

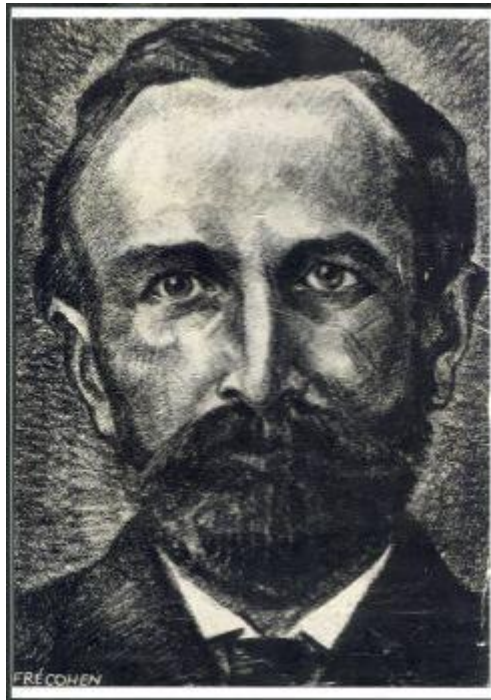


# LOOKING BACKWARD 2011-1887

The Dutch translations of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*

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# Chapter 1: Introduction and research questions

## 1.1 Introduction

This thesis details the history of Edward Bellamy's utopian novel *Looking Backward* and its various Dutch translations. Edward Bellamy (1850-1898) was an American author from New England who wrote conventional literature and worked as a journalist. He remained fairly unknown until *Looking Backward* was published in 1887. *Looking Backward* is an interesting book in multiple respects. It enjoyed a short-lived period of tremendous popularity at the time of publication in 1887. As is often remarked by others, the book was only the second novel published in the United States to sell more than a million copies (Beaumont 2007, VIII). During 1889, the book's popularity was only surpassed by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The book influenced both the literature and social economic politics of the United States. *Looking Backward* also became an immediate success in other countries. Today, English editions of the book are still available and *Looking Backward* is still occasionally discussed in studies about utopian literature. Various Dutch translations of *Looking Backward* have appeared since 1888. The first translation was produced by Christiaan Cornelissen for a Dutch socialist newspaper, *Recht voor Allen* in 1889. This translation, *Een terugblik 2000-1887*, was published in serialized form. A second translation by Frank van der Goes, *In het jaar 2000*, was published in 1890. Henri Polak adapted this translation by Van der Goes for the 1930s editions with the same title. In 1950 a new translation by Theo Stillebroer was published, *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*. Besides the Dutch translations, the book has also been translated into a number of other languages, including German, French, Finnish, Japanese, Italian, Danish, Swedish and Spanish. Although, the book has become largely forgotten in the Netherlands in more recent years, *Looking Backward* has been translated into Dutch multiple times. After the initial popularity at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the early days of Dutch socialism, *Looking Backward's* popularity quickly subsided after the First World War. However, interest in the book later rekindled during the economic crisis of the 1930s and after the Second World War. Various translators, with distinctly varying backgrounds, have translated the book into Dutch. Each of these translations reflects in a sense the political and cultural context of the translator and their period in which they were produced. Bellamy's book and message has repeatedly been reappropriated by translators and readers to new periods and to a different cultural context. The book formed the ideological basis for a Dutch social movement. The Internationale Vereeniging Bellamy (I.V.B.) was an association based on Bellamy's ideas from *Looking Backward*, that tried to increase its influence and visibility in Dutch

society. The association became briefly popular during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From the 1970s onwards the I.V.B. became a marginal movement, but continued to exist up until very recently. The associations statutes prevented a complete discontinuance of its activities without explicit consent of all its (untraceable) members. In 2005 the association has been officially turned into a foundation, ceasing all political and ideological motives. The archives of the association have been transferred to the International Institute of Social History. Traces of the I.V.B. and Edward Bellamy can still be found outside of these archives. Although Dutch translations of *Looking Backward* have been out of print since the 1950s, used copies of the book and its translations are still sold by antiquarian bookshops and libraries still hold copies of the book and publications by the I.V.B. in their archives.

As evidenced by the history of the I.V.B., the influence of *Looking Backward* and its translations is significant in the case of *Looking Backward* in the Netherlands. The first translations were produced in a period in which English, unlike the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was not a commonly shared secondary language to many. Furthermore, transnational contact and intercultural communication were not as extensive as they would become later, as a result, the translator can be assumed to have formed a much more decisive factor in construing meaning and interpretations in previous times. This thesis will attempt to examine the influence of translators and translations within the entire history of *Looking Backward* in the Netherlands.

Due to the historic nature of the subject, any evaluation of *Looking Backward* and its translations needs to be based on a proper understanding of the historical context of both the general and literary history of the United States and the Netherlands. Therefore, the historical and literary context of both countries will be established in chapters two and three. Further contextual information, such as biographies of the author and the translators, will also be discussed in these chapters. The chapters will also detail the publication histories of the English original and the Dutch translations.

Chapter four is dedicated to the history of the Dutch Bellamy association, also known as the I.V.B. (Internationale Vereeniging Bellamy). The I.V.B. was a non-political organization that was founded during the 1930s that attempted to promote and realize the utopian society envisioned by Bellamy in the Netherlands. The association played a key role in the renewed interest in the book during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was responsible for most of the new editions and translations that were produced during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and actively tried to influence the interpretation of readers of these publications.

A comparison of the various translations in the fifth chapter will attempt to uncover the different interpretations of the book by the various Dutch translators. The excerpts compared in this

chapter were chosen in order to be able to examine both the literary and the political or philosophical aspects of the *Looking Backward*. The translations and the translation strategies of the translators will be analyzed in this chapter. In this chapter, interpretations of the personal or external motivations of the translators will be given. Because any interpretation of the translators' motivations based on the texts forms an innately subjective judgment, such interpretations and explanations will be based on the contextual framework established in chapters three and four. Furthermore, secondary sources will be offered to support subjective claims with evidence when possible. The benefits and constraints of this method will also be addressed in the final chapter pertaining to conclusions and discussion.

In the sixth chapter conclusions will be drawn and the main research question will answered. In this final chapter the strengths and weaknesses of the research methods and this study's findings will also be addressed.

## 1.2 Research questions

This study will attempt to measure the influence *Looking Backward* and its translations have had on the social and literary life during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Netherlands. In particular, it will examine the influence of the various individual translators of Bellamy's book. In order to answer this main question, the following sub questions will need to be answered:

- How was *Looking Backward* originally received in the United States?
- How were the various Dutch translations of *Looking Backward* received in the Netherlands?
- How did the Dutch translators influence the reception and interpretation of *Looking Backward* in the Netherlands?
- How did other parties in the literary field influence the reception and interpretation of *Looking Backward* in the Netherlands?
- How do the various Dutch translations compare to the English original and to each other?

The historical and contextual parts of this thesis are offered as a summary of the available material concerning the book and its history. In the thesis both primary and secondary literature is used, particular attention was paid to the origin of historic sources concerning the I.V.B. and its history. In order to attain an objective view of the association and its members, publications were used that were written by members of the I.V.B., but also (critical) outsiders, not part of the association. The fifth chapter, a comparison of the various Dutch translations, will be based on an empirical approach and it primarily descriptive. In comparisons of the English original and the Dutch translations important differences and translation strategies will be pointed out. These findings will form the basis of more generalized observations and conclusions about the translations and the translators.

## Chapter 2: The historical and literary context in the United States

### 2.1 Historical context

#### *Historic events and politics*

According to Bertens and D'haen, the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 was an important moment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century political history of the United States. During his presidency, Jackson accelerated the process of democratization of the United States. Unlike previous presidents, Jackson himself was not born in a wealthy family and he welcomed mass democracy. Furthermore, Jackson shifted the focus of the American Dream onto the relatively undiscovered Western parts of the United States (Bertens & D'haen 1983, 47). The belief in 'Manifest Destiny' drove a further expansion of United States territory, in particular southwards into Mexico. The United States became a huge and powerful nation during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century thanks to the optimism embodied in the democratic republic. The economic and political successes further reinforced American ideologies (Bertens & D'haen 1983, 48).

The Civil War however, was a great blow to the American optimism. It also spurred the industrialization of the United States, in particular the North. After the Civil War and the subsequent Reconstruction period, the United States entered the so-called Gilded Age, a period of rapid growth of both population and the economy. With the Civil War the United States entered a new era of business and industry. The first immense railway systems and telegraph networks brought new opportunities and the population of the United States grew tremendously in the period. At the same time working conditions for many (new) Americans deteriorated, while simultaneously the rapid urbanization created further social problems in the big industrialized cities. According to Johnson, during the decade 1880-1890, the population of more than 60 percent of the townships of New England decreased. The rural population in New England remained stable at approximately 7 million people from 1880 to 1910, whereas the urbanized population nearly tripled during the same period (Johnson 1966, 180). As a result of the industrialization, labour and social problems became increasingly important for the modern American society. Increasingly, the poor labour force in the big cities suffered harsh conditions and social unrest grew. In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes had sent in federal troops to put an end to the 45 day Great Railroad Strike, it was the first time troops had been used in the case of labour unrest (Norton, et al. 1995, 541). In the following years organized labour unions emerged and demanded changes. During the first week of May 1886, riots and violence erupted on Chicago's streets during strikes and demonstrations for better working

conditions. Chicago police killed two union members when they interfered in a battle between unionist and strikebreakers. The following evening, during a protest against police brutality at Haymarket Square, a bomb exploded near the approaching police force (Norton, et al. 1995, 542). According to Guarneri, the event, known as the Haymarket Square Riot, “opened an era of intense polarization between American capitalists and worker” (Guarneri 2008, 25). Norton et al. state that “the Haymarket bombing, like the 1877 railroad strikes, drew public attention to the growing discontent of labor and also revived middle-class fear of radicalism” (Norton, et al. 1995, 542). A sense of crisis and urgency emerged that influenced the politics of the time. During the Gilded Age new social groups appeared in the political arena. The period saw the emergence of women’s rights groups, the ideas of Charles Darwin and immense immigration. From the 1890s to World War I, the United States entered the Progressive Era. Politics underwent reform supported mainly by the growing middle class. Social thought, science, education and industry gained much political attention during the period. Progressives favoured social change and modernization. Progressives were often supporters of prohibition and women’s suffrage. The period brought a sense of both urgency as well as optimism towards social change and the future. The author Bellamy contributed to the political landscape by laying the foundations for the Nationalist movement, an American political reform movement that had little resemblance to the nationalistic politics that would define the 20th century. Bellamy’s influence on American politics was short-lived, but *Looking Backward* reflected much of the social and political history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It reflects an American society that went through rapid social changes which brought both optimism and concern. According to Johnson, “Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward*, the most popular Gilded Age criticism of contemporary society, depicts a good and humane future world which is both pastoral and intensely industrial. Bellamy’s readers could easily extrapolate his Boston of 2001 from potential tendencies of 1887.” (Johnson 1966, 190).

### *Literary context*

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century American literature flourished. The first half of the century (1820-1860) was characterized by the rise of ‘the romance’. This term was coined by Hawthorne for the new “heightened, emotional, and symbolic form of the novel [...] that communicated complex and subtle meanings” (VanSpanckeren 2006, 36). The larger than life heroic figures and the symbolic plots of the new American literature differ from the traditional realistic fiction of European novelists. These predominantly realistic English novels were usually centered on social conflicts and inclined towards eventual social harmony (Bertens & D’haen, 1983; 60). Instead, the American literature of



the romantic period reflected the lack of tradition and the less rigid class distinctions of the United States of the time. Unlike English literature, hierarchic class structures were often not central to the plot of the American authors. New literary devices emerged that introduced 'loners' as the new great American protagonists (VanSpanckeren 2006, 36). These isolated characters lived in vast and hostile surroundings and were often alienated and antisocial (Bertens & D'haen, 1983; 60). These might well be derived in some sense from the 'tall tales' of Western settlers that glorified and embodied the idea of Manifest Destiny in stories about hunters, soldiers and early cowboys. (Bertens & D'haen, 1983; 49). The stories were popular and via newspapers and journals reached the culturally dominant Eastern parts of the republic. Literary form itself was also subjected to innovation during this period. According to Bertens and D'haen, the Western literature and tales were in this sense important for the emergence of a distinct American literary tradition (Bertens & D'haen 1983, 63).

Traditionally, New England was the dominant political and cultural force in the United States. And although the relative weight of New England's population and political force in the United States fell dramatically during the period 1750 to 1860, its literary output flourished at that time (Bertens & D'haen 1983, 55). New England produced authors such as Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, Thoreau and Dickinson. Other influential authors, such as Howells and Melville, went to New England. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the puritan influence decreased in New England and a newer, humanitarian Protestantism, Unitarianism, developed. This developed into transcendentalism, while Puritanism also resurfaced in the late-Puritanism. The puritan background influenced American literature. According to Bertens and D'haen, the initial fixation of puritan authors with an abstract concept, God, persisted in later, less puritan literature. The central role of religion is supplanted with equally antisocial themes of alienation and self-realization (Bertens & D'haen 1983, 61). Neither the existing English literary forms nor the all-prevailing belief in the American ideal society fitted these authors, so many chose to present their stories in non-realistic ways: in the form of a romance. Therefore, most American authors at the time opted to write about alienation in deliberately unrealistic ways. Hawthorne and others wrote 'romances' instead of 'novels' and were vocal about their intentions and the deliberate unrealism concerning the characters. This was in part also the result of these authors being influenced by the puritan heritage, which was always more prone to allegories and symbolism in literature, but it should also be seen as a strategy that allowed authors such as Poe, Hawthorne and Melville to address more serious and critical topics in their work during the forcibly optimistic pre-Civil War romanticist period (Bertens & D'haen 1983, 63).

The Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, abruptly ended the American optimism and influenced the literature of the period to a great extent. Whereas human rights were very important to the idealists from before the Civil War, after the war; "Americans increasingly idealized progress and the self-

made man” (VanSpanckeren 2006, 47). Darwinian ideas permeated the politics, business and culture of the period. Around that time the publication of *The Origin of Species* revolutionized science and philosophy. The individualist ideals and the realist fiction eventually gave way for naturalism as man increasingly became regarded not as the centre of the universe and a divine plan, but rather as an insignificant creature in a world that was ruled by the great forces of nature instead of an individual’s human actions (Bertens & D’haen 1983, 114). According to Bertens and D’haen, political and social ideals and ideas often formed the core of the naturalist author’s novels, which frequently were more resembling theoretical and documentary works rather than literary fiction in a classic sense (140). The focus of naturalist authors was often on the poor. However, naturalism in American literature did not last very long. The reform movements and the increasing participation of diverse social groups in politics and public life brought changes to the literature as well. Reform movements sprung up in the United States and reintroduced optimism to American culture. This changing political landscape must have contributed to the popularity of utopian fiction at the time. *Looking Backward* was not the first and not the only publication at the time dealing with the future and social issues. Even before Bellamy’s *Looking Backward*, the writer and politician Henry George enjoyed success with books about social and economic issues.

Eventually, modernist literature replaces much of the form and subjects of the 19<sup>th</sup> century American fiction. The events of the Great War had forced Americans to once more contemplate the state of civilization and the optimism that had often dominated the previous century (VanSpanckeren 2006, 60). The utopian literature quickly lost its appeal and the momentum for Bellamy’s ideas and works was gone.

## 2.2 Biographical profile

### *Personal life*

Edward Bellamy was born on March 26, 1850 in Chicopee Falls Massachusetts (Bowman 1958, 15). At the time it was a small town with an approximate population of 6000. Bellamy witnessed the post Civil War industrial growth. From 1850 onwards the city grew and became part of the Springfield metropolitan area. Edward Bellamy's father, Rufus Bellamy, was a Baptist minister in Chicopee Falls from 1848 to 1882. Edward Bellamy's mother was also a daughter of a minister. Bellamy had two brothers, Charles and Frederick (Bowman 1958, 17).

Bellamy tried to pursue a career in the military, but was rejected at West Point military academy in 1867 due to health concerns. From 1867 to 1869 Edward Bellamy attended Union College Schenectady, New York taking courses in literature, political science, history and political geography. He also studied and travelled in Germany. Bowman states that Bellamy became interested in socialism during this period (Bowman 1962, XXIII). At the age of twenty, Bellamy already suffered from tuberculosis (Thomas 1967, 4). Bellamy studied law back in Springfield during 1869 and 1870, he was admitted to the bar in 1871. According to Thomas, Bellamy's first experiences as a practising lawyer, an eviction case, "so disgusted him that he quit an unpromising career and settled provisionally on journalism" (Thomas 1967, 4). Bellamy worked for the *New York Evening Post* and later the *Springfield Union* from 1871 to 1877. He remained working at the *Union* until his health problems forced him to temporarily move to Hawaii to recover. When he returned in 1880 he established his own newspaper in Springfield, *Penny News*, with help from his brother Charles Bellamy. Together they edited the paper until Edward Bellamy sold his stake in the company two years later in order to finance his literary career (Thomas 1967, 4).

Bellamy remained a bachelor until 1881, when he married a young girl his parents had adopted (Thomas 1967, 5). According to Bowman, Emma A. Sanderson had been the ward of Edward Bellamy's father since 1874. Bellamy had lived at his parents' house up until that time. After his marriage, Bellamy moved to a house nearby (Guarneri 2008, 2).

After the success of *Looking Backward*, Bellamy moved to Boston, where he participated in several organizations, such as the People's Party in Massachusetts. Bellamy, published his own periodicals *The Nationalist* and *The New Nation* during the years 1889 to 1893 (Bowman 1962, XXV). Bellamy returned home in 1893 to finish his last book, *Equality*. He travelled to Colorado in 1897 to

regain his health, but nevertheless died at the age of 48 in his home in Chicopee Falls on May 28, 1898.

### *Edward Bellamy's politics*

After the runaway success of *Looking Backward*, Bellamy became increasingly vocal about his political ideas. He published a sequel to *Looking Backward*, entitled *Equality* in 1897. In the book he further explains the workings of the utopian society and more directly argues for its merits and its validity. Bellamy gained the support of the American Theosophical societies, most notably by the infamous and influential Madame Blavatsky, who helped him found the Nationalist movement. The Nationalist movement, which was short-lived but briefly influential, united a socially and geographical diverse group of Americans in a political movement.

Although Bellamy was probably to some extent influenced by German philosophy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was drawn to socialism personally, it is difficult to pinpoint his political ideas prior to the publication of *Looking Backward*. Edward Bellamy travelled to Germany after he attended a year at college in the United States. He stayed in Dresden during the winter of 1867-1868 (Guarneri 2008, 2). During his stay, Bellamy became more aware of the social conditions and studied some socialist theory. On his return he worked at a law firm, but found his first experiences as an attorney in an eviction case so disagreeable that he decided to quit immediately afterwards. Bellamy then worked for various newspapers. In 1871 he worked as a reporter for the *New York Evening Post* (Guarneri 2008, 2). He returned to Chicopee Falls a year later and worked at the *Springfield Daily Union* as a literary editor. The work allowed him to develop his interest in political literature. He also started writing smallish novels and he gave a lecture about socialism. In 1886, Bellamy was confronted with the realities of American social unrest by the events of the Haymarket Riot in Chicago. Bellamy realized the events at the time would raise interest for his social novel and rushed its completion. In spring 1888 the book was published. The book was, according to biographer Morgan, at least in part written in a short period of time in a last-ditch attempt to salvage his writing career. Bellamy recognized the importance of the topics for the period in US history, but it was not until after publication and the sudden success that Bellamy began to personally promote and defend the ideology as presented in the book.

### *Edward Bellamy's literature*

Edward Bellamy wrote a few novels before publishing *Looking Backward*. *Six to One: A Nantucket Idyll* was his first novel, published in 1878. A year later his second novel, *The Duke of Stockbridge*, was serialized in the Berkshire Courier. In 1880, Bellamy published *Dr. Heidenhoff's process*, followed by *Miss Ludington's Sister* in 1884. All the books belonged to the romance genre and were not particularly well received. Bellamy remained fairly unknown as a writer up until the publication of *Looking Backward* in 1888, which brought him instant fame. The novel is situated in Boston and Bellamy himself moved there as well. He worked as an editor at *The New Nation*, a Nationalist publication. His work as a newspaper editor influenced both his writing and his ideas. His small newspaper occasionally explored socialist ideas.

