

The Dream Mislaid: The Political Theory of H.G. Wells

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While H.G. Wells has never been forgotten as a science fiction writer, he is being rediscovered as a novelist and, after years of neglect, his importance as an influence on many areas of early twentieth century life is being recognised. Wells is also being reinterpreted and re-evaluated in all the myriad fields in which he was interested. For Wells one of the most important, if not the single most important, aspect of his life and thought was his work to transform the way we all live by bringing about the establishment of a world state with changed political, economic and social institutions. This concern came to inform all of his work, and none of his work can be understood outside this context. It is the purpose of this essay to explore this area of Wells's thought.

Wells wrote so much on so many seemingly different topics that at times it is difficult to see any coherence in his thought, but Wells saw such a coherence, and in what follows it is demonstrated that there are fundamental themes running throughout Wells's social thought, themes that can be found in all his writings, fiction and non-fiction. This is shown, to put it one way, by constructing the outline of Wells's utopia or, to put it another way, by constructing an overview of Wells's political theory¹. As a utopian Wells is treated as if he had written only one utopia not many and, with one exception which will be discussed later, this is precisely what Wells came to see himself doing. As a political theorist Wells is examined as his thought dictates, beginning with the world state and following his arguments into what he believed would make such a state possible.

The Creation of the World State

Political theorists generally discuss the political aspects of a person's theories before getting around to questions like the family or education, if they ever do. In Wells's case this rather backward approach actually makes some sense because, as he wrote in his *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934), "The particular brain whose ups and downs and beatings about the world you have been following in this autobiography, has arrived at the establishment of the socialist world-state as its directive purpose and has made that its religion and end."² Or, as he put it another time, "... the most important work before men and women to-day is the preaching and teaching, the elaboration and realization of the Utopia of the World State. We have, through the work and thought of thousands of minds, to create a vision of it, to make it seem first a possibility, and then an approaching reality."³

For Wells the world state was both a goal to be achieved and a means of achieving further goals. Basically, it all comes down to the fact that Wells had two utopias. In this essay I shall concentrate most completely in *Men Like Gods* (1923) is for people who have been raised in the first utopia, been formed by it, and, thereby, been enabled to achieve the second one. The people of the second utopia then, of course, become capable of creating a third utopia *ad infinitum*. As Oscar Wilde once aptly wrote, "A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing

at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better place, sets sail."⁴ Or, as Wells puts the same point with his feel for the creation of utopia, "... the serious aspect of our private lives, the general aspect of all our social and co-operative undertakings, is to prepare as well as we possibly can a succeeding generation, which shall prepare still more capably for still better generations to follow."⁵

Negative Eugenics – H.G. Wells wished, through a variety of means, to create a people capable of living in utopia. Hence, the world state must come about as a result of changes in the ways in which society forms people. He considered and rejected and then reconsidered in a different framework the actual creation of these new people through controlled breeding. In his early works he argued that given the current level of biological knowledge sufficient expertise was simply not available to create better human beings. Scientists could do no better than people were doing.⁶ And, of course, in *The First Men in the Moon* (1901) he depicted the potential horrors of a centrally controlled breeding programme.

But Wells came to believe in negative eugenics. While we might not yet know enough to breed positively for certain traits, we might still be able to eliminate other traits. At times it seemed to Wells that some of these traits were concentrated racially, and he suggested that the Caucasian and Oriental races would dominate,⁷ but these were minor concerns and later he changed his mind.⁸ His basic position, in line with much thinking of the time,⁹ was that certain characteristics were transmitted genetically and that, therefore, many of the world's problems could be eliminated by identifying people who should not breed and either encouraging or compelling them not to do so.¹⁰ Wells also argued forcefully that people must start having fewer children; population control was absolutely essential to all his schemes.¹¹

Education — But negative eugenics was only one concern, and a relatively minor one at that. Overwhelmingly, Wells believed that utopia could be brought about through education.¹² "World reconstruction involves nothing less than the re-education of the whole world."¹³ His concern with education lasted throughout his life, from its earliest expression in the essays collected in *Anticipations* (1901) and *Mankind in the Making* (1903) through to the various projects for popular and adult education that took up much of his time in the decades before his death.

