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DEEP TIME IN NEW ENGLAND: SYLVESTER JUDD'S *MARGARET* (1845) AND EARLY MODERN ENGLISH UTOPIA

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ABSTRACT

Inspired by Wai Chee Dimock's (2009 [2006]) innovative reconceptualization of American literature, this article explores her notion of "deep time" with regard to literary genre, understood in terms of Wittgenstein's family resemblance rather than as a category in the classical Aristotelian view. When applied to American literary texts, this approach makes it possible to notice affinities between these texts and the works which time- and space-wise exceed the conventionally recognized boundaries of American literature. As an instance of such a reading, I propose to re-examine Sylvester Judd's (1813–1853) utopian romance *Margaret* (1845), apparently the most successful novel of Transcendentalism, in the context of Early Modern English utopia. Although at first glance American utopias are distinct from English representatives of the genre, under a careful consideration it is possible to discover several parallels between them that allow the two traditions to be understood as "cousins" sensu Dimock. Drawing on Artur Blaim's (2013) study of Early Modern English utopia, the article discusses selected features of the genre and demonstrates how reading *Margaret* exclusively as a New England novel may lead to misunderstandings and misconceptions. Finally, the notion of "deep time" is explored as an intra-textual thematic thread via which the utopian community simultaneously exists in particular spatio-temporal conditions and within what can be called, after Dimock, a "denationalized space".

Keywords: English utopia, Sylvester Judd, *Margaret*, Transcendentalism, deep time, American utopia, Early Modern English utopia.

1. Introduction

In her groundbreaking study *American literature across deep time* (2009 [2006]), Wai Chee Dimock poses the question which has served as an inspiration for the present essay: "What would literary history look like if the field were divided, not into discrete periods, and not into discrete bodies of national literatures?"

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(73). One of her answers is associated with the concept of genre, understood in terms of Wittgenstein's family resemblance (Dimock 2009 [2006]: 74), rather than necessitating the classical (Aristotelian) "set of necessary and sufficient conditions" (Ungerer & Schmid 2006: 25) to be met. Such an extensive approach to the concept allows one to notice similarities even between texts which on the surface seem to have little or nothing in common, but which, in fact, turn out to be, as Dimock puts it, "second and third and fourth cousins" (2009 [2006]: 78).

This observation is of particular significance within the field of utopian studies, where the central concept of utopia has been construed in several different ways, ranging from a literary form to socio-political phenomenon and mode of human thinking,[2] to mention just a few (cf. Blaim 2013: 1–3). When discussed within geographical and temporal boundaries, American utopia seems to be rather distinct from the tradition initiated by Thomas More's famous *Libellus vere aureus*, or "little golden book" (1615), commonly known as *Utopia*.[3] On the one hand, it is difficult not to agree with Kenneth M. Roemer (1981: 9), who postulates that "separate attention" should be drawn to American utopian literature, which is grounded in the continent's discrete history. On the other hand, Roemer (1981: 9) rightly criticizes those Americanists who "stare at their navels, and from this rather confined perspective […] utter grand pronouncements about the uniqueness of certain 'American' traits" of the genre whose tradition greatly exceeds both the 'official' beginning of American literature and the English Renaissance[4]. Dimock makes a similar claim with regard to American literature in general; as she puts it, "using the adjective ["American"] we limit ourselves […] to an analytic domain foreclosed by definition, a kind of scholarly unilateralism" (2009 [2006]: 3).

Following Roemer's multi-perspectival awareness reflected, inter alia, in the collection of essays *America as utopia*, which he edited in 1981, as well as sharing Dimock's contention that American literature is "better seen as a crisscrossing set of pathways, open-ended and ever multiplying" (2009 [2006]: 3), this article aims to explore affinities between the first successful novel of American Transcendentalism,[5] Sylvester Judd's *Margaret* (1845), and Early

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2 For instance, the Polish philosopher Leszek Kołakowski observes that the term utopia, which "emerged as an artificially concocted proper name [,] has acquired, in the last two centuries, a sense so extended that it refers not only to a literary genre but to a way of thinking, to a mentality, to a philosophical attitude" (1990: 131).

3 The problems associated with the "real" title of More's *Utopia* are discussed in Blaim (2012).

4 In his *Utopianism: A very short introduction*, Lyman Tower Sargent argues that utopia construed as a dream of a better life is as old as "the earliest written records we have, such as a Sumerian clay tablet from 2000 BCE" (2010: 4).

5 According to *Encyclopedia of Transcendentalism*, it is Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880) who was the author of the first Transcendentalist novel, *Philothea, A romance* (1836), set in Ancient Greece (Wayne 2006: 217). Significantly, Judd's *Margaret* is set in New England.

Modern English utopian fiction. This is to be done with a view to Dimock's (2001: 759) idea of "deep time, "defined as "a more extended duration for American studies" and entailing what she calls "denationalized space" (2001: 760). I also intend to demonstrate how Judd's novel thematizes the idea of "deep time" in its temporal design and in the manner it shapes its central character.

