

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

MIRRORS OF THE PAST:
VERSIONS OF HISTORY IN SCIENCE FICTION AND FANTASY

By Nicholas David Gevers

Supervisor: Associate Professor John Cartwright

Thesis Presented for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the Department of English
University of Cape Town
August 1997

ABSTRACT

of Mirrors of the Past: Versions of History in Science Fiction and Fantasy by Nicholas David Gevers

The primary argument of this Thesis is that Science Fiction (SF) is a form of Historical Fiction, one which speculatively appropriates elements of the past in fulfilment of the ideological expectations of its genre readership. Chapter One presents this definition, reconciling it with some earlier definitions of SF and justifying it by means of a comparison between SF and the Historical Novel. Chapter One also identifies SF's three modes of historical appropriation (historical extension, imitation and modification) and the forms of fictive History these construct, including Future History and Alternate History; theories of history, and SF's own ideological changes over time, have helped shape the genre's varied borrowings from the past. Some works of Historical Fantasy share the characteristics of SF set out in Chapter One.

The remaining Chapters analyse the textual products of SF's imitation and modification of history, i.e. Future and Alternate Histories. Chapter Two discusses various Future Histories completed or at least commenced before 1960, demonstrating their consistent optimism, their celebration of Science and of heroic individualism, and their tendency to resolve the cyclical pattern of history through an ideal linear simplification or 'theodicy'. Chapter Three shows the much greater ideological and technical diversity of Future Histories after 1960, their division into competing traditional (Libertarian), Posthistoric (pessimistic), and critical utopian categories, an indication of SF's increasing complexity and fragmentation.

Chapters Four and Five consider various approaches to Alternate History in both SF and Fantasy. Chapter Four analyses texts which directly modify the recorded past, showing how in the context of significant past eras they rewrite history along utopian or dystopian lines, invert historical outcomes, or make of alternate worlds ironic reflections of our reality. Some authors optimistically view the past as a flexible domain to be retrospectively redeemed, others pessimistically proclaim the inevitability and inflexibility of history. Chapter Five concentrates on novels which appropriate and alter not only history but past literature as well. These texts metafictionally interrogate the cultural assumptions of the Renaissance and the Victorian Age, and ironically contextualise those periods as precursors of the present.

The wide survey of texts in Chapters Two to Five verifies the preoccupation of SF with history, and validates the redefinition of SF as a form of Historical Fiction. The conclusions are also drawn that the ideology of SF's texts can be assessed by reference to their historical content and manipulation of history, and that SF's increasing ideological complexity has rendered such analysis particularly useful.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT -----	i
CONTENTS-----	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS-----	v
INTRODUCTION-----	vi
CHAPTER ONE: SCIENCE FICTION AND HISTORY-----	1
<u>1.1 Introduction</u> -----	1
<u>1.2 Science Fiction and Historical Fiction</u> -----	3
<u>1.3 Definitions of SF: A Critical Synthesis</u> -----	9
<u>1.4 Historical Appropriation and Forms of History</u> ---	15
<u>1.5 Science Fiction: Its History and Its Histories</u> --	23
<u>1.6 Lines and Cycles: Theories of History in SF</u> -----	33
CHAPTER TWO: FUTURE HISTORIES - THE CONSENSUS-----	44
<u>2.1 Introduction</u> -----	44
<u>2.2 Isaac Asimov: The Decline and Fall of the Galactic Empire</u> -----	46
<u>2.3 Poul Anderson: Freedom and Authority</u> -----	62
<u>2.4 Gordon R. Dickson: Libertarian Knights</u> -----	75
<u>2.5 Alfred Bester: The Stars Our Destination</u> -----	84
<u>2.6 Jack Vance: An Amateurs' Universe</u> -----	91
CHAPTER THREE: FUTURE HISTORIES - THE DIVERGENCE----	103
<u>3.1 Introduction</u> -----	103
<u>3.2 Herbert, Cherryh, Brin: The Old Order Lingers</u> ---	106
<u>3.3 Miller, Martin, Wolfe, Aldiss: Posthistories</u> ----	121
<u>3.4 Le Guin, Sterling, Banks, Bear, Robinson: Some Late Utopias</u> -----	143
CHAPTER FOUR: ALTERNATE HISTORIES - HISTORY AND IRONY----	
-----	165
<u>4.1 Introduction</u> -----	165
<u>4.2 Antiquity: The Splendour That Might Have Gone On</u> -	168
<u>4.3 The Reformation: Christendom Continued</u> -----	174

<u>4.4 Nineteenth Century America: Divisions and Redemptions</u>	191
<u>4.5 Imperialism: The Rotted Mirror</u>	212
<u>4.6 The Second World War: Nine Dooms</u>	223
<u>4.7 The Present: Fantastic Echoes</u>	233
CHAPTER FIVE: ALTERNATE HISTORIES - HISTORY, IRONY, AND METAFICTION	237
<u>5.1 Introduction</u>	237
<u>5.2 The Renaissance: Degrees of Progress, Degrees of Truth</u>	238
<u>5.3 The Victorian Age: Steampunk Iterations</u>	265
CONCLUSION	297
FOOTNOTES	301
BIBLIOGRAPHY	318

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for their support and assistance in the course of this project: my supervisor, Associate Professor John Cartwright, who has throughout been helpful, patient, and encouraging; my parents, who have supplied moral and emotional support; my brother Paul, whose technical assistance has been invaluable; Toby Wrigley and Brian Lombard, who have allowed me access to their large libraries of SF and Fantasy; and the members of the Cape Town Science Fiction Society, who debated many ideas with me. I am grateful also to Frederic Jameson, Marleen Barr, and Gene Wolfe, for comments and suggestions made in meetings or in correspondence with me.

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (HSRC, South Africa) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this work, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

INTRODUCTION

This Thesis is the outcome of a long-held interest in both Science Fiction and History. The association of the two fields in my mind began when I was about ten: I was reading both Science Fiction and popular histories, and their appeal was similar. Both allowed access to worlds distant from the present; both dealt with large-scale processes, macrocosmic changes and upheavals. My subsequent intellectual career kept the parallel in view: I read SF and Historical Novels with equal enthusiasm; I studied SF (as a branch of English Literature) and History simultaneously at undergraduate level; my Honours and MA dissertations explored the works of SF and Fantasy writers whose use of the textures of history was central to their literary techniques. This Thesis, then, is a natural conclusion to a long enquiry into the relationship between the speculative genres and the various forms of Historical literature.

In conceiving a Thesis connecting SF and Fantasy with History, I have built ambitiously upon earlier suggestions of such a linkage. As the second Section of my first Chapter indicates, various critics, including some of central importance in SF Studies, have mooted SF's innate sense of broad historical process, the genre's use of historical originals in the construction of its imaginary worlds, the necessary historical connection of SF texts to our world, and the direct preoccupation of many SF texts with specific features of recorded history. I have sought to codify, to unify and render exhaustive, these sundry suggestions: by defining SF, and, to a degree, Fantasy, as forms of Historical Fiction, and, by providing numerous examples of their historical content and conscious employment of historical analogy, I have attempted to make the critical

association of the speculative genres with history formal and comprehensive.

Any study implicitly covering the entire SF genre and a substantial part of Fantasy must utilise some principles of selection: the volume of texts discussed, although necessarily large, must be made manageable. Because of this, and because I see genres of popular literature as distinct cultural entities best studied in isolation, I have omitted 'mainstream' works of fiction from consideration; however interesting particular 'mainstream' novels set in the future or alternate presents may be, their features are not reliably similar to those of genres which have consciously divorced themselves from the 'mainstream'. Within the SF genre itself, which I conventionally regard as having originated as a definable literary form with the appearance of the first specialist SF magazine in 1926, I have limited myself to texts of British and of English-speaking North American authorship; reliable conclusions can be reached within this definite geographical and cultural context. My treatment of Fantasy is similarly focused.

I have also implemented more specific restrictions. Although I define all of SF and much of Fantasy as forms of Historical Fiction, I have selected for detailed analysis texts with pronounced historical content, ambitious Future Histories and Alternate Histories. These allow particularly clear understanding of the imitation of history by Fantasy and SF. I have in the main chosen works which have suffered relative critical neglect, so as to be able to offer truly novel insights wherever possible; where I do analyse a much-discussed text, I do so because I feel that I can add substantially to critical understanding of it, or because it throws a

useful light on other works with which I am dealing. A consequent omission from this Thesis is much discussion of feminist SF; this does not reflect any critical misogyny, but rather the fact that feminist SF has been exhaustively discussed elsewhere, its ideology and techniques analysed with a rigour to which this Thesis, with its already wide terms of reference, can add little.

This Thesis is designed as a wide-ranging practical survey of historical borrowing and historically-influenced world-building in genre SF and Fantasy. Its guiding ethos is a practical-critical one; I engage in critical readings of approximately 150 novels and novellas, as well as of some short stories, identifying the specific modes and ideological motivations of their engagement with the historical past. The structure of this Thesis reflects my prioritising of extensive textual analysis; of my five Chapters, only the first is predominantly concerned with theoretical issues and categories. It acts as a terminological and historical context for the four later, longer, and textually specific Chapters.

Chapter One, then, sets out the theoretical parameters of this study. It defines SF as a form of Historical Fiction, extending this definition to some works of Fantasy; it describes the forms of historical appropriation used by SF and some Fantasy novels, as well as the types of history that they construct; it indicates the effects on these processes of SF's developing spectrum of ideologies and of various theories of history. Subsequent Chapters apply these guidelines to many textual examples. Chapters Two and Three analyse many of SF's Future Histories; Chapter Two deals with Future Histories originating before 1960, with their relative conformity of ideology and technique, while

Chapter Three examines Future Histories from after 1960, when a greater diversity prevailed. Chapters Four and Five are concerned with Alternate Histories produced by Fantasy as well as those generated by SF: Chapter Four discusses Alternate Histories which alter only the factual details of the past, while Chapter Five probes Alternate Histories based on past literature as well as on past history. Thus, Future and Alternate Histories are thoroughly analysed, Future Histories in the chronological context of SF's evolution as a genre, and Alternate Histories in the context of their differing techniques.

* * *

Some aspects of terminology and of footnoting in this Thesis should be mentioned. When I employ the term 'positivism', I mean it in the sense of confidence, assurance, an attitude of linear optimism, such as is exuded by many SF texts of a perhaps overly sanguine disposition. 'Scientism' is an ideology emphasising the instrumental role of science in history and in general human progress. The abbreviation 'SF' of course indicates 'Science Fiction'.

I have followed a mildly unconventional technique in my footnoting. When I mention a text only in passing, without analysing it substantially, I do not footnote it or include it in my Bibliography; references to such works are intended for minor comparison or general context, and are not essential to this Thesis's argument. Whenever I introduce texts or sets of texts into my discussion for the first time, I indicate their original publication dates in brackets, so that their often significant location in the history of SF or Fantasy can be immediately known. The accompanying footnote will always specify the edition or editions I have employed, and will state the abbreviations I use when quoting those

editions (for example, The Difference Engine = DE). When I cite a critical work, my footnote gives the critic's name, the date of the work, and, where relevant, the number of the page cited; the critical work's full details can be found in the Bibliography.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER ONE: SCIENCE FICTION AND HISTORY

1.1 Introduction

Science Fiction is a form of Historical Fiction, having appropriated and reflected history since its inception as a pulp magazine genre in the 1920s. It is the purpose of this study to justify this assertion, and to trace how the SF genre (and, to some extent, the Fantasy genre also) has interpreted and manipulated history over seven decades. What this requires is a definition of SF in terms of history: not a definition necessarily exclusive of others that have been postulated, but a redefinition that clarifies and perhaps subsumes those earlier formulations. This new definition can be stated as follows:

Science Fiction is that form of Historical Fiction which speculatively extends, imitates, or modifies past history, this historical appropriation taking the form of teleological constructs suited to the ideological expectations of SF's genre audience.

This formulation reflects two interdependent premises: that SF is a genre that systematically utilises the stuff of history, and that as commercial popular literature it does this in a manner directly responsive to the demands of its market base, its readership. History is redeployed by SF authors to provide ideological reassurance (or, more rarely, the basis for ideological reassessment) to their readers. SF's two dominant terms are history and ideology, constantly reflecting and modifying each other. This introductory chapter offers theoretical and practical demonstrations of how and why this is so, and, assessing the history of the genre itself, indicates how the changing nature of SF has brought alteration to its ideological character and thus to its historical content. The following three sections of this chapter define SF's

place in Historical Fiction, its use of various modes and forms of history; the last two assess the practical influences that have shaped that appropriation of the past.

In summary, the first three sections-1.2, 1.3, 1.4-function as follows. 1.2 describes the structural resemblances of SF and the Historical Novel, indicating also why the aesthetic impulse of SF tends towards the portrayal of the past in modified form. 1.3 supports the conclusions of 1.2, indicating how other definitions of SF can support the concept of SF as a form of Historical Fiction - a critical synthesis is possible, the terminologies implicit in those definitions can be used in support of this new one. 1.4 identifies the three forms of historical appropriation practised by SF, and the four forms of history which characterise the genre: this permits a complete critical description of SF. This section also applies historical categories to Fantasy, indicating how this parallel genre can only partially be defined through reference to its historical content.

The remaining two sections of this chapter- 1.5 and 1.6 - discuss the influences shaping SF's ideology and its treatment of history as follows. 1.5 considers the history of the SF genre, how four distinct phases of development have gradually modified its ideological character and so also its appropriation of historical material. This section also analyses the differences between British and American SF, affording further examples of ideological and historical variation. 1.6 deals with the schools of historical theory which have, although often indirectly, influenced SF writers: of chief importance is the division between linear and cyclical theories.

Thus the structure of Chapter One: the theoretical and descriptive redefinition of SF in terms of history, and then the assessment of how the terms of SF's equation have been modified, in practice, by circumstance and influence.

1.2 Science Fiction and Historical Fiction

If SF is indeed a form of Historical Fiction, manipulating displaced and imaginary histories as an expression of its genre ideology, the nature of Historical Fiction - in essence, the Historical Novel - must be ascertained. What formal resemblances link SF and the Historical Novel, how do they complement each other? As this Section will indicate, there are definite characteristics identifying a text as an Historical Novel, and these features can be observed, in more speculative form, operating in Science Fiction also.

Three interlinking features define the Historical Novel. The first is that an Historical Novel has literal historical content: it invokes knowledge of the past, and is set in that past. This is tautological for the Historical Novel, but is significant in establishing its relationship to Science Fiction, the historical content of which is less obvious. The second feature stems from the first: an Historical Novel must embody conceptions of historical law or principle, which organise its historical content into a textually realised past milieu. Avrom Fleishman stresses that the Historical Novel involves the 'active presence of a concept of history as a shaping force', one which acts inside and outside the text, upon protagonists, author and reader(1). The Historical Novelist imitates the historian, filtering an undifferentiated mass of historical material through his or her own concepts of causal law into an integrated whole. In Harry B. Henderson's terms, this is a process

of world-creation, of 'imaginative ordering': the Historical Novel is "'set" in the unexperienced past, in the world that existed before the author was born'; this entails the creation of a "'whole" imaginative world' (2). As in Science Fiction, the author realises a setting he or she can never directly know; Henderson explicitly compares the Historical Novel's illusion of a whole created society to the similar technique of texts set in speculative alternative societies: 'the historical novel is an inverted utopian novel' (3).

A third characteristic of any Historical Novel, determining its precise configuration of the first two, is its ideological function, its reflection of its author's shaping circumstances and biases, his or her commercial and class context. In his pioneering work on the Historical Novel, George Lukacs, assessing the correspondence between the development of bourgeois society after 1789 and the progress of the Historical Novel form in the same period, established Marxist criteria for analysing the genre. Broadly speaking, the ideology of class and period shaped the author; the setting in time and space of the author's text was in turn so shaped(4). Any particular group of Historical Novelists, defined by and responding to their own historical context, will select historical settings attuned to the (often unconscious) demands of that context. An example significant for Science Fiction is discussed by Henderson: in Nineteenth Century American literature, there was a tendency (existing in any 'national literature') to express individual authorial vision in a context of 'communal post-knowledge', of historically rooted and located myths with continued contemporary 'force'. The United States was a burgeoning society, needing 'unifying myths characteristic of the new nation', but lacking a very deep history to draw

upon; its writers compensated for this by selecting and shaping 'those elements of history that created a usable past for America' (5). In at times complex ways, James Fenimore Cooper made mythical territory of the Eighteenth Century frontier, and Nathaniel Hawthorne explored the Puritan roots of New England, among many examples. For genre SF, predominantly an American literature, the parallel is clear: with the future blank, writers are called upon to colonise it, to make it a ground for affirmatory myth.

With some correspondences between the Historical Novel and SF already mooted, it can now be established how closely SF matches, in modified speculative ways, the required characteristics of a form of Historical Fiction: that its texts have historical content, content organised according to recognisable historical principles, this organisation being in turn reflective of a consistent ideological agenda. The first criterion, of historical content, is amply met by SF, as this Thesis comprehensively demonstrates: the prevalence in the genre of Future Histories based on the Roman Empire or the rise of capitalism and Alternate Histories modifying given historical milieux is readily perceived. SF's organisation of this material into imaginary worlds parallels closely the Historical Novel's causally principled reconstruction of the 'unexperienced' past, so meeting the second criterion; this deserves more detailed investigation.

The preoccupation of SF with history and its structuring forces has been noted by various critics. Edward James, in an article noting SF's abundance of Future and Alternate Histories (6), suggests that the historical sciences have rivalled the physical ones as a preoccupation of SF: it is 'possible to argue', he

declares, 'that history has been even more of a protagonist of science fiction than science itself' (7). Like the Historical Novel, James notes, SF has to employ some care in its construction of 'historical' backgrounds, even if rigorous verisimilitude is less important for it, because SF, like all fiction, is 'concerned with events which have occurred in the narrator's past' (8). SF, in these terms, must build its worlds as a consistent historical framework for its action. David Ketterer notes the philosophical sense of historical process shared by 'sociological or large-canvas SF' and historical fiction, as well as by myth and legend(9); historical movement is for SF a major narrative principle, as it is for more overtly historical genres.

This is borne out by Fredric Jameson, who, stating that '*SF is in its very nature a symbolic meditation on history itself*' [original italics](10), identifies the genre as having a crucial historical element, a 'vision of the relationship of man to social and political and economic forces' (11). SF's foreground of individual thought and action exists in relation to those background forces; historical laws organise its narratives. Robert H. Canary argues that SF 'presents a fictive history set outside our agreed-upon historical reality but claiming to be consistent with our experience of that reality, to operate by more or less the same rules' (12). Those historical rules govern SF, then, requiring its general plausibility, its adherence to their limits; Canary further suggests that SF's move over the decades from simplistic linearism and positivism to ambiguous heroism and displaced alien settings marks a shift in contemporary experience and perception of history, a loss of historical certainty and of confidence in objective absolutes(13). This points to SF's fulfilment of the

third criterion of Historical Fiction: the direct relationship of its historical ordering to its ambient ideology.

In a discussion of the resemblance between SF and the Epic form, Patrick Parrinder notes that both deal with history. The Epic is affirmatory, 'a secular or historical narrative of events and deeds which constitute the heritage, or provide the key to the destiny, of the people for whom it is written' (14). SF can resemble such massive narratives of the rise and fall of nations, but its adherence to the full scope of the Epic becomes meaninglessly exotic fantasy (15), so that more serious SF typically truncates the form, compressing millennia of Future History into a short narrative, as in Wells's The Time Machine (16) or brief, selective episodes of a larger story (17), as in Asimov's 'Foundation' Trilogy. With these reservations as to its 'epic' status noted, SF can be seen to function like an Epic, relating grand future or alternative events pertinent to the destiny of its genre readers, conforming to their teleological expectations (or, inversely and interestingly, defying them). SF is in this similar to the Historical Novel, as the Historical Novel is to the epic: it manifests its ideology in fictive historical narrations, the third criterion of Historical Fiction fulfilled.

The outcome of SF's central use of historical structuring in its fictions is historical analogy, the constant invocation of precedent: its texts are always rooted in some past pattern of events, which the genre either extrapolates, imitates, or modifies. This process has been regarded as nostalgia. Albert Wendland talks of the desire to be a part of the past: 'worlds that resemble the Wild West, Medieval Europe, the Roman or the British Empire, might arise from the dreams of the characters or

the writers to be part of them' (18). It is probable that this impulse is less an unambiguous nostalgia than it is the desire to pattern the future (or an alternate world) along familiar lines, retaining the past's more comforting or interesting features in a new and modifying context, a form of revisionist and selective analogy. This is useful to SF's readership: in Charles Elkins's terms, 'The SF writer's task is to describe the nature of and find resolutions to the role conflicts which vex his social group by creating images of the past and future which he and his readers use to organize action in the present.' (19) This ordering of conflict 'may either reinforce, question, or reject the principles upon which this group's existence depends' (20). This formulation recognises that images of the past as well as of the future are employed in SF; a corollary is that the 'images of the past' are the basis for those of the 'future', the synthesis of history and expectation serving the ideology of the present, or, in more experimental SF, rebutting it.

Science Fiction, then, can be seen as a genre of Historical Fiction. This is true on two levels. First, as stated, SF texts are constructed in accordance with historical principles and observed historical processes. Second, SF writers objectify their imagined worlds by placing them in relation to recorded history. In Kim Stanley Robinson's definition, in 'every sf narrative, there is an explicit or implicit fictional history that connects the period depicted to our present moment, or to some moment of our past.' (21) This is a byproduct of the interaction of historical analogising and SF's ideology: the concrete use of historical models by a text links it implicitly to the events imitated; and SF's ideology, which is a phenomenon of the present, demands some explicit, plausible relation of dreams textually

fulfilled to that present. SF is historical technically (through its appropriation of history) and contextually (through its continued accountability to that history).

Science Fiction's engagement with history has several implications for it. The first is that historical content disposes it in favour of macrocosmic subject matter. SF is largely preoccupied with physical and political matters, with large-scale events, whether individually or collectively resolved; SF's oft-observed lack of characterisation is a side-effect of this. The second implication is the paradox, that a literature supposedly depicting the future should be firmly rooted in the past. This apparent creative conservatism can be excused on the grounds that the past is the only concrete source of inspiration available to SF writers, and that experimentation with the past can assume a multitude of forms, as SF's great variety demonstrates. Historical appropriation can be creative instead of merely derivative, as this Thesis will show.

1.3 Definitions of SF: A Critical Synthesis

With this Thesis's definition of SF stated and demonstrated, it is profitable to examine it in contrast with some other critical definitions of the genre. This Section considers how three such existing definitions or sets of definitions can be reconciled with that of SF as a variety of Historical Fiction. This reconciliation is not exhaustive; while it may identify shortcomings of previous definitions, it does not challenge their separate viability; it suggests how they can be seen in a common light.

The problem of defining SF is an old one. Many attempts have been made, some of considerable ambition; but the sheer variety of SF, its multitude of subgenres and the

vagueness of its boundaries, results in difficulties. The definition attempted can be too prescriptive; for example, Darko Suvin's effort to exclude any form of Fantasy or myth from SF fatally narrows the genre's creative brief, omitting much of its substance, as Peter Lowentroun argues(22). Other definitions are too inclusive, allowing many unrelated texts into the SF fold. Essays at definition have declined in number in the face of such difficulties, and out of doubt as to the advisability of inflexible categories. But a reconciliation of definitions - those considering Science to be SF's hallmark, that viewing cognitive estrangement as its deciding feature, and those viewing SF as apocalyptic - with that making SF an historical genre may assist in identifying something of SF's true scope. A part of this exercise is the removal of rigid ideological positions from the critical equations of SF: if SF is viewed pragmatically - with regard only to an objective feature such as historical content - its parameters can be more clearly perceived.

Many definitions of SF, especially those proposed in the early decades of the genre's history, suggest that Science and scientific content are distinguishing marks of SF. Common elements specified in such definitions are the use by SF writers of the scientific method, the effects of scientific innovation on human beings, extrapolation from existing technological developments, the use of scientific rhetoric by writers, and the presence of some form of scientific rationalisation for what is otherwise merely fantasy or mundane realism(23). Certainly, SF has involved these features in a multitude of cases, but there are invariably exceptions to any Science-based definition. The scientific method is not conspicuously present in many works of Science Fantasy, and the 'soft sciences', prominent in SF since the 1950s,

are not necessarily governed by the method. Scientific innovation and technological extrapolation are not necessary features of SF texts involving technological regress, such as post-holocaust novels or Alternate Histories predicated on the absence of Progress. Scientific rhetoric was largely abandoned by many New Wave writers of the 1960s and 1970s, if not altogether then certainly as their prime mode of discourse. And the idea that SF merely rationalises scientifically what is otherwise not SF at all paradoxically excludes any possibility of its genuine engagement with Science. Science is in one form or another a determinant of most but not all SF; definitions emphasising it are never inclusive enough.

These definitions often reflect ideological assumptions based on scientism, on a positivistic confidence in SF's cognitive and utopian potentials, its usefulness as scientific propaganda. For this and other reasons, definitions based on SF's scientific content never describe fully the genre as it stands; they neglect the genre's scientific ambivalence, the presence of progress and regress, complexity and entropy, rationality and irrationality not only in SF as a whole but even within single SF texts. Science Fiction is not necessarily Fiction about Science. Viewed in the context of its appropriation of history, however, its relation to Science can be clarified. If SF is seen as the speculative history of Science, imitating both Science's past successes and its past failures, articulating the potentials both of Progress and of stagnation, account can be taken of its full range. Positivistic Future Histories and post-holocaust picaresques, high-technological Cyberpunk scenarios and neo-mediaeval far futures can be jointly contextualised as reflections of the ambiguous and cyclical history Of Science. In these

terms, the absence and presence of Progress are equally suggestive of a text's status as SF.

A second major definition of SF is that offered by Darko Suvin. His emphasis is upon 'cognitive estrangement' as the distinctive mechanism of SF. In Suvin's terms, SF is set in worlds, or involves characters, significantly removed from those encountered in mundane or realistic fiction, this constituting estrangement; but these displaced characters or worlds are conceived in terms that are possible, logically valid, in the author's (and our) world, falling within its 'cognitive (cosmological and anthropological) norms' (24). This formulation binds the estranged realm of the fantastic to the cognitive realm of the actual, disciplining the former, making the two operate in a speculatively powerful harmony. Again in Suvin's terms, 'SF is a developed oxymoron, a realistic irreality, with humanized nonhumans, this-worldly other worlds, and so forth'; this 'means that it is - potentially - the space of a potent *estrangement*, validated by the pathos and prestige of the basic cognitive norms of our times' (25). For Suvin, this potency of estrangement, the sense of the unfamiliar familiar, is characteristic of subversive and utopian SF, and is not found in bourgeois, mystificatory, escapist SF, for which estrangement is mere diverting novelty (26), which makes his definition ideologically, if not technically, exclusive of much of the genre. As with the more simplistic definitions of SF in terms of Science, an ideological prescriptivism interferes with SF's objective delineation.

A reconciliation of Suvin's formulation with that proposed by this Thesis can moderate this exclusivity. If 'cognitive norms' are descriptive of the *historical* laws that govern the present of the author, then the author's

estranged world exists in a plausible historical relation to ours. 'Cognitive estrangement' becomes 'historically consistent estrangement'. SF's imagined realms become ones whose continued familiarity is based on their continuity with familiar histories. This makes Suvin's definition into a synthesis of those by Canary and Robinson cited in 1.2, allowing it to regard SF as 'fictive history' governed by known historical laws and historically related to the known present or past. An ideologically neutral recognition of SF's competing historical paradigms can, furthermore, allow Suvin's modified definition to accommodate all of SF equally. Such inclusivity permits rival philosophies of history, Marxist, liberal, and conservative, to compete for SF's cognitive ground; the creation of estranged worlds can proceed according to their different imperatives; and all SF texts are covered by a redefinition which recognises fully the historical estrangement that they all practise.

A third significant definition of SF is that put forward by David Ketterer and later in modified form by Frederick A. Kreuziger: SF as an apocalyptic literature, one exploring the 'limits of desire', radical departure from present norms. This formulation essentially regards SF's extrapolation of new worlds as revelatory: in David Ketterer's words, SF texts as 'Works of the apocalyptic imagination radically change and improve our understanding of a present reality, indirectly by presenting other worlds in space and time, thus placing the present in a wider material context, or, more directly, by presenting other worlds out of space and time, thus placing the present in a transcendent visionary context.' This 'transformation' achieves 'most immediacy' through the 'devising' of 'new ontologies', the 'radical' reinterpretation of 'aspects of the present - the nature of man, the nature of reality or the nature

of an outside manipulator' (27). Ketterer emphasises that the apocalyptically evoked 'new world in the reader's head' generated by SF, unlike the new worlds of the fantastic, exists in a 'credible relationship with the putative real world' (28), a qualification similar to Suvin's: the imagined world must be cognitively continuous with ours. If apocalyptically conceived worlds are always objectified, always bound to and significant for our reality, they are also historically continuous with our reality: they stand in a temporal relation to it. With this in mind, SF's apocalyptic function, its visionary but critical recontextualisation of the 'real world', can, in reconciliation with the view of SF as Historical Fiction, be seen as the repositioning of the present with regard to the past and futures based upon that past. The world is radically reinterpreted not through apocalyptic 'novelty' (any novelty is past-based), but through speculative history, which shows the present's location in a wider, and revelatory, chronology.

This is not unlike the reformulation of Ketterer's definition by Frederick A. Kreuziger. He alters Ketterer's emphasis upon the mere philosophical re-evaluation of the present through the extrapolation of new worlds; in Kreuziger's view, SF embodies the quasi-religious longing of its readership for radical transformation, preaching to them an attitude of 'imminent expectation' of such change, specifying the general need to expect rather than the specifics of *what* to expect (29). This brings SF close to the passive expectation of redemption found in 'Biblical apocalyptic': prophetic apparatus abounds, as SF purports 'to be a revelation of things to come'; SF reappropriates 'the myths of origins and ends'; it creates 'a future history (which historicizes the cosmos)' and rewrites

'past history according to its faith' (30). This makes the historical function of SF overt: in these terms, SF places the present in a context of visionary history, reinterpreting the past and extending it into the future so that SF's readers can feel that they have a meaningful place in time, one at the moment when past trends climax into a radically transformed future. The radical, transcendent novelty the apocalyptic promises is realised in the form of historical location near the point of change. The apocalyptic definition of SF assists recognition of its speculative historical function.

These attempts at the reconciliation of definitions allow three clear conclusions, reinforcing those reached in Section 1.2. The first is that the non-historical content of SF, such as Science, can be seen as being governed by the genre's historical content. SF's use of history contextualises its other components in time, orders their relations to each other, indicates their function in the text's larger scheme. The second conclusion is that any rigorous definition of SF demands that an SF text have an historical relation to the present of its author: history is appropriated by SF writers in order to objectify their imagined worlds, to maintain that historical relation. The third conclusion is that SF's appropriation of history occurs in resonance with the expectations of its genre readership: meaning is imparted to the present of those readers through that present's speculative location within a scheme of past and future history. History, then, is the context both of the elements of the SF text and of that text's significance for its author and readers. With the importance of SF's historical appropriation established, consideration can now be given to the forms taken by that appropriation.

1.4 Historical Appropriation and Forms of History

As a form of Historical Fiction, SF employs different varieties of historical appropriation and constructs different varieties of history. For the definition of SF in terms of history to be fully comprehensive, these categories must cover all of its existing and potential texts, must constitute, in other words, a complete description of the genre. The emphasis here is upon pragmatic description of the characteristics of historical appropriation and historical construction as objectively observed in texts; the ideological functions of these characteristics are a separate issue, discussed in Sections 1.5 and 1.6. This Section first defines SF's *process*, its three broad modes of historical appropriation; it then discusses SF's *product*, the four modes of history constructed through that appropriation; and it finally examines how closely these sets of categories apply to the Fantasy genre. In this manner, much of this Thesis's terminology is specified.

SF appropriates history by way of three techniques: historical extension (extrapolation), historical imitation, and historical modification. These modes at times operate jointly, but they do distinguish the broad strategies by which SF borrows from history. Each mode achieves a distinct form of historical irony, by which elements of history are present in a text where they should not normally be: features of the future in the past, features of the past in the future, features of one world in another, ironic incongruities and resonances. The three modes of historical appropriation can be detailed as follows:

Historical extension. This is essentially extrapolation, the continuation of observed contemporary historical trends into the future. This is the basis of SF's claims to portray novelty, the foundation of its many fictional

futures. But historical extension *is* historical, merely drawing on the recent instead of the further past. It can also describe extrapolation from alternative presents, those of alternate or alien worlds, whose historical bases differ from those of 'consensus reality'. The form of historical irony operative here can be described as the irony of expectation, the incongruity between the future the characters or readers anticipate and what in fact results: what features of the recent past have been extrapolated, and which have withered on the vine?

Historical imitation. This is the direct appropriation of the details and patterns of the past, the modelling of futures or of other worlds on specific historical precedents. This is a general practice in SF, explaining the basis of Galactic Empires in the Roman Empire, or of alien civilisations in Earthly feudalism. Historical imitation can also (occasionally) describe the evocation of an historical milieu in its authentic, undisplaced form: a time-travel story set in Ancient Greece may accurately imitate period detail. The form of historical irony found here is definable as the irony of comparison: a reader of a text set in the distant future or on an alien world recognises in it patterns and structures familiar from the mundane past. Futuristic or alien 'novelty' incongruously but inevitably echoes the known.

Historical modification. This involves the continued use of historical models, but also a conscious deviation from them. The most common instance of this technique is that giving rise to Alternate Histories, in which the facts of the recorded past are counterfactually amended, giving rise to worlds in which, for example, Germany won World War Two. A less frequent form modifies historical imitation: if a Future History initially adheres to a model such as the Roman Empire, but then departs in an

historically incongruous direction, historical modification has been invoked. The mode of historical irony prevailing in this area can be called the irony of anachronism: elements are present out of their established historical order, because history itself has assumed a revised course. A Victorian England with space travel is one illustration of such irony.

