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THE PLACE OF SAMUEL BUTLER IN ENGLISH UTOPIAN LITERATURE;
AN EXAMINATION OF THE TECHNIQUES OF UTOPIAN SATIRE
EMPLOYED IN EREWHON AND EREWHON REVISITED

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

by
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100438

Written under the supervision
of
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Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
April 1950
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We, the undersigned members of the Committee appointed by you to examine the Thesis submitted by Donald Frederick Wall, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, beg to report that we consider the thesis satisfactory both in form and content.

Subject of Thesis: "The Place of Samuel Butler in English Utopian Literature".

We also report that he has successfully passed an oral examination on the general field of the subject of the thesis.

MAY 2 1956
The word "utopia" was first used by Sir Thomas More in 1516 as the title for a book in which he described his vision of a perfect state. Since that time it has gone the way of a number of words that have been much used and not always universally understood, and in some four hundred years has taken on a number of meanings. More supposedly coined the word from the Greek "outopos", or "nowhere", as the name for an imaginary state embodying an ideal society. But when methods of describing or suggesting ideal societies changed, the meaning of "utopia" was extended to include any representation of an imaginary state. Bacon's New Atlantis, which pictures an ideal society, is an utopia; George Orwell's 1984, which pictures a society far from ideal, is yet a medium of analogy whereby certain features and tendencies of contemporary society are criticized, and thus an intimation of what must be done to make our society ideal. Both works are broadly similar in purpose, and are therefore placed in the frighteningly inclusive category of "utopian" literature.

It is the purpose of this thesis to determine which of the techniques employed by Samuel Butler in his utopian works, Erewhon and Erewhon Revisited, are borrowed from his predecessors — in particular, Jonathan Swift — and which are original contributions to the development of the utopian literature of our language.
In order to determine the nature and value of these contributions, it will be necessary to look back at least to the work of Thomas More, the first English utopian, and from there to follow the threads of development in method and technique in "utopia-writing" until the time of Butler. It is, of course, impossible completely to separate form from content and purpose, but it is my primary aim to be expository rather than interpretive. It is hoped that, within the stated limits, this work will afford a clearer view of the satirical writings of Samuel Butler, upon which there has hitherto been much disagreement.

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CHAPTER I

I

It is a fact not always taken into account that the second book of Thomas More's *Utopia*, which pictures an ideal state populated by reasonable people, was written first, and Book I, which is a Platonic dialogue criticizing existing conditions in England, was added later. The work was begun in Belgium, possibly as a travesty on the *Voyages* of Amerigo Vespucci, possibly as a response to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, but certainly with no serious intention of reform. When More returned to England he wrote another part of the book, which, being a serious criticism of the laws and customs of the time, set off the original book as a sincere attempt to visualize the perfect state. The two parts were arranged in their present order, and published in Latin in 1516; the first English translation was made in 1551.

The story as More tells it begins when he is sent to Flanders as Commissioner for Henry VIII. Here he is visited (he does not say why) by the excellent Peter Giles, through whom More meets Vespucci's fellow-seaman, Raphael Hythloday. Hythloday is a Portuguese, learned in Greek and philosophy, who has seen many strange and unknown lands. "But as he marked many fond and foolish laws in those new-founded lands", says More, "so he rehearsed divers acts and constitutions whereby these our cities, nations, countries and kingdoms may take example to amend their faults, enormities, and errors." More and Giles try to persuade

Hythloday that a man of his learning and experience would be invaluable as a king's counsellor, in which position he might become wealthy. The sailor answers with a straightforward denunciation of the abortive and selfish aims of kings, in which there is more than a hint of scorn at English aggression. He continues with a description of conversations he had with Cardinal Morton during a visit to England, upon the stupidity of laws which make thieves and then hang them, without supplying a trade by which they might earn an honest living. He comments, too, on the growth of enclosures for sheep-raising that put thousands of "poor, silly, wretched souls" off the tillable land, to be imprisoned as vagabonds or to die of starvation, while a few land-owners made huge sums of money. For these extremes of misery and luxury, Hythloday's remedy is simple: "Let not so many be brought up in idleness; let husbandry and tillage be restored; let clothworking be renewed."

Returning to the penalty for theft, he suggests that death is too severe by far, and that the thief should be made to restore what he has stolen, and be condemned to common labour under surveillance. At this point Hythloday introduces, somewhat irrelevantly, a satirical passage directed at the vagabond friars of the time. He then pauses and apologises for the length of his tale (a faint grasp at verisimilitude), upon which More again entreats the mariner to go to court, where he might be of great good to the commonwealth. This inspires a long, rather dull discourse on princes, their wars, their methods of raising money, and their false counsellors, presented with

1. Ibid., p. 31
touche of heavy-handed irony concerning rulers who can do no wrong. A king that must rule beggars, Hythloday says, is but "a foolish physician who cannot cure his patient's disease unless he cast him in another sickness...let him rather amend his own life, renounce unhonest pleasures and forsake pride." All this leads, as one might anticipate, to Hythloday's advocating the abolition of private property, according to the "wise and godly ordinance of the Utopians...all things being there common, (and) every man hath abundance of everything." More and Giles immediately doubt the efficacy of such a plan, arguing that European commonwealths are older and more experienced than these new lands. Thus the way is open for Hythloday to describe the commonwealth of Utopia, which he willingly does in Book II.

Utopia is a naturally garrisoned island, somewhat like England, and its main city, Amaurote, on the Anyder river, is somewhat like London. In all fifty-four cities there is common law, as there is common ownership of land throughout the island. The people work alternately in city and country, teaching each other their knowledge, as agriculture is the economic basis of Utopian life. The family or "farm", of forty persons or more, is the social unit, thirty of which are benevolently ruled by a phylarch, or bailiff. Every ten phylarchs are responsible to one of two hundred tranibores, who form a council with the power to elect a prince.

1. Ibid., p. 48
2. Ibid., p. 53
The various crafts in Utopia are all held in high esteem, and while the whole population is well-versed in husbandry, each person has his "own proper craft. That is most commonly either cloth-working in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there." Garments differ only according to sex or marital status, and are made within the family. Work occupies six hours a day, the rest of which is allotted to eating, sleeping, hobbies (usually another craft), and early-morning lectures, which are "a solemn custom". After supper there is an hour of play: music, chess, and conversation are allowed - "diceplay" is not.

The Utopian families, although they "most commonly be made of kindreds", are kept at a certain number by the exchange of children, and surpluses are used to occupy uninhabited lands. More is here anticipating the manner in which families were kept at a standard size in Swift's Houyhnhnmland. Authority is vested in the eldest of an Utopian family, who is responsible for supplying necessary commodities. There are common eating halls and common hospitals, where the rough work is done by bondmen. Meals are attended by music, spices, perfumes, and anything cheerful, for "no kind of pleasure is forbidden whereof cometh no harm". But there are no taverns, and no excuses for idleness. Travel is allowed, under strict regulations, for though "they have few lawes", breaches are punished with "most grievous bondage".

1. Ibid., p. 74
War in Utopia, which "they do detest and abhor", is carried on to a great extent by hired mercenaries, and all the forces of strategy, corruption and propaganda are utilized to restrict loss of life to undesirables. Although crops and buildings are not ravaged, prisoners of war become slaves, and the enemy is made to bear the cost of the war.

Utopians are tolerant in religion, and many of them worship famous men, or one of the planets. "But the most and wisest part believe that there is a certain godly power, unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the capacity and reach of man's wit, dispersed through all the world, not in bigness but in virtue and power." Hythloday states that they readily accepted Christianity, in which he instructed them as far as he was able, however, beliefs were not forced upon any, as reason was to be their guide in all things. There were celibate and non-celibate sects, and a priest of either sex for each of the thirteen churches in every city. By them the Utopian children were instructed in virtue and good manners, and the people guided in devout worship of whatever god they desired.

Hythloday terminates his description of the country by comparing it to advantage with European commonwealths of that day, in which he perceives "nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth."

1. Ibid., p. 128
2. Ibid., p. 144
In Utopia, "though no man have anything, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich than to live joyfully and merrily, without all grief and pensiveness, not caring for his own living, nor vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his son, nor sorrowing for his daughter's dowry?" Then, explaining the merely relative value of wealth, he ends on a philosophical note, and More expresses his hope that such wonders may be wrought in Europe.

It is obvious that More's book, as it stands, was intended to be more edifying than entertaining, and the techniques employed point to that end. However, it is a characteristic common to most utopia-writers that they attempt to arouse interest in their work by giving such story as it has the appearance of actuality. More's prefatory letter was actually written to Peter Giles, an Antwerp official in 1515, and it strikes an immediate note of authenticity by its naive, almost prosaic, sincerity. He begs Giles to show the manuscript to Rythldoy for correction, at the same time expressing doubt about the advisability of publishing the work, for fear of its being scorned or misunderstood. In these points the letter is quite similar to that written by Gulliver to Richard Sympson, except that both Gulliver and Sympson are fictional characters. There is, too, the letter of Giles to Hieronymus Buslyde, appended to the book, requesting that Buslyde sanction the work by publishing it under his name. A rather amusing part of the letter tells how Giles was prevented from hearing the exact geographic position of Utopia by one of the company who

1. Ibid., p. 142
sneezed while Hythloday was speaking.

In the whole of *Utopia* there is hardly a page devoted to arousing story-interest. More sets up a plausible but uninteresting situation by which he and Giles are enabled to meet and talk with Hythloday; and there the story ends. His narrative includes no description of a voyage, and the only incident recounted is that of the conversation with Wolsey, which is informative but hardly adventurous. There is no plot, no distinct setting, and the characterization is confined almost to the single line which describes Hythloday as a mariner "well-stricken in age, with a black sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders". His disappearance, mentioned in Giles' letter, fails to arouse much curiosity, despite the fact that he alone knows where to find Utopia.

Accuracy would demand that we call More's book propagandist rather than satirical. It is only by a rough and general comparison that he enables us to view England and Utopia side by side, and although he succeeds in gaining the reader's sympathy for Utopian advantages, and his scorn for English faults, only rarely does he attempt to achieve the irony necessary to effective satire. Book I is taken up almost wholly with a straightforward denunciation of folly and injustice, and Book II is just as straightforward a description of peace and plenty. But his one reference to Europe in this section carries a hidden sting. Speaking of the lack of international leagues and

1. Ibid., p. 16
alliances in Utopia he says, "For here in Europe, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere esteemed holy and inviolable, partly through the justice and goodness of princes, and partly at the reverence and motions of the head bishops."...This, at a time when all the powers of Europe held knives to one another's throats.

More's style does not lend itself either to story-telling or to satire. As the original was written in Latin, the translation retains the long, involved sentences and the latinized diction, and lacks the necessary lightness of touch for sallies of wit or attractive narrative. The tone is inclined to be philosophical, at times even rhetorical, and always expository rather than entertaining. The philosophical digressions detract from the unity of the work, as does the form, which is more oratorical than conversational. The book retains its value more as a document of humanism than as a piece of fiction, utopian or otherwise.

II

Francis Bacon's New Atlantis, an unfinished utopia begun in 1627, expounds the religion of natural knowledge as the means of furthering man's happiness. The story begins realistically enough with a voyage at sea from Peru to China and Japan, during which the travellers, none of whom are named, are lost in a storm and blown

1. Ibid., p. 115
in sight of land. They are met "in a good haven, being the port of a fair city", by a group of ornately dressed statesmen who warn them not to land. Eventually, after swearing a Christian oath they are allowed to disembark, their sick are cared for, and the rest are very hospitably received in the Strangers' House. They find themselves in the monarchy of Bensalem, a land of great scientific advancement.

The governor of the Strangers' House tells them how, twenty years after the ascension of Christ, a pillar of light was seen off the coast of the island, and one of the fathers of Salomon's House, "which is the very eye of this kingdom", prayed to God in the presence of the miracle. As he approached the pillar, it vanished "as it were into a firmament of stars", leaving a chest of cedar floating upon the water, containing a branch of palm, the Testaments, and the Apocalypse.

The next day the travellers learn the history of Bensalem. They are told that every twelve years two ships sail on a scientific expedition to the Old World under the auspices of Salomon's House, trading only in one commodity - "God's first creature, which was LIGHT". They find that the society is based on a tradition of family life, that the people use money, eat well, and dress beautifully. The narrator later makes the acquaintance of a Jewish merchant, a Christian, who expounds the beauty and purity of the state, and especially of its marriage laws. The merchant is interrupted by the arrival of one of the Fathers, who honors the narrator by allowing him a private conference, in which the Father expounds the purpose of Bensalem's
civilization. "The end of our Foundation," he says, "is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible." The rest of the fragment is an immense list of purely scientific and materialistic activities by which these aims are to be realized. They have so harnessed the forces of nature that they are able to fly, travel under water, create tremendous explosives, and they have even produced "some perpetual motions". Certain men are employed to "draw out of them things of use and practise for man's life and knowledge". Their squares are graced by statues of inventors. Here the narrative ends hurriedly, leaving such story as there is quite unfinished.