## *Bibliography*

### **Publications**

*Six to One: A Nantucket Idyl* (1878)

*The Duke of Stockbridge* (1879)

*Dr. Heidenhoff's Process* (1880)

*Miss Ludington's Sister* (1884)

*Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888)

*Equality* (1897)

*The Blindman's World and Other Stories* (1898)

### **Posthumous publications and collections**

*Edward Bellamy Speaks Again! Articles, Public Addresses, Letters* (1937)

*The Religion of Solidarity*, ed. Arthur E. Morgan (1940)

*Edward Bellamy: Selected Writings on Religion and Society*, ed. Joseph Schiffman (1955)

*Apparitions of Things to Come: Tales of Mystery and Imagination*, ed. Franklin Rosemont (1990)

*Revisiting the Legacy of Edward Bellamy (1850–1898), American Author and Reformer: Uncollected and Unpublished Writings: Scholarly Perspectives for a New Millennium*, ed. Toby Widdicombe and Herman S. Preiser (2002)

## 2.3 *Looking Backward* in the United States

### *Synopsis*

The story of *Looking Backward* progresses fairly linear and despite the time travel the events in the book unfold chronologically. Frequently, the narrative is interrupted by observations and reminiscences of nineteenth century life. The actual plot of *Looking Backward*, in particular the romantic subplot, is of secondary importance to the political and social commentary contained in the book. However, a global knowledge of the book's contents is necessary for some of the analysis further on, so a summary of *Looking Backward* is provided below.

The narrator, Julian West is a well-to-do New Englander from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He is concerned with the increasingly frequent strikes and labour unrest and he worries that it might disrupt his forthcoming wedding with Edith Bartlett, another member of the Boston aristocracy. Julian West has few other concerns as he himself does not need to work for a living. Julian lives by himself in a house with an underground chamber. As an insomniac, Julian West sleeps in this chamber with the aid of sleep-inducing drugs, prescribed by a mysterious doctor and he is revived by his servant in the mornings. However, on a certain night the house burns down and everyone assumes Julian is dead.

A century later, Julian is awakened by Doctor Leete, who is building a new building on top of Julian's cellar. Julian is surprised to be greeted by a stranger, rather than his servant. He is unaware of the time that has passed and he has not aged in the meantime. He learns from Doctor Leete what has happened to his house and that the present society has changed considerably in the meantime. Doctor Leete and his family invite Julian to stay with them and explain the workings of their society to him. Julian begins to admire the new society and entertains Doctor Leete and his daughter with tales about 19<sup>th</sup> century Boston. Doctor Leete is incredulous, amused or outraged about Julian's stories, while Julian increasingly abhors the society and the class he used to live in. The daughter of Doctor Leete, who is also called Edith, turns out to be the great-granddaughter of Julian's fiancée Edith Bartlett and they eventually fall in love and become engaged once more.

Near the end of the book, Julian dreams that his experiences in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were all an illusion. He is awakened by his servant and finds himself again amidst the harsh realities of 19<sup>th</sup> century Boston. He no longer enjoys his life and status and tries to teach Edith and her family about the social injustices. However, they are not susceptible to his sudden new ideas and he is rejected by them. Julian despairs, but eventually wakes up from this nightmare. Luckily he is still living in the

future Boston, although he considers this luck undeserved given the vacuous lifestyle granted by his inherited wealth. Julian West dedicates his new life to historiography and the study of the past.

### *Publication history*

The first edition of *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*, was published in January, 1888 by Ticknor and company, Boston (*Looking Backward*, 89). Minor corrections and changes were added to the book for the second edition published in the same year. According to a conservative estimate by Guarneri, the book sold more than 500.000 copies in the United States in the two decades following publication (Guarneri 2008, 1). Beaumont however, suggests that at least 500.000 copies were already sold at the time of Bellamy's death in 1898. At the time of publication, in 1890, the book was the third best-selling book. Only *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ben Hur: A Tale of Christ* sold more copies that year. (Beaumont 2007, IV) The book remains in print to this day, and although the total number of sales is difficult to estimate, it is safe to assume millions were sold, among them a vast number of translations as well.

### *Literary reception*

The English author William Morris reviewed the book, but already in 1889 saw the possible direction interpretations of the book might take. "It should not be taken as the Socialist bible of reconstruction; a danger which perhaps it will not altogether escape" (Beaumont 2007, VII) Shortly after, Morris wrote his own utopian novel in response to *Looking Backward*. In this book, *News from Nowhere*, Morris' presents a very different utopia. Despite Morris' advice though, Bellamy's *Looking Backward* quickly became a cult hit in the United States and abroad. And many adopted the contents of the book as a manifest for societal change and read the utopian novel as a literal political document.

Regardless of Bellamy's intentions or his beliefs, the book was a great success and also inspired a number of parodies and imitations. Some authors were poking fun at the original, others simply attempted to profit from the success by writing similar novels that elaborated on *Looking Backward*, and others offered serious criticism of *Looking Backwards* and its ideology, attempting a literary dialogue on the book's contents. *Looking Ahead!* by Alfred Morris (1892) for example, explicitly criticized *Looking Backward* from the political right, while William Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1890) attacked it from the left. (Beaumont 2007, X). Less political was the utopia by



Bradford C. Peck *The World a Department Store* (1900). Peck was an admirer of Bellamy but he was more inspired by the futuristic concepts in *Looking Backward* than its political implications, his own utopia steered Bellamy's visions further towards a consumer paradise, a materialistic ideal with abundance for all. The list of publications inspired by *Looking Backward* is much longer when smaller works are included, many of which bear confusing titles such as *Looking Further Forward* (1890) by Richard Michaelis, *Looking Further Backward* (1890) by Arthur Dudley Vinton and *Looking Beyond: A Sequel to "Looking Backward"* by Edward Bellamy, and *An Answer to "Looking Further Forward"* by Richard Michaelis (1891) by Ludwig A. Geissler. Most of these publications concern the political topics of Bellamy's book, but *Looking Backward* also influenced non-political reactions. According to Beaumont, the main plot was later copied by the much more famous author H.G. Wells in his 1899 dystopian story *When the Sleeper Wakes*, although it should be noted that the literary device of dream vision underlying the time travel plot was certainly not invented by Bellamy and Wells could also have been influenced by others.

The very influential publisher W.D. Howells comments on *Looking Backward* in the introduction to *The Blind Man's World and Other Stories*. He praises Bellamy for his writing, but also criticizes the materialism in *Looking Backward*. As a social realist and progressive intellectual, Howells has a reaction similar to Morris. The book was first of all highly accessible and especially popular with 'the everyday man'. New cheap production techniques at the time allowed cheap copies of the book to spread to new markets. The book was even quite popular among farmers, which was unusual at the time. Howells was much more critical of the sequel *Equality*: "that book disappointed me to be frank. I thought it artistically inferior to anything else he had done." (Howells 1898, XII). Surprisingly enough, considering the book's eventual history and reception, Howells at the time expected the book to be remembered for its artistic qualities rather than its political contents: "Whether his ethics will keep his aesthetics in remembrance I do not know; but I am sure that one cannot acquaint one's self with his merely artistic work, and not be sensible that in Edward Bellamy we were rich in a romantic imagination surpassed only by that of Hawthorne." (Howells 1898, XIII). It is not entirely clear whether Howells considers Bellamy's eccentric and fantastic predictions 'his ethics' or 'his aesthetics', but judging from the perspective of most 21<sup>st</sup> century readers, the book's aesthetics have not aged particularly well, while the political contents remain interesting.

### *Non-literary reception*

*Looking Backward* persuaded thousands of readers to become socialists (Beaumont 2007, VII). Among these readers were well known and influential figures such as labour leader Eugene Debs

(VII). The book became, despite Morris' warnings, for many a bible of sorts that offered a blueprint for an ideal socialist society. Beaumont argues that the plot device of sudden disappearance and reappearance in a new era is fitting for the political sentiments of the period. The rise of socialism and class-struggle in the United States and elsewhere during the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought a sense of expectation. Sudden societal change and revolution seemed more likely than ever before. Beaumont describes this as "a collective sense that some momentous change was imminent." The term socialism however, carried negative connotations for many. Especially in the United States after the Haymarket Affair, the radical social reformers were increasingly regarded as dangerous terrorists. Bellamy however believed in social evolution, rather than social revolution, and tried to appeal to a broader demographic. Probably influenced by the increasing aversion of the American public to socialism, Bellamy began to shift the interpretations and ideology of *Looking Backward* and its sequel towards what he called the 'nationalist' idea. The bigger emphasis on the centralized state-organized society and economy caught on with many readers and led to the Nationalist Movement. Disguised behind the newly formed Nationalist societies Bellamy's socialist ideas became much more influential in the United States than anyone could have expected. The Nationalist societies were local clubs that promoted ideas from *Looking Backward*. Members published articles and attended lectures and discussions. The movement also supported the campaign of Populist presidential candidate General James B. Weaver in 1892. (Beaumont 2007, IX) The Populists were particularly influential among poor farmers in the South, remarkably far away from Bellamy's Boston. Weaver won approximately a million votes in the 1892 presidential election and most of the Populist local divisions merged with the Democratic Party in the following years.

## Chapter 3: The historical and the literary context in the Netherlands

### 3.1 Historical context

#### *Historic events and politics*

During the summer of 1886, unrest grew in the Netherlands. Domela Nieuwenhuis was imprisoned for 'lese majesty' and 26 people during struggles between rioters and soldiers in Amsterdam. The rise of socialism in the Netherlands was relatively late due to the late industrialization. Early examples of labor associations and union were found in the diamond industry and the printing press from 1860 to 1870. The first truly socialist association was founded in 1878 with the 'Sociaal Democratische Vereniging', which would later become the SDB or the 'Sociaal Democratische Bond'. Hendrik Gerhard became the first head of this new association. Gerhard had published a utopian work in 1871 entitled *Schets van een communistische maatschappij* (Bank, Buuren 2000, 439). The association fought for universal suffrage, working hours, equal treatment of women, social legislation. The organization started as a non-revolutionary association and preferred debate and labor strikes over more radical action (Jansma, Schroor 1991, 350; Bank, Buuren 2000, 439). Around the same time, the protestant minister Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846 – 1919) quit his work for the church and founded the socialist publication *Recht voor Allen* in 1879. His socialist ideas became popular with the laborers in the bigger cities and among the farmers in the northern provinces, Groningen and Friesland. Nieuwenhuis became a member of parliament in 1887 but was not very successful in his attempts to reform voting rights. All the while, the more radical groups within the SDB became dominant and the increasingly radical SDB was banned in 1892 (Jansma, Schroor 1991, 351).

A new social party emerged in 1894 with the SDAP. This group was less radical than the SDB. During its early beginnings the SDAP consisted mostly of Frisian farmers and diamond workers from Amsterdam. The SDAP was supported by the influential Henri Polak, who was one of the twelve founders of the SDAP and the head of the first Dutch union and publicist. Frank van der Goes (1859 – 1939) and Pieter Jelles Troelstra (1860 – 1930) were also part of the group of twelve 'apostles'. The SDAP was far more successful than the SDB in influencing the Dutch parliamentary politics. According to Bank the typically Dutch 'poldermodel' of politics was already present at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The SDAP helped facilitate dialogue between laborers and employers, it also brought the laborers demands to the parliament. However, the SDAP remained in the minority in parliament until

the end of the 1930s. The popularity of the SDAP had rapidly increased after the institution of universal suffrage in 1917. A year later, Troelstra initiated a failed revolution attempt. The Dutch model of socialism remained a non-revolutionary reform movement. During the economic crisis of the 1930s, the influence of the SDAP further increased. During the 1930s interest in socialism reemerged in new forms in the Netherlands. Fascism rose all over Europe and was also gaining ground in the Netherlands (Jansma, Schroor 1991, 389).

The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century marked not only the beginning of important political changes, but the modernization of Dutch society also led to the rapid development of literature, science, arts and architecture.

## Literary context

Up until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch literature had been predominantly traditional. Most of the literature of the time consisted of moralist tales by protestant ministers or bourgeois authors. According to Knuvelde, a new literary period began in 1875. New sensibilities had eroded the influence of religion. The idealistic philosophy and romanticism that had dominated the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were supplanted with empiricism and naturalism (Knuvelde 1982, 314). Realism emerges in literature, but also in the visual arts and forms the basis for the new aesthetic ideals of the 'Tachtigers' (Knuvelde 1982, 315). New scientific ideas steer the literature towards naturalism. Dutch authors are influenced by French authors such as Flaubert and Zola. According to Knuvelde, the rise of socialism changes the usually pessimistic nature of naturalist literature. In the 'sociale roman' notions of resistance and feasible social change introduce a sense of optimism (Knuvelde 1982, 316). The 'Tachtigers' Van Eeden and Van der Goes are examples of authors whose work reflect such ideas. As a counterpart to these idealistic and socialistic tendencies, individualism emerges (Knuvelde 1982, 320). The subjective, rather than objective form the basis of the works of other 'Tachtigers' such as Van Deysel and Kloos.

According to Knuvelde, these new trends in Dutch literature did not appear suddenly with the formation of the group of 'Tachtigers'. Naturalism, realism, impressionism and individualism had developed steadily during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Knuvelde 1982, 324) resulting in the formation of *De Nieuwe Gids* in 1885. The appearance of this periodical formalized the onset of an important renaissance of literature in the Netherlands. The editors of this periodical, which combined literature, arts, politics and science, were Frederik van Eeden, Willem Kloos, Willem Paap, Albert Verwey and Frank van der Goes (Stuiveling 1982, 136). These individuals had come to know each other from *Flanor*, a literary association. The authors were also influenced by painters and other artists (Bakker 1985, 44). The periodical constituted a critical reaction to *De gids. Nieuwe vaderlandsche letteroefeningen*, a literary periodical founded in 1836, which itself was presented as a new alternative to *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* (Bakker 1985, 25). The editors of *De Nieuwe Gids* considered *De gids* to be too conservative in both literary and political sense and wished *De Nieuwe Gids* to be a platform for a new generation and new ideas.

The literary contents of the first editions of the periodical, however, were not particularly revolutionary in literary sense. The politically oriented articles, however, were modern. The first volume contained an article by Van der Goes which argued for universal suffrage (Stuiveling 1982, 37). The group of contributors to the periodical quickly grew during the first few months, all of them

sharing a common disdain for bourgeois values and aesthetics. According to Bakker, the full creative potential of *De Nieuwe Gids* was reached during the years 1888 and 1889 (Bakker 1985, 44). The poetry of Kloos, although it rarely appeared in the periodical, was revolutionary and Van Deysse's contributions were instrumental in the promotion of naturalism in the Netherlands. Meanwhile *De Nieuwe Gids* gained an increasingly socialist voice. Critical articles about the 'sociale questie', working conditions, the 1888 elections, Domela Nieuwenhuis and social unrest appeared. According to Bakker, social political discussion was most important during the first nine years of *De Nieuwe Gids* (Bakker 1985, 45). Although according to Stuiveling the political discussion in *De Nieuwe Gids* was always of secondary importance to literary discussion, Stuiveling states that the periodical nevertheless must have generated considerable interest in socialism among the artists and intellectuals of the time (Stuiveling 1982, 140).

After the quick success of *De Nieuwe Gids* and the conquest over an outmoded previous generation of artists and writers, the group became more prone to internal discord from 1888 onwards. The many different opinions regarding aesthetics and politics quickly became sources of conflict. Van Eeden and Van Deysse in particular were critical of Van der Goes' socialist ideas. According to Stuiveling "Van Eeden, as a religious humanist, condemned both the amoral aesthetics of Kloos and the scientific socialism of Van der Goes, while Kloos rejected both religion and socialism. Van Deysse primarily disliked socialism, whereas Van der Goes decried religion" (Stuiveling 1982, 142). The internal differences simply proved too big and after a few disastrous editions in 1894 under the sole leadership of Kloos, *De Nieuwe Gids'* prestige had disappeared. Virtually all of the original editors of the periodical had left after various conflicts. Although the periodical continued to exist until 1943, the versatility which formed the basis of *De Nieuwe Gids'* glory was lost long before with the departure of the original editors (Bakker 1985, 46).

## 3.2 Looking Backward in the Netherlands

### *Publication history*

The first translation of *Looking Backward* was published in the socialist newspaper *Recht voor Allen* in 1889. In this small newspaper by Domela Nieuwenhuis, *Een terugblik 2000 – 1887* was published in serialized form (Bank, Buuren 2000, 441). The translation was by the Dutch author Christaan Cornelissen, but was published under the alias Clemens (Krips-Van der Laan 2001, 222). The newspaper was not widely distributed at the time and this translation was quickly replaced by Van der Goes' translation in 1890. Slightly later, the same translation was also published in *Sociaal Weekblad*, a radical liberal periodical (Krips-Van der Laan 2001, 214). These days the translation by Cornelissen is only available in the archives of the 'Koninklijke Bibliotheek'. Few references to the first translation by Cornelissen exist in secondary literature. The translation was published in 52 parts from July 1889 onwards. In her study of the reception of *Looking Backward*, Krips-Van der Laan states that the translation does not radically differ from Frank van der Goes' 1890 translation *In het jaar 2000* (Krips-Van der Laan 2001, 224). Both translators stay close to Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, but Krips-Van der Laan considers Cornelissen's translation less fluent and Van der Goes' translation more literary (Krips-Van der Laan 2001, 224). In the introduction to the translations, the explanatory footnotes and the epilogue, Cornelissen is critical of Bellamy's work. According to Krips-Van der Laan, Cornelissen thought Bellamy was in many respects too soft. He complained that Bellamy was wrong in not acknowledging the inherent class struggle contained in socialism and disliked the predominantly bourgeois values displayed by the books characters.

It is likely that Van der Goes has read the previous translation and it is possible that he based his translation on the preceding work by Cornelissen. In 1889, very soon after the publication of *Een terugblik*, Frank van der Goes was asked by the publisher Van Looy to translate Bellamy's book into Dutch. The original letter can be found at the Frank van der Goes archive at the International Institute for Social History. In the letter Van Looy states that he was offered another translation for sale. Presumably, this was the Cornelissen translation. However, Van Looy appears to prefer a new translation by Van der Goes. It is difficult to establish the exact reasons for not buying the previous translation by Cornelissen. It is possible that commissioning a new translation was the most attractive option financially for Van Looy. It is also possible that Van Looy preferred Van der Goes for other reasons. Van Looy might have disagreed with Cornelissen's more radical socialist positions or his critical opinions of *Looking Backward*.

Geachte Heer.  
Ik heb in handen de uitgaaf  
van een beroemd boek: Bellamy,  
Looking backward. De vertaling  
heeft, zoals mij later is gebleken, gestaan  
in Recht voor Allen. Ik kan die  
vertaling kopen. Voordat ik daartoe  
overga, wenschte ik U te spreken.  
Heeft U de gelegenheid dan zag ik U  
gaarne morgen, voor 1 uur bij thuis,  
omdat daar alle documenten bij de hand  
zijn.  
U zult mij daarom zeer ver-  
plichten. Er is haast bij, door een  
verbintenis die ik heb aangegaan  
met de drukker.  
Met beleefde groet,  
Met hoogachting  
S. L. van Looy

(Transcript of Van Looy's letter)

Geachte Heer, Ik heb in handen de uitgaaf van een beroemd boek: Bellamy, Looking Backward. De vertaling heeft, zoals mij later is gebleken, gestaan in Recht voor Allen. Ik kan die vertaling kopen. Voordat ik daartoe overga, wenschte ik U te spreken. Heeft U de gelegenheid dan zag ik U gaarne morgen, voor 1 uur bij thuis, omdat daar alle documenten bij de hand zijn. U zult mij daarom zeer verplichten. Er is haast bij, door een verbintenis die ik heb aangegaan met de drukker. Met beleefde groet, Met hoogachting, S.L. van Looy



The translation by Frank van der Goes was completed within a year, and was published in 1890 under the title *In het jaar 2000*. The first press consisted of a rather modest 1500 copies and did not sell exceedingly well. But after approximately a year, the book had gained much attention in De Nieuwe Gids and the demand grew very sudden. Several reprints of the translation followed in these immediate years after publication. During the 1910s, the Dutch publishing company Gebr. E. & M. Cohen published cheap editions of *In het jaar 2000*. The new Cohen publishers followed modern strategies and bought the rights to older, unpopular titles and remarketed these as cheap editions. A supposedly new translation was produced by Henri Polak, who worked as a journalist, union leader and socialist. This translation resembled Van der Goes' translation closely. Pirated versions of the translations appear to have been published as well. A 1909 edition of *in het jaar 2000*, entitled *Honderd jaar later*, was published in Ghent by Samenwerkende Volksdrukkerij Hoogpoort. The translation was slightly adapted to a Flemish audience, but was obviously closely based on existing translations. Copies with a changed cover of this Belgian print were later sold by N.V. De Arbeiderspers when it was founded some 20 years later.

