist system. When The American Federation of Labor was founded, it consisted of simple craft unions like painters' union, carpenters' union and cigar makers' union. That's to say, each individual in the union was a skilled worker and through their participation this labor organization became available. This kind of organization structure excluded the unemployed immigrants, African Americans and also unskilled workers, for Gompers believed that only the skilled workers could have a voice in the affairs of politics and labor. Although he was conservative and also served for the benefits of the capitalist system, he remained to be the leader of the organization for more than thirty years. The increasing number of its members affected the twentieth century labor and capital relations, but at the beginning of the 1890s another mass protest undermined its development and aroused public fear of workers' revolution.

The tension between capital and organized labor reached its peak with Pullman Strike in 1894. As the head of the corporate tycoon of railroad car manufacturing, George Pullman established the town of Pullman. This place was intended to accommodate his workers in which there were houses, shops, other facilities as well as factories. However, the real intention of Pullman was to isolate his workers from the radical ideologies of working class by gathering his employees in a ghetto like town. A worker who experienced this life comments bitterly on this condition: "We are born in a Pullman house, fed from the Pullman shops, taught in the Pullman school, catechized in the Pullman Church, and when we die we shall go to the Pullman Hell." (<http://www.illinoislaborhistory.org/articles/223-the-parable-of-pullman.html>). The interesting fact was that all the workers had to pay their rent to stay in this town. Their whole income returned to the pockets of their boss when they met their basic needs of food and water. It was the company that provided all these services, so the workers were trapped in vicious circle. The turning point in the relation between Pullman and his workers was his decision to cut down the wages and fire many workers from the factory. While decreasing the price of their labor, he kept the prices of utilities and rents the same. To express the workers protest, a committee of employees reported the situation, but he rejected all the offers and in

addition to this fired the men of the committee. This was enough to create a spark for the strike on behalf of the Pullman workers. At the beginning the strike was on a local scale, but the involvement of American Railway Union led by Eugene Debs brought it to the national arena. The refusal of the union's members to operate in the Pullman cars cost George Pullman too much and it almost stopped the railroad traffic in the Southwest of America. The response of Pullman included tactics such as hiring strikebreakers and appealing to bureaucrats. Pullman was able to get a court decision declaring that union leaders must refrain from supporting the strike. Furthermore, President Cleveland sent the United States Army troops to end the strike with the pretext that strike obstructed the mail delivery system. Ten years before the tragic Pullman Strike, President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, in a speech had assured the industrialists and stated that "No harm shall come to any business interest as the result of administrative policy so long as I am President...a transfer of executive control from one party to another does not mean any serious disturbance of existing conditions." (Zinn, 2003: 238). Judging from his actions and decision, it is obvious that he kept his promise. After the chaos was over, Eugene Debs was arrested and sentenced to prison. His speech in the court was not only his defense, but also the expression of the grievances of working class in general. Debs told the court "It seems to me that if it were not for the resistance to degrading conditions, the tendency of our whole civilization would be downward; after a while we would reach the point where there would be no resistance, and slavery would come." (Cashman, 1993: 131). Pullman might have won the battle against American Railway Union, but he lost public support. Even in his death, just after two years from the Strike, he reflected how desperate he was against the workers. In his article Utopia Derailed, Arthur Melville Pearson notes George Pullman was "fearful that Labor-movement extremists would desecrate his corpse, Pullman left instructions that his lead-lined casket be covered in tar paper and asphalt, and laid in a massive vault of concrete reinforced with steel rails in Chicago's Graceland Cemetery." (<http://www.archaeology.org/0901/abstracts/pullman.html>).

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROAD NOT TAKEN: *LOOKING BACKWARD 2000 – 1887*

3.1 THE ARRIVAL OF SOCIALISM TO AMERICA

The unique improvements in the industry were dazzling for the average man in the nineteenth century. Growing industrial forces almost eliminated the age of craftsmen. The railroad among the states, steamboats over the rivers and seas, telegraph network all-pervading the country destroyed the obstacles for communication, transportation and most important of all, they united not only the United States but also the whole other countries which participated in this race to form a great international market for capitalism. Inventions of new machines and electricity as a source of energy increased the output of production dramatically. As a result of this, wealth of the nation saw a boost. However, several and serious social problems occurred along with this social progress. As Henry George observed progress came along with poverty. It was just a small group of elites who enjoyed the blessings of the industrial age. For the rest of the society, who had to live by scraps fell from the tables of rich, the new era meant nothing more than pauperization and suffering because many craftsmen and skilled mechanics were desperate against the perfected machinery. They turned out to be mere laborers and the rest of the unskilled workers became wage slaves in the factories. On the one hand, there was luxury and magnificence for the position of the wealthy classes, but on the other hand there was desperation and misery for the working class. The obvious troubles of the times attract the attention of many social philosophers and they attempted to put forward many ideas as a remedy. Among the proposed solutions for the evils of the system, the most debated theory which assumes the origin of the ills in the rampant competition of industry and wage labor, and stands for the readjustment of the whole social and economic system on the foundation of cooperation was called Socialism.

Thanks to science and new inventions in fields such as communication, transportation the knowledge of the people increased. As the flow of knowledge continued, new demands occurred. The demands of many people were not limited to material possessions. They also wanted to understand the emerging social

phenomena in a better way. The great mass of the people wanted to know about the changes in the social conditions and also the reasons for the sharp difference between their miserable situation and the affluent situation of the rich. This particular circumstance and its answer were highlighted in the work of Werner Sombart, he explains that

They see a secret reason for it all, the discovery of which started the modern movement of opposition on the part of the wage earners. The secret reason is no other than this: that all the peculiarities of their life have their root not in any natural, unchangeable conditions, but in the special conditions of social organization, in the peculiar form of the prevailing economic system. "No man can put forth any special claim in the face of Nature, but in society want at once becomes an injustice either to this social class or that" (Hegel). Here we have the foundations on which a social movement can arise, for here we have something which may be attacked, the existing social order. (Sombart, 1898: 9)

Similar to many movements and social theories, socialism underwent many changes for its gradual growth until our day. At the beginning in its very first stages, socialism was a humanitarian movement in contrast to its political movement which began in the nineteenth century. The social movement was very obvious and at the same time it was not a new idea for many people who understood and foresaw the inefficiency, irrationality and squandering as a result of the emerging system in capitalism. The inconsistencies of the capitalist system were told to society by many books and pamphlets beginning around 1800s mainly in Europe. From France Charles Fourier and from England Robert Owen can be considered as the pioneers of socialist movement as they were able to attract a considerable amount of followers for their ideas. Despite the fact that their ideas originated in Europe and their addresses generally informed the people of the old world, their idea and model of socialism found its application largely in America. There were several reasons for their idea to come to America. Morris Hillquit counts these reasons in his book History of the Socialism in the United States. According to him,

For that purpose, they needed large tracts of cheap land in places removed from the corrupting influences of modern life, and America abounded in such lands at the beginning and in the middle of the nineteenth century. Besides the industrial and agricultural possibilities of the young and growing country, its political liberty and freedom of conscience had an irresistible charm for these pioneers of a new order of things. (Hillquit, 1910: 24)

In addition to their agitation and criticism about the evils of the existing social order, they spent a great deal of time on how to make their society better. Each of these social philosophers drew a detailed picture of the society in which they would like to live in. When they were analyzed to their smallest details, they didn't have much in common. However, they shared a specific purpose. The chief goal of their proposed social design was to terminate capitalism. All they experienced in the existing social system was unbearable. As a result of this, they demanded a social structure which was planned, just and efficient instead of capitalist system. In capitalism, they understood that a small elite group of people who didn't work possessed, controlled and even sometimes manipulated the means of production for their own benefit. On the contrary, the utopian socialists realized that the common ownership over the means of production could lead the way for a better society. They wrote out their prescription for the ills of the society on this basis and they imagined leading a life in comfort for all the people. In other words, this was labeled as socialism and it was the utopian socialist dream of those people contrary to the American dream which deluded many people.

Unfortunately, their intentions didn't turn into reality. They already knew what they wanted, yet they didn't know how they could achieve it. They aimed to test their ideas by forming small communities and they attempted to show that it was working just as they planned. Their experiments within the communities were supposed to gain the support of rich or politically influential people. Afterwards, they believed innocently that the commonsense of those people would complete their task. By demonstrating the feasibility of their social experiment, it would expand from the communities onto a national scale. Despite their good intentions, their scheme possessed the weakest point in itself. While proposing various remedies, they didn't examine the new production forces and they didn't analyze its historical background or importance. Instead of this, they argued that the faults of the system seemed to be uncontrolled divergences from the laws of the nature and reason. Furthermore, the group of people that utopian socialist anticipated to contribute to their cause were the ones who protected the system let alone changing anything by reform. Inevitably, this led to the exclusion of any political or economic movement started by working

class. In other words, organization of the working class was not wanted. The first utopian socialists preferred a total participation of society with their commonsense and good intentions rather than their class consciousness. Besides, living in a society whose relations are cut off from the rest of the world is not a rational idea. Those pioneers of socialism were basically the humanists who reacted to the rough circumstances created by capitalism. While they were contemplating on how to make their environment better by reorganizing their society, a couple of young men analyzed the same problem from a different point of view and suggested different solutions. These were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, social thought began to change greatly. Instead of pure speculations and false suppositions, philosophical viewpoints which concentrated on definite facts penetrated into the all aspects of science and social thought. This phenomenon resulted in the destruction of previous world views and caused a major change for the existing methods in social sciences. Meanwhile the inexplicable complexities of the new system of production began to be analyzed closely and finally revealed itself and its laws. For the ones who were skilled and expert in social sciences, it was the exact time to reevaluate their theories and systems to make them in accordance with the new social system. Thanks to the efforts of Karl Marx and his close friend, also colleague Friedrich Engels, this mission was accomplished. At the end of 1840s, their examination of the prevalent forces in the society, they founded the scientific socialist thought contrary to the utopian socialists of the previous decades. Even after more than a century, their criticism of capitalism still remains solid because “at all critical times they showed clearly enough that the bed rock of their system was a social and political realism” (Sombart, 1898: 67).

The starting point for the scientific socialism was that economic, political and social framework of any society at any time or place did not depend on the free will and choice of the people. As a matter of fact, those systems were the natural results of historical development of long years. However, the fundamental institution of all these structures was the economic basis on which the society was established. The consequent and natural outcome of this fact demonstrated that it would not be possible to alter the organization of any given society, if its economic development

required a change. That's to say, all the attempts of utopian socialist were in vain because the future of human society couldn't be shaped by imaginative schemes, but the future could be searched within the developments of economic structures. The reason behind the political or social changes couldn't be a mere shift in the minds of some social thinkers. Before anything else, the precondition for this idea to occur was the necessary change in the economy and mode of production. Social conditions in which people live clearly influences the way people think. In other words to borrow a quotation from Marx from his, it can be said that "The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." (Marx, 1979: 11).

Thanks to the approaches of Marx and Engels, socialism and the social movement got out of its utopian context and became scientific subject. In this way, socialism was not only limited to the humanitarian behaviors or ability to reason. It focused its attention to the organization of industries and its working methods. Furthermore, his analysis of capitalism did not promise an imagined community. He put forward a realistic theory and argued that the social progress would be gradual. The capitalist system was just another phase in the development of human society for the next stop. In order to reach its next destination, scientific socialism did not appeal to every person. Instead of this, it mainly addressed itself to the people of working class who could directly participate in the suggested social transformation. Since they were the specific actors in the economy and mode of production, scientific socialism assumed to take control of the direction of social and political organizations.

Just like the case of utopian socialism, it was almost inevitable for Karl Marx and his ideas to have a base in America where most of the foreign social movements were tested within American democracy. After many wearing and bitter conflicts on the methods of socialism between Marx, Bakunin and Lassalleans, the headquarters of International Workingmen's Association was moved to New York from London in 1872. Therefore, the long journey of Marxist socialism started in the United States. However, most of the American people ignored the emerging socialist movement in Europe and its potential extensions in their own country during first years of the

gilded age. The German immigrants tried to spread their doctrine and convert the workers for their cause in America, but it was almost a decade later in 1886 that American nation began to mention socialism seriously thanks to widespread worker strikes. As a result of false information which had been intentionally spread by the press for the blame of Haymarket Riot, Americans had an incorrect impression about their idealism. Socialists prevented this bad image by winning some local mayoralities and especially the mayor campaign of Henry Demarest Lloyd in New York announced the solid existence of socialism in American soil. The same public also witnessed the formation of Socialist Labor Party under the leadership of Daniel DeLeon, a strict Marxist theoretician, and its presidential election campaign at the end of the Gilded Age. Despite all these aspects of the extension of Marxism in the United States, it was very difficult for it to have a large influence on the national consciousness for variety of reasons which will be explained in the following sections of this chapter.

All in all, it wouldn't be right to divide the early utopian societies of Owen and Fourier prior to Civil war and the later socialist political organizations at the end of the nineteenth century. In the following years, utopian idealism was strictly penetrated into the American reform movement and affected labor-capital relations. Noyes John Humphrey states in his work History of American Socialisms that the idea caught and stirred the enthusiasm of American people and he adds

As a man who has passed through a series of passionnal excitements, is never the same being afterward, so we insist that socialistic paroxysms have changed the heart of the nation; and that a yearning toward social reconstruction has become a part of the continuous, permanent, inner experience of the American people. The Communities and Phalanxes died almost as soon as they were born and now are almost forgotten. But the spirit of Socialism remains in the life of the nation. It was discouraged and cast down by the failures, and thus it learned salutary caution and self control. But it lives still, as hope watching for the morning, in thousands and perhaps millions who never took part in any of the experiments and who are neither Owenites nor Fourierties, but simply socialists without theory—believers in the possibility of a scientific and heavenly reconstruction of the society. (Noyes, 1870:24)

While Noyes were writing those lines and hoping for the revival of socialist movement in America, he wouldn't know that it would just take two decades for his hopes to turn into reality. The bloom of communitarian settlements in the 1890s and

much more important than this, the emergence Nationalist movement upon the publication of Edward Bellamy's utopian novel Looking Backward 2000-1887 clearly justified the expectations of many people. About the significance of Edward Bellamy and his novel Howard Quint notes in his preface The Forging of American Socialism: Origins of the Modern Movement that “[socialism in the United States] owed more for its inspiration to Edward Bellamy *looking backward* than it did to Karl Marx *Das Kapital*.” (Quint, 1964: vii). Consequently, it is of great importance to know and understand the life of Edward Bellamy because his personal experiences from his youth to later life showed its effect on his masterpiece novel Looking Backward.