The most outstanding development in the utopian technique as employed by Bacon is his attempt to decorate his scientific visions with the rudiments of a fictional story. The story is purely narrative, as is Gulliver's Travels, and there is a certain amount of action and description. Characterization is only existent in the vivid descriptions of dress and pageantry, but the trend of development is away from the wholly philosophical tone of More's Utopia, and moves towards the integration of plot, setting, and character, - the elements of a conventional story.

Bacon's style at the outset is like that of his essays, clear, concrete and expository, anticipating Defoe and Swift in its simplicity.

2. Ibid., p. 731
Later, unfortunately, it becomes laboured and didactic. As literature the book lacks logical unity once the circumstantial narrative is over. The voyage itself, and the romance of the pillar of fire and cedar chest, arouse interest, which soon collapses under the deadening accumulation of scientific exposition. The story is obviously of little importance to Bacon, and as a sugar-coating for his materialistic pill, it melts too quickly. There is no humour or satire, and the scientific experiments, wonderful in his time, are most of them commonplace today.

III

James Harrington's *Oceana* is a utopia in the sense that it pictures at least part of an ideal society, but it differs from the works of both More and Bacon in that *Oceana* is not an unknown island, but a reconstructed England. In view of political developments since 1656, when *Oceana* was written, one might agree with Philip Morgan that the book has lost its utopian status "because it was so widely used in making actual constitutions". Its purpose was purely practical; addressed to Oliver Cromwell (Olphaus Megaletor), it was a carefully wrought plan for the political reconstruction of England, at a time when such a plan was most necessary.

1. Two other travel romances of the time, Hall's *Mundus Alter Idem* (1605) and Godwin's *Man in the Moone* (1638), make better use of story elements, but their satire is too coarse and obvious to merit serious consideration.

Oceana is dull and unconvincing as a story, and hardly deserves to be spoken of with literary utopias. Harrington briefly sketches the world's political history, deals in more detail with that of England, and brings the reader to the time of Cromwell. Cromwell, the Lord Archon of Oceana, like Themistocles, is unable to sleep for worrying over Oceanic affairs. He assembles a committee of a thousand experts who, with him to "guide" them, formulate a constitution resting on separation of legislative, executive, and judiciary bodies, ensuring equality by ballot suffrage. The book reads "like a state paper or the schedules of a budget". The formulation of a constitution is carried on by long and usually dull speeches, and such references as there are to contemporary people or actions are obvious and narrowly topical. The fictitious names of various English rulers, such as Morpheus for James I, are only slightly satirical, as are the thinly-veiled references to Scotland and Ireland as Oceanic satellites. Like Bacon and More, Harrington uses the story merely as a framework on which to hang his political philosophy; and a string of such speeches does not make an interesting story.

It will be seen that, until the time of Swift, English utopias were sincere efforts to found ideal civilizations by the more or less straightforward method of creating visions of commonwealths which were thought attainable, and not visions of fantasy. None are primarily literary masterpieces, and satire had not as yet been used as the major factor in forming desired opinions or attitudes.

its inherent criticism, satire suggests the possibility of improvement, a process of elimination and emendation by which a utopian civilization might be founded. More employs it only sporadically, Bacon not at all, and Harrington’s efforts in this direction make it quite clear that his use of the satirical element is wholly incidental. Adventure and fantasy, however, are used to arouse interest in *New Atlantis*, and the combination of these two elements will be found almost universally in the works of later utopians. The remaining important technique that we have noted so far, that of giving incidents an air of authenticity, appeared in both More and Bacon, but only occasionally, as the actual happenings in both books are relatively few. It is with Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* that all three elements, satire, adventure, and realism, are combined in a piece of recognized literary art.
CHAPTER II

I

Jonathan Swift's prose masterpiece, Gulliver's Travels, was completed and published in 1726, and its popularity was immediate and lasting. For over two hundred years, this greatest and most bitter satire on the folly and stupidity of man was most successful as an adventure story for children. Although it is now known primarily as satire, the fact that it remained popular so long as an adventure story is indicative of Swift's narrative ability. As satire, Gulliver's Travels retains a high position among the satiric works of our literature, and as there are in the book elements of what we have defined as a utopia, it is as an utopian narrative that we shall consider it.

Gulliver's rather fantastic adventures are familiar to most people, but to make reference and comparison more simple, a brief outline of the main features of the story will be necessary, before I attempting to indicate the methods and techniques by which Swift gained his success as utopian satirist.

We are immediately introduced to Lemuel Gulliver, former student at Cambridge, physician, and traveller. The sole survivor of a ship-wreck during a storm in the South Seas, he finds himself on the shore of Lilliput, a hitherto unknown island, where he is taken prisoner
by a diminutive people one-twelfth the height of man. He learns their language and customs, and spends almost a year at their court, from which he is forced to flee to a neighboring island to escape a plot on his life. Soon after, he manages to return to England.

After spending a short time with his family, Gulliver again sets out to sea, and on this voyage becomes stranded in the land of the giant Brobdingnagians, who are twelve times the height of men. Found by a farmer, he is taken to court, where he converses with the king upon many interesting topics. While being shown through the land as a curiosity, he is one day carried off to sea by a huge eagle, rescued by a passing ship, and returned again to his home.

On his next voyage a few months later, Gulliver is put adrift by pirates off the coast of China, and is taken aboard the flying island of Laputa. From here he visits the strange lands of Balnibarbi, Glubbdubdrib, and Luggnagg, finally making his way to Japan, and thence home.

Gulliver's final voyage, on which he captains a ship bound for the South Seas, proves as adventurous as the others. Set ashore by a mutinous crew, he finds the island to be inhabited by Houyhnhnms, a race of rational horses, who keep as menial servants a kind of degenerate human beings called Yahoos. In his three years here, Gulliver becomes so respectful of these sensible horses that he wishes to remain forever, but is forced to return. Back in England,
he lives almost in seclusion until he is finally prevailed upon to write the story of his adventures.

This apparently episodic journal of travels seems outwardly to depend for its unity on the relationship of all the adventures to Lemuel Gulliver. On the surface, this is true, but there is a kind of psychological development in the progression of the four books that is considerably more unifying: Swift's growing distaste for mankind. This increasing intensity brings us to the question of his purpose in writing the book, about which there is still much disagreement. Broadly, his purpose is satirical, rather than expository and creative, in the sense that More's was. Swift had no intention of picturing an ideal commonwealth toward the realisation of which man might strive; in this he is different from his predecessors. More had used satire slightly in his book, mainly to point up the advocacy of the kind of state he set aside the one he satirised. But with Swift, the satire is of primary importance, is in fact the governing force in the book. Where Bacon and Harrington intimated that man was wrong, and showed him how he might be right, Swift seems to have gone further back, in order to show man just how he was wrong, and just how wrong he was. Thus the English utopia is broadened in purpose. But to ascertain the amount of development in scope and method, it will be necessary to look for a moment at Swift's techniques.
II

For over two centuries the popularity of the *Travels* has rested on its excellent story value, that is, its narrative power. The first two sections of the book have met with the approval of most children, as in these sections the story interest, as a separate factor, is much stronger and more unified than in the two succeeding. The pygmies and giants appeal to the childish imagination more than do the speculators and immortals of the third book or the rational and philosophical horses of the fourth. But it is obvious that Swift did not wish merely to enchant children with bed-time stories, for there are bitterly satirical passages, certainly not meant for children, which are cleverly woven into his narrative.

In a paragraph or two at the beginning of the book, Swift introduces his hero. He is a stolid, phlegmatic, unimaginative Englishman, in many ways reminiscent of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. He has the same powerful memory, the same passion for detail, and even some of the same priggishness. By sifting and compressing Defoe's matter-of-fact method, Swift makes Gulliver immediately believable, and at once moves into the story, not "troubling" us with too many details. The ship having been blown into uncharted waters, Gulliver is unable to tell the reader exactly where this land of tiny people is situated. But once beyond the possibility of being logically contradicted, he tells his story with great accuracy of detail. Having fallen asleep on the shore, he wakes up to find that he is securely bound
to the ground, and that hordes of Lilliputians are clambering on
his body, expressing great astonishment at his size; he "was in the
utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in
a fright; and some of them, as I was afterward told, were hurt with
the falls they got leaping from my sides upon the ground."

The innocent aside, "as I was afterwards told", is indicative
of how carefully Swift follows the logic of preserving or creating
an illusion of reality. A more subtle use of the same device is
shown when Gulliver, asking to be fed, puts his finger to his mouth,
"perhaps against the strict rules of decency". While this is a clever
bit of characterization, it is also a means of lulling the reader
into a whole-hearted belief in Gulliver, and therefore the main
theorems which Swift puts into the mouth of his hero. Samuel Butler,
in both Erewhon and Erewhon Revisited, makes excellent use of the
same device.

The appearance of verisimilitude is further aided by Swift's
close attention to size relationships in Lilliput. His first reference
to the Lilliputian describes him as "a human creature not six inches
high", immediately establishing the scale of one inch to one foot
in relation to the norm, typified by Gulliver. The scale is rigidly
adhered to throughout this first book; Gulliver's food, his bed,
trees, buildings, all are accurately described on the basis of 1:12
for length and 1:1728 for mass. As he did with the "aside", Swift

1. Swift, Jonathan, Gulliver's Travels, Random House, New York,
   1931, p. 20

2. Ibid., p. 22
utilizes the device for the purpose of forming an attitude. We are allowed to view all of Gulliver's personal accessories only as they would appear to a Lilliputian. He remains "Quinbus Flestrin", the Man Mountain, whereas all the Lilliputian activities are described normally. Before long the reader accepts their viewpoint as the norm, and Gulliver becomes abnormal.

By another touch of realism, the introduction of bits of the language of the country, we are made to accept, and for the moment believe in, the existence of the race. Near the beginning, Gulliver is awakened by their shouts of "Hekinah degul", an exclamation of surprise at his bulk. On another occasion he is told that he must

1. "lamos kelma pozo desma lom Eapose", or swear a peace with the Emperor and his kingdom. This meticulous care for detail is one of the most important techniques of Swift's story-telling, as it creates the atmosphere of credibility necessary for the satire that is to come. Yet the detail is never allowed to become predominant and boring as it does in Robinson Crusoe; Swift maintains the ability to interweave his satire and narrative so that they complement and bolster one another. To remove the necessity of too great detail, he neatly evades the issue by suggesting that "a greater work, which

2. is now almost ready for the press", will describe the country in the necessary detail.

1. Ibid., p. 34
2. Ibid., p. 51
There are incidents in Gulliver, as there are in Butler's Erewhon, that do not noticeably contribute to the actual purpose of the book, but are still justifiably included on anecdotal grounds alone. When Gulliver was finally given his freedom in Lilliput, he was made to promise the Emperor that he would, if need be, perform some service to the kingdom. Some time later Gulliver calls the promise to mind, and describes his feat of extinguishing a fire in the Queen's apartment. This episode could have been related without introduction, but the fact that Swift conceived of tying it in with something previously related indicates the care with which he uses every possible technique to further the plausibility of his story.

Another of Swift's techniques which Butler much later used to good advantage is that of using the circumstantial tone when especially anxious to make a point. He ends a long discussion of Gulliver's various visitors by having him say, in denying any part in an intrigue with ladies of the Lilliputian court:

"I defy the Treasurer, or his two informers, (I shall name them, and let 'em make the best of it) Clustril and Drunlo, to prove that any person ever came to me incognito, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his Imperial Majesty, as I have before related." 2

While the incident itself is of minor importance to the story, the familiar tone serves to characterize Gulliver more fully, and at the same time arouse our interest in his situation. The technique is one which has been effectively used in novel-writing, and I

1. Ibid., p. 60-61
2. Ibid., p. 72
mention it here as a possible origin of a similar technique which Butler develops in *Erewhon Revisited*.

III

I shall deal briefly with the material of the first book of *Gulliver*, as well as the method, for only by considering some of the main ideas which Swift treats will it be possible to indicate his contribution to the techniques of English utopian literature. The first voyage might be roughly divided into two general narrative and satiric sections, Chapters One, Two, Five, and Eight being mainly narrative, and Chapters Three, Four, Six, and Seven chiefly satiric. This will of course remain an arbitrary division, as the two threads of purpose, the delightful and the instructive, are closely interwoven.

It is to Swift's credit that he introduced his satire into the book by making it at first almost indistinguishable from a part of the story itself. The satire of the Big-endians and the Little-endians, in allegorical form, is interesting and amusing, as is the episode of rope-jumping and stick-hopping, which ridicules the rivalries for court positions. Chapter Six, however, becomes more didactic than amusing, the method being similar to that used by the preceding English utopians. Eddy's comment is this:
"The political allegory holds good for all but a part of Chapter VI, which represents a distinct point of view. The satire of Gulliver's first voyage is not consistent, inasmuch as in this chapter Swift abandons the allegorical method, otherwise observed throughout, and resorts to the description of customs which are contrasted with those of the traveller's native land. In this chapter Lilliput is not England, but is Lilliput, a foreign country in which the traveller observes strange and excellent customs. The chapter is obviously an addition, inserted after Swift had worked out the general scheme for the "Voyage to Lilliput". Its inclusion is an artistic mistake, an inexcusable fault. Apparently Swift allowed himself to be misled by the impatience of the satirist, to the confusion of the narrator's art. That the inconsistent character of Chapter VI has not been more frequently noted is itself a tribute to the success with which the earlier chapters have dispelled the reader's suspicion of any inconsistency. 1.