One or more of these three types of historical modification will govern the construction of any SF text. Any such text must depart from a point in the past, however eager its author is to escape that past; the recent past can be utilised, or the past's precedents can be modified, but the point of origin remains that past. Historical irony allows a fruitful interplay of familiarity and incongruity in SF texts: the presence of familiar historical components where they should not be is a major source of SF's surprise, its 'novelty'; that 'novelty' is thus historically determined, and again the inescapability of history in the genre is confirmed. Given this inevitability, what forms do SF's Histories take?

In his discussion of treatments of history in SF, Edward James identifies four approaches to the subject in the genre's stories: historical theory as a theme; historical theory in practice (as in Future Histories); the investigation of history (through time travel); and Alternate Histories, which he considers the most interesting category(31). James's categories are by no means exhaustive; for the purposes of this Thesis, an amended set of four varieties of history is defined, which, like the set of three sorts of historical appropriation, describes the entire possible range of SF texts. These four modes of History are the products of different strategies of historical appropriation; they

amount to four subgenres, dividing the entire territory of SF between them. They can be identified as follows:

Future Histories. This is the largest category of SF by far, embracing all SF narratives set in imagined futures. This definition of Future History is very wide, covering more than just those sequences of novels and stories consciously grouped by their authors into 'future histories', as in the case of Asimov's Foundation Trilogy. Instead, Future History here signifies any text projecting a future, on the grounds that this invariably entails borrowings from history, either the extrapolation from the recent past involved in historical extension, or the more general borrowing entailed by historical imitation. Grand and consistent Future Histories like Asimov's stand alongside near-future satires and modestly extrapolative short stories in this category.

Alternate Histories. Growing in number in recent decades, these result chiefly from historical modification. An Alternate History branches off from our own past history as a result of an altered historical outcome; it involves the element of counterfactuality, its Alternate World recognisably akin to ours, occupying an equivalent position in space and time, but ironically dissimilar from it by virtue of anachronistic discrepancies. Thus, Philip K. Dick's The Man in the High Castle proposes an America in 1962 that is still recognisable as America, but is ruled by the victorious Axis Powers. Alternate History is implicitly reliant on historical imitation in locating and evoking points where history might have been changed, but historical modification governs it from that point onwards.

Secret History. This is a relatively small category of SF History, dependent on historical imitation and

modification. Any SF narrative which proposes an alternative *explanation* for the recorded facts of past or contemporary history without altering the recorded details of that history is a Secret History. So is any story relating past or contemporary events which recorded history simply ignores. Conspiracies can feature: E.E. 'Doc' Smith's Triplanetary(1948) makes of Earth's history before the Twentieth Century the product of the secret manipulations of good and evil aliens. Or there are subtler re-evaluations of history, indicating the voices neglected in conventional representations of the past: Karen Joy Fowler's Sarah Canary(1991) brings an alien to Nineteenth Century America, a being whose presence is symbolically momentous but unnoticed by those in power, those who write official history. Secret Histories imitate history in the context of their action, and modify it in the covert details of that action.

Renarrated History. This is another small category. It is a product of a specialised form of historical imitation. Any SF text set in the past but not modifying that past is a renarrated history, in that its author imitates history directly, retelling it with its recorded details intact, in the manner of the Historical Novel proper. Time travel is the customary means of locating such an SF narrative in the past. In Connie Willis's Doomsday Book(1992), the protagonist visits the time of the Black Death, and lives among the mediaeval English, without affecting their destiny. Sympathetic rendition of period detail is all that Willis attempts; such uncomplicated historical imitation is, however, rare in SF.

These four forms of History employ historical appropriation in all of its three modes and in various combinations of those modes; these processes describe the options available to SF writers in historically

constructing their texts. The question now arises as to whether the formation of fictive History through the appropriation of the past is the technical strategy of the Fantasy genre as well.

A survey of definitions of Fantasy suggests that the genre is antithetical to historical laws, to the very principle of cause and effect. Many definitions stress the role in Fantasy of the inexplicable, of the imaginary, of the impossible, of the other-worldly(32). Roger Schlobin calls Fantasy 'That corpus in which the impossible is primary in its quantity or centrality' (33). If Fantasy is considered as a stage for the interplay of unconscious elements made concrete, or as a form of moral romance, it remains, in its entirety as a genre, undetermined by history. The body of past experience appropriated wholesale by Fantasy, if any, is myth and legend, akin to history but not ruled by its laws. It is in the pragmatically observed details of Fantasy texts themselves, rather than in theoretical definitions of the genre, that Fantasy's correspondence with History can be identified.

Genre Fantasy - the body of fiction commercially defined as Fantasy in the wake of Tolkien's success in the 1960s - has recourse to the same historical processes as occur in SF, both technically and ideologically. Technically, Fantasy appropriates history in manners reminiscent of those employed in SF. The histories of Celtic Britain, mediaeval Scandinavia, and other epochs of elemental conflict are freely, obviously, and multitudinously imitated in genre Fantasy. More specifically, all four of SF's modes of History, and therefore its forms of historical appropriation also, are encountered in Fantasy, giving rise to various subgenres of Historical Fantasy. Renarrated Histories are frequent, as works of

Fantasy are often set in past eras realised with a nostalgic verisimilitude: Soldier of the Mist (1986) by Gene Wolfe is a major example. Secret Histories occur in Fantasy, as in many novels postulating supernatural conspiracies underlying history, such as The Stress of Her Regard (1989) by Tim Powers. Alternate Histories are a growing subgenre of Fantasy, frequently resembling their Science Fictional counterparts closely: an early text is A Midsummer Tempest (1974) by Poul Anderson. Even Future Histories can be discovered in Fantasy, as writers speculate that atomic warfare might result in a post-holocaust land of myth: this is the premise of The Empire of the East (1979) by Fred Saberhagen.

These Fantastic Histories thus correspond with SF in technique, in historical appropriation. But there is an ideological correspondence also. Many authors of Historical Fantasy are also SF writers - all of the authors mentioned in the previous paragraph are examples. The commercial association of the two genres encourages cross-fertilisation; thus, many works of Fantasy share the ideological characteristics of SF, which of course determine its use of history. Given such affinities with SF, many Fantastic Histories - in particular Fantastic Alternate Histories, which closely resemble SF's Alternate Histories - are responsive to the critical apparatus of this Thesis. Fantasy in general, then, is not a genre of Historical Fiction, but overlaps significantly with SF, for which history is a decisive shaping force.

The Historical subgenres found in SF and Fantasy vary in importance. Within SF, Future and Alternate Histories are far greater in number than Secret or Renarrated ones, and constitute the genre's central historical representations and arguments. Consequently, they are the fictive

histories discussed in this Thesis, Future Histories in Chapters Two and Three, Alternate Histories in Chapters Four and Five. In Fantasy, the Alternate History form is, as mentioned previously, the most technically interesting category, and the closest in method to its SF counterpart; examples of it are analysed in the general survey of Alternate Histories in Chapters Four and Five. Thus the application of this Section's theoretical apparatus in later Chapters.

With the reasons for and nature of SF's engagement with history established, attention can now be paid to the practical influences that have shaped that engagement since 1926. The next two Sections indicate how SF's shifts in ideology, and the genre's assimilation of theories of history, have conditioned its appropriation of the past.

1.5 Science Fiction: Its History and its Histories

While genre SF has consistently engaged in historical appropriation since 1926, its ideology has changed and diversified greatly over seven decades. Inevitably, these shifts have shaped the ways in which SF has imitated the past. This Section divides the history of SF into four stages, commenting on the broad ideological features of each period and on each period's resulting approaches to history. Some attention is also given to the abiding contrasts between American and British genre SF.

John Clute has remarked that the first launching of a spacecraft - Sputnik in 1957 - divided the history of SF in two. Before 1957, the future was a blank, a ground for infinite hope; now, the realities of space and the space programme intruded on SF's dreams: 'Space was no longer free space', instead becoming 'a sentence in the seamy contentious intricate story of humans upon the planet, a

continuation of life on Earth by other means' (34). Clute calls the pre-1957 genre SF, which was largely American, 'First SF' (35); what followed from about 1960 can logically be termed Second SF. This broad division has merit, but First and Second SF can each be further subdivided. First SF encompasses two periods: the 'Golden Age' of Pulp SF, in which the genre was almost exclusively dominated by the magazine market and by a common ideological ethos of positivism (linear optimism); and the phase from about 1950, in which new threads of pessimism and satire began to fragment the genre's solidarity. Second SF also yields two stages: the New Wave era, commencing in the early 1960s and ending in the mid-1970s, a time of Modernist experimentalism and the assertion of left-wing ideologies; and the phase from the late 1970s to the present, in which SF has become polyglot, containing a host of tendencies - Romantic, Cyberpunk, Humanist, Libertarian - in a Postmodern Babel. Each stage continues previous trends, as well as innovating upon them; but a broad ideological and historical evolution can be traced through this chronological scheme, the four periods of which are now examined individually.

The 'Golden Age', 1926 to approximately 1950. This phase was conditioned by various realities. Economically, the Great Depression encouraged fantasies of technological liberation from harsh economic circumstances; the Second World War realised many such expectations in its organised political and scientific strategies. The magazine market, catering to a largely young male audience, was dominated by powerful editors such as Hugo Gernsback and John W. Campbell, who were able to enforce the genre's ideological norms on their writers, producing a considerable unanimity: SF was a well-defined subculture, its assumptions and expectations relatively

uniform. Although there were some exceptions to this uniformity, the broad ideology of this phase can be identified as emerging Libertarianism, with supporting attitudes of scientism, positivism, and historicism.

Of early American and British SF writers Patrick Parrinder has commented that they 'formed a largely ingrown community, cut off from the mainstream of literary culture by their outspoken support for the values of scientists and technologists' (36). This ideology of scientism was, in Gavin Browning's terms, an uncritical acceptance of Science's absolute value, a belief that social problems could be solved through scientific development rather than through the Marxist modality of a political 'resolution of social forces' (37). This not only entailed a generally crude rational positivism, the SF 'cult of rationality', as Gary K. Wolfe terms it (38); it could amount to a mentality of elitist conspiracy, the belief that the scientific elite of 'scientists, technicians, and industrialists' would, as H.G. Wells and others conceived, 'take over world government' (39), running human affairs rationally and efficiently at last. This elitism is the key to the central contradiction of 'Golden Age' SF's ideology: that it desired boundless freedom for the scientific elite, but authoritarian control of the rest of humanity.

The Libertarianism (or belief in rugged individualism and anarchic liberty) which characterised the period's SF, and which has remained influential since, is the manifestation of that contradiction. As Albert I. Berger has pointed out, early SF, such as that appearing in John W. Campbell's magazine Astounding, preached the centrality of technological development and Progress in human history, but was also pessimistic about the ability

of the unscientific and unscientistic human majority to accommodate such Progress; the majority's obstructionism and Luddism had to be restrained through elite and authoritarian control(40). Early SF's Libertarianism was thus an ideology which claimed unlimited freedom for the scientifically literate and Competent elite, in essence SF's genre readership and the technocracy it hoped to join and become, while desiring the denial of freedom to those who defied or inconvenienced that elite.

Golden Age SF appropriated history in ways reflecting its dogmas and contradictions. It generated a 'consensus cosmogony' or Future History, a shared body of assumptions of human colonisation of space, Galactic Imperialism, and a final transcendent utopia of Progress(41), imitating and extending the rise of Western capitalism, transferring it and its associated elements of expansionism and technocracy to a wider stage. This linear optimism was qualified by pessimism, reflecting, in Albert Berger's terms, a lack of confidence in the capacity of broader humanity to sustain scientific and Progressive ideals: thus the consensus Future History was cyclical, involving phases of corruption and barbarism before the utopian conclusion vindicated positivistic scientism. The liberty of the future scientific elite would be temporarily dampened, and authoritarian measures would be justified, if only temporarily, to restore it, ending the cycles of history, restoring its linear imperative. Thus, the 'Golden Age''s use of history is positivistic, serving scientism and a selective Libertarianism, and regarding past history as a reliable and quantifiable basis for extrapolation, a confidence in history's solidity shared with Nineteenth Century historicists. Examples of Future Histories embodying this mentality are examined in Chapter Two.

Pessimism and Satire, 1950-1960. The later stage of First SF modifies the 'Golden Age''s ideological characteristics without fully departing from them; earlier convictions retained much of their force. The novel features of this phase of SF's history included postwar prosperity, which allowed some relaxation of earlier Depression- and war-occasioned positivistic zeal on the part of the genre's readership; pessimism resulting from the threat of nuclear holocaust as the Cold War developed; skepticism concerning Western, and in particular American, norms in reaction to Cold War paranoias such as McCarthyism; and the appearance of new magazine and paperback SF markets which could accommodate a wider ideological spectrum than before. The imminent possibility of doomsday, and domestic repression, inspired admonitory SF texts: post-holocaust stories, detailing regression into barbarism; fictions of greater social realism than before, indicating the human implications of technological change; and satires, which subversively extrapolated unsympathetic contemporary trends. The broadening of SF's definition of Science to include the 'soft sciences' such as psychology assisted these revisionist subgenres in achieving a less scientific and more human focus. But these innovations were not ultimately rejections of SF's dominant ideology of positivistic Libertarianism; they sought rather to warn of external and self-inflicted dangers to the Western status quo affirmed by Libertarian SF, retaining the 'Golden Age''s characteristic devices and much of its Future Historical apparatus.

This period's appropriation of history often involved the same modes of historical imitation and extension as applied in the 'Golden Age''s consensus Future History. But as the discussion of Alfred Bester's The Stars My Destination in Section 2.5 indicates, this could occur in

a revisionist and even deconstructive spirit; history was at times imitated with a new irony. Postholocaust narratives and near-future satires involved short-term historical extension, usually of deeply damaging trends rather than the merely curious scientific ones extrapolated during the 'Golden Age'. The setting of more stories in a realistically evoked present required the imitation of contemporary history on a considerable scale. As SF's ideological centre gradually admitted more liberal influences, its readers became more tolerant of the appropriation of past epochs and features other than the rise of great empires and the erection of economic hegemonies.

The New Wave, from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s. This initial phase of Second SF, taking its name from the experimental 'movements' in the SF of the period, incorporated great ideological and historical crises of the genre. The advent of space exploration (Clute's moment decisively separating First and Second SF) increasingly made the future a territory not of dream but of disillusioning certainty. And SF's constituency had additional cause for disappointment. As Gerard Klein has argued, the expansion of SF's readership after 1960 matched the growth of a technically trained Western middle class, but that class was suffering disempowerment: Science generally, and their abilities in particular, were being harnessed by corporations(42). In Patrick Parrinder's words, 'post-1960 SF responds to the era of multinational corporations with its vision of a neo-feudal world in which the individual is condemned to servitude' (43). Certainty was undermined: as Charles Elkins observes, this loss of confidence resulted in texts whose heroes, while still competent, were no longer ethnocentric, but instead non-competitive, holistic, in harmony with nature(44).

This was the essence of the British and American New Waves: skepticism about positivistic values; a new hostility to capitalism; the absorption of the countercultural attitudes of the 1960s, including mysticism, feminism, environmentalism, and fatalism in the face of a perceivedly entropic universe. Marxist critics question how complete this movement away from scientism and Libertarianism was: Charles Elkins criticises elements of the New Wave for their retention of individualism, their failure to embrace collective action rather than fatalistic mystical stances, their implicit advocacy of the status quo (45). A.E. Levin concurs, dismissing the New Wave's pessimism, 'decadence', and mysticism as reflections of SF's continued bourgeois nature and of a general 'deepening crisis in bourgeois confidence' (46). What these condemnations underline is that the New Wave was predominantly a liberal phenomenon, embodying the ideological and existential perplexities of a genre culture still fundamentally individualistic, and critiquing the present from positions of personal outrage rather than of collective anti-capitalist solidarity. What helped New Wave authors to achieve a radical differentiation from traditional SF was the continued existence of the older modes of the genre throughout their period, a conservative persistence with which they made a striking contrast.

The SF texts of the New Wave are in the main experimental, in style (as in the baroque language of Roger Zelazny and Samuel R. Delany), in form (as in imitations of Modernist techniques by Brian Aldiss and Michael Moorcock), or in sensibility (as in J.G. Ballard's embracement of entropy). Pessimism displaces positivism, confidence in the continuation of individual

liberty is at a low ebb. The consensus Future History is dismissed as empty. These factors have two major implications for the period's appropriation of history. First, history is imitated with deep suspicion and irony: it is rigorously scrutinised, its meanings revised and inverted. Second, the historical periods imitated are either ones of disillusionment, tyranny, and reversal, or recent ones of a 'hip' anarchy. Historical extension in New Wave terms involves short-term pessimistic extrapolation, the retention of close objective links to the present, rather than grand long-term prediction. And historical modification comes increasingly into play, allowing alternatives to grim realities to be ventured: Alternate Histories grow in number, and attempts at the construction of utopias - such as the feminist ones of Ursula K. Le Guin and Joanna Russ - are increasingly made.

The Late Phase, from the mid-1970s to the present.

Echoing the shifting currents of wider history, the last two decades of SF have been ones without any lasting sense of a single direction. The New Wave was followed by a phase of pessimistic or religious Romanticism (discussed in Section 3.3), which perhaps corresponded to the broader decline of the Sixties into complacency. Then the resurgence of monetarist capitalism in the 1980s evoked both the Cyberpunk movement, which extrapolated the new information technologies in utopian and dystopian terms, and 'Humanist' SF, which reasserted idealism in more traditional modes. Meanwhile, many different varieties of SF co-existed, including Libertarian Hard SF, Science Fantasy, feminist SF, recursive SF, and others. These co-exist still, with continuing Romantic, Cyberpunk, and Humanist strains added. This reflects the breadth of the genre marketplace over much of this period: various sub-readerships are catered to by

different subgenres; each subgenre mirrors a portion of SF's now diverse ideological spectrum, which incorporates shades of ideology from earlier decades as well as new variations. SF has become an arena for competing discourses; it has entered a late or Postmodern phase.

For this reason, Late Phase SF does not exclude or privilege any variety of historical appropriation or history. Future Histories of the old pattern have persisted (as seen in Chapter Two and in Section 3.2), along with revisionist Future Histories of a quite fatalistic sort (discussed in Section 3.3) and of a utopian kind (see Section 3.4). Historical imitation and extension operate variously in these Future Histories, obeying a range of ideological impulses: models are affirmatorily celebrated or ironically inverted. Alternate Histories have grown enormously in number, making historical modification a central technique of SF: this is amply illustrated in Chapters Four and Five. Alternate History is used to create wish-fulfilment versions of this world, or to exaggerate its trends into nightmare; it has repeatedly allowed SF writers to recontextualise the genre's own past, as in the recursive Scientific Romances discussed in Section 5.3. Conservative or subversive nostalgia is at times embodied in renarrated histories; a radical sense of the present's ontological instability continues to be expressed in Secret Histories. SF's Late Phase, with its wealth of ideological shades, gives corresponding rise to a multitude of Histories.

SF has moved from a monolithic Libertarianism and Libertarian Future History through phases of ideological doubt and historical pessimism to its present ideological and historical plurality: a long and varied procession. But other than the successive periods of SF's history

anatomised above, a further factor governs the genre's use of history: the divisions between American and British SF. The difference can easily be exaggerated, as the influence of American SF on the British sort has been large, and British New Wave SF certainly affected its American counterpart; but a definite distinction remains. In discussing the bodies of SF of various countries, Patrick Parrinder suggests, 'as a first crude approximation', that the catastrophism prominent in British SF is owed to Britain's long imperial and industrial decline, while American SF's more robust attitudes stem from the optimism and ruthlessness of its Frontier(47). Peter Nicholls qualifies this by observing that British authors of disaster novels took a 'guileless pleasure' in their catastrophes which cannot truly qualify as pessimism(48). Still, the emphasis on decline in British SF, an inevitable byproduct of descent from world power, is notable when measured against the boundless optimism of American SF's grandiose Future Histories, the sure result of a rise to global hegemony.

The British critic Brian Stableford sees the Scientific Romance, the characteristic form of British SF, as its mark of difference from U.S. SF. In his words, the term Scientific Romance describes 'works characterized by long evolutionary perspectives; by an absence of much sense of the frontier and a scarcity of the kind of pulp-magazine-derived hero who is designed to penetrate any frontier available; and in general by a tone moderately less hopeful about the future than that typical of genre sf until recent decades' (49). By this reasoning, British SF is unlike American in being contemplative, retrospective, fatalistic, melancholy. Its use of history, as the discussions of British texts in this Thesis demonstrate, is accordingly pessimistic and nostalgic. British SF's large-scale Future Histories are usually cyclical,

imitating past models of decline, or are ironic, depicting utopian conditions which by implication our world can never achieve. British Alternate Histories often involve inversions of history which impede Progress instead of facilitating it; others revisit Britain's 'glorious past', either ironically or in sombre re-appraisal of 'what went wrong'. American SF approached Britain's in mood during the New Wave and Romantic phases; many British writers have imitated American models faithfully; but otherwise, American hubris and British melancholy have made a stark contrast.

The practical factors governing SF's historical content having been analysed, the intellectual influences on that content - Theories of History - can be assessed.

1.6 Lines and Cycles: Theories of History in SF

SF, as a form of Historical Fiction, is obviously influenced not only by the periods it appropriates, but also by the theories which have sought to interpret and retrospectively structure those periods. Some SF authors have openly proclaimed their debts to specific historical theorists and historians: James Blish based his 'Cities in Flight' series on the ideas of Oswald Spengler; Frank Herbert drew much of the inspiration for Dune from Arnold Toynbee; Isaac Asimov's 'Foundation' Trilogy is a reworking of Edward Gibbon's history of Rome (as discussed in Section 2.2); Brian Aldiss based his 'Helliconia' Trilogy on James Lovelock's 'Gaia' Hypothesis (see Section 3.3). These examples indicate the significance of Theories of History for SF; this Section considers some Theories of cardinal importance in this regard, assessing their ideological and practical functions in SF texts.

One fundamental distinction in history and in SF is that between concepts of individual, collective, and natural agency. The 'Great Man' theory of history, proposed by such Nineteenth Century historians as Thomas Carlyle, is a component of the heroic individualism of American Libertarian SF, conditioning its portrayals of Competent Men and of messiahs; the ethic of scientism is that of intellectual and practical genius taking charge of human affairs. A less strident romantic individualism can however often be a liberal counterargument to Libertarianism, with conscience replacing competence as the virtue advocated. Ideas of collective agency in history, such as those propounded by Marx, are essential to SF also, in that as a literature projecting macrocosmic forces it must deal with human behaviour in the mass. Huge-scale movements are often pivotal in SF narratives, or serve as essential backgrounds to individual heroism; the genre's paradigmatic concept of collective agency is Asimov's 'Psychohistory', which in his 'Foundation' series allows the statistically-founded prediction of coming history. Collective effort as an ideological ethic is not uncommon in SF, observable in the authoritarian side of Libertarian SF and in feminist, environmentalist, and other post-1960 activist SF. Finally, purely natural agency - the inevitable operation of history, beyond any human control, as argued by Oswald Spengler - is an ingredient of SF's various fatalisms, such as those of the New Wave and Romantic phases in the 1960s and 1970s: absolute inescapable determinism can suggest either surrender to entropy, holistic engagement with natural forces, or an appeal to God (options explored in Section 3.3).

SF is however more strongly influenced by grand linear or cyclical theories of history. This is partly because of their intellectual glamour, the sense they provide of

meaning and structures of meaning behind the chaos of perceived reality. But it is also because they so readily inform and structure narrative: many of SF's Future Histories in particular are sequences of stories bound together by a linking metanarrative of historical argument. SF texts can borrow the principle of linear history, which proclaims an inevitable evolution towards a goal; this is simplistic, but inculcates a sense of purpose and promises novelty. Alternatively, they can appropriate the concept of history as a series of cycles, which allows dramatic reversals of fortune, ironic recurrences over time, a complexity with more conviction than simple linear history; but SF's inherent positivism demands some progress also. Therefore, SF frequently combines the two principles, truncating repetitious cycles with a culminating linear utopia, or complicating a linear history with interruptory cycles.

The linear and cyclical theories implemented by SF are not uniform: there are variations within each of the two theoretical paradigms. These subcategories require some discussion, as their implications, and the manner of their use by SF, can differ significantly.

Linear Theories of History. There are three distinct conceptions of linear history which may be followed by SF writers: Whiggism, Hegelianism, and Marxism. The first, the Nineteenth Century 'Whig' interpretation of history, which viewed the rise of Western liberal capitalism as inevitable and as the natural culmination of history, is easy to caricature or dismiss as simplistic, but has pervaded SF. Whiggist history's simple positivism is imitated in many Libertarian Future Histories, which share with it a confidence in the indefinite prolongability of capitalism, and a capacity to view worlds resulting from capitalism and rugged individualism

as ideal and as final. Whiggist linearism has been satirised or deconstructed by various less sanguine SF writers, such as William Gibson and Bruce Sterling in their novel The Difference Engine (1990) (discussed in Section 5.3).

The linear philosophy of history proposed by G.W.F. Hegel in the early Nineteenth Century is rather more complex(50). Hegel in essence argued that history was a progression of dialectics, of opposed theses and antitheses resulting in syntheses which, as new theses, encountered fresh antitheses, continuing the process of development. History was the reflection in time of the dialectical coming to self-awareness of the Infinite Spirit, the ultimate and only truly real embodiment of the human mind; for Hegel, the German State of his own time was the culmination of this process, the historical stage in which Self knew Other, in which religious and secular worlds were reconciled, in which the mind of Man had self-awareness and so Freedom at last. This drastic simplification of Hegel's formulation sums up its appeal for SF writers: the idea of a continuous dialectic is deeply dramatic in narrative form, and the partly concrete, partly abstract process described by Hegel is a license for SF authors to associate grandiose metaphysical structures with the physical details of their fictive Histories. A good example is Gordon R. Dickson, discussed in Section 2.4: Dickson narrates the achievement of an ideal of ethical superhumanity through the medium of secular events such as wars and political intrigues. Hegel, as an idealist, affords SF linear history with little of its customary materialist emphasis.

A third linear theory of history, that of Marx, has influenced SF writers for the most part indirectly.

Because Anglo-American genre SF is ideologically conservative or liberal rather than socialist, it does not usually acknowledge or appropriate historical materialism overtly (occasional exceptions, Marxist SF writers such as Mack Reynolds or Terry Bisson, only prove the rule). But Marxism has assisted SF authors in comprehending the material basis of many of the historical forces whose effects they portray: the historical sophistication of such writers as C.J. Cherryh and Frank Herbert is a result. More specifically, crude or vulgar forms of Marxism may have helped shape the materialist Future Histories of such writers as Isaac Asimov; Marxist analyses fuelled some New Wave texts; and recent utopian Future Histories (such as those of Iain M. Banks and Kim Stanley Robinson, analysed in Section 3.4) display affinities with Marxist utopianism. Marxism is in the main a shadowy presence in genre SF, paralleling its rationalism but reaching subversive conclusions which American SF in particular is inclined to ignore.

Cyclical theories of history. Three major conceptions of history as cyclical manifest themselves in SF: those formulated by Vico, by Toynbee, and by Spengler. The major distinction between them is their degrees of optimism, the degrees of hope they extend that their patterns of historical repetition can ever be overcome.

The early Eighteenth Century philosopher Giovanni Batista Vico(51) offered a quite hopeful scenario. In this scheme, every nation went through predictable stages: a phase of childhood, the Age of Gods, in which savagery prevailed but in which religion, language, and the family emerged; a phase of adolescence, the Age of Heroes, in which aristocratic elites ruled by harsh force; and a culminating phase of maturity, the Age of Men, in which secular law and learning came into their own, in which

Reason and equality were achievable, and in which an initial democracy, inevitably factional and decadent, gave way to a protective and initially virtuous monarchy. In due course, this monarchical state would succumb to human frailty and wider decay, and the next cycle could begin. But Vico did not see his cycles as closed; each could improve on its predecessor, avoiding repetition of its specific shortcomings, so that some broad progress was possible. Vico's relative optimism lies both in his sense of progress within each cycle - the rise from savagery to maturity - and in his implication of a greater evolution through a spiralling series of cycles.

Vico's pattern is implicitly imitated in many SF texts which construct cycles as obstacles to be overcome. In such works, progress within a cycle can serve as a model of the innovation the author desires; when the cycle goes into decline, a struggle to preserve its progressive legacy can ensue, with that legacy being revived and expanded during the next cycle. In this way, both a conviction of inevitable Progress and a sense of the obstacles encountered by Progress can be textually conveyed.

A second and mildly pessimistic cyclical theory, that of the Twentieth Century British historian Arnold Toynbee (52), has had a very definite influence on SF writers. Toynbee proposed a standard model of the rise and fall of civilisations: they arose through creative human responses to challenges both natural and social, their further growth fuelled by further inspired responses to further crises. But eventually the creative minority which had supplied leadership through the stages of growth became decadent and tyrannical; it lost the loyalty of the proletariats which had respected it for its creative vigour; and disintegration set in. Toynbee

proposed religion as a general source of social solidarity and cultural renaissance at a late stage in cycles, and advocated Christianity as the specific goal of history, as the spiritual answer to its material cycles.

For SF writers, Toynbeean cyclicalism has three distinct recommendations. First, it emphasises challenge and creative response as the dialectic giving rise to civilisations. Libertarian SF in particular sees the universe as a scientific challenge to be met with scientific competence and ingenuity; Toynbee's creative elites find an echo in the technocratic scientific elites which dominate Future Histories such as those of Asimov and Robert A. Heinlein. Second, the dramatic vistas of fated decline evoked by Toynbee are mirrored in SF's many collapsing civilisations: Future Histories contain many crumbling Galactic Empires, as well as decadent alien civilisations which wither when human beings triumphantly emerge onto the cosmic stage. Toynbee allows both the melancholy of Imperial decline and the exuberance of the sweeping away of the old. Third, Toynbee's religious conviction, his sense of a transcendent divine solution beyond history, has a correspondence in the works of religious or mystical SF writers, who can resolve the cyclical pessimism of their fallen worlds by resort to forms of divine intervention. Eternity can come to the rescue of history.

A final cyclical theory, the most pessimistic by far, is that of the early Twentieth Century German historical philosopher Oswald Spengler(53). Spengler's argument that cultures are like biological organisms, going through life-cycles of an inflexibility beyond any possibility of moderation by humanity, has had two specific appeals for SF. The first is Spengler's breakdown of each cycle into

seasonal phases. He defined four stages of a culture: Spring, a childhood phase featuring the dawn of religion, with patriarchy or feudalism dominant; Summer, a phase of youth in which a more mature critical spirit began to emerge, with more organised religious belief and philosophy evolving, and with urban life commencing; Autumn, a mature phase, in which intellectual vigour was at its height, and in which an enquiring rationality prevailed; and Winter, the phase of old age and mortality, in which 'culture' decayed into mere effete 'civilisation', in which vast deracinated populations swarmed in great Imperial megalopoli, in which a creatively moribund and disillusioning Utilitarianism prevailed, and in which democracy gave way to despotic Caesarism. This panorama, however inaccurate as history, gives SF countless images and scenarios, motifs of ascendancy and decline, a veritable vocabulary of historical drama, as can be seen in the works of James Blish. Spengler's other legacy to SF is his pessimism itself: the fatalism of some SF writers (such as the authors of the Alternate Histories of the Reformation discussed in Section 4.3) can be seen as a reflection of Spengler's proclamation of the inevitability and inescapability of cycles.

Despite the evident adherence of many individual works of SF to grand theories of history, the impact of these theories on the genre as a whole should not be exaggerated. Historical theories are useful sources of historical ambience and useful structures for narrative organisation, but SF generally appropriates history according to its own highly specific ideological needs. Its own, frequently idiosyncratic theories of history are formulated as they are required; they may correspond in some ways to earlier theories such as those of Toynbee and Spengler, but will depart from them whenever

convenient. Furthermore, SF writers are distanced from those theories by two factors. The first factor is philosophical: the doubt that prevails as to whether grandiose theories have merit, whether they are not in fact impositions of structure upon an historical fabric that is infinitely varied, that cannot be so reductively summarised. The second factor is practical: most SF writers are acquainted with theories of history only at second hand, and employ them erratically rather than systematically. For every Asimov appropriating Gibbon or Frank Herbert imitating Toynbee, there are numerous SF authors whose debt to the philosophy of history is indirect, reluctant, or unconscious.

However, even a vague or partial engagement with theories of history can have a considerable effect on SF, as is shown by the presence in the genre of theodicy. This term, coined by Gottfried Leibnitz during the Enlightenment and introduced into the critical vocabulary of SF by John Clute, is defined by Clute as 'the doctrine that argued that a God who permitted evil to exist could be just. Basically, evil exists as a measure - in this best of all possible worlds - of good. The moment-to-moment and ultimate function of evil - a parody of good - is to make good visible.' Theodicy supports assumptions of the inherent virtue and rightness of the way things are; any sufferings by those not privileged by the status quo can be rationalised as part of the natural order of the world.(54) If Clute's critical use of the term theodicy is applied to genre SF widely, it can be seen that many of SF's worlds are conceived by their authors very much in the spirit of theodicy. Although such worlds are constructed through historical appropriation, they are essentially wish-fulfilment visions, static embodiments of the political and socio-economic ideals of their authors and the readers served by those authors.

They combine specific features of the different theories of history: the background to them is usually cyclical, a set of crises which the text presents as a dilemma requiring a solution; that solution comes as the sort of linear culmination to history envisaged by Hegel and Marx, a final plateau of utopian achievement exactly matching the author's wishes. SF texts of this kind are frequently authoritarian, shouting down any dissenting voices raised; as such, they have little of the dialectical dynamism of genuine history; but this is perhaps simply a reflection of the inflexibility of their sometimes dogmatic theoretical models.

Most 'theodictic' SF texts are Libertarian; their simplifications of cycles into linear ideological manifestoes are discussed in Chapter Two. Without ideologically or evaluatively judging such texts, but rather by observing pragmatically their historical and rhetorical strategies, it can be asserted that they form a distinct category of SF, one whose writers commence their arguments by reference to dialectical historical process but conclude them through sweeping theodicy. For this reason, this Thesis regularly employs theodicy as a critical term, describing texts of this kind, especially Future Histories, as 'theodicies'.