2. *Margaret* and its American contexts

Margaret: A tale of the real and ideal, blight and bloom (1845) is a largely forgotten work of Sylvester Judd (1813–1853), a graduate of Yale College and Harvard Divinity School, convert from Calvinism, and Unitarian minister at Augusta, Maine. This three-volume utopian novel has usually been discussed, if at all,[6] in the context of Judd's intellectual connections with American Transcendentalism. The book's modern editor, Gavin Jones (2009: vii), considers it to be "the first book of the American Renaissance"[7]. It must be remembered, though, that, as Philip Judd Brockway (1940: 655) observes, "[t]here is no evidence of direct contact between Judd and the spokesmen of Transcendentalism, [nor had he] felt any allegiance as an individual to the group". In a similar vein, Tiffany Wayne reports Judd's "deny[ing] the association". (2006: 158). This notwithstanding, the novel's influence on Transcendentalists was noticed as early as in 1876. The first historian of the movement, Octavius B. Frothingham called *Margaret* a "very remarkable book […] [that] in the dress of fiction set forth the whole gospel of Transcendentalism" (qtd. in Brockway 1940: 654). Brockway (1940: 654) regards *Margaret* as "a novel [devoted] to the expression and interpretation of [Transcendentalists'] ideas", while in his book on Emerson, Henry David Gray (1970: 16) mentions Judd's novel as "the one distinctive piece of Transcendental fiction"[8]. According to *Encyclopedia of Transcendentalism* (2006: 159), in turn, Judd's novel "abounds with Transcendentalist themes of childlike innocence, communion with nature, and utopian idealism expressed through the main character". Undoubtedly, Transcendentalism manifests itself as a major interpretative context for the 'American' reading of *Margaret*.

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6 In *Writers of the American Renaissance* (2003), John J. Han observes that except for two twentieth-century monographs devoted to Judd's life, works and historical background, there are few critical commentaries available.

7 Needless to say, the terms "American Renaissance" and "Transcendentalism" frequently go together, as evidenced by the title of one volume of the *Facts On File: Backgrounds to American literature* series: *Romanticism and Transcendentalism (1800–1860)* (Philips & Ladd 2006). See also Buell (1973).

8 In contrast, the book is scarcely mentioned in Lawrence Buell's *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and vision in the American Renaissance* (1973).

Another feature of Judd's book highlighted by several critics is its exceptional New England character. A few years after Judd's premature death in 1853, none other than Margaret Fuller, the first woman of the Transcendentalist Club,[9] declared that "we greet in this one 'Yankee novel' the sufficient earnest of riches" (Myerson 1978: 395), and James Russell Lowell dubbed *Margaret* "the most emphatically American book ever written" (qtd. in Dedmond 1980: 1). Another Transcendentalist, Theodore Parker, sent a copy of *Margaret* to the English philosopher James Martineau, recommending it as "the most original and characteristic book that would appear [in the United States] for twenty years to come" (qtd. in Jones 2009: vii). In his illuminating preface to the novel, Jones (2009: vii–viii) collects and expands the contexts mentioned above, convincingly arguing that our reading of the classic texts of Hawthorne, Thoreau, Melville, and Whitman "remains fundamentally incomplete without an encounter with *Margaret*." In light of Dimock's (2009 [2006]: 75–76) argument, however, it is essential to remember that tracing the influence of particular authors in a who-affected-whom "linear" manner is less productive than conceptualizing the liaisons as a "loosely integrated circuit", or—through a metaphor borrowed from mathematics—as a "geometry of what loops around, what breaks off, what is jugged". In this sense, Judd's novel can be placed within a much older generic tradition, namely that of utopia, whose conceptual roots are, in the words of Gregory Claeys and Lyman Tower Sargent (1999: 1), as old as "golden ages, Arcadias, earthly paradises, fortunate isles, isles of the blest", etc.

3. *Margaret* as a literary utopia

Jones (2009), who can be credited for refreshing critical and readerly interests in Judd's *magnum opus*,[10] discusses yet another characteristic feature of the novel, namely its utopian message. While he is not the first scholar to have noticed it,[11] he is one of few who devote considerable attention to this thread. Nevertheless, his commentary tends to fall into the common trap of taking for granted the meaning of the term "utopian", apparently relating it to social action and communal experiments. For instance, Jones (2009: viii–ix) contrasts "*Margaret*'s

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9 Wayne (2006: 159) goes as far as suggesting that the name of Judd's eponymous heroine "must have been seen as a reference to Margaret Fuller."

10 To exemplify, *Margaret* is recommended in *100 great American novels you've (probably) never read*, published in 2007, as "an outstanding example of Transcendentalist thought" (Bridges 2007: 108). Interestingly, in the guide, Judd's novel is introduced in a manner which brings to mind Dimock's (2009 [2006]) "deep time" approach: "People think of the 1960s as the 'radical' decade in American history with 'flower power' and the rest, but in reality, the 1960s was matched by the 1840s as a period of social and philosophical experimentation" (Bridges 2007: 108).