It would seem that the passage was necessary to Swift's satiric purpose, as it makes the Lilliputians possessors of all the petty traits of humanity, despite their fine laws and customs. However, there is a change in tone, together with a shift in purpose, that tends to mar the progress of the book. Until this point Swift had merely intimated the ideal of good human behaviour by ridiculing Lilliputian pettiness, but now, perhaps unconsciously, he falls into the method of his utopian predecessors, and actually sets the ideal before the reader. But he quickly returns: "In relating these and the following laws, I would only be understood to mean the original institutions, and not the most scandalous corruptions into which these people are fallen by the degenerate nature of man". Ever the master of his art, he clears away the inconsistency by turning it into one of his favorite attacks on mankind, the assertion of


his "degenerate nature". The utopian theories he puts forth are not at all original, and his system of education is closely modelled on that of Plato. Obviously Swift was ill at ease in this medium of straightforward exposition, and in the second book he turns again to satire, his real purpose.

IV

The land of Brobdingnag is almost a complete reversal of Lilliput. Here the giants stand in the same relation to Gulliver as he had to the Lilliputians, and many of the same devices used in Book One are again employed to make the giants seem normal, while Gulliver appears ridiculously insignificant and powerless. This process of reversal is one which Butler develops extensively in Erewhon.

A notable development in the second voyage is Swift's use of obscenity or crudeness to arouse the reader's disgust toward some of the things which are being described. In picturing the huge Brobdingnagians, his purpose is primarily to point up man's grossness and dirtiness. Gulliver sees them with almost microscopic eyes, and sights such as the nurse's breast and the lice-infested monkey become nauseating to him, and therefore to us.

There is another extension of Swift's satirical technique evident in the passages directed at English institutions. The

1. Ibid., p. 133
2. Ibid., p. 136-7
Brobdingnagian king shows interest in the European way of life, and Gulliver, who misses no opportunity to praise his homeland, eloquently eulogizes, among other things typically English, the parliamentary system of government. The king asks some rather pointed questions, arising from the context of Gulliver's homily, which focus all too clearly the folly and corruption of these institutions. Gulliver immediately clears himself, at the same time doubling the force of the satire, by saying: "Nothing but an extreme love of truth could have hindered me from concealing this part of my story". He continues in this apologetic tone, and the effect becomes cumulative: "I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favorable turn than the strictness of truth would allow".

This is forceful satire, yet it is so carefully combined with Gulliver's narrative, and is spoken in so innocent a tone, that it might easily be passed over unnoticed. This subtlety of technique not only makes the realization of Swift's satire more effective, but it helps maintain a continuous thread of unity throughout each of the journeys. Samuel Butler makes use of the same technique to some extent in *Froghon*, but it is not sustained as it is in Swift, and Higgs' digressions often become long and wordy.

Gulliver's departure from Brobdignag represents a technical development away from the realism Swift has so carefully maintained

1. Ibid., p. 150
2. Ibid., p. 150
in describing his hero's means of travel. Gulliver's house-box is accidentally picked up by a huge eagle (apparently twelve times the size of an English eagle) and is later dropped at sea, where it is sighted by a ship carrying ordinary human beings. Here Swift brings the unreal dangerously close to the actual, but it is difficult to imagine how else Gulliver might have escaped from the country. It is possible that Butler used a modified version of the same idea in having Higgs escape from Brobdingnag by balloon.

At the end of Book II Gulliver, on his way home, affords us a hint of more adventures to come:

"My wife protested that I should never go to sea any more; although my evil destiny so ordered that she had not the power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafterward". 1.

It is by touches such as this that Swift preserves whatever unity is possible in a book divided into four parts.

The progression that Swift has made in his satiric method is obvious by the end of the second book. The satire has become harsher and less playful. It has broadened and become more general, much less applicable to particular persons and situations than, for instance, the allegorical account of the high-heels and low-heels. Again, the giants of this voyage are by no means as attractive as the tiny Lilliputians, a necessary result of the increased intensity of the satire.

1. Ibid., p. 169
Part III of Gulliver's Travels, the "Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Glubbdubdrib, Luggnagg, and Japan", is an unsuccessful departure from the conventional method of having the hero visit a single land of fantasy. The voyage begins in the usual fashion, the ship calls at a Chinese port, but here the usual storm carries Gulliver far out to sea, where pirates, not a shipwreck, set him ashore on a rocky island. These events are uninteresting enough, as the device is far from original, but it is in the lapses from his former technical excellence that Swift here weakens the book. Gulliver is picked up by a flying island, carrying a king and his subjects. The means by which it is kept aloft are tediously scientific, as are the Laputan discussions of astronomy. The satire is weak, as are the humor and irony.

The description of the Struldbrugs is similar in method to that used in the first two voyages, where a strange new race is described, this one being destined to immortality. The contrast between the usual idea of immortality and that seen here by Gulliver is cleverly done, and the creation of a race of immortals is original with Swift. But the book as a whole is badly broken up into a series of episodes only faintly connected. There is little attempt to create an agreeable world of the imagination, and the satire, such as that directed at England's treatment of Ireland, is for the most part of contemporary interest. Here the Flying Island of Laputa is made to hover over the natural islands, cutting off their sunlight, and
thereby bringing them into submaision. Most of the incidents in Book III lack probability, and few of them are interesting.

VI

Book IV, the final portion of the Travels, is a distinct unit in itself. It contains considerably more satire than narrative, and reveals little that is new in technique, but the satire is more powerful and concentrated than it hitherto has been. As we might expect, the voyage is not nearly so fanciful as the three earlier. The greatest departure from reality is the reversal of the positions of men and horses, and the exaggeration of their natures as Swift saw them. From this overstatement Swift gains a very powerful satiric effect.

During the first three voyages the final satiric effect, through various observations on the weaknesses of human nature, was an awareness that man was far from perfect. The attacks have been directed towards follies and vices that were for the most part petty. Gulliver himself has changed little as a result of his experiences, and his character has been anything but intense. Man to him is still earth's supreme being, especially the man from England.

This attitude is made clear to us in the first entry of Gulliver into the land of the Houyhnhnms. Upon seeing these rational horses, he is moved to admiration: "I was amazed to see such actions and behaviour in brute beasts, and concluded with myself, that if the
inhabitants of this country were endowed with a proportionable degree of wisdom, they must needs be the wisest people on earth". Swift makes clear, as it is the central note of his satire, the fact that Gulliver relates everything to his past experience, and cannot visualize a land in which men are ruled by horses. His first description of the Yahoos is a masterpiece of naivety, as he cannot at the moment conceive of their distinct resemblance to man. It is greatly to Swift's credit that he took so much care in preserving the psychology by which Gulliver would naturally direct his thought and action.

Gulliver is slowly enlightened when the Houyhnhnms act so much like rational beings, and finally when they compare his features to those of the Yahoos: "My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed in this abominable animal a perfect human figure". Now he begins to realize the folly of mankind which he has been unwittingly describing, and his contempt begins to grow. From this point on, Gulliver's character becomes greatly modified, and Swift handles the modifications very well. From the beginning of the book Gulliver has impressed us as a stolid, sensible, very orthodox Englishman, with the humility of experience growing in him only slightly. Now, in this new and strange land, a whole new set of concepts and values are forced upon him. By a reversal of their positions in society, horses have become the controlling rational creatures, and men have become beasts of burden. Gulliver's practical good sense urges him to strive for some of the excellence of these

1. Ibid., p. 256
2. Ibid., p. 261
admirable horses. We find much the same thing happening to the hero in *Frawdon Revisited*, but there the attitude is achieved by somewhat different methods. Swift makes the reader feel Gulliver's shame, and repulsion to mankind, sweeping away all the pleasantness of the two first voyages by bitter attacks on English law, warfare, medicine, government, and social behaviour. What was formerly satire now becomes a sheer denunciation.

This increase in the subjective treatment of Gulliver is carried through to the end of the book. Gulliver is most reluctant to return to 'civilization', and has great difficulty in readjusting himself to human society. Harsh as the attack seems to be, there is no flaw in Swift's psychology, which adds greatly to the authenticity of the story. It takes Gulliver years to suffer even his family to associate with him, and his only relief in being back is found in the company of "two stone horses", with which he converses "at least four hours every day".

VII

Swift begins his final chapter with an interesting statement concerning the purpose of the work: "Thus, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and above seven months; wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as truth. I could perhaps like others have astonished thee with

1. Ibid., p. 330
strange improbable tales; but I rather chose to relate plain matter
of fact in the simplest manner and style; because my principal design
was to inform, and not to amuse thee." His own account of his style is
quite accurate, as it has been plain and simple throughout. Although
the material is obviously fictional, he has given it the sustained
air of actuality. And as the purpose of satire is to inform with
a view to amendment, his statement is quite accurate.

The themes throughout Gulliver's Travels have been many. The
first book is fanciful in concept, the actions of the Lilliputians
intended to satirize man's absurd pettiness. In making Gulliver appear
such a mediocre person, and in being so careful of detail and veri-
similitude, Swift gains the reader's acceptance of his concepts, and
paves the way for more devastating satire, which would at the same
time demand a sound belief in the narrator.

The techniques in the second book are similar, but in the complete
reversal of Gulliver's position Swift makes size appear to be an
illusion. We readily adopt the Lilliputian point of view as the
norm, only to find that, in Brobdingnag, the viewpoint of the giants
is just as acceptable. Having made the relative nature of human
magnitude clear to us in the first two books, Swift attempts in the
third book to bring us to the same view with regard to human customs
and values. He fails here, chiefly because of his lack of organization
and unity.

1. Ibid., p. 331
Book Four is the most unified piece of all, in that it treats one broad concept with an ever-increasing intensity in the bitterness of its denunciation of mankind. The strings of the plot are successfully drawn together at the end, but the story content is small and of comparatively little interest. Throughout this section, man is contemplated from the point of view of a superior civilization, in fact from two slightly different viewpoints. There are two races of Yahoos, one in its original bestiality, the other endowed with a "pittance of reason", but retaining its bestiality in spite of the superior rationality and the 'civilization' it has created.

It is difficult to state Swift's purpose any more exactly than to say he set out to write a book of adventure which was, on another level, a biting satire against man and his supreme silliness. This he does by having a commonplace member of existing European society relate his experiences in such a manner that he makes that society look ridiculous, and even vicious. While Gulliver is far from being an intellectual, he is sufficiently sensible to give a coldly rational description of what he sees and hears. The fact that he is unaware of the impression he is creating turns much of the satire against himself, and makes it even more deadly. But, ironically enough, the reading public for two hundred years has accepted the book as an excellent adventure story, and has kept it free of dust, whereas the preceding works of English utopian literature have been for the most part left to specializing students.
Arnold Bennett has expressed the view that great works of literature are not kept alive by the common reader, but by an enthusiastic few in the literary world. If the opinion is just, it is unreasonable to believe that *Gulliver's Travels* has remained popular merely because it is, in part, a good story. It hardly meets the demands of the novel form, except in setting, as the plot is badly broken up into episodes, and while the characterization of Gulliver is good, this novelistic element is confined to him alone. We must infer, then, that the satire is of lasting value.

It is apparent that Swift has set up ideals of human conduct for the sake of comparison only in part of Book II and in Book IV. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to say that it is only on these occasions that he is an utopian. Satire, by its very nature, intimates a norm or an ideal, as it gains its effect by comparison, whether plainly stated or only subtly suggested. Moving from this premise, it would be possible to say that all satire, and a great deal of poetry, is utopian, as satirists and poets describe or suggest an ideal state of existence. It is necessary then to draw certain limitations for the sake of organization and classification. Utopian literature is usually classified as that which makes use of existing conditions in a hitherto unknown country, from which attitudes may be formed and comparisons may be drawn, with a view to describing or suggesting better attitudes and modes of behaviour. In this sense,
Gulliver's Travels is an utopia.

What, then, did Swift add to utopian literature? His most outstanding contribution seems to have been two-fold—satirical and narrative. In Gulliver's Travels, satire was first used in great measure to suggest, if not a complete ideal commonwealth, at least some of the means to attaining that state. The forces of wit, irony, and sarcasm are here combined with excellent effect. Moreover, these elements are channelled in the form of an interesting narrative of adventure, with enough careful attention to detail to make the story appear credible. In other words, the techniques of the novel are applied to the utopia in greater measure than ever before, and the result has stood the test of time. The development was only natural in the eighteenth century in England, the age when Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett were making their presence known by their work in the development of the English novel.