3.2 A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD BELLAMY

Karl Marx possessed an enormous interest in the transformation of old societies to their development of his contemporary time. In this time span he attempted to understand and demonstrate his readers how the old societies were born, improved and how they began to decline. He analyzed his contemporary societies in order to explain the social forces which would cause the transformation necessary for future societies. His important works Communist Manifesto and Das Kapital reveal his main point of focus. In spite of his great contributions to social sciences in general and socialism in particular, Karl Marx did not put forward any kind of utopia for his readers and followers about which the future society would function. Therefore, the question about the post-capitalist social structure remained unanswered. There were many attempts to fill this blank most of which were the products of novelists. Undoubtedly, Edward Bellamy remained as one of the most influential characters about his social scheme after a post-capitalist society. To emphasize his importance for the American nation Howard Quint points out in the preface of his book that “[socialism in the United States] owed more for its inspiration to Edward Bellamy *Looking Backward* than it did to Karl Marx *Das Kapital*”. It would be unwise to evaluate such an important book without it's out of context. As a result of this, a brief biography of Edward Bellamy would give us some clues about the sources and formation of his masterpiece “*Looking Backward*”.

In the first place, it is important to examine the social environment of the author. New England region, which consists of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, was one of the significant places in the United States to influence the rest of the continent. Just like Edward Bellamy, who envisioned a better society for his fellowmen, the first pilgrims also arrived to this region in order to establish a desirable community after the hard years they endured in the Old World. Consequently, it can be easy to infer that New England region is the pioneer one in almost every field in America. For instance, the first movements to establish American literature, philosophy and organized school system were just a few but significant products of the region. It hosted many influential writers and philosophers from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Emily Dickenson and many others. In spite of the strong adherence to Puritan culture, New England also promoted a social environment of liberal thinking and criticism. The freedom of thought and speech can be said to originate there because of these characteristics. In addition to this, New England became the role model in the transformation of America. Small villages paved their way to become a manufacturing site. Arthur Morgan explains the pioneering initiative in industry of New England as follows

New England tended to succeed in whatever it undertook. With the industrial revolution it became the foremost manufacturing region of America. Here, as almost everywhere, modern industry developed without a long cultural background and was immature, crude, primitive. The business life of New England had the typical evils of young industry, although those faults were somewhat tempered by legislation and by a sense of decency. At first there were very long hours with very low pay, child labor which now seems intolerable, crowding of industrial labor into tenements, and exploitation of newly arrived immigrants. Because Massachusetts was a pioneer in industry, it was among the first to develop some of these abuses, as it was among the first to curb them.
(Morgan, 1944: 5)

Therefore it was clear that while New England harmonized puritan ethic with liberal thought, it also fostered the development of industry when people were still feeling a deep connection with nature and rural life. In the midst of all the dualities such as religion and freedom of thought, agriculture and manufacture, isolation and immigration of new people, Edward Bellamy was born as the child of Rufus King – Maria Putnam Bellamy in 1850.

The social environment in which he came from had a big effect on his writing, but the family that brought him up had a slightly more influence than the New England setting. His family background dates back to the time of Baptist minister Reverend Joseph Bellamy who was known to work with Jonathan Edwards, the famous preacher at the time of Great Awakening, during the independence war against Britain. His father Rufus King Bellamy was another minister. In his neighborhood of Chicopee, he was known as a friendly and helpful man. If he was judged according to his era, it can be concluded that he was a liberal thinking man despite being a minister. Better evidence regarding his father's personality can be found in the memories of Edward Bellamy's sister. She notes about their father that he was "loved and respected by everyone in the neighborhood, irrespective of race or creed. He was everyone's friend, and spoke to everyone he met, seldom remembering their names." He had a friendly humor, and did not take himself very seriously. "For real work," he would say, "there are few behind me." (Ibid 23)

As for his mother, Maria Putnam Bellamy, she was also the daughter of another religious man. Like her husband, she also received a good education in a time when almost all the women were supposed to be domestic and submissive to their husbands. Nevertheless, she also possessed the fundamental characteristics of Puritanism and held above her piety more than anything else. Besides, she was a woman who had the strict discipline which served as the basis for higher purposes in life. The qualities of her personality were also observed by some of her close friends. To illustrate, Ames Carter said of her

Mrs. Bellamy had more personality than all the other ministers' wives put together. She was the backbone of the community. She wanted everything done perfectly. She was small, but carried herself wonderfully. She was about the same height as her husband, but had an air that gave her inches [...] People had to walk a crack with Edward's mother. She was very critical. I was scared to death of her. She would go at things the hardest way and expected others to do the same. She impressed me as an extremely intelligent person. (Ibid 24)

On the whole, there were different kinds of personalities which might have an influence on the character of Edward Bellamy. On the one hand, his father was a clergymen, but he had a liberal world view and easy-going about their children. On the other hand, his mother was an educated, pious and a self-disciplined woman.

Both of them were the descendants of priests, so we can say that Edward Bellamy had been exposed to Calvinist thinking and practice at home. Nevertheless, the contrasting personalities he saw gave him the opportunity to choose because of his parents understanding. He didn't tend to favor one of them for the other, and in the process of creating his own identity, he didn't showed immediate reaction against them. Instead of the pessimistic outlook of Calvinist theories, he was able to distinguish the brotherhood of love. Despite the republican mindset of many people around him, he didn't focus on the conservative elements neither in the party nor outside of it. To sum up, it can be said that there was a very well setting at home to show and develop the creative skill of Edward Bellamy. Mutual respect, affection, patience, discipline and education were available at Bellamy house to shape the personality and world view of a young boy which showed its signs at a very small age.

It was very natural that the education of Edward Bellamy started with the public school of his hometown. Nevertheless, the main source of his education came from his family, especially from his mother. Because of her mother's discipline and aim to raise her child as a man of knowledge, Edward Bellamy was continuously encouraged to read books of history and autobiographies of famous people. As a result of this exposure to reading, young Bellamy became more conscious and thought about the social role that he would play in the future. He was greatly influenced by the personalities of historical figures such as Napoleon and contemplated on the necessary qualities that a soldier must have. It included ambition, attention, quick decision making, determination, bravery etc. This list also gives us the idea that he had a mind of serious and disciplined man even when he was a child. According to the unpublished papers of Edward Bellamy, there were a lot more interesting facts than his ideal to be a soldier. In one his essays, he showed his intentions to form an economic plan for the society. Titled as "a Law for the Republic of San Domingo" Bellamy wrote these lines

I learn from books that the inhabitants of that country are a Idle and Lazy set of people I have thot it over and thought of a remedy for it here it is That the National Assembly or Congress should make a law compelling every person to cultivate a portion of land given them by government let government be willing to buy as much of the produce of the land as the people are willing to sell to them. Begin with a small

piece of land and give the people a little more every year till they have quite a farm then cease The people Must and Cannot help in a short time being interested in it. (Ibid 31)

It can be inferred that his strong Puritan background of ancestors and environment certainly affected his sense of work ethic and social justice. He had written many more essays on various topics since he was ten years old. All his writings proved the fact that he was well educated and he was an extraordinary child. He used his knowledge to pass the exams in order to be a soldier but his physical capacity didn't allow him to realize his dreams of wearing a uniform. However, he didn't turn his face off his childhood memories and devoted a great chapter about "industrial army" in his book "Looking Backward". His formal education continued with Union College in America and one year in Germany.

The prevalent idealism and self-discipline in his character made him to study law, which became his first job, once he returned to the United States. When he did a degree in law, he was able to pass a series of examinations. As a result, famous lawyers of his hometown offered partnerships for their companies. Instead of pursuing a career and following money, he decided to be independent of them. His main motivation to practice as a lawyer was not getting involved in intricate business or governmental affairs. He always thought himself as the defender of innocents against oppressors. Nevertheless, his first case experience also became his last trial experience. After he lost his case about defending a widow about her rent payment, he never turned back into practicing law professionally. He was so influenced by this event that he almost omitted advocacy as a job from his novel Looking Backward 2000 -1887. In a brief dialogue between the characters that represent the mindset of Bellamy, he writes "We do without the lawyers, certainly," was Dr. Leete's reply. "It would not seem reasonable to us, in a case where the only interest of the nation is to find out the truth, that persons should take part in the proceedings who had an acknowledged motive to color it." (Bellamy, 2007: 119)

In spite of his failure and disillusionment, Bellamy had another motivation to study law. His studies were a chance to observe and understand the nature of constitutional debates. Besides, this field gave him the ability to think more logically and most important of all thanks to studying law, he acquired the necessary skills and

knowledge to find out how the government functioned. The laws were the basic element in a democracy and in a world, so it was crucial to learn this system in order to understand how the people were governed and design a new system for those people. After he gave up being a lawyer, it was not difficult for an educated man like him to find a job as a journalist. In this way he was free to express his views, criticize the implementations of local or federal authorities. Furthermore, he kept his interest in literature while he was working for local newspapers such as “New York Evening Post” or “Springfield Union” by writing reviews of many different books. In addition to these, he learned how to write his opinions in an organized way and he practiced to write on specific issues. Therefore, it can be said that his careers as both a lawyer and a journalist helped him to be a writer in the future.

In short, Edward Bellamy had accumulated a great bulk of knowledge so as to provide the basic material for the creation of his ideal state and at the same time he had experienced many occasions to shape his approach regarding the problems of his era. His hometown Chicopee showed him a smaller depiction of industrial transformation and his visit to Europe showed him the final effects of industrialism on society. Thanks to his religious background of ancestors, he developed a solid perception about the necessity of ethics in the work life and in the environment in which he lived. His passionate and continuous studies enabled him to understand the essence of economics. Besides, his training in law made him aware of the foundations and functions of the government. During his job as a journalist, he was able to follow the national - international affairs, existing social thought and reform movements of the Gilded Age. The most important factor during his lifetime was his interest in socialism and the social movement that forced him to write down his ideas for a better and new society. Nevertheless, Bellamy always thought that socialism was a concept which was imported from Europe and there were many reasons for the slow development of it in America. That’s why, it was necessary for him to adapt this idea according to the special conditions of the United States.

3.3. THE SOCIALIST UTOPIA: AMERICAN STYLE MARXISM

Throughout the history Utopian novels were frequently produced at the time of great social upheavals. As in the case of America, it was exactly only after the 1880s that utopian literature gained a momentum. New thoughts were flowing in the air as a result of science, technology, positivism and capitalist order. One of the most prominent ideas that a great deal of people contemplated on was socialism. It was true that American people were acquainted with socialist ideas to some extent thanks to the efforts of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. Nevertheless, capitalism of the United States had made progress very quickly and in an unhealthy way. This situation intensified social inconsistencies and demonstrated the contradictions despite the ideals put forward by American Revolution. Even though the efforts to advance socialist thoughts were halted during the American Civil War, the works and ideas of Karl Marx helped to revive and began to dominate the debates on socialism even in America. Many immigrants, especially of German origin, dedicated themselves for this cause and in the process of time they gained new supporters all around the United States. Consequently, the organized movements of farmers, namely Grange movement, and organization of labor became the catalyzer for the development of American socialist utopias. Looking Backward 2000 - 1887 which was written by Edward Bellamy, definitely became the most famous and successful utopian novel of that period. The popularity of the book was backed up by the nationalist movement and it owed its success for clearly expressing the discomfort the groups of American people who argued that their suffering was caused by unbalanced and unmanageable free market system. Naturally, they were desperately searching for different systems in order to control social developments. Eventually, the attempts to create an alternative scheme found its voice in utopian novels, especially of Edward Bellamy.

The basic principles of the book can be described like this. First and the most importantly, it proposed the common ownership of the machines in production. While it was suggesting this idea, it didn't turned its back to technological innovations in industry contrary to the many utopian novels which were published beforehand or published as a response to it. The main goal was to use all those

machinery for the public good instead of making profit on them. In this way, the common ownership of the production could support the needs of every individual in the society easily and sufficiently. What's more, the wide gap between rich and poor would be solved by promoting equal distribution of wealth among the individuals of the society. Since it was the prior condition in the formation of Bellamy's utopia, democracy in economy was given much more importance than democracy in social participation in the administration of the country. Last but not the least; social classes would be torn down as a result of common ownership and equality in incomes. Although this is just a brief description of Looking Backward 2000 – 1887 in a few lines, this summary is valid for Karl Marx's theories on society. In spite of the similarity in theories, Karl Marx became the nightmare for many politicians, members of the bourgeois class. He was chased off almost in every place he had been and because of this he had to lead a life like a refugee in Germany, England and France. On the other hand, Edward Bellamy advocated for almost the same ideas in America; his book was translated into many languages, just like Communist Manifesto, and affected innumerable people both in and out of America. Unlike Marx, he was regarded as a respectable citizen. The American nation, proud of its individualistic tradition, could have found Bellamy's concept of "industrial army" more terrifying than Marx's idea of disappearing functions of the state. Nevertheless, Bellamy was able to attract the attention of various groups of people from colleges to factories. His prescription to restore the nation was quite radical according to the norms of the nineteenth century. Therefore, Bellamy had to make some changes in his seemingly Marxist novel to adapt it into the American setting and context. While he borrowed some fundamental concepts of Marxism, he was able to make Marxist ends and means in harmony with American way of life.