11 For instance, Brooks (1937: 385) calls *Margaret* "a Utopian romance [and] Fourieristic fantasy."

utopian impulses" with its "claim to literary merit" and enumerates utopianism together with the contemporaneous "social reform movements, including abolitionism, temperance, [and] women's rights". He is right in invoking the intentional communities of the American Northeast, including Brook Farm, and aptly discusses the connection between literature and social reforms in the 1840s. However, his conclusion that "*Margaret* can be understood as a work of social theory that attempts to resolve a number of *its era*'*s* cultural and political contradictions" (Jones 2009: xix, emph. added) seems to be too limited in light of Dimock's (2001, 2009 [2006]) theoretical framework discussed above.

Within the field of utopian studies, some propositions have been worked out to rectify the situation in which, in Ruth Levitas's (2010: 2) words, "there is much confusion about exactly what makes something utopian, and disagreement about what utopia is for and why it is important". This is not to say that one universal definition has been accepted, but at least some attempts have been made to narrow down the understanding of the concept. In his persuasive essay "The three faces of utopianism revisited" (1994), Lyman Tower Sargent proposes to distinguish between (i) utopianism, understood as social dreaming, (ii) utopian literature, and (iii) intentional societies (1994: 3, 5, 13). Obviously enough, the three have been overlapping, social dreaming frequently leading to theoretical outlines, and such outlines to artistic and/or social experiments (but also vice versa). Within the category of literature (ii), Thomas More's notion of *utopia*, incorporating a pun on "no-place" (Greek *u-topos*) and "good place" (Greek *eu-topos*) could be expanded, as Sargent (1994: 9) convincingly argues, to refer to texts in which "non-existent society [is] described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space that the author intended a contemporaneous reader to view as considerably better than the society in which that reader lived". Arguably, Sargent's classification proves particularly convenient to literary scholars, as it helps them to delineate the field of interest and encompass some essential features of the phenomenon which emerged in the Christian West during the Renaissance, simultaneously being open to its literary and non-literary traditions, as well as to its (potential) future realizations.

4. *Margaret*: a synopsis

Judd's four-hundred-and-sixty-page-long Bildungsroman consists of three parts, titled "Childhood", "Youth", and "Womanhood", respectively, and presents a story of the eponymous Margaret, an orphan girl adopted by an irreligious, impoverished New England family, afflicted with ignorance, alcoholism, and other bad habits. They live at the place called "The Pond", adjacent to a serene body of water bearing the same name, "commonly reported [to have]

no bottom" (*M*, 7)[12]—and here, it is difficult not to invoke Walden Pond, immortalized by Thoreau in 1854—not far from the village, or small town, of Livingston. The family, frequently referred to as the "Injins" is disregarded by Livingston's Calvinistic community as a peculiar group of irreligious outcasts who "don't know how to behave Sabber [Sabath] days" (*M*, 110). Margaret grows up in The Pond in an intuitive communion with nature and is educated by Schoolmaster, or Master, Bartholomew Elliman, a Freemason, botanist, and lover of ancient Greek culture. Another source of the girl's learning are her dream visions, in which, among others, she meets Christ, whom she dubs "the Beautiful One".

Later on, when Margaret's beloved middle brother, Chilion, is unjustly executed for murder, she—now a young woman—moves to Boston, where she faces a different way of life, to be contrasted with the natural innocence of her earliest years. After returning home, she marries Mr. Charles Evelyn, a man well-educated in theology, philosophy, and art, who has introduced her to Unitarian Christianity. The couple soon becomes the driving force behind utopian changes spreading from The Pond throughout Livingston, now better known as Mons Christi. The progress of the community constitutes the core of the novel's third part ("Womanhood"), in which this gradual metamorphosis is presented in the epistolary form. The utopian society is described in Margaret's letters, in a manner reminiscent of traditional English utopias, the discourse containing imperatives, appellations, rhetorical questions, exclamations, etc. (cf. Blaim 2013: 28). Soon, the community becomes an international exemplar of religious, social, and aesthetic perfection, being visited not only by delegates of several Christian denominations but also by "Jews, Mohammedans, [and] Hindoos" (*M*, 432), as well as by "both the Presidents, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson" (*M*, 458).

In the novel's concluding paragraph, Margaret superimposes the images of Orpheus and Christ, joining the two distinct religious traditions into one and asking a final rhetorical question: "Whither now shall the Christian Helicon[13] flow?" (*M*, 468). The question can be understood both specifically and universally, pertaining to the story-world and to the world of the reader. Generally, then, Mons Christi fulfils Sargent's definition of a literary utopia (see above).

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12 All references to Judd's novel are to its modern edition (Judd 2009), based on the Jordan and Wiley 1845 text, and further marked as M, followed by page number.

13 To Margaret, Helicon is not a mountain but a river (*M*, 468).

5. *Margaret* and Early Modern English utopia

Against the background of Early Modern English utopia, comprehensively discussed by Artur Blaim (2013), *Margaret* manifests itself as an artefact of a discrete tradition. At first sight, the link between Judd's novel and the works of Thomas More and his numerous English followers is feeble, especially when one inspects formal features of utopia as a literary genre. On closer examination, though, there are several kinships—to draw on Dimock's (2009 [2006]: 74) observation of "kin" being as significant as "kind"—worth discussing. Due to length limitations, in this article I will concentrate on what I consider the major ones, namely on (1) the bipartite design of the story world, (2) the polyphonic character of the utopian text, and (3) the critical reception of Judd's novel.