As a result of this development, utopian literature ceased to be merely expository, as the fictional form allowed the utopian writer considerably more freedom, and permitted the creation of far greater reader-interest than was formerly possible. Now the writer could work on two levels at the same time, maintaining both instructive and delightful purposes. Like Swift, he could obscure his real purpose by a subtle interweaving of the two levels of thought, making them interdependent and inseparable. The tradition, for such it has become in utopian literature, was taken up by Samuel Butler in the next century, and has been carried on until the present day.
CHAPTER III

I

In the hundred-odd years between Gulliver's Travels and Erewhon, there appeared no utopias in which new techniques were employed. With Swift, the purpose of this type of literature had become eminently satirical, and it was not until 1872, when Erewhon was published, that an English satirist achieved anything like Swift's success in suggesting a better state of existence by criticizing contemporary customs, institutions, and modes of thinking. Swift successfully utilized the techniques commonly associated with the novel in creating a vehicle by which to criticize his society. There had been only hints of plot, character, and setting in the utopias of More and Bacon; Swift developed and enlarged the scope of all three, moulding them to suit his purpose. He expanded Defoe's method of giving his story the appearance of reality by the careful use of detail and the circumstantial tone, and by the introduction of a prosaic, often unperceptive character to act as narrator and unconsciously ironic commentator, himself the human embodiment of what was being satirised.

There is little external evidence to show that Butler was directly indebted to any of his predecessors. He refers to The Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, and Gulliver's Travels as
"masterpieces of modern literature", and openly admires the terseness of Swift's style, but even the candid and closely documented Notebooks reveal no more information than this. However, when we come to consider his utopia and its sequel, it will become evident that, if Butler is not actually indebted to preceding writers in this field, he uses a great many of the techniques found in their works, and especially in Gulliver's Travels.

II

Krewnon is the story of one George Higgs, who sailed from England to a distant, unknown country to make his fortune at sheep farming. Looking for new ranges, he is urged by a conviction that there is "something lost behind the ranges" that he must discover. Deserted by Chowbok, his native guide, he makes his way through mountainous country to a land of strange and handsome people, the Krewthonians, whose customs are in some ways strangely like those of England, in others disturbingly different. He is accepted because of his fair hair and good looks, is given a royal pension, and is invited to live with the Nosnibor family. Having learned the language, he becomes more and more puzzled by the odd perversities of behaviour among these folk. Here there are the Musical Banks, with their double standard of currency; the puzzling criminal code, which views illness as punishable misfortune and crime as a disease; the Colleges of Unreason, with "professorships in Inconsistency and Evasion", where

the Hypothetical Language is the chief study; the strange and yet vaguely familiar views on the Unborn, on machines, and on the rights of animals and vegetables. Higgs, being a stolid, unimaginative and slightly priggish young man, methodically records most of what he sees and hears, but digresses somewhat on the theories which he finds most strange. He falls in love with Arowhena, Mr. Moanibor's daughter, and plans to escape from Brehwon, taking her with him. This he finally does, by means of an improvised balloon, which carries him and the beautiful Brehwonian girl far out to sea. On the point of giving themselves up as lost, they are picked up by an Italian ship, and find their way to England, where Higgs puts into action the plan he had formed of converting the Brehwonians to Christianity. He appends to his journal a plea for subscriptions of money, to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London.

III

Even from this brief summary it will be evident that Brehwon is not a straightforward vision of an ideal state, as is More's Utopia. It is, however, already possible to detect similarities to Gulliver's Travels in form, which suggests that the purpose of the book may also be similar. There are customs and ideas in Brehwon that Butler obviously considers ideal, just as there were those in Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnmland that Swift would wish for in England. But, like Swift, Butler found a good many more, uncomfortably like those in England, which became the objects of his satire.
Butler has stated in the preface to the 1901 edition of Erewhon that there was "no central idea underlying it", and that there was "hardly any story, and little attempt to give life and individuality to the characters." Self-effacing as these remarks seem, they give us a clue to Butler's real purpose: to use the form and, in part, the technique of the novel, in creating a work of prose satire. If there is no one central idea that underlies the book, there are several, and although Butler took the opportunity of interspersing his satire with some of his own pet theories, most of the ideas expressed are satirical, and therefore corrective.

IV

Erewhon is not a good novel, nor has it ever been considered so, even by the most quixotic critics; it is, however, a good satire, and has often been thought worthy of comparison with Gulliver's Travels. This, unfortunately, is as far as the comparison has ever gone. Ever since George Bernard Shaw, in the preface to Major Barbara, hailed Butler as one of the few intelligent men of the age, he has been bandied about as evolutionist, satirist, novelist, and crank. Several critical studies of his thought have been written, chiefly as reinforcements for the burning notions of the authors themselves. All have been ably abetted by Samuel Butler: A Memoir, a monumental work of scholarship by H. Festing Jones, Butler's old friend and admirer. An imposing volume has even been written about Butler in

relation to his family, whom he caustically satirized in his best-known novel, *The Way of All Flesh*. It may seem strange that now, when Butler is best known as a satirist, no enterprising critics have seen fit to analyze his satirical technique.

Broadly stated, the purpose of this thesis is to assign Butler to his proper niche in English utopian literature. Although such an assignment can only be arbitrary and of dubious value, the means by which it is attained have every reason to be both interesting and instructive. By itself, the purely comparative method is almost certainly doomed to inaccuracy, but I have found it extremely valuable to compare Butler's techniques with those of his predecessors, and especially those of Swift, for the purpose of ascertaining how far Butler enlarged upon them. It is stated above that he carried on a tradition begun by Swift, a tradition of satirical utopia-writing. By a careful consideration of the literary craftsmanship in *Erewhon*, in relation to that in *Gulliver's Travels*, the sum of Butler's contribution to the tradition should become evident.

V

The first six chapters of *Erewhon*, or roughly one-sixth of the book, are almost entirely narrative. Higgs' activities on a sheep farm, his attempts to convert Chowbok, his journey up the river and over the range, are described in a simple, straightforward, unadorned style that would have been no discredit to either Swift or Defoe.
We are immediately struck by the narrator's similarity to Gulliver, in his careful concealment of what part of the world he is in, and his painstaking use of seemingly truthful detail to describe his surroundings:

"I reached my destination in one of the last months of 1868, but I dare not mention the season, lest the reader should gather in which hemisphere I was. The colony was one which had not been opened up even to the most adventurous settlers for more than eight or nine years, having been previously uninhabited, save by a few tribes of savages who frequented the seashore." 1.

He prepares the way for his expedition beyond the ranges by describing, in significant detail, various minor ventures in search of new grazing land. His motives, then, are simple, logical, and believable, especially in the nineteenth century. But a healthy young sheep-farmer, faced with this economic necessity, and an inspiring range of unexplored mountains, is inclined to speculate:

"But over and above these thoughts came that of the great range itself. What was beyond it? Ah! who could say? There was no one in the world who had the smallest idea, save those who were themselves on the other side of it - if, indeed, there was anyone at all. Could I hope to cross it?" 2.

Interest aroused, Higgs sets about finding what he can about the country over the range from the ugly old Chowbok, who increases Higgs' interest by the fear and dread he shows upon being questioned. Needless to say, the reader has also been caught in curiosity's toils.

The pursuit of the river to its source is extremely well described, as Butler is careful in choosing relevant details, using them economically, and weaving them into the story to arouse interest in the strangeness and danger of Higgs' situation. Chowbok's desertion

1. Ibid., p. 2
2. Ibid., p. 8
is handled with fine dramatic restraint, and Higgs' loneliness is enhanced by the vastness and solemn grandeur of the surrounding peaks and gorges. Crossing and recrossing the river with great difficulty, Higgs camps on a grassy slope, and falls into an exhausted sleep. Disturbed by the strange and ominous silence of his surroundings, he dreams of a man seated at a monstrous pipe-organ, built into the precipices and caverns of a mountainside, "his body swaying from side to side amid the storm of huge arpeggiated harmonies that came crashing overhead and round". He awakes, and in the distance actually hears the weird wail of the music, as though it echoed faintly among the sombre crags. For sheer mystery and suggestiveness, there are few adventure stories that show skill superior to this. But Butler probably realized that to keep his hero in such a position was to make him a totally sympathetic character, whom it would be difficult to satirize. Higgs' middle-class complacency soon enables him to forget his harrowing experience, and he ponders upon the treacherous Chowbok, whom he had tried to convert:

"I used to catechize him by our camp fire, and explain to him the mysteries of the Trinity and of original sin, with which I was myself familiar, having been the grandson of an archdeacon by my mother's side, to say nothing of the fact that my father was a clergyman of the Church of England. I was therefore sufficiently qualified for the task, and was the more inclined to do it, over and above my real desire to save the unhappy creature from an eternity of torture, by recollecting the promise of St. James, that if anyone converted a sinner (which Chowbok surely was) he should hide a multitude of sins. I reflected, therefore, that the conversion of Chowbok might in some degree compensate for irregularities and shortcomings in my own previous life, the remembrance of which had been more than once unpleasant to me during my recent experiences." 2.

1. Ibid., p. 30
2. Ibid., p. 35-6
Before we realize what Butler has done, Higgs has become a ridiculous figure, the unconscious victim of Victorian smugness and false, self-seeking piety; incidentally, he has also become the symbol of all that Butler intends to satirize in his book. The method so far, apart from the emphasis on the strangeness of atmosphere, is almost wholly that of Swift.

Nor is the atmosphere of mystery, and therein the story interest, wholly sacrificed to satire. Moving into unknown territory, Higgs is at a critical stage of his adventure, and he makes us aware of his frame of mind:

"Each moment I felt increasing upon me that dreadful doubt as to my own identity - as to the continuity of my past and present existence - which is the first sign of that distraction which comes on those who have lost themselves in the bush. I had fought against this feeling hitherto, and had conquered it, but the intense silence and gloom of this rocky wilderness were too much for me, and I felt that my power of collecting myself was beginning to be impaired". 1.

Yet another shock was in store for poor Higgs:

"I was...proceeding cautiously through the mist, when I began to fancy that I saw some objects darker than the cloud looming in front of me. A few steps brought me nearer, and a shudder of unutterable horror ran through me when I saw a circle of gigantic forms, many times higher than myself, upstanding grim and gray through the veil of cloud before me". 2.

Finding that they did not move, he plucks up enough courage to examine the figures, and finds them to be huge statues, their heads hollowed out so that, when the wind blew through them, they gave

1. Ibid., p. 38
2. Ibid., p. 39
forth the weird music he had heard the night before. The good Higgs even goes so far as to copy into his journal several mournful phrases from one of Handel's compositions for the harpsichord, which are similar to the wailing of the statues. This is a delightful touch, combining detail and story interest with gentle satire on the industrious exactitude of the narrator. More than this, the incident brings the story back to a realistic plane, although on a different level, leaving us prepared to enter a new land. We are made prescient of the country's name by a discreet "aside", "(for Breshon is the name of the country upon which I was now entering)"; much in the manner of Gulliver.

Like Gulliver, Higgs falls asleep in the new land, and awakes to find himself regarded by some of the inhabitants. They are two young girls herding goats, extremely beautiful girls, who immediately scamper off to bring a party of men. Higgs' first impression of the Breshonians is that of their dusky beauty and excellent physique, an impression that is calculated to last throughout the book, for beauty and physical well-being are two of the ideal qualities of the country. Why they are considered so, Higgs will discover later.

There is another impression which Butler insists that the reader retain, that of the strange similarity of Breshon to Europe:

"Their ways of cooking and eating were European, though they had only a skewer for a fork, and a sort of butcher's knife to cut with. The more I looked at everything in the house, the more I was struck with its quasi-European character; ... and yet everything was slightly different." ¹

¹. Ibid., p. 51
As will be seen shortly, these "slight differences" provide the key to a great deal of Butler's satire.

Meanwhile, Higgs, the Victorian opportunist, is still speculating; perhaps he has fallen among the ten lost tribes of Israel! Here was "an opening too excellent to be lost".

"...could I not make them change? To restore the ten lost tribes of Israel to a knowledge of the only truth: here would be indeed an immortal crown of glory! My heart beat fast and furious as I entertained the thought. What a position would it not ensure me in the next world; or perhaps even in this! What folly it would be to throw such a chance away!" 1.

This is satirical characterisation of an excellent order, which, had it been sustained, would have placed Higgs among the best satirical characters in literature. Higgs speculation, however, runs close to the fantastic, too close for a story which, to maintain its satirical purpose, must bend to the dictates of verisimilitude.

Higgs reflects that he may be wrong; "in which case I could not but regret that my hopes of making money, which had led me into so much trouble and danger, were almost annihilated by the fact that the country was full to overflowing, with a people who had probably already developed its more available resources. Moreover, how was I to get back?" 2.

The note of chill reality effectively brings him, and us, back to earth, and we proceed further into Erewhon.

Until the time that Higgs arrives in his first Erewhonian city, the narrative has been sound; Butler has laid the foundation for what might easily be an interesting adventure story, and he has created a character through whom he might convey his satire, while still maintaining interest in the story for its own sake. Higgs

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1. Ibid., p. 52
2. Ibid., p. 54
has arrived in a land where he is imprisoned with the sick; he is
without money, and is ignorant of the language. His jailer even
has a beautiful daughter, who smiles on him with pity. Here is enough
situation, enough conflict, and promise of enough character, to
create a fine satirical novel; but Higgs is given a pension, because
it is a criminal offense in Erewhon to be poor, and most of the
conflict is removed. Thus, after sixty or seventy pages, Erewhon
ceases to be a novel, and becomes a primarily philosophical work,
in which there is still some effective satire.