In *Mankind in the Making* Wells traced an appropriate education from birth through university. Later he extended his concerns in both directions by including prenatal care (the health of the mother) and adult education. After considering the genetic problems Wells turned immediately to what seemed the more manageable environmental problems. In *Meanwhile* (1927) he wrote, "There is no absolute reason whatever why every child born should not be born happily into a life of activity and interest and happiness."¹⁴ In *Mankind in the Making* he had already established some of the conditions which were to make that possible. He argued that the state must establish minimum standards of child care and noted that directly relevant to the quality of child-bearing was the need to ensure that everyone have decent housing and that overcrowding in housing be eliminated (pp 100-104). He also contended, again as a means of improving child care, that a

minimum wage must be established (p 107). (He suggested that those who could not produce enough to earn the minimum wage should still receive it but be strongly discouraged from bearing children (pp 109-111).)

Children born in such conditions will be raised by their parents and not communally (pp 79-82),¹⁵ and they will be provided with a healthy and stimulating environment from their earliest years. He wrote,

"The ideal environment should, without any doubt at all, centre about a nursery – a clean, airy, brightly lit, brilliantly adorned room, into which there should be a frequent coming and going of things and people; but from the time the child begins to recognize objects and individuals it should be taken for little spells into other rooms and different surroundings. In the homely, convenient, servantless abode over which the able-bodied, capable, skilful, civilized women of the ordinary sort will preside in the future, the child will naturally follow its mother's morning activities from room to room. Its mother will talk to it, chance visitors will sign to it. There should be a public or private garden available where its perambulator could stand in fine weather; and its promenades should not be too much a matter of routine (p 118)."

He went on to argue for what we call "educational toys" and then included an extended argument for early education in the correct use of the English language. With this children at five will be ready to start formal education, and he provided an outline of what that education should consist:

- A. Direct means of understanding and expression.
 1. Reading.
 2. Writing.
 3. Pronouncing English correctly.

Which studies will expand into –

4. A thorough study of English as a culture language, its origins, development, and vocabulary, and
5. A sound training in English prose composition and versification.

And in addition –

6. Just as much mathematics as one can get in.
 7. Drawing and painting, not as 'art', but to train and develop the appreciation of form and colour, and as a collateral means of expression.
 8. Music (perhaps) to the same end.
- B. To speak the ordinary speech, read with fair intelligence, and write in a passably intelligent manner the foreign language or languages, the social, political, and intellectual necessities of the time require.

And C. A division arising out of A and expanding in the later stages of the school course to continue and replace A: the acquisition of the knowledge (and of the art of acquiring further knowledge from books and facts) necessary to

participate in contemporary thought and life (pp 215-216).¹⁶

Children will be effectively educated to become active citizens of the better world that has brought them into being.

Secondary education will

"... provide (i) a substantial mental training which shall lead at last to a broad and comprehensive view of things, and which shall be a training in generalization, abstraction, and the examination of evidence, stimulating and disciplining the imagination and developing the habit of patient, sustained, enterprising and thorough work; and (ii) we have to add a general culture, a circle of ideas about moral, aesthetic, and social matters that shall form a common basis for the social and intellectual life of the community" (pp 326-327).¹⁷

As Wells summarised the growth to adulthood in *The World Set Free* (1914),¹⁸

"Every Utopian child is taught to the full measure of its possibilities and directed to the work that is indicated by its desires and capacity. It is born well. It is born of perfectly healthy parents; its mother has chosen to bear it after due thought and preparation. It grows up under perfectly healthy conditions; its natural impulses to play and learn are gratified by the subtlest educational methods. Hands, eyes and limbs are given every opportunity of training and growth; it learns to draw, write, express itself, use a great variety of symbols to assist and extend its thought. Kindness and civility become engrained habits, for all about it are kind and civil. And in particular the growth of its imagination is watched and encouraged. It learns the wonderful history of its world and its race, how man has struggled and still struggles out of his earlier animal narrowness and egotism towards an empire over being that is still but faintly apprehended through dense veils of ignorance. All its desires are made fine; it learns from poetry, from example and the love of those about it to lose its solicitude for itself in love; its sexual passions are turned against its selfishness; its curiosity flowers into scientific passion, its combativeness is set to fight disorder, its inherent pride and ambition are directed towards an honourable share in the common achievement. It goes to the work that attracts it and chooses what it will do" (pp 78-79).