As far as the story world is concerned, Blaim (2013: 4) recognizes "a binary opposition involving the confrontation of the author's world […] and the ideal state" as the underpinning of Early Modern utopia. It may not be reflected in the composition of *Margaret* to the degree it manifests itself in the English texts but certainly is present there. *Margaret*'s story world is modelled on the empirical reality of post-revolutionary New England, including a wide variety of contemporaneous details, which makes some critics evoke the convention of the historical novel (e.g. Brockway 1940: 662). Importantly enough, in contrast to English literary utopias, where idealized communities are located either at a remote, unknown place or—in the subsequent phase of the genre's development—at a familiar spot in the future, in *Margaret* the community of Mons Christi functions in the *past*. Indeed, the narrator several times uses the first person plural and the related pronouns to incorporate the contemporaneous reader in the sense of 'now and here', which (roughly) coincides with Judd's era, contrasting it with the protagonist's present. Consider, for instance, the following passages:

> We conclude this chapter by remarking, that the scenes and events of this Memoir belong to what may be termed the *mediaeval* or *transition period of New England history*, that lying between the close of the war of *our Revolution*, and the commencement of *the present century* (*M*, 16, emph. added).

> The town underwent and survived the various incidents and vicissitudes that *belong to our national history*; Queen Anne's war, Lovell's war, the Seven Years' war, incursions from the Indians, drafts of men for the frontiers, small-pox, throat-distemper, Antinomianism, Newlightism, Scotch Presbyterianism, an attempted "visit from Whitfield", settling ministers, the stamp-act, succession of sovereigns, kings in England, governors at home, earthquakes, tornadoes, depreciation of currency, taxes, etc. etc. (*M*, 43, emph. added).

> It is a noticeable fact, that *we of the present age* have fewer holidays than *our puritanical ancestors* (*M*, 60, emph. added).

Judd's novel, then, can be construed as a *uchronia*, or, as Paul K. Alkon (1987: 115; cf. Sargent 1994: 9) puts it after the French philosopher Charles Renouvier, "a utopia of past time […] [, the term encompassing] works in which some crucial turning point is given a different, and from the author's viewpoint better, outcome". As far as this "better outcome" is concerned, the contrast between Europe and America is emphasized, in accordance with the characteristics of the American Myth (cf. Bogdanowicz 2014). For instance, as Mr. Evelyn observes in a conversation with Margaret:

> A good part of the Old World on its passage to the New was lost overboard. Our ancestors were very considerably cleansed by the dashing waters of the Atlantic. We have no monarchical supremacy, no hereditary prerogatives, no patent nobility, no Kings, and but few Bishops, by especial Divine interposition. The gift of God is with the virtuous and truthful. 'All men are equal', is our favorite motto; and it is one of far-piercing, greatly humanizing, radically reforming force, though now but little understood. Many things that affect character and condition in the Old World, adulterate truth, perpetuate error, degrade society and life, sully the soul, and retard improvement, we have not" (*M*, 268, emph. added).

Clearly, the difference is not so much geographical as axiological, and the overall message is conveyed by means of the convention in which the utopian state is described as the opposite of the author's world, or, in Blaim's (2013: 231–233) words, by means of "the negative formula". This antithetical effect is further underscored by Mr. Evelyn's direct praising of America and its citizens: "We have no Hindoo Caste, and Negro Slavery is virtually extinct in New England. Education is universally encouraged, and Freedom of opinion tolerated" (*M*, 271).

On the other hand, however, in *Margaret* this story-world organizing principle is more intricate, for to Judd, America—though essentially resulting from what can be called utopian thinking—is far from *perfect*. When Margaret asks her would-be husband whether "New Englanders are the best people on the Earth" (*M*, 271), he responds as follows:

> I think they *might become such*; or rather I think they *might* lead the August Procession of the race to Human Perfectibility; that here *might* be revealed the Coming of the Day of the Lord, wherein the old Heavens of sin and error should be dissolved, and a New Heavens and new Earth be established, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (*M*, 271, emph. added).

Here, one can notice the difference between the tradition of Early Modern English utopia and *Margaret*: while in the former the utopian construction is "a finished and 'perfect' object which requires no further improvements or modifications" (Blaim 2013: 7), the latter appears to be a possibility, a blueprint to be realized, or a phenomenon *in statu nascendi*, exemplified by Mons Christi. Significantly, in the last but one paragraph of the novel, Margaret observes:

> What will become of us? If we trust in God, we have his promise, that the waters shall not overflow us, or the fire burn us. […] That a great work has been done here none can deny. […] Livingston has been raised from a lowest depth (*M*, 468).