While in prison, Higgs foolishly exercises in a cold autumn
wind, and takes a chill. He is surprised to find that Yram, his
pretty jailer, is very angry with him. Seeing his surprise, she
explains that illness is a crime in Erewhon. He is even more surprised
to find that he has been billeted with Mr. Nosnibor, who is just
recovering from the lamentable illness of embezzling a large sum
of money. The very moral Higgs reacts quite believably, and is
appalled, but finds that Nosnibor is really an upstanding man, very
rich, with two beautiful daughters. On his journey to the metropolis,
he ponders this "perversity of mental vision", and does not know
what to make of it. People along the road inquire, not after his
health, but his temper, and surprisingly enough, the expression of
ill-humour meets with the kindest sympathy. The reversal of crime
and disease, of character and physique, are confusing to Higgs, but
are clear enough to the reader. Their purpose, however, is not yet
satirical. Higgs digresses at length to give us the necessary background for the understanding of these "perversions", and unfortunately places his story in a position of secondary importance. The process of reversing conventional relationships is somewhat similar to that used by Swift, and becomes the basis of Butler's satire.

Through Higgs, as through Gulliver, we are made to see familiar ideas turned inside out, or upside down, a development by which the merely relative value of our former notions is brought clearly into focus. But where Swift was able to do this through the actions and conversations of Gulliver, Butler relies on straightforward explanations given by his "hero". Thus little attempt is made to weave threads of narrative into the expository digressions, a technique which Swift handled with admirable mastery. This failure to interweave narrative and satire is, in fact, the great artistic fault of the book, and one of the few reasons why it does not attain to the rank of Gulliver's Travels.

Butler does, indeed, attempt to combine narrative and satire near the beginning of Higgs' sojourn in Erehwon. Taking the case nearest at hand, that of Nosnibor, he explains at length how the "cure" for what Higgs considers a moral misdemeanor is sought. Nosnibor is subjected to the treatment of a Straightener (who bears an uncanny resemblance to our modern psychoanalyst). The Straightener inquires into Nosnibor's background and gives him a prescription:
"It ordered a fine to the state of double the money imbezzled; no food but bread and milk for six months, and a severe flogging once a month for twelve. I was surprised to find that no part of the fine was to be paid to the poor woman whose money had been embezzled, but on inquiry I learned that she would have been prosecuted in the Misplaced Confidence Court, if she had not escaped its clutches by dying shortly after she had discovered her loss". 1.

It is not yet evident that we are being introduced to a satire on English criminology, and as yet we, like Higgs, are inclined to look upon such customs as "perversions". Then Higgs innocently remarks that it is considered highly improper for even a Straightener to inquire into the physical condition of a patient. Substituting the word "Doctor" for Straightener", and "moral" for "physical", the situation takes on a strikingly familiar appearance, and we begin to see that Erewhon is sometimes England, with some ideas it should have, and many more that it should not have.

In the chapter, "Some Erewhonian Trials", Butler attempts to clarify his satire on English law by showing Erewhonian law in action, at the same time contributing to his narrative. Higgs sees a young man in the Personal Bereavement Court who has been swindled out of some property by his guardian. He pleads that he is "young, inexperienced, greatly in awe of his guardian, and without independent professional advice". He is sternly told that he has no right to be so, and is sentenced to twelve lashes.

The refusal of the Erewhonian courts (and thereby the English) to look into antecedent causes for what we call crime is illustrated

1. Ibid., p. 97-8
even more clearly in the case of the young man tried for being in
a consumption. Incidentally, in an attempt to preserve verisimilitude,
Higgs apologizes for deviating from chronological order in describing
the case: "I should never come to an end were I to keep to a strictly
narrative form, and detail the infinite absurdities with which I
daily came in contact". Turning to the trial, he describes the young
man, who has been tried and found guilty beyond a doubt. The judge's
summing-up, too long to be quoted at length, is a masterpiece of
ironic prose. Any English judge might have spoken words almost
identical to a young man charged with any serious crime. The gist
of what he says is this:

"There is no question of how you came to be wicked, but only this —
namely, are you wicked or not? This has been decided in the affirm-
ative, neither can I hesitate for a moment to say that it has
been decided justly. You are a bad and dangerous person, and stand
branded in the eyes of your countrymen with one of the most heinous
known offences....If you tell me that you had no hand in your
parentage and education...I answer that whether your being in a
consumption is your fault or no, it is a fault in you, and it is
my duty to see that against such faults as this the commonwealth
shall be protected. You may say that it is your misfortune to
be criminal; I answer that it is your crime to be unfortunate". 2.

The young man is assigned to hard labor the rest of his life, with
the medical treatment of two tablespoonsfuls of castor oil daily.
Having been reared according to these ideas and these laws, he fully
accepts them as being just, and makes no complaint. Butler adds
a parting shot: "Indeed, nothing struck me more during my whole
sojourn in the country, than the general respect for law and order".

There is, I think, a good case for arguing that Butler weakens the effect of his satire by allowing Higgs to digress into a long series of musings on the trial, in which he propounds a pet Butlerian theory:

"It is idle to say that men are not responsible for their misfortunes. What is responsibility? Surely to be responsible means to be liable to have to give an answer should it be demanded, and all things which live are responsible for their lives and actions should society see fit to question them through the mouth of its authorized agent...Property is robbery, but then, we are all robbers or would-be robbers together, and have found it necessary to organize our thieving, as we have found it necessary to organize our lust and our revenge. Property, marriage, the law; as the bed to the river, so rule and convention to the instinct; and woe to him who tampers with the banks while the flood is flowing". 1.

Viewed ironically, at least parts of the digression may be said to add to the satire; but they are spoken by Higgs, and in speaking thus, he is wholly out of character.

Higgs continues his digression in describing the Malcontents, a group of humanitarian reformers who have what we would consider a sensible solution to the problem posed by the Brewhonian laws. They "assert that illness is the inevitable result of certain antecedent causes", and would separate the ill from those in society whom they might endanger, curing them and allowing them to do what they are able in supplying the needs of society. Thus Butler goes considerably further than most satirists, in contributing an actual solution to the problem he exposes in his satire. He endeavours to save his thread of narrative by an ironic comment reminiscent of Gulliver:

1. Ibid., p. 113-14
"I have perhaps dwelt too long upon opinions which can have no possible bearing upon our own, but I have not said the tenth part of what these would-be reformers urged upon me." 1

Where Butler is unable to reverse Erwthonian customs and institutions for the sake of forcing his reader into accepting their merely relative value, he takes actual situations and reduces them to absurdity by carrying them to extremes. The commercialization of art in England takes ridiculous form as he describes the ancient Erwthonian custom of cluttering up their public squares with statues of "some worthy windbag whose cowardice had cost the country untold loss in blood and money", until the people rose and destroyed all the statues.

"For a couple of hundred years or so, not a statue was made from one end of the kingdom to the other, but the instinct for having stuffed men and women was so strong, that people at length again began to try to make them... On this the same evils recurred. Sculptors obtained high prices - the art became a trade - schools arose which professed to sell the holy spirit of art for money; pupils flocked from far and near to buy it, in the hopes of selling it later on, and were struck purblind as a punishment for the sin of those who sent them." 2

The process ended with the public paying the sculptors not to create any statues at all. This method of "reductio ad absurdum", although difficult to handle, is usually more humorous than the more elaborate method of using "topsy-turvy" situations, and it does not require the deliberation necessary to puzzle out the intended meaning. The "topsy-turvy" method of reversal is infinitely superior in breadth and subtlety, a marked development from the similar but less complex

1. Ibid., p. 121
2. Ibid., p. 127
method of reversal used by Swift, who inverted quantities and single ideas rather than whole situations. Where Swift attacked particular faults in an English institution, Butler attacked the institution itself, as he did the Established Church, in the form of the Musical Banks.

There are in Frewon two systems of currency:

"One of these (the one with the Musical Banks) was supposed to be the system, and to give out currency in which all monetary transactions should be carried on; and as far as I could see, all who wished to be considered respectable, kept a larger or smaller balance at these banks. On the other hand, if there is one thing of which I am more sure than another, it is that the amount so kept had no direct commercial value in the outside world; I am sure that the managers and cashiers of the Musical Banks were not paid in their own currency. Mr. Nosnibor used to go to these banks, or rather to the great mother bank of the city, sometimes but not very often. He was a pillar of one of the other kind of banks, though he appeared to hold some minor office also in the musical ones. The ladies generally went alone; as indeed was the case in most families, except on state occasions."

Once the thought strikes us that he is describing the English customs of church-going, the irony of the passage becomes as barbed as anything in Swift. The description of the Bank building given by Higgs leaves no room for doubt, and it is, incidentally, a finely-wrought piece of prose, conveying the atmosphere of ageless dignity inspired by an English cathedral. Concentrating his satire on a particular incident, Butler brings Higgs in contact with church commercialism:

"I cannot describe all that took place in these inner precincts, for a sinister-looking person in a black gown came and made unpleasant gestures at me for peeping. I happened to have in my pocket one of the Musical Bank pieces, which had been given me by

1. Ibid., p. 138
Mrs. Nosnibor, so I tried to tip him with it; but having seen what it was, he became so angry that I had to give him a piece of the other kind of money to pacify him. When I had done this he became civil directly." 1.

This unconscious use of myosis by the innocent Higgs is an excellent example of the manner in which Butler subordinates and integrates the various strands of his satirical technique. Having established an over-all situation of reversal, he weaves into the larger pattern smaller and more varied threads, each with a purpose and a sting of its own. A snatch of conversation concerning church reform (fresh stained windows, enlarged organs, and improved clerical manners) evidences irony at its best:

"But haven't you done anything to the money itself?" said I timidly. "It is not necessary," he rejoined; "not in the least necessary, I assure you." 2.

The "money" referred to would be, of course, conventional piety.

As it stands, this is good satire, with enough subtlety to maintain the reader's interest, but Butler is not willing to allow the situation to speak for itself. Higgs comments at length upon the system, admitting that "we do something not so very different from this in England", and goes on to outline what he thinks would be a sensible attitude. These comments are never organized into a pattern which might be considered utopian, and as part of the satire, they give the impression that the point is being laboured. It has been made sufficiently clear that, to all practical purposes, churches

1. Ibid., p. 142
2. Ibid., p. 145-6
have become banks in which the pious, speculating on eternal rewards, pay cash for drafts on the hereafter, and philosophical speculation appended to the satirical passages runs the risk of being superfluous and irrelevant.

Butler makes some attempt, nevertheless, to prepare the reader for lengthy comment upon Frewonian beliefs, aside from the narrative. Higgs lets himself be persuaded to take out an account in the Musical Banks;

"It was in the course of conversations on this subject that I learned the more defined religious opinions of the Frewonians, that coexist with the Musical Bank system, but are not recognized by those curious institutions. I will describe them as briefly as possible in the following chapters before I return to the personal adventures of Arowhena and myself." [1]

It is perhaps surprising that Butler, an individualist in so many of the views set forth, either directly or obliquely, should have allowed his chapter on Grundy and the Grundyites to become prosey and didactic. Victorian conformity and prudishness, from the modern viewpoint, are excellent objects of satire; but Higgs gives too sensible a commendation of "high Ydgrunites" for us to doubt that he is saying what Butler felt himself. It is the attitude of shuffling compromise between the beliefs held and those expressed that he does attack, with innocent but accurate irony:

"Taking then their religious opinions as a whole, I must own that the Frewonians are superstitious, on account of the views which they hold of their professed gods, and their entirely anomalous and inexplicable worship of Ydgrun, a worship at once the most

[1] Ibid., p. 157
powerful, yet most devoid of formalism, that I ever met with; but in practice things worked better than might be expected, and the conflicting claims of Ydgrun and the gods were arranged by unwritten compromises (for the most part in Ydgrun's favor), which in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred were very well understood...I could not conceive why they should not openly acknowledge high Ydgrunism...but whenever I so much as hinted at this, I found I was on dangerous ground.  

So far, Butler has confined most of his satire to attitudes and institutions which are more or less universally considered legitimate objects of satire. It is this quality of being able to choose targets which are among the lasting faults and stupidities of man that has raised Swift to his eminent position among the great satirists of all time. From this point of view, it is unfortunate that Butler chose to satirize the English for their refusal to accept immediately the evolutionary standpoint in bringing up children, and in fact, with regard to life in general. He propounds an elaborate scheme for the express purpose of satirizing attitudes of parenthood, by explaining in great detail the Brewhonian myth of The World of the Unborn. Incorporeal children in this realm insist on bothering innocent married couples in the real world, begging to be born into it themselves. Then when their wishes are granted, the parents draw up a "Birth Formula" for the child, which states that the child itself is responsible for being born into the world. Since the child cannot write at the time of this ceremony, a grown person signs the document for it, and the parents are released from all responsibility for the child's behaviour. The picture as Butler

1. Ibid., p. 169
gives it is too elaborate, and lacks the accuracy of good irony
necessary to make infant baptism and the institution of godparents
look ridiculous. He then launches into a rather prosy and didactic
plan for the proper upbringing and practical education of children,
which badly damages such unity as the discussion has up to this point
maintained. Higgs vainly attempts to assume his former character
with an apology:

"The above may sound irreverent, but it is conceived in a spirit
of the most utter reverence for those things which alone do deserve
it - that is, for the things which are, which mold us and fashion
us, be they what they may; for the things that have power to punish
us, and which will punish us if we do not heed them; for our masters
therefore. But I am drifting away from my story." 2.