Genre SF utilises historical theories expediently, to frame an historically resonant scenario, or to help construct a vindictory theodicy; this can have a very significant effect on the specifics of historical appropriation; but with some notable exceptions, SF authors owe no abiding doctrinaire allegiance to fixed historical paradigms.

* * *

With SF's nature as a form of Historical Fiction established, with its methods of historical appropriation

and its forms of fictive History identified, and with the influences on it of its own history and of philosophical theories of history analysed, attention can switch to the many textual manifestations of these techniques and influences. Chapters Two and Three discuss many of SF's more ambitious Future Histories, and Chapters Four and Five detail how various phases of recorded history have been modified in the Alternate Histories produced by both Science Fiction and Fantasy.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER TWO: FUTURE HISTORIES - THE CONSENSUS

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter deals with Future Histories conceived in (or rooted in works written in) the 1940s and 1950s, ones therefore reflective of the genre mentality of First SF, the age of the pulp magazines (the 1930s and 1940s), of their immediate and more slick successors (the 1950s), and of the paperback revolution which moved SF into the arena of book publication (also the 1950s). As indicated in Section 1.5, this was essentially the era before Sputnik and the advent of space travel, when SF was in its formative phases, reflecting a future that had not yet been decisively shaped. This results in certain features common to all the Future Histories discussed here.

First, First SF was distinguished by a broad innocence, both of spirit and concept(1). Because SF's central ideas, most notably those involving space travel, were not yet actualities or had not yet been subjected to rigorous intellectual examination, the future was a tabula rasa upon which any authorial fiat could be imposed with little restraint. This meant that SF's dominant ideological tendencies, Libertarianism, positivism, and scientism(2), could freely dominate Future Histories, and proceeded to do so, as in the cases of the "Lensman" and "Skylark" series by E.E. "Doc" Smith and The Past Through Tomorrow by Robert A. Heinlein(3). In addition, the novelty of SF's devices meant that they were deployed naively, without the complexity and recursive irony that were to emerge later.

Second, there was a wide consensus as to the shape any Future History had to assume. As Donald A. Wollheim has indicated, the standard Future History SF presented

involved a succession of definite steps: human colonisation of the rest of the Solar System; then, with Faster Than Light travel available, interstellar exploration and alien contact. The new human worlds would consolidate into a federation, frequently warring with alien empires; the federation would grow into an empire itself, corrupt, preoccupied with dynastic conflict, unadventurous; it would fall, succumbing to a chaos of revolt, war, and economic collapse. A Dark Age of ignorance and barbarism would be followed by a Renaissance of science and trade, a movement to wider galactic harmony, the assumption of godlike power by the human race(4). This drama of rise and fall, culminating in triumphant transcendence, cyclical pessimism giving way to linear optimism, made the grand march of Progress, so reminiscent of American expansion westward, more exciting than any simplistic Whig teleology, but as comforting as one, in that anything lost to barbarism was reclaimed tenfold later. Although the emphasis individual writers placed upon the details of the consensus Future History might vary, the fundamental vision was similar. The "historical" plurality postulated by Samuel R. Delany for the early decades of SF, the variety of historical perspectives expressed by authors, ranging from fascistic mysticism to entrepreneurial individualism (5), was channeled uniformly through a common myth of the future.

Thirdly, the degree to which SF writers of the early decades were extrapolating arbitrarily into the future, more in line with the wishes of the subcultural ghetto of SF than with the help of any rigorous understanding of the forces shaping what was to come, meant that First SF's Future Histories partook of a large element of theodicy(6). The future as wish-fulfilment, as an evolving enactment of a vision of secular perfection, was an inescapable utopian component of early attempts at

delineation of the future. This has remained a trend in later periods (see Section 3.2), but subject to exceptions and many ironies. Early Future History writers rarely examined their own premises very critically.

This chapter discusses five significant Future Histories conceived in the 1940s and 1950s (Jack Vance's 'Gaeon Reach' future, first explicitly constructed in 1963, was built upon his 1950s works) and in some cases their continuations into subsequent decades. Isaac Asimov's "Foundation" Trilogy is scrutinised as an engagement with Edward Gibbon and the Enlightenment; Poul Anderson's cyclical "Technic" history is viewed as a projection into the future of nostalgic Libertarian Romanticism; Gordon R. Dickson's "Childe" Cycle is analysed as an especially theodictic evolutionary thesis; Alfred Bester's The Stars My Destination is argued as an iconoclastic text, which untypically for its period appropriates the past in order to dismiss it; and Jack Vance's "Gaeon Reach" universe is seen as the utilisation of an archaic mentality and stylistic register to freeze the future in the service of a particularly static theodicy. All these Future Histories obey the imperative of outward expansion to Galactic Empire, however varied in detail they may be; all build upon the same vision as seen in earlier works by Smith, Heinlein, Jack Williamson, and A.E. van Vogt: the domestication of the universe and of history by a technologically triumphant and fundamentally chauvinistic human race.

2.2 Isaac Asimov: The Decline and Fall of the Galactic Empire(7)

After the appearance of the early sections of Robert Heinlein's 'The Past Through Tomorrow' Future History, with their accompanying apparatus of a time-line chart and their sense of a consistently argued fictional

teleology, SF writers like Isaac Asimov were equipped to develop similarly ambitious and serially argued sequences of stories. Heinlein's own inspiration may have come from H.G. Wells and Olaf Stapledon, from their complexly and rigorously argued experiments in *Future History*(8), but his example to his fellow writers, in keeping with the nature of early genre SF, was not socialist or cosmic, but, rather, technological and technocratic, concerned with the immediacies of scientific innovation and the engineering and entrepreneurial mentalities required to foster it. Asimov, in his 'Foundation' Trilogy, widened the temporal and physical scale of Heinlein's scheme, but retained his emphasis on scientific positivism. On the stage of an entire galaxy, Asimov portrayed the triumph of the scientific method over history itself.

The 'Foundation' stories originally appeared in Astounding Science Fiction from 1942 to 1950, under the editorial aegis of John W. Campbell, who assisted Asimov in drawing up his future-historical plan(9); the series thus shows the influence of Campbell, in its positivism, its emphasis upon a chain of scientifically solvable problems, its privileging of the human race in the universe (Asimov includes no aliens). In its final form - Foundation(1951), Foundation and Empire(1952), and Second Foundation(1953) - the 'Foundation' Trilogy assumes a human galaxy, the manipulation of the history of which is a scientifically feasible project.

The scheme that Asimov adopted supposes that the history that is to be manipulated is also inevitable. Inevitability takes the form of the impending fall of a Galactic Empire of millions of planets and quadrillions of people; the vastness of this doom provides Asimov's scientists with a suitably impressive obstacle. Twelve thousand years of Imperial history will be followed,

according to the founding master of the Psychohistorians, Hari Seldon, by a thirty-thousand year Dark Age (F, 34). This can be shortened to one thousand years by the application of Psychohistory, history as a predictive science. Seldon's Plan follows from that assertion: two Foundations are established at opposite ends of the Galaxy to preserve knowledge and in due course guide the human race on a scientifically determined path to the Second Galactic Empire, a (presumed) utopia. This process of historical manipulation is notably successful in the few centuries viewed by the Trilogy: crises, all foreseen by Seldon, are overcome with a rather complacent ease, until the Mule, a mutant and thus a random factor, disrupts the Seldon Plan. Even though the Mule defeats the First Foundation, which has an open location on the planet Terminus, the Second Foundation, a secret establishment founded upon 'mental science', restores the Plan to its proper course through further manipulation. By the end of the Trilogy, the Galaxy is the guaranteed inheritance of the Foundations; the inertia of history and any statistical flukes it can generate have been overcome.

The ingredients of the success of Psychohistory are essentially those the positivism of early American genre SF always offered as the keys to human control of the physical universe: engineering skill, mathematical thinking, a bold, pioneering pragmatism, and consequent access to such assumed scientific resources as atomic power and faster-than-light space travel (the First Foundation) and telepathy (the Second Foundation). The Foundations succeed in dominating the Galaxy through brute scientific ascendancy. For this reason, and because of the crude and unrealistic character of Psychohistory, the Trilogy has been assailed as a naive work, one guilty of a vulgar historicism(10), of an inability to address

the complex and unpredictable nature of true history(11), of a conspiratorial elitism which deprives ordinary human beings of any ability to shape their own destinies(12), of a futility and fatalism characteristic of any doctrine of determinism(13), and of the somewhat sterile and simplistic creation of a closed universe, a 'game-world' in which a forced intellectual experiment can proceed in the absence of reality's chaotic uncertainties(14). These criticisms do much to uncover flaws in Asimov's design, and in the body of pulp magazine SF generally.

Perhaps the most acute indictment of Asimov is that offered by Charles Elkins, who argues that the Trilogy's simplistic positivism is an attempted appropriation of Marxism, an application of vulgar notions of historical materialism available to Asimov as a young American in the 1930s(15). These Stalinist models might have suggested to Asimov the inevitable operation of historical laws, the predestined succession of historical phases, the same assurance of progress towards a Second and technocratically utopian Empire as crude Marxist teleology saw towards a socialist utopia. Such an inflexible strain of Marxism, which placed history in the hands of a theoretically informed and correct elite, be they Communists or Psychohistorians, manipulators and beneficiaries of planned historical process, while depriving all others of historical insight and control, may indeed lie behind Asimov's scheme. Asimov envisages the Second Galactic Empire as one 'in which Mankind will be ready for the leadership of Mental Science' (SF, 89) - that is, of the highly secretive and manipulative Second Foundationers. Crude historical prediction as the conspiratorial tool of an informed few thousand in a Galaxy of quadrillions reads like a parody of Marxism. It also corresponds directly to the self-image of the readership of 1940s SF, one which conceived that

readership as a privileged grouping, aware of and equipped for the potentialities of science as broader society was not. Psychohistory is readily explained as a by-product of Asimov's period influences.

It is however also wise to examine the impact on Asimov's thinking of the major historian whose work gave shape to the 'Foundation' Trilogy. Arnold Toynbee may well have instructed Asimov in the dramatic flavour of historical cycles, but the greater influence was that of Edward Gibbon and his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-88). Asimov had certainly been reading Gibbon prior to the consultations with John Campbell that led to the Trilogy; he definitely saw a correspondence between Roman decline and the plight of the West in World War Two (16). The Trilogy consequently was based on specific events in later Roman history, as will be seen. Donald M. Hassler has identified the strong reliance of Asimov's thinking on that of the Eighteenth Century (17); the further discussion of the 'Foundation' series here concentrates on how Asimov's text engages closely with Gibbon's, reproducing the ideology and historical assumptions of the Enlightenment. If the Trilogy can be seen as a metafiction upon The Decline and Fall, this suggests that Eighteenth Century historical optimism was a crucial root of early genre SF, and that forms of positivism other than crude Marxism informed SF's initial Future Histories. Asimov, of course, influenced many subsequent authors, so that Gibbon's vision of history became widely broadcast.

Asimov does not merely borrow Gibbon's historical 'plot', that of a decaying Empire, an age of barbarism, a struggle to preserve knowledge, an eventual Renaissance. Rather, Asimov appropriates Gibbon's historical and ideological structures, through a technique involving

both historical imitation and historical modification. The Trilogy imitates the history of Rome's decline and the Dark Ages precisely as Gibbon presents them, in so doing repeating Gibbon's emphasis upon the necessity of activism in the shaping of a desirable history for humanity. At the same time, the Trilogy diverges from Gibbon's model, introducing a conscious agency (predictive Psychohistory) into its historical scenario, translating Gibbon's regret at the absence of rational activism among the Romans into the positive presence of such a course (Seldon's Plan) in the Galactic Empire. This historical modification allows a utopian outcome to the Dark Ages, the Second Empire. Asimov repeats in his narrative the circumstances of Imperial decline which led Gibbon the historian to desire a solution to the cyclical repetition of barbarism, and provides that solution.

The correspondence of ideology between Asimov and Gibbon is reflected in their parallel presentations of their Empires. For Gibbon, the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire were primarily moral and intellectual. They were related to a relaxation of philosophical and military discipline; to a consequent rise of superstition, notably Christianity; to the failure of the Romans to maintain their civic and stoic virtues, without which they were helpless against the naive vigour of the invading barbarians. In Gibbon, the city of Rome becomes a seat of tyranny and vice, rather than the rational and philosophical republic which Gibbon, as an Enlightenment-era scholar, saw it as having originally been(18). The attractiveness of this scenario to a 1940s SF writer is clear: it was dramatic in its details, and presented a decadence and ruin to which the genre virtues of scientific objectivity and competence were the ideal antidote.

Unsurprisingly, then, Asimov's description of the Galactic Empire is closely akin to Gibbon's of Rome. Hari Seldon specifies the causes of the decline of the Galactic Empire as 'a rising bureaucracy, a receding initiative, a freezing of caste, a damming of curiosity...a hundred other factors' (F,33). The symptoms will include such more concretely verifiable conditions as 'interstellar wars', a 'decay' of 'interstellar trade', a 'decline' in 'population', these ensuing upon the fall of the Empire(F,33). Thus, Asimov shares Gibbon's view of Imperial degeneration as primarily a moral, intellectual, and social condition - a failure of individual and collective character and discipline. He relegates factors of trade and demography to the status of symptoms, not causes - an Enlightenment, not a Marxist, tendency. His dramatisation of the Empire's collapse follows the Gibbonian lead further; it is decadence, the decline of learning and of competence, that is emphasised: in the ease of Hari Seldon's manipulation of the poorly informed Commission of Public Safety in Part 1 of Foundation; in the caricatured second-hand knowledge of Lord Dorwin concerning archaeology, his effete impracticality(F,62-8); in Anacreon's ignorance of the ancient technology of atomic power(F,Part 2); in the easy lapse of the people of the Four Kingdoms into the superstitious worship of the "Galactic Spirit"(F,Part 3); in the degenerate theocracies and tyrannies of the Periphery(F,Parts 4 and 5); in the lapse of technical expertise into the "mysteries of atomics" practised by hereditary castes of "tech-men"(F,203). In the late Empire, an atomic power plant can explode, killing millions, because technicians are unavailable(F,67).

Like Gibbon, Asimov sees knowledge as an active commodity, to be applied rather than enjoyed passively in

seclusion. Just as Gibbon rebuked monasticism as idle, Asimov reduces his scholarly Encyclopedists to dupes of the Seldon Plan, leaving them as perplexed bystanders while Mayor Salvor Hardin applies active learning to the task of repulsing Anacreon(F, Part 2). Knowledge unapplied is knowledge denied; the information the Encyclopedists gather must be used to save the Galaxy immediately as well as in the long term, just as the mathematics of Psychohistory is used. The decadent Empire is castigated, like Gibbon's, for its failures of discipline: as its cognitive faculties fail, its fabric disintegrates. Civil war is the outcome, as irrationality assumes command: Siwenna, a sector capital, is a scene of rebellion and massacre(F, 198); a frontier governor intrigues beyond the marches(F, Part 5); the Empire's last great general, Bel Riose, is recalled from certain victory over the Foundation on suspicion of harbouring Imperial ambitions: on that occasion Ducem Barr comments that 'Events have shown that three-fourths of the Emperors of the last two centuries were rebel generals and rebel viceroys before they were Emperors' (FE, 81). Without intellectual point or legitimacy, the Empire collapses; Trantor, its capital, is sacked by rebels(FE, 182). Had any rational Imperial ethic persisted, this anarchy, born of a corrupt system, might have been averted; Seldon, as mentioned above, blamed the fall upon a failure of rational initiative, an immobility of caste that denied merit.

The similarity of this to Gibbon's presentation of decadence and tyranny is profound. Asimov draws upon Gibbon's first volume for his vista of endless civil wars (the narrative of the military anarchy of the Third Century A.D. in Chapters 4-14 of The Decline and Fall); Gibbon's attacks on the monastic and passive intellectual attitudes of Christianity, beginning with his famous Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen, inform the Trilogy's

dismissal of similar superstition and passivity in the Encyclopedists, the Church of the Galactic Spirit, the tech-men, as well as the late Imperials generally. Like Gibbon, Asimov saw a rational, informed activism as the solution to these syndromes. He embodied this activism in the Seldon Plan: a scientific context for all action, in C.N. Manlove's formulation a 'final solution' to the random cyclic vicissitudes of history, the creation of a civilisation developing ceaselessly through the 'tension' of challenges understood and harnessed(19).

This is the method of the Seldon Plan: an obstacle or "Crisis" arises every few decades, which must be overcome through the initiative and competence which the Foundations nurture in their citizens (the First Foundation emphasising technology, the Second telepathy and the psychology of history, Psychohistory) (20). Seldon himself manipulates hostile Imperial officials into allowing his group to go into a desired exile on Terminus; Salvor Hardin uses Machiavellian intrigue to defeat Anacreon twice; Hober Mallow ingeniously uncovers the Imperial-linked conspiracy of Korell; Lathan Devers and others see off Bel Riose's invasion. The Mule interferes as a random interruption of the flow of history, only to be neutralised by the Second Foundation. The Plan, deterministic but flexible enough to adapt to the unexpected, harnesses the rational activism of the Foundations as antidote to the tyranny of history.

The historical structure of the 'Foundation' Trilogy is thus one of tests, which strengthen the Foundations as they progress towards Galactic hegemony. These invigorating tensions, which generally echo Enlightenment optimism in their sense of forceful progress, match with a deliberate thoroughness the structure of Gibbon's first three volumes. Those volumes narrate two conflicts, other

than the Roman Empire's civil divisions: that of Rome and the barbarians, and that of Rome and the Christian Church. The barbarians attack physically, from the frontiers inward; the Christians work quietly from within, spiritually and morally, attacking classical pagan civilisation and its stoic integrity. The clash of barbarians and Empire sees the defeat of the latter in Volume Three, and the merging of barbarians and Church into that mediaeval society so hateful to Gibbon and his age.

This strongly resembles Asimov's process; as Manlove says, 'The progress of the trilogy is almost Hegelian: the thesis of the Foundation against the antithesis of the Empire leading to the synthesis in duality of both Foundations.' (21) The First Foundation, dismissed as part of the barbarian Periphery by the Empire, functions like the Goths or Franks, eating away at the boundaries of the Empire, displaying a raw youthful energy which is in this case not nomadic but technological (see Hober Mallow's analysis of the Foundation's novel approach to technology, F, 213-2). Again, the "barbarians" are the Empire's external, physical foe; they inherit its provinces, build new political and economic structures. The Second Foundation is the Empire's spiritual enemy, like Christianity (22); it is internal; it operates spiritually, through telepathy, in a quiet, gradual manner; like the Christianity of Gibbon's History, it is the custodian of a Plan to which only it is truly privy (the Christian Divine Plan was a teleology regarded with the same conviction by the early Church as the Seldon Plan is by the Foundations). The ironic resemblance of Christianity and the Second Foundation is carried further: like Gibbon's Church, which the historian only reached in his Chapter 15, the Second Foundation only enters the Trilogy's plot late, in Part Two of Foundation

and Empire. The barbarians, or the First Foundation, initially seem the only enemy because they operate openly, unsubtly.

Besides resembling the proselytic Church in its practice of telepathic conversion, the Second Foundation ironically echoes the conversion of Rome by early Christianity: it is located on Trantor, the Imperial capital, which remains its seat after the Empire falls. The Popes resided in the Rome they had subverted; the Second Foundation nests in the hulk of its fallen enemy, a similar symbolic victory. Trantor remains central in the Galaxy, but only as a convert. Now, with the Empire destroyed, as in Gibbon's pattern the two forces, temporal and spiritual, First and Second Foundations, will coalesce into a new order, the Second Empire, the synthesis of their qualities. This parallel is the most significant reflection of Asimov's historical imitation of Gibbon.

Further parallels exist, however. A number of the Trilogy's major episodes recapitulate elements of Gibbon's narrative. The home planet of the First Foundation is Terminus, which does not only signify the 'end' of the Galaxy or of the Empire, but relates also to Gibbon's description of the Roman god Terminus, 'who presided over boundaries', who was the guarantor of those of the Empire (DFRE, Vol 1, 7). The irony is that the planet Terminus is both the high-water mark of the Empire (the Periphery) and the point where its frontiers at last begin, fatally, to recede; the god ceases to watch over the Empires. Another example of Asimov's imitation is Bel Riose, the Imperial general who attacks the First Foundation in Part 1 of Foundation and Empire. His name is, not coincidentally, similar to that of Belisarius, whose attempts to reconquer the Western parts of the

Roman Empire are described by Gibbon (DFRE, Vol 4, chs 41-3). Both generals are dispatched to regain lost territory by strong Emperors who appear to be leading Imperial renaissances: Justinian I in Gibbon, Cleon II in Asimov. Both are so successful, in military and popular charismatic terms, that the Emperor recalls his overweening subject, who seems a rival, and the plans of reconquest lapse. In Ammel Brodrig, the Machiavellian courtier sent to control Bel Riose, may be seen Narses, Justinian's court eunuch, who dogged Belisarius and ultimately replaced him as general. The parallel underlines the inevitability of Bel Riose's defeat, so explicit is the example of the doomed Belisarius.

Another analogy with Gibbon is the pathos of the last remnant of the Galactic Empire, Neotrantor, as a last Emperor lives on this minor agricultural backwater: 'Dagobert IX, ruler of twenty worlds of refractory squires and sullen peasants, was Emperor of the Galaxy, Lord of the universe.' (FE, 183). The similarly destitute condition of Romulus Augustulus, last Emperor of the Western Roman Empire, is recounted in Gibbon (DFRE, Vol 3, ch.36). Dagobert was driven into exile from Trantor in the 'Great Sack of forty years earlier' (FE, 182) by Gilmer, a rebel and regicide (FE, 187-8) whose actions resonate with those of Alaric, whose Visigoths sacked Rome in A.D. 410 (DFRE, ch.31).

Such systematic imitation of Gibbon culminates in the Mule, the telepathic mutant whose programme of mental conversion and galactic conquest topples the First Foundation (FE, Part 2) and narrowly fails to do the same to the Second (SF, Part 1) (23). The Mule's sterility, implied in his name, is reflected both in his conversion of others to his side by coercive telepathy, a loyalty that will die when he dies, and in his lack of a Plan. He

replaces the Seldon Plan with a mere search for power; the dialectical dynamism of the Foundations, the ability of Hari Seldon to transcend his own death by guaranteeing the future of quadrillions, is absent. The Mule confesses that he can establish no dynasty (FE, 224). His telepathy is unique to himself, unlike that of the Second Foundation, which offers a future of intellectual exchange, an evolving, fertile mentality (24). The Mule, as a statistical fluke in a pre-programmed future history, is the most dangerous threat to the synthesis of a new Empire. Asimov constructs the Mule as the equivalent of Attila, King of the Huns, whose successive devastations of the Balkans, Gaul, and Northern Italy Gibbon describes in detail (DFRE, Vol 3, chs. 34, 35). Attila's vast empire, Gibbon observes, was sustained only by Attila's 'Genius'; it disintegrated upon his death (DFRE, Vol 3, 402). He had sons, but was sterile in the same sense as the Mule: he could establish nothing abiding. His conquests in the Fifth Century A.D., conducted by nomadic hordes, were more destructive than any by the Goths or Vandals; like the Mule, he threatened the synthesis of influences promising a new civilization, in this case that of Teutonic barbarians and Christianity. Only his premature death saves this nascent process. The synthesis in Gibbon and in Asimov resumes once the sterile and sterilising influence has gone; thus, the Trilogy's intellectual structure, its experiment in synthesis, accommodates Gibbon's historical detail and analysis at a fundamental level.

The "Foundation" Trilogy is constructed by historical imitation, but involves a significant exercise in historical modification also. The Trilogy and the History have a similar perspective on time; both are narrated by an observer in the far future of the events portrayed. Gibbon, as the History's narrator, is the Enlightenment

philosopher, detailing with a sardonic irony the failures of reason and spirit which undermined the previous great cycle of civilization. His emphasis is repeatedly on the lessons to be learned by his refined Eighteenth Century, ones of discipline, of the application of skeptical intellect to the challenges of history, so that this may cease to be a 'record of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind'.

Asimov's narrator - perhaps an implied editor - is apparent in many citations of the 'Encyclopaedia Galactica', which is quoted in the very opening words of Foundation(F,9); this work will supposedly be published in 1020 F.E.(Foundation Era) on Terminus. Occasionally, the narrator comments on the perceptions of the writers of the 'Encyclopaedia' (for example, SF,11-12). Clearly, Asimov's narrator stands, like Gibbon, at a comfortable remove from the events he describes, twenty years after the completion of Seldon's thousand-year Plan, when the Second Empire is a reality. The Trilogy is cast as a work of history, one which analyzes the past of the Foundations until the point where their synthesis was guaranteed. The lesson of the need for the application of scientific understanding to history and to coming events is perhaps the burden of this history, offered to the citizens of the Second Empire.

Thus far, Asimov and Gibbon coincide; they write of a firmly understood past, certain of its pattern. But Asimov diverges; he modifies his source by imbuing the participants in his historical narrative with an awareness of the likely events of their next thousand years. Where Gibbon's characters, moving along their inflexibly documented paths, are the victims of history, Asimov's Foundationers are its creators. Gibbon was able to portray a few scattered individuals, such as

Diocletian, Julian the Apostate, and Majorian, as aware of the threat to Rome, as her active defenders; but they were short-lived, of temporary effectiveness only. By instituting the Seldon Plan, Asimov transforms the entropy of Imperial collapse into a conscious and constructive progress. Gibbon could point only to a Christian Divine Plan, which he condemned; Asimov's version is secular, rational, valid. The certainty of the historian works prospectively as well as retrospectively in the Trilogy.

Asimov thus indulges Gibbon's wish, that the warning voice of the historian writing in the future could be heard in the past and acted upon. In this sense, Asimov's Future History is also an Alternate History; as an allegory on the history of Rome, it turns the barbarians and Christians into conscious creators even while they destroy. Gibbon's Enlightenment Europe was the eventual product of the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Teutons and Christians, but this was an unconscious process, in which suffering was maximised and much of value was irretrievably lost. The Middle Ages were analogous to the 'Thirty Thousand Years of Galactic Barbarism' which Hari Seldon prevents in Asimov. The Foundations are like Gibbon's barbarians and Christians, but their replacement of the First Empire is planned, involving the preservation of the knowledge of the previous order, as in the Encyclopaedia. The destructive villains of Gibbon's text become constructive heroes in Asimov's. The Trilogy functions as a tribute to Gibbon's ethic of historical activism. History is rewritten; the Dark Ages are truncated, and utopia beckons.

Even though he alters the past he imitates, Asimov retains Gibbon's ideological emphasis. The Trilogy is, for all its talk of a future directed by the mass of

humanity, guilty, in Charles Elkins's terms, of a thorough elitism. Elkins, observing the text's oft-expressed contempt for mass and mob behaviour as chaotic and easily manipulated, points to the apparent nature of the Second Empire. It will be governed by a technocratic elite, reserving knowledge of Psychohistory for itself(25): it will be, in other words, a theodicy. Certainly, the Foundations are secretive in the Trilogy: the First Foundation exploits its atomic technology as a monopoly(F,Part 2), and uses religion to mystify the nuclear process(F,Part 3); the Second Foundation is clandestine and manipulative throughout. At the Trilogy's end, there is no evidence that the secret of telepathy will ever become general property; so liberating a talent is the monopoly of a secret scientific order. This reflects three possible ideological influences: Elkins's idea of a crude conspiratorial Marxism; Gibbon's age, with its educated elite governing a society distinguished by deep divisions of class; and Asimov's own genre ideology, the Wellsian scientism of utopias founded by the scientific elite. All three involve the assumption that elites must lead, their specialised knowledge the key to human happiness.

Asimov, with his career-long fascination for conspiracies within conspiracies and their means of control (seen also in his 'Foundation' sequels in the 1980s and 1990s), rearticulates an old ideological pattern. His debt to Gibbon lies partly in his appropriation of Gibbon's own polite and rational age as a basis for his vision of the Second Empire. Gibbon desired the continuation by the Roman elite of the rational government of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius beyond 180 A.D.; he desired the survival of his own hierarchical age for ever; Asimov supplies both in his Foundations and in the new scientific Empire, the theodicy, that they create. The reason-informed elite

governing all society may echo crude Marxism, but it most strongly indicates Asimov's ideological assimilation of Gibbon's text.

The elitism of Asimov can thus be seen as a facet of his ambitious appropriation of Gibbon's History and not simply as a result of the influence of American SF's ideology on its writers. The non-sensual, abstract, urban, uniform character of Asimov's Galaxy may also result in part from the example of Gibbon's urbane and intellectual culture, so pervasive in The History; Asimov's quest for universal structures and laws, for symmetry and order, is also reminiscent of Enlightenment habits of thought. The 'Foundation' Trilogy can usefully be read as a utopian, or more precisely a theodictic, recasting of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

The 'Foundation' Trilogy is an eminent example of Libertarian SF's habitual subversion of the cycles of history. The Fall of an Empire and the rise of another is dramatic, aesthetically justifying the prevalence of historical cyclicalism in SF; but the genre's utopian impulse, its need for the didactic and progressive qualities of linear history, intervenes. Asimov solves the cyclical dilemma, that what rises must fall; he ensures, as Gibbon hoped would historically occur, that the next cycle will become linear, invulnerable to decay. The destructiveness of cycles, Asimov concludes, must be arrested, by a rational agency which uses the historian's knowledge to domesticate history(26) - an ultimate expression of scientific positivism.

2.3 Poul Anderson: Freedom and Authority(27)

Over four decades, Poul Anderson has emerged as one of genre SF's leading proponents of Libertarianism. As indicated in Chapter One, Section Five, Libertarianism

was, and to some extent still is, the grounding ideology of American SF, viewing the future as a frontier region of boundless individual freedom and escape from constricting governmental control. As Libertarianism's champion, Anderson naturally urged it in his major exercise in future history, the "Technic" Series; and because he urged it so eloquently and ambitiously, he naturally had to express and contain its contradictions as well.

The 'Technic' Future History began modestly but enthusiastically in the 1950s with magazine stories and novellas, and over the following thirty years evolved into a long and complex sequence of space operas, many of them novels, which in their definitive editions totalled seventeen volumes. As the template of the series was laid down in the 1950s, it remained true in its major historical assumptions to SF's 1950s ideology; but these assumptions were progressively to be darkened until the sequence's termination in 1985.

The 'Technic' History spans roughly 5000 years, from the Twenty-First Century to the Seventy-First(28). Three great cycles are depicted: first, a mercantile one, in which access to faster-than-light interstellar travel allows the boundless expansion of human capitalism into the wider galaxy; second, an Imperial one, in which human-dominated civilization must resist the encroachment of barbarians and alien empires; and third, a Libertarian one, in which a vast Commonalty allows the stable continuance of a myriad local particularisms. Each cycle involves a preceding age of anarchy: the mercantile phase is the product of reconstruction after late-Twentieth and early-Twenty First Century chaos; the Imperial period follows the Time of Troubles, in which the mercantile era disintegrated; and the Commonalty rebuilds after the Long

Night, the Dark Age into which the Empire collapsed. All of this is a standard enactment of genre SF's consensus Future History of dramatic cycles and ultimate utopia; what is unusual is Anderson's thorough knowledge of history, his ability to make his Future History reflect the specifics of earlier eras as well as their structures.

Anderson's cycles each recall definite periods: through broad structural parallels; through numerous period allusions, with some mingling of eras; and through the use of a poetic prose style which employs archaic terms and rhythms to create resonances of atmosphere with given historical milieux. Broadly, the sequence's historical imitations can be summed up as follows (29). The mercantile cycle, consisting of Trader to the Stars (1964), The Trouble Twisters (1966), Satan's World (1969), Mirkheim (1977), and The Earth Book of Stormgate (1978), recalls the Hanseatic League in its description of the Polesotechnic League (the "League of Selling Skill"), which, like the mediaeval North European Hansa coalition, unites disparate commercial interests into a trading guild, here on an interstellar scale. More generally, the cutthroat entrepreneurs of the League parallel the ruthless European expansion of the Age of Exploration and the age of Colonial Imperialism, as they invade the peace of countless bucolic alien planets for quick profit. The eventual decline of the Polesotechnic League into a fractious set of rival cartels and disillusioned independent traders perhaps signals Anderson's unease at the situation of late capitalism in the second half of the Twentieth Century.

The Imperial cycle, which narrates the fortunes of the "Terran Empire" some centuries later, is modelled on two major empires of the past, the Roman and the British. The

volumes in question - The People of the Wind(1973), Ensign Flandry(1966), A Circus of Hells(1970), The Rebel Worlds(1969), The Day of Their Return(1973), Flandry of Terra(1965), Agent of the Terran Empire(1965), A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows(1975), A Stone in Heaven(1979), and The Game of Empire(1985) - deal with the rise of the Terran Empire briefly, in the opening volume, and then proceed to the matter of its decline. Anderson clearly draws upon Asimov's 'Foundation' Trilogy, in his general suggestion of the inevitable collapse of a corrupt and decadent monarchy and in specific echoes of Psychohistory, such as the discussion of history as a predictive device between Flandry and Desai (KGS, 42-8). Thus, Rome is a major model, particularly its decline into anarchy in the Third Century. The British Empire emerges in many echoes of colonial rule, of the Raj in particular, and in the character of Dominic Flandry, the Imperial agent and hero of all but two of the books, who recalls Kipling's protagonists and Edwardian rakes.

The final cycle, that of the Commonalty, is preceded by the Long Night, the Dark Age which concerns most of the stories in The Long Night(1983) and the novel The Night Face(1963). These texts draw upon the European Dark Ages, a period Anderson, who has Nordic roots, has often exploited in tales of Vikings and mediaeval monarchies - through their evocations of the Dark Ages, Asimov and Gibbon are again likely influences. The Commonalty itself, which appears only in the novella 'Starfog' (1967), which closes The Long Night, is without close historical parallels - its nature as a Libertarian utopia makes it Anderson's major effort at novelty, at historical extension; it is his desired terminus to history, contemporary and future.