In addition to that, it should be borne in mind that the novel's closing sentence is a rhetorical question: "Whither now shall the Christian Helicon flow?" (*M*, 468), indicating the future (i.e. from Margaret's perspective) which, potentially, involves also the era of Judd's contemporaries, if not the subsequent generations of readers. In contrast to Early Modern utopia, where the protagonist crosses the boundary separating their world from the perfect community, spends some time in it, and returns home to describe the functioning of the community to the fellow-citizens, Judd provides the reader with descriptions conducted "from within" by Margaret the utopian leader. Yet, the generic convention sketched above manifests itself in Margaret's reports concerning visitors to Mons Christi, "various sorts of people […] with an equal variety of motives" (*M*, 432), including representatives of different faiths ("Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Catholics, Armenians, Russians, Greeks, Jews, Mohammedans, [and] Hindoos"), as well as American presidents (*M*, 458).

In *Margaret*'s story-world, some further divisions can be noticed: (i) pre-utopian Livingston vs. utopian Mons Christi; (ii) utopian Mons Christi vs. the rest of the world (understood in biblical terms, as "people at enmity with God, those who oppose God's will and purpose" [Ryken, Wilhoit & Longman 1998: 968]), exemplified by a more specific opposition, namely (iii) Mons Christi vs. Boston (village/town vs. city).

As for the first one (i), the community of Livingston, observed by the reader through the eyes of little Margaret, is far from perfect. The social system created on the foundations of the Calvinistic hierarchy of values involves injustice, prejudice, and several forms of vindictive punishment, on the one hand, and hypocrisy, economic exploitation, and widespread alcoholism, on the other. The Pond is regarded by the townspeople as "low, vile, and dirty" (*M*, 38). Margaret's experience of the socio-economic gap involves disdain, verbal insult, and hate, expressed not only by other children but also but adults. In the second part of the novel, when she loses the post of Livingston's school teacher, it becomes clear that it is virtually impossible for the poor to climb up the social ladder, and not so much due to the lack of possibilities (after all Margaret *has* been well educated by Master Elliman) but because of bigotry, people's sense of superiority, and sheer jealousy.

What is more, Livingston is plagued by ubiquitous alcoholism. As the narrator explains: "The entire amount annually drank among a population of about twelve hundred, could not have been less than six thousand gallons. It found its way into *every family*, […]; *all denominations of men were alike under its influence*" (*M*, 42, emph. added). Rum turns out to be the chief source of income of the local

elite, whose members despise the poor and use alcohol to control them: "deacon Penrose says it is a mercy to ourselves and the town that we have liquors to sell. […] Precious little profit do we get out of these folks" (*M*, 40). Growing up in such circumstances, Margaret, unlike some other children, is unaffected by the addiction. Years later, as a young woman, she admits:

> They drink rum, which I do not; they are unkind one with another, which for the life of me I never could be. Their Anagogics indeed I wholly fail to comprehend, their Sabbaths, Meetings, Catechizing, Freemasonry, trainings, politics, Courts, Jails and all that (*M*, 236).

The pre-utopian community is also marked by poverty and dilapidation, perhaps most noticeable in the descriptions of the so-called "No. 4", a hamlet in the vicinity of Livingston, featuring "every aspect of blight and waste that could conveniently be combined in a human dwelling place" (*M*, 212), which in Margaret's private idiom becomes Avernus, i.e. the gate to Hades/Hell.

Not surprisingly, the utopian community of Mons Christi, incorporating 'old' Livingston with all its outskirts—Avernus now becoming Elysium (*M*, 410)—is marked by progress concerning those spheres of life which are as corrupted in the first two parts of the novel: family relationships, education, church service/ ministry, recreations and pastimes, punitive system, and military duties. In new Livingston, Christian marriage is the basis of social tissue, children are free to play in nature, there are six school-houses instead of one, no distilleries, no jail, no pillory, no stocks, no whipping post. The inhabitants have been exempted from all military duties, and spend their time working effectively, which is reflected in the community's economic development. As Margaret explicates:

> The town is eight miles long by six broad; it contains two hundred farms, three stores, two taverns, one Church, six school-houses, three or four joiners' shops, a tannery, fulling-mill, grist-mill, blacksmith shops, &c. […] A right spirit prevails with the major part of the inhabitants; that is our identity. Each one eats his own meals, maintains his own family, follows his own calling, thinks his own thoughts, dies his own death; in this are we separated. […] There are many common interests, our Church, our Festivals, Roads, Cemetery, dances, Library, Schools, music, art, Love, Christ, nature, God (*M*, 461).

The metamorphosis is evident also on the level of semantics: old names with pagan associations (e.g. Bacchus Hill, Orpheus' Pond) and those with hidden Christian connotations (e.g. Mons Christi, Via Dolorosa) are incorporated in one harmonious system: according to Margaret, Orpheus is "a natural prophecy of Christ" (*M*, 468), and Mons Christi becomes "the Christian Helicon" (*M*, 468). In its utopian phase, Livingston acquires extra meaning as "the Living Stone, disallowed […] of men, but chosen by God and precious" (*M*, 465).

The religious traditions of American utopia manifest themselves in another opposition evident in *Margaret*: Livingston vs. the world (ii). It is, again, the heroine herself who explains its meaning:

> The world rattles about us, like wood-peckers in the forest. […] — I have certified myself of the meaning of that very anagogical word, "world"; it signifies anything that is not Livingston, or out of Christ-Church, or below mons Christi. We means us, and they them. […] By being ourselves we have developed another being, quite as long and as broad, and inclined to pugilism withal (*M*, 422).