At this time Higgs devotes two or three pages of his journal to
a summary of narrative events to this point, and tells of his love
for Arowhena, and his intention to escape with her to England. Passages
such as this remind us forcibly how inferior is Butler’s technique to
that of Swift, who was able to interweave his satire and narrative
so that it was difficult to separate them. Higgs is now growing
unpopular, as Gulliver had/in the land of the Houyhnhnms, and we are
made vaguely aware of the fact that he will soon have to leave Breshon,
because his good looks are beginning to fail him. It is suggested
that he take a few days’ journey out of the city, to the chief seat
of the Colleges of Unreason, and the scene is quickly set for a satire
on English education. The feeling Higgs has while at the seat of
learning (by the description it might be either Cambridge or Oxford)

1. Ibid., pp. 190-198
2. Ibid., p. 198
is similar to that he had in the cathedral, a feeling that whatever is taught in these impressive old buildings must be truth and wisdom. But he finds that "the main feature in their system is the prominence which they give to a study which I can only translate by the word 'hypothetics'...To imagine a set of utterly strange and impossible contingencies, and require the youths to give intelligent answers to the questions that arise therefrom, is reckoned the fittest conceivable way of preparing them for the actual conduct of their affairs in after life". Students are tested in Inconsistency and Evasion, and Higgs even hears of one who is "plucked...for want of sufficient vagueness in his saving clauses paper". The Erewhonian system bears an unmistakable resemblance to English classical education, and as such, it contains passages of good satire, like that describing harried students forced to "spend years in learning to translate some of their own good poetry into the hypothetical language". The description of the Erewhonian dons is a masterpiece of humour:

"...there was no getting anything out of them if they scented even a suspicion that they might be what they call 'giving themselves away'. As there is hardly any subject on which this suspicion cannot arise, I found it difficult to get definite opinions from any of them, except on such subjects as the weather, eating and drinking, holiday excursions, or games of skill. If they cannot wriggle out of expressing an opinion of some sort, they will commonly retail those of someone who has already written on the subject, and conclude by saying that though they quite admit that there is an element of truth in what the writer says, there are many points on which they are unable to agree with him. Which these points were, I invariably found myself unable to determine; indeed, it seemed to be counted the perfection of scholarship and good breeding among them not to have much less to express - an opinion on any subject on which it might prove later that they had been mistaken.

1. Ibid., p. 206-7
The art of sitting gracefully on a fence has never, I should think, been brought to a greater perfection than at the Erewohonian Colleges of Unreason". 1.

While Higgs is at the Colleges of Unreason, he is shown the philosophical tract that caused machines to be destroyed in Erewhon, and, on his return to the metropolis, he translates it into English, and calls it "The Book of the Machines". Strangely enough, this digression of some forty pages constitutes what was avowedly the germ for the whole of Erewhon. It is expanded from an article Butler wrote while he was sheep farming in New Zealand, called "Darwin Among The Machines". The gist of the tract is that, some five hundred years before Higgs came to Erewhon, an Erewohonian philosopher had been disturbed by the way in which men were becoming slaves to machines, creating them progressively so much better that they threatened to supersede man in his place in nature. By extremely logical reasoning, he had come to the conclusion that man, to remain supreme in the universe, must destroy any machine that exerted too much influence over his actions. An answer was made by another philosopher that man was a machinate animal, and that machines were really only extra-corporeal limbs, and very necessary to human progress. Fear of domination ruled, however, and after much argument it was agreed to destroy all inventions that had been discovered for the preceding 271 years,

1. Ibid., p. 218

"a period which was agreed upon after several years of wrangling
as to whether a certain kind of mangle which was much in use among
washerwomen should be saved or no. It was at last ruled to be
dangerous, and was just excluded by the limit of 271 years." 1.

It was thought when Erehwon appeared that these chapters were
an attempt to reduce the Darwinian theory to absurdity, and Butler
wrote a letter to Darwin, explaining that it was merely an onslaught on
"the specious misuse of analogy", which indeed it seems to be. But
whatever Butler's purpose was, these chapters remain, in Erehwon,
an unjustified digression, containing insufficient actual satire
to warrant so much space. True, it is a neatly-turned exercise in
reducing pure logic to absurdity, but even as such it is far too
long for what it contributes to a book purporting to be a satirical
utopia.

Butler might be accused of the same fault concerning the two
chapters following, "The Rights of Animals" and "The Rights of
Vegetables". G. D. H. Cole remarks:

"As for the rights of animals, and of vegetables, all that part
bears signs of later writing than the rest, and serves mainly
to drive home the lesson that it is unwise to press on to logical
conclusions, except with the purpose of recoiling from them, as
he represented the Erehonians as having done when, after giving
up meat-eating, they came to realize that no sharp line could be
drawn between the lives of animals and plants." 2.

There are some quite humorous passages in these chapters, such as
that which describes how the Erehonians at this time ate only eggs
that were stamped "Laid not less than three months", for fear of

1. Ibid., p. 260

p. 83
destroying a potential chicken, but they are devoid of relevant
satirical purpose, because the whole passage is little more than
a digression in which Butler expounds a theory which he developed
in a later book, *Life and Habit*. He terminates these sixty pages
of almost complete digression rather lamely:

"Indeed I can see no hope for the Erewhonians till they have got
to understand that reason uncorrected by instinct is as bad as
instinct uncorrected by reason." ¹.

Then, by a hurriedly abrupt transition, we are brought back to reality
and immediate necessity:

"Though busily engaged in translating the extracts given in
the last five chapters, I was also laying matters in train for
my escape with Arowhena." ².

Having gained the Queen's favour, Higgs has set about building a
huge balloon, which will carry the lovers out of Erewhon, and possibly
within range of a ship that will take them to England. It is neces-
sary, so near the end of the story, that we be reminded of Higgs'
priggishness; if Butler has wandered from his satirical purpose,
he returns in this manner:

"It happened that there had been a long drought, during the latter
part of which prayers had been vainly offered up in all the temples
of the air god. When I first told her Majesty that I wanted a
balloon, I said my intention was to go up into the sky and prevail
upon the air god by means of a personal interview. I own that
this proposition bordered on the idolatrous, but I have long
repented of it, and am little likely ever to repeat the offense.
Moreover the deceit, serious though it was, will probably lead to
the conversion of the whole country." ³.

Then we are told, in a manner much like that of Defoe, of all the
careful preparations for the flight. Arowhena is to escape from


². Ibid., p. 284

³. Ibid., p. 286
her home early in the morning, and is to hide in the balloon until the King and Queen arrive to watch the ascension. Butler handles the suspense with the skill of a master story-teller, and just as Arowhena is discovered, Higgs shouts to the men to let go the ropes, and the balloon rises swiftly out of danger; that is, from the Erewhonians. The minute descriptions of their sensations in the balloon are done with admirable insight, for an author who could not possibly have known the experience:

"And now began a time, dream-like and delirious, of which I do not suppose that I shall ever recover a distinct recollection. Some things I can recall - as that we were ere long enveloped in vapor which froze upon my moustache and whiskers; then comes a memory of sitting for hours and hours in a thick fog, hearing no sound but my own breathing and Arowhena's (for we hardly spoke) and seeing no sight but the car beneath us and beside us, and the dark balloon above...there was another feeling which was nearly as bad; for as a child that fears it has gone blind in a long tunnel if there is no light, so ere the earth had been many minutes hidden, I became half frightened lest we might not have broken away from it clean and forever." 1.

Their next sight of the earth is one of black waves flecked with white, and even after a feverish unloading of all the ballast and everything but the clothes they wore, their balloon settles in the sea.

"We had said farewell for the hundredth time, and had resigned ourselves to meet the end; indeed I was myself battling with a drowsiness from which it was only too probable that I should never wake; when suddenly, Arowhena touched me on the shoulder and pointed to a light and to a dark mass which was bearing right upon us. A cry for help - loud and clear and shrill - broke forth from both of us at once; and in another five minutes we were carried by kind and tender hands on to the deck of an Italian vessel." 2.

1. Ibid., p. 292-3
2. Ibid., p. 297
The details of the voyage have are given with careful regard for verisimilitude; Higgs and Arowhena are married on board ship, and both are obliged to conceal the facts of their situation by falsehoods which, as Higgs says, "would render my life miserable were I not sustained by the consolations of my religion". Immediately upon their return to London, he sets about formulating a plan to convert the Frewhonians to Christianity, raising fifty thousand pounds in shares, and carrying missionaries to that country in a small gunboat "(for we must protect ourselves)". Frewhonians are to be taken to Queensland and put to work on sugar plantations - at the same time receiving religious instruction, preparing for the salvation of their souls. To waive any objections to the effect that this might be an illegal procedure, Higgs quotes an actual passage from the Times, concerning the Polynesians who have been "brought" to the sugar-growers at Queensland, who "were inclined to retain the Polynesians, and teach them religion". Says Higgs:

"I can see no hitch or difficulty about the matter, and trust that this book will sufficiently advertise the scheme to insure the subscription of the necessary capital; as soon as this is forthcoming I will guarantee that I will convert the Frewhonians not only into good Christians but into a source of considerable profit to the shareholders." 1.

But, purely by accident, Higgs runs across Chowbok, the old native servant who had deserted him, campaigning for funds for the same purpose, the conversion of "the ten lost tribes". In a hurried postscript, Higgs urges subscribers to send their money to the Lord Mayor of London, as he sees "a probability of complication which

1. Ibid., p. 305
causes me much uneasiness”.

These final chapters are among the best in Butler. Higgs, already an amusing character, is here portrayed with ironic accuracy as an unfeeling representative of his age, barely concealing his materialism with false piety. Had Butler been able to sustain this characterization throughout, instead of making his "hero" for the most part an objective and too philosophical narrator, Higgs might have surpassed Gulliver as the embodiment of his creator's satirical views.

VI

It is a common opinion among Butler's critics that the complete understanding of Erewhon depends upon a knowledge of his other works. It is true that most of the theories, chiefly biological, that are tentatively put forth in the book are those which were expanded and developed in almost all his later works. But Erewhon was the first book he published; and considered by itself, as a satirical utopia, it lacks the unity and coherence one expects from a work of literary art. Compared to Gulliver's Travels, the book lacks Swift's singleness of purpose, his sustained irony and characterization.

Aside from these faults, there are techniques in which Butler has equalled, and sometimes even surpassed, his great predecessor. Making use of the novel form, Butler followed Swift in his care for detail and verisimilitude; at times the character of Higgs stands
out much more clearly than does that of Gulliver; the "topsy-turvyism" that Swift used with only mediocre ability in the Voyage to Laputa, Butler expanded and made the basis for his satire of English institutions; the use of asides, the "redditio ad absurdum", irony, and myosis, all ably contribute to the satirical effects in Erehwon. Underlying the whole book is the same doctrine of relativity that Swift conveyed in satirizing disparity concerning quantities, and Butler attempts to clarify it by applying it more universally. After considering Erehwon Revisited in our next chapter, it will become clearer in which techniques and methods Butler surpasses, equals, or falls below the standards of Swift.
CHAPTER IV

I

In the preface to Erewhon Revisited, the sequel to Erewhon which appeared almost thirty years later, Butler tells us that he wondered what would have happened in Erewhon after Higgs’ seemingly miraculous escape. "I have concluded," he says, "I believe rightly, that the events described in Chapter XXIV of Erewhon would give rise to such a cataclysmic change in the old Erewhonian opinions as would result in the development of a new religion." The book was at first severely criticised as a satire on Christianity, and Butler felt obliged, in a letter to a friend, to clarify his purpose:

"I meant to show how myth, attended both by zealous good faith on the part of some and chicanery on the part of others, would be very naturally developed in consequence of a supposed miracle, such as a balloon ascent would be to a people who knew nothing about such things; and I meant to suggest a parallelism not between the Sunchild and Christ (which never even entered my head) but between the circumstances that would almost inexorable follow such a supposed miracle as the escape of the Sunchild, and those which all who think as I do believe to have accreted round the supposed miracle, not of the ascension, but of the Resurrection. And I did not mean to poke fun at Christianity. Anything but." 2

From such a clear statement of purpose we might infer that this book is not to be a satirical utopia, as was the first Erewhon, and that it therefore will be mainly beyond the limits of the present study. Such an inference would not be totally accurate, as there are some techniques of satirical utopia-writing employed in the sequel which


Butler had not used before, and before it will be possible to determine how great was his part in the technical development of English utopian literature, *Erewhon Revisited* must be considered.