Anderson's Libertarianism shapes his Future History at a fundamental level. His 'Technic' stories - whose very name suggests the technological bias of early American genre SF, its scientism and consequent positivism - articulate the two competing features of the conservative Libertarian agenda. If space travel is to be the liberating mechanism of humanity's future, as the consensus Future History Anderson follows assumes, if freedom is to be found on the galactic stage, that freedom requires a guarantee - some form of authority. Libertarianism resists authority, especially in the form of Government, yet as Anderson freely acknowledges time and again, barbarians, rival Empires, commercial monopolies, and the like threaten the free; freedom, by the very nature of history, is unstable. To resolve the paradox of a boundless freedom which must bind itself in order to survive, Anderson structures his Future History as a dialectic.

The three cycles of the "Technic" future are the three terms of this dialectic: the mercantile phase, freedom, is the thesis; the Imperial phase, with its defensive emphasis on authority, is the antithesis; and the Commonalty, a regulated Libertarian utopia or theodicy, is the concluding synthesis. If this formulation holds true, the free enterprise heroism of Nicholas van Rijn, David Falkayn, and other Polesotechnic traders is held up by Anderson as an example of Liberty unfettered, capitalism as the essence of freedom. In contrast, the Machiavellian efforts of Dominic Flandry and other Imperial agents to sustain the later Terran Empire become an illustration of how governmental authority must be employed to preserve Freedom, even if this necessitates the suppression of some liberties now. The Commonalty balances freedom and authority in a utopian synthesis. As in Asimov's Trilogy, the cycles of history, borrowed from

Spengler, Toynbee, and Gibbon, can be suspended at the author's ideological convenience, with the static or linear utopia of the author's desires resolving history in theodictic perfection.

This is not a purpose achieved without the revelation of ideological and historical contradictions. The domestication of history as ideological allegory may have been Anderson's purpose, but his manner of enacting it has altered with time. His two fully narrated cycles, of merchants and empire, were written in parallel, not in sequence. Thus, the early Polesotechnic League stories, such as those collected in Trader to the Stars and featuring Nicholas van Rijn, were written at much the same time as early Flandry episodes such as those in Agent of the Terran Empire. This contemporaneous production continued with the increasingly ambitious novels of the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, the contemporary influences affecting Anderson manifested themselves in both cycles, which undergo progressive changes, in tone and argument, in step with each other. It is through an examination of these changes that Anderson's ideological contradictions and shiftings can be appreciated.

Anderson's ideal of the synthesis of freedom and authority can be viewed as the product of his own location in space and time. The three decades in which he wrote the "Technic" series, from the early 1950s to 1985, were those first of America's seeming ascendancy under Eisenhower and Kennedy and then of her apparent crisis in the face of the Counterculture and Vietnam. Naturally, Anderson, beginning his career in the aftermath of the U.S. victory in World War Two and under the wing of Astounding's editor John W. Campbell, commenced his series in a confident mood, but then, as crises mounted,

he became more cautious, conservative, and defensive in tone. The two cycles move from Golden Age exuberance to fin-de-siecle elegy. This is contradictory, as it cuts across the series; the first cycle should be optimistic, the second pessimistic; but to some degree the more mature Anderson retrospectively shaped the sequence so that the movement of mood progressed linearly within each cycle.

The contradiction in general conservative American Libertarianism lies in its advocacy of an absolute freedom which only some, usually privileged, individuals are in a position to exploit. This is the root of Heinleinian ideology, the ethic of Competence. As a Heinleinian author, a believer in practical capitalism, Anderson did not much question this ethic when American supremacy was unquestioned, but as that supremacy was challenged, he was compelled to defend and justify his historical thesis. The privileged position of those capable of using freedom had to be defended, in the face of an anti-Heinleinian left-wing backlash, the plight of poor American blacks and Third World populations, the excessive exertion of *authority* in Vietnam. Anderson's writing thus proceeds from uninhibited enjoyment of adventurous freedom to a more reasoned stance, which extends the benefits of freedom to a wider number and defends the freedom of the few as a guarantee of the later prosperity of the many.

In the mercantile cycle, Nicholas van Rijn in particular was originally conceived by Anderson as an uninhibited capitalist adventurer, flamboyant in his greed. He is large, and speaks in a colourful English-Dutch patois; a typical description is that he 'rose and lumbered about the cabin, fuming obscenities and volcanic blue clouds' (ST,13). In the early stories, such as those in

Trader to the Stars, he functions as the archetypal problem-solver as advocated by John W. Campbell, for whom the inhabitants of alien worlds are scientific problems to be solved, generally for his own profit. Thus the alien "Eksers" in 'Hiding Place' (ST,9-49) function as the subject of a plot akin to a that of a mystery story: their identity among a variety of species has to be deduced. The resolutions to the puzzles posed by aliens are generally ones that enlist them as "partners" in enterprises operated by van Rijn and other traders, a classic process of the "opening up" of new markets to capitalism.

A clear example of this comes in the novella 'Territory'. Van Rijn quite openly describes how he will use trade to engineer the alteration of an indigenous society, whatever the socio-economic consequences: "'Look, I want *kungu* wine, and a fur trade on the side might also be nice to have. The clans everywhere will bring me this stuff. I sell them ammonia and nitrates from the nitrogen-fixing plants we build, in exchange. They will need this to enrich their soils...Of course, what they will really do this for is to get surplus credit for buying modern gadgets. Guns, especial. Nobody with hunter instincts can resist buying guns; he will even become a part-time farmer to do it.'" The natives will be given machines and tools; to a liberal challenge, van Rijn responds that, yes, he came to exploit the aliens, but all of this will 'civilize' them as the liberals want, and the aliens want to profit too(ST,101). The assumption is that all species are governed by the profit motive; governments are inefficient and fickle, and only private enterprise can ensure mutual prosperity(ST,102-3). This Libertarian argument is the most basic assumption of the early Anderson: he declares that 'Selfishness is a potent force' (ST,48); governments, based on sterile altruism,

fail to control the dynamic self-interest of the traders, whose Polesotechnic League thus comes to dominate space, spreading civilization and prosperity (ST, 47-9). How mutual this prosperity is may be doubted, for example when van Rijn speaks of his damaged ship going to nearby stars to find a 'planet with an industrial civilization, whose people could eventually be taught to make the circuits we need' (ST, 12). This is the pure self-interest of Colonial Imperialism, as Anderson probably came to realise.

The first evidence of this realisation is the appearance of a much more sober and earnest hero, David Falkayn, van Rijn's protege, who significantly has two partners from backward alien planets. Their adventures in The Trouble Twisters are still exuberant and profit-motivated, but some humility has begun to intrude. The last two novels in this cycle, Satan's World and Mirkheim, complete the shift towards a darker, less certain tone, as the cycle turns downwards and earlier certainties have to be revised or at least defensively justified. Van Rijn, who in 'The Man Who Counts' (in The Earth Book of Stormgate) was willing to alter the character of two unique cultures in order to escape a savage planet, begins Satan's World in an earlier mood, talking of intervening with mercenaries when 'Some piglet of a king burns our plantations' (SW, 47). But this is gradually changed, as if Anderson is re-examining this brashness. David Falkayn is now the central character; the enemy Dathynans are portrayed as the helpless victims of their world's climatic cycle (SW, 212-6); and at the novel's end, Dathyna is taken into administrative and reconstructive custody by the League, which thus engages in the very governmental tasks Anderson derided previously, although with defensive bravado at the suggestion (SW, 218-9). Mirkheim completes the shift: Anderson describes the

growing power of Government (that of the Solar Commonwealth) to interfere with the League's freedoms; of how already a League Council of Hiawatha had to adopt 'more humane and farsighted policies than hitherto' (M, 89); and of how the League increasingly fragments into cartels, some dependent on the Solar System's markets, others consolidating on colony worlds, with independents such as van Rijn caught in between (M, 90-1). Falkayn does what would have been unthinkable before in giving the vital mineral-rich world of Mirkheim to a co-operative of developing cultures; an alien power, Babur, threatens the League; the novel ends with regrets and partings, as the cycle trends inevitably downwards.

This process suggests alteration in Anderson's thinking, the drift of his polemic into less certain waters. By providing more details of the Polesotechnic League's history, he indicates that the roots of its decline lay early - the cocksure early stories were, in retrospect, on shaky ground, coming as they did after the Council of Hiawatha had begun to undermine the League's unity and independence. The sense of inevitability surrounding the League's decline reflects Anderson's acknowledgement that no dogma persists without challenge. It must be defended; and this he does by humanising his characters such as van Rijn and Falkayn over time, making them more responsible and generous, as with Falkayn's deed of Mirkheim to alien races. This is not a renunciation of Anderson's ideology, but merely an effort to make it more sympathetic in response to contemporary liberal pressures: free enterprise can serve the many, because it can compromise.

Such defensiveness to sustain his cause dictates the substance of Anderson's second "Technic" cycle, that of the Terran Empire. By linking it to the Future History of

the Polesotechnic League, Anderson implies that while one Libertarian option (the League) may topple, the argument continues. If an experiment works only temporarily, attempt it again. One of the ironies of this is that the empire which threatens Flandry's Terra throughout the second cycle, Merseia, was begun on its quest for supremacy by Falkayn, who intervened in its affairs necessarily but high-handedly long before (in the novella 'Day of Burning', in The Earth Book of Stormgate). This continues Anderson's reassessment of the desirability of brute capitalism - long-term consequences must be considered - but also provides him with the dire foe Flandry needs to justify his own often predatory adventures.

The Flandry stories dramatise the second part of Anderson's formulation of Libertarianism, namely, Authority, now that the cycle of freedom has ended with the fall of the League and the Time of Troubles. In the face of barbarism, the Terran Empire is a vast, highly organised haven for the worlds of Technic civilisation, a necessary Authority to restrain the excessive Freedom of inconvenient Others (the Merseians, Gorrazani, "barbarians" generally). This Libertarian contradiction or paradox, that once prosperous freedom is won it must be defended by authoritarian means, was evident in Anderson's earliest portrayals of Flandry. He is the saviour again and again of a conservative, decadent, hierarchical, and often tyrannical Empire, using ruthless tactics; yet he exercises immense personal freedom, as a libertine, womaniser, and adventurer. As a container of freedom and authority, he is the ideal vehicle for Anderson's continuing argument.

The first Flandry stories, collected in Agent of the Terran Empire and Flandry of Terra, are like the early

van Rijn tales: exuberant and heedless. In 'A Message in Secret', Flandry interferes with the freedom to intrigue of the Mongol-descended settlers of Altai; in 'A Plague of Masters', he brings about radical social change on the Malay world of Unan Besar chiefly in order to escape the planet - a decided echo of van Rijn's behaviour(30). But in the seven novels which Anderson added to the cycle subsequently, Flandry, as with the League traders, becomes more humane, less of a rakish caricature, more concerned for those he manipulates. In Ensign Flandry, he saves aliens from the explosion of their sun; in The Rebel Worlds, he encourages rebels against Imperial tyranny to save themselves by fleeing into unknown space; he comes to know and respect the Merseians as honourable enemies, not as an enemy race.

Flandry's mature adventures, A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows and A Stone in Heaven in particular, mark Anderson's increasing effort in the 1970s to justify his ideology. In his debate with non-Libertarians, he depicted Flandry less as the servant of Empire than as the saviour of emerging cultures. The Empire is crumbling into civil wars and barbarians are invading; to postpone the Long Night long enough to allow successor states to evolve, Flandry continues to prop up the Imperial fabric he regards so cynically. As Chunderban Desai explains to Flandry, the Empire is entering its Dominate Phase, which, by direct analogy with the Roman Empire, is the time when a threatened Imperium moves from the Principate or civil rule to "centralized divine autocracy" (KGS, 45). Decline into barbarism is unavoidable; the Empire becomes ever less likable; and so Flandry protects Dennitza and Ramnu (in KGS and SH respectively) for the future. Again, Anderson defensively moderates his ideological position: he pleads for an evolutionary transition from a present hated Authority (perhaps the American status quo) to a

superior future, arguing that Authority can be the incubator of future utopias.

The series darkens again, Flandry becomes old and wise, and even his relentless womanising is moderated as he settles into marriage of a sort (SH, 234), perhaps a concession to contemporary feminism. In The Game of Empire, Flandry's daughter becomes central, a sign of transition to a new cycle. The Empire has served its purpose, new cultures are in readiness to outlast the Long Night, and the Commonalty is awaited. Thus, Anderson has employed his second cycle first to celebrate and then to justify Authority - its sins can be forgiven.

It may be that Anderson abandoned the "Technic" Future History because, having gone through his own cycles of ideological offence and defence, he found a sort of Commonalty under Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. A new security against the onslaught of liberalism had been found, and the defensiveness of the later "Technic" texts could be set aside. In other works, he could express new variations on his thesis (as he did in his new Future History of the 1990s, beginning with Harvest of Stars (1993)).

Anderson employs history not only as a vehicle for ideological argument, but as an object of active romantic nostalgia. He employs a diction filled with archaism, adjectival poeticism; his characters are conceived in terms that have numerous historical echoes, so that van Rijn recalls Dutch merchant princes of Holland's Golden Age, Falkayn is a member of the family of the feudal Duke of Hermes, Falkayn's alien crewmates have names (Chee Lan) or philosophies (Buddhist) which echo the ancient East, Flandry receives a British-style Imperial knighthood. The doomed yet still determined struggles to

preserve League and Empire, which reflect, as Sandra Miesel remarks, a fatalism coupled with the desire to appreciate every moment fully(31), are central to Anderson's nostalgic project. A genuine honour can be found in such struggle; Anderson enlists the codes of honour of his various favourite past epochs, ancient Rome, mediaeval Scandinavia, the Age of Exploration and Empire, in the service of his modern ideology.

Libertarianism is the philosophy of unlimited honourable individualism, asserting as it does that individuals require no or little control; with honour, Anderson implies, this ideal is realisable.

This conception of the past as a simpler place whose precedents of honour can inform a responsibly restrained modern individualism is an indication of a desire to invoke the idealised, stable past in the service of present and future theodicy. Anderson's League, Empire, and Commonalty are projections of a nostalgic romanticism onto the future; like Asimov's Second Empire, the Commonalty is a desired culmination to history, an abrogator of cycles, a theodicy of the Libertarian Right.

2.4 Gordon R. Dickson: Libertarian Knights(32)

As a close friend and collaborator of Poul Anderson in the 1950s and afterward, Gordon R. Dickson reflects similar influences. He also is prone to nostalgic romanticism, to the appropriation of the ideals and the rhetoric of past eras, especially those characterised by the mentality of honour and the spiritual quest. In his 'Childe' Cycle, commenced in the 1950s and continuing in the 1990s, Dickson describes a future conceived as a background for elemental struggles more appropriate to an idealised past - struggles involving escalating triumphs of a philosophy which justifies early American SF's Libertarian assumptions in very unusual terms.

The novelty of Dickson's Future History lies in the elemental quality mentioned earlier. Where most SF writers of the 1940s and 1950s, such as Heinlein, Asimov, and Anderson, constructed their futures as direct secular ideological arguments and with much validating detail (dates, names, scientific explanations), Dickson, beginning the 'Childe' Cycle in 1959, wrote sparsely, economically, creating a universe of an allegorical simplicity, suited to a thesis that was spiritual and philosophical in tone. The scheme of the 'Childe' Cycle is one of recurring crises of stagnation which are resolved by means of transcendence of barriers physical and evolutionary; in tone, these processes are like mediaeval quests, demanding ritual stages of initiation and purification(33).

The larger plot of the cycle is centred upon a hero who, like King Arthur, is able to rematerialise centuries after an earlier phase of struggle in order to carry the fight onwards. This figure, whose name is different in each incarnation but who is the continuing mouthpiece of Dickson's argument from volume to volume, epitomises Dickson's conflation of history with a mystical evolution; the hero matures as a Childe or Knight over centuries, and this moral-philosophical evolution of an ethical paragon or superman helps induce the ethical advance of the broader human race. That advance includes expansion to other worlds, so that philosophical and physical apotheosis run hand in hand, and the secular demands of SF's consensus Future History are met. As will be seen, this dichotomy generates contradictions.

Dickson's recurring hero, who, true to Joseph Campbell's dictate, wears a succession of faces, was first conceived as Donal Graeme, the protagonist of Dorsai!(1959); this

military paragon, operating some centuries hence, is an "intuitive superman" who, trained as a mercenary on the soldier world of Dorsai, rises rapidly through the ranks as he wins spectacular space-operatic victories. He combats the aspiration to absolute power over the sixteen human worlds of William of Ceta, minimising casualties but suffering severe personal losses, as in the death of his brother. As Raymond H. Thompson argues, Donal is not merely an escapist superman figure, in that he lacks personal ambition, avoids excessive bloodshed, and learns from his mistakes: he is conceived as a model of ideal, benevolent behaviour(34), intuitive and not merely linear and rational. Donal, having defeated William, sets out to influence past and future. In Necromancer(1962), he emerges in the Twenty-First Century as Paul Formain, who battles the forces of caution and stasis and engineers the human expansion into space which will result in the universe of Dorsai!. This is not merely colonisation of other worlds; it is conceived as a grand experiment, in which different facets of human greatness will isolate themselves on various planets, grow to maturity, and then merge in a transcendent synthesis(N,182-4). Thus the discrete functions of worlds in Dickson's allegorical future: Dorsai epitomises soldierly courage, religious faith flourishes on Harmony and Association, mysticism of an Oriental variety guides the Exotics of Mara and Kultis, science is the rationale of Newton. The subjugation of space and human socio-cultural evolution are here characteristically synonymous.

The synthesis of tendencies, in particular courage, faith, and mysticism, is approaching in The Final Encyclopaedia(1984), as well as in the volumes which cluster inconclusively around it - Chantry Guild(1988), Young Bleys(1991), and Other(1995). Here, Donal Graeme is re-incarnated as Hal Mayne, Dickson's climactic hero(35),

who must use moral and rational suasion rather than military force to combat a new threat of selfishness and stasis, posed by Bleys Ahrens and his charismatic Others, apparent hybrids of the various human cultures but wrongfully directed. Hal Mayne engages in the exemplary labours of a knightly Childe; he gathers a corps of paladins around him; he is besieged along with the mustered forces of creativity and progress on Earth; here he prepares to defeat the Others and inaugurate a new cycle of human expansion, both evolutionary and physical. Bleys Ahrens dismisses this prospect as 'this madness you call growth but which is actually only expansion further and further into the perils of the physical universe until the lines that supply our lives will finally be snapped of their own weight.' Hal Mayne responds that for all organisms 'the price of life is a continual seeking to grow and explore' (FE, 676). Darwinian evolution, ethical evolution, the evolution of a human galactic empire: these are inseparably associated in Dickson's scheme.

Other volumes in the "Childe" Cycle develop figures who complement the triple hero Donal Graeme/Paul Formain/Hal Mayne. In The Tactics of Mistake (1971), set after the colonisation of the Sixteen Worlds initiated in Necromancer, an ancestor of Donal Graeme, Cletus Grahame, defeats the threat of tyrannical stasis much as Donal does in Dorsai!, through military genius; he employs Machiavellian tactics of entrapment to thwart Dow de Castries, an Earthman who would impose bureaucratic shackles on the emerging colonies. In Soldier, Ask Not (1967), set during the career of Donal himself, another potential superman, Tam Olyn, begins to manipulate the fate of worlds, but realises that power must be tempered with responsibility, and becomes humble, an exemplary illumination of the thesis of heroism

presented in Dorsai!. Such amplification of points made in the central volumes can also be found in two ancillary books, Lost Dorsai(1980) and The Spirit of Dorsai(1979).

The Cycle is a vast historical-evolutionary allegory. In this, it advances the argument that physical expansion and ethical development are inseparable. Donal Graeme's three incarnations embody this assertion in a manner reminiscent of the mediaeval knight, questing across time and space for wisdom, demonstrating virtue, defeating ogres of caution like de Castries and Ahrens, rescuing worlds (and women) from durances of a restraining, tyrannical nature(36). But Dickson also draws on Renaissance sources for his ideals of heroism(37). A salient indicator of this is his description of the Final Encyclopaedia, a vast orbiting spherical computer which, as a store of all human knowledge, becomes a major resource, a mnemonic tool capable of infinite cross-referencing, and as such the key to human evolution and a fortress for both Tam Olyn and Hal Mayne. Tam Olyn says that the Encyclopaedia's ultimate purpose is to allow 'the great interconnected body of man's information about himself and his universe' to 'begin to show its shape as a whole, in a way man had never been able to observe it before.' (SAN,10-11). As Sandra Miesel says, 'the Encyclopedia's twin functions of keeping and transmuting link it back to its Renaissance prototype, the Theater of Memory.' (38)

The Renaissance ideal of synthesis, of the interconnectedness of all phenomena, all knowledge, is invoked with the Final Encyclopaedia. Dickson assumes that all of the cosmos can be grasped, stored, cross-referenced - in essence, remembered. This underlies his formulation of the hero: not only must he, in the mediaeval manner, show 'steadfastness in the face of

insurmountable odds', but also the ability to 'synthesize all aspects of humanity within' himself(39). Like the Encyclopaedia, Hal Mayne, Dickson's heroic culmination, comes to contain all of the rival human tendencies - he is a literal 'Renaissance man', a vehicle for everything human, a microcosm of humanity and as such an illustration of the principle of a kingdom in one person, a 'state of man'. Dickson designs Hal Mayne as a synthesis of the three aspects of humanity basic to the Cycle: he is a soldier (as Donal Graeme in Dorsai!); he dwells among mystics (as Paul Formain in Necromancer); and he learns faith (while living among the Friendlies in The Final Encyclopaedia). This unity is reinforced by means of Hal Mayne's tutors, who shape his character in The Final Encyclopaedia - they are a Dorsai soldier, an Exotic mystic, and a Friendly man of God(FE, chs.1-2). As the agent and symbol of this alchemical reconciliation of elements, Hal Mayne is the ideal hero for a pulp allegory: his decisions can be taken as those of his entire species, his persuasions can sway worlds (and do so repeatedly, as when, in The Final Encyclopaedia, he, while still a youth, engineers the evacuation of several planets by presenting hearsay arguments to their leaders).

This use of historical models to justify sweeping characterisations and arguments operates on more immediate levels. Given his invocation of the Renaissance ideal of synthesis, it is unsurprising that Dickson also echoes the material practice of Early Modern Europe: the unification of a disparate world by force. This physical synthesis, an imitation of the European Age of Exploration, is repeatedly argued as the answer to spiritual and cultural stagnation, as when Paul Formain initiates interstellar colonisation in Necromancer, as when Donal Graeme unites the worlds in Dorsai!, and as

when Hal Mayne proposes a new age of expansion when debating with Bleys Ahrens at the conclusion of The Final Encyclopaedia. The agents of the human synthesis are resonant of the Seventeenth Century, and are predominantly military in nature: the Dorsai generals, Cletus Grahame and Donal Graeme, head armies of mercenaries (recalling the Thirty Years' War) and their surname is probably intended as an echo of that of the Scottish Royalist general of the 1640s, James Grahame, Marquess of Montrose, a similar military paragon(40). Paul Formain and Hal Mayne are new incarnations of Donal Graeme, and so share his military roots; in any case, they are stages in the evolution of Dickson's "Childe", the Knight, another armed figure. This military bias extends to Dickson's avatars of Faith, the Friendlies, vaguely Calvinist zealots, who bear names such as James Arm-of-the-Lord and Eldest Bright, who are often employed as mercenaries, and whose canting rhetoric directly echoes the Seventeenth Century. An example is the utterance of the Friendly soldier who murders Tam Olyn's brother-in-law in Soldier, Ask Not: "Shut thy milk-babe mouth!" hissed the Groupman. "What are Codes before the Code of the Almighty? What are oaths other than our oath to the God of Battles?" (SAN, 93). All of these borrowings from the Renaissance period are not merely ornamental; they express an acute nostalgia, similar to Poul Anderson's, for a past era in which the enactment of ideology in practice was simple, direct, and heroic: thus an air of military fantasy.

Thus, although Dickson is constructing a philosophical allegory of human growth, his textual specifics frequently contradict that project. Can an evolutionary thesis be clothed in an exuberance of expansion and aggression? This dissonance is rooted in the overconfidence of early American genre SF, which so easily

assumed a Human Manifest Destiny; by attaching a creed requiring spirituality and humility to this theodictic teleology, Dickson contradicts himself. He has faith in genre manifestoes and in ethical evolution: an uneasy marriage. Perhaps conscious of this, he takes steps, increasingly as the Cycle proceeds, to palliate militaristic hubris. The mystical tendency of mankind, embodied in the Exotics of Mara and Kultis, is rendered from the start in pacific terms; several heroes in the Cycle have Exotic advisers, one of whom, Padma in Soldier, Ask Not, guides Tam Olyn to humility. But the Exotics are a flawed counter-balance to the Friendlies and the Dorsai; their very name suggests that they are external to the world-view Dickson promulgates, and their powers, such as telepathy and levitation, induced through eugenics, are as much elements of power-fantasy as is mercenary adventure. They are pulp-genre gurus, reassuring in caricature. More effective moderation comes with modifications to military and messianic heroism: Cletus Grahame in Tactics of Mistake fights his battles to free the new human colonies from any central control, and with minimal bloodshed; Donal Graeme in Dorsai! similarly avoids carnage, and ends the novel with his quest only begun, moving on to new and higher levels; Hal Mayne, as the culminating hero, is not often a military leader and relies chiefly on philosophical persuasion to realise his plan. Such concessions to humility still serve Dickson's ideological purpose, but they make his scheme of synthesis in balance somewhat more convincing.

Ultimately, Dickson's evolutionary allegory is based in the Libertarian assumptions of his genre culture. His heroes are drawn as knights and messiahs, as emblems of chivalry and synthesis; as such, they contrast with the resolutely secular figures more familiar in SF's early decades, Heinlein's engineers, Asimov's mathematicians,

Anderson's traders. They recall more the intuitive supermen of A.E. van Vogt, and, in early characters like Donal Graeme and Paul Formain, point forward to mystical protagonists like those of Frank Herbert. But Dickson, like Anderson and Heinlein, serves the ideology of Libertarianism; so do his heroes. Their knightly codes and humility, as constructs nostalgic for a simple past, serve the ideal of a similarly simple future, without governments and other constraints, in which adventure and meaning can freely be found. An examination of the structure of the major "Childe" Cycle novels bears this out.

Each novel is designed as a simple dialectic: a character representing progress and expansion encounters a dark opposite who desires stagnation and regress. Each has genius, but in the ensuing struggle for the human race's soul, the advocate of progress wins through his superior sympathy with others; the dark twin is hubristic and selfish, and so can be entrapped. Victory means a new surge in human evolution and expansion. In this manner, Paul Formain overcomes Walter Blunt and Earth's central computer, who desire that humanity limit itself to Earth (Necromancer); Cletus Grahame defeats Dow deCastries, who wishes to control the new colonies through Earth's bureaucratic and military might (Tactics of Mistake); Donal Graeme thwarts William of Ceta's quest for dictatorship over the Sixteen Worlds (Dorsai!); Hal Mayne begins to prevent the domination of the planets by Bleys Ahrens and his Others (The Final Encyclopaedia and Chantry Guild). Every volume ends with a confrontation and debate: the dark twin demands stagnation, and the hero triumphantly asserts and enforces expansion. This is in thin disguise the standard Libertarian scenario: government seeks to regulate, but is limited or overthrown. Space is the High Frontier, whatever the

author's specific designs on it. Because the simplicities of knightly chivalry and evolutionary synthesis merely serve to enable this teleology, they are subordinate to it, indeed part of it. Dickson re-articulates the fundamental forms of Libertarian argument: thus his use of expansionist and militaristic plotting. His heroes are Libertarian Knights, and the Grail they seek is the freedom promised by Libertarian theodicy.

2.5 Alfred Bester: The Stars Our Destination(41)

Alfred Bester's second SF novel, The Stars My Destination(1956), reflects trends other than those seen in the Campbellian Future Histories thus far discussed. Whereas Asimov, Anderson, and Dickson were all preoccupied with the future as a triumphal project informed by the simplicities of a domesticated past history, Bester treats history as a set of restraining paradigms which his future must shed. He subscribes to the consensus future history endemic to the Nineteen-Fifties, urging as before expansion into space, the ruthless exploitation of Nature, human evolution into the superman; like his contemporaries, he employs devices such as paranormal "psi" powers (see especially his earlier novel The Demolished Man(1953)(42)), of which John W. Campbell was a strong advocate; he shows the complacent gender attitudes of the Fifties, as in his portrayal of Robin Wednesbury; but he employs his genre materials in a spirit of irony and satire, sharply modifying the previous norms of historical appropriation.

The satirical emphasis of Bester's text owes much to the emergence of new elements of SF discourse in the aftermath of World War Two. Bester's skeptical approach to historically-grounded myths parallels the pessimism of many writers who were alarmed at the destructiveness of the atomic bomb; technological breakthroughs had ceased

to be seen as unalloyed blessings, so that while PyrE, the Promethean substance in TSMD, matches the discoveries made by Renaissance Europeans in potential benefit, it can also destroy the world. Hubris must be tempered. The rise of satire in the SF of the Fifties (especially in the magazine Galaxy), as epitomised by authors such as Robert Sheckley and Frederick Pohl, allowed Bester to treat assumed characteristics of the future with an intense deconstructive energy. In addition, the encouragement lent (by editors such as Horace Gold) to the use in Fifties SF of the "soft" or human sciences permitted Bester to employ his knowledge of psychology to impressive effect in TSMD. His characters undergo sharp psychological changes to match their shifts of external function; future history becomes a teleology subject to their individual, and often caustic, judgement(43).

In the light of these influences, The Stars My Destination can be seen as a text which imitates a variety of historical eras in order to explode them. The energy of that destruction fuels unlimited progress into novelty; as a transcendent superman, Gully Foyle echoes past historical paragons of innovation but far exceeds them, becoming the symbol and agency of an historical extension of unique velocity. Bester's most immediate literary model, Blake's 'The Tyger' (Tiger! Tiger! is TSMD's alternative title) is the basis for this pattern. As Patrick A. McCarthy argues(44), Bester's theme is similar to Blake's: the contraries of innocence and experience must be reconciled; the innocent naivete of the child can unlock humanity's vast potential with unblinkered energy, and this can then be harnessed by the calculating experience of the adult. Gully Foyle begins as an empty vessel, ground down by a life of low expectations: 'He had reached a dead end.' (TSMD,16) But the refusal of a passing spacecraft, the *Vorga*, to rescue

him from shipwreck, kindles his energies in a quest for revenge: 'the key to his awakening was in the lock' (TSMD,17). With the doors of perception opening, Foyle becomes like the Tyger, a ravaging monster, who lashes out with a superhuman but crude violence; having failed in his over-literal bid to destroy the *Vorga*, he must then temper his innocent rage with a Machiavellian control, and becomes the manipulative Fourmyle of Ceres, who conflicts subtly with those who betrayed him (here the influence of Dumas pere's The Count of Monte Christo has often and obviously been noted). But innocence and experience co-exist uneasily; Foyle is dogged by his Doppelganger, the "Burning Man"; he must use the infinitely creative and destructive substance PyrE to shape the future of humanity; and it is only by reverting in some measure to earlier savagery, by becoming the Burning Man and living anew among primitives, that he succeeds in balancing his own nature and guaranteeing human greatness through PyrE. His shifts between uncontrolled elemental rage and clever civilised control suggest the difficulty of any genuine balance; the tension of the two provides much of the energy which is the novel's theme. It is Bester's sundry exercises in historical appropriation that allow that energy to launch Gully Foyle and humanity towards the stars.

The Future History outlined in TSMD, as is appropriate in view of the expansionist recklessness suggested before, evokes past phases of intense restlessness culminating in exploration, conquest, imperialism, the unleashing of forces of exploitation and enterprise. Bester describes his future in terms of a Blakean tension between opportunity and dissatisfaction: 'This was a Golden Age, a time of high adventure, rich living, and hard dying...but nobody thought so. This was a future of fortune and theft, pillage and rapine, culture and

vice...but nobody admitted it.' (TSMD,7) This era is like the European Renaissance, or the United States in the Nineteenth Century; it has new technologies, merchant princes, vast territories to explore. And yet, in his constant scrutiny of his models, Bester asserts the shortcomings of such periods: their energies are never liberating enough, so that their people remain dissatisfied. Bester therefore must modify history as well as imitate it: Gully Foyle and PyrE add to the historical template a transcendent energy, which allows the imprisoning limitations of Earth and the past to be left behind(45). It is this transcendence of history, the urge to true novelty, that informs Bester's textual strategies.

Bester imitates various historical milieux, in each case implying the decadence of his model, the exhaustion that necessitates its transcendence. He does this in part by means of his "pyrotechnic" style, which, as Tim Blackmore indicates, is not merely an exuberant surface, but also a crucial assistance, to the substance of his work(46). The first culture Gully Foyle encounters is that of the "Scientific People", who inhabit a "Sargasso Asteroid" beyond the orbit of Mars. They are described as the descendants of a marooned scientific team; 'the only savages of the twenty-fifth century', they 'remain in space, salvaging and spoiling, and practicing a barbaric travesty of the scientific method they remembered from their forebears' (TSMD,26-7). They believe in a debased Social Darwinism, and dwell among the wrecks of scavenged spaceships. Gully Foyle, himself debased, flees from them in impatient disgust(TSMD,31-2). These folk are not ordinary primitives, but rather a degenerate civilisation; in them, Bester mirrors all societies which worship in stagnation the relics of their past. They are rather like a Pacific Island cargo cult, worshipping

scientific phrases and objects, as Bester humorously conveys; yet the cargo is their own, the work of their own ancestors. It is forwards they should look, to their own energetic uniqueness; and it is to them that Gully Foyle returns at the novel's end (TSMD, 257-8), for among them is to be found the enabling energy of the Tiger. It is characteristic of Bester's appropriation of history that the "savages" he borrows are primitive only in their worship of conventional civilisation, which is decadent; it is their authentic, seemingly crude, vigour which allows progress.