During the early 1930s the interest for the book quickly resurfaced, due to the economic crisis in the Netherlands. Cohen distributed the new translation by Henri Polak in cooperation with the first members of the Dutch Bellamy association. These books gained a new cover that featured dramatic artwork by Fré Cohen, glorifying Bellamy himself in stark colors. A first sign that to the commissioners of this translation the idealization of the author was as important as the mere futuristic story itself. The new translation also featured an index at the end of the book and an introduction and epilogue by the Dutch Bellamy-association. Probably all of these Cohen editions were commissioned by the I.V.B. (International Bellamy Association) and distributed and sold by its members and other interested parties directly to potential new members of the quickly growing association. The same Cohen publishers also printed *Gelijkheid voor Allen*, the translation of *Looking Backward's* sequel *Equality*. The translation was accredited to 'H.N.', whose full name was most likely Henri Nolles, one of the original members of the first iterations of the Internationale Vereeniging Bellamy. The book featured prologues and epilogues by the I.V.B, similar to the 1930s editions of *In het jaar 2000*. The book's cover was also illustrated by Fré Cohen.

During the Second World War, the activities of the I.V.B. were suspended by the German occupants. The Jewish publishers were unable to remain working in Amsterdam. Among the final publications by Gebr. E. & M. Cohen in 1940 was a reprint of *Gelijkheid voor Allen*. Which might possibly have been intended as a signal of protest to the growing persecution. Both brothers died during the war and the company was disbanded. After the war, relatives revived the publishing house as Phoenix publishers and the very first publication of the Phoenix publishers was a new 1946

translation of *Equality*, that was commissioned by the newly resurrected Bellamy association. The name of the translator of this new version, entitled *Economische Gelijkheid*, is unknown. A member of the Bellamy association also produced a new translation of *Looking Backward* that replaced Polak's translation that was used during the 1930s. This translation is only credited to T.S., whose full name is uncertain. It is very likely, however, that T.S. stands for Theo Stillebroer, who was a member of the association and who also contributed to the Esperanto translation of *Looking Backward*. The new translation was called *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* and was the first translation to radically differ from the preceding versions by Van der Goes and Polak. It was no longer published or printed by Phoenix, but instead by the association itself in Ede. These editions were printed in 1950 and 1951 and the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> editions of this translation can be found in second hand bookshops. This suggests that throughout the entire history of Dutch translations of *Looking Backward* the numbering of editions extended over different versions of the translation. The last version of Polak's *In het jaar 2000* was a 10<sup>th</sup> edition published by the Bellamy association in 1940. The two prints of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* consisted of cheaply produced paperback editions. The distinct artwork by Fré Cohen was not reused for *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*. Although the translation, the introduction and other additions to the book suggest the book was intended to revitalize the association, it is unlikely *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* has had the same reach and impact the previous versions by the I.V.B. have had. The 1930s editions are still more commonly found in second hand bookshops, it is unclear how many copies of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* have been printed. Probably, most of the copies were directly distributed to members and not sold in bookstores.

Possibly several unauthorized editions of the Dutch translations have been published as well. A translation of *Looking Backward* was published in 1890 or 1891 in Ghent by the socialist Jan Foucaert. The similar title of this translation, *Het leven in het jaar 2000 of Een terugblik*, and the year of publication suggest that this is a volume containing the serialized translation by Cornelissen. The unaccredited 1909 Flemish translation *Honderd jaar later*, printed by Samenwerkende Drukkerij Hoogport in Ghent, was sold by 'N.V. De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam' at an undocumented later time. This edition only featured a new book cover by De Arbeiderspers, but no additional bibliographic information was added to the contents of the book. Therefore, the year of publication of this probably cheap edition can only be estimated. According to Hubregtse, 'N.V. Drukkerij en Uitgeversmaatschappij De Arbeiderspers' was founded on the May 21, 1929 (Hubregtse 1986, 132). The older 1909 translation was probably sold approximately twenty years later due to the sudden demand for the book during the 1930s. Another unauthorized translation surfaced during this period that was published by the anarchist Gerhard Reijnders in his *Bibliotheek voor Ontspanning and Ontwikkeling* (B.O.O.). According to Uittenhout, the bibliographic records of Reijnders' publication

were usually incomplete or completely absent. The date of publication was almost always omitted and Reijnders often used existing translations without crediting the translator. (Uittenhout 1992, 234). It is likely that Reijnders used a version of the translation by Van der Goes for this edition. According to Zylstra and Bogaard, the Reijnders edition of *Looking Backward* was published in 1935 (Zylstra, Bogaard 1962, 209). From the minutes of the I.V.B. can be gathered that the association and the Gebr. E. & M. Cohen were unhappy with this unauthorized edition which competed with the Cohen editions of the Polak translation. The Gebr. E. & M. had acquired the rights of publication of Van der Goes' translation around 1919 (Zylstra, Bogaard 1962, 209).

### *Literary reception*

It is also important to keep in mind that Van der Goes was not merely an anonymous translator, but held an important position within the group of 'Tachtigers' and *De Nieuwe Gids*. Of course, much of the reception of *In het jaar 2000* is often about the person Van der Goes rather than the book and in the evaluations of the book or the translation political and literary judgements are often intertwined. In the correspondence between the various literary figures of the 'Tachtigers' a range of opinions about Van der Goes' work can be found. Both his literary and his political work are discussed, but often the two aspects are discussed at the same time. Frederik van Eeden is often much more positive about Van der Goes, unlike Van Deyssel, who is both critical of the literary qualities of Goes and his political ideas. In the 1889 publication "Studien over Tijdgenoten", Querido calls *In het jaar 2000* a nasty flea (Querido 1899, 28). The book itself was insignificant according to him, but the reactions it fostered and the annoyance and tumult it caused were not insignificant. In the publication the author also gives a personal judgement of the literary qualities of Frank van der Goes. It describes the translator as an outsider within the group of Tachtigers. He was respected and tolerated during the time his writings were not as controversial as they would later become. According to Querido it contributed to broad political discussion that eventually broke up the group of 'Tachtigers' and *De Nieuwe Gids*. These events are often called 'the Socialist Debate' by later commentators.

The literary influence of *In het jaar 2000* can also be measured by the amount of imitations, parodies and unofficial sequels it generated at the time. As was the case in the United States, the book inspired other authors to a response, either critical or positive. A number of Dutch authors contributed their own utopian stories after the publication of *In het jaar 2000*. These stories have a

similar plot structure or directly refer to Bellamy's work. The books were therefore clearly influenced by Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. In a thesis about Dutch utopian literature, Heijboer identifies a few Dutch utopian stories which were written in response to Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. These stories were written by unknown or anonymous authors. For example, *Later?* was written by the obscure F. Hesselink in 1896. According to Heijboer, *Later?* is a direct response to Bellamy's work, because the author discusses Bellamy's work in the first part of the book (Heijboer 2002, 50). Hesselink agrees with Bellamy's intentions and approves of using literature as propaganda for political ideas. According to Heijboer, Hesselink read the Van der Goes translation, and assumed that the Van der Goes' translation was a good rendition of the *Looking Backward*. However, Hesselink is also critical of the book and he objects to certain aspects of *Looking Backward*. According to Hesselink, the book is too soft, too idealistic and too vague and as a result, the book has become 'childish'. He is disappointed by the lack of substance and accuses Bellamy of generalizations. He laments the fact Bellamy does not take into account the role of the middle classes and generally dislikes Bellamy's technological inventions, which according to Hesselink, are often too vague or unpractical. Hesselink's book itself does not directly address Bellamy's work. According to Heijboer, the story by Hesselink is not particularly exciting. It is a more or less conventional utopia that uses the exchange of letters between two men from the future as its main plot device. The story appears to be primarily focused on fantasizing about futuristic concepts and applying contemporary scientific ideas to the story. Socialism however, is not a significant part of *Later?*

*Anno: 1999* was another Dutch utopia that was possibly influenced by Bellamy's work. This short book was written by J. Rutgers, an equally unknown Dutch author. The book was published in 1899, by the publisher W. Versluys. The book features a prologue in which the publisher states that this book has travelled back in time under mysterious circumstances.

Dit handschrift schijnt in omgekeerde richting door den tijd te zijn aangedaan. Het schijnt tegen den stroom des tijds opgevaren te zijn en toevallig zeer ver te zijn afgedreven, zooals het drijfhout, dat aan Columbus verkondigde, dat zijn schip een nieuwe wereld naderde.

(Rutgers, *Anno 1999*, V)

The title of the book echoes Bellamy's title *Looking Backward 2000-1888*. The story details the life of a small group of friends and colleagues who live and work in a small commune. The events are recounted by a reporter who as a member himself writes about the commune for a psychological periodical. The story deals with a small group of employees at a magazine, who live and work together. Material rewards for the work and various types of employment are distributed according to merit and effort. This is different from Bellamy's utopia, in which all material goods were divided equally among all members of society. However, similar to Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, *Anno: 1999*

features some futuristic technological inventions, for example an electrical system that is used during the meetings of the group. The narrator emphasizes the harmony and respect as a central value for all the inhabitants of the small community. The focus on extremely small communities is quite different from Bellamy's futuristic Boston. Instead people live in small towns of 500 to 1000 inhabitants. This is more reminiscent of William Morris' *News from Nowhere*, the other influential utopia that was also translated by Van der Goes. According to Heijboer, Rutgers appears to have been influenced by Bellamy's descriptions of the futuristic consumerism and abundance. Luxury consumption is an important aspect of Rutgers' utopia as individuals are occasionally rewarded with luxury articles. This idea seems at odds with the prevailing socialist ideas of equality at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It even makes Bellamy's utopia seem somewhat sober when compared to the one envisioned in *Anno: 1999*. Similar to *Looking Backward* is the way in which the book tends to gloss over the idea of a socialist revolution. In *Anno: 1999*, societal change had come about by overwhelming civil disobedience towards the owners of industry and towards the government and military. However, the author does not really discuss any of the details. In *Looking Backward* the events are kept similarly vague. According to Rutgers, people in a socialist society will at first only work for happiness or luxuries, secondly to be part of a group of friends and finally in order to be loved. Such observations are rather bland and not very radical and the book lacks the estrangement so typical for utopias. Rutgers appears to have copied some elements of *Looking Backward*, such as the traditional, interpersonal relationships and the luxuries promised by technological advancement, while glossing over the more radical elements of Bellamy's ideas. Both books never became particularly popular. According to Heijboer, the books were not only influenced by Bellamy, but also by H. G. Wells, who further popularized time travel as a literary device.

### *Non-literary influence*

The book was influential in political life outside the United States as well, possibly even more so. For example, the Dutch Bellamy associations were popular until after the Second World War, long after all political Bellamy movements in the United States had disappeared. Whereas the influence in the United States was primarily an indirect one, in the Netherlands a Dutch Bellamy political party even contested in the 1946 parliamentary elections. Of course, Van der Goes was very important for the initial introduction and positioning of Bellamy in the Netherlands and in Dutch political landscape. Van der Goes, at the beginnings of the SDAP, used the book to shape early social democratic politics in the Netherlands. As stated by Bank and Van Buuren, the book became a "catalyst" for change of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Dutch culture because "Dutch intellectuals, and the editors of *De Nieuwe Gids* in particular, were forced to take a position in the social debate" (Bank, Buuren

2000, 442). Via the primarily literary group gathered around *De Nieuwe Gids*, the book quickly became influential in a broader, not strictly literary, sense.

The influence of the book and the accompanying Dutch movement can also be measured by the reactions of other social groups towards it. Newspapers and other publications offer an insight in the degree in which non-socialist people were familiar with the book and the movement. For example, several Christian publications discussed the I.V.B. and offered a verdict on whether it was an acceptable organization for churchgoers to become a member of. For example, the Catholic newspaper “Veritas”, which was published twice-monthly in Maastricht, discussed the question in its readers’ letters section *Vragen staat vrij!* of the December 23 edition in 1939:

*Graag zou ik van U vernemen of het als Katholiek geoorloofd is toe te treden als lid van de Vereeniging Bellamy. Sluit U hierbij een officieel orgaan in ter beoordeling.*

Ik dank U voor het bijgesloten orgaan. Noodig had ik het niet. [...] Het is niet wenschelijk dat die gepropageerd wordt omdat ze volgens ter zake kundigen lijdt aan ernstige mankementen. [...] Alles bij elkaar genomen kan men heel gerust zeggen: wij als Katholieken hooren om prinipieele redenen **niet** thuis in de Bellamy-beweging.

The editor that responded to the reader’s question deems the association unsuitable for proper Catholics. The advice was based on both practical and fundamental objections. Ultimately, the socialist politics that were promoted by the Bellamy association were deemed to be incompatible with Catholicism because socialism is always based on Marxist ideas that reject religion. According to the editor, socialism and religion would inevitably collide, despite the I.V.B.’s and Edward Bellamy’s assurances to the contrary. The editor also recognized many practical objections to the economic model and tried to convince the readers that the envisioned utopia was unfeasible. This reaction is similar to the criticism of other Christian groups. For example, the dean of Rotterdam J. H. Niekel, also attacked the association on both practical and ideological grounds in *De Bellamy-beweging*, a 1939 publication he co-authored with an economics professor. It should be noted though, that these authors recognized the ideal of equality as an admirable Christian virtue.

The efforts of the Bellamy association were concentrated on broadening the appeal of (Bellamy-flavored) socialism to wider social circles. Most of the founding members of the Bellamy associations themselves belonged to the middle classes. They were outspokenly anti-revolutionary and many of them combined their Bellamy ideals with Christianity. The association avoided political confrontations and controversy. Instead, they focused on expansion of the membership base

through publications, radio lectures and information evenings. According to Frieswijk, the I.V.B. actively pursued a strategy of political and ideological pacifism in order to eventually emerge as a dominant, uniting force between the different fighting sociopolitical groups (Frieswijk 1987, 82). The reactions of these groups, however, turned out to be more negative than the I.V.B. had anticipated.

The social democrats from Frank van der Goes' S.D.A.P. had preferred the Bellamy enthusiasts to have joined the S.D.A.P. According to Frieswijk, Van der Goes had advised against the formation of a Bellamy association, but was generally sympathetic towards the association. The I.V.B. itself considered Van der Goes as one of their supporters. (Frieswijk 1987, 82). Most of the other social democrats were less supportive of the I.V.B., Henri Polak expressed more ambivalence towards the association. He doubted whether the I.V.B. would offer a significant contribution to Dutch socialism and expected the association to be short-lived. Generally, the social democrats accused Bellamy supporters of being petit bourgeois and passive (Frieswijk 1987, 83). Of course, such criticism was even more persistent from anarchists and revolutionary socialists. The Dutch anarchist A. L. Constandse objected to the religious aspects of the Bellamy ideology and the culturally conservative elements. The improvement of the position of women, in particular, is lagging behind the socialists' and anarchists' efforts in this area, according to Constandse (Constandse 1936, 12). The revolutionary socialists disliked Bellamy's dismissal of a Marxist class struggle. They argued that the Bellamy association was wrong on such socialist principles and that Bellamy's model was therefore destined to remain a utopia forever.

According to Frieswijk, the Protestant groups and the A.R.P. in particular were strong opponents of the I.V.B. (Frieswijk 1987, 90). Frieswijk claims that the A.R.P. were worried about clergymen falling under the sway of the Bellamy ideology and that several ministers were discharged from their position for this reason (Frieswijk 1987, 92).

In 1934, the National Socialists (N.S.B.) proposed a collaboration with the I.V.B., which the Bellamy association rejected. However, an unknown number of Bellamy supporters joined the National Socialists in the years preceding, and during the war (Frieswijk 1987, 96).

Another example that illustrates the influence and the meaning of *Looking Backward* during the 1930s can be found in the artwork by Henri Verstijnen which was created for a brochure of the I.V.B.



Verstijnen became a supporter of the Bellamy association and his artwork was used for a brochure of the association. According to Wagtberg Hansen, Verstijnen was interested in Bellamy's work. Bellamy association member Burgers wrote in 1936 to a fellow association member:

Het boekje 'Gelijkheid voor allen' heb ik echter van een vriend voor U geleend, daar mijn exemplaar reeds door my uitgeleend is aan den Heer Henri verstijnen, den bekenden schilder, die zich er ook zeer voor interesseert.

(Wagtberg Hanssen 2007, 20)

In the brochure, the artist Verstijnen explains the meaning of his artwork to the readers:

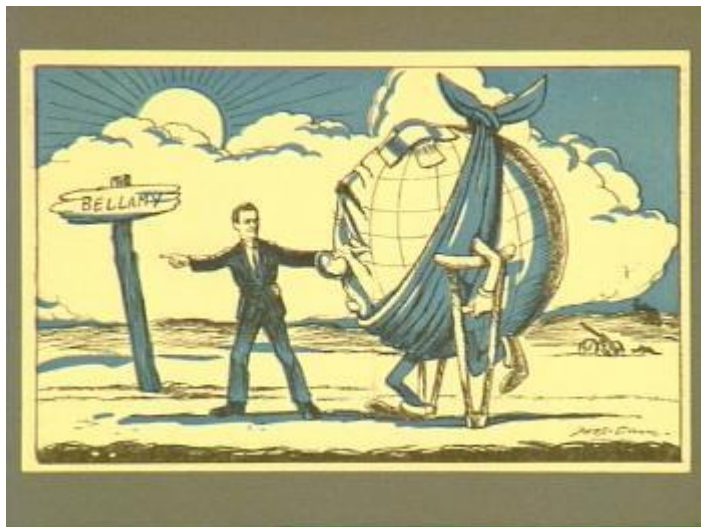
De vrouwen-figuur stelt de verpersoonlijking voor van de geniale inspiratie die Bellamy in staat stelde zijn ideeën te ontvangen en tot heil der menscheid te verkondigen. De tempel verzinnebeeldt het tot daad en vorm verwezenlijkte idee, dat lichtende, weldoende stralen uitzendt over de geheele wereld, ten bate van alle levende schepselen. Het idee omvat alle idealen van de broederschap, samenwerking, gelijkberechtiging, liefde en geluk van en voor allen. Links en rechts van den tempel staan nog de oude huizen en muren; het oude stelsel van beperking, lijden en duisternis. De kloof die



het oude stelsel van het ideaal scheidt, wordt echter door Bellamy's idee overbrugd, zoodat het mogelijk is, dat uit het oude, beperkte en duistere, de schoonheid en het licht van den stralenden tempel voor iedereen bereikbaar en toegankelijk zal worden. Aan weerszijden van de vrouwen-figuur dragen lange rijen vrijwillige werkers ieder hun steentje naar vermogen bij, om dien tempel tot steeds hogere volmaaktheid op te bouwen. Nog staan er vele wegen open voor allen, die van goeden willen zijn en die mede kunnen werken aan de verwezenlijking van het ideaal, d.i. de bevrijding van de menschheid uit het lijden en de nood, totdat geluk en welvaart ieders deel geworden zal zijn. De korenaren op den voorgrond zijn het symbool van welvaart, een welvaart, die vooruitspruit uit gemeenschappelijke samenwerking en eensgezinde eerbied voor het hoge doel'.

(Wagtberg Hanssen 2007, 21)

The artwork functions as an addition to Bellamy's books. It echoes its ideas in a recognizable, very accessible manner. The artwork is also reminiscent of propaganda produced in later years during the Second World War, it is very political and simplistic. Other examples of artwork for the Bellamy association by less well-known artists are similar in this sense. Simplistic imagery that takes elements of the book and reduces these to easily understood political messages.