University education then completes the available forms of formal education. But for Wells the university should be a research institution, not a training establishment.¹⁹

Much more important than university education is what we call adult or continuing or extramural education. Wells put much of his considerable energy into schemes to develop this facet of education. Here we come full circle and return to the beginning of this section because these efforts were directed at the current generation of adults, and it was intended to convince them of the desirability of working for utopia. Wells described the educational aspects of his project for his contemporaries

frequently, but he summarised it best in a novel, *The Passionate Friends* (1913).²⁰ The hero (Stratton) established a project for the world-wide dissemination of knowledge. The project included the translation of all the best literature of every language into every other language, the development of a world repository of knowledge or encyclopaedia²¹ together with guide books, gazetteers, dictionaries, textbooks, books of reference, bibliographies and atlases.²² This was to be followed by an international newspaper grandiosely described as an "international organ of information" (p 187). The entire project was designed to provide more and better information, knowledge, and ideas to the average citizen in all countries with the clear intention of making them more receptive to change and, specifically, change in the direction of the world state.

The Samurai

This enterprise was also designed to encourage an attitude, one that Wells felt was essential both to achieve the world state and keep it going once it was established. This was the attitude of service to others.²³ This concern leads directly, in its most complete formulation, to the *samurai* of *A Modern Utopia*.²⁴ The *samurai* are, of course, an elite totally dedicated to the service of others. They are a specially educated elite who will administer the world state. "Practically all political power vests in the *samurai*. Not only are they the only administrators, lawyers, practising doctors, and public officials of all kinds, but they are the only voters."²⁵ (The last point was later changed by Wells.)

Obviously the *samurai* or their equivalents are central figures in the world state, but equally important is the fact that their precursors will have created that state. They create it by becoming, in the phrase Wells used most often, Open Conspirators. The creation of a world state requires "... a conscious, frank and worldwide co-operation of the man of science, the scientific worker, the man accustomed to the direction of productive industry, the man able to control the arterial supply of credit [and] the man who can control newspapers and politicians ..."²⁶

These people, and others, must dedicate themselves to seven basic principles:

- (1) The complete assertion, practical as well as theoretical, of the provisional nature of existing governments and of our acquiescence in them;
- (2) The resolve to minimise by all available means the conflicts of these governments, their militant use of individuals and property and their interferences with the establishment of a world economic system;
- (3) The determination to replace private local or national ownership of at least credit, transport and staple production by a responsible world directorate serving the common ends of the race;
- (4) The practical recognition of the necessity for world biological controls, for example, of population and disease;
- (5) The support of a minimum standard of individual freedom and welfare in the world; and
- (6) The supreme duty of subordinating the personal career to the cre-

ation of a world directorate capable of these tasks and to the general advancement of human knowledge, capacity and power;

- (7) The admission therewith that our immortality is conditional and lies in the race and not in our individual selves.²⁷

Again it is possible to see both the simplicity and complexity of Wells's thought. Whatever thread one takes hold of ends back at the world state, but each time a different route is followed in getting there.

The Political Institutions of the World State

This is true even in a book like *Phoenix* (1942) in which he sounds desperate, and even suggested that violent revolution might be necessary (p 54). There he argued that there are three imperatives that must be accomplished *now*.