In the passage, spatial symbolism is evoked ("below"; "out of"); accordingly, Livingston is conceptualized as a point "up there" and as an enclosed entity, suggesting both moral supremacy and (self-)righteousness. Unlike the boundaries of major Early Modern utopias, those of Mons Christi are likely to expand. Yet, the idea of "them" seems to be inherent in that of "us", and so the conflict between the two appears inevitable. In a similar vein, Margaret's visit to Boston serves, inter alia, to demonstrate how life in a great city contrast with her simple but happy existence in the utopian village (iii). Here, to underscore the opposition, Judd utilizes the image of theatre, which for Margaret becomes an epitome of hypocrisy and corruption. In a letter to her friend Anna, she draws attention to the citizens' being mere "simulacra" of real men and women (*M*, 411) and waxes elegiac: "The *representation* of the Theatre seemed to me to be carried through the City; all were acting not themselves, but their parts. […] [H]ow could I live among such people!" (*M*, 411, italics in the original).

Looking at *Margaret* from the perspective of the development of utopia as a literary genre allows one to notice continuity and interconnection, irrespective of differences concerning time or place. Arguably, just as More's *Utopia* in Blaim's (2013) reading, Judd's novel can be construed in terms of heteroglossia (*sensu* Bakhtin). A "monophonic" interpretation of *Margaret* would stress its anti-Calvinistic meaning, the Christ Church of Mons Christi being contrasted with that of Livingston, usually corroborated with evidence from Judd's letters describing his conversion.[14] Nevertheless, some critics rightly notice that the religious message of the novel has been—to a great degree—formed precisely by the world it intends to question.

This is particularly evident in the figure of Job Luce, a "little hunchback" and "shockingly deformed" (*M*, 114) child prodigy, who knows both the Calvinistic dogma and "the whole Bible eeny most [=almost] by heart, and […]

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[14] Cf. Judd's remarks on his first religious encounters: "I cannot forget those days. I well remember the benevolent countenances of my teachers, and the solemnity with which they told their young pupils that we were sinners, and must be born again, or we could not go to heaven" (qtd. in Hall 1857: 10).

is only three year [sic] old" (*M*, 115). The boy's traditional Sabbath-school education is juxtaposed with Margaret's total religious ignorance. And yet, unlike the supposedly pious inhabitants of Livingston,[15] she grows up to become a *true* Christian and future utopian leader. It should be borne in mind that the girl represents the Romantic (or Transcendentalist) ideal of an innocent child, reared in (and by) nature, and spiritually developed due to both her inborn intuition and dream visions. Nevertheless, somewhat surprisingly, in one of her visions of Jesus, it is not only herself but also Job who appears to be distinguished by the Saviour. Consider the following passages:

> [Margaret] is in the way of salvation. Her natural amiability is pleasing to Christ. He was amiable in his youth before God and man. No human being is sinful by nature. If she have [sic] deep love in her soul, that will remove all traces of the carnal mind. Her love […] flows out to Jesus, and his love ever flows out to her, […] and in this union of feeling and spirit will she become perfect in holines s (*M*, 126).
>
> Jesus, having taken Job by the hand, was now seen leading him towards them. The little crumpled boy appeared to have become cured of his deformity, he walked erect, the hump had sunk from his back, and his hands no longer touched the ground (*M*, 126).

In a manner, the boy's being favoured may be construed as evidence of the equality of the two religious paths: the traditional (Calvinistic) one and the intuitive (Transcendentalist) one, which fails to go in accord with the novel's general message.

One other instance of heteroglossia concerns the clash between Margaret's being brought up in the essentially deistic, if not pagan, worldview of Master Elliman and her newly acquired knowledge of the Gospels, explained to her by her future husband, Mr. Evelyn. As a matter of fact, her maturation in Christianity, as well as her growing love of Jesus, grounded in what may be called a mystical experience, could be expected to supplant her early beliefs. Indeed, when juxtaposed with the Greek and Roman philosophers, as well as non-Western thinkers, whose works have shaped Margaret's intellectual and moral premises (she mentions Plato, Socrates, Diogenes, Seneca, Cicero, Cato, Confucius, Buddha, and Manco Capac, among others [*M*, 255]), Jesus turns out to be "the most wonderful being of whom [she has] ever heard" (*M*, 255). Towards the end of the book, she understands her soul should become

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15 Judd indicates their hypocrisy through the narrator's commentary, pointing out the futility of Calvinistic moral education: "Job was, we will not say despised, but for the most part neglected. His mother was a poor widow, whose husband had been a shoe maker, and she supported herself and son binding shoes. The old people treated her kindly, but rather wondered at her boy; and what was wonder in the parents degenerated into *slight, jest, and almost scorn, in the children*" (*M*, 115, emph. added).

one with Christ's (*M*, 462). And yet, in her mind, the old pantheon is gently incorporated in the Christian doctrine: "Apollo, Diana, Orpheus, are you scared? […] Dear little gods and goddesses all, don't be frightened,—Christ won't hurt *us*" (*M*, 264, emph. added). In a more general sense, it can be said that Judd's novel glorifies child-like, intuitive, and authentic spiritual innocence which, when combined with her knowledge of the dogma, leads to a system of beliefs in which the old and the new dispensations merge, as it were, as indicated by the Orpheus-Christ image.[16]