II

Some twenty years after Higgs had escaped from Erewhon with Arowhena, he was possessed by a gnawing desire to return to that country, wherein he and his now deceased wife had known their greatest happiness. He makes his way back in Erewhonian disguise, to discover that his departure has been interpreted as miraculous, that he has been deified as the Sunchild, and that as a result, a mythology, a religion, and a State Church have sprung into being. Under danger of being killed as a foreign devil, he poses as an under-ranger, and tricks two travelling Erewhonian professors out of their permit to cross the king's ranges. From their conversation he learns what has happened in Erewhon, and wishes to see the new temple the Erewhonians are about to dedicate to the Sunchild. Changing back into his English clothes, which are now in use in the country, Higgs meets his son by Yram, now the king's head ranger, the existence of whom has hitherto been unknown to him. Higgs is overcome by parental feeling for George, this admirable young man who cannot recognize him as his father. He leaves George, and moves about Erewhon in disguise, waiting until the day of the dedication service. Meanwhile Yram, who had married the mayor of Sunchildston before George was born,
realizes who this stranger is, and endeavours to spirit him safely out of the country with the help of her family and friends. Through a series of compromises, the escape is finally arranged, and Higgs returns to his son in England, a broken man in body and in spirit. Shortly before his death, he relates the events of his journey to John, his younger son, who takes the account down in shorthand and later publishes the journal as *Erewhon Revisited*.

III

The most outstanding change in the methods by which Butler wrote the sequel to his utopia lies in the manner in which the story is told. Where *Erewhon* was written in the first person, the story being told by Higgs himself, much of *Erewhon Revisited* is written in the third person, being actually told and commented upon by John Higgs. The method is well chosen for Butler's purpose, as it gives Butler the opportunity to clarify his intended meanings through John's comments. Also, as the story is told by the "hero's" son, Higgs automatically becomes a more sympathetic character, a development very necessary to the proper understanding of Butler's purpose. He states in his preface that Higgs has been in great part freed from his former priggishness "by the sweet uses of adversity", a fact which the story bears out accurately.

The journey up the river and into Erewhon is handled with much the same care for detail and verisimilitude as was the original
journey, and although Higgs conducts himself much as he had twenty years ago, there is a totally different atmosphere surrounding the events of his entrance into Erewhon, which leads us to believe that many things have changed:

"He found the statues smaller than he had expected...Their mouths were much clogged with snow, so that even though there had been a strong wind (which there was not) they would not have chanted. In other respects he found them not less mysteriously impressive than at first. He walked two or three times all around them, and then went on." 1.

It is not long before the changes that have taken place in Erewhon become quite evident. Having killed some quail and camped for supper just inside Erewhon, Higgs hears voices, and from the conversation he overhears, he learns that watches (and thereby machines) are being used again in Erewhon, and that several new and very strict laws have been instituted. Thus, bit by bit, Butler makes us conscious of the facts on which the story will turn. The voices are those of Hanky and Panky (or Hocus and Pocus), Professors of Worldly and Unworldly Wisdom respectively, at the Colleges of Unreason in Bridgeford, City of the People who are Above Suspicion. The names immediately suggest further satire directed at English university education, and the unpleasant light in which we are made to see the professors reveals an intensity of satire reminiscent of Swift, totally different from the more genial fun-poking in Erewhon. This new intensity, although not sufficiently sustained to be consistently good satire,

is also found in later satirical passages in the book. Butler is at this point in the story mainly concerned with conveying the necessary information for the understanding of the situation in this strangely modified Brehon. He conveys the necessary facts very cleverly by having Higgs pose as under-ranger, and read the professors' permit. As Higgs reads the many prohibitive clauses of the permit, it gradually dawns on him that he himself has been the cause of these radical changes. There is a good deal of dramatic irony in the situation, and by conveying it chiefly through the conversation of Higgs and the professors, Butler lays the foundation for what could be an excellent novel. There is humour, too, in Higgs calling the forbidden quails landrails, and inviting the two unscrupulous scholars to join him in eating them, in return for some Musical Bank money.

His comment on the professors is indicative of Butler's increased animosity towards hypocritical academicism:

"Panky was the greatest humbug of the two, for he would humbug even himself - a thing, by the way, not very hard to do; and yet he was the less successful humbug, for he could humbug no one who was worth humbugging - not for long. Hanky's occasional frankness put people off their guard. He was the more common, superficial, perfunctory Professor, who, being a Professor, would of course profess, but would not lie more than was in the bond; he was log-rolled and log-rolling, but still, in a robust wolfish fashion, human." 1

Posing now as Professor Panky, with the aid of the permit, Higgs happens to meet the young man whom he realizes to be his son, and the situation now becomes ironic with no satirical intent. Their conversation characterizes George as a splendid young man, and Higgs

1. Ibid., p. 350
as a devoted and intelligent father who is aghast at the system of lies and superstition that he has innocently caused to be established as a religion. George, who has nothing but hatred for the Sunchild, in whom he does not believe, does not know that the man walking beside him is the Sunchild, and his father.

"'Let him come', he says, 'let him show himself, speak out and die, if the people choose to kill him. In that case I would forgive him, accept him as my father, as silly people sometimes say he is, and honor him to my dying day!'" 1.

Almost overcome with emotion, Higgs grips the young man's hand as though sealing a covenant, and leaves him staring dubiously after him.

As he walks toward Sunchildston (or Sunch'ston, as it is called), Higgs notices many signs of the new order in Frewhon. Modern methods of advertising come in for incidental satire, as he sees signs advertising "moral try-your-strengths" and "Dedication" trousers, handkerchiefs, gingerbread, and portraits ("highly idealized") of Higgs, the Sunchild. He is led to wonder what he must do about the harm he has done to Frewhonian beliefs, and calls upon the only religion he knows for a solution:

"Should I not speak out, come what may, when I see a whole people being led astray by those who are merely exploiting them for their own ends?...'The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding.'...What is fear of the Lord, and what is evil in this case?...If Satan himself is at times transformed into an angel of light, are not angels of light sometimes transformed into the likeness of Satan? If the devil is not so black as he is painted, is God always so white?...If a man should not

1. Ibid., p. 376
do evil that good may come, so neither should he do good that evil may come; and though it were good for me to speak out, should I not do better by refraining?" 1.

By introducing his own doubt of Christian dogma into Higgs' ponderings, and applying his own attitude of criticism to the particular case of his hero, Butler very subtly informs us of the basic ideas upon which the story will turn. Higgs is no longer the pious and grasping Victorian, the human vehicle of his satire; he is now the primary vehicle of Butler's own ideas, a thoughtful and conscientious man surrounded by cant and hypocrisy, and he means to do something about it.

Until the time when Higgs arrives in Sunch'ston, the book has been written as an actual journal, by his son. At the beginning of Chapter VIII, the author becomes omnipresent and omniscient, so far as the story is concerned, and the book is transformed into a novel. By this change in method, Butler brings us much nearer all parts of the story, and makes the plot a good deal easier to understand, although in doing so he loses some of the effect of verisimilitude which was formerly so well-sustained. He is now able to disregard time and space, and can move freely from situation to situation, regardless of where Higgs happens to be, and give his plot the unity and dramatic sequence that Erewhon had lacked. From time to time he does revert to the original method of narrative, and speaks through the words of John Higgs, at one point even asking the reader's permis-

1. Ibid., p. 390-391
sion to digress, for the purpose of speculating on the conventional view of Hell.

In two short chapters we are introduced to the older Yram, Dr. Downie, Mrs. Humdrum, and several other Frewhonians of minor importance, all congregated at a dinner-party. The first three are characterized as sensible people who do not accept Sunchildism, but who are willing to accept the spiritual truth that is inherent in some of the Sunchild's sayings, most of which are slightly altered Biblical texts that Higgs had taught the Frewhonians twenty years ago. It will be seen that the names of these people, Downie, Humdrum, Hanky, Panky, Balsey, and so on, give the key to their characters, a device employed by many earlier writers. To a great extent this technique precludes the possibility of much authentic characterization, but for the sake of Butler's purpose most of the people in the book must be cast as types, some of which he can satirize. In Frewhon the reversed spelling of names served as part of Butler's satirical plan of reversal, which was maintained almost throughout; but as Frewhon Revisited was written with one more or less central theme, incidental satire is reduced to a secondary place, and is thus a much less pungent criticism of contemporary society as a whole.

While George and Yram are piecing together the bits of information about this stranger who has come to Frewhon, Higgs, "fearing recognition in Sunch'ston, betakes himself to the neighboring town

1. Ibid., p. 426
of Fairmead." Having bought a pamphlet by Dr. Gorgoyle in one of
the shops, he sits down to rest in one of the Musical Banks, and
begins to read it. It is entitled "The Physics of Vicarious Existence,
being Strictures on Certain Heresies concerning a Future State that
have been Engrafted on the Sunchild's Teaching". John's summary is
this:

"In brief, Dr. Gorgoyle's contention comes to little more than
saying that the quick are more dead, and the dead more quick,
than we commonly think. To be alive, according to him, is only
to be unable to understand how dead one is, and to be dead is only
to be invincibly ignorant concerning our own livingness - for the
dead would be as living as the living if we could only get them
to believe it." ¹

The pamphlet is little more than a digression in which Butler puts
forth his view that the only immortality is that whereby we live
on the lips of other men when we cease to breathe. It is inclined
to be prosy, didactic, and largely irrelevant, for which Butler
excuses himself by saying "neither can I interrupt my story further
by saying anything about the other two pamphlets purchased by my
father". Fortunately, there are very few such breaks in the narrative,
and the only other major digression is Higgs' visit to the Provincial
Deformatory at Fairmead.

Over the door of the Deformatory, Higgs sees the inscription:

"When the righteous man turneth away from the righteousness that
he hath committed, and doeth that which is a little naughty and
wrong, he will generally be found to have gained in amiability
what he has lost in righteousness." -
Sunchild Sayings, chap. xxii v. 15." ²

¹. Ibid., p. 429
². Ibid., p. 453
The satire inherent in the saying is aimed not only at unquestioning acceptance of Christian dogma, but at the flagrant inaccuracy often found in verbal pronouncements that have been recorded from memory, translated into another language, and then accepted as the only truth. Moreover, the inscription as it stands is an actual part of Butler's philosophy of moderation in all things, including righteousness. Such economical use of threefold irony is of course impossible to maintain, and the rest of the chapter resolves into a rather clumsy satire on the Benthamite principle of promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the greatest number being by nature somewhat dull, conceited, and unscrupulous. The principal, Mr. Turvey, whose name belies the satirical technique which Butler is using, teaches the boys to develop these qualities, as truth is only found through the falling out of thieves.

On his journey from Fairmead into Sunch'ston to hear the Dedication service, Higgs is accompanied by B'lack, who is in reality a personal embodiment of the fanatical narrowness which has resulted from a dogmatic belief in Sunchildism. To him the Sunchild Sayings are gospel, and his false piety and hate for scientific materialism characterize him as the unshakable believer in the word, and not the spirit. By some schismatic difference of belief, he wears his clothes backwards, as some Brewhonians insisted Higgs had done twenty years ago.

As the two reach Sunch'ston, they separate, and Higgs makes
his way directly to the Temple. The description he gives, and the
diagram he draws, correspond almost exactly to the plan of an Anglican
church, and as the service begins, we see that it is conducted in
the manner of an Anglican service. The text, of course, is a chapter
from the Sunchild Sayings, "read slowly and very clearly" by the
Head Manager, followed by another chapter, read by the Vice-Manager.
The first is a series of verses in Biblical pattern, and the second
is a "parable about the unwisdom of the children yet unborn". The
sermon, given by Professor Hanky of Bridgeford, turns out to be a
plea for contributions to the Sunchild Evidence Society, which has
already enforced the religion of Sunchildism by discovering a precious
relic - several petrified droppings of the miraculous horses which
drew the Sunchild's chariot when he ascended from Frewhon twenty
years ago. The idea by which the mythology of relics is satirized
might have appeared in either Swift or Rabelais, combining crudity
and subtlety for a completely ridiculous effect. The sermon itself
is a clever fitting of facts into fanciful surroundings to ridicule
church commercialism:

"...all the parts of Hanky's sermon dealing with the Sunchild
evidences is taken almost word for word from a letter in the Times
that appeared Dec. 8, 1892 and was written by Sir G. Gabriel Stokes
and Lord Halsbury, asking for money on behalf of the Christian
Evidence Society." 1

There is a good deal of irony in the whole situation, as Hanky has
recognized Higgs, and words his sermon so as to enrage him, hoping
he will declare himself and be massacred as a heretic by the congre-

gation. Meanwhile, George has made himself known to the man he
now recognizes as his father, and vows to protect him. Remembering
his wager with George, Higgs does declare himself, and is quickly
removed from the Musical Bank under his son’s arrest, while Yram calm-
ly keeps the congregation in order.