Despite the involvement of many different people, the I.V.B. has managed to create and maintain a united and cohesive meaning of the text and the author. Both the book and its author were treated as canonical and Stillebroer certainly did not eclipse the original text with personality or opinions. This approach of the Bellamy association is quite different from the supporters of the book in previous times. Of course, no association or political party had been dedicated to *Looking*

*Backward* before, but its translators acted as public spokespersons for the book and its contents. Van der Goes defended the book in *De Nieuwe Gids* against attacks from Van Deysse and incorporated it in the larger debate about socialism. During these early days of socialism in the Netherlands, the discussions were hot-tempered and often highly personal. Van der Goes already was a public political figure before he translated the book and in a sense, *In het jaar 2000* became part of his personality and personal political agenda, rather than a separate publication by Edward Bellamy. The first translator, Christiaan Cornelissen, had expressed himself critical of the work. Much like Van der Goes, he had no desire to become a self-effacing translator and even integrated his personal opinions of *Looking Backward* in the text itself in the form of critical footnotes. However, Cornelissen moved to France after the disintegration of the SDB and ultimately was much less influential than Van der Goes. Frank van der Goes remained an important figure of Dutch socialism. His translation, and not the very first translation by Cornelissen, became the most famous and was used as the basis for later translations such as the Henri Polak's *In het jaar 2000* and the 1909 Ghent translation. Throughout its history, the book has been attacked from all political directions. It has been criticized for being bourgeois, radical, ill-considered, dull, trite, too religious or anti-Christian. The book had a different meaning to different individuals and in a sense the translators have created differing versions of *Looking Backward*. This will be further explored in the fifth chapter containing textual comparisons.

### 3.3 Biographical profiles of the Dutch translators

#### *Christiaan Cornelissen*

Christiaan Cornelissen (1864-1942) produced the first Dutch translation of *Looking Backward*. Cornelissen, who also published in the socialist newspaper *Recht voor Allen* under the alias Clemens, was a libertarian socialist who was born in Den Bosch but lived in France for most of his life (De Vrankrijker 1972, 74). In 1891, Cornelissen started writing for *Recht voor Allen* and in 1892 he became an editor for the same newspaper. He worked closely with Domela Nieuwenhuis and became the secretary for international matters of the SDB. During the internal discord and the SDB's rapid decline in memberships in 1896 and 1897, Cornelissen broke with Domela Nieuwenhuis and the following year Cornelissen left for Paris (Wedman 1993, 7). Cornelissen published theoretical socialist works in both Dutch and French. In *Onze Anarchisten en Utopisten rond 1900* Cornelissen is characterized as "a second Marx" (De Vrankrijker 1972, 75). Cornelissen was anti-parliamentary and favored revolutionary socialism. In his later life in Paris, Cornelissen was drawn to syndicalism, which was a typically French form of socialism that promoted a non-parliamentary roadmap towards social transformation with an emphasis on unions and syndicates. However, despite Cornelissen's efforts to promote syndicalism in the Netherlands, Dutch syndicalism never became as widespread as it was in France. In the Netherlands, the parliamentary socialist approach of the S.D.A.P. became the dominant socialist movement.

Cornelissen's translation of *Looking Backward* was published in serialized form in the socialist newspaper *Recht voor Allen* with the title *Een terugblik: 2000-1887 of Het leven in het jaar 2000*. The translation by Cornelissen has not been republished since, because the translation was quickly replaced Van der Goes' translation in 1890.

According to Lehning, Cornelissen was intent on designing an economic theory as a basis for modern socialism. (Lehning 1987, 38). These attempts can be found in works such as *Traité générale de science économique* and *Théorie de la Valeur*. Much of this theoretical work was written in his later life when he lived in France. However, previously Cornelissen had also translated economic and socialist articles and books. He published the first Dutch translation of *Het Communistisch Manifest* in 1892. According to Krips-Van der Laan, Cornelissen's translation of *Looking Backward* was accompanied by a lot of footnotes, remarks, criticism and observations that indicated he was critical of Bellamy's economic models. By translating, Cornelissen learned from the texts and refined his own thinking. Cornelissen was not only critical of Bellamy's book, but also disagreed with Frank van der Goes on socialist topics (Lehning 1987, 39).

## *Frank van der Goes*

Frank van der Goes (1859 - 1939) was a Dutch writer, politician, journalist and translator of the second translation of *Looking Backward*. He was also working as a writer, theatre reviewer and journalist. He taught at the University of Amsterdam for a short while as a privately appointed professor. He was an editor of *De Nieuwe Gids*, *De Nieuwe tijd* and *De Socialistische Gids*. He translated *Looking Backward*, but is more famous for the first translation of Marx' *Das Kapital*. Van der Goes was asked to provide the translation of *Looking Backward* by the Dutch publisher Van Looy. Van der Goes published regularly in the periodical *De Nieuwe Gids*. His socialist opinions led to conflicts with other editors of *De Nieuwe Gids* and his political work eventually became more important than his literary activities. He was a member of the SDB and later became one of the twelve founders of the SDAP. Van der Goes also translated another famous utopian novel, *News from Nowhere*, by William Morris. This translation, however, never attained the same popularity as *In het jaar 2000* and has not been reprinted since its original publication by S. L. van Looy in 1897. Van der Goes and Bellamy briefly corresponded as indicated by a letter held at the IISG. They discussed a possible contribution of Van der Goes to Bellamy's newly founded newspaper *The New Nation*. It is unknown whether Van der Goes responded to Bellamy's request for articles. No further communication between the two men is available in the archive at the IISG. A survey of the early editions of *Looking Backward* did not reveal any contributions by Van der Goes. It is most likely that the international cooperation suggested in the letter never took place and that no letters by Van der Goes were ever published in *The New Nation*.

1890  
 Chicopee Falls Mass  
 Dec 30 1890  
 Mr F. van der Goes  
 Dear Sir  
 Thank  
 for your letter of Dec 13, in  
 which you ~~ask~~ <sup>request</sup> ~~me~~ <sup>me</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~write~~ <sup>write</sup>  
 give me some correspondence from  
 Holland for my weekly paper.  
 I now expect to get out the  
 first edition the last of January  
~~and~~ as I want your  
 first letter in it, if possible,  
 you will greatly oblige me by  
 writing and forwarding it at  
 once on receipt of this. The  
 paper will be wholly devoted  
 to the information and dis-  
 cussion as to topics of social  
 and industrial reform. It  
 will advocate the substitution  
 as rapidly as possible by peaceable

methods, for the present systems  
 of the ~~plan~~ of national in-  
 dustrial organization outlined  
 in Looking Backward. Of course  
 that ~~plan~~ <sup>plan</sup> does not ~~include~~ <sup>include</sup> all the  
 details mentioned in the book  
 but the fundamental principles  
 only. Your own judgment will  
 readily suggest to you the sort of  
 matter which I want my correspond-  
 ents to furnish. One ~~point~~ <sup>point</sup>  
 only I will mention. I want facts,  
facts, facts, and not theories. No  
 doubt we shall be in sympathy  
 about this.  
 I send you a speech of mine last  
 year which will give you some notion  
 of the line of argument and agi-  
 tation which we are following in  
 this country where our party is  
 called Nationalist and our doctrine  
 Nationalism. — I expect to pay  
 for your letters but I cannot pay much  
 at first while my paper is still in the  
 experimental stage. — Please follow your  
 first letter by a second the week fol-  
 lowing. Your English is all right.  
 Sincerely,  
 Edward Bellamy

(Transcript of the letter)

Chicopee Falls, Dec. 30, 1890

- Frank van der Goes, Dear Sir

Per your letter of December 13, in which you give me some correspondence from Holland for my weekly paper. I now expect to get out a first edition at last of January and as I want your first letter in it, if possible you will greatly oblige me by writing and forwarding it at once on receipt of this. The paper will be wholly devoted to information and discussion as to topics of social and industrial reform. It will advocate the substitution as rapidly as possible by peaceable methods, for the present systems of the plan of national industrial organization outlined in Looking Backward. Of course that plan does not necessarily include all the details mentioned in the book but the fundamental principles only. Your own judgment will readily suggest to you the sort of matter which I want my correspondents to furnish. One point only I will mention. I want facts, facts, facts, and not theories. No doubt we shall be in sympathy about this. I send you a speech of mine last year which will give you some notion of the line of argument and agitation which we are following in this country where our party is called nationalist and our doctrine nationalism. I expect to pay for your letters but I cannot pay much at first while my paper is still in an experimental stage. Please follow your first letter by a second the week following. Your English is all right. Sincerely, Edward Bellamy.

### *Henri Polak*

Henri Polak (1868 - 1943) produced the third translation of *Looking Backward*. Polak was the head of the first union in the Netherlands. He was a union member for the Dutch diamond industry. He corrected and edited the original translation by Van der Goes, but in many ways this translation remained very similar to Van der Goes' *In het jaar 2000* and it used the same title. Polak also published articles as a journalist in the socialist publication *Het Volk*. The translation by Polak was used by the I.V.B. for the 1930s publications of *Looking Backward*. Polak has stated that *Looking Backward* was very important for his personal development as a socialist, but later in his life his appreciation for the book waned.

### *Theo Stillebroer*

Theo Stillebroer was the translator of the most recent Dutch translation of *Looking Backward* (Bowman 1962, 511). Theo Stillebroer was a member of the I.V.B. , but his identity as the translator of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* remained largely unknown, because Stillebroer was only mentioned by his initials, T.S., in the book. The bibliography of Bowman's *Bellamy Abroad* is the only source that directly attributes this translation to Stillebroer, but circumstantial evidence suggests this assumption is likely to be correct. Stillebroer contributed to an Esperanto translation of *Looking Backward* before the Second World War. He was also portrayed as a very involved member of the I.V.B. in the documentary by Duyns, in which both Theo Stillebroer and his wife were interviewed.

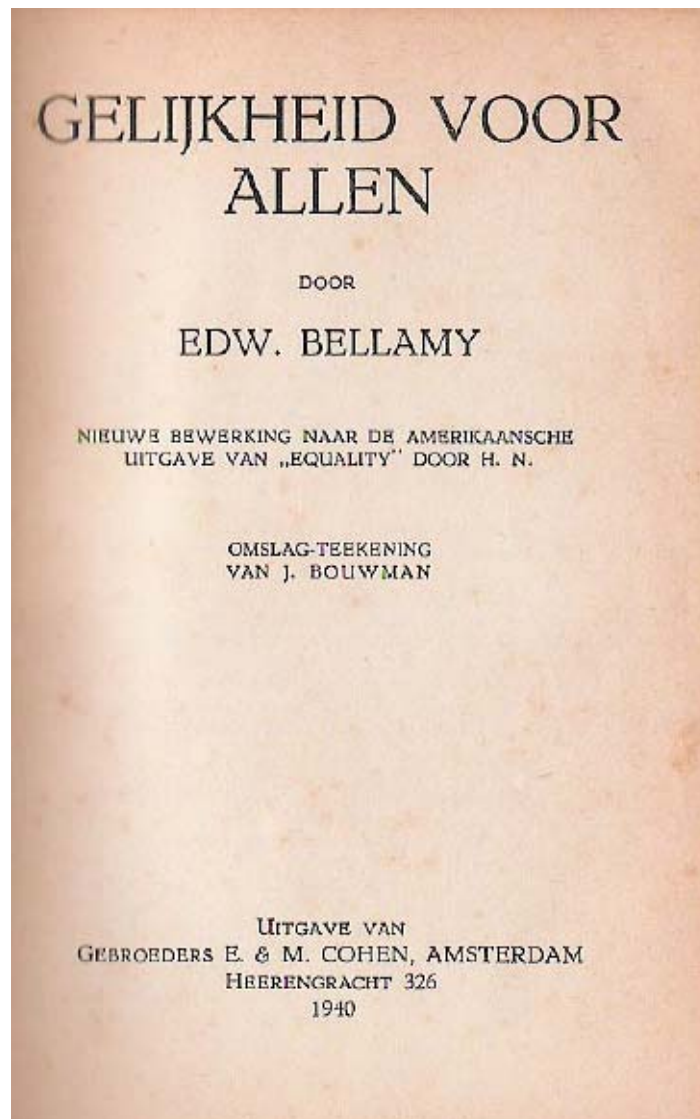
Unlike the previous translators of *Looking Backward*, Stillebroer was not a very prominent political or literary figure. Stillebroer did not publish any work of his own and he was certainly not a professional translator or author. Very little information can be found about Stillebroer or the history of his translation *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*. In the introduction of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* the translator thanks the many people who contributed to the translation process by offering suggestions and corrections. The translation however, differs significantly from the previous translations. Unfortunately, the translation was not discussed in the television documentary about the I.V.B. and Edward Bellamy.

## Chapter 4: Bellamy associations

### 4.1 The Internationale Vereeniging Bellamy (1932 – 1940)

In 1932, the Bellamy-association was founded in The Netherlands. It was called the I.V.B. or 'Internationale Vereeniging Bellamy' (International Bellamy Association). The organization was originally founded by five inhabitants of The Hague (Nielke 1939, 10). From the minutes of the meetings it can be gathered that these original members gathered weekly on Thursday evenings at the house of Mrs. Nolles-Heuff at the Hyacintweg 26, in The Hague. These original members had read Edward Bellamy's book and believed it offered solutions to the social-economic problems of the time. Arguably, the economic crisis of the 1930s renewed interest in socialism and Edward Bellamy in the Netherlands. The five founders were drawn to the Marxist elements of the novel, but resisted the socialist rejection of socialism.

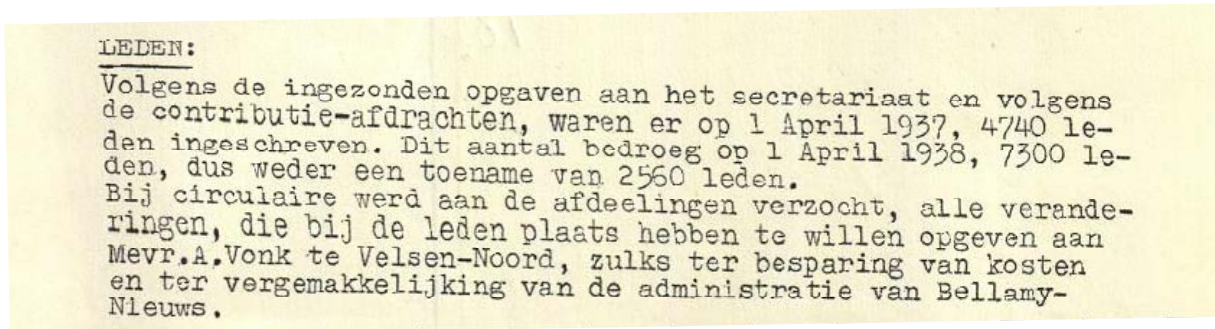
The association placed much emphasis on the distribution of Bellamy's works. From the minutes of some of the early gatherings at the Hyacintweg 26 can be gathered that the association had plans for new translations of Bellamy's works: "Het zal aanbeveling verdienen stappen te doen om tot nieuwe vertaling van Bellamy's werken over te gaan." A new translation of *Looking Backwards* was not produced until after the Second World War, but Henri Nolles, the spouse of Mrs. Nolles-Heuff, translated *Equality* in 1933. This translation was reprinted a number of times during the 1930s by Gebr. E. & M. Cohen.



From the early beginnings the statutes of the association made it clear that the organization was supposed to be non-political. This was, of course, in accordance with Edward Bellamy's own vision of non-revolutionary societal change. The statutes of the Dutch Bellamy association stated that: 'It is forbidden for members to defend or attack any governments, politicians, political parties or movements, during meetings or while propagandizing the goals of the association.' After the Second World War however, several members of the Bellamy associations, particularly from the Groningen chapter, broke with this principle and formed a political party that contested in the 1946 parliamentary elections. This 'Bellamy Partij' was controversial to some other members and its activities quickly subsided after the disappointing poll results.



According to Frieswijk, the Bellamy association counted approximately 7300 members in 1938. The I.V.B. consisted of 95 regional chapters at the time (Frieswijk 1987, 55). This number can be verified by the documentation that can be found at the IISG.



LEDEN:  
Volgens de ingezonden opgaven aan het secretariaat en volgens de contributie-afdrachten, waren er op 1 April 1937, 4740 leden ingeschreven. Dit aantal bedroeg op 1 April 1938, 7300 leden, dus weder een toename van 2560 leden.  
Bij circulaire werd aan de afdelingen verzocht, alle veranderingen, die bij de leden plaats hebben te willen opgeven aan Mevr. A. Vonk te Velsen-Noord, zulks ter besparing van kosten en ter vergemakkelijking van de administratie van Bellamy-Nieuws.

According to this quarterly report, the association indeed counted 7300 members in April 1938, an increase of 2560 members compared to the preceding year. It is likely that the membership grew even further in the following years until the Second World War, but there is no information available to support this.

## 4.2 Bellamy associations in other countries

According to members of the Bellamy association interviewed in *De Vergeelde Toekomst*, the Dutch I.V.B. was not the only Bellamy association in the world. They cite American initiatives that attempted to realize Bellamy's vision even previous to the 1932 foundation of the Dutch association. Realizing that the Dutch Bellamy Association was rapidly losing ground due to young people having no interest in Bellamy and his ideals, the I.V.B. members asked Duyns to deliver Dutch publications and memorabilia to the Bellamy museum in the United States. They believed that Bellamy associations still existed in the United States. Duyns, however, could not find any remnants of such organizations in Bellamy's hometown Springfield, Massachusetts. The younger people Duyns interviewed on the streets of Springfield were often not familiar with the writer Bellamy and the curators of the Edward Bellamy Memorial Association suggest that Bellamy associations were not an important part of the book's history in the United States. The curators of the small museum, which still exists in 2011, were also not politically motivated themselves. Their activities were merely aimed at preserving the history of a once famous Springfield inhabitant, but they welcomed the material with surprise and interest. Apparently the idea of a literal application of the book's utopia was foreign to the American curators.

In the minutes of the Bellamy association's first gatherings during 1932 can be found that in 1932 another Bellamy association was founded in South Africa. In Johannesburg the South African Section of the International Bellamy League was led by Mr. Fred W. Bell. The statutes of this league reportedly were similar to the Dutch association.

The first quarterly report of 1932 also mentions the existence of a Bandoeng chapter. In Sylvia Bowman's *Bellamy Abroad* a chapter details the history of the Bellamy association in Indonesia. Not much is known about the founders and the activities of the association. According to Roth, the association was also welcoming non-Dutch members to the association, but the claim is difficult to verify. (Roth 1962, 226)



The association also reports about a letter sent by Mrs. Bellamy about the Economic Equality Club. The daughter of Edward Bellamy, Marion Bellamy Earnshaw (1886 -1978), is the composer of this letter. During the 1930s she promoted Bellamy's nationalist economic ideas in the United States. She sent the I.V.B. some pamphlets and writes that in various American cities Bellamy-inspired mayors had been elected.



Marion and Paul Bellamy (Bowman 1958, 111)

Quite possibly, these overly optimistic reports by Marion Bellamy Earnshaw during the early days of the Dutch Bellamy association have been the source of the misconceptions about American Bellamy organizations by the later I.V.B. members. However, such misconceptions might also have

served a purpose. In one of the I.V.B.'s publications from approximately 1934, unnamed American scientists from Columbia University are cited that supposedly proved that businesses and profit would soon become unfeasible and that abolishment of capitalist society would be inevitable. The same scientists had also calculated that every American citizen could still be expected to live on a very reasonable state-credit of approximately 5000 dollar a year (*Economische Gelijkheid*, 8). These claims and citations are impossible to validate now, but were equally unverifiable back then. It is difficult to say whether the authors of the Dutch publications intentionally mislead their audience, but the authors of the I.V.B. were more than occasionally inaccurate about the affairs in the United States. The geographical and cultural barrier between the Netherlands and the United States at the time allowed the Bellamy Association to project Bellamy's utopia on the United States. In a later chapter of *Economische Gelijkheid* entitled 'Utopie?' they resist the notion that a utopia is something inherently unattainable by explicitly claiming that in Seattle, Washington, 50.000 people already lived in a utopian 'Bellamy-system' with communal schools and hospitals (*Bellamy*, 13). In such instances, the Bellamy association appears to be creating new utopias on top of Bellamy's original work. Given these misconceptions about international politics and economic realities, it is unsurprising to see the Bellamy Association's eventual decline during the 1960s and 1970s. By taking Bellamy's vision out of the realm of fiction and by applying it to real-world economics and politics they allowed reality to catch up eventually.

## Chapter 5: Comparison and analysis of Dutch translations

### 5.1 Methodology and theory

#### *Methodology*

Besides the historical reconstruction of *Looking Backward's* translation and reception in the Netherlands, the aim of this thesis is to compare and analyse the different Dutch translations of *Looking Backward*. The various translations are interesting to compare because they originated in very different circumstances and different historical circumstances. The translations by Cornelissen and Van der Goes were published during the early days of socialism in the Netherlands. The revision of Van der Goes' translation by Polak and the translation by Stillebroer were created in the 1930s and shortly after the Second World War respectively, when socialism in the Netherlands had already developed towards a more social democratic and parliamentary model. The aim of this chapter will be to offer a clear and reasonably objective comparison of the relevant differences between the various translation strategies following Chesterman's classification and to offer an explanation for these differences on the basis of polysystem theory.