To begin with, Bellamy stands against the concept of socialism in general. In spite of the existence of the Socialist Labor Party which was formed in 1876 and the agitation of many immigrant workers, Bellamy declared in a letter to William Dean Howells "I have never been in any sense a student of socialistic literature, or have known more of the various socialist schemes than any newspaper reader might." (Morgan, 1944: 372). Instead of a welcoming attitude towards socialism, he states the difference between socialism and nationalism, the movement which supported his

ideas, in the following lines. While he was working for the New Nation, he emphasized

In its dictionary sense it stands for any theory which advocates a more orderly, just, and harmonious arrangement of society. In that sense it includes all schools of radical social reformers, and among them nationalists. With that understanding nationalists may be properly called socialists, but not when speaking specifically, for the reason that among the many schools of reform which claim the name of socialists, there are some which differ broadly from nationalists. To use the same term for groups so different in aims only produces confusion. (Ibid 367)

As it can be seen in his own sentences, Bellamy clearly draws a line between socialism in nationalism in theory and definition. In addition to this, he goes on to express his opinions

In the radicalness of the opinions I have expressed I may seem to outsocialize the socialists, yet the word socialist is one I could never well stomach. In the first place it is a foreign word in itself, and equally foreign in all its suggestions. It smells to the average American of petroleum, suggests the red flag and all manner of sexual novelties, and an abusive tone about God and religion, which in this country we at least treat with decent respect. Whatever German and French reformers may choose to call themselves, socialist is not a good name for a party to succeed with in America. No such party can or ought to succeed which is not wholly and enthusiastically American and patriotic in spirit and suggestions. (Ibid 374)

It was obvious that Bellamy absolutely believed that even the word of socialism was unbearable for most of the American citizens. That's why, he never mentioned the word "socialism" throughout his book in order not to draw severe criticisms and in this way he managed to appeal to the interest of average people in the society. It can be argued that Bellamy made a great effort to keep his ideas and the movement of nationalism out of socialist propaganda. The main reason behind this case was that Bellamy was born as an American and so was his family. Consequently, he possessed the mindset of an American, but a great number of Marxist supporters of socialism didn't share this quality and tried to distort it in order to make it suitable for their worldviews and doctrines. On the contrary, Bellamy made some subtle changes on Marxist ideas and reflected them in his novel. Karl Marx addressed to working class people, but Bellamy addressed the middle class people. While Marx argued revolution and class consciousness, Bellamy defended evolution and social

solidarity. Besides, Marx believed the abolishment of religious institutions; Bellamy did not exclude them in his novel.

In the first place, while reading a book that tries to depict a socialist order in the future, the potential reader might anticipate that the main characters of the novel would come from working class. Marxist socialism puts the workers in the centre of its doctrine and it is very natural to expect a character from mining fields or textile factories. Let alone meeting a character from working class, in the entire novel the readers see almost an empty city of Boston in the year 2000. The readers are not introduced to any friends or relatives of Dr. Leete's family. Apart from few workers in the department store, there isn't any other character that has an effect on the book. As a result of this, the readers are left with the main character Julian West and Dr. Leete and his family. Julian West was a man who was about to marry Edith Bartlett. Both his fiancé and he enjoyed the blessings of a good life because they possessed an enormous inherited wealth from their ancestors. What they gained was the loss of poor people. Hence, through the character Julian West, Edward Bellamy appealed to the commonsense of upper class people to give an end to social inequities regarding labor. Julian West explains his situation at the beginning of the book

I myself was rich and also educated, and possessed, therefore, all the elements of happiness enjoyed by the most fortunate in that age. Living in luxury, and occupied only with the pursuit of the pleasures and refinements of life, I derived the means of my support from the labor of others, rendering no sort of service in return. My parents and grandparents had lived in the same way, and I expected that my grand descendants, if I had any, would enjoy a like easy existence.

(Bellamy, 2007: 5)

Julian West who was familiar with the pleasures of life would eventually learn about the peaceful revolution which accumulated all the capital into the hands of government. As the story continues he would find out that the injustice system at which he was on the top was destroyed. During his adventure in the year 2000 Julian West was accompanied by Leete family in general and Dr. Leete the father in the family in particular. In the long conversations and exchanges of the ideas about the new social order, upper class man was guided by a doctor regarded as an occupation belonging to the middle class. It was true that one of the main purposes of the book was to erase social classes, but Bellmay clearly draws a family environment which

the readers of the nineteenth century were accustomed. The father Dr. Leete is responsible for working, the mother Mrs. Leete is responsible for the housework if necessary, and their daughter can enjoy her time by shopping and at the same time tries to decide for her possible future job. Judging by the nineteenth century social norms, the family obviously represents the middle class. Therefore, by using the family members in the novel Bellamy wants to appeal to the society in general because it was the largest segment which many working class people wanted to reach in the society.

While depicting a model family for the future, Bellamy had to be careful about the worries and prejudices of his own era's community. During the Gilded Age, improvements and innovations in industrial production made it possible for masses to purchase different kinds of items at a low price. As a result of this, consumption was engrained into the culture of the nation. Throughout the novel, the readers see their daughter in department stores and warehouses while she is doing shopping. In fact, when Dr. Leete talks about his daughter, he states that she "is an indefatigable shopper" (Ibid 58). Furthermore, Bellamy proposes the use of credit cards in order to facilitate the consumption. Although it is something similar to debit cards that millions of people use today, the author envisioned an extraordinary concept for his time. Dr. Leete explains this item to Julian West

A credit corresponding to his share of the annual product of the nation is given to every citizen on the public books at the beginning of each year, and a credit card issued him with which he procures at the public storehouses, found in every community, whatever he desires whenever he desires it. (Ibid 51)

In this way, Bellamy overcame the prejudices about the ideas that socialism makes people monotypic. While he was suggesting an equal share of the nation's wealth for each individual, he does not set any standard rules for consumption. Therefore, in the new order people are still allowed to represent their own identity. In other words, by allowing consumption, Bellamy tries to tell his readers that public ownership does not include personal possessions like a house, car or dress. There is still enough

space and quality for private life. In order not to disturb many readers, working class people or Marxist teachings about them are hardly ever recognized in the book.

Leveling of society? Common ownership? Dictatorship of the proletariat? Free love? Few of the proletarian attributes of Marx's communism—whether ascribed by boosters or detractors—find lodgement in these benign pages. Not only do the working classes not rule in Looking Backward, they are shunted even further out of the sight of Bellamy's contemporary middle-class reader than their real-life counter-parts of 1888. (Abrash, 1989: 239)

Second of all, the rejection of class-antagonism is as important as focusing on middle class desire about consumption. An obvious example of this rejection is the backgrounds of the main characters in the novel. Julian West is the man who was born into an aristocrat family and Dr. Leete, who represents the ideas of Edward Bellamy, can be considered as belonging to the middle class thanks to his job if he is evaluated according to the conventions of nineteenth century. Before reading a novel whose main theme is the socialist order, a potential reader might anticipate to find characters that work in a mine, field or factory to represent the working class. However, Edward Bellamy uses none of them to demonstrate the feasibility of socialism in America. In addition to this, Bellamy himself was born into a middle class family and during his life time he worked as a lawyer, journalist and writer. Therefore, it can be concluded that he was also a member of the middle class. Evidence about refusing class-antagonism can be found in his structure of “the industrial army”. Once again, before reading the novel, the readers tend to think about the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, a class conflict is avoided because there are not any class attributions within the structure of industrial army. Through the words Dr. Leete, Bellamy points out that “the principle on which our industrial army is organized is that a man’s natural endowments, mental and physical, determine what he can work at most profitably to the nation and most satisfactorily to himself” (Bellamy, 2007: 39). These examples demonstrate that Bellamy was totally conscious of class-hatred which was found in Marxist socialist thinking. He dedicated his life to social and economic equality for his fellowmen. He had great faith in the common interest of citizens that bring them together instead of the problems that put them apart. Defenders of Marxist socialism gave much

importance to class consciousness and class war, even though they think of it as an inevitable clash of forces beyond the control of people in the process of history. Through strikes and agitation, they often attempted to raise this concept in the mind of American citizens. On the other hand, Bellamy was against the idea of class conflict to cause change in the order of society. Let alone helping to transform the society, he thinks that those kinds of people were hindering the growth of socialism. To illustrate, on this issue, Bellamy wrote the following passage

“What part did the followers of the red flag take in the establishment of the new order of things? They were making considerable noise the last I knew.”

“They had nothing to do with it except to hinder it, of course,” replied Dr. Leete. “They did that very effectually while they lasted, for their talk so disgusted people as to deprive the best considered projects for social reform of a hearing.” (Ibid 148)

Last but not least, Edward Bellamy was also at odds with the Marxist socialist regarding the perception of religion. In Europe, Marx and his followers experienced the oppressing forces of church which also manipulated the governments and politics. Because of this, he felt an intense bitterness against the church as an institution. In fact, his hatred and opposition to the practices of church culminated in his famous sentence “religion is the opium of the people”. However, it was obvious that Bellamy could not embrace the hostile approach of Marxism towards religion because of his antecedents who were well-known preachers in his neighborhood. In addition to this, the relation between religion and society was much more different in America than in Europe. At early colonial times, the main purpose of the churches, mainly formed by Puritans, was to remind the people the other world. With the exception of this function, churches were not only a place of worshipping but also it was an important place for social gatherings. This aspect was worth emphasizing because during the early years of the American nation, the population was largely rural. The churches created unwritten ethic codes to create order within the societies thanks to the solidarity of its members. American churches were supported by their own congregations, so they did not possess rich economic resources. As a result of its foundation and financial support by the people, American churches can be said to be more democratic. On the other hand, in Europe the church was the “ideological

apparatus” of the state and financed by the state. Inevitably, it interfered with social, political and economic affairs of the state and slowly weakened the democracy. Although Marx was right in his criticism of religion to some extent, it was unacceptable for many Americans. One of their motivations to come to the new world was to worship however they wanted. Considering all these factors about the religion in America, it was natural that Bellamy did not accept the religion as a corrupt element in the society. To illustrate, he frankly expressed his anticipation like a prophet for the future of his nation in his post-script to the novel. He states that “Looking Backward was written in the belief that the Golden Age lies before us and not behind us, and is not far away. Our children will surely see it, and we, too, who are already men and women, if we deserve it by our faith and by our works” (Ibid 197). Furthermore, Bellamy creates a sermon of a preacher called Mr. Barton in order to emphasize the moral difference between the nineteenth century and twentieth century of his utopia. He devoted a lengthy chapter on Mr. Barton’s sermon and in this way he managed to include religion as a proof of the validity of his social scheme. At the end of his sermon, Mr. Barton concludes

The betterment of mankind from generation to generation, physically, mentally, morally, is recognized as the one great object supremely worthy of effort and of sacrifice. We believe the race for the first time to have entered on the realization of God’s ideal of it, and each generation must now be a step upward ... With a tear for the dark past, turn we then to the dazzling future, and veiling our eyes, press forward. The long and weary winter of race is ended. Its summer has begun. Humanity has burst the chrysalis. The heavens are before it. (Ibid 171)

To conclude, Karl Marx and his scientific socialism were on the rise in Europe as a reaction to the evils of capitalist social order and it was beginning to emerge in America at the turn of the century. However, Edward Bellamy sensed that Marxist doctrine was not suitable for special American conditions. Therefore, he made some changes on concepts such as revolution, class antagonism, and religion and adapted it to the New World. However, he had to redefine the characteristics of American nation by subverting notions of individualism and competition in order to create the values of his utopia.

3.4. FORMING THE VALUES OF THE UTOPIA

Looking Backward 2000 – 1887 tells the story of Julian West, a wealthy man who was living in Boston. He suffers from sleep problems and to overcome this hardship he gets into sleep by hypnosis. However, he opens his eyes in the year of 2000. He was accompanied by Dr. Leete and his daughter Edith Leete after he discovered where he was. It was a new Boston in a new America under a different social order. One of the most shocking experiences for him was to see the replacement of co-operation for competition. Co-operation was the social norm in the new social structure and he witnessed many different things both in people's behavior and in their social habitat. What astonished him the most was that he found out the new conditions in the society had gradually developed out of capitalism. During the Gilded age he knew the fact that the means of production in industry, the distribution of the goods and consequently the wealth of the country were in the hands of a few rich businessmen. In relation to this, the rest of the society was also at the mercy of those elites. Because of this, the state took over every industrial establishment and unified them under one great national trust for the advantage of not only a few rich people but for the whole people in the country. Capitalism always tended to increase the concentration of wealth in the hands of few and caused monopoly in the market, yet this characteristic of it caused its downfall at the same time.

Eventually, the state became in charge of production and distribution of the goods. The workers who were the backbones of almost all this process became the participants of the "industrial army". It was mandatory for almost every person except for the ones who wanted to pursue a career in fine arts and academia. It required the service of his members between the ages of 21 and 45. The organization was the fundamental element in the economic life of the utopia and it consisted of numerous professions, jobs and trades. All the people in the nation were given permission to perform the best task suitable for their natural abilities. At the same time, they were given the chance to satisfy their personal ambitions. In this way, the industrial army could get the best out of the citizens. Whether the job was a menial one or required excessive use of muscles, every worker got equal share in return of

his/her service to the community because prestige, honor and praise for a well done job replaced the money as the basic incentives for work. In the retirement period, people found sufficient chances to devote themselves to the things they liked.

Even though the depiction of the new order in the year 2000 possibly seems like totalitarian for most of the readers, the role of the government was decreased as low as possible. The spirit of reformism and perfectionism can be found in the political institutions throughout the nation. Authorities and responsibilities of the government existed within the hands of the workers. In order to take part in the government, workers were required to finish their service in the industrial army. The president of the United States was chosen among those workers. Although the national congress still existed in the utopia, it remained as a symbolic one whose functions became largely superficial. As a result of mutual understanding and cooperation, there was not any necessity to make new legislations. The efficiency and perfectionism was not only limited within national borders but also it was reflected in international affairs. The great powers of Europe weren't regarded as rivals. Instead of this, all the nations declared war against malfunctions of the capitalist order. Therefore, the problems of food, shelter and security didn't exist in 2000. An international council was responsible for supervising economic and trade relations among the countries that had already completed their industrialization. Besides, the harmony within and between the countries resulted in abolishing emigration and immigration.

At the end of the novel, the author shows the readers the final results in every field of human activity. In his depiction, there was an unbound enjoyment of life, progress in intellectual habits and also reconciliation of technology and nature. As he pointed out in his post-script to the novel the people would live in "Golden Age" with freedom, in abundance and peace. After the long years of burden in capitalist order, people would eventually come to social and economical maturity at the turn of the twenty first century.

Although the novel contains many more details about the creation of the new order, this can be the short summary of Edward Bellamy's vision for the future of America. He was fully aware of the prevailing social conditions and for an idealist man like him; they were far away from what he expected for his nation. His

expectations about the society were reflected in his work which made the society a better place to live in. He made careful observation and knew the critical faults of the economic and social life and tried to fix the problems. In order to be particularly pleasing to his readers, Edward Bellamy pointed out the new shared ideals at the dawn of a new century for humanity. Northrop Frye explains this kind of idealism as

Something which existing society has lost, forfeited, rejected, or violated, and which the utopia itself is to restore. The ideal or desirable quality in the utopia has to be recognized, that is, seen as manifesting something that the reader can understand as a latent or potential element in his own society and his own thinking. (Frye, 1980: 123)

Consequently, Frye's argument gives us a better understanding that in spite of being in conflict with the realities of the community, the utopia of Bellamy attempts to create a general agreement with the reader based on shared values and ideals. The blueprint for his nation involves and upholds cooperation and community as the shared values and ideals while excluding individualism and competition. He subverted the social ideals which were followed by many Americans of his time. Most of the people were in search of an opportunity to make the American Dream come true. However, he proposed new ideals and shared values contrary to which American Dream contained and reinterpreted the American Dream from a socialist point of view. To put it another way, "a new social contract is being drafted even as the old one is being torn up." (Bossert, 1988: 37).