In addition to that, like in numerous English utopias, a significant part of *Margaret*'s religious idea is presented via dialogue, where standpoints are contrasted and superimposed on one another. Margaret's conversations with Master Elliman and, later on, with Mr. Evelyn are cases in point. A final instance of the polyphonic character of Judd's novel is the equality of sexes in the utopian community. As Margaret puts it, "'we are women,' means no more at Mons Christi, than to say, 'we are men,' and just as much. There is the same difference, I think, between a man and a woman, as between a black birch and a white one" (*M*, 445). And yet, paradoxically, she regularly refers to her husband as "Mr. Evelyn" rather than "Charles"[17] and constantly underscores his role in the forming and reshaping of the Mons Christi community. Likewise, all significant functions in the community are taken by men (e.g. the Bishop of the diocese of Livingston, the three Deacons of Christ-Church, the Judge), so the equality Margaret affirms appears to lie in the sphere of declarations rather than in the story-world's quotidian 'reality'.

One last aspect to be considered here in the context of "kinship networks, routes of transit, and forms of attachment"—to recall Dimock's (2009 [2006]: 3) words again—between Early Modern English utopia and its American kin exceeds the boundaries of text (at least, at first glance) and enters the territory of text reception. Let us begin with a few selected examples of critical vitriol that Judd's novel has been subject to. Thus, a contemporaneous reviewer, Frederic Dan Huntington, complains about the first volume of *Margaret* being far too long and, in fact, redundant as far as "the value of the whole" is concerned (qtd. in Dedmond 1980: 76). As he puts it, the volume "abounds in dull and diffuse details of persons and things" and is "encumbered with dialogue of low life" which makes the reading "tedious, if not quite revolting" (qtd. in Dedmond 1980: 76). Judd's fellow Unitarian minister, Huntington is nevertheless impressed with the third part of the novel, praising its religious message.

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16 Similarly, elsewhere Margaret calls Christ "voluntary Prometheus [who] bound himself to the Caucasian rock of humanity" (*M*, 417).

17 Even when writing about her affection towards her husband, Margaret refers to him by his surname: "now, being a woman, how should, or how did I love Mr. Evelyn" (*M*, 445); "when did I love Mr. Evelyn more than to-day!" (*M*, 446).

In an analogous fashion, B. W. B. O. Peabody, a graduate of Harvard University and Doctor of Divinity, juxtaposes *Margaret* with what a novel should be like, passing judgement on the book's lack of "cheerful and sympathetic spirit, a wide-reaching mastery of style, [as well as] a clear and strong good sense" (qtd. in Dedmond 1980: 77). Generally, he criticizes combining "utopian schemes" with the form of the novel (qtd. in Dedmond 1980: 77), simultaneously condemning Judd for the "dreary and disgusting, […] one-sided and unjust" image of New England society. More instances of similar remarks can be found in the book-length study of Judd's life and works authored by Francis B. Dedmond (1980). Here, it is enough to notice that the unfriendly reviewers must have had different expectations, judging *Margaret* as a novel which fails to be a pleasant *and* beneficial means of conveying certain religious views.

It is also twentieth-century critics who seem not to have recognized *Margaret*'s affinity with utopia as a literary genre. For instance, Van Wyck Brooks may classify Judd's book as "a Utopian romance" but, at the same time, complains about its being "obscure and confused". (1937: 385). "[M]any pages and *even chapters*", he observes, "were vividly picturesque and charmingly written" (Brooks 1937: 385, emph. added). Such remarks, together with his praise of "a touch of ecstasy in some of [Judd's] descriptions" (Brooks 1937: 385), indicate that he may not have been aware of the genre's tradition. This attitude is evident even in the most recent critical remarks, however unbiased. For instance, Karl Bridges rather typically associates *Margaret* with American Transcendentalism, advertising Judd's book as "a well-written and compelling romantic novel" (2007: 108), especially fascinating for "history buffs" (2007: 109). He approves of such features of *Margaret* as "attention to inner life" and "a fully realized community of characters", reminiscent of those by Dickens, as well as applauds its offering the reader "a great deal of action and romance" (Bridges 2007: 109). In contrast, he lists "philosophical overtones" and the novel's slowing down "because of the language and the ideas presented" among its weaknesses (Bridges 2007: 109).

And yet, against the background of the tradition of Early Modern English utopia, the remarks referred to above appear to be misguided. Dimock's (2009 [2006]) concept of "deep time" allows one to cross not only the spatio-temporal boundaries of American utopia but also the generic boundaries of the classical novel, and consider *Margaret* from the perspective fittingly presented by Blaim:

> The aesthetics of utopia *cannot*, and *should not*, be identified with the aesthetics of the narrative text; elements which define the aesthetics of the narrative text (plot, style, characters) are *of secondary importance* in the utopian text *as a whole*. The aesthetic qualities are most strongly associated with the *image of the utopian state*: they manifest themselves in its harmonious construction, alleged perfection, and timelessness (2013: 8, emph. added).