A complete comparison and analysis of the entirety of all the translations is impractical and undesirable. Therefore, this thesis will limit itself to the comparison of a few preselected excerpts. These excerpts were selected in order to reflect the widest possible variety of translation problems and strategies that can be found in the various translations. Some excerpts were chosen because they represent an important part of the book. It should be clear that not all aspects of the translations will be discussed. In particular, this thesis will not focus on the many differences arising from spelling conventions and syntactic issues that can be attributed to the different periods in which the translations were produced. In most cases such differences are not unique to the individual translations, but the result of developing linguistic conventions and will therefore not be treated as specific translation problems. Translation problems that are considered to be interesting to analyse here are for example: key fragments essential to the plot of the book, neologisms, futuristic concepts and poems. Also included are notable translations or mistakes by a translator that shed some light on the translation strategies or norms of the translator.

In this chapter, the motivations for choosing the excerpts will be explained first. Then the necessary context will be provided before presenting the source text and the various translations.

Subsequently, the differences in the translations will be classified according to Chesterman's method, focussing on the central questions: Which translation strategies were used? What are the differences between the various translation? What are the consequences of these strategies?

Polysystem theory will aid with the explanation of the consequences of the different translation strategies. The polysystem theory by Even-Zohar offers a more refined model for examining the ways in which translation norms in various literary systems affect the translation products. The 'empirical evidence' provided by Chesterman's model, should corroborate the generalisations of Even-Zohar's model and affirm conclusions about the various translators, the translations and the literary context.

## *Polysystem theory*

During the 1970s Even-Zohar developed his polysystem theory as a tool to studying historical aspects of literature. The theory attempted to expand research beyond the literary texts and to include the literary system as well. The literary system is defined as “a system of functions of the literary order which are in continual interrelationship with other orders” (Munday 2004, 109). With Even-Zohar’s model, the social, cultural, literary and historical framework can be indentified and their respective influence can be measured within the literary system. Even-Zohar shares the ideas of Bourdieu and essentially believes that the different agents (writers, translators etc.) are engaged in a permanent struggle for a primary position within the different literary systems and the polysystem as a whole. An important aspect from the polysystem theory is the term ‘repertoire’, which can be defined as the knowledge and the norms concerning literature and culture at a certain moment. A repertoire characterizes and orders a cultural system. Translations often play an important role in processes of repertoire creation: translators are pre-eminent mediators between cultures, and add new elements to a repertoire by translating, which leads to cultural change. This model seems suitable for an exploration of the roles the various Dutch translators might have had in the shaping of socialist thought in the Netherlands. Even-Zohar states that repertoire can be understood as the shared knowledge (of the system, literature, the rules of the game) that is required for the production and understanding of texts and other products of a literary system, and for functioning within that system. This seems to suggest repertoire constitutes the mental equipment of agents in a certain (sub)system. Even-Zohar thereupon restricts the scope of a repertoire by noting that every kind of agent, every (professional) group (writers, critics, publishers, translators etc) would have a different repertoire, a different set of rules that govern their behavior. Therefore, he assumes that repertoires are mental (but shared) sets of rules, according to which people behave in different (non) institutional roles. A translator is concerned with different norms than a publisher. Within a literary system the actors are involved in a constant dynamic state of competition for a central position within the system. According to Even-Zohar, translated literature can occupy a primary or a secondary position in the polysystem (Munday 2004, 110). When translated literature is primary, it participates actively in shaping the centre of the polysystem, it is likely to be innovatory and linked to major events of literary history. However, usually translated literature is not primary. Even-Zohar identified three major cases in which translated literature attains a primary position in the system:

1. When a ‘ young’ literature is being established and looks initially to ‘ older’ literatures for ready-made models



2. When a literature is 'peripheral' or 'weak' and imports those literary types which it is lacking. This can happen when a smaller nation is dominated by the culture of a larger one.
3. When there is a critical turning point in literary history at which established models are no longer considered sufficient, or when there is a vacuum in the literature of the country.

(Munday 2004, 110)

The position of the translations and the translators within the system will be examined. The three most common conditions for primacy will be tested for the case of *Looking Backward* and its translations in the Netherlands.

In a secondary position translated literature has no substantial influence within the polysystem and it forms a peripheral system within the polysystem. The position translated literature attains, or aspires to attain within the system is related to a translation strategy according to Even-Zohar. Translations with a primary position are less constrained to literary models of the target culture and more often break conventions. More often the translators choose to stay closer to the source text in terms of 'adequacy' and force new ideas and conventions upon the target culture. Translations with a secondary position, however, are more often oriented towards the target culture and more frequently compromise on the level of adequacy in order to adapt to the norms of the target culture.

## *The translations*

Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* has been translated into Dutch at least four times since the publication of the original in 1888. At the time of the sudden success of the book in the United States, Van der Goes started working on his translation *In het jaar 2000*. This translation received much attention and is sometimes incorrectly considered the first Dutch translation. While Van der Goes' translation was indeed the first complete translation that was published in book form, it was not however, the very first translation of Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. The year before, Christiaan Cornelissen had translated the entire book in serialized form in Domela Nieuwenhuis' newspaper *Recht voor Allen*. Christiaan Cornelissen's translation featured a long and complicated title and will be referred to as *Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000*. The translation by Van der Goes is entitled *In het jaar 2000*, it should be noted that the same title was used later by Henri Polak for his revision of Van der Goes' translation that was published by Gebr. E. & M. Cohen and the I.V.B. during the 1930s. After the Second World War, the Bellamy-association was resurrected and a new translation entitled *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* was published. This publication was published by the I.V.B. itself and is markedly different from the Polak translation used by the association before the Second World War. The translator of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* was Theo Stillebroer (Bowman 1962, 511), a member of the Bellamy association.

The Dutch translation of Flemish origin, *Honderd jaar later*, is also occasionally used in the following comparisons. The origins of this translation are very unclear. The identity of the translator is unknown and the translation did not receive much attention. The text is fairly similar to the translation by Van der Goes.

The various samples from the text that will be analyzed in this chapter were picked because they were either significant parts of the book or because they offer insight in a particular aspect of the translations.

## 5.2 General observations

In a brief introductory article in *Recht voor Allen*, Cornelissen discusses the relevancy of Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. Although Cornelissen expects most of his readers to disagree with Bellamy on a number of occasions, he also concedes that the book has "several fine pages, that will appeal to fellow party members". With this rather meagre compliment, Cornelissen affirms himself as critical of *Looking Backward* even before the first pages of the translation were printed. Cornelissen considers the book flawed, but recognizes in the book some universal truths:

Een terugblik van Edward Bellamy [hebben] voor ons een sociaal-democraten een bepaalde beteekenis. Zij zijn ons een bewijs, hoe ook buiten de arbeiderskringen, buiten den boezem der eigenlijke socialistische partij, men begint te gevoelen, dat de maatschappij, zooals ze thans is, met zich zelf in tweestrijd verkeert en niet langer zoo bestaan kan. Onder de leden onzer samenleving, ook voor zoover zij niet eigenlijk tot de onzen behooren, begint zich een gevoel van ontevredenheid, van gedruktheid te openbaren, het gevoel eigen aan een menschelijk geslacht, dat de armen uitstrekt bij het oprijzen uit een afmattenden droom, en dat zich benauwd gevoelt door de banden en doeken, waarin men het sinds eeuwen gewikkeld heeft. Dit verschijnsel kan ons socialisten niet anders dan verblijden.

Wij zullen bij de ophanden zijnde omkeering in de maatschappij de kern moeten wezen, waarom zich alles beweegt, de partij die beslist; en ons daarom steeds bewust moeten houden van ons doel, van de richting, waarin wij ons te bewegen hebben. Maar juist die roeping brengt mede, dat wij ons verheugen kunnen over al wat er buiten ons om voorvalt in onzen geest, over het streven van hen, die vóór, achter en terzijde van ons werkzaam zijn, en den grond omploegen, waarin de zaden van het socialisme moeten worden gezaaid.

("Onze Machineneeuw", *Recht voor Allen*, vol. 11, no. 166)

Cornelissen clearly considers Bellamy's model of socialism as very distinct from the Dutch socialist movement. Bellamy and Cornelissen share the same basic concerns and ideals, however Cornelissen does not subscribe to Bellamy's socialist model. Cornelissen invites the readers of *Recht voor Allen* to be forgiving of the book's shortcomings because it harbours 'the seeds of socialism'. Bellamy's book should be read as circumstantial evidence for the validity and necessity for social reform according to Cornelissen. In the epilogue to the translation, Cornelissen displays similar ambivalence towards the book. He describes Bellamy as a "young convert, who exaggerates the

virtues of socialist ideals, while simultaneously depending still too much on outmoded ideas” (*Recht voor Allen*, vol. 11, no. 237). The translator is also critical of the literary merit of the book and states that the extensive conversations of Dr. Leete and Julian West, the primary narrative mode of the book, tend to become tedious. Cornelissen predicts that the book will become most popular among women and affluent people, rather than men and actual labourers.

In his preface to the translation, Van der Goes succinctly describes his motivations for translating the book:

VOORBERICHT VAN DEN VERTALER.

Dit is de derde overzetting van *Looking Backward* die in het Nederlandsch verschijnt; als dagblad-feuilleton twee keer gepubliceerd, meende de Uitgever dat een andere tekst noodig was voor deze afzonderlijke editie. Aan dit verlangen is voldaan en eene nieuwe vertaling geleverd, die een getrouwe bewerking is van het oorspronkelijke boek. Slechts zijn eenige aantekeningen van den Schrijver en enkele passages die uitsluitend op Amerikaansche toestanden betrekking hadden, vervallen.

Overigens heeft de vertaler gemeend dat aan het geschrift van Bellamy niets moest worden toegevoegd. Het werk zal denkelijk in Holland voor zich zelf spreken, gelijk het gedaan heeft in Amerika, en in bijna alle Europeesche landen.

G.

Amsterdam, Aug. 1890.

(*In het jaar 2000*, 1890, I)

Van der Goes claims to have delivered a new and faithful translation of the English original but also states that he has purposely omitted some notes by the author and select passages that are only applicable to American readers. Nevertheless, Van der Goes is confident in his translation and states that he did not need to ‘add anything’ to Bellamy’s writing because he expects the book to be universally appealing and accessible. The decision by Van der Goes to purposely omit the footnotes in the book is interesting. Bellamy’s *Looking Backward* contains a number of footnotes which contain further personal observations by the protagonist Julian West. These have been part of *Looking Backward* ever since the first editions. The consequences and possible motivations for leaving out these notes in the translation will be examined in more detail in one of the excerpts discussed below.

The original preface to *Looking Backward* entitled “Historical Section Shawmut College, Boston, December 26, 2000” is not included in the translation by Van der Goes. Bellamy employs the technique of a frame story to establish the retrospective nature of the book. The preface is written by an unnamed person from the year 2000. This fictional author, who is neither Bellamy nor Julian West, presents the actual story of Julian West as a historical source for studying the social developments of the past century. The book is presented as a 20<sup>th</sup> century historical publication for some academic institute. The technique of the frame story adds a layer of narrative complexity to the plot of *Looking Backward*, which itself is already employing the narrative mode of dream vision. The resulting book presents a story permeated with uncertainty about the reality in which the story takes place.

In *Looking Backward* Julian West falls asleep in 1887 and magically wakes up in the year 2000, from where he is eventually transported back to his original life in the miserable 19<sup>th</sup> century, reducing all the events and blessings of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to a mere dream. However, this is not the final conclusion, as it is revealed on the final pages that the unhappy ending itself was a dream. Julian West ultimately wakes up and remains in the utopian Boston. The short preface by the fictional author helps shape the reactions of readers towards this kind of story by establishing the book as both a “romantic narrative” (Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 94) and a history detailing “the social contrasts between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” (93). It guides the expectations of readers and makes excuses for “the deficiencies of the treatment” of the subject (94). It also allows more flexibility in the interpretation of the fantastic elements of the story. By keeping the identity of the fictional author ambiguous, Bellamy allows readers for whom the suspension of disbelief is becoming problematic due to the concept of time travel to view the entire story as a allegorical tale by a firsthand witness from the future. Furthermore, the dream frame and the overarching narrative frame of the fictional author add some distance between the controversial socialist ideology presented in the book and the actual author, Edward Bellamy. It adds literary qualities to a book, which would otherwise be merely a dry and theoretical treatise of social and economic problems of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bellamy invented a fictional author who recounts the story of a time travelling Julian West. In this way, Bellamy himself becomes less susceptible to direct criticism concerning the contents of the story, any inaccuracies or problematic parts of the book can be considered intentional or can be attributed to West, Dr. Leete or the fictional author. By not including the preface in his translation, Van der Goes both reduces the literary qualities of the book by reducing the narrative complexity, and makes the story of West a more literal representation of Bellamy’s ideas. *In het jaar 2000* is less ambiguous than the English original, the translation by Van der Goes

became slightly more resemblant of a manifesto. This is supported by Van der Goes' remarks in the expanded preface to the second edition of *In het jaar 2000*.

It matters little what people say of propaganda literature; the important thing is that they read it. [...] If Bellamy had meant only a nice story or a wonderful tale, the great amount of economy would have made his book a failure. Economy is so preponderant in it that evidently he has written the book just for that reason. That a work so prosaic in this respect could become popular in Holland should have the great, pleasant significance of success for all friends of socialism. This little book contains more wisdom and truth than all the Dutch scientific economy taught in many and extensive works from Vissering to Pierson.

Respectable people who are not familiar with the character of socialism have criticized *Looking Backward* because they could not find in it all their general ideals about life. They considered this to be a shortcoming of the author. In my opinion it is a merit of Bellamy that he, knowing himself to be only an economist, did not try to become a poet or philosopher. All the rest of his book has been added only for the sake of readability.

It is economy which he asks to submit to judgement. [It] only pretends to be a scientific answer of the simple question of how to obtain a livelihood [...] People who ascribe to Bellamy narrow-mindedness in literature and religion will not be contradicted by me. I maintain only that he should not be judged with regard to these matters.

(*In het jaar 2000*, "Preface to the second translation")

*The English translation is by Zylstra and Bogaard, authors of the article "The Bellamy Association of Holland" from Bowman's Bellamy abroad.*

Judging by the new preface, Van der Goes consciously treated the book primarily as an economic treatise. In his view Bellamy was an author who did not even intend to write a compelling literary work. Instead, his writing is only slightly disguised as such and the literary merits of the English original are of secondary importance to the translation of the book. As an editor of *De Nieuwe Gids* and an author himself, Van der Goes' of course could predict that the literary qualities of the book would not be favourably received. The plot is highly sentimental and the characters are simplistic and conventional. At the time of publication of this second edition of *In het jaar 2000*, the book had already been criticised on these aspects by Van der Goes' contemporaries. In this respect, the preface printed above can be read as a summary of the initial criticism and Van der Goes'

defence. According to Van der Goes, it is irrelevant to dwell on the literary shortcomings of the book and Bellamy's unsocialist adherence to religion, it is the 'scientific answer' that counts and Bellamy never aspired to be a poet or philosopher. Van der Goes was, however, only partly right about Bellamy's intentions as an author. Bellamy never presented himself or his work as 'scientific' at the time of publication. Previously, he had written a number of fairly unsuccessful and conventional 'romances' and short stories. Bellamy was by no means a true scholar or philosopher. It is more likely that a literary exploration of economic themes was the only mode of writing available to Bellamy, whose primary claim to scholarship was the year he spent at a German university. During the years 1888 and 1889 Bellamy's life and authorship would quickly be redefined. Bellamy recognised the potential success of an American socialist book in the rapidly changing culture at the time. Bowman describes how Bellamy himself stifled further publication of his earlier fiction after the sudden success of *Looking Backward*: "Bellamy must have thought, therefore, that the publication of more short stories would increase his reputation as a writer of imaginative, out-of-this-world fiction and that such repute would hinder serious consideration by the public of his ideal society." (Bowman 1958, 44). Bellamy appears to be aware of the fact that while the fantastic elements of the book brought it success with a wide audience, these same fantastic elements could jeopardise the seriousness with which his ideas were received. Possibly, Van der Goes had similar concerns. In the second preface, Van der Goes states that he does not want the book to be judged on the basis of its literary qualities, because, according to him, the "rest of his book has been added only for the sake of readability". Both Bellamy and Van der Goes began to understate and marginalise the literary characteristics of the book after they witnessed the favourable reception of *Looking Backward* as a socialist treatise. As a prominent socialist, a critic and editor of *De Nieuwe Gids*, and as the translator of *Looking Backward*, Van der Goes embodied many different roles at once when he translated the book. These different roles might have influenced the translation. In the preface of the book Van der Goes claims to be a faithful translator, however as a prominent political and literary figure, Van der Goes was personally involved with the book. It is understandable that Van der Goes tried to influence the reception of the book. It should also be interesting to see if Van der Goes in his position as translator influenced the meaning of the text itself. The decision to leave out the preface of *Looking Backward* is indicative of such tendencies.

Cornelissen's personal reputation was much less at stake when he translated *Looking Backward*. Unlike Van der Goes, Cornelissen favoured revolutionary socialism. He believed that Bellamy was wrong in assuming societal change would come gradually and without violent struggle. Cornelissen also disliked the strong religious presence in Bellamy's visions. The translator therefore, distanced himself from the book and its author from the onset. *Looking Backward's* preface is

included in Cornelissen's translation. Cornelissen does not comment on the literary qualities of the book in his introduction to the translation nor in his epilogue.

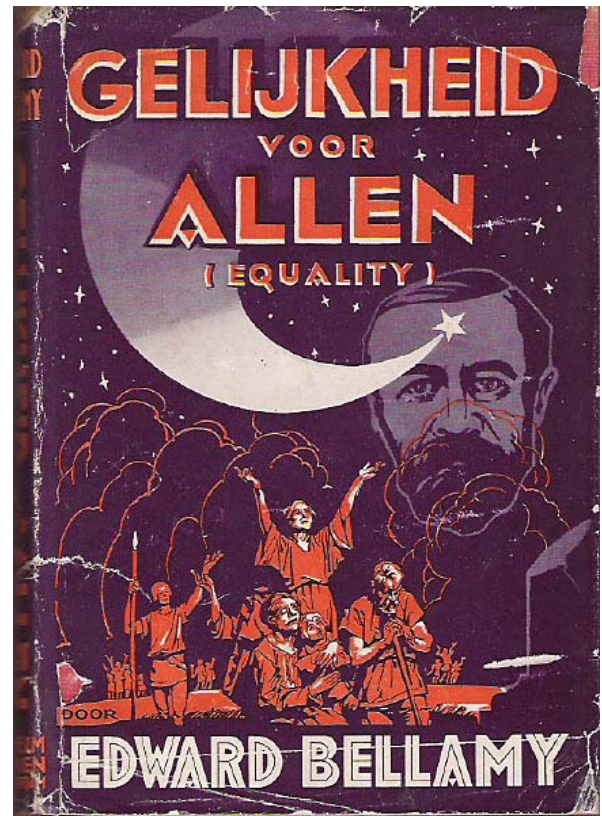
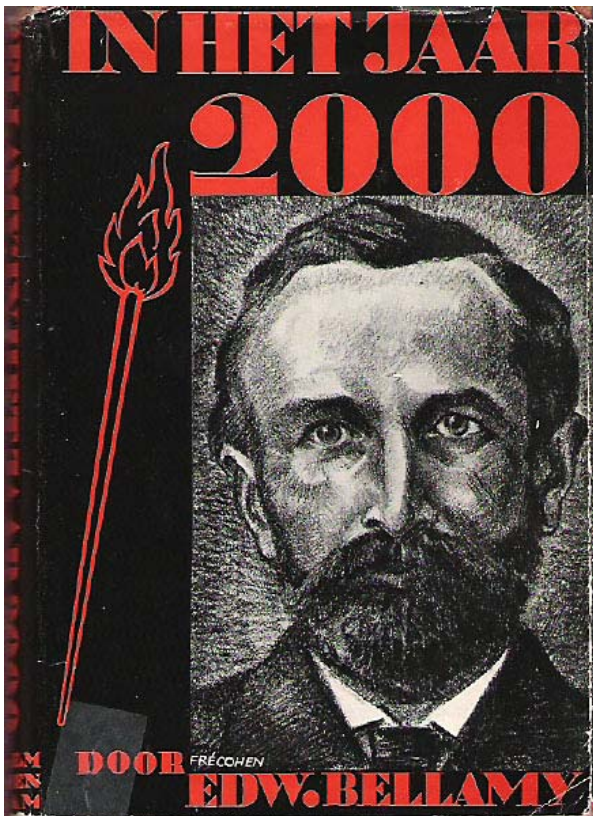
The two subsequent revisions of Van der Goes' translation by Polak and the unknown Belgian translator do not include *Looking Backward's* original preface. This is not very surprising because the two translations in most respects are very similar to Van der Goes' translation. However, new prefaces were added to the Polak translation by the I.V.B. during the 1930s. These prefaces were written by the association and used in all the translations printed by Gebr. E. & M. Cohen during the 1930s. In these prefaces ("Voorbericht bij den zesden druk", "Voorbericht bij den zevenden druk") the Internationale Vereening Bellamy presents the story as 'a scientific prediction' rather than utopian fiction.