"*First*, the establishment of an overriding *federal world control* of transport and inter-state *communications* throughout the entire world. *Secondly*, the federal *conservation* of resources, and *Thirdly*, the subordination of all the federated states of the world to a common *fundamental law*." (p 20. Emphasis in the original)

Or, as he had written two years earlier, the world needs, "... (a) outright world-socialism, scientifically planned and directed, *plus* (b) a sustained insistence upon law, law based on a fuller, more jealously conceived restatement of the personal Rights of Man, *plus* (c) the completest freedom of speech, criticism and publication, and a sedulous expansion of the educational organisation to the ever-growing demands of the new world order."²⁸

These two statements coming from near the end of Wells's life provide a nice summary of the political and economic characteristics of the world state, but Wells also presented these systems in more detail. Wells said that it is not possible to predict the forms of political organisation that the future will produce,²⁹ and it is even possible to argue that he contended that there will be no such political organisation, ie. that he was an anarchist.³⁰ As Wells put it in *The World Set Free*.

"Utopia has no parliament, no politics, no private wealth, no business competition, no police or prisons, no lunatics, no defectives or cripples, and it has none of these things because it has schools and teachers who are all that schools and teachers can be. Politics, trade and competition are the methods of adjustment of a crude society. Such methods of adjustment have been laid aside in Utopia for more than a thousand years. There is no rule or government needed by adult Utopians because all the rule and government they need they have had in childhood and youth" (p 80).

But although Wells did suggest that what I have called his second utopia might be anarchist, his first utopia was not.³¹ The first utopia of the world state is most likely to have a fairly strong central administration in the hands of the *samurai*. The locus of political control is much less clear. In his early writings Wells was clearly in favour of taking power away from the people; *Anticipations* and *A Modern Utopia* are the best examples of this. Later he appears to see the people as a check on the administrators. The most direct statement of this later position is *The Fate of Homo*

Sapiens (1939)³² where he went so far as to say, "A democracy needs to be in a state of perpetual vigilance against the specialist" (p 60). This statement would seem to contradict everything else he ever wrote, but it really doesn't. The *samurai*, for example, were not specialists but broadly educated to be able to evaluate the recommendations of the specialists. But it is fair to say that Wells was, at best, ambivalent about democracy.³³

At the same time, the position that Wells stated most frequently can be fairly simply described, and it is neither a clear rejection of democracy nor a clear statement in favour of it. The position is that the world state must establish a set of fundamental laws (or a constitution). In the first instance these laws will be drafted by the members of the Open Conspiracy or the nascent *samurai*. These fundamental laws are likely to:

1. Place most power in the hands of the *samurai* acting as administrators.
2. Check that power by a political assembly of officials elected for very long terms of office but subject to recall.
3. Protect the right of all people through a Declaration of Rights.
4. Establish a socialist economic system.

While it is possible to find variants of each of these points, something very close to this set of fundamental laws is what Wells had in mind.

The Economics Institutions of the World State

The first two points are almost self-explanatory, so I shall turn to the second two points. Wells wrote two versions of a Declaration of Rights. The first was published in *The New World Order* (1940) and the second in '42 to '44 (1944). In addition to what we might think of as the usual civil rights of speech, press, assembly, and worship, there are also educational rights, specific rights for minors, procedural rights at law, the right of free movement and a right of freedom from violence. Wells also presented a series of rights that might be classed as economic. There is a right to earn money and a right to possess but not a right to profit from speculation.³⁴

As the specification of economic rights suggests, Wells was deeply concerned about the nature of the contemporary economic system. It would be impossible to read any of his best-known novels like *Kipps* (1905), *Tono-Bungay* (1909), or *The History of Mr. Polly* (1910) without being aware of Wells's disgust at the effects of the contemporary capitalist system on the average person trying to function within it.³⁵ And in what I have already quoted from Wells in this essay, a number of references have been made to the necessity of developing a socialist economy. But it is less clear what Wells means by socialism.