The Cargo mentality, which keeps the doors of perception closed, might be seen as Bester's satirical attack on the SF genre's obsession with technologically-adorned archaisms. Certainly, his *Twenty-Fifth Century* contains many more "civilised" versions of the "Scientific People". A leading intelligence operative of the Inner Planets Armed Forces, Captain Y'ang-Yeovil, is 'a lineal descendant of the learned Mencius' and belongs to 'the Intelligence Tong'. The Chinese are entrusted with espionage because of their 'five-thousand year tradition of cultivated subtlety', and Y'ang-Yeovil is 'a member of the dreaded Society of Paper Men, an adept of the Tientsin Image Makers, a Master of Superstition, and fluent in the Secret Speech' (TSMD, 54). Like Robert Sheckley and Jack Vance, Bester burlesques SF's love of historical pomposity; but he is also implying that the Inner Planets are decadent, that while seeming futuristic they have not changed in centuries, like the Middle Kingdom.

If archaism and anachronism are to be transcended by the Inner Planets, their ruling class will not help. Like the "Scientific People", they dwell decadently upon their past, deliberately affecting the old-fashioned. People in

Bester's future can "jaunte" or teleport, but the arch-magnate Presteign of Presteign receives guests who arrive 'by car, by coach, by litter, by every form of luxurious transportation'; aristocrats of this corporate age use 'a band wagon', an 'electric runabout', an 'Esso-fueled gasoline buggy' (TSMD,163), all in ostentatious rejection of the novelty of "jaunting". This culture has reverted socially, becoming a 'Victorian society which stifled its women in purdah' (TSMD,151). The ruling elite is an hereditary aristocracy of wealthy business families, who have moved from trade into exaggerated gentility. Bester is striking parallels with merchant princes of many periods of capitalism, especially those of America in the Nineteenth Century (some of his Twenty-Fifth Century aristocratic families, like the Edisons, continue the dynasties of six centuries earlier). Tycoons like Presteign express their wealth in decadent spectacle and the conversion of the things of the past into ostentatious property; this happened also in that past. Such dwelling on the past, Bester asserts, vitiates any fresh potentials; novelty is the solution.

In his guise as Fourmyle of Ceres, Gully Foyle parodies the tastes of the aristocracy, ironically ingratiating himself with them thereby. He entertains the people of Earth with the "Four Mile Circus", which creates the impression that he is 'a wealthy young buffoon from the largest of the asteroids', 'enormously rich' and 'enormously amusing', 'the upstart *nouveau riche* of all time', whose 'entourage was a cross between a country circus and the comic court of a Bulgarian kinglet' (TSMD,124). He is holding up a mirror to Earth's decadent society, which he will soon transform; again, Bester appropriates history ironically, in that Foyle as Fourmyle is borrowing from the past consciously, in order to ridicule it and its aristocratic worshippers.

A final illustration by Bester of the folly of rejecting novelty is the Skoptsy colony on Mars. His model here is the 'ancient Skoptsy sect of White Russia', which practiced 'self-castration' out of a conviction that 'sex was the root of all evil'. The 'modern Skoptsys', including Foyle's quarry, Sigurd Magsman, are monastic solipsists who reject all sensation as evil, and so submit to an 'operation that severed the sensory nervous system, and lived out their days without sight, sound, speech, smell, taste, or touch.' (TSMD,200) This monastic parallel, recalling the rejection of cognitive passivity by Gibbon and Asimov, is a stark indication of the danger of refusing the challenge of the Tiger.

The climax of The Stars My Destination, which takes Gully Foyle by jaunting leaps to far stars, and opens the cosmos to humanity, is a grand experiment in poetic style and Bester's proposed antidote to the decadent nostalgia he pillories in the main body of the novel: 'NOW: Rigel in Orion, burning blue-white...Foyle hung, freezing and suffocating in space, face to face with the incredible destiny in which he believed, but which was still inconceivable. He hung in space for a blinding moment, as helpless, as amazed, and yet as inevitable as the first gilled creature to come out of the sea and hang gulping on a primeval beach in the dawn-history of life on earth.' (TSMD,256) The evolutionary leap, the embracing of novelty, flight from the constriction of history: the visionary vividness of these closing passages, in contrast with earlier burlesque decadence, articulates Bester's moral very clearly.

Bester advocates a radical departure from the nostalgic employment of history in SF, and uses history in an appropriately critical and satirical manner, as a set of

bad examples for humanity. Still, his ethic is space travel, cosmic colonisation, human aggrandisement, however visionary; in many ways he is in step with the consensus Future History of Fifties SF. The chief difference between Bester and other users of that Future History lies in the critical method of his construction of his future, his unwillingness to countenance any theodictic complacency born of nostalgia, his belief that a genuine, liberating novelty is possible in Science Fiction. To other future historians he administers a sharp liberal lesson.

2.6 Jack Vance: An Amateurs' Universe(47)

Of all the authors whose Future Histories are rooted in the ideology of Fifties SF, Jack Vance tends the most towards pure theodicy. Like the others, Vance truncates history, positing a final condition, like Asimov's Second Galactic Empire and Anderson's Commonalty, in which humanity can exist in utopian changelessness; but in his case, the transition to this condition is not described. The condition simply is, its creation not a dramatic project for a cycle of novels, but merely a preliminary assumption. This allows Vance to describe with an immense picturesque confidence a multitude of worlds, each settled for centuries by static, intricate, hierarchical cultures, ones made complacent by the uneventful passage of 'eras of glassy somnolence' (MT, 3). Where Vance's early works emphasised the standard genre ethic of linear plotting, his later ones, including most of those falling into his 'Gaeen Reach' Future History, are almost deliberately unconcerned with plot, relying instead, as Jack Rawlins argues, on the contemplative appeal of 'static things of real value' (48). The result is a background of changeless archaism, which individual characters can exploit for adventure or repose, free from

government and want. The Gaeen Reach is a Libertarian Paradise.

As the chief pioneer of the 'planetary romance', the SF tale located on a fully imagined exotic world where various cultures interact in a richly adventurous manner, and in which the locale is in many ways the genuine protagonist(49), Vance is committed to loving descriptions of splendours of place. The first sequence set in the Gaeen Reach, although it calls that venue the 'Oikoumene', is the "Demon Princes" series, consisting of The Star King(1963), The Killing Machine(1964), The Palace of Love(1967), The Face(1979), and The Book of Dreams(1981). These novels deal with the successive revenges of an interstellar operative upon the arch-criminals who enslaved or murdered his family many years before; as such, they began as linear adventure narratives tinged with doubt, and progressed by their later volumes to the contemplative tone of the later Vance(50), becoming tours of the galaxy, revenge as travelogue. The next set of volumes, only sketchily linked to each other, are six books located perhaps thirty thousand years from now(GP,1), and set in a Gaeen Reach of tens of thousands of colonised worlds. Trullion: Alastor 2262(1973), Marune: Alastor 933(1975), and Wyst: Alastor 1716(1978) discuss events on planets in a star cluster to one side of the larger Gaeen Reach; The Gray Prince(1974), Maske: Thaery(1976), and Galactic Effectuator(1980) describe upheavals on worlds of the Reach itself. All are conservative in tone, actively defending the Gaeen status quo or refusing to rectify it more than minimally. This trend continues in the 'Cadwal Chronicles', a lengthy, more ordered, perhaps more commercially considered series(51), made up of Araminta Station(1987), Ecce and Old Earth(1991), and Throy(1992), in which Vance argues a conservative and conservationist

case against the encroachments on a nature reserve planet of liberals and squatters. The planet is central, lovingly depicted, as are other worlds, including Earth. Night Lamp (1996), perhaps beginning a new trilogy, presents a panorama of the Gaeian Reach, with a new skepticism as to the value of stasis perhaps beginning to assert itself. In sixteen novels, all written in the ornate spirit of the planetary romance, Vance presents scores of far-future societies, all old, all free from much central regulation, all co-existing in a bucolic magnificence, tinged with Vance's nostalgia for the Eighteenth Century.

It is the Eighteenth Century that inspires the 'Gaeian Reach' setting. This can be seen in many ways. Vance's ironic, exclamatory style, which permits both a polished, sly politeness and a robust, extroverted candour, is omnipresent in his SF novels, a direct echo of the dry, mannered, philosophic language of the Eighteenth Century European elite; ironic satire is Vance's medium, and in this he recalls variously Swift, Voltaire, Pope, Fielding, and Smollett, his imaginary societies serving as objects for an urbane and humorous commentary. Socio-politically, Vance's universe is very much a construct nostalgic for the age before 1789; lacking any consistent regulatory government, it is without effective advocates of social reform or close central control; Vance's various elites can rule securely for millennia, seemingly paying no taxes and obeying no bureaucracy. Also reminiscent of the Enlightenment is the curious amateurishness of the Gaeian Reach, its haphazard legal and administrative procedures, the eccentric individualism of its intellectual and scientific discourse. As will be demonstrated, these imitations of the Eighteenth Century are the strategies Vance employs to realise his Libertarian dream of an ageless epoch in

which all idiosyncracies are indulged, and in which a limitless personal freedom can be enjoyed without the danger of generalised social upheaval.

In Vance's cosmos, social hierarchies abound. Their apparatus is eclectically allusive, drawing on many periods for inspiration: Feudal Japan for precise nuances of linguistic etiquette, the Middle Ages for obsessions with chivalry, the America of the 1950s for privileged adolescent culture; but Eighteenth Century Europe provides closest guidance. Classes of aristocrats and gentryfolk, usually hereditary, landed, distrustful of commerce, displaying polished erudition, and respected by commoners, are frequent: the Lords in Trullion: Alastor 2262, who remain dominant even though their social inferiors are in no way dependent upon them; the Land Barons of The Gray Prince, whose title to usurped indigenous lands is upheld by the plot; the elaborately designated rulers of the Realms in Marune: Alastor 933, whose intricate rituals are almost parodic of themselves; the rather more pragmatic "ilks" or noble Houses of the Thariots in Maske: Thaery; the aristocrats of Earth witnessed in the first part of Galactic Effectuator and in Ecce and Old Earth; the Methlen elite in The Face; and the Roums of Old Romarth in Night Lamp, who are served by a caste of servants genetically engineered into compliance. These and other examples show the consistency with which Vance imitates the pattern of the ancien regime, with its hierarchy of polite, decadent nobility.

Such aristocracies emerge even where they are less expected. The Contractors in Wyst: Alastor 1716, who in theory are state-appointed officials, become rural grandees: one of them is 'locally known' as 'Grand Knight Shubart', and lives in a 'manor' (WA, 150); he rules with the casual brutality of a fox-hunting squire, excepting

that his quarry is human. The five Demon Princes whom Kirth Gersen hunts often rule in a spirit of scientific feudalism, as with Kokor Hekkus, who dominates the lost planet Thamber in The Killing Machine, and Viole Falushe, the evil voluptuary who has created a great erotic pleasure garden in The Palace of Love. The social architecture of Vance's world tends inevitably towards the pattern of the ancien regime: even the less pretentious urban folk of the early chapters of Night Lamp judge status on the basis of club membership, in a strong echo of Dr. Johnson's London.

This hierarchical emphasis is repeated in the parallel context of colonialism. All of Vance's planets have been settled by migrant humans, and many have indigenous alien or 'devolved' human species. The Gray Prince describes how the descendants of earlier human colonists, the Uldras, battle the more recent arrivals, the Land Barons, who have sequestered much Uldra territory. The Land Barons win, on the perhaps specious grounds that, because the Uldras originally seized the land from the alien erjins, who in their turn had seized it from the morphotes, no humans have any prior claim to the land. The cause of Uldra liberation is discredited; its leader is pilloried as an opportunistic murderer and rapist; the Land Barons, who resemble Rhodesian or Afrikaner settlers, are vindicated, and their subject Uldra tribes, employed as farmhands, welcome the fact! The merlings of Trullion, aquatic aliens, are treated as dangerous enemies; the Fwai-Chi of Marune are more sympathetically described, but are still merely a useful and picturesque property on the world which was once theirs. The Gomaz in Galactic Effectuator are murderous reavers who are forcibly restrained by the Gaeon Reach authorities. The so-called 'devolved' human races, particularly the Djan in Maske: Thaery and the Yips in the Cadwal novels, are

stereotypical colonial natives, treated as a nuisance or as the object of lofty anthropological enquiry as to the reasons for their irrational and lazy behaviour (MT, 219-212). The Yips of Cadwal are squatters, the 'descendants of runaway servants, illegal immigrants and others' who are welcomed by the elite conservationists of Araminta Station as 'a source of cheap, plentiful and docile labour, conveniently close at hand' (AS, 6); however, their numbers grow uncontrollably, and much of the ensuing trilogy is spent defeating their agitation for land and arranging their deportation to other planets. The portrayal of the Yips as lazy, shifty, unreliable, a threat to civilised order, yet quite useful when labour is required, is summatory of Vance's colonial attitudes. Like the colonialists of the Eighteenth Century, he is quite prepared to countenance the seizure of the territory of Others, who are conveniently incomprehensible or 'inferior'; like Australian Aborigines, South African Bushmen, or Red Indians, they can be pent in reservations or simply ignored, recalled only when their menial toil is required.

The equilibrium of these hierarchies is maintained through various agencies. One of these is Vance's own polemical tendency: he attacks those who criticise or threaten to modify his Libertarian ideal. Liberal and socialist opponents are savagely discredited, their motives called into question. In The Gray Prince, the liberal legislators of the 'Mull', a satirically-named parliament, seek to advance the land claims of the dispossessed Uldras; they are caricatured in person, defeated in debate over the land question, and dismissed as gullible, in that their well-trusted erjin servants rebel against them, while the subject Uldras remain loyal to the Libertarian Land Barons. In Wyst: Alastor 1716, the 'egalists', socialist architects of a comprehensive

urban welfare state, are deemed to have created a dystopia, in which billions of bored and frustrated citizens do desultory inexpert work, eat monotonous mass-produced food, and dwell in unaesthetic overcrowded apartment blocks. Key individuals among them plot to seize power so as to live in luxury; 'egalism' is a sham, in that those who advocate it secretly hate and exploit it. The liberal clique which supports Yip agitations in the Cadwal trilogy, the 'Life, Peace, and Freedom' Party, eventually reveals that it desires landed estates for its members, on which the Yips will live as a servile 'happy country folk' (T,152). Liberalism becomes disguised self-interest. Other reform movements, such as 'Fanscherade' in Trullion: Alastor 2262, are represented as vain, impractical idealisms.

Apart from such polemics, Vance guarantees his universe's stability by means of some limited institutions of government. As in Poul Anderson's Cycle, some authority is needed to defend the freedoms already won by the elite. In the 'Demon Princes' series, the so-called 'Institute', an elaborate order with vast wealth and influence, counteracts human movement into artificiality and progress by means of secretive manipulation. This is complicated by the revelation that its leadership, the Dexad, in fact maintains a careful tension between evolving humanity and conservative Institute, in order to preserve 'a state of dynamic equilibrium' and 'prevent either side from overwhelming the other' (BD,103). The Interworld Police Co-ordinating Company, or IPCC, is a private corporation which maintains security on many worlds, its authority characteristically limited by the 'Deweasellers', a counter-security grouping among the lawless worlds of 'the Beyond'. In all the 'Gaeon Reach' novels, government only asserts itself when the status quo is menaced, and does so in the manner of a *deus ex*

machina, appearing when needed and invisible at all other times. Thus, the Connatic, the secretive ruler of the Alastor Cluster, possesses a mighty space navy, the Whelm, which he uses to crush idealistic revolts by the 'Ugly Folk' (TA,28-30) and the egalists of Wyst (WA, ch.17-18); his medical facilities are also conveniently available to the amnesiac Padero in Marune: Alastor 933; yet otherwise, the Cluster's three thousand worlds rule themselves in a spirit of parochial idiosyncrasy, paying no visible taxes and following their own, often arcane and inhumane, customs. In the wider Gaean Reach, vigilantism is the simple resort of some, as when police officials in Araminta Station summarily execute corrupt colleagues (AS,493) and untried criminals (AS,499). Authority, then, is always available for those whom Vance privileges, whether in the form of a sympathetic institution or the easy resort to righteous violence. Otherwise, central government is not present to hinder the exercise of freedom.

This rather wishful Libertarian scenario is again nostalgic, in its reference to pre-industrial states, which, notably in the Eighteenth Century, were strong enough to withstand foreign invasion and domestic revolt, thus protecting elite interests, but too weak to administer or to tax their territories very thoroughly. This is ideal for Vance: freedom can be enjoyed and competition for the privilege resisted. But Vance does not solely advocate the freedom of the wealthy. As a Libertarian, he is pre-occupied also with the freedom of the strong, articulate, and nonconformist heroes he invariably creates. Kirth Gersen, in hunting the Demon Princes, rises from obscurity to great wealth and the power to destroy his enemies; Glinnes Hulden in Trullion: Alastor 2262 competes with a dishonest Lord for possession of treasure and a beautiful woman, succeeds,

and so disturbs the social structure; Jubal Droad in Maske: Thaery is an outsider who achieves prominence in a thoroughly prejudiced hierarchical system. Dislike of complacent privilege was a strong theme in Vance novels of the 1950s and 1960s, and even in his more conservative mood Vance still indulges this sentiment, as in the disdain Jaro Fath shows towards the bourgeois elite in Night Lamp. Social mobility is quite possible in the Gaeon universe. Indeed, the security of privilege Vance affords can be seen mainly as an assurance that once freedom is attained it will be retained. Vance does not necessarily favour privilege; he merely wishes to ensure that it is reliably available to his highly individualistic heroes.

If hierarchical societies are needed to secure freedom for those capable of wielding it, those strong individuals reciprocate by avoiding any direct challenge to the hierarchy. All of Kirth Gersen's efforts are directed towards the personal project of revenge on criminals; Glinnes Hulden, Pardero, Jubal Droad, Glawen Clattuc in the Cadwal trilogy are all socially mobile, but in the selfish spirit of impressing the society they challenge, rising through its ranks. All movements of social reform, such as egalism, are struck down. All Vance's heroes rise by serving the status quo; it rewards them with freedom. Even if the status quo is regarded with the satirical derision Vance sometimes indulges, it enables a boundless liberty, and thus he upholds it. It is for this reason that so many of Vance's novels end hurriedly or inconclusively, as for example does Marune: Alastor 933, whose hero and heroine, having won their battle, ask each other what comes next, and have no answer (MA, 174): having achieved personal goals, no wider progress is permitted them, no reform of their stifling

mediaeval culture. This is the price of individual freedom.

It is for this reason that Vance's Gaeen Reach is an amateurs' universe. No grand collective effort of social organisation or scientific enterprise is permitted. All individuals work for themselves, or are disdained as inadequate. Again, the Enlightenment is invoked: Vance's social commentators and scientists are unprofessional, either gentleman philosophers or collectors of curious lore, without the binding discipline of Twentieth Century academics. Eighteenth Century autodidacts and dilettantes, like Lord Monbodo, are instead recalled: Baron Bodissey, a much-quoted imaginary philosopher, is the author in Vance's novels of a vast survey work called Life, which declaims whimsically on countless topics, for example declaring: 'In some societies poverty is considered a pathetic misfortune, or noble abnegation, hurriedly to be remedied by public funds. Other more stalwart societies think of poverty as a measure of the man himself.' (F,191) Such Libertarian generalisations are uttered by other eccentric intellectuals, such as the mentor Akadie in Trullion: Alastor 2262, Matho Lorcas in Marune: Alastor 933, the Fellows of the Fidelius Institute (AS,1-2), or even the mad poet Navarth in The Palace of Love. Here, intellectual discourse becomes aphorism, or generalising declamation. Vance's heroes, appropriately in this context, learn and act for themselves, in a non-conformist mood common to all the novels. By imitating a pre-industrial period, one in which modern collectivism was not yet viable, Vance allows only individual aspiration to flourish. In a universe of self-educated amateurs, privileged freedom is secure.

Vance's well-known style is well suited to this context. Mannered, archaic, ironic, it allows cool, witty, erudite self-expression by Vance's characters, a mark of their status and of their resourceful autarchy. With its echoes of the similarly Latinate and circumlocutory English of the Eighteenth Century, it therefore signals the social mastery and the personal competence most valued in Vance's Libertarian scheme. When Glawen Clattuc wishes to suggest a flaw in the arguments of his elders, he does so with an appropriate diffidence which also implies his superiority: "I am puzzled by a conspicuous ambiguity which the rest of you seem to ignore. Or perhaps I am ignorant of an accommodation, or a special convention, which everyone else takes for granted." (AS,221) In Chapter 2 of The Palace of Love, Gersen uses his own tight control of language to overcome the wiles of the venefices of Sarkovy; he repeatedly deceives the Demon Princes themselves through a chameleonic verbal facility. Miro Hetzel in Galactic Effectuator, a particularly polished figure, is able to use clever diction to discomfit the proud merchant grandee with whom he is dealing: "You have not achieved eminence through tact or flattery, so much is clear. But your attitude clears the air, in that I can now freely state my opinion of the commercial mentality-" (GE,12). Language in Vance is a weapon, employed by individuals in ruthless competition. As in the Eighteenth Century, wit is employed routinely as a means to advantage; satire deflates others, and strengthens one's own currency. Again, a key element of Vance's texts serves Libertarian causes of freedom and hierarchy.

Vance's lower classes also employ erudite language; in John Shirley's words, his 'commonfolk seem to speak with an uncommon formality, in a style rococo and polysyllabic and universal from planet to planet' (52). But while they

compete with their superiors in these terms, they always do so to complain, to demonstrate shallowness of character, to engage in petty swindles which are usually defeated. They have no genuine language to reflect social discontent. When the Yip guide, Fader, shows Glawen Clattuc and his friends around Yipton, he can use his grandiloquence only to wheedle money and to transform the suffering of the Yips into a spectacle for tourists (AS, 244-256). From the mouths of Vance's heroes, language is a tool for the acquisition of privilege and freedom; for such as Fader, it is an humiliating admission of limitation, a confirmation of the status quo.

Jack Vance reaffirms the consensus Future History of Fifties SF resoundingly: the stars await conquest, humans will colonise the galaxy. But his vision is unusually undynamic and theodictic, fixed absolutely on an ideal from the past; Vance proposes an ultimate Libertarian stasis, an individualism so extreme that it suspends history and all larger processes. In order to realise his Libertarian dream, Vance projects a frozen Eighteenth Century upon the future and the stars.

* * * *

The SF authors of the 1940s and 1950s in their various ways affirmed the Manifest Destiny version of Future History, justifying the belief that progress past and present could continue indefinitely into the future. Following the upheavals of the 1960s and the New Wave, new generations of writers took a less certain, and much less unanimous, approach to Future History, and this is the subject of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE: FUTURE HISTORIES - THE DIVERGENCE

3.1 Introduction

The consensus Future History which governed the SF of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s was so fundamental to the genre's ideological assumptions, and so convenient an engine for plots, that it remained pervasive after 1960. As has been shown, writers who developed in the period before 1960 have frequently persisted in the use of the old teleology in Future Histories to which they continue to make additions. Furthermore, the influence of "Golden Age" authors on their successors has been strong; SF's readership, its expectations grounded in a nostalgia for the simplicities and grand effects of Asimov, Heinlein, Arthur C. Clarke, A. E. van Vogt, and Leigh Brackett, has demanded much repetition of early genre trends. But countervailing influences have also acted, engendering a rich variety of approaches to SF as extrapolative and imitative history.

As indicated in Section 1.5, the period after the launching of the first space vehicle in 1957 saw great changes in the character of genre SF; First Science Fiction became Second Science Fiction(1). The effect of the Cold War and the Space Race, reducing the future from brave tabula rasa to known, often mundane actuality; the alteration in the socio-economic position of SF's basic readership, with a consequent drift away from linear optimism; the effect of new counter-cultural idealisms, with resulting intrusions on the genre ghetto by feminism, environmentalism, the avant-garde; the move away from magazine publication, permitting a greater philosophical variety among authors of what became better-paid paperback and then hardcover fiction: all of these changes enabled the 'historical plurality' which Samuel R. Delany has attributed to First SF to become a

fuller reality(2). Future History became the realm of radically competing ideologies; teleology was rebutted or differently used; scientism, positivism, even SF's historicist conviction of the knowability and controllability of history, were systematically challenged, as the critical Future History took shape.

Future Histories conceived after the late 1950s can generally be categorised as "critical", in the sense that they are in conscious dialogue with their own assumptions. All draw in large degree on previous Future Histories, alluding to them, assuming the reader's familiarity with earlier texts, and in so doing commenting critically on those texts, modifying their historical assertions, their basic structures. Frank Herbert's 'Dune' Cycle, for example, sophisticates the messianic assumptions of Gordon R. Dickson within a similar framework of evolutionary allegory; the 1990s novels of Allen Steele engage with the Future History of Heinlein in the light of Reaganist free-enterprise dogma of the 1980s; in ongoing dialogue, Kim Stanley Robinson's 'Mars' Trilogy elaborates upon the utopian arguments of Ursula K. LeGuin's The Dispossessed. Authors are thus more aware of the need to scrutinise their own beliefs; the future is now the habitation of competing teleologies, and any creeds asserted are open to a competitor's deconstruction. Before 1960, writers merely complemented each other's efforts within the same positivistic framework, with a few significant exceptions: Alfred Bester, Theodore Sturgeon, a few other satirists and romantics willing to commence a partial challenge to SF's reigning ideology. But after 1960, at least three major Future-Historical paradigms became available.

These three modes of Future History can be defined as the traditional, the romantic, and the utopian. The first category is nostalgic and conservative, in that it imitates the consensus Future History of earlier decades, while sometimes modifying the emphasis of that model, revising it while leaving it generally intact. The 'romantic' Future History tends away from the linear inclination of tradition; it accepts cycles as the inevitable shape of history, adopting a posture of elegiac resignation, or resorting to solutions which involve nonhuman or supernatural agency, generally forms of transcendence, sometimes religious. The pessimism of Spengler and the extra-historical antidote to cycles proposed by Toynbee are evident in this second category. The third option, utopian Future History, dismisses the theodicy of the consensus model Libertarians treated in Chapter Two for an argued discussion of socio-economic blueprints: the future becomes a laboratory for literary idealists.

It is the purpose of Chapter Three to examine significant examples of these three models. Each section of this Chapter analyses one of the three types of post-1960 Future History, proposing a likely 1960s originator of that type and proceeding to a detailed discussion of between two and four Future Histories belonging to the category, all drawn from the period after 1970. Thus, 3.2 suggests Frank Herbert as a point of origin for the traditional Future History, and anatomises C.J. Cherryh and David Brin as disciples of this form; 3.3 proposes Walter M. Miller as a founder of the Romantic school, and approaches George R.R. Martin, Gene Wolfe, and Brian Aldiss as its succeeding exemplars; and 3.4, having presented Ursula K. LeGuin as a leading utopian influence, analyses Bruce Sterling, Iain M. Banks, Greg Bear, and Kim Stanley Robinson as followers of her

example. This indicates some of the multiplicity of the second half of the life of the SF genre.

3.2 Herbert, Cherryh, Brin: The Old Order Lingers

The persistence of the consensus Future History in post-1960 SF is closely associated with those authors of a Libertarian tendency. One of these, Frank Herbert, set out in his six 'Dune' novels, beginning in 1965, the pattern such writers were to follow. This entailed: the retention of a broad consensus outline of expansion into space and of an uncontested or dominant role for humans in the Galaxy; an ethic of progress founded upon scientific discovery; an ideology polemically Libertarian; a sense of the future as a state of opportunity awaiting exploitation. But new elements were added, as changes in science, society, and the character of Libertarian discourse occurred.

The 'Dune' Cycle is conservative in many respects. Its Imperium, reminiscent of that of Asimov, rules hundreds of worlds without real challenge, either from aliens or from political ideologies more progressive than feudalism. As Jack Hand points out, Dune(1965), along with its successors Dune Messiah(1969), Children of Dune(1976), God Emperor of Dune(1981), Heretics of Dune(1984), and Chapter House Dune(1985) (3), borrows much from past cultures, its Empire recalling the Middle Ages, its noble Houses and their representative Landsraad functioning like the English Parliament before Magna Carta, the Emperor's elite Sardaukar soldiers resembling Japanese Samurai or Ottoman Janissaries(4). The roles of women, even the powerful Bene Gesserit sisterhood, are thoroughly traditional, enabling mechanisms for the exercise of power by patriarchal males(5). The parallel between Herbert's hero, Paul Atreides, and Mohammed, both being leaders of messianic crusades by desert nomads

against decadent empires, has often been noted. Against this backdrop of imitation of intensely hierarchical histories, Herbert's teleology is of the traditional positivistic sort: according to Lorenzo DiTommaso, Herbert believes that 'history is a linear, progressive process' whose effects are ultimately 'logical and understandable' (6). Like Hari Seldon, Dominic Flandry, and Donal Graeme, Paul Atreides, as the messianic 'Kwisatz Haderach', develops a prescient knowledge of the cause and effect that constitutes history, and thus 'will be able to see that more and more people travel the golden road from animals to fully aware humans, thereby increasing the collective understanding of humanity's place in an organic universe' (7). The pattern of human evolution through the agency of elect individuals remains SF's credo here.

But Herbert simultaneously modifies earlier conceptions. Like Poul Anderson as he revised the argument of his Flandry novels in the 1970s, Herbert uses his Empire as a constricting, hierarchical counterpoint to a desired freedom. As the 'Dune' Cycle unfolds, it becomes clear that the messianic leadership of Paul Atreides, which seemed the answer to the ecological poverty of the planet Dune and to oppression by the Imperial dynasty and Houses like the Harkonnens, was merely a fresh assertion of tyranny. Dune becomes fertile and the Bedouinesque Fremmen lose their rugged virtues; the Empire continues much as before, and Paul's son Leto II deliberately rules as a despot, in order to compel the human race to revive its energies and expand anew (8). So as Kevin Mulcahy argues, the Machiavellian political structures and historical resonances of the 'Dune' novels, rather than serving as nostalgic mannerisms and venues only, are intended to inspire resistance to hierarchy. Herbert's texts are 'subversive' when read in their historical context,

demanding 'of readers a new political maturity grounded in skepticism about charismatic leaders and great causes and the people's own unconscious motives for becoming followers' (9). Herbert still promulgates a Libertarian message, using Authority as the spur to a conventional Liberty; but he subverts the nostalgic mode of historical imitation, using past models exuberantly, yet implying simultaneously that excessive longing for past contexts is a debilitating trap. Awareness of this trap encourages an escape into prospection, innovation.

Herbert's last two 'Dune' volumes, Heretics of Dune and Chapter House Dune, present some aspects of that innovation, a new Scattering into the Galaxy, new human adaptations, a more prominent role for the Bene Gesserit, and the like. But the older patterns of the series, such as hierarchical conspiracies and the incessant structuring of dialogue as Machiavellian intrigue, persist. In the light of this mixture, Herbert can be seen as a loving user and cunning subverter of traditional Libertarian Future-Historical technique: he continues to obey genre conventions, but always employs them as a goad to fresh emancipation. He absorbed the post-1960 lesson of environmentalism, making his grand space opera into a drama of ecology, the fate of Dune mirroring the exploitation of wilderness, the politics of oil, and the deracination of peoples characterising the Twentieth Century. This encouraged the modification of genre ideology by subsequent authors. Herbert's fame and example have abetted the retention of the old Future History, but his revisionism, akin to Alfred Bester's, has assisted the variation of that model.

C.J. Cherryh, author since the mid-1970s of the voluminous 'Alliance-Union' Future History, is a major contributor to this revision and variation. Yet in broad

outline, her series is conventional, made up of space operas and planetary romances, with centuries of human colonisation of space resulting in the establishment of interstellar empires and conflict with alien races. The central volumes of the sequence - Heavy Time(1991), Hellburner(1992), Downbelow Station(1981), Merchanter's Luck(1982), Voyager in Night(1984), Rimrunners(1989), Tripoint(1994), Forty Thousand in Gehenna(1983), and Cyteen(1988), in rough order of internal chronology - detail the struggle of space colonies and associations of free commercial starships to escape the control of a despotic Earth Company, a struggle which results at great cost in the formation of the initially very liberal Alliance. This interstellar federation co-exists uneasily with another coalition of colonies, the Union, which has its capital on the planet Cyteen; to avoid conflict with each other, both expand, clashing with alien domains. Other novels expand on these confrontations, although many are earlier works which were retroactively included in the 'Alliance-Union' scheme. Brothers of Earth(1976), Serpent's Reach(1980), Hunter of Worlds(1977), Cuckoo's Egg(1985), and the 'Faded Sun' Trilogy, made up of Kesrith(1978), Shon'jir(1978), and Kutath(1979), all deal with human encounters with alien species along the frontiers, the last three describing the war of the Alliance with the regul, which induces the Alliance's descent into authoritarian stagnation. A further sequence, the Chanur books, consisting of The Pride of Chanur(1982), Chanur's Venture(1984), The Kif Strike Back(1985), Chanur's Homecoming(1987), and Chanur's Legacy(1992), narrates the consequences of Earth's first commercial dealings with the Compact, an alien trading bloc which repeats in flamboyant manner the mercantile workings of the human Alliance (Cherryh's aliens here incline to capitalism). Angel with the Sword(1985), set on an abandoned Union colony planet where swashbuckling

adventures are possible, initiated a series of 'shared universe' anthologies edited by Cherryh, thus allowing the Cherryh Future History to admit of additions by other writers. That Future History is still far from complete(10).

Cherryh is traditional not only in broad adherence to SF's standard Future History, but also in respect of her characterisations and her construction of other worlds. Lynn F. Williams has observed in Cherryh's earlier works a 'marked preference for authoritarian governments' and old-fashioned, familiar SF plots(11), a liking for societies based on caste, in which lowly figures respect their betters and 'demonstrate their worthiness through their complete devotion to these higher beings' (12). Within a Germanic loyalty code, the established order is respected, with reform being preferred to revolution when change is required(13); but innovation is considered important in the averting of social decay, and that innovation is frequently initiated by an autocratic heroine of high caste, who encounters obstacles that are not necessarily limited to those met by earlier SF's patriarchal protagonists(14). Allegiance to conservative conventions does here permit some quasi-feminist exercises in gender role-reversal, and the presentation of the viewpoints of low-caste participants, however hierarchically contextualised. With these qualifications, Cherryh imitates the feudal values of the Middle Ages and other similar periods.