Wij hopen, dat deze nieuwe uitgave haar doel moge bereiken en een ieder zal inzien, dat hetgeen Bellamy ons geeft, geen fantastisch verhaal is, maar een wetenschappelijke voorspelling; dat de menschheid zal beseffen, dat dit de weg der evolutie zal zijn, waarlangs wij zullen komen tot een tijdperk van Vrede, Welvaart en Geluk.

(*In het jaar 2000*, 1936, 4)

The Bellamy association echoes Van der Goes' sentiments of approximately half a century earlier. The term 'evolution' suggests the book contains facts and principles and that an objective and inevitable natural law will lead to the realization of *Looking Backward's* utopia. No particular attention is paid anymore to the narrative complexities of the book. The accounts of Dr. Leete, Julian West and the unnamed scholar are all grouped under the general idea of 'Bellamy's vision'. At times it appears as if Edward Bellamy and his character Julian West and are blended together in a new mythical figure. In the introduction to *In het jaar 2000*, Bellamy is called a "prophet economist" rather than a writer. Despite the long lasting devotion of the many members of the Bellamy association, there is no evidence that anyone of the I.V.B. ever tried to translate or publish any of Bellamy's earlier literary work. The mythological qualities of the 'prophet' Bellamy appear to have been consciously crafted during the 1930s, the book covers of the Cohen editions, for example, prominently feature Bellamy's portrait, almost as if he himself is somehow part of the narrative. These illustrations are very different from the illustration used by Gebr. E. & M. Cohen for the 1919 edition of Van der Goes' translation. The older illustration offers a much more accurate reflection of the contents of the book: a futuristic city, an abundance of wealth and two men in conversation on the foreground.





Above: the cover illustrations by Fré Cohen of the 1930s editions of *Looking Backward* and *Equality*.  
 Below: the covers of the 1919 Cohen edition of *Looking Backward* and *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*.



The cover of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, Theo Stillebroer's translation of *Looking Backward*, is much more sober than the previous editions. One of the reasons for this is that the book was no longer published by Gebr. E. & M. Cohen. Instead, the book was printed by Joh. De Liefde N.V. in a very simple paperback edition. Possibly, the association could not afford expensive printing techniques, but it is also plausible that the new, post-war incarnation of the Bellamy association wanted a new, more modest and serious edition of *Looking Backward*. Certainly, the publishers appear to have tried to somewhat tone down the personality cult of Edward Bellamy. *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* features a new preface to the translation. The new preface offers some background information about the book and its author. Bellamy is no longer presented as a prophet, but is described as a humble and realistic American who used his talents as a writer to produce a book that would inspire the masses. The reader is encouraged to consider the aspects of Bellamy's prediction that have come to pass and invited to take action to avoid the impending doom of humanity. A reference to the events of the Second World War is used as an argument for the lasting relevancy of the book in more modern times:

Of dit boek nog actueel is? Actueler dan ooit, omdat het de lezer van nu gegeven is, uit het heden en het tijdsverloop sinds Bellamy zijn opzienbarend boek schreef, zelf na te gaan in hoe ver zijn blik juist was en zijn voorspellingen zijn uitgekomen. Hoe ver het slechts door staatsgeweld nog kunstmatig in stand gehouden economische stelsel reeds hopeloos is ingestort en in zijn laatste stuiptrekkingen verkeert.

(*Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 4)

According to the Bellamy-association, the course of history, however difficult, has proven that Bellamy's vision was correct and that the realization of his ideals is still viable. The association shares Van der Goes' notion that the book is primarily intended as a political pamphlet and that Bellamy only presented it as fantastic fiction in order to reach the masses: "Conscious of his readers' tastes, Bellamy wrote his world-famous book as a palatable fictional story" (*Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 4). However, unlike Van der Goes, who anticipated much literary criticism, the people who published *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* did not appear to lament the occasional simplistic nature of the book.

The original preface by Bellamy, "Historical Section Shawmut College, Boston, December 26, 2000", is included in *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*. Stillebroer's translation lives up to the claim of being

a new and complete translation (“Geheel Nieuwe en Volledige Vertaling door T.S.”, *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 1). Furthermore, the preface reveals that the translator had access to multiple editions of the English original. In the first edition the preface is titled “Historical section Shawmut College, Boston, December 28, 2000”, but according to the annotated John Harvard Library edition of *Looking Backward* the date was changed to “December 26” in the second edition. Stillebroer used ‘December 28’ in his translation, but includes material that Bellamy added in later versions of *Looking Backward* throughout the translation (see for example this sentence on page 127 of *Looking Backward* that was not included in the English first edition but can be found in *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*: “The epoch of trusts had ended in The Great Trust.”). Of course, Stillebroer also studied Van der Goes’ and Polak’s translations. The comparison of excerpts shows that often Stillebroer appears to have been aware of the previous translations, using good ones whenever he could. On first impression however, the new translation looks more complete and more carefully studied than the previous translations.

### *Other observations*

A further difference between the various translations that is immediately noticeable is the inclusion of footnotes by Stillebroer. Unlike previous translations, *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* contains a total of seventeen footnotes, by both the author and the translator.

The translation by Stillebroer also includes newly added chapter titles. These are not present in any English edition of the book or any of the previous translations and are therefore created by the translator. According to the translator’s preface, these titles, along with an extensive index, were added to allow the book to be used as a textbook (*Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 4). Unlike the Van der Goes translation, both the 1930s Polak translations and the Stillebroer translation feature an index at the end of the book. The inclusion of an index in a novel is remarkable and there are no examples of English editions with such an index. The editors of the Polak translation that were published for the Bellamy-association during the 1930s do not mention the motivations for including an index, but Stillebroer does: “Ten grieve van de lezer zijn de hoofdstukken van titels voorzien en is een uitvoerige index toegevoegd, ten einde het boek ook als naslagwerk te kunnen gebruiken.” (*Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 4). The index of the Polak translations is modest in comparison to the later Stillebroer translation. The size of the index grew from approximately 160 terms to a staggering total of 453 terms (more than twice the number of actual pages in the book). These include the trivial topics in the book, general social and economical concepts and concepts belonging to more modern times. The index is indicative of a zealous dedication to the book on the part of its translator and the publishers.

The close involvement of the publishers of the Stillebroer translation is also reflected in another addition to the source text at the end of the book. *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* ends with an epilogue written by the administration of the Bellamy-association. In this 'slotwoord' the administration expressed their hopes that the reader did not just enjoy the book as a 'mere novel', but also understood its 'economic truths' ("Naar wij hopen, heeft U in dit boek niet alleen het 'romannetje' gelezen, doch ook de economische waarheden, die toch het hoofddoel zijn, verstaan." *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 234). These 'economic truths' are summarized in twelve key principles and the reader is encouraged to contact the Bellamy-association for further enquiries or to possibly help spread the word. This unconventional epilogue by the Bellamy-association replaced Bellamy's own postscript. This postscript was added by Bellamy in the second edition of *Looking Backward* (Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 313) and in it the author addresses criticism of the book and clarifies his intentions for writing the book. Bellamy states that he intended the book to be "a forecast [...] of the next stage in the industrial and social development of humanity" (Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 312) and that social changes can happen very fast when there is momentum for such changes. Although in this way Bellamy quite unambiguously characterizes the book as a blueprint for social change, it should be noted that these words were added to the book after *Looking Backward* had already become a great success and the reception of the book had pushed its meaning towards such a literal interpretation of the political ideas. Bellamy himself was probably also surprised with the sudden success and the seriousness with which his words were received. His books inspired communes throughout the United States, but when Bellamy met a British man who was on his way to such a commune and who had sold all his belongings to join the blessed new society, Bellamy implored him to undo his actions and to return to England (Guarneri 2008, 3). It is obvious that the Bellamy-association, however, must have felt supported in their beliefs by Bellamy's epilogue. Although not available to Van der Goes in 1890, the 1930s editions include this epilogue (Possibly translated by the Bellamy association, not Polak), and it is therefore surprising that the otherwise very complete Stillebroer translation does not.

## 5.3 Textual comparisons

### 5.3.1 International transactions

In chapter thirteen Dr. Leete explains the modern day workings of international trade to Julian West who enquires after the difficulties of non-monetary exchange of goods between nations. Dr. Leete explains him nations simply swap desired products on an equal basis. Of course, Bellamy realizes the concept needs further explanation and uses a conversation between Julian West and Dr. Leete as a way to explain his ideas to his audience. In the following excerpt some interesting observation can be made when comparing the various translations and the source material.

“But how are the prices of foreign goods settled, since there is no competition?”

“The price at which one nation supplies another with goods,” replied Dr. Leete, “must be that at which it supplies its own citizens. So you see there is no danger of misunderstanding. Of course no nation is theoretically bound to supply another with the product of its own labor, but it is for the interest of all to exchange some commodities. If a nation is regularly supplying another with certain goods, notice is required from either side of any important change in the relation.”

*(Looking Backward, 185)*

“Maar hoe worden de prijzen van vreemde goederen vastgesteld, als er geen concurrentie is?”

- “De prijzen voor het buitenland zijn dezelfde als die voor het binnenland, zoodat er geen gevaar voor misverstand is. Natuurlijk is geen enkele natie verplicht een ander te voorzien van de produkten van haar arbeid, maar in het belang van allen is het dat sommige artikelen worden geruild. Als eenige natie eene andere geregeld van iets voorziet, dan is men van beide kanten verplicht kennis te geven bij een belangrijke verandering in de relatie.”

*(In het jaar 2000, 112)*

Van der Goes takes somewhat unusual liberties in this case. Especially in the second line, the translation seems to deviate from the source text. Van der Goes omits some words, while simultaneously introducing new concepts. Bellamy's idea is made more general, and the linguistic elements in the source text which remind the reader it is reading a dialogue between two characters, i.e. 'replied Dr. Leete' and 'So you see', have completely vanished in the Dutch translation. As a result, Bellamy's economic model is clearer in the Dutch translation than its English original, but in this passage the nature of the text also slightly shifts towards a theoretical exercise, rather than a literary text. For example, Van der Goes uses the binary concepts 'binnenland' and 'buitenland' in his translation. This adds a lot of clarity to the text, but is untypical for Van der Goes' usual translation style, which is in most cases very literal. It almost seems as if the deviation from the conservative literal translation style encouraged Van der Goes to make small changes in other places to improve the quality of the target language. He adds the word 'enkele' in "[...] geen enkele natie [is] verplicht" and refrains from a translation for the vague 'theoretically' in the source text ("no nation is theoretically bound"). It is no coincidence that such examples of an increased effort on the part of Van der Goes are tied to essential theoretical passages in the book. Van der Goes' primary motivation for translating the book is conveying the socialist ideas and possibly inspiring some debate among his peers.

The 1909 translation by an unknown translator from Ghent is similar in many ways to the Van der Goes translation:

– “Maar hoe worden de prijzen van vreemde goederen vastgesteld, als er geene mededinging is?”  
– “De prijzen voor het buitenland zijn dezelfde als die voor het binnenland, zoodat er geen gevaar voor misverstand is. Natuurlijk is geene enkele natie verplicht eene andere te voorzien van de voortbrengselen van haren arbeid, maar in het belang van allen is het dat sommige artikelen worden geruimd. Als eenige natie eene andere geregeld van iets voorziet, dan is men van beide kanten verplicht kennis te geven bij eene belangrijke verandering in de betrekking.”

*(Honderd jaar later, 130)*

It is obvious the translation is based on Van der Goes' work. The overall syntactic structure of the translations is maintained, while spelling is more consistently archaic ('eene' instead of 'een', 'geene' instead of 'geen', 'haren arbeid' instead of 'haar arbeid'). However, two notable changes

occur that suggest that the book is more than a careless and unofficial reprint of the Van der Goes translation. The words ‘competition’ and ‘product’ are translated differently (‘mededinging’ and ‘voortbrengselen’). The changes in the Ghent translation show that the translator had interest in the socialist subject of the book. The translator might not necessarily have put much effort into the translation, but the selective changes reveal that the translator did critically review the translation and felt the need to change some important terms in the translation. Whether these various translations are now considered to be accurate or appropriate is not really relevant to the analysis. In Polak’s case however, much less inclination to contribute anything new to the Van der Goes translation can be detected:

- “Maar hoe worden de prijzen van vreemde goederen vastgesteld als er geen concurrentie is?”  
- “De prijzen voor het buitenland zijn dezelfde als die voor het binnenland, zoodat er geen gevaar voor misverstand is. Natuurlijk is geen enkele natie verplicht een ander te voorzien van de produkten van haar arbeid, maar in het belang van allen is het, dat sommige artikelen worden geruild. Als eenige natie een andere geregeld van iets voorziet, dan is men van beide kanten verplicht kennis te geven bij een belangrijke verandering in de relatie.”

(*In het jaar 2000*, 80)

The passage is so similar to the earlier translation by Van der Goes it begs the question whether the text by Polak should even be considered a new translation. There are three differences between the two versions. In the first line a comma has disappeared, while a new comma appeared in the fourth line. These bring about a subtle shift in the linguistic structure of the sentences, but are not very significant to the meaning of the passage, nor do they reflect a clear trend found elsewhere in the book. Polak is not necessarily more correct in the use of his commas, and neither does he seem to use them more frequently than Van der Goes. Similarly, the change from ‘eene’ to simply ‘een’ in the fifth line is in no way indicative of a careful revision of Van der Goes’ spelling by Polak. It does suggest Polak preferred slightly less archaic language for the Cohen editions. Throughout the book, these small touch-ups can be found and these are to be expected since the books were published almost 40 years after the initial publication of Van der Goes’ *In het jaar 2000*. The translator appears to have taken the opportunity at times to correct some of the most archaic elements, but Polak possibly could have been more resolute. To the readers of the popular 1930s editions of *In het jaar 2000*, the translation might have sounded rather outdated.

Perhaps this is the reason a new translation was created after the Second World War. The translation by Stillebroer indeed sounds much more modern. Furthermore, it is the first significantly differing translation since Van der Goes' and Cornelissen's translations of the the previous century:

- "Maar hoe worden de prijzen van de buitenlandse goederen vastgesteld als er geen concurrentie is?" vroeg ik.

- "De prijs, waartegen enig land een ander land van goederen voorziet, is dezelfde als waartegen het zijn eigen burgers voorziet, echter verhoogd met de extra vervoerskosten. In theorie is geen enkel land verplicht een ander land van de voortbrengselen van zijn arbeid te voorzien, maar het is in het belang van alle landen om goederen te ruilen. Als enig land gewend is een ander land regelmatig van bepaalde goederen te voorzien, moet van beide zijden aan de raad kennis gegeven worden van elke belangrijke verandering in de zakelijke betrekkingen."

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 96)*

The language is more modern in this translation and also the clarity has improved. In general in Stillebroer's translation sentences are no longer unnecessarily convoluted. Arguably, the explication "alle landen" for "all" is a good choice, because this meaning can be considered to be implied by the author given the context. However, the translation also features a significant addition to the source text. For example, the extra clause "echter verhoogd met de extra vervoerskosten" is notable. Nowhere in the source text does Bellamy take into account the additional costs associated with transporting goods between various countries and the consequences these might have for his economic model. These costs should not be considered to be implied by the author, but Stillebroer adds in the extra information nonetheless, and thereby changes the meaning of the text. It appears that Stillebroer felt an irrepressible urge to defend Bellamy against possible criticism concerning his weak economic model. The example warns against a likely bias by the translator, who of course himself was a fervent Bellamy supporter. The translation was commissioned by the Dutch Bellamy-association. And the book contains other examples in which the translator himself adds or changes something in the book. In some cases he raises his visibility and the reader becomes more aware of the fact that a translator is changing or adding to the meaning, for example by marking his contributions as footnotes by the translator. However, in other cases, such as the above excerpt, he changes something unannounced. Near the end of the excerpt Stillebroer again adds to the meaning by assisting Bellamy in his economic model. In the Stillebroer translation nations involved in



international trade should inform an international council of their activities. In the source text however, this is not necessarily the case. Although the international council Stillebroer refers to with “de raad” is mentioned earlier in the source text, it cannot be deduced from the source text that the international council is meant to be involved in this particular situation. Stillebroer offers an interpretation of Bellamy’s writing in this translation, but is not communicating the uncertainty to the reader. Stillebroer alternates between the roles of a ‘faithful’ translator and the strongly biased translator who actively interprets the source text and is inclined to co-authorship. His greater involvement with the ‘meaning’ of the book is not surprising. Stillebroer never intends to hide his own membership of the Bellamy-association, which is dedicated to propagating Bellamy’s ideas. After all, a 1934 edition of the monthly brochure *Bellamy Nieuws* depicted the motto “Propaganda zij ons Parool!!!” (*Bellamy Nieuws*). However, a false sense of objectivity is sometimes introduced by the translator by his use of footnotes, because the interference of the translator with the original meaning is not always clearly signalled by the use of footnotes.

### 5.3.2 Footnotes and chapter titles

*Looking Backward* contains a number of footnotes in which Julian West offers further information or sometimes a counterpoint to the facts as they are presented in the narrative. There are seven of these footnotes in the original text. Some of these are quite extensive, for example the footnotes on pages 181 and 196. Both are approximately a page long and offer extra information on the subject of employment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bellamy appears to have been struggling to add this information into the narrative and might have opted for the footnotes for practical reasons. Cornelissen diligently translated the footnotes by Bellamy and added dozens of his own. In most cases these are explanatory notes that aid the reader in understanding foreign concepts or obscure references. Van der Goes and Polak however, chose not to translate any of the footnotes. The translators also did not choose to include the information contained in these footnotes within the narrative text. This loss was eventually corrected in the translation by Stillebroer, who, just like Cornelissen, translated Bellamy's footnotes and added his own.

In *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, footnotes are sometimes employed to connect Bellamy's, often vague, predictions to concrete modern examples of such things or ideas. On page 59, for example, Stillebroer translates the following passage with an extra added footnote by the translator:

"How is this distribution managed?" I asked.

"On the simplest possible plan," replied Dr. Leete. "A credit corresponding to his share of the annual product of the nation is given to every citizen on the public books at the beginning of each year, and a credit card issued him with which he procures at the public storehouses, found in every community, whatever he desires whenever he desires it."

(*Looking Backward*, 147)

- "Hoe geschiedt deze verdeling dan," vroeg ik.

- "Op de allereenvoudigste manier," antwoordde Dr. Leete. "Iedere burger wordt aan het begin van het jaar gecrediteerd in de grootboeken <sup>1)</sup> van de gemeenschap voor zijn aandeel in de jaarlijkse productie van de gemeenschap. Een credietkaart wordt hem ter hand gesteld,

waarmede hij zich in de openbare warenhuizen, die men in iedere gemeente vindt, aanschafft, wàt hij wenst en wannéér hij het wenst.”

<sup>1)</sup> Noot van de vertaler: Thans zouden wij spreken van een rekening van ieder meerderjarig burger bij de Postchèque- en Girodienst.

(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 59)

In his translation, Stillebroer uses a combination of translation strategies. By using a footnote he offers both a translation that maintains a sense of estrangement and a readily understandable translation for modern readers. The credit card is one of the technological prophecies that Bellamy became famous for and although his definition of a credit card is different from what we now consider credit cards to be, he did predict the virtualization of currency in the book. Of course, by the time Stillebroer translated this passage, this virtualization of money had already taken place to some degree. Stillebroer's translation "grootboeken" is not very remarkable, but the translator draws attention to the fact that the concept was something remarkable in the original source text. The footnote turns the concept into something understandable to all his readers, but at the same time he draws attention to the fact that Bellamy made an important prediction here. The reader is less likely to notice this if the translator hadn't added the footnote. Similar examples can be found throughout the book, translations that cater to 20<sup>th</sup> century expectations and knowledge, while simultaneously drawing attention to the fact these concepts were not always commonplace and that therefore Bellamy was a visionary:

Zoals Edith mij had beloofd, vergezelde Dr. Leete mij naar mijn slaapkamer om mij te demonstreren hoe de muziekteléfono <sup>1)</sup> werkte.