In *A Modern Utopia* Wells wrote, "In Utopia we conclude that, whatever other types of property may exist, all natural sources of force, and indeed all strictly natural products, coal, waterpower, and the like, are inalienably vested in the local authorities³⁶ (which in order to secure the maximum of convenience and administrative efficiency, will probably control areas as large sometimes as half England)"³⁷ (p 77). But in *Phoenix*, he said there must be an "abolition of private property except in quite personal and intimate things, in for example individual

tools, clothes, private studios and laboratories, works of art, domestic decorations and the like" (p 62. Emphasis in the original).

Here is the most basic contradiction found in Wells's socialism. In most works he argued for a fairly extensive private ownership of property beyond that specified in *Phoenix*. For example, in *A Modern Utopia* he wrote,

"Besides strictly personal possessions and shares in business adventures, Utopia will no doubt permit associations of its citizens to have a property in various sorts of contracts and concessions, in leases of agricultural and other land, for example; in houses they may have built, factories and machinery they may have made, and the like. And if a citizen prefer to adventure into business single-handed, he will have all the freedoms of enterprise enjoyed by a company; in business affairs he will be a company of one..." (p 96).

This was Wells's more common position; public ownership and control of land and all the resources thereof, public ownership of the means of public transportation, probably public ownership of major corporations, and private ownership of everything else under the general oversight of the *samurai*. This public oversight was to be helped by a single world currency and banking system that would work to encourage people to spend or invest rather than hoard³⁸ and a system of compulsory service that would provide the labour for major public works and help develop an identification with the world state.³⁹

The precise mix of public and private, and the extent of the authority over the private held by the *samurai*, changes depending on Wells's degree of frustration at current events. As a result, it is possible to make a case for almost any mix and almost any degree of central authority. On balance, and in light of Wells's second utopia, I think that the most defensible position is to emphasise, first Wells's concern with the rights of individuals as illustrating his desire to limit the centralisation of power, and second his clear belief in both public and private ownership as illustrating that he would allow certain amount of private ownership even in productive enterprises.

The more important consideration is the purpose of Wells's socialism. That purpose is to ensure a greater equality in society, particularly a greater equality of opportunity. He clearly believed that unrestrained capitalism stands in the way of such equality and that a form of socialism is essential if it is to be achieved. He also clearly believed that equality was essential to the full flowering of individual freedom and not a limit on it. He particularly stressed the need for economic equality for women as the only possible route to their freedom.⁴⁰ He did not believe that the vote was of any real importance to women,⁴¹ but he didn't believe that it was of real importance to men either. Real political equality would only become possible after the establishment of economic equality.

Thus the campaign for the vote was misplaced effort⁴², both because getting the vote would not help to bring about change and because politics must be gradually eliminated. Some political activity and a political system would be needed for a time, but would first become a check on the power of the administrators and finally disappear altogether.

Wells often stressed the need to reject nationalism and patriotism as serious impediments to the realisation of utopia and argued that, as he said, we must recognise "... the entirely provisional nature of all existing governments, and the entirely provisional nature, therefore, of all loyalties associated therewith ..."⁴³

Conclusion

It may seem that I have meandered through a number of points that Wells made without actually presenting his utopia. The sheer amount of his published writing forces one to try to determine how heavily to weight certain specific statements while noting that Wells's was not, and should not be expected to be, entirely consistent throughout his lifetime.

And looking back at what I've said, I think it is possible to outline a Wellsian utopia or Wells's political theory. Within the world state the institutions of socialisation will be under the regulation of a set of highly educated and selfless administrators before birth through the entire educational system. This regulation will be designed to produce a diverse but equal population, and it will, as far as possible, refrain from direct intervention with individual lives. That 'as far as possible' is both important and not entirely clear. Wells believed deeply and frequently reiterated that children must not be considered the property of the parents but humanity's investment in the future. Thus, people can be kept from having children, and children can be taken from their parents if they cannot provide adequate care, and Wells thought that women had a duty to bear children. But the state must do its part to ensure that parents can have children and raise them. The state must ensure an adequate standard of living, good housing, good nutrition, and an income for women. Having done these things and also ensured an excellent education for all, the state should retire from its concern with individuals and spend its time improving the planet. Obviously one of the major concerns of these selfless administrators will be ensuring that there are other selfless administrators to replace them; as *Men Like Gods* indicates, the ultimate goal is a society composed entirely of such people who won't need selfless administrators anymore.