But Cherryh also argues the importance of mercantile capitalism. The early novels central to the 'Alliance-Union' series, such as Downbelow Station, detail the formation of the Alliance out of trading vessels and the space stations along their routes. These 'free trade' advocates, recalling Asimov's independent Traders and the

Polesotechnic League of Poul Anderson, win their liberty through a conflict with the Earth Company, which seeks to repress them and to reassert its official monopoly on economic activity. This attempted suppression becomes ever more piratic and brutal, as the Company ships function as privateers. A parallel with the American Revolution is being struck, with the Company as the unrepresentative and monopolistic home government, imposing unfair taxes and restrictions, and the Alliance as the Thirteen Colonies, fighting for a laissez-faire freedom and setting up a new confederal government along Libertarian lines. This historical imitation is extended with the continued vigilance the Alliance must maintain against fresh threats from the Company Fleet even after independence has been secured, as in Merchanter's Luck and Rimrunners, the renewed War of 1812 between Britain and America perhaps serving as a model. The Company's battle with the Alliance is ironised in Heavy Time and Hellburner, in that the efforts the characters make on the Company's behalf are, in the light of novels set later but written earlier, heroism in the cause of despotism. The Alliance is implicitly a newly free America, the Konstantins and other liberal founders described in Downbelow Station its Founding Fathers, its loose confederalism a Libertarian manifesto of the traditional kind. The prevalence in the Alliance-Union cosmos of trade as the livelihood of characters - not only of humans like those in the Alliance but also of the aliens featured in the Chanur novels - and their lifelong residence on merchant vessels and in trading ports or Stations confirm Cherryh's allegiance to SF's familiar free-trade individualism.

Cherryh balances two historical value-systems, then: the feudal and the liberal. As in the cases of Poul Anderson and Jack Vance, she does this in order to assert and

safeguard her Libertarian values. The existence of a free-enterprise ethic, such as that ideally incarnated in the late Eighteenth Century United States of her one historical model, is guaranteed by the structures of hierarchy, loyalty, and honour contained in her other model, the Middle Ages. Authority underwrites liberty, even if the price of this is the hierarchical restraint of the weaker and the less privileged. But Cherryh is an innovator as well, in other important areas.

Cherryh's chief revision of the traditional Future History lies in her rigour. Because of the often reckless positivism of earlier Libertarian authors, their manipulations of the lives of trillions, undertaken through sweeping agencies such as Psychohistory, tended to be too easy. A Hari Seldon or a Donal Graeme could sway worlds through facile insights and persuasive speech. But Cherryh portrays the full difficulty of a Libertarian future, constructing complex and arduous plots, in whose toils her characters struggle desperately, often denied any validating insight into the context that makes their actions heroic. Testing, even purgatorial ordeals are frequent. And because Cherryh has remorselessly complicated her universe, adding fresh branches and perspectives to it without closure or prospect of closure (it is not complete yet, and some plots remain unresolved), the sense of history as an inescapable labyrinth grows.

Cherryh suggests the rigours of her Future History in two ways: first, through her implication that any society without dynamism will stagnate into bureaucracy; and second, through her location of her tales in claustrophobic venues which recall a succession of prisons. The first contributes to the second, and dictates the metaplot, the overarching scheme, of the

'Alliance-Union' Cycle. As indicated previously, Cherryh's heroines and heroes are entrusted with the task of innovation, which safeguards their cultures from decay; but, given the obstacles they confront, their successes are partial and temporary. Because of this, most of Cherryh's cultures decline, becoming tyrannies. The Earth Company, which is treated with relative sympathy in Heavy Time and Hellburner, has by the time of Downbelow Station become a monopolistic and militaristic caricature, its legal rights in the Stations and colonies enforced by Conrad Mazian's fleet of warships, which turn ever more to piracy, and are seen by their victims as 'creatures of metal and terror' (DS,14). Revolt against their rule is fueled as much by hatred of their brutality as by any idealism. Similarly, the Alliance, born so hopefully in Downbelow Station as a free association of traders, becomes a bureaucratic state under pressure from the alien regul in the 'Faded Sun' Trilogy: 'Alliance became a police state on the home front, repressive and suspicious' (AS,258). Its Constitution is only restored when military urgency declines (AS,260). The 'Compact' of trading species in the 'Chanur' novels threatens to become overly bureaucratic, and the struggle Pyanfar Chanur and her crew wage is largely one to preserve their commercial freedom against the 'Kif' and other conspiratorial meddlers. The Union, the human culture that is the Alliance's rival, seems initially to be another bureaucratic dystopia, breeding 'azi' or slaves, offering 'a single, unswerving ideology of growth and colonization', silencing 'dissent' (DS,12); it is feared by the Company and the Alliance in novels such as Downbelow Station and Merchanter's Luck, and its ruthless colonial policies are scrutinised in Forty Thousand in Gehenna, in which a settlement of 'azi' has to acclimatise to a misunderstood alien planet. Libertarian

values flourish with difficulty in a universe so unsympathetic to them.

This point is underlined by an acute irony, that it is the Union which proves the most congenial society in the end. The rivalry of the Alliance and the Union is patterned loosely on the Cold War, an historical imitation made explicit by the Alliance's self-image as a libertarian democracy and its view of the Union as a dystopian dictatorship. In Cyteen, a long and detailed examination of the home politics of the Union, that state emerges not as a Soviet Union but as a mildly Libertarian confederation, of whose Constitution it is 'a cardinal principle that the Union government will not cross the local threshold, be it a station dock, a gravity well, or a string of stars declaring themselves a political unit within Union - unless there is evidence that the local government does not have the consent of the governed, or unless one unit exits its own area to impose its will on a neighbour.' (C, 315) Although this dispensation of self-contained democratic 'units' does not always function ideally, as Cyteen's Machiavellian intrigues reveal, the Union is in fact Cherryh's societal ideal given some flesh. Thus, liberty can emerge from bureaucracy just as bureaucracy elsewhere displaces liberty. But this irony serves to reinforce Cherryh's second mechanism of difficulty: if the Alliance so readily misunderstands the Union, how can Cherryh's ordinary protagonists hope to comprehend the prisons that are their environment?

Cherryh's characters are the prisoners of the bureaucracies which arise to chain them, but of many other captors also. Like Alfred Bester's Gully Foyle or the subjects of Herbert's Leto II, they are imprisoned by authorities cultural, governmental, psychological, spatial, and perceptual. There are claustrophobic

environments: the mining vessels in Heavy Time; the tightly-packed and austere merchanter ships in Downbelow Station, Merchanter's Luck, and Tripoint; the military craft in Rimrunners; the orbiting or deep-space Stations that appear in most novels; the enclosed habitats on the terraformed world of Cyteen in the eponymous novel. Very little of the action of the major series novels occurs in the open spaces of planets; artificial surroundings are the norm. Further imprisonments abound: the protagonists of Voyager in Night, Hunter of Worlds, Cuckoo's Egg, and the 'Faded Sun' Trilogy, as well as the human traveller in the 'Chanur' books, are the captives or reluctant guests of aliens, in whose spaces and cultures they must somehow survive. The 'azi' slaves, seen in Serpent's Reach and Forty Thousand in Gehenna, undergo specialised indoctrination by 'tape', suffering a mental or perceptual slavery. The child Ari in Cyteen is brought up in rigidly controlled conditions to resemble exactly the assassinated leader of whom she is a clone, so that all the incidents of her life are reflections of an imprisoning template. In addition to all this, Cherryh keeps her characters ignorant of what is shaping their actions; they are typically lowly, refugees, subordinates, foot soldiers, free traders in a culture of suspicion and monopoly, prisoners, children: without power, without education or kept deliberately uninformed. The larger context of events is rarely clear, as in Rimrunners, in which the crew of the warship is generally unsure of its destination and of whom it is fighting.

In most Libertarian narratives - like those of Herbert and Bester - such imprisonment and ignorance serve as incentives to the acquisition of liberty, as an empowering spur. But Cherryh burdens her protagonists with so many hindrances and disadvantages that they often cannot so respond. Sometimes there is success, as in

Chanur's Homecoming; sometimes there is a tentative victory, the basis of further struggle, as in Downbelow Station; sometimes a gradual transcendence of circumstance is possible, as in the ages-long human-alien compromise in Forty Thousand in Gehenna; sometimes the only joy is in having undergone vicissitudes, as in the 'Faded Sun' Trilogy; sometimes the outcome of the rigours undergone is left untold, as in the inconclusive endings of Hellburner and Cyteen. This ambivalent view of heroism suggests a tempered, pessimistic, untriumphal attitude to Future History, one that makes of that narrative form a closer imitation of the complexities of history than is normally possible. Cherryh's novelty lies in her ability to advance a Libertarian agenda while appropriating history in all its unamenable contrariness; she states her ideal, but does not render it as a facile theodicy.

The 'Uplift' series by David Brin is another significant example of traditional yet revisionist Future History. Brin is one of a group of American writers who have sustained the SF genre's Libertarian discourse within ambitious sequences of Hard SF novels, the Hard SF subgenre's emphasis upon scientism and technological detail dictating these sequences' historical terms of reference. Because Hard SF in its characteristic Heinleinian mode stresses the supreme virtue of Competence and the triumph of the heroic scientist figure through that quality, texts belonging to this tradition will tend to imitate periods of dramatic scientific innovation and physical expansion, sometimes Europe from the Fifteenth Century onward, and often the United States from the time of its independence. The standard scenario, seen in Gregory Benford's 'Galactic Centre' novels(15) and in Larry Niven's 'Known Space' Future History(16), to name but two, sees humanity expanding into a galaxy populated by ancient alien races, powerful but decadent,

conservative, and uninnovative, their tranquil aeons-old regime abruptly menaced by the vigorous upstart Homo Sapiens. Like European Imperialists breaking open the 'stagnant' cultures and markets of Japan, India, and China, or the Americans in their youthful prime challenging the sedate Old World, humans bring a cascading enterprise and bustling novelty into a stale universe, and thrive through a confidence born of assured Competence. The politics of the Galaxy may at times set humanity back, but its ultimate triumph is assured. It is this ethnocentric prospectus that Brin embraces and seeks to justify - but in somewhat revisionist terms.

The 'Uplift' novels, Sundiver (1980), Startide Rising (1983; revised 1993), The Uplift War (1987), Brightness Reef (1995), Infinity's Shore (1996), and Heaven's Reach (forthcoming, 1997) (17), present the consequences of the human race's emergence onto a crowded cosmic stage. As Clyde Wilcox remarks, Brin is pessimistic about the ability of species to interact harmoniously; his Five Galaxies are filled with competing races, and his aliens, in order to achieve some harmony, 'have created governmental institutions to partially restrain their aggressive natures' (18). They have created a universal system of 'Uplift', which allows intelligent species to 'adopt' and lead into full sentience varieties of animal which show potential for this; these new races then serve their Patrons for a hundred thousand year indenture period, completion of which qualifies them for mature equality among their peers. The laws and customs of Uplift are enforced by Institutes of a quasi-governmental nature, by treaties, and by convention; alliances provide an additional balance of power. As Wilcox states, the 'Uplift' regime, while often harsh and subject to breakdown, is effective and humane in many respects: the indentured species are afforded some

protection, species other than the Patron race monitor the conditions of uplift and indenture, planetary ecologies are safeguarded by the law which requires that worlds lie fallow after long occupancy, and definite rules and protocols of war exist, a magnified Geneva Convention(19). This is the status quo the emerging human race confronts.

Here Brin follows traditional paths. The first three novels are accounts of how various operatives in the service of Earth's 'Terragens Council' outwit, thwart, and frustrate unfriendly alien species, in a process of ethnocentric vindication made doubly, and perhaps ironically, familiar by Brin's liberal use of recursive genre allusion (note the resemblance of Jacob Demwa and his alien allies in Sundiver to E. E. 'Doc' Smith's Lensmen, the intertextuality of the 'uplift' element in Startide Rising with the evolutionary vivisection in The Island of Doctor Moreau, the widespread invocation of the portrayals of Mars as a multi-species world by C.S. Lewis and Edgar Rice Burroughs in Brightness Reef). Brin's humans have a unique distinction: they have risen to intelligence without having undergone Clientage to a Patron race, the first such unassisted evolution since that of the founding Progenitors billions of years earlier. With an assurance strongly reminiscent of newly powerful Renaissance Europeans or Americans initiating the ascendancy of the New World, Brin's heroes outwit obtuse aliens: in Sundiver, Jacob Demwa defeats a conspiracy by the hostile Pila to justify and so bring about the reduction to subordinate or Client status of humankind; Startide Rising has a single Earth vessel retaining vital cosmic secrets from vast fleets of alien fanatics, who waste their energies fighting each other while the humans ready their escape; and in The Uplift War, the occupation of a human colony world by blundering

avian aliens is undermined by resistance tactics recalling those of World War Two. Although friendly aliens like the Kanten and the Tymbrimi assist these victories, the mood is generally one of ethnocentric triumphalism, and the current trilogy, starting with Brightness Reef, holds in prospect a final confrontation with the corrupt galactic order.

Brin's innovation lies in his ideological defence of these exuberant excesses. The posture of his protagonists is that of the New World against the Old, not only generally, but politically, in respect of colonialism. Although he describes the 'uplift' system in terms that can justify it, Brin describes repeatedly the abuse of the institution by his villainous aliens. They thus become Imperialists, against whom humans, like the Americans under the Monroe Doctrine or in the anti-colonial atmosphere following 1945, can stand in liberatory opposition. Brin justifies his texts in the context of an anti-colonial polemic, which might also be compared with attacks on antebellum slavery by Abolitionists. The aliens, whether patterned on European colonialists or Southern slaveholders, are enemies who can be attacked with righteous zeal, and the consensus Future History acquires a new legitimacy.

Examples of this vindictory historical analogising abound. The plot of Sundiver is complicated by the determination of the Client species of the authoritarian Pila, the Pring, to escape their bondage. They develop a unique talent of 'holographic projection', a tool which they conceal from their Patrons for 'most of the hundred millennia of their sentience', assisted by the 'complacent superiority' of the Pila, who ignore their 'Clients' endeavours' as those of an inferior species (S, 332). This careful bidding of time and

safeguarding of their remaining resources by the subjugated is a traditional theme of resistance to enslavement. The alien fanatics in Startide Rising have cruel attitudes to their Clients, summed up in the sentiments of Krat, the Soro commander: 'Still, too bad the Pila were no longer *indentured* clients. It would have been nice to meddle with their genes again. The furry little sophonts *shed*, and had a bothersome odor' (SR, 62). The crew of the fugitive human ship, the *Streaker*, rescue the promising indigenous species of the planet Kithrup, where they have taken refuge, from Clientage to such as the Soro, by adopting the creatures themselves. The Gubru, the bird-like Patron species featured in The Uplift War, in addition to being preposterous hierarchical caricatures engaging in activities such as 'a quick, mincing dance of ritual abasement' (UW, 3), use their Clients, the 'four-footed Kwackoo', as 'servants' (UW, 3). In the rather more sober novel Brightness Reef, the alien Rothen engage in the pretence that they are the long-lost Patrons of human beings, in a bid to trick the inhabitants of the backward planet Jijo; this fear that humans might be subjected to Clientship is a recurring anxiety in the series (for example, S, 331), reflecting a general dislike of the hierarchical galactic culture which sets such precedents of 'superiority' and 'inferiority', of 'indentured' bondage.

This attitude is somewhat belied by the fact that the human race is also a Patron Species. It has brought to sentience dolphins and chimpanzees. A 'chimp planetologist', Charles Dart, is an important member of the crew of the *Streaker* in Startide Rising, and the ship has a crew made up predominantly of dolphins. In The Uplift War, gorillas are being groomed as the next intelligent species. The difference between humans and the tyrannical Patrons is thus somewhat blurred, the only

distinction between their 'peculiar institutions' being that the humans have better intentions. The dolphins and chimps are supervised but not kept in bondage, and the *Streaker* even has a dolphin, Creideiki, as its captain. But this argument is reminiscent of that of Marlow in Conrad's Heart of Darkness, that the evils of Belgian colonialism in the Congo were no invalidation of the more humane colonialism of the British Empire. Brin's anti-colonial rationale for his hubristic space operas has only partial force, in that colonialism is always colonialism, in however mild a guise.

Brightness Reef, the start of the second Uplift trilogy, describes the lives of various species, including humans, on the 'fallow' planet Jijo. All of these species are fugitives from tyrannical Galactic powers; their co-operation suggests a somewhat less ethnocentric tendency in Brin's work, as the races are all in a similar plight, facing obliteration by the Patron powers seeking the *Streaker*. But humans still often play a leading role; their alien allies frequently imitate human examples; however he modifies the details of the consensus Future History, Brin remains an exemplar of American SF's continuing Libertarian, positivistic, and human-supremacist paradigm.

3.3 Miller, Martin, Wolfe, Aldiss: Posthistories

A second variety of post-1960 Future History can be described as Romantic or Posthistoric, and stands in dramatic contrast to the linear Libertarian teleologies thus far discussed. In the 1970s and early 1980s, thus occupying a period niche between the New Wave and the emergence of Cyberpunk, there clustered a substantial number of SF texts characterised by a concentration on style rather than plot or concept, an elegiac view of history, and the influence of Fantasy. This Section

discusses major examples of Romantic Future History by George R. R. Martin, Gene Wolfe, and Brian Aldiss, after an introductory analysis of the role of Walter M. Miller's A Canticle For Leibowitz as a seminal influence on this variety of SF.

A Canticle For Leibowitz (1959) (20) is an obvious early departure from the norms of American genre SF. Written by a Catholic author of spare output (it was his only novel prior to the scheduled publication of a sequel in 1997), CL is a starkly cyclical Future History, narrating the rebirth of civilisation in the 1800 years following a nuclear war; historical imitation of an intensely ironic effect sees the mediaeval Papacy revived, knowledge conserved by orders of monks in isolated monasteries, the struggle of religion and science resumed, the technological level of the Twentieth Century reattained, a new nuclear war, the pattern of survival repeated as monks lead an exodus from Earth. The manner of this novel is elegiac and caustic, mourning and scathing at once; the conclusions to be drawn from it point away from science and towards religion.

The complex and densely woven argument of CL inspires many contradictory readings, both optimistic and pessimistic (21). But although Miller's cyclical structuring of history permits escape from successive nuclear holocausts and thus permits some optimism, the ironic repetition of events bars any progress, suggesting that history consists of a 'cyclical script determining human behaviour from era to era', in the words of David Seed (22). Pessimism is the only viable secular response. Gary B. Herbert states that Miller re-iterates the Hegelian concept of the 'bad infinite', which is 'an endless progression that never passes beyond the infinite, though it always aims at doing so' (23); while aiming at some sort of linear fulfilment, CL engages in a

dialectic of politics, religion, and science, the constituent parts of history, which compete with and obstruct one another in a 'self-vitiating' tangle, so preventing any transcendence of the finite(24). The cycle is unbreakable; and the possibility of achieving an understanding of history across the cycles is blocked by Miller's argument that history itself 'is subject to a constant process of revision and distortion' over the centuries(25). If history cannot be comprehended, it must be passively obeyed. This entails a secular pessimism which can only be relieved by resort to the extra-historical mechanism of religious faith. W.A. Senior sees the antidote to CL's secular distortions and disfigurings as 'belief in a providence that shapes our unforeseeable ends' (26); optimism is possible if, as Dominic Manganiello urges, history in CL is regarded as the tempering of cyclical nuclear judgement with linear eschatological promise(27): God, the 'Integrator, Lord of History', will restore things to rightness in the end(28).

Faith as the solution to history's annihilating cycles is the antithesis of SF's characteristic positivism. The Romantic school of Future History, taking this inversion of linear teleology as its credo, achieves its distinctive form. It views history either as a cyclical process which repeats its remorseless patterns without fundamental deviation, or as a process of exhaustion which leaves only entropic decadent weariness behind: the landscape of posthistory. The Romantic mood is thus one of elegy, of an elegant futility. Miller's religious escape clause is admissible in Romantic SF, however; the rise of genre Fantasy in the 1970s heavily influenced Romantic SF, which, as 'Science Fantasy', could call on the archetypal and mystical resources of its sister genre to relieve or palliate terminal gloom. This resort is tempered within SF by the awareness that it is

extrahistorical, unscientific. Romantic SF, being a form reliant on an historical mood rather than historical content, is generally preoccupied with style, with language appropriate to its atmosphere, and as the successor to the avant-gardiste New Wave, it was well equipped to develop this. Poetic richness, an elegiac melancholy, a nostalgic recursiveness typical of decadence: these became standard, together with an involuted symbolism best described as Gothic. In posthistorical texts, inwardness, an obsession with psychological textures, is common, as it was in the New Wave. All of these features may be viewed as the consequence of the wider ideological and cultural factors which vitiated the New Wave: the subsiding of Sixties idealism into a more sedate resignation, the replacement of Modernism's earnest influence on SF with the more artificial ethic of Postmodernism, and the exhaustion of experimental ardour under the pressure of commercial publishing, which valued fantasy more.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Romantic SF works abounded. Many were feminist, building on the New Wave achievements of Ursula K. Le Guin and Joanna Russ: Vonda N. McIntyre's Dreamsnake (1978); the middle period stories of James Tiptree, Jr., retrospectively assembled in Her Smoke Rose Up Forever (1990); Don't Bite the Sun (1976) and Drinking Sapphire Wine (1977), both by Tanith Lee; and, less clearly feminist, such Science Fantasy parables as The Snow Queen (1980), by Joan Vinge. Male authors contributed such texts as Lords of the Starship (1967), The Siege of Wonder (1969), and The Day Star (1972), all by Mark S. Geston; The Pastel City (1971) and A Storm of Wings (1980), by M. John Harrison; A Funeral For The Eyes of Fire (1975), Transfigurations (1979), And Strange at Ecbatan the Trees (1976), Stolen Faces (1977), and many of the stories in Blooded on Arachne (1982), all by Michael

Bishop; and Strangers (1978) by Gardner Dozois. All are Romantic in tone, fantastic in texture, poetic in style; and so are the three representative sequences examined in detail below: the loose Future History of George R. R. Martin; The Book of the New Sun and The Urth of the New Sun, by Gene Wolfe; and the 'Helliconia Trilogy' by Brian Aldiss.

The cycle of stories written between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s by George R. R. Martin, set in a consistent space-operatic future of dark tones and questing heroism, stands as one of the most deliberately Romantic projects in SF's history. The series consists of one novel, Dying of the Light (1977); a dozen short stories and novellas, these being 'The Way of Cross and Dragon' (1979), 'Bitterblooms' (1977), 'The Stone City' (1977), 'Starlady' (1976), and 'Sandkings' (1979), collected in Sandkings (1981), 'This Tower of Ashes' (1976), 'Men of Greywater Station' (1976), and 'The Runners' (1975), collected in Songs of Stars and Shadows (1977), 'Nightflyers' (1981), 'A Song For Lya' (1974), and 'And Seven Times Never Kill Man' (1975), collected in Nightflyers (1985), and 'The Glass Flower' (1986), which appears in Portraits of His Children (1987); as well as a 'novel', Tuf Voyaging (1986), assembled out of seven interconnected short stories (29). As the titles of many of these tales suggest, Martin's future is grave, sentimental, and nostalgic.

Martin structures his romantic cycle by means of a Future Historical background not unlike the consensus one. A 'Federal Empire' 'ruled human space during the early centuries of starflight, colonized most of the first- and second-generation worlds and some of the third, and conducted the Double War' against the alien Fyndii and Hrangans, 'during the course of which it finally

collapsed' (DL, 305); this standard fate of a Galactic Empire is known as the 'collapse' (DL, 303) and is followed by the usual 'interregnum', a Dark Age before 'starflight' is resumed (DL, 307). A new age of planetary independence and self-determination ensues, in a precise echo of far-future Libertarian theodicies like Poul Anderson's *Commonalty* and Jack Vance's *Gaeen Reach*. But Martin shows little interest in the political speculations of his predecessors; he employs his background of interstellar barbarism and gradual reconstruction as a venue for chivalrous and romantic quests, for the play of Gothic obsessions. The shattered technologies and abandoned monuments of earlier civilisations like the Federal Empire become haunted ruins, to be explored perilously, as in 'The Stone City' and the 'The Plague Star' (in *Tuf Voyaging*); space exploration becomes a Gothic nightmare aboard a haunted 'Flying Dutchman'-style starship in 'Nightflyers'; a scientifically curious rogue planet is not rationally investigated in *Dying of the Light*, but instead becomes the setting for feudal jealousies and ritual hunting; encounters with the alien are metaphysical and moral dilemmas, strongly tinged with Gothic horror, as in 'Sandkings' and 'A Song For Lya'; the intellectual issues of the future are of a spiritual character, as evidenced by conflicts over heresies of a mediaeval pattern in 'And Seven Times Never Kill Man' and 'The Way of Cross and Dragon'. For Martin, the Future History is not a vehicle for linear argument, but rather a static location for contemplations and quests, its cyclical structure merely a pretext for a return to a timeless Romanticism.

This is a sensibility rather than an ideology; history becomes an ornate and decadent tapestry, the hallmark of the Romantic school of SF(30). Fantasy and Horror intrude upon the rational territory of SF, in much-sought grails

and hauntings. The primary medium of this sensibility is nostalgic language, an imitation and appropriation less of specific historical episodes than of the verbal and customary gestures of the idealised past. The parallel with the Romanticism of the Nineteenth Century is explicit here: just as Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Chatterton, Coleridge, Tennyson, and Pre-Raphaelites such as William Morris appropriated the material of the Middle Ages in pastiches and modernisations of mediaeval cultural forms, so Martin makes of his future the Middle Ages renewed. The pre-modern and pre-industrial past is always present: in quests and courtly forms of love; in feudal social structures; in issues of faith and dogma; in the sense of the Galaxy as a realm not yet explored, yet to be scientifically illuminated and enlightened; in an honourable resignation to fate; all of these conveyed in language replete with echoes of the Europe before the Renaissance.

The imitation of the mediaeval *umwelt* is mediated in many of Martin's early stories by scene-setting encouraging nostalgia in the reader for traditional pulp space opera, because this promotes the atmosphere of quest. A good example is the opening lines of 'The Stone City': 'The crossworlds had a thousand names. Human starcharts listed it as Grayrest, when they listed it at all - which was seldom, for it lay a decade's journey inward from the realms of men. The Dan'lai named it Empty in their high, barking tongue. To the ul-mennaleith, who had known it longest, it was simply the world of the stone city.' (S,139) More directly, the Middle Ages are called to mind in incantatory or Biblical language, such as that of the children of Bakkalon in 'And Seven Times Never Kill Man' (N,171-2); in the use of hierarchical and feudal titles, like those of the nobles of High Kavalaan in Dying of the Light, or the ecclesiastics in 'The Way of

Cross and Dragon', one of whom is 'Archbishop of Vess, Most Holy Father of the Four Vows, Grand Inquisitor of the Order Militant of the Knights of Jesus Christ, and councillor to His Holiness, Pope Daryn XXI of New Rome' (S,1); and in language revealing pre-modern attitudes.

This last category takes several forms. Sometimes, the character presented expresses a resigned but jubilant piety, as does the narrator of 'A Song for Lya', who loses his lover to an alien religion which he also experiences: 'I read what the Joined felt as they pealed their bells, their happiness and anticipation, their ecstasy in telling others of their clamorous contentment.' (N,249) This is a religion which undermines any modern sense of a differentiated self, and which challenges the narrator's humanist preconceptions. More strikingly, some of Martin's characters speak from within the context of an absolute feudalism, as in the case of Janacek, a man of High Kavalaan: 'I remember when I was a boy in Ironjade, the first time I was warned of mockmen. A woman, an eyn-kethi - you would call her my mother, though such distinctions have no weight on my world - this woman told me the legend. Yet she told it differently. The mockmen she cautioned me against were not the demons I would learn of later from highbond lips. They were only men, she said, not alien pawns, no kin to weres or soulsucks. Yet they were shapechangers, in a sense, because they had no true shapes. They were men who could not be trusted, men who had forgotten their codes, men without bonds.' (DL,265) The assumptions implicit here, that the absence of honour renders a person less than human, that history and truth are oral legends rather than fixed and written, and that the moral and the physical can be equated, combine with patriarchal postures (the rejection of mother-son kinship), the use

of hierarchical coding ('pawns', 'highbond'), the description of aliens in mythical terms ('weres', 'soulsucks'), and the sense of bondage as virtuous, to imply a deeply feudal consciousness. Janacek is flexible, in that he can accept a mother's wisdom over that of high-status nobles; but this very viability of the feudal, its existence as an alternative to the modern, declares the depth of Martin's nostalgia. Against this background, Martin's characters who have modern attitudes are governed by mediaeval realities and purposes, so that they too quest, love chivalrously, and fight for archaic principles.

There is in Martin's Future History little sense of a wider progress. Tuf Voyaging and 'The Glass Flower', the last additions to the cycle, are located in very much the same context of science as metaphysics and the galaxy as a wasteland of backward and hierarchical worlds, although Haviland Tuf does modify the feudal affectations of the 'Great Houses of Lyronica' in 'A Beast For Norn' (TV, 256-290). Subsequent projects by Martin, such as the television series 'Beauty and the Beast' (1987-90) and the mediaeval Fantasy trilogy beginning with A Game of Thrones (1996), proclaim a continuing nostalgic Romanticism, a consistent celebration of the chivalric past, regardless of the tale's setting.

Gene Wolfe makes much use of the Middle Ages also, but with far more ambition and rigour. A Roman Catholic SF writer noted for his allusive intricacy of technique and mastery of ironic parody, Wolfe produced in his 'New Sun' Cycle of the 1980s perhaps the ultimate incarnation of posthistory. Basing his vision of an exhausted Earth (here known as Urth) on earlier romances of entropic decadence such as The Dying Earth (1950) by Jack Vance, Wolfe presents a scenario in which history cannot

continue on any secular path, because the resources humankind relies upon have been expended, the Sun itself is dying, and all historical events have been repeated until they have lost all meaning. Richness of language evokes this terminal state; and as in many other works of Romantic SF, the exhaustion of secular history requires the intervention of Fantasy and Faith.

The 'New Sun' Cycle consists of an initial tetralogy of novels and a one-volume coda or sequel. The tetralogy, The Book of the New Sun, made up of The Shadow of the Torturer(1980), The Claw of the Conciliator(1981), The Sword of the Lictor(1982), and The Citadel of the Autarch(1983), describes the rise to the throne or Autarchy (of the part of Urth known as the Commonwealth) of Severian, a torturer's apprentice, the hero and first-person narrator of the text. As he moves from episode to exemplary episode, Severian becomes a new Christ enacting a Second Coming, his purpose to prepare the renovation of the world through the bringing of a New Sun to re-ignite the dying energies of the Old. The sequel, The Urth of the New Sun(1987) (31), tells of the quest of Severian to a higher universe, Yesod, to be judged, of the consequent coming of the New Sun, and of Severian's ventures into past and future versions of Urth, where he serves in further messianic capacities. The long career of Severian sums up both the despair of the secular and the cruelty of the sacred.

Wolfe's text is highly distanced from the contemporary; as Michael Andre-Driussi states, the 'New Sun' Cycle 'takes place in a future so far removed from the present as to be deemed by Wolfe a posthistory, balancing against the eons of unfathomable prehistory.' (32) The passage of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of years, has drained the world not only of all novelty, but of usable

resources; Wolfe's ecological subtext is one implying human complacency, consumption without renewal or innovation(33). This means that the human race has technological knowledge, but no material means for its application; a mediaeval society results, organised perforce as a monarchy, its cities governed by royal officials and the countryside by a landed aristocracy, the exultants(34). Wolfe's Commonwealth is thoroughly mediaeval in its political, economic, and social organisation, as a direct result of his appropriation of the history of Byzantium as his model(35); like Byzantium, Severian's Urth is a culture based upon faith, its ideology one of millennial expectation (of the New Sun) and of the hierarchical ordering of the polity, along the lines imagined of Heaven. Urth, at the end of its physical life and with its every feature a repetition of things past, is posthistorical indeed.

In all of this, Wolfe's Cycle recalls the convictions of Miller's A Canticle For Leibowitz. Again, a Catholic writer declares the inadequacy of scientific rationality in the face of a history that is inexorably destructive of human things. Again, the example employed is a mediaevalised future, a secure ground for faith, in which secular and sacred understandings compete, to the discomfiture of the former. Again, the solution to catastrophe is the extrahistorical intervention of God, in Wolfe's text the 'Increate', who operates through the instrumentality of a Messiah, Severian. Like Miller, Wolfe has two tasks to perform in service of his allegory: the stylistically elaborate portrayal of a world in secular collapse, and the symbolically rich illustration of its redemption by the sacred. He achieves these twin aims by complementary means: in the first case, the imitation of secular history; in the second, the appropriation of sacred history.

The first or secular phase of Wolfe's scheme is accomplished through the detailed evocation of Urth in the course of Severian's travels. These begin in the significantly named city of Nessus, which is the setting for The Shadow of the Torturer. This capital of the Commonwealth matches closely the 'cosmopolis' which Oswald Spengler saw as an expression of the terminus of any great culture: in Tom Henighan's words, such a city is a 'vast necropolis, architecturally and socially rigid, its creative energies played out, its contact with the vitalizing countryside broken' (36), and as such a 'fantasy image of decadence' (37). Nessus is a vast, 'cyclopean' city, which creeps upriver, occupying new space and leaving ruins behind (SwCi, 369-370); it is separated from its rural hinterland by a towering Wall (ShCl, 207-8). Its Citadel contains the headquarters of various archaic guilds, which have undergone ossification; Severian grows up as an apprentice to the bizarrely clinical Torturers, who inhabit the Matachin Tower, an abandoned spaceship. The architecture of Nessus is eclectic, a confusion of styles (ShCl, 62); it offers few reliable landmarks, as the 'city grows and changes every night, like writing chalked on a wall' (ShCl, 94). As the epitome of all great cities, it echoes ancient Rome, Byzantium, Alexandria, Dickens's London (38); it is a climactic metropolis, a decadent summary of all cities which is in some areas literally a 'necropolis' (ShCl, 16).