<sup>1)</sup> Noot van de vertaler: Wat wij thans onder radio verstaan.

(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 94)

HET LEGER VAN DE ARBEID <sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Noot van de vertaler: Zoals wij het Leger des Heils kennen, dat ook geen vernietiging beoogt, noemt Bellamy de organisatie waarin alle werkkrachten zijn opgenomen het “Leger van der Arbeid”.

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 83)*

Daaronder, in het midden van de hal, was een prachtige fontein aangebracht, die met haar waterstralen de lucht heerlijk koel hield. <sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Noot van de vertaler: Bellamy heeft niet kunnen vermoeden, hoever wij 50 à 60 jaar later met “air-conditioning” zouden zijn!

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 69)*

De sterksten onder hen verrichten vaak nagenoeg hetzelfde werk als van een volwaardige, de zwaksten natuurlijk bijna niets, maar niemand die nog iets kan doen, zal de arbeid gaarne nalaten. In hun heldere ogenblikken werken zelfs de zwakzinnigen zo hard als zij kunnen!” <sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Men denke aan hetgeen heden ten dage op het gebied der arbeidstherapie wordt gedaan!  
Noot van de vertaler.

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 89)*

Although these footnotes ultimately assist the reader in understanding the book and help reinforce the futuristic elements in the book that otherwise might have been lost on a 20<sup>th</sup> century reader, some of the footnotes display a high degree of wishful thinking on the part of Stillebroer. The description of a fountain can hardly be interpreted as a visionary prediction of air conditioning technologies. These footnotes function as a means to prove the predictive accuracy of the visionary Bellamy. It seems as if the translator wishes to suggest that by analogy, Bellamy must also have been right about the realization of a socialist utopia.

As stated before, some of the previous translations did not feature any such footnotes. There was also less need for these, because there were fewer differences in meaning and connotation

between the source culture and the target culture at the time of Van der Goes' translation. Most of the examples listed above are related to the fact the constructed image of the future is very volatile and heavily impacted by the passing of time. The translator appeared to have been aware of the temporal gap he needed to bridge on behalf of his audience, and acted accordingly.

Looking back on the old translation by Cornelissen, similar translation problems have arisen due to this temporal gap. Cornelissen added many footnotes to his translation that helped explain foreign concepts to his Dutch readers. Technological advancement and internationalization have since rendered many of these footnotes unnecessary to modern readers:

1) Washington, stad aan de oostkust der Verenigde Staten, waar de regeering der Staten gevestigd is.

*(Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 109)*

1) Statistiek = de wetenschap die tot doel heeft de bevolking, den handel, de inkomsten enz. In een staat, naar bepaalde gegevens te berekenen.

*(Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000)*

Surely, modern readers do not need explanatory notes such as these anymore. The role of the translator has changed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well. Cornelissen needed to bridge a geographical gap between the United States and the Netherlands, but he also helped alleviate a much bigger asymmetry in knowledge between the author and his audience. As a result, the translation by Cornelissen became more accessible to less educated people than the English original had ever been.

Another example of a drastic alteration in the text by Stillebroer can be found in the added descriptive titles to the 28 chapters of the book. No English edition ever featured such chapter titles. These titles themselves are a good example of a more contemporary method of Cornelissen's attempts at simplifying the book for a wider audience. Stillebroer felt a need by his target audience for a more clearly structured book that could be studied and reread. He chopped up the book in 28 colourlessly titled chapters:

## I N H O U D S O P G A V E

Hoofdstuk	Blz.
Voorwoord	
Voorwoord Historische Faculteit	
I. Mijn leven in de 19e eeuw . . . . .	7
II. Onder hypnose . . . . .	15
III. Mijn ontwaken in de 20e eeuw . . . . .	20
IV. Mijn kennismaking met Dr. Leete en zijn gezin	27
V. Het beheer van de welvaartsbronnen in de nieuwe gemeenschap . . . . .	32
VI. Plicht tot arbeid . . . . .	41
VII. De vrije beroepskeuze . . . . .	45
VIII. Edith redt mij van waanzin . . . . .	52
IX. Het gelijke aandeel en de prikkel tot arbeid .	58
X. Bezoek aan een openbaar warenhuis . . . . .	68
XI. Een gesprek over het erfrecht en enige belang- rijke diensten . . . . .	75
XII. Het leger van de arbeid . . . . .	83
XIII. Hoe de internationale betrekkingen zijn ge- regeld . . . . .	94
XIV. Hoe het dienstbodenvraagstuk is opgelost . .	103
XV. Vrije meningsuiting in boek en pers . . . . .	109
XVI. Mijn werkkring in de nieuwe gemeenschap . .	117
XVII. De organisatie van het productie-apparaat . .	122
XVIII. De mooiste jaren van het leven . . . . .	134
XIX. Over de rechtspraak . . . . .	136
XX. Herinneringen . . . . .	145
XXI. Recht op onderwijs en ontwikkeling voor allen	148
XXII. De economische voordelen van het nieuwe stelsel . . . . .	154
XXIII. Een nieuw raadsel . . . . .	169
XXIV. Hoe de omwenteling tot stand kwam . . . .	172
XXV. De maatschappelijke positie van de vrouw .	175
XXVI. Een preek in de 20e eeuw over de vernieuwing van de mens . . . . .	186
XXVII. Een grote verrassing . . . . .	201
XXVIII. De droom van Julian West . . . . .	211
Register . . . . .	229
Slotwoord . . . . .	234

The titles generally emphasize the political and economic content of the book. The romantic subplot and the fantastical nature of the book are in this way further marginalised. This list of chapters is found at the very end of the book, after the index and the epilogue by the Bellamy

association. These final pages of *Terugblik uit het jaar 2000* lend the book an almost biblical appearance, turning what might have been just another example of a dated futuristic novel into socialist scripture. Of course, such an interpretation of the book is favoured by Bellamy himself, but it should be noted that the American editions of the book never contained chapter titles or an index. These items are unique to the Dutch translations that were distributed by the I.V.B. in the 1930s and 1950s.

### 5.3.3 Socialist terminology and ideology

As stated earlier, the publication of Cornelissen's *Terugblik 2000-1887 of Het leven in het jaar 2000* and Van der Goes' *In het jaar 2000* coincided with and inspired much debate about socialism in the Netherlands. Both were prominent socialists and Van der Goes later became the first Dutch translator of Marx' *Das Kapital*. As such these translators actively contributed to the development of socialism in the Netherlands. As Bloemen has shown, socialist and Marxist terminology and translation has remained a source of debate forever and was certainly not standardized or agreed upon at the time. Most of the Dutch translators of *Looking Backward* have to some extent emphasized the 'scientific' qualities of the book. It is therefore interesting to evaluate the ways in which the translators have dealt with the socialist terminology and concepts, whether the translators adapted the text to their understanding of socialist principles or whether they strictly adhered to the text, regardless of its intelligibility or its ideology. In the following excerpt the translators were presented with such dilemmas, the excerpts belong to a discussion between Julian West and Dr. Leete in which the 'followers of the red flag' are accused of deliberate subversion of the possibility of social reform by their radical tactics. The list of social problems in the first two lines serve as an example of the diverse preferences translators had for these individual terms. None of these terms appear to have been standardised in any way.

There was in it, as in all the newspapers of that date, a great deal about the labour troubles, strikes, lockouts, boycotts, the programmes of labor parties, and the wild threats of the anarchists.

"By the way," said I, as the doctor read aloud to us some of these items, "what part did the followers of the red flag take in the establishment of the new order of things? They were making considerable noise the last thing that I knew."

(*Looking Backward*, 259)

"What are your grounds for believing that the red flag party was subsidized?" I inquired.

"Why simply because they must have seen that their course made a thousand enemies of their professed cause to one friend. Not to suppose that they were hired for the work is to credit them with an inconceivable folly. <sup>1</sup> [...]"



<sup>1</sup> I fully admit the difficulty of accounting for the course of the anarchists on any other theory than that they were subsidized by the capitalists, but, at the same time, there is no doubt that the theory is wholly erroneous. It certainly was not held at the time by any one, though it may seem so obvious in the retrospect.

*(Looking Backward, 260)*

Cornelissen's translations are cited below. The translator added an extra footnote of his own in which he begins arguing with the characters and the author himself. He also incorrectly ascribes the footnote to the author instead of the character Julian West. This alleviates the uncertainty, which was deliberately created by Bellamy.

Evenals in alle couranten van dien tijd, stond er veel in over arbeidersongeregeldheden, werkstakingen, doodverklaringen, boycotting, de programma's der arbeidersverenigingen en de bedreiging der anarchisten.

- Om u eens terloops een vraag te doen, zei ik toen de dokter met luiderstem ons enkelen deze artikelen voorlas, welk aandeel hebben de volgelingen der roode vlag 1) gehad in de vestiging der nieuwe orde van zaken? Het laatste wat ik er van weet is dit, dat zij een ontzaggelijke drukte maakten.

*(Een Terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 154)*

1) *Der roode of der zwarte?* Uit den zin blijkt dat de anarchisten bedoeld zijn. Overigens geeft de schrijver zich te veel moeite om het te doen uitkomen, dat de verandering ten goede gekomen is langs onbloedigen weg, zonder revolutie, zoo ongeveer langs een lijn dakje. In werkelijkheid gebeurt dit toch niet. De schrijver slooft zich te veel af, om het socialisme ook voor de rijken lekker te maken. Dit blijkt herhaaldelijk op andere plaatsen in zijn boek.

*(Een Terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 154)*

- Welke gronden hebt gij er voor te gelooven dat de partij van de roode vlag ondersteund werd? Vroeg ik.

- Wel eenvoudig deze, dat zij toch wel opgemerkt moeten hebben, hoe hunne richting honderd vijanden maakte der zaak, die zij voorstonden tegenover één vriend. Niet te gelooven dat zij gehuurd werden voor dit werk, staat gelijk met hun een onverklaarbare dwaasheid toe te schrijven. 2)

(Een *Terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000*, 154)

2) Ik beken ten volle dat het moeielijk is een andere verklaring te vinden voor het bedrijven der anarchisten, dan dat zij door de kapitalisten gesteund werden, maar tezelfder tijd is er geen twijfel aan of die verklaring is geheel en al valsch. Het werd zeker toen ter tijde door niemand aangenomen, al blijkt het dan ook nog zoo duidelijk van achter afgezien. (Noot van den schrijver.)

(Een *Terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000*, 154)

In comparison, Van der Goes does not get quite as irate as Cornelissen by the unfounded allegations. In fact, Van der Goes appears to be so insensitive to the controversy that Bellamy created in this passage that he decides to not even include the mitigating footnote. It should be noted that Van der Goes opted to leave out all the footnotes. In this case, however, there is definitely a loss of meaning in this incomplete translation.

Er stond, evenals in alle bladen uit dien tijd, veel in over de arbeidsquaestie, werkstakingen, verwijdering van werklieden, boycotten, de programma's van arbeiders-partijen en de wilde dreigementen van de anarchisten.

- "Apropos," zeide ik, toen de dokter ons eenige van die zaken voorlas, "welk aandeel namen de volgelingen van de roode vlag in de vestiging van de nieuwe orde van zaken? Zij maakten nog al leven in mijn tijd."

(*In het jaar 2000*, 197)

- "Op welke gronden gelooft gij dat de partij van de roode vlag betaald werd?" vroeg ik.

- "Wel, eenvoudig omdat men gezien moet hebben dat hunne manier van doen hunne zoogenaamde zaak één vriend tegen duizend vijanden bezorgde. Te onderstellen dat zij geen geld kregen voor het werk, is hun een onbegrijpelijke domheid toedichten.

*(In het jaar 2000, 198)*

As far as the general quality of the translation is concerned, both translations are somewhat awkward to contemporary readers. Cornelissen appears to have put more effort into the translation by adding his own concerns and adding extensive criticism to the translation. However, his translation is also more unclear: are the anarchists threatened or threatening others themselves? what exactly are 'doodverklaringen'? (for 'lockouts'). These terms are all slightly more clear in Van der Goes' translation. The translation by Polak is extremely similar to Van der Goes' translation, in fact there is only one notable difference between the two: Polak adds a little information by translating 'lockouts' as 'verwijdering van werklieden door de patroons'. The little addition proves that Polak indeed did revise the translation, but in nearly all cases the translations are virtually identical. Polak limited himself mostly to linguistic touch ups such as fixing archaic spelling and changing commas. Polak did not add any footnotes to Van der Goes' translation.

Er stond, evenals in alle bladen uit dien tijd, veel in over de arbeidskwestie, werkstakingen, verwijdering van werklieden door de patroons, boycotten, de programma's van arbeiderspartijen en de wilde dreigementen van de anarchisten.

- "Apropos," zeide ik, toen de dokter ons eenige van die zaken voorlas, "welk aandeel namen de volgelingen van de roode vlag in de vestiging van die nieuwe orde van zaken? Zij maakten nog al leven in mijn tijd."

*(In het jaar 2000, 138)*

- “Op welke gronden gelooft gij, dat de partij van de roode vlag betaald werd?” vroeg ik.
- “Wel, eenvoudig omdat men gezien moet hebben, dat hunne manier van doen hunne zoogenaamde zaak één vriend tegen duizend vijanden bezorgde. Te onderstellen, dat zij geen geld kregen voor het werk, is hun een onbegrijpelijke domheid toedichten.

*(In het jaar 2000, 139)*

This is very different in the case of Stillebroer’s translation. Stillebroer’s translation differs most from the other translations. He allows himself more flexibility and for example reverses the word order in the sixth line to make the translation more fluent. Stillebroer also recognizes the possibility of confusion stemming from the use of the terms ‘red flag’ and ‘black flag’. His translation strategy is to shift the blame more clearly on the anarchists. He first decides the ‘followers of the red flag’ must be in fact anarchists and then refers back to them by the term ‘partij van de rode vlag’.

Zoals in alle kranten uit die tijd stond er veel in over de sociale kwestie: stakingen, uitsluitingen, boycotts, de programma’s der arbeiderspartijen en de wilde stakingen der anarchisten.

- “Dat moet ik u nog eens vragen,” zei ik toen Dr. Leete ons enkele van die berichten voorlas, “welk aandeel hadden de anarchisten in de vestiging van de nieuwe maatschappelijke orde? Zij maakten in mijn tijd nogal wat misbaar – dat is het laatste wat ik van hen weet.”

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 173)*

- “Op welke gronden gelooft u dat de partij van de rode vlag steun kreeg van de monopolisten?” vroeg ik.
- “Wel, eenvoudig omdat die lieden toch gezien moeten hebben, dat door hun optreden ze duizendmaal meer vijanden dan vrienden maakten. Als men niet wil aannemen, dat zij voor deze arbeid gehuurd waren, dan dicht men uw tijdgenoten een onbegrijpelijke domheid toe.<sup>1)</sup>

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 174)*

<sup>1)</sup> Noot van Julian West. Ik moet volkomen toegeven, dat het moeilijk is de houding van de anarchisten door een andere theorie te verklaren dan dat zij door de kapitalisten ondersteund werden, toch is er geen twijfel aan, dat deze theorie geheel en al onjuist is. Zij werd in mijn tijd door niemand verkondigd, hoe vanzelfsprekend zij, nu wij terugzien, thans ook schijnt te zijn.

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 174)*

It should be noted that Bellamy himself is not using complicated socialist definitions or concepts. The 'scientific' value of the source text itself is in a sense an exaggeration by the translators and the Bellamy supporters. Cornelissen complains at various instances in the text about Bellamy's deliberate avoidance of being too closely associated with socialism. Although Bellamy supposedly was influenced by German philosophy, his ideas are not closely modelled after Marxism. Cornelissen was probably the most versed in sociological terminology and theory. He occasionally intervenes in his translation and adds his understanding of socialist principles to the translation with the aid of personal, often critical, comments in footnotes. Not only does he severely criticise Bellamy for his non-revolutionary stance, on the next page, Cornelissen calls Bellamy's Nationalist movement 'armchair socialism' and 'outright nonsense' (*Terugblik 2000-1887 of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 155*).

Van der Goes' is much less irate with Bellamy for his 'betrayal' of socialism. Unlike, Cornelissen, Van der Goes does not express his criticism in footnotes at every opportunity. The credo of the translation, of course, was that it 'should speak for itself' and although Van der Goes as a socialist himself, must have disagreed with Bellamy on occasion, he keeps clear of overt criticism within the text itself. As a result the translation is not always the most intelligible, the term 'followers of the red flag' causes serious confusion for the Dutch socialist audience. Surely they considered themselves followers of the red flag, whereas the context – as Cornelissen indeed suggested – seems to indicate that Bellamy is taking aim at the anarchists, not socialists. The passage however is typical for the guarded stance by Bellamy. Aware of American sensibilities, he takes care not to be too overtly supportive of socialism. He lets Dr. Leete suggest that socialists are corrupt and ineffective, while simultaneously denying it via Julian West. Van der Goes and Polak are either too restrained or too inattentive. The translation by Stillebroer is probably the most practical: he simply supplants 'followers of the red flag' with 'anarchists'. However, in this way he is also tailors to his readers' ideological preferences.

Stillebroer might have had more opportunity to formalize the terminology and theory, because he lived in later times when socialism was more developed. However, he ultimately did not. This befits the Bellamy association, their previous approach to the book up until then has always been that the book should remain accessible to a broad audience. The relative simplicity of Bellamy's ideas and writing are considered a blessing because it allows the book to be read and understood by all. In the introduction to Stillebroer's translation it is stated that the book allows its readers to enhance their understanding of world events. The association would probably rather have simplified the book than complicate it further (*Terugblik uit het jaar 2000*, 4). As evidenced by the many attempts of the association, both in the book itself and in the many brochures that were distributed, to explain and summarize Bellamy's lessons in simple terms. In the monthly publication *Bellamy Nieuws* for example, important passages of the book were often cited and explained with the aid of practical examples and real world applications. In such instances the association adheres more to the social democratic ideal of self-realization for the workman. Despite its predominant middle class membership, the association shied away from being too intellectual.

### 5.3.4 Christianity

In chapter nineteen, Julian West references the bible in one of his conversations with Dr. Leete. Although the chapter is devoted to an explanation of the new judicial system and is not really concerned with religion itself, Bellamy made sure his audience would not miss the biblical quote he used by emphasizing it with quotation marks.

“That is the most astounding thing you have yet told me,” I exclaimed. “If lying has gone out of fashion, this is indeed the ‘new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness,’ which the prophet foretold.”

*(Looking Backward, 226)*

Julian West quotes 2 Peter 3.13, and equals the virtually crimeless society of Boston in the year 2000 to the Second Coming of Christ. The dense Christian overtones in the passage are not equally present in the different Dutch translations. Van der Goes, who probably did not miss the reference, slightly obscures the biblical quotation by not adhering to an existing bible translation and by omitting the quotation marks. As a socialist, who translated a book of which he hoped it would help him in his cause, Van der Goes probably had no desire to emphasize the Christian sentiments of the book any more than necessary.

- “Dat is het verwonderlijkste van wat u mij tot nog toe verteld hebt,” sprak ik; “als het liegen uit de mode gegaan is, dan is inderdaad dit land de nieuwe wereld, waarin rechtvaardigheid woont, die de Profeet voorspeld heeft.”

*(In het jaar 2000, 112)*

The translation by Polak is the same as Van der Goes’ translation, however, Cornelissen, who according to comments elsewhere in the translation probably hated religion more than Van der Goes or Polak, offered a more accurate translation:

- Dat is het wonderlijkste dat ge mij nog verteld hebt, riep ik uit. Als het liegen uit de mode is geraakt, dan hebben wij inderdaad den nieuwen hemel en de nieuwe aarde waarin de rechtschapenheid woont, zooals de profeet het ons voorspeld heeft.

*(Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 123)*

The translation by Stillebroer is similar to Cornelissen. Both translations are very similar to the conventional Dutch bible translations.