3.4.1. Community Against Individual

Since the foundation of the America as a political entity, the nation has always highlighted the importance of individualism. American citizens were subject to kings and queens in Europe, yet they found their own identity and formed an American character by time. This feature of individualism also became one of the crucial parts of the shared ideals in American Dream myth. American Dream discourse portrayed the nation as a country with limitless chances where anybody with courage and strong will could enjoy a better life. The setting contained many opportunities as well as challenges. The setting also includes values of progress, universality, comprehensiveness and authorization. Eventually, these values within

the setting determine the actors pursuing the American Dream. However, the actors didn't have to be strong and assertive characters. They were common people who shared the same personal ideals and values together with other American citizens and their participation in this framework made them strong and great. That is to say, American Dream is the story of ordinary people whose superiority weren't reflected through extra-ordinary actions, but their adherence to shared personal values.

In its essence, American Dream suggested the idea that American society was on a continuous progressive journey to ameliorate the living conditions because there were sufficient resources to lead a better life and leave it as a heritage for the next generations. To illustrate, John Robert Mullin quotes from Bellamy to demonstrate that Bellamy remembered his birthplace Chicopee Falls as a place “where there were no rich and very few poor, and everybody who was willing to work was sure of a fair living.” (Mullin, 2003: 145). However, when the nation reached to the west coast and the closing of the frontier was officially declared, the features of the American Dream turned from available rich sources to opportunities pursued by ordinary people. In this way the emphasis shifted from geographical factors to individualism. As a result of this change in the nature of American Dream and emerging forces of industry, commerce and urbanization in the late 1890s, it possessed materialistic elements more than ever before. Walter Fisher explains the materialistic side of the American Dream myth and says that it “is grounded on the Puritan work ethic and relates to the values of effort, persistence, “playing the game”, initiative, self-reliance, achievement and success.” (Fisher, 1973: 161). For example, Horatio Alger and his stories can be shown as the most influential example of this approach about American Dream. Even though his stories had a great impact upon the social consciousness, the growth of capitalism had already begun to show its inconsistent nature. The rise of industrialism led the way for selfish individualism which was denounced by utopian authors like Edward Bellamy. Although he had recalled his birthplace as an idyllic one, he also observed that the new conditions of society and so called individualism caused people to starve and be deprived of an honorable life. In these circumstances, the meaning of “individualism” became almost synonym with “cruel utilization of each other”. Bellamy condemns this kind of individualism in Equality and states that “it was in the name of individual liberty, industrial

freedom, and individual initiative that the economic government of the country was surrendered to the capitalist.”(Bellamy, 1897: 9). Therefore, it can be said that the belief in progress which would happen through powerful perception of individualism and materialism was a misleading argument. That’s why Walter Fisher makes another point about American Dream myth and claims that it has also a moralistic side. According to Fisher, the moralistic aspect “involves the values of tolerance, charity, compassion, and true regard for the dignity and worth of each and every individual.” (Fisher, 1973: 161).

Adherence to the values in the nature of American Dream would help the individual/community to be successful in their journey to live in a better world. On one side there were people with strong personal values such as decisiveness and hard work. On the other hand, there were shared social values such as independence, peace and being a model for others namely “a city upon a hill”. In these two approaches, the individual values (materialistic) prevailed at the turn of the nineteenth century. However, it is clearly obvious that Bellamy relied on the moralistic aspect of the American Dream throughout his novel. The key for the achievement of goals in Looking Backward lies in the imagined society’s values. Common sense, collectivism and the spirit of solidarity or in other words the brotherhood would win through the difficulties of the times. These emphasized values are certainly the message of Looking Backward. In the continuing dialogue between the main characters Julian West and Dr. Leete, it is revealed that universal brotherhood concept has become a fact. When they are contemplating on the 19th century common sense and interdependence, Julian West talks “there is a sense, no doubt, in which all men are brothers; but this general sort of brotherhood is not to be compared, except for rhetorical purposes, to the brotherhood of blood, either as to its sentiment or its obligations” (Bellamy, 2007: 78). In return, Dr. Leete quickly warns his friend for his artificial opinions:

If I were to give you, in one sentence, a key to what may seem the mysteries of our civilization as compared with that of your age, I should say that it is the fact that the solidarity of the race and the brotherhood of man, which to you were but fine phrases, are, to our thinking and feeling, ties as real and as vital as physical fraternity. (Ibid 78)

In the capitalist order, the people who couldn't catch up with the pace or couldn't keep up with the rules of the game were regarded as the outcast. They were pushed out of the circle and as a requirement of the survival of the fittest they were left behind. Every individual had to take care of himself/herself. On the contrary, Edward Bellamy thought that the unity in a society had to be established. If they chose to be on their own, they would fall. Instead of this, the people in his utopia chose to be together to stand straight. This case was reflected in the novel by the inclusiveness of every member in the work force. Like his counterparts, Bellamy would have chosen to disregard them and continue the tradition of charity to relieve himself and his readers. However, they were integrated to the society by creating "a sort of invalid corps, the members of which are provided with a light class of tasks fitted to their strength. All our sick in mind and body, all our deaf and dumb, and lame and blind and crippled and even our insane belong to this invalid corps and bear its insignia." (Ibid 76).

In addition to this, the incomes of all citizens, whether they were capable of work or a member of invalid corps, didn't change. After being convinced by Dr. Leete about the necessity of this situation Julian West says "I am to understand, then, that the lame, the blind, the sick, and the impotent, are as well off as the most efficient, and have the same income." (Ibid 78). The equality of incomes can be explained in two ways. In the first place, Edward Bellamy believed that economic democracy was the pre-condition to have a political democracy. This is also the main purpose of Bellamy's social scheme. Howard Quint points out that

If political democracy, only, were to exist, great capitalists could still exercise irresponsible economic power in behalf of their own private interests. Neither individual nor community would be spared by the plutocracy in its drive to control both the economic and political power of the nation. (Quint, 1964: 92)

And quotes from Bellamy to emphasize the case: "the industrial system of a nation, like its political system should be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham." (Ibid 92). Secondly, the equality of incomes resulted in the abolishment of social classes. To illustrate, the author explains that

The equal wealth and equal opportunities of culture which all persons now enjoy have simply made us all members of one class, which

corresponds to the most fortunate class with you. Until this equality of condition had come to pass, the idea of the solidarity of humanity, the brotherhood of all men, could never have become the real conviction and practical principle of action. (Bellamy, 2007: 92)

In the end, when the social classes were destroyed, all people had the opportunity to participate in economic and democratic life of the country. This case erased the importance that is attached to individualism and fostered the feeling of community more. In short, Bellamy changed the crucial concept of individualism to community and in this way he was able to focus on societal responsibility to make the American Dream come true as the first step.

3.4.2. Co-Operation Against Competition

In the capitalist order of the United States, people defended the idea that every man was the architect of his own fate because of too much importance that is placed on individualism. However, individualism was not enough to realize the American Dream. The main reason behind this was that the country received an increasing population of immigrants each year, especially at the end of the nineteenth century. The frontier was a source of attraction for many of them, but its close changed the focus on available opportunities around the country. Most of the opportunities had already been exploited by the Robber Barons. Consequently, the mass of the people had to be in a competition against each other cruelly. The competition was the fundamental requirement of capitalism and the individuals believed that they had to go through it in order to have social mobility and a pleasant life. “Competition was seen as a means of personal fulfillment, a stimulus to character development; and the end product, wealth was only a sign of this greater goal.” (Rooney, 1985: 97). Individualism and competition were closely related to American Dream and capitalist order of the United States. Nevertheless, as the capitalism became more rampant, the individuals became more selfish, finally the competition among the individuals turned out to be more unregulated. At the end of the nineteenth century, Gilded Age, the all these concepts got out of control. As a result of this, people generated a huge sum of waste in almost every field of human activity while they were deluded by the American Dream. The idea and necessity of

competition was criticized both by Edward Bellamy throughout his novel and his supporters. To illustrate, the Boston Nationalist Club, which was founded to promote the ideas of Bellamy, asserted that

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature. The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning. Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached; the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized. No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore, those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition, and put in its place another founded on the nobler principle of association. The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of wage slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

(Bliss, 1897 : 918)

Their declaration of organization against competition was the natural reaction after they adopted Bellamy's opinions. Looking Backward possessed much deeper criticisms. According to Bellamy, there were many kinds of waste in every day life. He believed that it was also the main reason of unhappiness among people at that time because the existing system failed in creating an orderly and efficient method so as to improve and benefit from the natural aptitudes of men for their working life and their intellect as well. This aspect was just the human cost of excessive waste in rampant capitalism. As we learn more about the year 2000 in the utopia, thanks to Bellamy, the readers comprehend that squandering of resources by competition had also consequences for the whole society. Although it would take hundreds of pages to tell and contemplate about its results, Bellamy makes almost a summary of them in four major points, he says that

The wastes [...] were mainly four: first, the waste by mistaken undertakings; second, the waste from the competition and mutual hostility of those engaged in industry; third, the waste by periodical gluts and crises, with the consequent interruptions of industry; fourth, the waste from idle capital and labor, at all times. Any one of these four great leaks, were all the others stopped, would suffice to make the difference between wealth and poverty on the part of a nation.

(Bellamy, 2007: 135)

Consequently, there had to be an end or at least there should be a way to prevent the misuse of all human resources and energy wasted by pure competition. As noted in the first chapter, America was a land of abundance, so the main point should be the equal and efficient use of them. The value of equality dates back to the ideals in the foundation of the United States and justified by the lines of the Declaration of Independence “All men are created equal.” All the citizens were equal because it was significant for them to have the “right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness”. Efficiency was also stressed throughout the novel while depicting the values of the utopia in the year 2000. The most important factor to have efficiency was to uphold cooperation instead of competition. It was possible to raise the productivity and efficiency of individuals by transforming them into mutually helpful groups. To achieve this, Bellamy rejects the political actors that decide the amount of production for the goods to be consumed in the society. Instead of this, he proposed a carefully planned economy based on statistics and the economy was conducted by a board of workers in the Industrial Army. On the other hand, Bellamy didn't reject the technology and its usage in mass production in factories. Actually, his main concern was to remind the readers the social and moral purpose that the improving technology must serve. It must serve to the necessities of people, and people must serve to the nation, not for their private gain. About the importance of cooperation Dr. Leete answers the question of Julian West and points out that

Misery came, with all your other miseries, from that incapacity for cooperation which followed from the individualism on which your social system was founded, from your inability to perceive that you could make ten times more profit out of your fellow men by uniting with them than by contending with them. The wonder is, not that you did not live more comfortably, but that you were able to live together at all, who were all confessedly bent on making one another your servants, and securing possession of one another's goods. (Ibid 71)

Consequently, the society which was out of control owing to competitive, selfish private enterprise could be substituted with an efficient and organized one. It can be assumed that these new ideals were unattractive for most of the people who believed for every person's desire to accumulate wealth. However, Bellamy abided by the idea that it wouldn't be difficult for many workers to accept this idea when they

understood they had the right to an equal portion of income just like any other citizen. The benevolent government would ensure to keep this system going and solidarity among the people supported the stability of the small government. Namely, the positive side of the human character that was crushed by the individualistic and competitive order would have the chance to improve in a new environment.

To summarize, Edward Bellamy overthrew the shared ideals and values of the society in order to redefine the American Dream in his utopia. From a socialist point of view, the dream was constituted by giving importance to the moralistic aspects such as community and cooperation instead of individualism and competition. Bellamy relied on the ideals of the founding fathers and drew the scheme necessary to remove the wide gap between the idealism envisioned at the time of foundation of the country and the realism existing during the Gilded Age. Furthermore, the reversal of the social values was necessary to suggest solutions to the country's constant problems such as wealth, labor and education. Without the formation of new social values and ideals, it would be almost in vain to make some prescription. Consequently, the new social values have enormous importance in that they were prerequisite to make the explanation for the common problems of the nation.

3.5. EXPLANATIONS PRESENTED FOR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

Edward Bellamy demonstrated his disillusionment about the existing conditions in the society in a logical way in his utopia. There were numerous problems in almost every aspect of the economy, politics, and social structure. As a remedy for them, he created an order in which every citizen benefitted from the expediency of cooperation. He changed the materialistic perception of community with moralistic ones in order to solve the widespread problems. In the Gilded Age, the most significant problem was thought to be the widening gap between rich and poor, namely wealth, by many social reformers including Bellamy. The desires for private profit, the spirit of greed in the emerging industries were regarded as conditions sine qua non. However, those conditions had stretched out to other aspects of the society and deteriorated them. The problems were actually causing a social anarchy and they had to be confronted in a utopian scheme. Contrary to the

revolution and aggression supporters, Edward Bellamy definitely rejected violence as a way to transform the society. To overthrow the old social order completely would also cause to miss its blessings, too. Although agriculture and farm life came to a stop due to the closure of the frontier, it still represented a healthful living. The mass migration to cities and consequent dirtiness of the city repelled many people, but they couldn't think of a life without the sociability of the growing cities. On the other hand, dishonesty of statesmen and corruption in their affairs with social and economic life made the sensible people abhor them. Nevertheless, it was not possible to abolish the concept of government, so shrinking the government by certain checks was the other option. Even though the competitive system of capitalism and its social consequences were denounced, the increase in the production along with the high potential of efficiency with reorganizing was an undeniable fact. As these brief examples suggest, the main purpose was to make the existing social fabric much better instead of destroying it. Therefore, aspects of social life such as wealth, labor and education were analyzed carefully and Bellamy tried to keep the good sides and excluded the bad sides. According to him, the bad sides were unsuitable and unacceptable for the well being of his fellowmen. When those bad aspects were extracted from the society, the remaining good aspects formed the utopia in the year 2000.