This rendition of exhausted landscapes proceeds into the countryside. Severian repeatedly encounters elements of Nature which have been transformed into the artificial: the House Absolute or Autarch's palace, a posthistoric Versailles, which seems a wilderness but is in fact a crafted garden atop buildings (ShCl, 291-5); the mountains further north, all of which have been sculpted into the

likenesses of dead monarchs, as with Mount Typhon(SwCi,125); and the Moon itself, which reflects green light because it has been planted with forests by men(SwCi,71). These are comparable with Pharaonic monuments, and reveal Ozymandian hubris, the appropriation of Nature out of a decadent vanity, a common past excess projected by Wolfe onto the future. Similarly and more fundamentally, the natural fabric of Urth is made up of strata of the archaeological past; when Severian descends a cliff, he sees the fossil outlines of 'the buildings and mechanisms of humanity' in its face, and is unable to recognise the elaborate patterns he seeks to trace there(SwCi,74-5). When mining takes place on Urth, it is to extract the artifacts and remains of dead civilisations(ShCl,263). Urth is encrusted with its past, which has become incomprehensible to its present; even Nature has become artificial, a collage of relics. By so exaggerating the weight of human history on the present, Wolfe denies any future, amplifying the causes of decadence as they have historically applied: the lack of prospects, obsession with things dead. The parallel with pagan Rome, awaiting renovation through Christianity, is manifest (or is from a Roman Catholic perspective). Decadent human groupings appropriately infest Urth: the aristocratic exultants; the ever-immured generations of prisoners in the antechambers, who have their own ingrown history(ShCl,296-300); the cannibal Vodalarii, who eat the dead in order to savour their memories(ShCl,277-300); the Sorcerers, who replace faith with diabolical superstition(SwCi,109-125); the Ascians, dystopian totalitarians who can speak only in rote phrases(SwCi,255-9); and many others, all requiring redemption.

One of Wolfe's major descriptive techniques makes his historical borrowing especially comprehensive. As Wolfe indicates in a discussion of his use of exotic terminology in The Book of the New Sun, all of the many unfamiliar words employed are derived from actual (and generally archaic) sources(39). This plethora of obscure but lexically extant vocabulary, from sources Greek, Roman, mediaeval French, Indian, Mayan, Southern African, and more besides, encrusts Wolfe's text with multitudinous allusions to historical cultures. A total historical appropriation is attempted, and so the entirety of the secular past faces Wolfe's spiritual judgement.

That spiritual judgement acts through Wolfe's second strategy of historical appropriation: the imitation of sacred history. The career of Severian, the Conciliator or reborn Christ, is, in the words of John Clute, 'twice-told and talmudic, a code reverently to be broken' (40). It is encoded in part in allusions to the New Testament and to Christian history. Severian, like Christ, practises a manual discipline as a boy (although, as a torturer, manipulating flesh instead of wood). Like Christ, he turns water into wine(ShCl,218). Like Christ, he performs miracles such as healings and resurrections (through his sacramental gem, the Claw of the Conciliator). Like Christ, he is tempted by a Satanic figure (the monarch Typhon, SwCi,144-5). Like Christ, he faces judgement by a secular magistrate (Typhon as Pilate,UNS,274-5). The tale of Severian has thus been told before, and points to the 'New Sun' Cycle's redemptive imperative.

But the structure of the Cycle is more complexly imitative of messianic history. It can be argued that Severian functions as a Messiah in four distinct periods

of history, only three of them in our future. Michael Andre-Driussi identifies four Ages in Wolfe's Future Historical scheme: the Age of Myth (into which the Twentieth Century falls, so far in Urth's past is it), the Age of the Monarch (Typhon's time), the Age of the Autarch (Severian's original period, the setting of The Book of the New Sun), and the Age of Ushas (the time after the coming of the New Sun) (41). The time travel which Severian undertakes in The Urth of the New Sun brings him to the Age of the Monarch, where he acts as a Christ-like Conciliator, performing miracles like those in the Gospels and laying the basis for the prophecies which will inspire his own age millennia later (UNS, 196-281). When the arrival of the New Sun destroys the Commonwealth in a new Flood, Severian in despair flees back through time, to the Age of Myth, to the South American pampas some time before the European conquest, where he does more supernatural work and is worshipped as Apu-Punchau, or 'Head of Day' (UNS, 343-353). Finally, he travels to his own future, to the Age of Ushas (the name referring to the Vedic dawn goddess), the Urth of the New Sun, where he is worshipped as a dark god known as 'the Sleeper' (UNS, 366-370). This has important implications.

If Severian can repeat his Christ role in many eras, re-enacting stages of Christ's career in Typhon's time, serving as an Inca sun god in pre-Columbian America, and becoming a pagan deity among the primitives of Ushas, he indicates the repetition, the ubiquity, of divine intervention in secular history. As an inhabitant of Eternity, Wolfe's God, the Increate, is outside Time, outside History, and can affect the flow of events at any point, inscrutably, transcending cause and effect. By eclectically adopting messianic precedents from history - including pagan models - Wolfe makes sacred history

repeatable, a constant which can redeem the secular world many times.

Never a writer to tolerate simplicity, Wolfe adds darker implications. The coming of the New Sun restores the vitality of Urth's Sun, but destroys the Commonwealth in the process, through floods and earthquakes: 'Our ancient Commonwealth had drowned' (UNS, 323). The Divine Plan, the directing teleology of sacred history, is cruel, repeating the Flood of the Book of Genesis (with rather less justification). Severian, a torturer by training, enacts the excruciation of his entire world, and this is the redemption Urth has awaited. As in A Canticle For Leibowitz, a few survive, their consolation being a very long-suffering Faith.

As do many other works of Romantic SF, the 'New Sun' Cycle incorporates much of the tone and content of Fantasy. Aliens initially (and perhaps truly) appear to be demons or angels; a naturally large man, Baldanders, assumes roles as a giant and an ogre; the Autarch has soldiers who resemble chimeras; such trompe l'oeil ambiguous semblances abound in the Cycle, blurring genre boundaries, making the series Science Fantasy. This is deliberate, for by making Science Fiction's devices succumb to the aspect of Fantasy, Wolfe symbolises the triumph of sacred history over secular. Severian is a miraculous interloper in a fallen secular world; and as he carries that world into sacred realms, he brings SF's scientific appurtenances with him. This is deeply subversive of the scientific positivism typical of earlier SF, and is complemented by Wolfe in his more recent The Book of the Long Sun (1993-6), in which a secular world crumbles as divine forces assume command (42).

Another long, richly woven, Romantic tapestry of history is the 'Helliconia Trilogy' by the British author Brian Aldiss, the climax of a long career of experimentation with SF. Having rendered history as a poisonously static idyll in a previous novel, The Malacia Tapestry(1976), Aldiss now proceeded to structure it cyclically. He employed copious astronomical, biological, and anthropological detail in describing the centuries-long seasons of the world Helliconia in Helliconia Spring(1982), Helliconia Summer(1983), and Helliconia Winter(1985) (43). Because this planet (inhabited by humans who have evolved separately there) has a 'Great Year' of 2592 Earth years(44), its civilisations rise and fall in an ever-repeating cycle: in Winter, a small population survives primitively; in the Spring, as temperatures rise, people emerge to commence herding and farming; in the Summer, high cultures flourish and make advances in understanding their world; as Winter comes, a shrinkage occurs, with a return to barbarism. The physical constants of Helliconia's Solar System condemn humankind to an inescapable round of hope and disillusion; as in so many other Romantic SF novels, the very idea of Progress is excluded, at least on the secular plane.

But Aldiss's ideology does not proclaim mere resignation. Although Damien Broderick speaks of Aldiss's 'conservatism', of his attitude of 'a tragic acceptance' (45), his position might more accurately be stated as ecological. Aldiss gives to Helliconia a complex ecological unity, based on James Lovelock's Gaia Hypothesis 'that everything on the earth, the biomass, constitutes a single self-regulatory entity - living, of course, but of course without conscious intention'. This presiding planetary synthesis 'has no particular centre' or directing will, but the 'implication' is that

'bacterial and other forces' have constructed and maintained 'the living world we know, best to suit themselves' in a 'process in which humanity has played small part.' (46) The implication is that human history is merely a small facet of natural history, and that the best shape our history can take is one of association and sympathy with ecological rhythms - a prescription not of passive conservatism but of radical environmentalism. Human history can become natural history.

In line with this, Aldiss founds his fictional history of the Seasons of one Helliconian 'Great Year' on episodes of Earth's history which illustrate natural and unnatural behaviour, examples of ecological harmony and disharmony. In Helliconia Spring, an emergence from the constricted barbarism of Winter takes place, and patterns of civilisation are resumed. Yuli, the son of a nomadic hunter, dominates the opening section, or 'Prelude', of the novel; he is one of those who must set civilisation on its upward seasonal trajectory. As in Earth's antiquity, there is a choice, between patriarchal sky-god religions, which appropriate and exploit the world, and more harmonious, inclusive ones. Initially, Yuli is in the service of the cult of the sky-god Akha, which imprisons its people below ground and punishes heresy; those people are 'governed' by 'numerous petty laws', are spied upon by their paranoid leaders, and are gripped by a desperate discontent, 'an illness' which breeds 'in the darkness' (HSp, 52). When Yuli can found his own society, the only religion present is not organised, involving 'a constant fear of evil spirits' and 'a stoic acceptance of the enemy cold, and sickness, and death', grim but flexible and natural attitudes, upon which Yuli seeks to build in people 'a feeling for their own spiritual vitality' and a love for 'the sky in all its moods', rather than a fear (HSp, 74). However partial Yuli's

success, Aldiss is indicating that societies early in their development do not need to replace holistic paganism with monotheisms such as Christianity and Islam, which tend to despise the physical world. Perhaps Earth's history can be modified.

This ecology of the spirit has its secular counterpart in the main body of Helliconia Spring, which presents the similar dilemma of the emerging realm of Oldorando: how to avoid the patriarchal tyranny which seized control of Earth's early cultures? At first, Aldiss's society is simple and harmonious, as is indicated by its communal telling of history as legend (HSp, 88-103). But the changing climate increases population, and more complex political structures and stratifications emerge; in due course, the strongman Aoz Roon seizes power from the legitimate rulers of Oldorando (HSp, 154), and the basis of conflict and despotism is laid. Divisions and intrigues multiply; war with the other sapient Helliconian species, the phagors, occurs; an innocence has been lost. The parallels with the ancient history of Earth, with the appearance there of kings and crude empires, of castes and wars, make this process doubly inevitable: Aldiss is showing, warningly, a movement towards disharmony between Nature and the Self.

Helliconia Summer recalls the Renaissance. Centuries after the previous volume, powerful kingdoms compete for supremacy; institutionalised state religions, bodies of law, long-distance exploration and trade by sea, the discovery of gunpowder, scientific curiosity: all signal the changing of the world, the revival in Summer's heat of the highest points of earlier 'Great Years'. Against this background, Aldiss again offers negative and positive ecological examples. Much of the plot deals with the diverging quests of the Borlienese king,

JandolAnganol, and his Chancellor, SartoriIrvrash; the first, a monarch with resemblances to the young Henry VIII of England, seeks the end of his marriage to his Queen, MyrddemIngala, so that a more advantageous match can be arranged, while the latter, a Renaissance scholar along the lines of Thomas More or Francis Bacon, investigates scientific issues such as the complex origins of life on Helliconia. The novel thus identifies the two possible ethics of powerful men during an age of expansion: an involuted passivity of intrigue and dynastic self-aggrandisement, and a genuine engagement with the world and its questions. JandolAnganol wishes to divorce a Queen who is portrayed very much like an Earth Mother, as in the scenes in which, accompanied by her daughter, she considers all the trends of the world, past and future, as parts of a common present, and then swims in the sea with her 'familiar' (HSu, 3-6). JandolAnganol is implicitly divorcing Helliconia, his natural context, so condemning himself to heartache, defeat, and disillusionment; while SartoriIrvrash, after exploring Helliconia's natural diversity, is able to understand the prehistory of the planet at last, the antiquity of the ancipital phagors compared with the upstart humans who believe those phagors inferior newcomers. He presents this knowledge triumphantly, humiliating his former King (HSu, 374-7). A cognitive marriage to the world is preferred to divorce; Aldiss's ecological manifesto is reinforced.

Helliconia Winter shows the fate of the northern continent, Sibornal, centuries later. Cold is returning, bringing biological changes, especially a plague, the 'Fat Death', which prepares its survivors for colder temperatures by increasing their weight. The secretive political theocracy of the north, headed by its Oligarch, Torkeranzlag, and the 'Church of the Formidable Peace',

seeks to impose a savage rigidity on human society, to preserve that society in denial of Winter. This entails killing phagors and sufferers from the Fat Death, thereby blocking the natural processes of the 'Great Year''s End and menacing human survival. Aldiss is clearly striking an analogy with Reformation Protestant Fundamentalism in his depiction of the Sibornalese Church, as in its canting and dogmatic Synod(HW,152-8); but that very Synod is moved to outrage by the fanaticism of the Oligarch, whose actions, always conspiratorial, become ever more extreme. The decline of Sibornal is like that of many historical Empires, but the closest parallel is with Fascism: the Oligarch's programme is ethnocentric, genocidal, and in murderously simplistic denial of reality. This comparison rearticulates Aldiss's philosophy of sympathy, engagement with natural cycles, ecological connectedness. Positive, flexible characters, such as the Oligarch's son Luterin, are in contrast with the hubristic patriarch: Luterin takes refuge in an enormous, symbolically wheel-shaped prison in order to escape his father and his father's heritage(HW,234-255).

Aldiss has thus used his three volumes to critique disharmony with Nature on four levels: the spiritual (in the religious cultishness encountered by Yuli); the political (in the career of Aoz Roon); the philosophical (in the rivalry of the King of Borlien and his Chancellor); and the ideological (in the regime of the Oligarch). In addition to this, phagors are a general example of ecological consciousness, like Quee MyrddemIngala, in that 'Theirs is an eotemporal consciousness...where endings and beginnings cannot be distinguished from one another. For them, time is no indicator of progression as registered in a human mind' (47). The ability to perceive everything as part of a whole, to be a part of that whole, without linear

preconceptions - the exact opposite of SF's customary historical ideology - is a lesson administered symbolically to the reader through the Avernus, the model observer in Aldiss's text.

Aldiss has often explored the question of observation, as in his early novel Report on Probability A (1968). As Brian Griffin and David Wingrove express it, this is a 'conflict between "inside" and "outside" that rages throughout Aldiss's work', a sense of 'the intimate interpenetration of things' and the consequent arbitrariness of any distinction between observer and observed, of inside and outside (48). In this context, the Avernus, the artificial moon sent by Earth to monitor Helliconia, is a paradigm of the historical observer, affecting what it sees and being affected by it. Because the inhabitants of the Avernus have left their biological source, Gaia, behind in order to reach Helliconia, they are without soul; and because they observe Helliconia without learning from it, they decay (HW, 245). This is one of Aldiss's negative examples, of disharmony with ecology. But the Avernus allows the people of Earth to witness Helliconia's history, to learn from it; and in the course of Helliconia Winter, it becomes clear that after nuclear war and the near-death of Gaia, Earth has achieved utopia, assisted by the example of Helliconia's afflicted but heroic people (HW, 246-251). Humanity accomplishes harmony with Gaia, and Aldiss's long lesson is over; the entire Trilogy can be read as a parable on the need to see, to have sympathy, to make history an inspiration rather than a passive study (because of interstellar distances, the Earth only sees images sent by the Avernus centuries after the events represented in them).

Observation is reciprocal, as Aldiss has often argued; and in return for utopian encouragement, the people of Earth assist Helliconia. Helliconia's people are able, in a characteristic Romantic resort to Fantasy by Aldiss, to communicate with the spirits of their dead, the 'gossies' and 'fessups', who inhabit an entropic obsidian afterlife; these ghosts nag and condemn the living (HSp, 206-211). Earth's people, in order to relieve the cyclical agony of the Helliconians, send a telepathic message of empathy to Helliconia and its Gaia-spirit, the Original Beholder; eventually, comforted, 'The fessups ceased to grieve, the gossies ceased to chide.' (HW, 140)

This triumph of 'unpossessive love' is very similar to the sacred extrahistorical agencies employed by Miller and Wolfe to resolve history. Scientific rationality is discounted; the message is similar: SF's standard linear hubris is insufficient, mere secular competence is no answer. By using harshly cyclical Future History, Aldiss declares human helplessness; but by suggesting an answer in his advocacy of empathy with others and the natural world, he provides a basis for some hope, some action, however far removed from SF's conventions. In this, he makes Ecology an icon of Romanticism, alongside Nostalgia and Faith.

3.4 Le Guin, Sterling, Banks, Bear, Robinson: Some Late Utopias

By invoking an holistic perfection in his descriptions of his far-future Earth, Brian Aldiss points to the third major class of post-1960 Future History: the dynamic Utopia. The utopian form, never very prominent in genre SF's early decades, acquired momentum from the New Wave of the 1960s, some of whose foremost authors, expressing the experimental idealism of the period, contributed to the subgenre. These New Wave utopias tended to come as

single volumes, without ambitious Future Historical development, as in The Female Man (1975) by Joanna Russ and Triton (1976) by Samuel R. Delany; but after 1980 Utopian Future Histories became more frequent, perhaps inspired by the success of Ursula K. Le Guin's notably utopian Hainish sequence in the 1970s and by the strong market for Future Histories themselves in the 1980s. This Section of Chapter Three discusses Le Guin's role as paradigm author of the this form of SF, and four subsequent examples: the 'Shaper-Mechanist' stories of Bruce Sterling; the 'Culture' novels of Iain M. Banks; the 'Binary Millennium' novels by Greg Bear; and the Mars Trilogy by Kim Stanley Robinson.

Le Guin's influence is based on four major texts: The Left Hand of Darkness (1969), which presents a gender utopia based on the principle of every individual being able to adopt either male or female sexual identity; a novella, 'The Word For World is Forest' (1972), which describes a struggle against human Imperialism by a 'primitive' race of harmonious dreamers; The Dispossessed (1974), which employs anarcho-syndicalist ideas in a non-propertarian Utopia; and Always Coming Home (1985), which magisterially contradicts Western capitalist rationalism with its complex evocation of a simple holistic society, a collage of future archaeology replacing linear narrative. These works not only had immense individual impact, but being a continuing argument, strengthened each other. The first three belonged to the same 'Hainish' Future History, which for the first time permitted the creation of a universe which could house multiple utopias, in dialogue with each other; later additions, such as the 'churten' stories in A Fisherman of the Inland Sea (1994) and the connected novellas in Four Ways to Forgiveness (1995) (49), have continued this discussion. The early 'Hainish' utopias

covered three major idealist terrains, gender relations, colonialism, and control of the means of production; Always Coming Home summed up all three comprehensively. Thus, Le Guin was certain to influence her successors strongly.

Utopian Future Histories have two major characteristics inherited from Le Guin. First, they are not static blueprints; in The Dispossessed, Le Guin was careful to make her Anarresti society an 'ambiguous' utopia, its abstract lineaments counterbalanced by human frailties and changes brought about by shifting human needs and aspirations. This makes her utopia a dynamic one; rather than a sterile perfection that terminates history, such a dynamic utopia is an engine of ideal developments, ever revising its constitution. This suits it to history's precondition of change, and makes utopian Future History possible. Second, Le Guin adapted the consensus Future History of American SF to her ideological requirements, making her 'Hainish' Cycle, in James W. Bittner's words, spring 'from a dialectical interplay between the conventions of pulp science fiction on the one hand, and myth and anthropology on the other' (50). The timelessness of myth and concepts drawn from non-Occidental cultures co-existed with space opera in Le Guin's texts; she was using SF's standard contexts, but was, as Sheila Finch asserts, 'concerned with humanity first - the subjective experience - and with science second' (51). This led utopian Future History away from theodicy, away from positivist Libertarianism, which has tended to declare what the future shall be; now, Future History could be more flexible, admitting multiple voices, the non-linear paradigms expressed in myth and anthropology, the more basic human needs addressed by feminism. Future History could now argue its case, in the presence of more than

one controlling ideology; it had become a suitable vehicle for critical argument, and thus for utopias.

Bruce Sterling, as one of the leading 'Cyberpunk' authors from the mid-1980s onwards, is a writer of panoramic utopias of great contemporary resonance, including The Artificial Kid(1980), Islands in the Net(1988), Heavy Weather(1994), and Holy Fire(1996). In this, he violates the presumed dystopian character of the Cyberpunk Movement; most of his colleagues, such as William Gibson, are a good deal less positivistic, in Terence Whalen's terms writing 'an aggressively stylish form of SF which puts a hard dystopian spin on the information age without ever disputing its ascendance' (52). In the standard Cyberpunk future, this means that the proliferation of computer technology and the creation of the interactive data realm of Cyberspace occasions the domination of the world by corporations and corporate elites, who can commodify and control information and thus the thinkers and workers who produce it(53). The only effective resistance to this capitalist dystopia comes from hackers, who are heroic guerillas of information warfare but are few, self-absorbed, without the resources to challenge the status quo fundamentally.

But this dystopian formulation ignores Cyberpunk's utopian potential. Cyberpunk is in some respects merely an updating of traditional technophilic Hard SF, with the enabling technologies of Asimov's time such as starships and blasters being replaced with cyberspace rigs and complex computer viruses; Hard SF has sustained numerous dogmatically positivistic utopias, or theodicies (as discussed earlier). If Cyberpunk is read as Hard SF incorporating new and Postmodern technologies, accommodating a new computer-literate readership, it can readily be seen as a subgenre with a potential utopian

spin, and it is in this spirit that Sterling writes, a spirit echoed by Michael Swanwick in Vacuum Flowers(1987), by Tom Maddox in Halo(1991), and by Neal Stephenson in The Diamond Age(1994).

It is in his third novel, Schismatrix(1985) and its five accompanying short stories, collected in Crystal Express(1989) (54), that Sterling offers his most unambiguously utopian argument. As in Libertarian Hard SF, science functions here as a liberating medium, rapid technological development serving to free human beings from the confines of Earth and the Solar System; but easy ethnocentrism and Libertarian pieties are far from Sterling's intention. His emphasis is as much on change in humans as it is on human alteration and appropriation of the physical environment; the Cyberpunk sensibility, of 'hipness' and openness to novelty, becomes the philosophy of a general evolution towards 'posthumanity', towards transcendence of the very limitations SF has traditionally celebrated as the proud idiosyncratic markings of triumphant homo sapiens. Novelty is Sterling's utopian creed, enabling a succession of steps towards greater and greater complexity (the Levels of Complexity theorised by Ilya Prigogine). In Scott Bukatman's words, Sterling shares with other Cyberpunk authors 'a surrealist perspective that revels in the deformation and destruction, the resurrection and reformation, of the human' (55); in utopian Cyberpunk terms, humanity is information, to be hacked into higher forms: a Stapledonian, not an Heinleinian, evolutionary vision.

The utopian context Sterling employs is the 'Schismatrix', 'a posthuman solar system, diverse yet unified, where tolerance would rule and every faction would have a share' (S,133). Not yet possessing

interstellar drive technology, humans make of the Solar System a complex web of colonies, republics, aristocracies, dictatorships, some occupying entire asteroids or orbital cities, others consisting of only a small spaceship, as in the case of the Fortuna Miners' Democracy, whose citizens, while maintaining the appearances of a democratic constitution, are a tiny remnant, 'a handful of knockabout dregs' (S,66). This matrix of schism, permitting an infinitely fertile fragmentation but binding its countless human experiments into one economic system, is reflective of Sterling's conception of the Postmodern late Twentieth Century: a cauldron of fruitful innovation, a utopia of the present. But he also strikes historical analogies: as Brian Aldiss and David Wingrove suggest, the 'social and political background' is 'reminiscent of the Italian City states of the Renaissance', although, as they state in qualification, 'only reminiscent' (56). Novelty being Sterling's purpose, he all the same structures the plots of the 'Shaper-Mechanist' stories along Machiavellian lines, with City State conspiring against City State, a perpetual ferment of intellectual and scientific innovation fuelling intrigues and rivalries, and protagonists such as Abelard Lindsay, the hero of Schismatrix, rising to power through an opportunistic flair matching that of the Medicis and the Borgias. Seeing the Renaissance as a utopia of innovation, Sterling imitates repeatedly its energetic restlessness.

Within the Schismatrix, three major vectors of innovation operate: the Shapers, the Mechanists, and aliens. The Shapers believe in biological modification of humanity, through surgery, genetic manipulation, and drugs. A typical product of their methods is their agent, Simon Afriel, 'who had been Reshaped according to the state of the art at the time of his conception. His hormonal

balance had been altered slightly to compensate for long periods spent in free-fall. He had no appendix.' His heart and intestines have been made more efficient; 'genetic engineering' and 'rigorous training' have given him an I.Q. of 180(CE,12). The Shapers are fanatical developers of the posthuman, but have bitter rivals in the Mechanists, who practise prosthetic enhancement, creating such beings as Spider Rose: 'She watched through eight telescopes, their images collated and fed into her brain through a nerve-crystal junction at the base of her skull.' She has eight eyes, and her ears function through radar(CE,40). Through these struggling factions, humanity is pushing towards self-transformation, Sterling's Postmodern ideal; they are not conquering the alien, as SF once would have required, but becoming the alien.

Still, literal aliens are present, adding yet further riches to the diversity of the Schismatrix. The reptilian 'Investors', aliens of a marked capitalist tendency, trade with humanity, sparking a commercial boom(S,133-4). They are eventually shown to be mere scavengers, picking up the scraps of other species evolving beyond the physical(S,287-8); but new aliens, such as the 'Presence' which delivers that judgement on the Investors, appear, continuing to fertilise the Schismatrix, demonstrating the transcendent possibilities towards which humanity evolves. This evolution proceeds breathlessly, evoked by more passages paralleling ages of dramatic expansion: 'The new multiple humanities hurtled blindly toward their unknown destinations, and the vertigo of acceleration struck deep. Old preconceptions were in tatters, old loyalties were obsolete. Whole societies were paralyzed by the mind-blasting vistas of absolute possibility.'(S,238) Humanity transcends all limitations: Abelard Lindsay prepares at the end of Schismatrix for a disembodied cosmic quest, like that in Olaf Stapledon's

Star Maker (1937), while his proteges become aquatic inhabitants of Jupiter's water-moon, Europa (S, 285-8), echoing the adaptations of humanity in Stapledon's Last and First Men (1930). The leap to a further Level of Complexity is ventured.

This posthuman scenario is a careful but exuberant projection of history's boom periods onto the future, with the hope added that expansion can become irreversible, all cycles left behind: Postmodernism Unbound. Like Le Guin, Sterling converts the conventions of the consensus Future History to the needs of a revisionist ideology, and constructs a dynamic utopia, which not only evolves but relies upon evolution. Unlike Le Guin, however, Sterling celebrates the utopian potential of technology; and in this he is followed by the Scottish utopian author, Iain M. Banks.

Sterling's Future History functions rather like Alfred Bester's The Stars My Destination, in that it uses analogies with the past to fuel a rapid departure from that past. Novelty is the utopian ideal, a stepping beyond restricting historical norms and parallels. Banks utilises the same strategy, several times over. His five 'Culture' novels - Consider Phlebas (1987), The Player of Games (1988), The State of the Art (1989), Use of Weapons (1990), and Excession (1996) (57) - set a post-scarcity, ultra-technological utopia, the Culture, against a succession of historically familiar and thus obsolete despotisms, which are discredited by the contrast. This historical appropriation serves to make the Culture seem to be in no historical image itself; it can thus be truly utopian, without precedent and beyond history's corroding influence.

The Culture is an enormous galactic empire, but one with no interest in mastery or the enslavement of others. This is because it has no scarcities: 'the capacity of its means of production exceeded every reasonable (and in some cases, perhaps, unreasonable) demands its not unimaginative citizens could make.' (CP,451) This means that money is unnecessary, in that energy, raw materials, and living space can be had for the asking. Without privileged control of any resource, no hierarchies can exist, other than meritocracy; and the Culture is in any case largely governed by Minds, vast artificial intelligences which benignly indulge mankind. Humans, who dwell on great spaceships and in enormous artificial habitats, lead hedonistic lives, with only the fear of shame to restrain them; as John Clute remarks, the Culture has 'no laws governing private behaviour', and so imposes no traumatic guilt(58). Its only real conflicts are interventions beyond its borders, carried out by its Contact Section in a spirit of 'secular evangelism', to relieve the plight of backward, pre-utopian societies(CP,451).

All of this places the Culture outside normal historical laws; the Contact Section can interfere, godlike, with those who are still in history's shadow. John Clute identifies Banks's technique in Consider Phlebas as a subversion of space opera norms: the hero fights for a standard galactic empire, Idir, against the Culture; Idir is ethnocentric, militaristic, and governed by religious fanaticism; Idir, the hero, and the hero's companions lose the war; the hero emerges as unheroic, his actions 'contaminatingly entropic'; the usual Enemy in Libertarian space operas, the socialist utopia, triumphs(59). Put differently, it is the past that loses to the future, or history that loses to utopia. The Idirans are drawn so as to recall theocratic tyrannies

from Earth's history: they conquer species they regard as 'inferior' and subjugate them in a 'primarily religious empire', waging a 'jihad to "calm, integrate, and instruct" these other species and bring them under the direct eye of their God' (CP,455). They lose to the Culture in a destructive interstellar war that is an invalidation of the historical principles of imperialism and crusade upon which they rest. The adventures of the novel's hero bring him into contact with other fanatics and cultists, such as the 'Eaters' and their obese prophet (CP,146-173), who suffer the same deflation as the Idirans, in a general deconstruction of past zealotry. The irony is that this is all seen through the eyes of a mercenary hired by the Idirans; he recognises his error of allegiance too late.

This pattern is followed in the remaining novels. In The Player of Games, Banks describes the cruel and feudal Empire of Azad, whose hierarchical politics is based on success in a highly ritualised Game: 'The game of Azad is used not so much to determine which person will rule, but which tendency within the empire's ruling class will have the upper hand' (PG,76). The Culture employs one of its foremost games specialists to outwit the Azadians in this ludic symbol of their very lives. In Use of Weapons, the life story is told of Cheradenine Zakalwe, a mercenary in the Culture's employ. Significantly, his tale is divided, like Shevek's in Le Guin's The Dispossessed, into early and late portions; these are narrated in parallel, his present exploits on the Culture's behalf set against the dreadful circumstances of his origins. In the past, he grew as a product of war, murder, genocide, and other historical forces; in the present, he fights those forces for the Contact Section, dealing with the likes of a tyrant, the 'Ethnarch Kerian' (UW,26-34) and 'the Hegemonarchy and its opponents, the Glaseen

Empire' (UW, 303). The utopian present combats the dystopian past. But Zakalwe's past eventually emerges as an invalidation of his present, in that he is in fact not the virtuous Zakalwe at all, but Zakalwe's enemy, a murderer who has adopted Zakalwe's identity for disguise and out of denial (UW, 363). This hints that the past, however dreadful, retains its potency.

Indeed, the ironies of the later Culture novels qualify any simple privileging of a complacent utopia over mediaevalistic foes. An Appendix to Consider Phlebas reveals that the Idiran-Culture War took place between A.D. 1327 and A.D. 1375 (CP, 459-462). In The State of the Art, members of the Contact Section visit Earth, incognito, in the 1970s. This makes clear what Consider Phlebas hinted, that the 'Culture' novels are not a Future History so much as a Secret History, a wider galactic chronology contemporaneous with our Second Millennium A.D.. Twentieth Century Earth is among the savage societies with which the Culture meddles; for us, the Culture is still only a remote, contingent possibility, a utopia yet to be achieved, and through great effort. The customary theodictic complacency of space operatic Future History is not indulged; rather, a contemporary activism is recommended.

Similarly, the Culture is interrogated. Zakalwe's character and actions in Use of Weapons bring the Contact Section's ethics into question. Excession, the final novel, repeats the earlier plot of Culture against despots (in this case, an aggressive ethnocentric empire known as the Affront). But this war is engineered by a cabal of powerful Culture Minds in order to prevent the Affront's further growth; central elements of the Culture are using intrigue and fomenting bloodshed. To conceal their guilt, the plotters persecute pacific Minds who

threaten to expose them. They are found out, however, and the Culture realises its own imperfections. Meanwhile, a higher universe investigates this one, and finds the Culture unworthy of further contact (E, 455). Banks is scrutinising his utopia, ensuring that it will avoid theodictic arrogance and remain dynamic, in the manner of Le Guin's Anarres.

A third technophilic utopia, again adapting old Future History conventions, is that featured in the American writer Greg Bear's 'Binary Millennium' sequence. Bear, sometimes considered a Cyberpunk author, attempts, like the Cyberpunks, to use contemporary science as the basis for his fictions, but his emphasis is more upon contemporary scientific theory than practice. Quantum theory, information theory, cosmological physics: these propel ambitious Hard SF epics, in which Bear's tone is frequently apocalyptically visionary, as in Blood Music (1985), Eon (1985), and Eon's sequel, Eternity (1988). The 'Binary Millennium' novels, Queen of Angels (1990), Heads (1990), and Moving Mars (1993) (60), are more mundane in their scope, but present a remarkable dichotomy: two competing utopias, both sympathetically rendered but mutually incompatible.

The enabling scientific novum of the 'Binary Millennium' is the understanding of the very small. Len Hatfield has pointed out the prevalence in Bear's novels of inner and outer realms, domains of the large and the small, with the inner or smaller component containing the seeds of the transformation, disruptive or constructive, of the outer or larger one. In Blood Music, microscopic creatures transform humanity; in Eon, a Way across universes, contained in a starship, revolutionises Earth; in The Forge of God (1987), a bomb made from neutronium destroys the Earth from within (61). The equivalent but

subtler device in Queen of Angels and Moving Mars is variations on nanotechnology: microscopic engines which can modify or construct material objects; machines which can gaze into the human brain, altering it or rendering its infinitesimal neural processes as a narrative 'Country of the Mind'; rewritings of the information that defines matter, so that its behaviour can be altered. In Heads, the achievement of Absolute Zero in lunar laboratories frees fundamental particles from any determinacy, and quantum disaster follows. These manipulations of the very small assist Bear's utopias into being, the microcosm again shaping the macrocosm.