To complete the plot of the story, there only remains the problem
of getting Higgs safely out of Frewfon, a problem which is handled
by the very system of common-sense and compromise which Butler advo-
cates, both implicitly and explicitly, throughout the book. By his
declaration, Higgs has wholly reconciled himself with his admirable
son, and he is accepted by Yram, her husband, Mrs. Humdrum, Dr. Downie,
and their friends; that is, by all the Frewfonians who are made to
appear intelligent and sensible. But Butler’s purpose has not yet
been wholly achieved. There remains the problem of what is to be
done about Sunchildism, and Higgs is prevailed upon to supply a solu-
tion to the serious problem of religious belief which he has inadver-
tently caused to arise in Frewfon. Should he declare himself openly,
he would surely be killed as an impostor, and the false beliefs would
continue to exist. His solution is this:

"Roughly, then, if you cannot abolish me altogether, make me a
peg on which to hang all your own best ethical and spiritual concep-
tions. If you will do this, and wriggle out of that wretched relic...if you will make me out to be much better and abler than
I was, or ever shall be, Sunchildism may serve your turn for many
a long year to come...There. What I have said is nine-tenths of
it rotten and wrong, but it is the most practicable rotten and

wrong that I can suggest, seeing into what a rotten and wrong state of things you have drifted." 1.

This is Butler's final judgement, his solution for the wrongs and untruths that are perpetuated by dogmatic belief in supernatural religion. And it is given, not in satirical form, not as the implied result of an utopian civilisation, but as a straightforward statement of the only reasonable and sensible course of action.

The remainder of Erewhon Revisited consists in the uneventful narrative necessary to bring Higgs back to England, where he soon dies from the mental and physical strain he has endured on his journey. Verisimilitude and an abundance of detail are again utilized to give the story the appearance of reality in its conclusion. Higgs sends his son John to Erewhon with enough money for George to make him a rich man, and the two brothers meet at the statues, taking to each other immediately. John returns to England, and in November of 1900 he receives a letter from George, forwarded by Bishop Kahabuka, formerly known as Chowbok, who is now head of the Christian Mission to Erewhemos, the country adjoining Erewhon. (The satire is evident, remembering what a hypocritical scoundrel Chowbok was.) George is now Prime Minister of Erewhon, and urges John to suggest the English annexation of his country, before some other imperial power takes it over. The final note in John's journal is this:

"I write this at Southampton, from which port I sail to-morrow - i.e. November 15, 1900 - for Erewhemos."

IV

While *Erehwon Revisited* is not a satirical utopia in the sense that *Erehwon* is, it is a development of the same tradition which sprang into being with Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. The difference is in the plan, and not the purpose, which is basically satirical. Here Butler confines his attack to a single aspect of contemporary civilization, and limits his purpose accordingly. His aim is to ridicule the superstitious acceptance of supernatural religion, along with the dogma and mythology that eventually accrete around such a religion. He goes even further, and suggests an actual solution, Didacticism is not satire, however, and the good satirist implies his solution, if he has one, in the satirical content of his book. For this reason *Erehwon* is better satire than its sequel, even if it is not as good a work of literary art.

In its singleness of purpose, *Erehwon Revisited* actually has more in common with Harrington's *Oceana* than with any other preceding English utopia. Where Harrington attempted to reconstruct English politics, Butler attempted to reconstruct English religious beliefs. Obviously the book is not meant to picture a completely ideal civilization, as was More's *Utopia*; nor was it meant to satirize at random the whole gamut of falseness and hypocrisy of mankind, as was *Gulliver's Travels*, negatively implying a better mode of living in its very satire. The first *Erehwon* has more in common with the works of More and Swift, through the universality of its satire, but on the other hand, it is inferior to its sequel in plot, characterization, sustained
narrative, and artistic unity; and herein lies the importance of *Erewhon Revisited* to English utopian literature.

We have noted that *Erewhon Revisited* differs from the preceding works of its kind chiefly in its limited purpose, and in its basic method. Here the techniques of the novel are combined with those of the satirical utopia to a greater extent than ever before, looking forward to the works of Wells and Huxley. The far-off land, the methodical traveller, plot, narrative, detail, adventure, wit, irony, sarcasm, all are combined into a more unified whole than had been possible before, chiefly as a result of the book's limited purpose. This limitation, as far as utopian literature is concerned, is a rather negative development in itself, but the resulting unity and coherence are positive improvements.
CONCLUSION

I

It should be evident from the two preceding chapters that the literary techniques employed by Samuel Butler in his utopian writings are more like those of Swift than of any other English utopian. Both writers begin their utopias as adventure stories, employing the conventional elements of plot, character, and setting; both make their main character the human embodiment of much that they are satirizing; both, in fact, make satire the implicit purpose of their works. These are only the broadest and most general similarities, but they are enough to convince us that Butler follows very closely a sort of tradition popularized by Swift, although its antecedents may lie as far back as Lucian and Aristophanes. There remains the task of ascertaining how much of his technique Butler owes to his predecessors, and how much is his own original contribution.

As our study is limited to the English utopians, it is impossible to say how much, if any, Butler is indebted to foreign writers. It has been impossible, too, to find any evidence in Erewhon and Erewhon Revisited of techniques that may be attributed to the influence of More, Bacon, or Harrington. The numerous similarities to Swift's techniques, however, make it difficult to deny that Butler was greatly influenced by Gulliver's Travels. Gulliver himself,
the stolid, phlegmatic, methodical and slightly priggish Englishman
of the Middle Class, might have been the pattern for John Higgs.
Both tell their strange tales in the form of a methodical journal,
making excellent use of detail and verisimilitude in their narrative.
Both travellers expose the ills of their homeland, innocent of any
slanderous intent. They speak similarly, in a plain, unadorned,
straightforward style, and both use a characteristically circum-
stantial tone of voice when making a point. We are often given
considerable insight into their characters by the qualifying "asides"
which periodically appear in their speeches. Both men often find
themselves in similar situations, and often they valiantly defend
the customs and beliefs of their own country, thereby making those
very customs and beliefs appear ridiculous. Finally, both Gulliver
and Higgs return from their travels, sadder but wiser men.

Butler did not only create a character similar to Swift's hero;
his satirical purpose, in *Frawhom* at least, is similar to Swift's.
As a result, the technique of turning ideas, customs, laws, and
attitudes upside down or inside out, that is, the satirical tech-
nique on which the whole of *Frawhom* is based, is a development of
the "topsy-turvy" method used by Swift in the voyage to Laputa,
and to a certain extent in the voyage to Lilliput and Brobdingnag.
In both cases the purpose of this "topsy-turvyism" is to ridicule
our failure to accept the merely relative value of our beliefs and
attitudes.
The method of "reductio ad absurdum", which Swift used with excellent satiric effect, is set to various purposes in Erewhon. Swift, in Book I of Gulliver, describes with mock seriousness the rope-dancing and stick-jumping by which Lilliputian candidates competed for court positions, thus pointing up the inconsequential character of human politics. Butler, in "The Book of the Machines", satirizes the extreme use of pure logic in much the same manner, gravely pursuing an idea to its ridiculously logical conclusion.

The numerous parallels between techniques in Gulliver and the Erewhon make it difficult to sift out what is new in Butler from what has been used before. His technique of reversal has its roots in that of Swift, but in Erewhon it has been greatly developed and expanded, so as to become the satirical foundation of the book. The name of the work is "nowhere" roughly reversed, just as the Erewhonian customs are many of them English customs roughly reversed. The same technique is extended to Erewhonian ideas, laws, and attitudes in general, being used much more widely and effectively than in Swift. Thus while the technique is not wholly original with Butler, he made it a fundamental part of his satirical method, broadening its scope as he did with the "reductio ad absurdum".

A more significant development that we find in Butler is his greater dependence upon the novelistic elements of plot, character, and setting to attain his satirical, and thereby utopian, purpose. While Erewhon lacks artistic unity, it is still a single story,
unbroken by various different journeys, as is Gulliver. True, Butler fails to interweave narrative and satire as Swift had done, but he does lay greater emphasis on each of plot, character, and setting, still retaining much of Swift's detail to convey the impression of reality. Erawhon Revisited shows even further development in this direction, as it at times ceases to be a journal narrated by one man, and becomes a story, written from a detached point of view. Again, it is a much more unified work of literature, having fewer digressions than its predecessor, and being disciplined throughout by its singleness of purpose. As it is ostensibly told by Higgs' son, Higgs now becomes a sympathetic character, and still remains the medium through which Butler conveys his satire. The fact that Higgs is now a more admirable character than in the previous book forces the reader to accept more readily what he says, and since much of his philosophizing is not utopian or satirical but didactic, he becomes the mouthpiece for Butler's own ideas and theories. Bernard Marx in Huxley's Brave New World and Winston Smith in Orwell's 1984 are used for very similar purposes.

The characterization in both Gulliver and Erawhon is for the most part limited to the main figure in each; in Erawhon Revisited Butler makes the attempt to create several believable people, sympathetic and otherwise. George, while he is highly idealized as the kind of son any man would wish for, is yet attractive in his forthrightness and gentility. Yram is perhaps the most human of
any character in the book, and as the mother of Higgs' child, she conducts herself with admirable dignity and discretion on his return. She, Higgs, and George all are governed by very human emotions, and present well-rounded pictures of plausible people. Even Mrs. Humdrum, the embodiment of "High Grundyism", startles us into acceptance with her good sense and stability in a crisis.

On the other hand, the two Bridgeford professors, Hanky and Panky, are just as believable, regardless of the unfavorable light in which we see them. They appear sufficiently ridiculous to rank with Gulliver and the early Higgs as satirical characters, and yet are vicious enough to create the conflict necessary to a good story. All these figures are placed in situations which are dramatic and interesting enough, sometimes at least, to create as much interest in the story for its own sake as in the satirical purpose of the book. Erewdon Revisited does not quite attain to classification as a conventional novel, because even the people in whom we would most readily believe are made to contribute all their speeches and actions to Butler's satirical purpose. Story-telling and the creation of believable characters constitute, I think, the primary purpose of the novelist, and while both story and character in Erewdon Revisited are given more attention than in any preceding English utopia, they remain subservient to the main purpose of ridiculing the unquestioning acceptance of supernatural religion. Nevertheless, Butler's increased emphasis, on character especially, constitutes
one of his most important contributions to the tradition in which he wrote, for it was by a similar combination of novel techniques with a satirical purpose that Huxley's *Brave New World*, perhaps the greatest of our satirical utopias, was written.

The various methods and techniques summarized above are chiefly those which Butler improved and developed from his utopian predecessors. There are a few which are original with him, such as his use of the book or pamphlet, supposedly written in Erehwon, to further his more personal aims of theorizing in a manner more philosophical and contemplative than his hero is capable of doing. The technique itself is an acceptable addition to the whole tradition, but as the pamphlets are most of them digressions which are largely irrelevant, he may be criticized in his use of them. "The Rights of Vegetables" in *Erehwon*, for instance, is a statement of a theory which Butler later developed in *Life and Habit*, but it does not sufficiently contribute to the utopian purpose of *Erehwon* to justify its existence as a whole chapter. A much better technique is developed in the sermon that Professor Hunky gives at the dedication service. Its satirical purpose is evident, it adds to Hunky's characterization, and it is the dramatically ironic crisis of the whole story.

Effective as these techniques sometimes are in both *Erehwon* and *Erehwon Revisited*, there is practically no external evidence to show that they were used by later utopians. Ideas similar to those expressed by Butler may have been taken up and developed by later writers, but a study of utopian ideology is quite beyond our
present limits. There are certain superficial similarities to the
techniques of the sermon and the digressive pamphlet in the utopias
of Edward Bellamy and George Orwell, but the question of whether
or not these writers were influenced by Butler is open to debate.
Orwell improves the technique considerably by making the pamphlet
an integral part of the story in 1984, but his book as a whole reveals
no other similarities to anything in Butler. Even H. G. Wells, the
most prolific utopian writer of our century, makes no mention of
Butler in his Experiment in Autobiography, nor do his utopian works
reveal the use of any of Butler's techniques. Aldous Huxley, like
Butler, employs the novel form in Brave New World, but here again
it is impossible to ascertain that Huxley was in any way indebted
to Butler. It is, in fact, quite logical that the novel form should
be used in utopian and satirical literature, because of the novel's
ever-increasing popularity. Again, while Butler has undoubtedly
contributed to the development of the novel technique in utopian
literature, it is not surprising that his additions to satirical
 technique have not yet exerted any marked influence on later writers.
His fictional works were not read to any extent until the 1920's,
when they were taken up by the "Lost Generation" of disillusioned
young writers who shared his critical attitude towards the institutions
of church, school, and home, expressed most forcibly in The Way of
All Flesh.

Butler's legacy to future generations is thus largely one of
ideas. His contributions to the techniques of the utopian novel are primarily those of refinement and adaptation. He improved in some measure upon the methods of Swift, but not to the extent that he can be called an innovator. To Butler the idea is the thing; and the fact that the idea is so often advanced in a manner that does violence to the unity of the work, must deny to Erehwon and Erehwon Revisited a place among the great works of literary art.
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