3.5.1 Wealth

What bothers the social reformers and especially Edward Bellamy the most during the Gilded Age was the inequality in the distribution of wealth. It couldn't be denied that wealth, at least to some extent, was necessary so as to lead a decent life. Bellamy had a firm belief in the idea of equality and continuous progress leading to evolution. As for evolution and wealth, it was generally claimed that many Americans had much better living conditions than their antecedents. This argument was true thanks to the blessings of industrial innovations. However, it was not right to judge the living standards of the American citizens by comparing them to two or three generations before their era. Therefore, this argument should also be completed by comparing the life standards of the citizens in the same era. When the matter was

approached in this way, it was not difficult to see that many people were striving just to have bread to live by. In the scenery of capitalism there were Robber Barons on one side, and there were numerous working people, including children, whose labor force was exploited. The situation was a complicated one and understanding the reasons and consequences of this might take quite a long time for an average man. Nevertheless, Bellamy depicts the case by “the parable of the coach” to state the problem

I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hunger, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers who never got down, even at the steepest ascents. These seats on top were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy the scenery at their leisure [...] the desperate straining of the team, their agonized leaping and plunging under the pitiless lashing of hunger, the many who fainted at the rope and were trampled in the mire, made a very distressing spectacle [...] At such times the passengers would call down encouragingly to the toilers of the rope, exhorting them to patience, and holding out hopes of possible compensation in another world for the hardness of their lot. (Bellamy, 2007: 6-7)

Bellamy’s depiction of the society clearly contradicted the belief that Americans were improving. The Gilded Age was also a turbulent time in terms of economy and financial crisis. They resulted in workingmen’s strikes and proved there wasn’t an improvement on the whole. The society was divided as “the haves” and “have nots”. Despite being very small, the wealthy class obtained the control of both economy and government. Thus, the long praised democratic tradition of America faced the selfishness and greediness of the plutocracy. They derived their main power through forming monopolies, which used the workers’ great effort to the every possible advantage, in the emerging industries. Eventually, as Karl Marx claimed, it was a problem of social order, “there must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increases its wealth without diminishing its misery.” (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/09/16.htm>). Therefore, the main solution to the inequality of wealth proposed by Bellamy was to eliminate the existence of monopolies for private profit.

In the historical process, the working conditions in America started with cultivating the land and raising animals in the farms. As a result of close interactions with Europe, craftsmen began to appear on the frontier line. When the people settled the land, small merchants and enterprises occurred throughout the nation. The birth of factory was just the first step in the rising industrialism and with the help of capitalist order the industries came together to form trusts, monopolies to make more profit. During all these phases the main purpose was to gain private profit. Bellamy imagined that the next step would be the unification of the trusts into what he called “the great trust”. This great trust was different from the other trusts of the robber barons in that it was acting on behalf of the whole society.

The nation, that is to say, organized as the one great business corporation in which all other corporations were absorbed; it became the one capitalist in the place of all other capitalists, the sole employer, the final monopoly in which all previous and lesser monopolies were swallowed up, a monopoly in the profits and economies of which all citizens shared. The epoch of trusts had ended in The Great Trust. (Bellamy, 2007: 33)

The idea of centralization could be terrifying for most of the Americans at that time because they were against the central and absolute powers of kings and queens in the old world. Laurence Gronlund, who affected the thoughts of Bellamy profoundly, argues in his book The Co-operative Commonwealth that centralization was indispensable in human life and states that

There are people who pronounce that word with unaffected horror, as if it signified something exceedingly execrable. And yet every healthy man is an instance of the most perfect centralization in his own person. Indeed, the moment that perfect centralization ceases, suffering is the result. And as with the human organism, so with the social organism. Division of Labor demands centralization, or anarchy is the result. (Gronlund, 1896: 124-125)

Contrary to the worries of American people, the great trust in Looking Backward was characterized by its benevolence and prepares the nation for their golden age. The functions and responsibilities of the trusts in the nineteenth century America were turned over to the nation in the twentieth century as the necessary logic of evolution. Thus, Bellamy accepts the mass production capability of capitalist industries in Looking Backward. If it had been organized, conducted carefully and scientifically, the trusts could have been the best means of producing wealth for the

growth of the general social welfare. Once the complete well-being and prosperity was sustained, it was also possible to realize the ideals of the founding fathers about individual liberty and equality. The new social order would be the one that secure these ideals. In the realm of the Gilded Age, strikes and economic depressions did not provide enough motivation and awareness to transform the society for a better one. Hence, the solution of Bellamy to transform the society included both the increasing man power and emerging corporate capitalism. The solution was the mixture of the both elements because Bellamy came to the conclusion that strikes and the struggles of the working class were in vain. It was a waste of time, an obstacle for both sides because “neither masters nor workmen would concede the point at issue without a long struggle.” (Bellamy, 2007: 15). There had to be a compromise between the two sides, so Bellamy assumed that all the people, including the workers, accepted “the tendency toward monopolies, which had been so desperately and vainly resisted, was recognized at last, in its true significance, as a process which only needed to complete its logical evolution to open a golden future to humanity.” (Ibid 33). By this way, the nation became the sole capitalist. It meant that the nation also became the only responsible force of employing the people. Consequently, it resulted in eliminating the competition, exploitation of individuals and inequality in the share of the nation’s wealth.

3.5.2 Labor

The ideas about dealing with the problem of wealth would be incomplete without the discussion of labor. Labor was important in that it was the key factor in creating the wealth. Edward Bellamy had a firm belief for the necessity and value of labor, namely work. Similar to him, many people of his era thought that purposes in life could be realized and obstacles could be overcome by only striving. Nevertheless, Bellamy and many social reformers didn’t have to contemplate too much so as to come to the conclusion that there were a great number of people who worked hard for long hours just to make ends meet. As noted in the first chapter of this thesis, America was a land of abundance, so this contradiction between the

possessors of wealth and toilers caused Bellamy to address this problem in his utopia. In the post-script to the novel, he notes

Not only are the toilers of the world engaged in something like a worldwide insurrection, but true and humane men and women, of every degree, are in a mood of exasperation, verging on absolute revolt, against social conditions that reduce life to a brutal struggle for existence, mock every dictate of ethics and religion.(Bellamy, 2007: 196)

The reason of both Bellamy's and workers' protest was the absence of the leisure time owing to the long times spent while laboring. After a long day's toil, people would come home in a gloomy mood and this vicious circle could be broken by only death for many of them. The rest of them developed a tendency to commit crime, they became addicted to alcoholism. People used to believe that the reason of their inability to succeed was the weak personal character. On the other hand, Bellamy believed this chain of problems were mainly caused by bad working conditions and long hours of work. Consequently, in a land of abundance and with the right to pursue happiness, the meaning of existence should have been something more than just working to survive. About the relationship between labor and leisure, Charles J. Rooney points out that

Not only must a man survive, but the more important work of developing his "higher faculties" and his total needs as a human being could not be ignored. Failures in this regard robbed men of their dignity and self-respect; and if a man could not respect himself, he could not be counted on to respect others. (Rooney, 1985: 54)

To relieve the protest of the workingmen, government was the first option. However, they acted to protect the interests of the businessmen in times of strikes. Besides, they were not interested in the problems that people suffered with the exception of election times. The second option to alleviate the workers' protest was the philanthropy of the elite class. To some extent it was possible as in the cases of Rockefeller and Carnegie, but in reality their actions didn't help to solve the problem. It was just a temporary step and what the laborers wanted was the real change to aid them to have an equal opportunity in life. Therefore, Bellamy made the necessary adjustments to help the laborers to have a better life in his utopia.

The necessity of work ethic was highlighted in the Biblical passage “in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread” (King James Bible, Genesis, 3:19). Bellamy also believed in the value of work and claimed “the labor of men was the fertilizing stream which alone rendered earth habitable” (Bellamy, 2007: 192). Thus, he devised a scheme to eliminate the problems of the labor. In the first place, he wanted to eliminate the occupations that he regarded as unnecessary of his era such as small shopkeepers, retailers, commission merchants and clerks. In general they didn’t create a surplus value and also benefitted from the heavy labor of others. In this way, they were regarded as mere parasites in the system. Bellamy observed this fact, and explained it in his novel

By our system, the manufacturer sold to the wholesaler, the wholesaler to the retailer, and the retailer to the consumer, and the goods had to be handled each time. You avoid one handling of the goods, and eliminate the retailer altogether, with his big profit and the army of clerks it goes to support. (Ibid 62)

By eliminating them and forming them under one giant corporation for the service to the nation the problem could be solved in an efficient way. For example, instead of having many stores in a small place, all available items of consumption were offered in “sample stores”. There would be few laborers in those stores and they would be much different than the clerks of the nineteenth century who were usually working for long hours. They would be as respectable as the other citizens and they would enjoy a plenty of time for their leisure activities. In addition to middle class parasites, the wealthy class was also a problem for the labor issue. Most of them didn’t have to work for a living because they generally inherited wealth from their ancestors. They were the ones who contributed to the working force the least, but made use of the blessings of the life the most. This social class is represented by the main character Julian West in the novel. He described himself earnestly, after the long conversations to understand the new system and he says “Perhaps you imagine I have some trade, or art, or special skill. I assure you I have none whatever. I never earned a dollar in my life, or did an hour’s work.” (Ibid 104). However, he questioned himself and concluded that “if I am to be a permanent citizen of this century I must have some standing in it.” Thoroughly affected by his new surrounding, Julian West wanted to join the workforce of the nation because he realized that it was time to contribute to

the overall wealth of the nation. Considering his extra-ordinary condition, the most suitable occupation for him was to be a history lecturer in one of the colleges. Through this example, Bellamy tried to reach out the upper class individuals and called them to participate in the working because he conceived work as a significant way to fulfill the obligation to society.

According to Bellamy, another solution to the problem of labor could be found by arranging working hours. As it was well known, many laborers toiled in factories long hours even without seeing the sunshine. Whereas, the upper class enjoyed their life while others worked for them. A striking example to this case is depicted by Howard Zinn, he points out the daily life of a working woman called

Catharine Beecher, a woman reformer of the time, wrote about the factory system: I was awakened at five, by the bells calling to labor. The time allowed for dressing and breakfast was so short, as many told me that both were performed hurriedly, and then the work at the mill was begun by lamplight, and prosecuted without remission till twelve, and chiefly in a standing position. Then half an hour only allowed for dinner, from which the time for going and returning was deducted. Then back to the mills, to work till seven o'clock. (105)

And then gives us another example to understand the sharp contrast by pointing out the daily life of another woman whose name was

Frances Trollope, an Englishwoman, in her book Domestic Manners of the Americans, wrote; she rises, and her first hour is spent in the scrupulously nice arrangement of her dress [...] her breakfast is brought in by her free black footman [...] her carriage is ordered at eleven; till that hour she is employed in the pastry room, her snow-white apron protecting her mouse-colored silk [...] then walks downstairs, just at the moment that her free black coachman announces to her free black footman that the carriage waits. She steps into it, and gives the word: "Drive to the Dorcas Society." (106)

In order to solve this inequality of labor and leisure, Bellamy entrusts the administration. Now that, all the citizens worked for the benefit of the nation not for private profit under the same roof of the Great Trust, the only thing left to make the different occupations seem attractive was to rearrange the working hours. Contrary to the popular opinion which defended the eight hours of work for every occupation, Bellamy's scheme showed flexibility among different kinds of jobs.

This is done by making the hours of labor in different trades to differ according to their arduousness. The lighter trades, prosecuted under the

most agreeable circumstances, have in this way the longest hours, while an arduous trade, such as mining, has very short hours. The principle is that no man's work ought to be, on the whole, harder for him than any other man's for him, the workers themselves to be the judges.
(Bellamy, 2007: 40)

Consequently, the workers in his utopia were able to get rid of the wretchedness after a long day's work. However, it was not enough to give freedom to pursue their personal satisfactions in their life. That's why, Bellamy limited the working period for each person at the age of forty five in his novel. At the end of the nineteenth century, many laborers could only find retirement in their graves. When it is compared to our standards of retirement age which is around sixty and sixty-five, its importance can be understood more clearly. After long years of labor, the service to the nation, Bellamy draws a line and saves the rest of life for leisure such as "higher exercise of faculties, the intellectual and spiritual enjoyments and pursuits which alone mean life." (Ibid 115). Thus, Bellamy explains that leisure is something much more different than laziness. The age of forty-five may seem illogical for people because it is usually regarded as the prime and experienced years in a person's work life. However, Bellamy believed that the pursuit of personal tastes and happiness were as important as working because they were the real meaning of individual's existence. He concludes that "if bread is the first necessity of life, recreation is a close second, and the nation caters for both." (Ibid 116). Consequently, the work ethic, the time of work in a day and in a lifetime were the key points in removing the problem of labor in the Gilded Age of America.

3.5.3 Education

Last but not the least; education was the permanent problem which had great effects on the growth of an individual, his/her relation to society and the overall civilization of the country. Because of the sharp differences in economic status, education, especially high education, was only available for the upper class. Whereas, even the basic education was in the second place for many workers' children as they had to work and contribute to the budget of their families.

Inevitably, this situation led to the growing numbers in child labor. In an article published in Atlantic Monthly, the case was proved by statistics.

Systematic investigation has shown that of the 13,000 children employed in various factories throughout the State in 1878 only 4575 received the legal amount of schooling; and that among the 282,485 children in Massachusetts between the ages of five and fifteen there are no less than 25,000 children who never have been present in either our public or private schools. (Brown, 1880: 788)

Industry, commercialism and the greedy bosses overcame righteousness and morality. In an important period of their lifetime when they needed help of others, care of family and most important of all in a time when they formed their personality, most of them had no choice but work. Ironically, they didn't get their share in return despite all these difficulties. Once again, Emma Brown draws attention to this aspect and notes "when an organic law of production is violated, as in the case of Massachusetts, where children between the ages of ten and fifteen constitute forty-four percent of the whole number of working people and yet produce but twenty four percent of the income." (Ibid 790). The government was in charge of providing necessary education for the children and youth, but it clearly failed in its objective. All that could be done was to give a minimum education, which meant the students were able to learn how to read and write, as an act of charity. Nevertheless, the main purpose behind this kind of education was not raising their knowledge or culture. It was just enough for them to read their Bible or to vote in times elections. Higher education was still beyond reach for many students. As a result of this kind of education, the ignorance of the lower classes remained permanent. Most of the working parents had no education at all and their children, who were to become parents in the future, could barely read and write, so the ignorance also became hereditary not to spoil the established order of capitalist society. Even for the ones who had the opportunity to have education, it was the means to be successful in life in general, or to get the best of others in the crazy race for the blessings of the world in particular.