- "Dit verbaast me meer dan alles wat u mij al hebt verteld!" riep ik uit. "Als de leugen is verdwenen, hebben wij thans waarlijk 'een nieuwe hemel en een nieuwe aarde, waarin de gerechtigheid woont' zoals de profeet heeft voorspeld."

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 139)*

Van der Goes and Stillebroer also translate the term 'righteousness' in different ways. Stillebroer opted for 'gerechtigheid', which is also the term commonly used in Dutch bibles, whereas Van der Goes picked 'rechtvaardigheid'. The latter is more closely associated with social ideals and 'fairness'. In contrast, 'gerechtigheid' implies 'justice' or 'law'. The difference is subtle, but it is remarkable that in this excerpt Van der Goes has not opted for the most obvious translations and instead chose to understate the religious tone and introduced a more socialist register. This was either a conscious or unconscious preference due to his socialist background, or a simple unintended inaccuracy. Possibly, Van der Goes rushed his translation.



### 5.3.5 Culture-Specific Items

As shown in the previous comparisons, generally, the translations by Van der Goes and Cornelissen are more literal according to Chesterman's definition (Chesterman 2004, 245). As a result, the language is sometimes unnatural and occasionally true translation mistakes occur. In particular the translation of culture-specific items proves tricky when the translator favours literal translations. An example of this can be found in the opening sentence of the book, which contained an interesting translation problem.

It was about four in the afternoon of December the 26<sup>th</sup>, one day after Christmas, in the year 1857, not 1957, that I first breathed the east wind of Boston, which, I assure the reader was at that remote period marked by the same penetrating quality characterizing it in the present year of grace, 2000.

*(Looking Backward, 95)*

Cornelissen, Van der Goes and Polak translated the sentence all very similarly. A good indication that Van der Goes based his 'new' translation on Cornelissen's 1887 *Een Terugblik 2000-1887*.

Het was omstreeks vier uur in den achtermiddag op den 26sten der maand December, een dag na Kerstmis, van het jaar 1857, niet 1957, dat ik voor het eerst den Oostenwind van Boston inademde, die, dit verzeker ik den lezer, op dat verwijderde tijdstip gekenmerkt werd door dezelfde doordringende eigenschap, die hem aankleeft in het tegenwoordige jaar der genade 2000.

*(Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 5)*

Het was ongeveer vier uur in den namiddag van den 26sten December, één dag na Kerstmis, in het jaar 1857, niet 1957, dat ik voor het eerst den oostenwind van Boston gevoelde, die ik den lezer verzekeren kan dat in die verwijderde periode gekenmerkt werd door dezelfde doordringende eigenschap, welke hij draagt in het tegenwoordige jaar der genade, 2000.

*(In het jaar 2000, 1)*

Het was ongeveer vier uur in den namiddag van den 26sten December, één dag na Kerstmis, in het jaar 1857, niet 1957, dat ik voor het eerst den oostenwind van Boston gevoelde, dien ik den lezer verzekeren kan, dat in die verwijderde periode gekenmerkt werd door dezelfde doordringende eigenschap, welke hij draagt in het tegenwoordige jaar , 2000.

*(In het jaar 2000, translation: Polak, 5)*

Although all the earlier translations differ slightly, none of the translators chose to clarify or neutralize the translation problem arising from the differences in Christmas celebration between the United States and The Netherlands. Unlike the United States, Christmas is celebrated on both the 25<sup>th</sup> and the 26<sup>th</sup> of December in most European countries. In the Netherlands, the 26<sup>th</sup> of December is traditionally called 'tweede kerstdag'. Cornelissen and Van der Goes' and the other early translators are not necessarily wrong in translating the sentence in the exact way Bellamy had phrased it, but do prove themselves to be very 'literal' translators with little regard for the norms of the target culture. Stillebroer, however, approached the problem with a different translation strategy, he changes 'the day after Christmas' to 'the second day of Christmas', and therefore adapts the situation to the target culture. Even in Stillebroer's well considered translation, traces of the syntax of the original translations can be found. Throughout the book, Stillebroer never really breaks free from either Bellamy's sentence structure or the previous translations of his predecessors Cornelissen, Van der Goes and Polak.

Het was ongeveer vier uur 's middags, op 26 December, tweede Kerstdag, in het jaar 1857 en niet 1957, dat ik voor het eerst den oostenwind van Boston inademde, die, dat verzeker ik U, in die lang vervlogen dagen even doordringend was als in het jaar 2000, waarin wij nu leven.

*(Terugblik uit het jaar 2000, 7)*

Cornelissen treats almost every slightly unusual term or concept as a complicated and obscure culture-specific item. For example, on page 84 of his translation he offers footnote definitions for: 'the Abencerrages', 'Alhambra', 'the crescent', 'Christian dogs of Spain', 'harem', 'cymbals', 'Allah' and 'Turkish Reveille'. None of the subsequent translators adopt a similar strategy. The effect of Cornelissen's exaggerated drive towards explanation and naturalization is that the literary qualities of the text are sacrificed. Cornelissen seems to value clarity above all, but he dulls

down the book. Cornelissen's translation is a functional, mechanical text, that is merely designed to convey the technicalities of a simplistic socialist utopia. Cornelissen ultimately disliked Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, because he considered it as a flawed political manifesto. However, in Cornelissen's translation in particular all the redeeming qualities of Bellamy's book are lost in the translation process. Cornelissen's intentions were sincere, and his understanding of every minute detail of the text must have helped the later translators with their translations, however it is no surprise that Cornelissen's translation never became very popular. The later translations by Van der Goes and Polak occupied a middle ground. The language was more fluid, the translations were not bogged down by excessive footnotes. It allowed the dual nature of the book to shine, besides a political text, the book became more interesting as a novel. This allowed a wider audience and the eventual mythologies surrounding the book and its authors. The translation by Stillebroer is in some respects the most accomplished translation. The language was more fluent than any previous translation. However, at the time of publication, 1950, the book and the movement were already past their prime.

### 5.3.6 Locksley Hall

In chapter eight of *Looking Backward* Bellamy quotes a few lines from the poem “Locksley Hall” by the poet Tennyson. In the chapter Julian West is brought to a library full of ‘old friends’ (authors such as Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, Tennyson, Defoe, Dickens, Thackeray, Hugo, Hawthorne, Irving) and is lost in thought reading Dickens. He contemplates how unfair it is that he had the fortune of travelling through time to witness the new society, instead of one of those authors, “one of those prophetic and strenuous souls”.

“He, for example, a thousand times rather than I, who, having beheld in a vision the world I looked on, sang of it in words that again and again, during these last wondrous days, had rung in my mind: -

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,  
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled.  
In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world.

Then the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,  
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

For I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the sums.”

(*Looking Backward*, 190)

*Note that the JHL edition contains a misprint and that the final word ‘sums’ should read ‘suns’.*  
*Although the JHL usually proves to be a reliable source regarding the original prints and even specifically points out the minor differences between first and second editions of Looking Backward, this mistake can not be attributed to Bellamy, his original editions were correct.*

The poem was published in 1842 and was well known. It was probably not Tennyson's most famous poem, but the poet was very famous at the time of *Looking Backward's* publication. Tennyson had been poet laureate in the United Kingdom since the 1850s. The quotation is presented without attribution and Julian West only refers to Tennyson as "He", "one of those prophetic and strenuous souls" (Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 190). Possibly, the reference was lost on Van der Goes, or he did not care much for the poem. Either way, Van der Goes decided not to translate any of the poetry. Possibly he followed Malkowsky's example. Malkowsky, who published the first German translation, *Alles Verstaatlicht: Socialpolitischer Roman*, already in 1889 also omitted the poetry in the book (Riederer 1961, 49). It is more likely that Van der Goes simply considered the poetry unimportant and therefore not worth the effort of translation. If this was the case, Van der Goes clearly considered the literary functions of the book of secondary importance. As a 'Tachtiger' among his poet friends, Van der Goes might also have felt uncomfortable translating the poetry. He himself was not a poet or a novelist and his writing was often political or essayistic in nature. He chose *Looking Backward* in order to promote Bellamy's political ideas and to kindle socialist debate in the Netherlands and among his peers. He did not translate the book because of its literary merits. In this light, the translation strategy of omitting might be a valid one, and not just an oversight or laziness. He possibly also could have copied the translation by Cornelissen. This translation by Cornelissen is surprisingly well done, considering the overall literary merit of *Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000*.

Hij bij voorbeeld had het duizendwrf beter verdiend dan ik, die, nadat hij in een visioen de wereld aanschouwd had, waarop ik nederzag, ze bezong in woorden, die herhaaldelijk gedurende de laatste wondervolle dagen, in mijn ziel weerklonken hadden.

Ik drong door toen in de toekomst, zoover 't mensch'lijk oog kan zien,  
Ik zag 't beeld der menschenwereld, en de wond'ren die geschien.

Tot de trom niet langer opriep en de legervaan verdween,  
Voor de saamverbonden volkeren, de zon des vredes scheen.

O, dan houdt 't verstand der menschen, ook 't vreedzaam rijk tot stand,  
En de lief'lijke aard zal sluim'ren, als een heerlijk vaderland.

Want ik kan er niet aan twijfelen, of een beter eeuw breekt aan,  
En der menschegeest volmaakt zich, zooals 't al omhoog moet gaan.

*(Een terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000, 91)*

The translation is probably done by Cornelissen himself. He attempted to create a poem that conveyed both the meaning and the form of the original. He was vastly more successful in this than Stillebroer:

“Dickens bijvoorbeeld zou daar duizend maal meer recht op gehad hebben dan ik. Hij had in een visioen de wereld gezien, die ik thans in werkelijkheid aanschouwde en hij had die wereld in woorden bezongen, die in dit stille uur in mijn geest weerklonken:

“want ik verdiepte mij in de toekomst zover het menselijk

“oog kan zien.

“En ik zag in een visioen de nieuwe wereld en alle won-

“deren, die dan zouden zijn.

“Als de oorlogstrommels niet langer dreunen en de vaan-

“dels zijn opgerold voor het forum der mensheid, de

“federatie van de Wereld; dan zal het gezond verstand  
“van de meerderheid hebben gezegevierd.  
“En de goede aarde zal haar plaats hebben in de wet der  
“universele liefde.  
“Want ik twijfel niet, dat door de eeuwen heen het doel  
“steeds meer zichtbaar wordt en  
“Dat het denken der mensen zich zal verruimen met het  
“voortschrijden der sterren aan het firmament.”

*(Terugblik uit het Jaar 2000, 102)*

The awkward punctuation and spacing of the poetry immediately reveals that Stillebroer probably did not have much experience with translating poetry. The translation is a mixture of paraphrase and poetry. The meter (trochaic octameter) of the original is not maintained in the translation, nor is it adapted to another possibly more suitable one. As a result the translation is not particularly poetic and is only recognisable as a poem thanks to the layout of the text.

Furthermore, Stillebroer makes a mistake in assuming that the quoted words are by Dickens. The misunderstanding is somewhat forgivable since Julian West is reading Dickens and Tennyson is never mentioned by name. However, a more experienced literary translator would probably not have made the mistake. Stillebroer tries to make the original text more clear to the reader by replacing the mystical “he” (“the prophetic and strenuous soul”) with “Dickens” but ultimately must have created more confusion by the mix-up.

Despite its obvious shortcomings the translation by Stillebroer has one advantage over Van der Goes’ translation strategy. There is less loss of information. In hindsight it is somewhat regrettable that Van der Goes decided to omit the entire poem, since the lines eventually became quite famous, even specifically in the context of political history. Reportedly, President Truman used to carry the poem by Tennyson in his wallet and quoted from it during public appearances. Tennyson’s vision of “the Parliament of man, the federation of the world” became an inspiration and symbol for the post war initiatives towards international cooperation and the United Nations.

It also must be noted that both Stillebroer and Van der Goes could have used an existing Dutch translation which would have been an improvement over the existing solutions. In “DE GIDS

Jaargang 5, 1887” a translation of “Locksley Hall” was published by J.N. van Hall as an ode to the aging poet.

'k Zag, toen 'k in de toekomst tuurde zoover 't menschlijk oog vermag,

't Wereld Visioen, en al de wondren van den nieuwen dag;

Totdat de oorlogstrommen zwijgen en geborgen wordt de vlag

In het Parlement der menschheid op den Volksverbroedrings-dag.

[...]

Toch - ik voel 't - er moet één plan steeds machtiger door de eeuwen gaan;

Ruimer wordt de blik, terwijl de zonne voortschrijdt op haar baan.

Van Hall’s translation is not complete since the third couplet is omitted in this translation (Bellamy also joined different couplets of the much bigger original poem by Tennyson together to form the quotation), but at least the rhyme offers this translation more poetic qualities and would make an acceptable translation.



## Chapter 6: Conclusions and discussion

### *Conclusions*

The aim of this thesis has been to measure the social and literary influence of *Looking Backward* and its translations in the Netherlands throughout its history during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first two translations, by Cornelissen and Van der Goes, are noteworthy because they were translated by prominent public political figures of the early Dutch socialism. Initial exploration of the subject seemed to suggest that the translators were personally involved with the book to a high degree. The book offered opportunities for the translators to present and spread their own political ideas and to invigorate Dutch socialism with an international perspective. Indeed, the translators felt compelled to complement their translations with their personal opinions about the book. Both Cornelissen and Van der Goes express themselves critical of particular aspects of the book in their introductions to the translations. Cornelissen even added a significant amount of personal footnotes to the book in which he informs his readers about Bellamy's doctrinal misconceptions. At times, these notes take the form of editorial opinions and Cornelissen's voice is absorbed in the shared opinions of all involved with *Recht voor Allen*, the daily socialist newspaper in which the translation appeared. In such instances it is clear that the book has been used by the rapidly evolving and volatile socialist groups to distinguish themselves and to shape the debate. Both translators had backgrounds in Domela Nieuwenhuis' S.D.B., but Cornelissen adhered to a more radical model of revolutionary socialism, whereas Van der Goes eventually became part of the 'twelve apostles', who led the new SDAP towards parliamentary socialism. The internal discord and the constant threat of schism within the Dutch socialism also explains the appearance of the two early translations within a short timeframe. Initial assumptions that Van der Goes himself was the initiator of his translation *In het jaar 2000*, were proved false by the letter of his publisher Van Looy in which Van der Goes is asked to translate the book. The translation by Van der Goes should therefore not be seen as a direct response by Van der Goes to Cornelissen's *Terugblik 2000-1887, of Het leven in het jaar 2000*, but it is typical of the compartmentalized Dutch social political life at the time.

All the translators of *Looking Backward* appeared to have been much more concerned with the political, rather than the literary reception of the translations. This is unsurprising in the case of Cornelissen. The translation was serialized and embedded in the daily news in *Recht voor Allen* and no separate complete editions of the translations were ever printed. Van der Goes, however, was, unlike Cornelissen, also regarded as a literary figure. As a member of the group of Tachtigers,

reviewer and editor of *De Nieuwe Gids*, Van der Goes had a literary reputation to uphold. However, the translation itself does not suggest that Van der Goes emphasized the literary aspects of the book. He was careless with the narrative complexities introduced by the prologue and did not translate any of the lines of "Locksley Hall". Perhaps, Van der Goes was not particularly enthusiastic about the literary merit of the book. Evidence suggested that Van der Goes expected the book to be criticized by his peers and he asked his readers to disregard the weaker aspects of the book. He wanted to convey a political idea, rather than a work of art.

The translations of *Looking Backward* have had significant impact on the political life in the Netherlands. During its early years, the translations by Van der Goes and Cornelissen helped shape the socialist debate and introduced a wider audience to socialist ideas due to its relative simplicity and its moderate nature. It also inspired a number of imitations or adaptations by obscure Dutch authors, suggesting the book was widely read and discussed. However, after its initial popularity the book quickly became forgotten during the 1910s and 1920s. The book resurfaced during the economic crisis of the 1930s. *Looking Backward* and the other political work by Bellamy, *Equality*, became the focus of a new group of moderate socialists, primarily from a middle class background, that aimed to realize the utopian ideal of Bellamy by means of propaganda and education. A very literal and narrow interpretation of the book formed the basis for a new doctrine, which shunned parliamentary politics or revolutionary socialism. The two books by Bellamy were central to the association's activities and many copies of the book were distributed during the period, bringing new attention to the aging translation by Van der Goes and Polak. The translations were complemented with indices, epilogues and prologues to support the association's goals, lending the books in some respects the character of a bible or a manifesto rather than a novel. The Bellamy association became moderately successful and attracted increasing numbers of members during the 1930s, but was banned by the German occupiers during the Second World War. The association was resurrected after the war and some chapters of the association even ventured into parliamentary politics. The Dutch Bellamy-party contested in the 1946 parliamentary elections in various districts throughout the country, but no seats were won in any of the districts. This marked the beginning of the gradual decline of the association. However, in 1950, a new translation by Stillebroer, an association member, was published. The translation modernized the archaic language of the older translations, but did not represent a significant departure from association's previous interpretations of *Looking Backward*. Similar prologues, epilogues and indices were used in the translation and new chapter titles were added to the book. Facts about the print numbers of this translation are unattainable, but the lack of attention in the press and later studies suggest that the translation was not very widespread and not as influential as its predecessors.

The overview of *Looking Backward's* history in the Netherlands suggests that the quality of the translations itself has little to do with their respective influence on Dutch culture and politics. In many respects the translation of Stillebroer can be considered 'better' than the previous translations, but its influence was not very significant. The translation by Van der Goes, despite its shortcomings, was much more influential. In part this can be ascribed to the aging of the book itself. It is a tragic fact that even futuristic fiction becomes outdated as time passes, but Bellamy's ideas were simply not appealing anymore to newer generations. However, the personal characteristics of the translator were also influencing the reception of the book. Van der Goes and Cornelissen were prominent political and literary figures, who reached a wide audience. Although Van der Goes did not translate the book on his own initiative, Van der Goes nevertheless became a spokesperson for the book as he introduced and defended it among literary and political circles. He defended the book from criticism from both the political left and the political right while he himself steered towards moderate parliamentary socialism with the SDAP.

## Discussion

In the middle of a winter night of the year 1886, Edward Bellamy, a slightly built young man of thirty-six, entered the lamp-lighted sitting room of his home in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts; and he walked with wiry, self-contained, graceful movements toward the sloping top of his battered, old-fashioned desk. In his hands he carried a cup of steaming black coffee and a small glass of whisky – for these were the stimulants which were to enable him to force his frail, tubercular, dyspeptic body to work through the night. Sitting down at his desk and alternately sipping the coffee and the whisky, he glanced over the page of copy which lay before him – a page which was to be one of many which, after having been painstakingly revised, were to compromise *Looking Backward*, the most widely read and the most influential Utopian novel ever to be written by an American.

(Bowman 1958, 14)

The elaborate history of *Looking Backward* and its author Edward Bellamy has produced considerable interest in the both the United States and the Netherlands. The book was extremely popular in the United States for a brief period. Of course, several studies have been dedicated to the book and its author. The amount of material available for study in the Netherlands today is surprising given how obscure the book has become since. However, much of the secondary literature is often directly or indirectly founded on the previous work by the two Bellamy biographers Morgan and Bowman. Although these two biographers are deservedly treated as the most authoritative sources on Bellamy and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of their factual information, these biographers, unfortunately, sometimes appear to lack a more objective, critical approach towards the author and his work. Morgan in particular seems guilty of excessive glorification and tends to overstate both the qualities of Bellamy's work and the influence it has had on politics and culture. The same applies to Bowman to a lesser extent. Both biographers are inclined towards romanticizing Bellamy's personal life and his visionary character.

The same applies to the material pertaining to the Dutch Bellamy association. At the IISG there is a large volume of I.V.B. related material available for study, but most of it consists of either internal communication or printed propaganda material. Care was taken to also study material stemming from other, sometimes marginal, sources, in order to gain a more objective idea of the book, the author and the association. The documentary program about the I.V.B., a political sciences thesis by Frieswijk and the various critical publications by catholic institutions all helped to gain a more objective idea of the historical significance of both the book and the movement.

The analysis of the translations reveals that all the translators involved in the past 100 years have appropriated the book to their own standards and agenda. The translations differ in many respects. A noticeable shift in presentation in particular can be detected in the new editions published by the Bellamy association. Theo Stillebroer, unlike his predecessors, was an unobtrusive translator. He did not publicly engage with the text and he certainly was not as critical of *Looking Backward* as Cornelissen had been. The Bellamy association tried to lend the text a canonical status and shifted the attention and discussion back onto the personality of Edward Bellamy.

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