As evident from the examples above, without this knowledge certain elements of Judd's book may remain unacknowledged or misunderstood. Contrary to some hostile critical remarks, the first two parts of *Margaret* are not redundant but can be read as a story of the development of a utopian leader. In turn, the minute descriptions of life in Livingston, including the discourse of the simple—so often regarded as inappropriate by Judd's contemporaries—are to be contrasted with the "alleged perfection" (cf. Blaim 2013: 8) of the utopian community of Mons Christi.

6. Deep Time in *Margaret*

Last but not least, it is possible to notice Dimock's concept of "deep time" as reflected in Judd's novel, where it constitutes a *sui generis* thematic thread. The opening chapter of *Margaret*, titled "Phantasmagorical—Introductory", contains a vision of the protagonist *in statu nascendi*. Its perspective is all-embracing and could be named global, or universal, in spatiotemporal terms:

> We behold a child eight or ten months old; […] Who is it? Whose is it? what is it? where is it? It is in the centre of fantastic light, and only a dimly-revealed form appears. […] It is God's own child, as all children are. The blood of Adam and Eve […] runs in its veins, and the spirit of the Eternal, that blows everywhere, has animated its soul. […] Where does it belong? in what zone or climate? on what hill? in what plain? It may have been born on the Thames or the Amazon, the Hoan Ho or the Mississippi (*M*, 3).

And further on:

> As we now look at the child, we can hardly tell to which of the five races it belongs; whether it be a Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, or Malay. […] It is God's child still, and its mother's. It is curiously and wonderfully made; […] it will aspire to the Infinite, whether that Infinite be expressed in Bengalee or Arabic, English or Chinese; it will seek to know truth; it will long to be loved; it will sin and be miserable, if it has none to care for it; it will die (*M*, 3-4).

This goes surprisingly close to what Dimock describes as "denationalized space" (2009 [2006]: 28). Indeed, although Margaret is a New England girl living in a New England village with her foster parents and brothers, the account of her life can be interpreted as that of *any* child, in accord with the Romantic ideal. On the one hand, it seems to be a coincidence that the protagonist is reared in America. On the other hand, in light of the stories of her biological parents—revealed later in the novel via a flashback—she turns out to be the daughter of a German mercenary and French private teacher, thereby a European of sorts. As a mature woman, she admits: "I am made up of all nations, some German, some French, some English, some American" (*M*, 406).

Significantly, Margaret as a "deep time" character embodies cultural and spiritual links of New Englanders (or white people, in general) with Native Americans. Contrary to the bloody history of conflicts between the colonists and American Indians, the girl is particularly attached to the original owners of the land, as evidenced by her meetings with an elderly Native survivor, or the "Old Indian", who pays regular visits to The Pond. Not only does she admire the elderly warrior but also brings him and his little granddaughter some bread and cider, and keeps wearing the moccasins he has given her. As a matter of fact, she has been referred to as "the wicked Indian" by the inhabitants of Livingston (*M*, 231), while the Old Indian calls her "Daughter" (*M*, 355–357). It is also Mr. Evelyn who—with empathy and respect infrequent among the white Americans—teaches Margaret about the original ancestors, reaching the conclusion that "instead of distinguishing them as savages, we should write them simply Americans" (*M*, 266). Later on, as the utopian leader of Mons Christi, Margaret turns out to be a rightful one, for she has inherited the Old Indian's title to the land: "take this land, this hill, these woods, these waters, they are yours" (*M*, 357).

In addition to that, in terms of education, Margaret's knowledge encompasses the European and American traditions, as substantiated by numerous allusions to Greek and Roman mythology and culture in her letters. In a similar vein, the New England utopian community of Mons Christi, with its "harmonious construction" (cf. Blaim 2013: 8), contains several elements either brought from Europe or modelled on European patterns. The national and supranational character of the community is also underscored at the level of language, as Latin and Greek names of places, such as, for instance, "Via Dolorosa", "Via Salutaris", "Mons Christi", "Elysium", complement the (American) English ones. Last but not least, the renown of the community reaches other continents and other religious systems. For example, one of the "Mohammedans" visiting Mons Christi has published an account of his journey, and Margaret received "a copy done in Arabic" (*M*, 432). Another visitor, a Hindoo Brahmin, leaves with Margaret "words from [his] sacred book" (*M*, 432), indicating the universal character of the utopian community's principles. In this manner, New England's Mons Christi embodies God's kingdom on earth, linking America with mythical beginnings of utopian thinking.

7. Conclusion

When perceived from the perspective of "deep time", Judd's *Margaret* reveals itself not only as the text of unique Transcendentalist and New England character but also as one surprisingly akin to Early Modern English literary utopias. The treatment of the category of genre in Dimock's understanding, where "contextually induced parallels" tend to be more significant than "lineage" (2009 [2006]: 74), provides the reader with the possibility of exploring the text and its

contexts exceeding the temporal (and thematic) confines of "American utopia". "In this sense, American literature indeed becomes", as Dimock (2009 [2006]: 3) puts it, "a crisscrossing set of pathways, open-ended and ever multiplying".

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