In order to restore the dignity of men and teach them their real value and nature, education was necessary. The good and the bad characteristics are inherent in the human nature, so the lack of education could lead to emergence of man's dark

side and also it could hinder the improvement of his higher nature. In addition to this, education was the key factor in the evolution of society to achieve the cooperative commonwealth. If the masses, especially working class, had been educated, there wouldn't have been any hindrance on the road to equality. Nevertheless, a thorough education was not available for every individual of the society, and as a result of this the lower class had no idea about their rights as citizens. Edward Bellamy was well aware of this situation and believed that his adjustments on education would have a significant role in his utopia.

On the surface, contrary to the nineteenth century education system, Bellamy made it, specifically higher education, accessible to every citizen. This was the main difference and one of the most important changes because Dr. Leete emphasized its significance to his guest frankly; he said “we gained nothing worth speaking of, in equalizing the physical comfort of men, without this educational equality.” (Bellamy, 2007: 128). The guarantee of education for every member also abolished the implementation of minimum education. From early childhood at the age of six to young adulthood at the age of twenty-one, education whose aim was the possible mental and physical development of students became compulsory for everybody in the utopia. As a consequence of this change, the youth had the opportunity to receive the education that made him a gentleman. Once this system was established, it would eventually prevent the passing of ignorance and illiteracy of one generation to the next generation. As it can be seen, the effects of education were not limited only to the mental growth of an individual. Bellamy explains this aspect of education shortly

there are three main grounds on which educational system rests: first, the right of every man to the completest education the nation can give him on his own account, as necessary to his enjoyment of himself; second, the right of his fellow citizens to have him educated, as necessary to their enjoyment of his society; third, the right of the unborn to be guaranteed an intelligent and refined parentage. (Ibid 131)

Another critical problem to be overcome in education was the great difference between idealism and realism. During their education, the morals and virtues were taught as much as possible to the students. However, the harsh circumstances of the streets and business world contradicted the teachings of the schools in the nineteenth century. It is hard to disagree with Paul Devinne's statement of the problem. In his book Day of Prosperity he points out that

At school, view of the outside world was rosy-hued, and the future was a dream. The good people of the outside world, he thought, would certainly help him. But on his entrance into this outer world, he began to realize that, instead of having to deal with helpful, kind-hearted people, he had to face, for the most part, a set of selfish and uncharitable enemies. His self-reliance, his faith, his religions-all shattered and wrecked, he wandered through the world a prey to disaster. (Devinne, 1971: 172)

In order to solve this problem, the education system in Bellamy's utopia requires a close inspection of industrial trades. The main purpose was to save children from being bread winners, but at the same time he wanted to introduce the particular trades to students so that they could have an idea of what the occupations would be like or what they would enjoy working. To highlight this aspect, he states that "a thorough study of the National industrial system, with the history and rudiments of all the great trades, is an essential part of our educational system [...] our schools are constantly visiting our workshops, and often are taken on long excursions to inspect particular industrial enterprises. (Bellamy, 2007: 39).

In this way the theoretical knowledge which was taught at schools would be more valuable when they were supported with practical and real experiences. In short, the objectives of education to be reached are quite different in *Looking Backward* than nineteenth century. Unlike his era, the utopia doesn't prepare the students for a brutal competition in the battle of life. It aims to find out the natural aptitudes in men and brings them up in harmony with their fellow citizens. As a matter of fact, "the power and privilege to acquire and utilize knowledge were the most precious boon that had been bestowed upon man" (Van Deusen, 1885: 237) and it found its execution in Looking Backward. Moreover, it must be noted that it was also education that paved the way for the solution of other problems such as wealth and labor. Raising awareness for the social circumstances and elevating the masses could only be achieved by a complete and radical change in the education system.

To sum up, the disorders in the society and the writers understanding of them shape the framework of every utopian novel, including Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. It would be mostly absurd to create a society that embodies a standard of perfection starting from scratch. Also, it wouldn't be wise to anticipate this kind of utopian scheme to handle the existing problems. Instead of this, the writer starts by

observing the problems and their causes, long before he imagines an order in which those problems are solved. That's why, the readers shouldn't approach it as a miraculous book sent from heaven downward. On the contrary, Bellamy constructed his utopia from actualities of his society. This fact led to the impression for critical readers that his novel didn't cover all the problems in detail because Bellamy organized a social scheme which settled the difficulties prevalent in the real world. The imaginary society in the novel makes the dictating forces and social relations which cause the establishment of a new order vague. The sole explanation was society's recognition and cooperation of the evolutionary progress. This could answer some social questions in detail, but it provides the readers with superficial information on critical subjects. As a result of this, it is very natural to find some inconsistencies appearing throughout the novel when it is examined closely. Bellamy tried to draw attention to the social problems and he endeavored to overcome them in his book. However, his answers for specific questions also created problems which caused the failure of his masterpiece.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD:
FAILURE OF THE SUPPORT AND THE BOOK

4.1 RISE AND FALL OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The importance of Looking Backward was not only limited to the social messages it contained, but also it assisted in evoking concrete images in the thoughts of many people which inspired a social and political movement. It is one of the main functions of utopias that it leads people to gather around specific shared ideals. As Jurgen Habermas argues that “utopia inspired speech, in which concrete goals are conjured up before people’s eyes, are indeed necessary constituents of movements which have any effect on history at all. Everything else, by comparison, is reworking and stasis.” (Habermas, 1992: 23). Increasing number of sales of the novel also proved that despite being utopian, the suggested social order touched the deepest feelings of sensible American people. Elizabeth Sadler points out that “sales leaped into the hundred thousands and climbed steadily into the millions, until it became the most talked of book of the day, achieving a sale second only to that of Uncle Tom’s Cabin.” (Sadler, 1944: 530).

It was true that there were tens of thousands people influenced by the novel, but among those people two of them had a different approach to Bellamy’s book. They were Cyrus Field Willard and Sylvester Baxter, two journalists working in Boston. Although they didn’t know each other, both of them requested a permission from Edward Bellamy to establish a club in order to disseminate the opinions of Bellamy reflected in the book. Upon Willard’s request by a letter, Bellamy approached the issue in a positive manner and answered him “no doubt eventually the formation of such Nationalist Clubs or associations among our sympathizers all over the country will be a proper measure and it is fitting that Boston should lead off in this movement.” (Willard, 1889: 17). As a result of his approval, Willard and Baxter became the leaders in the establishment of a “Nationalist Club” in Boston. In a short time, the club was able to attract the attention of people, especially the Civil War veterans such as Captain Charles Bowers and General Arthur Devereaux who

were greatly impressed by the idea and structure of industrial army. Together with the participation of other members to the organization, Boston Bellamy Club, which was the first to be established throughout the nation, was officially held. In the first meeting, participants took an oath

believing that Edward Bellamy in his great work, Looking Backward, has pointed out the way by which the elevation of man can be attained—we, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together in a society to be called “The Boston Bellamy Club” and pledge ourselves to do all we can to disseminate the views set forth in Looking Backward, and in every other way to do all we can to help the cause. (Ibid 18)

In the following meetings the number of attendees increased, discussions continued and positions in the clubs were decided. Even though Edward Bellamy was the source of inspiration for the emerging Nationalist Clubs, he didn't want to direct the activities of the organization. However, he remained as a vice-president in this formation. Within a few months, establishment of new Nationalist Clubs throughout the United States became inevitable, when the sales of Looking Backward rose enormously and the book became a social phenomenon. Howard Quint points out that “by October, 1889, five Nationalist papers were being published in the Golden State” and adds that “in November, 1890, one hundred and fifty eight Nationalist clubs were organized and flourishing in twenty-seven states.” (Quint, 1964: 82). In spite of this sudden and enormous growth, a centralized organization of Nationalist Clubs wasn't established. As for their structure, it can be said that there wasn't any hierarchical status, and the members of the clubs were not compelled to accept any system of principles. In the second issue of the Nationalist, the media organ of the movement, Cyrus Willard clearly emphasized that “The Boston Club has not in any way sought to impose its ideas, or particular methods, upon any club or individual. ‘Do your work as you think its best, and we will help you’ has always been its motto.” (Willard, 1890: 40). As a result of this, the nationalists clubs became independent from a central headquarter, they were free to elect their own members and officers, they were to debate on social problems that seemed the most critical according to them. Thus, the clubs began to be different from each other in terms of their participant's number and their social class. Rob Vaughan delineates the varieties “nationalist clubs in New England, the Midwest,

and California, for example, tended to attract middle-class professionals, while ones in New York were much more working-class oriented.” (Vaughan, 2007: 162).

It was evident that the book was able to make a great impact, in a very short time. Along with socialism and capitalism, the movement of Nationalism began to be considered as another way of social order at the end of the nineteenth century in America. Contrary to our current understanding of the word Nationalism in other words sheer patriotism, which was greatly shaped by after the French Revolution, what Edward Bellamy tried to emphasize was quite different. It was the public ownership of all utilities and industries such as telephone, telegraph services and the railroads, the coal mines. Many people, predominantly immigrants, suffered seriously from the tyranny of the kings and queens in the old world. What’s more, they were disillusioned by the promise of freedom in the New World. Consequently, it was very natural for them to apply to radical activities to fulfill their expectations. In order to relieve the minds of American citizens, especially the middle-class, Bellamy tried to give a detailed description of Nationalism and attempted to make his social scheme not give the impression of radicalism. He insisted that

Nationalism does not propose to put an end to private incomes or to private property. It proposes only that the means of production, with the connected functions of transportation, etc., should be owned by the people in common and conducted for their benefit, the people meanwhile working as employees of the national concern, and living on their income as equal partners in the produce. (Morgan, 1944: 259)

The movement of Nationalism couldn’t realize the expectations about a new social order, even though it set tangible goals and participants remained solemnly during their efforts. The whole movement was devoid of any kind of teaching, doctrine or manifesto. In his essay Franklin Rosemont underlines that the social movement caused by the novel “was never a meticulously articulated theory but rather a spontaneous ferment of ideas and agitation.” (Rosemont, 1988: 148). This fact is not something unexpected because America has always been the country where people come together for their mutual benefits, specifically for economic improvement, religious freedom and national solidarity since its beginning. That’s why; forming non-governmental social organizations has always been a part of the national character. From Boston Tea Party to communitarian experiments of the nineteenth century, many examples of this occasion can be found. Among all those

organizations, the Nationalist Clubs were just a different association which proved the nation's eagerness to unite under a voluntary organization. Although the members of the nationalist movement tried hard to tell that their main intention was not to replace American values, but to restore them as envisioned by the time of American Revolution, the lack of a strong outline of tasks to be done reduced the efficiency of the movement both as a social phenomenon and in the political arena. Eventually, the nationalists clubs couldn't overcome the territorial barriers and remained as local debating societies whose popularity began to fade away within a few years. The main reasons behind the failure of the movement can be categorized in three groups.

The first reason is that Edward Bellamy had never possessed the necessary qualities to be a leader of a social or political movement whether it was a revolutionary or evolutionary one. During his childhood and adulthood, he had always been a humble and introvert person. Although he had a great desire to reform American society, he was just a writer of popular stories for most of his career. The sudden fame as a result of his book didn't change his personality at all. Even in the nationalist clubs, neither had he preferred to be on the stage to speak his ideas loudly nor did he like commanding others about what should be done. Let alone being a leader in the movement, he rarely contributed to the media organs of the movement such as *The Nationalist* and *The New Nation*. Another instance can be counted about the difference between Bellamy and famous people. To illustrate, when we analyze the personalities and environmental conditions of famous people in history, whether they are military officer or politician, the common characteristics of chance, ego and intelligence are found in almost every of them. His intelligence was a fact that couldn't be denied. From his high school speeches to his career as writer, he demonstrated his creativity many times. He was able to examine the social aspects, economic principles and political theories of his time and put forward his anti-thesis to overcome the problems, so he came up with his synthesis which was a charming imagination of the nation's future while bridging the gap of its past. His modesty and honesty were definitely good features of an intellectual man, but the solid ego and assertiveness were necessary to stand still in the politics. However, he chose to defend himself and his opinion not orally but in writing. If he had been a good orator

or possessed the rhetorical skills as good as another reformist like Eugene Debs, the course of history in America, especially the destiny of the Nationalist movement, could have been much more different. Lastly, his bad luck didn't leave him throughout his life because of his poor health. Because of this, he couldn't realize his childhood dream of becoming a military officer and also it prevented him from travelling across the country to give lectures or join the debates. As his health deteriorated, he spent the rest of his life not in public spaces but at his home to finish his sequel to *Looking Backward* in which he gave more detailed descriptions of his utopia. Consequently, he didn't have the luck, nature and ability to lead and encourage a social movement impressively.

The second cause of the failure of the nationalist movement was that it lacked a firm, possible plan to be carried out. In his novel, Bellamy states the causes for the necessary transformation of the society in the nineteenth century such as inequality in the distribution of wealth, lack of education. Furthermore, he also tells the future of America in the twentieth century depicting a nation of solidarity and equality. However, he didn't give enough information about how the nation shaped its institutions, values and social codes in the way through his utopia. To fill in this blank, he came up with the idea of evolution. As the meaning of the word evolution suggests, it is a process which can take a quite long time and it is not certain when the people can see the outcome of the evolution. For his utopia, he envisioned roughly a century, yet American nation isn't even close to it after more than two centuries of the novel's publishing. In addition to the fact of ambiguity in time, the concept of evolution cannot be a scheme to follow if the supporters want to turn the theories into practice. Direct action to implement the agenda is not required in evolution; it is something that an individual waits for to see the results. The ultimate goal was to socialize the means of production, but it was uncertain how they could achieve this, when they were living in a capitalist system which upholds the right to acquire private property? Direct political action and organization could have been an answer to this problem. Nevertheless, the existence of corruption both in Republican and Democrat Parties could easily lead to decay among socialists. Had they decided to remain alone in the political elections, they would have been defeated most possibly owing to United States' two-party election system.