The political system, to the extent it exists, and the economic system will both be in the hands of the administrators although checked by the people and a detailed and inviolable Declaration of Rights, both of which will gradually become less necessary. The socialist economic system combined with the possibility of private initiative and some private ownership, will ensure that the economic foundation of this free and equal society is solidly established.

Thus, Wells did write a utopia, and he did have a political theory revealed by the details of the utopia. This political theory was based on a belief in the malleability of human nature making it possible for an elite, educated to use its great power for others rather than for themselves, to raise the general standard of the entire human race through a manipulation of the institutions of socialisation, the elimination of current political forms, and gradually of politics altogether, and the recognition of a set of fundamental far-reaching rights for all people in a socialist economic system that made it possible but did not remove each individual's scope for free expression.

In an essay entitled, 'Our World in Fifty Years' Time', written fifty-five years ago,

Wells wrote,

"For an ignorant world we shall have a soundly educated world, aware of its origins, capable of measuring in and realizing its possibilities, and controlling its destinies with an ever-growing sense of power. Every human being born into that world of plenty, born into a clean, convenient, uncrowded, healthy home, will learn from the beginning of the varied loveliness of the life before it, and the expanding drama of human achievement in which it has to play its part. Its distinctive gifts will be noted and developed. It will realize what can be expected of itself. It will be taught another history than that of kings and conquerors and armies, and better games than setting up rows of soldiers in order to knock them over again. It will do its fair and definite share in the productive or necessary services of mankind, and for the rest it will be released to accomplish whatever possibilities it has of innovation, happiness, and interesting living."⁴⁴

Wells's dream seems to have disappeared from the world and had begun to do so even during his lifetime. As a result Wells's last work *Mind At the End of its Tether* (1945) was a cry of despair. But like so many of the dreams that we have mislaid, Wells's dream was one which both helps us to understand its author and the times in which he wrote, and reminds us of what seemed possible to many people only a few years ago.

Notes

- 1 Wells has not been treated as a political theorist, but see P. Yarr, 'H.G. Wells as a Political Thinker', *The Wellsian*, 1, no 10 [1963?], pp 25-31
- 2 *Experiment in Autobiography; Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain (Since 1866)*, 2 vols, (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), vol 2, p 752 (Chap 9, sec 9)
- 3 'An Apology for a World Utopia', in *The Evolution of World Peace*, ed F.S. Marvin, vol 4 of *The Unity Series* (London: Humphrey Milford/Oxford University Press, 1921), p 117
- 4 Oscar Wilde, *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1912), p 43
- 5 *Mankind in the Making*, 5th ed, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1911), p 20
- 6 *Ibid*, p 40
- 7 *Anticipations Of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress Upon Human Life and Thought*, 8th ed, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1902), p 280. See also *A Modern Utopia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp 183-184
- 8 See, for example, *The World of William Clissold*, 3 vols, (London: Ernest Benn, 1926), vol 3, pp 684-685; and *A Modern Utopia*, pp 318-351
- 9 One recent study of the general attitude is Mark H. Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers

- University Press, 1983)
- 10 See *Anticipations*, pp 315-317. Wells rejected this position almost immediately. See *Mankind*, p 55
 - 11 See, for example, *The Open Conspiracy; Blue Prints For a World Revolution. A Second Version of this faith of a modern man made more explicit and plain* (London: Published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1930), p 63; and *The World of William Clissold*, vol 3, p 694. Other examples could be produced from almost all of Wells's works.
 - 12 See, for example, F.H. Doughty, *H.G. Wells: Educationist* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1926); and J.R. Hammond, 'H.G. Wells As Educationalist', *The Wellsian*, no 4 (Summer 1981), pp 1-7
 - 13 *Phoenix; A Summary of the Inescapable Conditions of World Reorganisation* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1942), p 75
 - 14 *Meanwhile: The Picture of a Lady* (London: Ernest Benn, 1927), p 33
 - 15 In *A Modern Utopia* he specifically argues for a role for the father in child-rearing. See pp 199-200
 - 16 Brackets in 8 are Wells's. The novel *Joan and Peter; The Story of an Education* (London: Cassell, 1918) is in part an extended argument about what constitutes a good education
 - 17 Wells is a bit unclear how much of this takes place at what we would call the university level and how much at the secondary level, but in his overall scheme it fits best at the secondary level
 - 18 *The World Set Free; A Story of Mankind* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1914)
 - 19 See, for example, *The World of William Clissold*, vol 3, p 733
 - 20 *The Passionate Friends* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1986)
 - 21 An idea spelled out in more detail in *World Brain* (London: Methuen, 1938)
 - 22 Of course Wells's own *The Outline of History* (1919-1920), *The Science of Life* (1929-1930), and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (1931) were parts of his personal project along these lines
 - 23 See, for example, *The World Set Free*, pp 258-259; and *The Shape of Things to Come* (New York: Macmillan, 1945), p 322
 - 24 Also known as "The Competent Receiver," "The New Republic," and "The Open Conspiracy." I use 'Samurai' because it is most fully developed in *A Modern Utopia* where that is the label. See also *The Research Magnificent* (London: Macmillan, 1919); and 'Project of a Liberal World Organization', in his *After Democracy; Addresses and Papers on the Present World Situation* (London: Watts & Co, 1932), pp 35-38 where it is called "The Z Society." W. Warren Wagar has traced the idea back to 1897. See his *H.G. Wells and the World State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p 176
 - 25 *A Modern Utopia*, pp 310-311. See also p 278
 - 26 *The World of William Clissold*, vol 3 p 619
 - 27 *The Open Conspiracy*, pp 178-179
 - 28 *The New World Order; Whether it is attainable, how it can be attained, and what sort of world a world at peace will have to be* (London; Secker & Warburg, 1940), p 119
 - 29 *The Open Conspiracy*, pp 54-55
 - 30 See Wagar, p 212. Additional textual evidence can be found at Ibid; *The World of William Clissold*, pp 633, 635, 645; *The Shape of Things to Come*, p 355; and, of course, all of *Men Like Gods*
 - 31 Just what anarchism is and thus who is or is not one is controversial. For a discussion see Lyman Tower Sargent, *Contemporary Political Ideologies; A Comparative Analysis*, 7th ed, (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1987), pp 178-195
 - 32 *The Fate of Homo Sapiens; An unemotional Statement of the Things that are happening to him now, and of the immediate Possibilities confronting him* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1939)
 - 33 On this point see Lyman Tower Sargent, 'The Pessimistic Eutopias of H.G. Wells', *The Wellsian*, no 7 (Summer 1984), pp 2-18
 - 34 I have used the later version, called 'The Universal Rights of Man', '42 to '44; *A Contemporary Memoir Upon Human Behaviour During the Crisis of the World Revolution* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1944), pp 45-48
 - 35 See *Experiment in Autobiography*, p 744 for a strongly anti-capitalist statement
 - 36 Communal ownership was also stressed in *The Open Conspiracy*, p 78
 - 37 Large administrative areas was one of Wells's favourite reforms. See *Experiment in Autobiography*, p. 257. He also wrote a Fabian pamphlet on the subject
 - 38 *After Democracy*, p 199; and *The Shape of Things to Come*, pp 38, 285
 - 39 *The Shape of Things to Come*, p 425
 - 40 See, for example, *A Modern Utopia*, pp 186-187
 - 41 Wells's position on the role of women in any future society is very complex. For a discussion of his position see Sargent, "The Pessimistic Eutopias of H.G. Wells'
 - 42 *Experiment in Autobiography*, p 483
 - 43 *The Open Conspiracy*, p 171
 - 44 'Our World In Fifty Years' Time', *John O'London's Weekly* (October 1931), in *After Democracy*, pp 223-224