Another problem that the Nationalist Clubs faced was about the variety of its members. Although the clubs welcomed almost everyone willing to participate in their cause, each member had a different occupation. Therefore, they had different worldviews, approaches to solutions and interests. The public ownership of industries and utilities was the only common ground that kept them together. The officers in the club didn't dictate any doctrine, so the clubs were vulnerable to malicious intentions of its participants. According to Howard Quint "differences of opinion on methods and objectives, part and parcel of the varied membership, kept the nationalists from achieving the cohesiveness necessary for a strong reform movement." (Quint, 1964: 84). A former member of the Nationalist movement Thomas Wentworth Higginson depicted the organization as "a statue with feet of clay and limbs of iron, and forehead of brass, and crutches of splintered reeds." (Ibid 84). The ironic case about the demographic of the clubs was that it consisted of wealthy, notable and middle class people of the communities. People of the working class didn't show as much enthusiasm as upper classes to take part in those organizations. In his essay in Atlantic Monthly General Francis A. Walker comments on this problem, "while a large amount of intellect has gone into the movement, comparatively little muscle has been enlisted in the service. The number of actual day laborers belonging to the party is believed to be small" (Walker, 1890: 260). The responsible people for this failure were unfortunately the officers of the clubs and Bellamy himself because at the beginning of this formation Bellamy wrote Cyrus Willard "I thoroughly approve what you say as to directing your efforts more particularly to the conversion of the cultured and conservative class. That was precisely the special end for which Looking Backward was written." (Morgan, 1944: 249). Consequently, the upper class people of the organization remained indifferent to the grievances of the people that they wanted to help. The lack of connection and cooperation among those two groups prevented exchanging ideas with one another. As a result of this lack of communication and mutual understanding, the supporters of the Nationalist movement could not reach to a general agreement as a whole about the issues at hand.

The final reason why the movement came to a halt was that the enthusiasm of the members declined in time and they ceased to take sides in the Nationalist

movement. It was something like a flash in the pan, so members took different paths after the initial waves of interest had disappeared. Among those members, there were significant people whose contributions to the cause were of vital importance. To illustrate, Daniel De Leon the leader of the socialist labor party during the Gilded Age, Laurence Gronlund the author of the Cooperative Commonwealth, Cyrus Willard and Sylvester Baxter primary supporters of Looking Backward chose to withdraw their support. The organization already lacked a strong leadership due to Bellamy's personality. When the important figures also backed down from the movement, it was doomed to failure. Critical approach to the novel began instead of unquestioned praise. As a result of this, the people came to the conclusion that despite all the positive sides to reform the United States, there could be also other ways to achieve it. Consequently, some people began to examine other utopian novels which were written as a response to Looking Backward, others joined the movement with Populist Party or cooperated with the Socialists. Of all these three ways, socialists were the key point. The course of the Nationalist movement and American socialism could have been very different, if they had understood each other.

While Bellamy in his own way understood and expressed the principle of surplus value, acquaintance with Marx's teaching would have made him more aware of the importance of that principle. In other respects, too, he could have profited by socialist economic thinking. Moreover, his movement greatly needed the trained leaders and disciplined workers which socialism might have supplied. The German socialists in American cities, on the other hand, were isolated from the American life and spirit. They could only blindly apply doctrines developed in Europe to a new country they did not understand. Bellamy unerringly knew the genius of American life, and he had a tremendous popular following. (Ibid 381)

In conclusion, the organization of Nationalist Clubs all over the country was one of the key events in the difficult times of the Gilded Age. The supporters of Looking Backward constituted a great power and pressed for social reforms. It was the first time that a spontaneous movement against capitalism questioned the applications of industries which were beginning to hurt the people rather than help them. Eventually, "by 1896 the movement as an organization was all but dead. Only a few isolated clubs lingered on in different parts of the country." (Quint, 1964: 102).

Although they fell short of their goals, they sparked the way for a better America in the future years.

4.2 DILEMMAS OF LOOKING BACKWARD 2000 – 1887

After the initial excitement of the Looking Backward and its consequence of the Nationalist Clubs were over, the novel's content began to attract ideological criticisms. Although Bellamy insisted that he wrote the book as “a literary fantasy, a fairy tale of social felicity” (199) in his essay “Why I Write Looking Backward?”, For critics, the novel also represented an undemocratic control for the social order because of the strict hierarchical rules and organization of industry like a military. Since the industry had an effect upon both economic and social relations, it was of great importance to question its formation and also its results. In the imagined future of America, the longings for material possession or luxurious consumption were not necessary as motivations for individuals' actions. All the work was done for the benefit of the nation. According to Arthur Lipow, this situation causes authoritarianism

The use of the army as his model reveals both the authoritarian character of Bellamy's utopian reform and his need for a convincing working model of the collectivist society he envisioned. If the workers and the vast majority were a brutish mass, there could be no question of forming a political movement out of them, nor of giving to them the task of creating a socialist society. The new institutions would not be created and shaped from below but would, of necessity, correspond to the plan laid down in advance by the utopian planner. (Lipow, 1982: 86)

From this point of view, it can be argued that despite its emphasis on equality, the decision making process was in the hands of people who had the knowledge of technology. Thus, it wouldn't be possible for the great masses to exercise personal liberty and to have the right to make personal decisions. Owing to this veiled authoritarian aspect, the novel walks on the boundaries of a dystopia. Another problem with Bellamy's utopia is that he ignored characters with different background except for the people who were regarded as wasp. Julian West and his fiancée Edith were white people; similarly Dr. Leete and his family were also white people. The only black character was Julian West's servant and he was limited to few

lines throughout the novel. The problems of African-Americans or immigrants were largely overlooked in the novel. However, it is very natural for the readers to anticipate a more participatory society in a socialist utopia. As a result of this Bellamy makes his book, largely a utopia for the lives of the white people. These aspects constitute the inconsistencies that should be examined about *Looking Backward*.

4.2.1 Resemblance to Dystopian Literature

In spite of all the good intentions to design a future society which was purified from the defects of capitalism, *Looking Backward* also possessed the nature of a conservative and authoritarian utopia. On the surface it, it was an attempt to elevate the living standards of American citizens, but at the same time it was an attempt to assimilate the masses according to the norms of the new order. The industrial of the year 2000, “becomes a means of establishing centralized control over the lives of its citizens, a ‘machine’ for the organized domination of humanity.” (Bossert, 1988: 32). The domination over individuals is necessary to some extent because it is in the nature of utopias to shape the society in accord with their conditions. Hence, Bellamy had to erase any values that were incompatible with his imagined land. He indirectly forbade free decision making, the quality of being spontaneous, and innovativeness (with the exception in fine arts). These are the basic features of being human, but Bellamy’s technological utopia, according to Lewis Mumford, “is no improvement upon the traditional utopian kingdom because it merely replaces the rule of the king with a mechanical domination.” (quoted in Bossert, 1988: 33). There is a critical balance between machines and individuals in *Looking Backward*, the pendulum swings not in favor of individuals. Bellamy’s flawless system has taken the place of human creativity. In this case, the opinion of Dr. Leete about their government sounds interesting. He says that “the machine which they direct is indeed a vast one, but so logical in its principles and direct and simple in its workings that it all but runs itself.” (Bellamy, 2007: 106). Therefore, in Boston in the year 2000 the society has believed to progress to the point where the need for a change is out of question. The characters in the novel lead a happy life; the

system provides their needs from cradle to grave. However, they can also be regarded as docile fish living in an aquarium that creates boundaries for their world. For many American readers, the obligation to conformity is perhaps the most irritating side of Looking Backward that turns it to a dystopian novel. Because of several reasons, the book is an example of a dystopian novel for many individuals in general, and for women in particular.

The unchallengeable and perfect social system in Looking Backward removes the possibility of its discussion. Consequently it becomes predecessor of many dystopian novels that would emerge throughout the twentieth century. The unquestioned and settled social, political and economical system depicted in the novel is similar to the several totalitarian governments that emerged after the First World War in retrospect. Catherine Tumber draws the attention of contemporary critics and adds “readers today cannot help but shudder over [Looking Backward’s] marked resemblances to the many varieties of militaristic totalitarianism that would soon follow.” (Tumber, 1999: 610). J.L. Talmon goes further to criticize that kind of utopias and points out that

Utopianism postulates free self-expression by the individuals and at the same time absolute social cohesion. This combination is possible only if all individuals agree. All individuals, however, do not agree. Therefore, if you expect unanimity, there is ultimately no escape from dictatorship. The individual must be engineered by some kind of fake plebiscite, or he must be treated as an outlaw or traitor, or counter-revolutionary subversive, or whatever you will. (Talmon, 1957: 13)

This argument is valid for Looking Backward because the individual is the one who was under the authority of the state. As an illustration, while Julian West and Dr. Leete were talking about the structure of the industrial army and the necessary motivations of work, Dr. Leete clearly states consequences of avoiding the work in the organization

As for actual neglect of work, positively bad work, or other overt remissness on the part of men incapable of generous motives, the discipline of the industrial army is far too strict to allow anything whatever of the sort. A man able to do duty, and persistently refusing, is sentenced to solitary imprisonment on bread and water till he consents. (Bellamy, 2007: 75)

In parallel to this example, Bellamy also states that “excessive individualism was inconsistent with much public spirit.” (Ibid 24). In order to overcome this problem of the individual against society, Bellamy tries to block the personalities in the rigid order of a technocratic society. Not only *Looking Backward*, but also many other utopian novels justify their actions and orders for the best interest of the nation in general and common man in particular. It is not possible to find a counter argument about the service in the Great Trust as the individuals face the danger of being removed from the society. Bellamy underlies this fact for his utopia without hesitation “if it were conceivable that a man could escape it, he would be left with no possible way to provide for his existence. He would have excluded himself from the world, cut himself off from his kind, in a word, committed suicide.” (Ibid 37). Consequently, it can be said that obligatory accordance to the utopian scheme is inevitable if the perfect arrangement in the society is aimed. On the other hand, this aspect also opens the utopian scheme of Bellamy into criticism because he formed a draft for the twentieth century dystopias unintentionally.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the labor question was in the center of social, economic and political issues. Besides, the issue of women equality, though largely neglected, had also begun to be debated publicly in the same years. In spite of being a moderate supporter for the solutions of women’s problems, Edward Bellamy didn’t provide adequate answers for their problematic situation in *Looking Backward*. Almost all the story takes place in the future society of America, but the women were represented as a typical Victorian housewife. The author tries to ameliorate the conditions of women that would be appreciated by the women of the nineteenth century. The first and the most important thing was that they had more freedom. For instance, they didn’t have the responsibility for the housework. It was the national industrial army that took care of those works, yet the women were free if they wanted to do the chores. Secondly, they had the freedom to choose their own husbands without the worries of money and social status. Love became the sole reason for marriages contrary to the ones in *Gilded Age*. Last but not least, the industrial army also welcomes women and their working hours were relatively shorter than men. This gives them an opportunity to break the boundaries of their home.

On the other hand their domestic situation didn't change at all. The issue of gender inequality still remained intact; Bellamy kept the traditional labor division between man and woman. He preferred to depict the man as the breadwinner, and working man, but the woman as the stereotypical Victorian woman whose first duty was to deal with housekeeping and being a mother for his children. As for women's working life, Bellamy established a standard which was similar to "separate but equal" motto of the social segregation of African-Americans. They were not an integral part of the Industrial Army, but they constitute a special and separate branch with jobs reserved for women. The reason for their shorter working hours was the application of paternalism over their works. They could get a promotion and become an officer in the industrial army, but it was not possible to choose or become a President for a woman, although the president was chosen among the former members of the organization. As for their social life apart from home and job, there wasn't much difference when a comparison is made. If Edith Leete is taken as an example to come to a conclusion, the readers can assume that women were generally spending their time for leisure. Bellamy doesn't give any information about her age, but she doesn't go to school or she doesn't work. All she did throughout the novel was to look after Julian West and go shopping. Another woman character was Edith Leete's mother is rarely seen in the novel. Her mother speaks a few times about housework or the then new Boston in the year 2000. Upon their descriptions Halewood argues that "what is shown is Mrs. Leete and Edith leading conventional domestic lives only superficially different from those of middle-class women before the [utopian] revolution." (Halewood, 1994: 458). Considering the positive and the negative sides of women in the utopia, Robin Balthrope comments that "despite the vast improvements in women's lives by the year 2000, they are nonetheless second-class citizens based on the fact that women usually discuss peripheral issues, such as musical telephones or shopping, while Dr. Leete is the voice of authority on matters like the economy or politics." (Balthrope, 2006: 308).

In other words, it can be argued that the role of the women in the society was depended on the men. The new society was based on the idea of solidarity, but the women were not included at all. Eventually, *Looking Backward* fails to promote equality in social relations and upward mobility in their works. Instead it places the

women in their homes and they function as unchanging characters. Therefore, from a feminist point of view, it wouldn't be wrong to claim that the book seem dystopian.

Nevertheless, the purpose of the literature can be missed, on the condition that readers give too much importance in evaluation of these aspects of Looking Backward. The Gilded Age was a time of swift changes in social and economic relationships. Utopian literature felt the high tension of those troubled times. For many Americans, the United States didn't symbolize a utopia to sprout their expectations. Owing to the social evils resulting from the capitalist system, they came to regard America as a bad place, unsuitable for their high hopes. As a reaction to this disillusionment, utopian literature functioned as a tool so as to demonstrate anti-thesis for social ills whether they were revolutionary or reformatory. Naturally, it was impossible for Bellamy to foresee the atrocities in the twentieth century caused by totalitarian governments. In light of this, the novel's resemblance to dystopian literature gives us more information about the discontent of an era that was faltering between vision of modernity and desire to retain traditions and split over the emphasis on individual and society.

4.2.2. Inability to Constitute Pluralism

American citizens who lived in the rampant capitalism of the Gilded Age suffered from economic problems seriously. Nevertheless, it was not the only problem waiting to be solved. Especially from the years of reconstruction in the aftermath of the American Civil War to the many decades that followed it, America's biggest problem seemed to be the race issue. In other words, the integration of many immigrants from different countries in general and the emancipated slaves of the South to the society was a very critical and severe question. "E Pluribus Unum" has always been the motto of the nation. Therefore, the inclusion of other races to the society is expected in reality. Social figures like Frederick Douglas, defended equal rights and became important in demanding civil rights for colored people. To protect them by law, the thirteenth, and the fourteenth and the fifteenth amendments were ratified as their guarantee of freedom and voting in the Unites States' Constitution. Nonetheless, it was hard for the southern people to accept the new conditions of their

ex-slaves. The cases of intimidation or lynching of African-Americans became frequent to prevent their social and constitutional rights. Jim Crow laws, whose real meaning was discrimination, was the legal way to justify all the aggression against colored people. Thus, the situation of African-American people was deteriorating even after the emancipation of proclamation. When it became hard for the society to realize the aspirations of living in harmony with others, the utopia should take the place in order to fulfill this idealism. Unfortunately, in the content of *Looking Backward*, Edward Bellamy hardly any gives the readers a clue about his opinions or the formation of his imaginary society on the issue of race problem.

To illustrate, an African-American man who was called Sawyer was the servant of Julian West and the readers know about him only in the first pages of the book. Similar to the women characters in the novel, he doesn't take place in the centre of the book and remains as a character in periphery. He was the servant of a white man and depended on him. There wasn't any depth or development about the character and he revealed the mindset of the nineteenth century man that desired to keep blacks out of public arena. Julian West introduces his servant and gives the reader a little information about him that he was "a faithful colored man" and he "lived with me and attended with my few wants." (Bellamy, 2007: 13). Besides, the readers can understand that there was a mutual trust between Julian West and Sawyer because Sawyer was the only person with Dr. Pillsbury who knew about the sleeping problems of Julian West and his secret sleeping chamber in the underground. On the last night of his life in the nineteenth century, Julian West orders his servant to wake him up at nine in the morning and goes to sleep with the help of his doctor. When he woke up after 113 years, he thought that the situation was a joke at first. Later, as he gained his consciousness he realized that his loyal servant wouldn't have done anything like this. Julian West deduced eventually "It only remains to assume that Sawyer lost his life in the fire or by some accident connected with it, and the rest follows naturally enough." (Ibid 26).

This is not the summary but the whole information regarding the colored people throughout the novel. A large sum of the story takes place in the future of America, but there isn't even an African-American person described by the author. Therefore, the readers had no choice but to make deduction for the whole race based

on one character. In addition to the absence of the African-Americans, there aren't any other people with different ethnic backgrounds. Bellamy witnessed the era that large waves of immigrants flocked to the United States. The wide range of immigrants included different groups from German workers to Russian Jews, Irish families to East European Slavs. These immigrant groups with many other different ones constituted the great part of the working class at the end of the nineteenth century. They were regarded as the aliens because they couldn't be assimilated to a new culture easily and they adhered to their old traditions. The immigrants and the African-Americans were the two groups that somehow couldn't fit in the social fabric. Therefore, in a novel which rearranges social relations it is normal to expect some explanations for this specific problem in the late nineteenth century. This problem is not solved in *Looking Backward*, but it disappeared completely. However, Bellamy didn't mention the process or his solution to these problems. It is quite hard to make a comment on something that didn't appear throughout the book. The lack of explanations by the writer causes questions, yet it provides with few answers.

The first assumption to the solution of this problem was that he intentionally removed the only African-American character of the book. Turning a blind eye for such a critical issue inevitably caused severe criticism against Edward Bellamy. Rob Vaughan claims that "Bellamy [...] sought to assure nervous whites that blacks would not rise too quickly, nor get too close socially." (Vaughan, 2007: 195). Dohra Khadija Ahmad goes further to make criticism and argues that "Bellamy quite deliberately creates a whites-only twenty-first century; his vision of reconstruction has the United States centralized, supreme and racially pure." (Ahmad, 2004: 28). Insufficient comments about the race issue by Bellamy created an image of him as if he was a racist. However, it was a well-known fact that Bellamy dedicated his life to the ultimate equality of all men, not only for the men in white race. Thus, it would be extreme cruelty to make such comments about him. He was deeply concerned with the prevalent conditions of his era and also he was aware of the fact that racial hostility to other groups whether they were African-Americans or another immigrant group blinded nation's commonsense. In order to answer this kind of criticism that he was blind to the race issue, Bellamy stated that "for anything to the contrary that

appears in the book, the people referred to in its pages, so far as we remember, might have been black, brown or yellow as well as white.” (Quoted in Peyser, 1998: 56). Therefore, the second assumption for the solution of the race issue was that all the people with different ethnic backgrounds would ultimately be equals as American citizens and there wouldn't be any difference about their civil rights. As the Declaration of Independence highlighted “all the men are created equal” and Bellamy believed in the future the nation will fulfill its ideal. The evolution process would erase the animosity among various races. He describes the future of the United States in his unpublished papers as follows

The interweaving lock stitching of a man in conscious mutual interdependence and service with all his fellow members, and its effect to furnish an assimilating power, overcome antagonisms of race and religion which have been so dangerous and always might be. Some such influence is essential in a polyglot nation like ours. Out of it, and the intermarriage of all classes which will follow, will quickly be evolved the American, the heir and offspring, the consummate product of all the races. There will then no longer be Jew or Greek, Irishman, German, Swede or Frenchman, but Americans only. (Morgan, 1944: 259)

Consequently, Edward Bellamy believed in the idea that America would become a melting pot. His social scheme didn't require the establishment of any association of the races in the Industrial Army. The inconsistency of this solution was obvious that it compelled every citizen to assimilate themselves into the new culture of his utopia and into the structure of his industrial army. Assimilation became the primary condition for the participation to society and his utopia's social institutions. It demonstrates that Bellamy's mindset about racial views was similar to many American's of his time to some extent, even though he advocated the brotherhood of man. However, it forces the old traditions and identities to be left behind and welcomes the ones who accepted the same purposes under a new American identity. Thus, the novel fails in creating a true democracy based on pluralism.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have tried to demonstrate the formation of socialist utopian ideals and values in Looking Backward 2000 – 1887 by Edward Bellamy who was one of the most influential writers in American literature at the turn of the century. In addition to this, I have attempted to show the historical journey of socialist utopianism from the establishment of America to the turbulent years in the nineteenth century. At the initial stages, when America was a newly established nation, it would seem to be a hard place for the blossom of utopian idealism. Nevertheless, there were adequate reasons for the swift growth of utopian tradition in the New World. In the first place, it was away from all the troubles and crises of the Old World. Second of all, the continent possessed rich natural resources for the new comers to supply themselves. Last but not least, the New World offered the first immigrants seemingly endless land to settle and cultivate. When these aspects were taken into account, it can be concluded that the people who left behind sufferings of the Old World were ready to lead a relatively happier life.

The European inhabitants of the new continent and also the founding fathers like Thomas Jefferson believed that it was their destiny to lead an idle, a pastoral life by just working on the land. However, the changing social conditions in the next century would prove them wrong. The American Civil War and the Second Industrial Revolution would change the course of American history in a totally new path. The economic forces of the country shifted from the South to the North and it meant the rise of machines in industry. It is generally assumed in Marxist criticism that economic means of production within a society inevitably controls every human institution and their actions. With the emancipation of proclamation, man power wasn't a dictating element in the United States economy. Instead of this, technological innovations in the fields of chemistry, electricity and civil engineering paved the way for the emergence of new cities. As the urban areas became the center of living, people began to leave their jobs in rural places and the immigrants from other countries also preferred to look for jobs in city centers. Each individual was in the pursuit of finding his own utopia or fulfilling his/her dreams. During their quest for personal satisfaction, new attitudes towards wealth were created. The nation

accepted the competition of individuals for the survival of the fittest as an ideal. The gospel of wealth became their guide in the Gilded Age and at many times they found inspiration in the stories of Horatio Alger. All these social aspects of the Gilded Age dragged the country in the hands of the Captains of Industry, namely Robber Barons in the capitalist system. The promises of the capitalist system seemed to fail in realizing the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as envisioned in the times of American Revolution. The craftsmen and the small merchants were crushed by the bigger industries and the two opposite polar in the society began to shape. On one side there were wealth businessmen who controlled the economy, social and political life and on the other hand there were the increasing number of working people who toiled till death for the benefit of others. The people who still possessed the commonsense were disillusioned with the great white hopes of capitalism and began to question their social system.

At this point, we should give the early utopian settlements credit for their attempt to create a better society for their fellowmen. Nevertheless, their good intentions were doomed to fail because it was impossible to provide a space devoid of capitalism's social ills while they were surrounded by what they hid from. To some extent, it was turning a blind eye to the growing problems in the community and preferring experimental settlements was a way for escapism. Another turning point in the criticism of capitalism was the transfer of International Workingmen's Association from London to New York in 1872. It also symbolized the arrival of Marxism to the United States. Although it was different from the socialist utopian settlements of the previous decades, it was difficult for many Americans to accept their doctrines. It analyzed the functions of capitalism and demonstrated its destructive results in a scientific way. However, what American citizens understood from socialism was that it was a foreign born worldview that was unable to be adapted in American land. Besides, the ever growing impact of labor strikes caused the ordinary citizens to be hostile against socialist ideas. The Haymarket Riot, killing of innocent people by bombing and the subsequent trial and death sentence of protesters gave the nation a deep shock. As a result, the people were filled with many prejudices against socialism without knowing what it stood for.

The experimental utopian settlement and the scientific socialism proposed by Marx can seem quite contrary elements in the history of American socialism. Even though the organizational spirit and the political movement used different tactics, they aimed the same goal in the end. Therefore, it mustn't be analyzed apart from each other because the utopian spirit and especially its adherence to moral and ethical principles had a great influence on the labor and reform issues for many years to come. One of the best examples of this case was the organization of the Nationalist Clubs that followed as a consequence of publication and immediate success of the socialist utopian novel Looking Backward 2000 -1887 by Edward Bellamy. It was a response to the social problems especially labor question of the times that showed the growing dissent among the socialists and reform supporters of whom many American citizens ignored for many years. It proved that utopian literature could have a key function in the molding of American society in general and its social, political values in particular. It raised the awareness of many people to the prevalent conditions in the society and criticized the American institutions and culture for their own good. Labeling the socialist utopia as kind of social criticism was true but it was meant to be more than this. It was an important element to turn the ideals of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness into reality which were expressed in the Declaration of Independence to start the American Revolution. To state the matter differently, in the mind of an American it represented a reasonable and logical way to investigate new values and ideals on which they could establish a new social order in harmony with the legal political means. Therefore it was very normal for "the people of the United States concluded to assume the conduct of their own business, just as one hundred odd years before they had assumed the conduct of their own government." (Bellamy, 2007: 33). In fin de siècle, largely the working class and the middle class to some extent believed that the nation had to be reorganized. Their founding fathers changed the destiny of the country for political reasons back in 1776. In a similar way, they argued that it was time for vast reforms for social, economical and industrial reasons. In order to keep the "unalienable rights" of individuals, their ancestors had to cut off the political ties with the king of England and therefore according to a great mass of American people it was time to rearrange the social and economic relationships with the Robber Barons in favor of the working citizens.

Thus, they would be able to complete what the American Revolution started many years ago. The United States would be the land with guaranteed civil rights and free from the oppressors.

The publication of *Looking Backward* became a turning point in American utopian literature. Bellamy also published his second novel which was the sequel to his own utopian book ten years after *Looking Backward*, but it failed to attract the attention of the public. During those ten years many utopian novels were published. Among them there were a number of sequels to *Looking Backward* by other writers and at the same time there were responses to the novel as a criticism. In general, it can be argued that all these body of utopian literature came as a response to the changing conditions of the society during the Gilded Age. After all these years, *Looking Backward* still remained as the prominent utopian novel to be read and discussed by many people. On the other hand, Bellamy's utopian imagination turned into reality neither in 2000 nor it will seem to materialize in near future, even though it generated a great enthusiasm and led to the establishment of many Nationalist Clubs to disseminate its social messages. In the United States, socialism was at its peak only with the unusual success of Eugene Debs in the presidential race that collected only six percent of the total votes in 1912. Let alone the success of the Socialist party, there isn't any strong organization like a Social Democratic Party in America today. Bellamy's vision of an industrial army was the main solution for the problems of the working class, yet participation to the unions has been declining for many years. His prophecy about the retirement at the age of 45 is a very optimistic expectation when compared to the average age of 65 in a globalizing world. As for the ultimate goal of equality in Bellamy's utopia, the gap between the rich and the poor gets wider each year. Therefore, the reasons that caused the failure of such an influential book in particular and socialism in general should be questioned.

In the first place, the absence of a strong leadership had a negative effect on the Nationalist movement. Edward Bellamy had always been an introvert since his childhood. He worked as a lawyer briefly, journalist and novelist. He had never dreamed of being the leader of a political movement or politician. He always liked to explore new ideas and most probably he was reluctant to show himself in political debates which were necessary to turn his theories into practice. Bellamy was neither

a political leader nor a good orator. If had possessed these skills like well known characters like Eugene Debs or William Jennings Bryan, the fate of the social movement caused by his book could have been much more different. Second of all, the book never showed the way feasible way to move from the inconsistencies of capitalism to the blessings of socialism in the nation's utopian future. To some extent, the agitation of the Nationalists achieved some reforms at local arena, but the regional programs and the lack of unity among the members of the movement prevented it from attaining a standard of a predetermined large scale. Thirdly, contrary to European socialist movements, the workers of America did not embrace class consciousness. Since its foundation, the American nation was devoid of hereditary aristocracy. Instead of rigid social classes, Americans believed that they always had the chance for social and economic mobility for a better situation. Therefore, "Bellamy believed it unreasonable to denounce the wealthy in the name and interest of the poor since both were products of the same system. The system, rather than any individual or group of individuals, needed to be changed." (Quint, 1964: 87). Rather than casting a critical eye upon the rich class and blaming them for the deterioration of the society, lots of workers dreamed of becoming like them in the future. Last but not least, racial hatred and intolerance against different ethnic backgrounds were generally the reasons that caused American citizens not to act with each other. Especially, dualities of the country such as North and South, whites and blacks or Republicans and Democrats were keeping the members of the working class away from each other so that they could not take action for their interests.

As a final word, as a utopian writer, Edward Bellamy showed his resentment against the existing social conditions and institutions at the turn of the century. According to Eric Goldman utopian novelists including Bellamy were the people who "developed ideological acids capable of dissolving every link in conservatism's steel chain of ideas" (quoted in Rooney, 1985: 178). At a time when the wealthy class controlled the press, economy and government in order to keep the existing system for their own profit, it was the utopian writer who dared to challenge the status quo. Although his utopian scheme seemed unusual and unbearable for some people, he showed a different point of view to his readers in a new light. It was the critical thinking of the writer and his readers which paved the way for the necessary

reforms. Those reforms did not bring a society like the one in Looking Backward. Nevertheless, it would be cruel to claim that socialism came to the end of the road in the United States. Bellamy made socialism respectable and his intellectual legacy had a great impact on the American consciousness which showed itself through the years of Progressive Era and even the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. As one of the most influential presidents in the American history, Woodrow Wilson reminded his citizens the importance of the past years and invited them to think about the consequences of the industrial era in his first inaugural address

We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories, and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people. (quoted in Beatty, 2007: 309-310)

Today, in the twenty first century, the basic assumptions of Edward Bellamy are justified historically. It is impossible for the humanity to know what the future brings. However, based on present evidences it is not hard to make some predictions about what the future will be like. Throughout history American nation was tested with different kind of troubles and Bellamy showed that if the United States aimed at fulfilling its ideals back in times of Independence War and overcome the difficulties in the changing times, they would need to change the status quo.

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