Bear develops his first utopia in a cosmopolitan direction. Queen of Angels is set on Earth in the 2040s, and its utopian measures are liberal, calculated to unify and organise Bear's world. 'Therapy' is employed by the majority of the population to achieve a psychology free from neuroses and traumas. Nanotechnology permits the adoption of altered physical aspects. Thus, inner and outer perfection are increasingly possible. Neuroses are combated inside and outside the human mind: the obsessions of a murderous poet, Emmanuel Goldsmith, are investigated through 'Country of the Mind' technology, while the novel's heroine, Mary Choy, enquires into a tyranny on Haiti whose hallmarks, authoritarian and patriarchal, correspond with those dark memories afflicting Goldsmith's mind. The old tyrannical past, whether political or psychological, is being discarded; Bear's first utopia is similar to those of Sterling and Banks, defining its ideals in terms of novelty, of a Postmodern transcendence of history and of Libertarianism's nostalgic simplicities.

Bear's second utopia is, however, in stark contrast. Moving Mars is, significantly, devoid of the stylistic

experiments of Queen of Angels. It is the uncomplicated memoir of Casseia Majumdar, a Martian colonist who serves Mars as a diplomat in a time of increasingly difficult relations with Earth. The Binding Multiples, the cooperative enterprises that are developing Mars, fear interference from Earth more and more; their people are rugged individualists of the Libertarian variety, and in due course Mars, like the Thirteen Colonies in the American War of Independence, like the Moon in Heinlein's Libertarian manifesto The Moon is a Harsh Mistress (1966), seeks independence. When Casseia visits Earth, its utopia is like the city to a rustic, and the utopia so sympathetically delineated in Queen of Angels seems crowded and unnatural (MM, 168-230). And so a Libertarian utopia arises on Mars, and its leaders use something of a wish-fulfilment device, a new technology permitting the rewriting of quantum particular behaviour, to transport Mars into orbit around a different Sun (MM, 431-9). Bear's second utopia is thus a deeply traditional one, seeing freedom in kinetic and spatial terms, rather than in the social and psychological ones of Queen of Angels. A free Mars must have elbow room, in respect both of the low density of its population and its ability to move into the wider universe. Its people remain traditional in mentality, refusing the Therapy that has reshaped Earth, remaining loyal to deeply-rooted instincts of mobility and territory.

Bear's careful opposition of his two utopian models allows them to stand as competing thought experiments, monitoring any overconfidence in each other. This technique is a novel way of ensuring the dynamism of utopias, their resistance to the complacency of theodicy.

Another Martian utopia, one markedly less confident of the absolute virtue of technology, is that proposed in

Kim Stanley Robinson's extremely ambitious *Future History*, the 'Mars' Trilogy. This voluminous work, combining the centuries-long chronological focus of *Future History* with the planetary romance's dense immediacy of place, can be read as a thought experiment similar to Bear's, in that it refers to the rival *Future Histories* that Bear considers; but instead of placing these in rhetorical opposition, it rebuts them by adumbrating a third *Future History* which repudiates them both. Robinson is interested in neither Libertarianism nor pure Postmodern novelty. This was made clear in his earlier magnum opus, the 'Orange County' Trilogy, which subversively anatomised a Libertarian future of post-holocaust rugged individualism in *The Wild Shore* (1984), then represented a high-technological military-industrial dystopia in the California of *The Gold Coast* (1988), and finally controverted both with the holistic ecological utopia of *Pacific Edge* (1990). The option proposed by *Pacific Edge* is exhaustively affirmed in the course of the long theoretical speculations and practical demonstrations that make up *Red Mars* (1992), *Green Mars* (1993), and *Blue Mars* (1996) (62).

The structure of the 'Mars Trilogy' is one of gradated steps towards utopia. Each volume narrates the establishment of an ecological, political, and economic status quo on the colonised Mars of the next few centuries, a status quo containing contradictions which climax in a revolution, which ends the volume. Each revolution carries Mars closer to Robinson's ideal. In *Red Mars*, the initial exploration and settlement of Mars opens the planet to three conflicting visions: that of the Reds, who desire the preservation of the dead but splendid landscape in its pristine condition; that of the Greens, whose concept of the 'Areophany' advocates the responsible development of Mars as a new human home; and

that of the Terran multi- or transnational corporations, who, manipulating the United Nations, would turn Mars into a mining colony and real estate for Earth's wealthy elites. The first two groupings oppose the third in an idealistic but chaotic Revolution, which fails bloodily. Mars is now transnational property, but the resistance can begin utopian experimentation in hideouts in the Outback. This commences Robinson's critique of Libertarian and Postmodern Future Histories: capitalist exploitation of new worlds is condemned, and the improvement of the human lot lies not in posthuman modifications but in practical social innovation.

Green Mars, whose title describes the mounting effort to terraform Mars into Earthlike habitability, continues this double critique. The new status quo of transnational exploitation is counterpointed by detailed descriptions of the alternative ideologies being cultivated in the Outback. Ecological disaster on Earth (the partial melting on Antarctica) distracts the corporate dictatorship, which allows a new, and successful, Revolution. In Blue Mars, Robinson's polemic can reach its conclusion: with the capitalist tyranny removed, a fully-fledged utopia is born, the product of long ideological conferences and constitution-drafting, its accommodation of Red alongside Green ideology and its sympathy with average and natural aspirations a refutation of Postmodern artificiality. Mars is now increasingly habitable as terraforming takes hold, a harsh paradise, to be cherished. But Robinson avoids any complacency, concluding Blue Mars with a Revolution necessitated by the selfish behaviour of Mars's new governing elite, by the need for organic social renewal; his utopia monitors its own performance.

Robinson is loyal to the example of Le Guin in several ways. He carefully portrays his utopia as dynamic, as the outcome of many different experimental political creeds and economic doctrines, which (as in the case of Reds and Greens) compete, generating a complex dialectic, one which ramifies, given the freedoms provided by the Martian Constitution (BM, 127-9). Even revolutionary revision of the Martian system is possible (BM, 601-3). Further, this utopia maintains a strongly human focus, in that its history is mediated through the lives of sympathetic protagonists, whose virtual immortality means that at last history's longer trends are manifested on a human time-scale; Future History need no longer dwarf the individual. Another, and explicit, parallel with Le Guin is Robinson's discussion of utopia in a two-world context: as in The Dispossessed, the utopia (Mars or Anarres) must co-exist with a larger and threatening non-utopia (Earth or Urras). The point in both cases is that no utopia can exist in isolation: it is influenced by inimical outside forces (which covet its space and resources) and must exert a utopian counter-influence, in order to win its opponent's friendship. Robinson's Mars is always in Earth's shadow; in response, it co-operates with sympathetic agencies on Earth such as Praxis and some Third World countries (in Green Mars) and seeks to assist utopian tendencies on Earth while accepting some of Earth's demographic overflow (in Blue Mars). In these ways Robinson seeks to make his utopia vital and sympathetic as the Posthuman ethic can never be, and to avoid the exclusivity, the heedlessness of the Other, which characterises many Libertarian theodicies.

It is this desire to accommodate the Other that shapes much of Robinson's utopia. As Carol Franko has argued in regard to Robinson's earlier works, Robinson, while acknowledging the need for variety among individuals,

does not present this difference as that between Self and Other; rather, he describes the likenesses between them as well as the dissimilarities, privileging neither Self nor Other, permitting a full subjectivity for both(63). This refusal to subordinate the Other extends, again in Franko's terms, not only to another human, but to 'an "other" part of the self, history, or the nonhuman world of "nature"' (64); in this spirit, Robinson's protagonists can achieve a genuine social and economic equality, as well as a due regard for the ecological 'rights' of the land they inhabit (thus the Reds). They are able to migrate from present paradigms into a post-capitalist and (as Franko terms it in remarks on two of Robinson's short stories) 'post-patriarchal landscape' (65). Thus the major features of Robinson's utopian Martian system: universal human rights; ownership of enterprises by their workers, ensuring equality and mutuality; the prohibition of huge private amassment of property, preventing economic hierarchy; respect for the environment (enforced by the courts); the holding of planetary lands in common (for these ideas and their implementation, see Part Seven of Green Mars and Part Three of Blue Mars) (66). Robinson's characters interact with each other and the densely detailed landscapes they inhabit in complexly emotional and idealistic ways; in this human and humanist utopia, science works for the people, in that they are virtually all scientists themselves (all of the text's viewpoint figures are), and so the population can understand itself and its environment, and act on that knowledge. Even history is respected, in Robinson's constant emphasis upon the importance and integrity of memory; this climaxes with one of the Trilogy's final scenes, in which the old First Hundred colonists rapturously revive their dead memories of the past two centuries (BM, 568-580) (67).

This utopia, then, is a grand rebuttal of the Libertarian and posthuman schemes of Future History. In preparing his Trilogy, Robinson exhaustively investigated earlier Science Fiction, especially that set on Mars, and so his text can be seen as a recursive summation of and commentary on preceding visions(68). Accordingly, Robinson appropriates the standard Libertarian projection of space travel and exploitative colonisation, and replaces it with an interplanetary evolution of egalitarian environmentalism. In this context, the poles of the traditional right-wing scenario, such as those found in The Moon is a Harsh Mistress and Moving Mars, are reversed; as Norman Spinrad comments, 'What the Martians are struggling against' 'is not the statist political colonialism that plays the villain in the usual libertarian version of this sort of thing, but quite the contrary, the economic imperialism of just the sort of Darwinian free marketeers that play the libertarian heroes' (69). Robinson makes the Libertarian Future History succumb, like his transnationals (the 'Darwinian free marketeers'), to a left-wing ethic of co-operation; and to drive the point home, he rigorously and inclusively argues his future, avoiding the theodictic and ethnocentric rhetoric of many Libertarian SF writers. Robinson, like the Libertarians, adopts the posture of an individualist; but he seeks to make his individualism accommodate all individuals, not only a privileged few of them.

Robinson rebuts the posthuman Future Histories of Schismatrix and Queen of Angels by insisting on the recognisable humanity of his utopia. Although his scientists, such as Sax Russell, control artificial intelligences, nanotechnology, the ability to terraform Mars and other worlds, vast supercomputers, and the means to build 20 000 kilometer-long space elevators, they and

their society remain resolutely human, minimising mechanical and cybernetic influences in their lives. Robinson's characters wander Mars's surface; they climb Olympus Mons; they do engineering work and scientific research; they visit old friends, argue, have children; they live in a culture innocent of posthuman modifications or jaded resorts to virtual reality, and even their rebellious hedonists prefer traditional orgies and future versions of hang-gliding to any Postmodern or prosthetic pursuits (see the career of Zo Boone in Part Eleven of Blue Mars) (70). Robinson's humans are inseparably a part of their natural environment, whether Reds or Greens; they are subject to shaping by Mars, the process of 'Areoformation' (GM,13), and will not transcend the natural plane.

This suggests that Robinson's objects of historical appropriation are unlike those of the Libertarians or the Cyberpunks. In the course of the conference to draw up Mars's constitution, Art Randolph, a tireless diplomat, thinks he sees the ghosts of the dead and the unborn congregating around him, as if 'history were a tapestry, and the congress the loom upon which everything was coming together'; he feels that 'this was the moment when what wisdom' he and his colleagues 'could muster had to be woven together, to be passed on to all the future generations.' (BM,126) The implied solidarity of Robinson's utopian revolutionaries with past idealists indicates his sources: historical struggles against exploitative hierarchies, like the European Revolutions in 1789, 1830, 1848, 1871, and 1917, and the clashes of Third World socialism and nationalism with European colonialism and capitalist multinational corporatism in the second half of the Twentieth Century. An early leader of resistance to transnational capitalism on Mars, John Boone, defines Mars's struggle as 'democracy versus

capitalism' (RM, 331), and similar rhetoric recurs throughout the Trilogy, finding concrete shape in the alternative economic systems developed in the outback and in the anti-capitalist shape of Mars's post-independence society as described in Blue Mars. The 'Mars' Trilogy is an extended discussion of the modalities of revolutionary thought, its Three Revolutions, steadily more coherent and less violent, standing as ideal improvements upon the failings of Revolutions in Earth's history, upon their bloodshed and their betrayals of their own promise. Instead of the capitalist and ethnocentric revolutionary precedent of the American War of Independence, which has inspired so many Libertarian SF texts, Robinson appropriates genuinely radical, and more contemporary, models; and his ideology of ongoing political liberation excludes the mysticism of posthuman transcendence.

Robinson's sweeping scheme of evolutionary movement away from capitalism and colonialism (which are viewed as mere extensions of feudalism, as argued by the 'historian', Charlotte Dorsa Brevia, BM, 389-394), and towards an ultimate democracy, may be viewed as the ultimate statement of the left-wing utopian case in SF. But, as a critical indication of the danger of utopianism becoming like theodicy, the Trilogy's terms can also be read as echoing Libertarian aspirations. Like Libertarian heroes, Robinson's Martians escape Terran government control, inhabiting Mars's vast open spaces in freedom; they speak of helping the over-crowded and under-resourced Earth, but there is little they can do, so that twenty million Martians live idyllically, while Earth's billions struggle to survive, much of their living space lost to flooding. The elitism of this prospect is matched by the make-up of Mars's population: scientists, engineers, terraforming biologists and physicists, the specialists brought to Mars by the transnationals to facilitate its

exploitation, radical intellectuals. Other colonists arrive, but the Martian utopia is very much a society of the educated and privileged. With its huge advantages of open spaces, vast resources, a highly qualified and rational population, and an isolating distance of millions of miles from the centre of corporate capitalism on Earth, Robinson's utopia is uniquely qualified to succeed, and partakes of some of the wish-fulfilment of theodicy. It may serve as an example, inspiring utopianism on Earth and elsewhere, but this, it can be argued, is all promise and little delivery, as other worlds lack Mars's enabling assets. If Mars's utopia is not transferable, then it remains the idyll of the few, and the 'Mars' Trilogy is Libertarianism in a radical disguise. By this reading, utopian Future History has yet to find its epitomal text.

* * *

The Future Histories of Second SF, the period after 1960, are extremely diverse in ideology and in form. Libertarianism, Posthistoric mysticism, posthuman Postmodernism, and left-wing utopianism are radically competing discourses, while different sorts of Future History apply sharply differing techniques, traditional consensus Future Histories emphasising plot, Posthistories requiring richness of style, and utopian works demanding rigour of concept. History is reflected with much polemical irony in the countless distorting mirrors of these futures; but it is treated to still more complex effect in SF's many Alternate Histories, the subjects of Chapters Four and Five.

CHAPTER FOUR: ALTERNATE HISTORIES - HISTORY AND IRONY

4.1 Introduction

Where Future Histories rely primarily on historical imitation, Alternate Histories are by definition exercises in historical modification. The alteration of history to generate a counterfactual timeline sets up ironic resonances and dissonances between imagined and real histories; the reader conscious of 'true history' becomes aware of anachronisms in the alternate world, absences of familiar elements and the persistence out of their proper time of others. Such distortions permit authors to reflect revealing light back upon actuality; the paths not taken by history contextualise the path that it did take; and so SF offers its various ideologies a further medium for speculation and combat. Fantasy, overlapping with the SF genre and with its own preoccupation with the stuff of the mythical and legendary past, also regularly appropriates history counterfactually, adding to the Alternate Histories to be considered.

The concept of the Alternate History is rooted in the potentials of time travel. As S. James Jakiel and Rosandra E. Levinthal state, stories describing time travel offer multitudinous rules governing such travel, sometimes permitting history-altering paradoxes and sometimes not(1). Those fictional rules that do make the past pliable make of it a realm as open to manipulation and imperialism as outer space in Libertarian space opera; if individuals can alter the present through small but strategic interventions in the past, the philosophy of rugged individualism is confirmed. Perhaps for this reason, many SF writers have dealt systematically with the mechanics of alternate world creation: Libertarian authors can affirm the supreme role of Great or Competent

Men in history, while, in reaction, their more liberal adversaries can either reassert the sway of larger material forces over great events, or show the plight of the victims of the engineering of history. One of Libertarianism's champions, Poul Anderson, proclaims in his 'Time Patrol' volumes, The Shield of Time(1990) and The Time Patrol(1991), a familiar combination of Liberty and Authority, in that his Time Patrolmen are free to wander history in a spirit of possessive and pioneering adventure, but must simultaneously combat the efforts, sometimes well-intentioned, of rogue elements who might sway history from its 'proper course'. That course is one appointed by the Patrol's god-like far-future masters, the Danellians, in an almost literal indulgence of theodicy(2). A contrasting liberal example is the 'Change War' series by Fritz Leiber, made up of the novel The Big Time(1961) and the stories in Changewar(1983); here, the operatives in the endless temporal conflict of the inscrutable 'Snakes' and 'Spiders' rarely know the context of their actions, and characteristically inhabit narratives located in claustrophobic spaces, where speculation is possible but understanding is never complete(3). Thus, time-travel stories describe the creation of alternate histories, and they point to the ideological conflicts alternate-world novels can express.

But time-travel narratives do not go as far as the fully-fledged, thoroughly detailed Alternate History. As Karen Hellekson points out in a discussion of Anderson's Time Patrol series, such time-travel stories are more concerned with the conservation of existing history than with the portrayal of its alternatives; Anderson 'brushes on the edge of alternate history', quashing subversive replacement histories, always restoring our, or the 'true', timeline, after brief sketches of what might have been, his interest more in 'the event itself and the

pivotal role of the individual in history' than in 'the ramifications of a historical event gone awry' (4). Alternate Histories go a step further than the time-travel subgenre. As Hellekson says, again of Anderson's Time Patrol stories, the device of time travel allows a combination of two ways of knowing history: original history, events as perceived by those present or within the culture affected, and reflective history, the events as understood by those outside them, such as historians looking backwards in time. The reflective historian can experience original history by visiting it through time travel (5), and history can at last be holistically understood. But Alternate History stories proper - those set in a fully realised and stable alternate world - permit the full fusion of a third form of history with Hellekson's two: counterfactual history, the domain of unrealised pasts, the contemplation of which, Niall Ferguson argues, allows the past to be comprehended comparatively, in the light of rival variants of itself (6). Such full Alternate Histories, then, are particularly rich ventures of historical imagination, capable of carrying a particularly strong ideological charge; for this reason, ambitious Alternate Histories, autonomous of our history but in incessant ironic dialogue with it, are the subject of Chapters Four and Five.

Full Alternate Histories are by definition not concerned with brief interruptions of history's accepted course, interventions in the past that turn out to have been part of the fabric of accepted history anyway, or time-paradoxical changes that affect individual lives only (7). Rather, they investigate in some depth the macrocosmic consequences of major historical deviations. Such Alternate Histories can be seen as falling into three major categories: first, the Utopian/Dystopian form,

which describes ideal or monstrous alternatives to true history, often in realisation of specific nostalgic or period dreams or nightmares; second, the Inversionary variety, which inverts a defined era's realities, turning winners into losers and losers into winners, generally to moral or polemical effect; and third, the Ironic or Satirical sort, which uses historical modification to make satirical points of contemporary relevance. These forms give the ideological perspectives of SF and Fantasy strong expression by questioning and reformulating the historical roots of the present.

Chapter Four, which concentrates on Alternate Histories based directly on the material events of history (unlike Chapter Five, which looks at alternate worlds founded on period literatures), explores examples of all three varieties of counterfactual history. This is done in the context of six periods frequently modified in Alternate Histories, each period the subject of a Section: Ancient Greece and Rome; the Reformation; Nineteenth Century America; European Imperialism; the Second World War; and, in brief conclusion, the present. These epochs all have their particular resonances with the ideological and philosophical character and concerns of genre SF and Fantasy, containing within themselves conflicts or contradictions which authors exploit and discuss by treating history as a plastic, endlessly to be remoulded.

4.2 Antiquity: The Splendour That Might Have Gone On

For SF writers, the appeal of counterfactual Roman Empires lies partly in the ancient world's splendid pagan multiplicity and melodrama, the opportunity afforded to replicate some of the decadent intrigue of novels such as Robert Graves's I, Claudius (1934) and the wide-screen glamour of films such as Ben Hur (1959) and Spartacus (1960). But for historically informed writers

like L. Sprague de Camp and Harry Turtledove (both Americans), Rome is of interest because of its status as the archetype of the Great Empire that Fell. It is a prime example of the seeming inevitability of cyclical history, the negation of any proud progress. Given the traditional scientific positivism of American SF, Roman history can be rewritten as a tale of the victory of scientific rationality over barbarian hordes and the superstition of the Dark Ages; the civilisation of antiquity can persist with the help of anachronistic advances in technology, and cyclical history can be annulled.

This counterfactual vindication of linear optimism is the project of de Camp's early novel Lest Darkness Fall (1941) (8). De Camp's hero is an American archaeologist, Martin Padway, who while in the Rome of the 1930s slips backwards in time to the mid-Sixth Century A.D.; he finds himself in the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy, one of the successor states to the Western Roman Empire. As Padway soon realises, this Kingdom is under threat from the remaining half of the Roman Empire, Byzantium, whose Emperor, Justinian I, 'would soon begin his disastrously successful effort to reconquer Italy for the Empire.' (LDF, 19) Justinian's attacks on the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Vandals in Africa were 'disastrous' because they destroyed societies that promised an amalgamation of Teutonic conquerors and subjugated Romans into a new and stable late-classical culture; instead, the old Western provinces were devastated, and wilder nomads, such as the Lombards and Moors, inherited the impoverished territories (9). Padway sets out to import Twentieth Century technology into Italy, thwart the Byzantine invasions, and prevent the onset of the Dark Ages, as the novel's title implies; one of de Camp's ironies is that Padway seeks to save Rome by

withstanding the East Roman Empire, preserving the heritage of Rome while resisting 'Roman' power - de Camp's nostalgia is not for the Empire but for its abiding legacies.

Padway's success in creating a new and improved late antiquity rests upon simple, enabling anachronisms from de Camp's own America: the introduction into Italo-Gothic society of printing, telegraphy, Arabic numerals, the rudiments of democracy, as well as strategic knowledge of future events. This is very much an ethnocentric intrusion, conducted in a cheerful, even wise-cracking spirit. Whenever Padway is challenged as to his religious convictions by the period's heresy hunters, he responds that he is a Congregationalist, 'the nearest thing' to the prevailing orthodoxy 'that we have' (LDF,29), and regards wryly the era's religious arguments, which are patronisingly rendered, for example as a tavern brawl (LDF,29-31). The Sixth Century's people are amiable caricatures, easily guided, however initially menacing: the governor of Rome, Honorius, walks as if 'his footsteps' have been 'laid out ahead of time with chalk marks', and has 'a square jaw and all the warmth of expression of a snapping turtle' (LDF,66); the King of Italy, Thiudahad, is 'thin to gauntness', has 'watery gray eyes', and speaks in 'a reedy voice', as well as being a bumbling classical bibliophile (LDF,76); the ambassador of the Bulgarian Huns is well-clad in 'finery', but his odour persuades Padway 'that the man had never had a bath in his life', and he speaks in a 'twitter' (LDF,161). Other figures, such as the Byzantine generals Belisarius and Bloody John, are readily won over or defeated by Padway. A condescension towards the backward past, a past very easily manipulated by Padway, is constantly evident; de Camp is repeating the anachronistic iconoclasm of Mark Twain's A Connecticut

Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889), insisting that the past must conform to the standards of his lofty present.

But the progress that Padway imposes upon this amenable past is in a gentler spirit than Twain's. De Camp characteristically writes humorous stories, often in a mock-heroic vein; Padway is in many respects a comic hero, not a ruthless destroyer and exploiter, but, rather, ordinary and at first unambitious, capable of being first attracted and then alarmingly bullied by the Gothic princess, Mathaswentha, in an absurd love scene (LDF, 143-9), and then punishing himself for his gullibility by having one of his soldiers kick him 'in the fundament' (LDF, 149). Padway is in addition genuinely sympathetic to Ostrogothic Italy; as an archaeologist in his own century, he has studied it, and he frequently shows concern for his new period, as when he wonders as to the continued desirability of his 'gunpowder experiments': 'The world had enough means of inflicting death and destruction already' (LDF, 207). The purpose of Padway's actions is to spare Europe the Dark Ages, and in this altruistic project he will succeed, 'whatever happened to him' (LDF, 208). Thus, de Camp achieves some balance in his utopian imperialism in the past: the Sixth Century must accept a positivist prescription to cure its ills, but the medicine is administered sympathetically.

This sympathy with history, coupled perhaps with an awareness that remaking the past in the present's image is imperialism, however it is justified, motivates de Camp's later retraction of the happy positivism of Lest Darkness Fall, in the story 'Aristotle and the Gun' (1956) (10). Here, a scientist, Sherman Weaver, returns in time to Ancient Greece, hoping to set Aristotle and his culture on the route to technological progress; he must curb the Greeks' dislike of manual toil

and their error-creating 'fondness for spinning cosmic theories without enough facts to go on' ('AG',27), so they will embrace the mechanical sciences. His motive is that in his own Twentieth Century he is 'solitary, misanthropic', unliked, and wants to inhabit a present world more advanced, more friendly to his scientific 'genius' ('AG',26-7). He is thus hubristic and deliberate in his re-engineering of history, serving as a castigatory caricature of Padway, whose movement in time was involuntary and whose motives were not so selfish. Seeking to influence Aristotle, Weaver finds the past resistant to any improving message, his suspicious origins and actions causing adverse reactions among the Macedonians; the Greeks swing even more sharply away from empirical science than they historically did, in part intimidated by the thought that Weaver must come from a culture superior to theirs. Weaver finds himself returning to a Twentieth Century of barbarism and ignorance, and laments his inability to have left well enough alone ('AG',58). This parable against reckless scientism ironically corrects the excesses of Lest Darkness Fall, giving it a dystopian counterpart in which history is inflexible and the heroic individual has no large influence, other than negative. But the blithe confidence of Padway has remained influential, as in Harry Turtledove's positivist story cycle, Agent of Byzantium.

Agent of Byzantium(1986) (11) differs from Lest Darkness Fall chiefly in its willingness to allow historical modification to be initiated from within the period concerned. Instead of a time traveller paradoxically importing change into Turtledove's Fourteenth Century Byzantium, alterations occur spontaneously, indicating a greater confidence in the creativity and integrity of past peoples. The fundamental change enabling this

Alternate History is the conversion of Mohammed to Christianity; Islam does not arise, and the Byzantine and Sassanid Persian Empires continue essentially unaltered in the stability and rivalry they enjoyed until the Arab conquests commenced in the mid-Seventh Century (AB, ix-x). Turtledove's direct agent of innovation in the text, Basil Argyros, is an intelligence operative from Constantinople, who, very much in the manner of Poul Anderson's Dominic Flandry, defeats Persian and barbarian conspiracies against his Empire's security; his chief means of doing so is to advance inventions which strengthen Byzantine society and arm its military better: telescopes (Chapter I), a smallpox inoculation (Chapter II), gunpowder (Chapter III), printing (Chapter IV), public information posters (Chapter V), and explosives to deter nomadic incursions (Chapter VI). Although Argyros is not a scientist, and his large contributions to knowledge are thus deeply improbable, Turtledove's aim is clear: to suggest that the Eastern Roman Empire, free from interference by Islam, might have undergone the equivalent of the Renaissance, rapidly rising from mediaevalism to modernity, vindicating the concept of inevitable progress.

But Turtledove creates 'a more conservative world than our own' (AB, x) in order to make his scheme of accelerated innovation more dramatic. So that Argyros may change the world within a few years, that world is kept static over the previous centuries: the changes it would in fact have faced are minimised, and its air is that of a static tableau for a single heroic actor. The Persian and Byzantine Empires clash along the same frontiers as a thousand years earlier, their capitals still at Ctesiphon and Byzantium, their state religions still Zoroastrianism and Orthodox Christianity. The Teutonic kingdoms of the West, such as those of the Franks and Saxons described in

Chapter III, are much as they were when in the shadow of Justinian's reconquests in the Sixth Century. The religious disputes resolved at the ecumenical Council of the Church, described in Chapter V, centre upon matters such as iconoclasm, which in our history preoccupied Byzantium in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Thus, Turtledove freezes Byzantium and its world in the image of a time long before the Fourteenth Century, excluding Islam, the Mongols, the Crusades, the Holy Roman Empire, and much other variety. Basil Argyros inhabits a landscape made arid in order to highlight the sudden fertility he introduces; heroic individualism is asserted, but to the general impoverishment of broader background history, a familiar dilemma of Libertarian SF.

4.3 The Reformation: Christendom Continued

Whereas the American writers discussed above are concerned to replace historical regress with progress, British writers, animated by a less sanguine view of history, frequently opt for the reverse. The Reformation, the rise of Protestantism in Europe, was a decisive turning point, terminating the relative stasis of mediaeval Christendom, helping to usher in capitalism and the modern nation state, pointing the way to industrialisation and evangelical Imperialism. In standard SF terms, the Reformation was a harbinger and engine of Progress; by reversing its outcome, British SF and Fantasy authors can interrogate the very idea of Progress, and consider alternatives.

The assumption linking the Protestant Reformation of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries with the rise of the bourgeoisie and capitalism is, as the historian Euan Cameron states, an old one. In this view, 'protestantism was inherently more suited to an economically aggressive, upwardly mobile bourgeois class' than Catholicism, in

that its 'reformed worship' was simpler, more austere, more cerebral and more personal than the rites of Rome, and in that, taking the argument further, Protestantism represented an 'ethos' encouraging capitalist attitudes such as 'thrift, diligence, sobriety, careful use of time, and high moral standards' (12). Whatever the historical strengths and weaknesses of this argument, there is no doubt that many literary perceptions of the Reformation depend heavily on the assumption that the Protestants of Northern Europe represented capitalist Progress and that their 'Papist' enemies advocated tyrannical stagnation. Popular works of history by Whig apologists for Protestantism and capitalism, such as Lord Macaulay's History of England From the Accession of James II (1848;1855) and John Lothrop Motley's The Rise of the Dutch Republic (1856), as well as many succeeding texts, have entrenched an image of the Reformation as a struggle of the stalwart bourgeois values of individualism and Parliamentary democracy against Catholic despotisms such as those of Philip II of Spain, tyrannies armed with the Spanish Inquisition, iron maidens and thumbscrews, public burnings of heretics, menacing Armadas, and the like. The SF writers modifying the Reformation exploit and question this partisan myth.

In novels by Keith Roberts, Kingsley Amis, and John Whitbourn, the Catholic Counter-Reformation is successful, Protestantism is suppressed, and Twentieth Century Europe is a place where orthodox Catholic doctrine is universally observed, where technology and commerce are restrained, and where nationalism is countered by the inclusive unity of a Continent-wide Christendom. The 'progressive' influences of Puritanism, industrial capitalism, bourgeois democracy, and Marxism have been obviated, and a masterful Papacy presides over a society of tradition, hierarchy, piety. Universal

education, women's rights, social democracy, and free expression have been prevented, but so have numerous wars, industrial child labour, Communism and Fascism. This scenario is historically questionable, in that even at the time of the Counter-Reformation, the supremacy of the Papacy was challenged within the Catholic world by powerful monarchies such as Hapsburg Spain and Valois France, which would surely have continued to assert themselves; but the dramatic effect of a Catholic Europe is maximised by a simple portrayal of outright Papal supremacy. It is in this context, whose anachronistic feature, unlike that of De Camp's Rome, is the subversive absence of advanced technology, that the idea of Progress can be scrutinised. Its disappearance removes capitalism and its consequences; is the bucolic alternative better? In the mediaeval atmosphere of this altered Europe, Science Fiction can consider reduced technologies like those of Keith Roberts, and Fantasy can ponder the revival of the mythical agencies of mediaevalism, such as Roberts's fairy-like Old Ones, or the systematised *maleficium* of John Whitbourn. The negation of Progress's initiating forces makes the failed Reformation a terrain for Science Fantasy.

Progress has been resisted for centuries in the Papal Europe of Keith Roberts's Pavane (1968) (13). Roberts sets his cycle of moody, landscape-obsessed stories in a protractedly rustic southern England notably similar to Thomas Hardy's Wessex (14). This is significant: both Roberts and Hardy deal with countryfolk who lead dark and haunted lives, confronting a Fate that taxes them severely and offers little recompense. In both, the ultimate, and estranging, manifestation of Fate is the change that industrialism brings to the countryside, undermining the cherished truths and habits of centuries, enforcing new attitudes and relationships. For Hardy, it

was the Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth Century that threatened rural rhythms; in Pavane, it is a gradual resurfacing of technology and the urge to liberty, in an England of 1968 and after protected by the Church against progress as a deliberate policy, an England of clerical supremacy, religious conformity, the Inquisition, aristocratic privilege, stunted economic activity, highwaymen on scarcely frequented roads, guild structures. In this England, a few concessions to science have been made, such as steam engines and semaphore networks; but these are crude, and surrounded with restrictions and rituals. This world, especially in the scenes of Inquisitorial torture in Pavane's Third Measure, 'Brother John', may seem the very nightmare of backwardness pictured by Whigs and Protestants as the outcome of Protestantism's defeat; here, Queen Elizabeth I was assassinated, and the Armada was victorious, with brutal consequences (P, 7-8). But Roberts's sympathies lie with the ordinary people who have been comforted by the certainties of his extended mediaeval age, as well as with those who, like Brother John, desire change (and who suffer direly because of this desire). The remorseless Fate his characters must face, as in Hardy's novels, is Progress; those who resist it and those who advance it are both victims of its corrosive momentum.

The reason for the fated helplessness so often felt by Roberts's characters is his structuring of history both as linear and as cyclical, in clear reference to the processes of Walter Miller's A Canticle for Leibowitz. The Coda to Pavane intimates an important difference between Roberts's alternate world and most others: it is in fact our Earth, but in the distant future, when history is being replayed somewhat along the lines it followed in our own post-mediaeval period. As John the Seneschal tells his son in a letter at the book's end,

'once, beyond our Time, beyond all the memories of men, there was a great civilization. There was a Coming, a Death, and Resurrection; a Conquest, a Reformation, an Armada. And a burning, an Armageddon.' (P,234) This earlier cycle, ours, ended with nuclear warfare, the devastation of the world. Because the Europe of Pavane is recapitulating a remote but still recollectable past, to the extent of having an Elizabeth I and a Philip II all over again, it can learn and improve on its model, placing a burden of correction on it, a need to avoid nuclear annihilation. Roberts, by implication, is suggesting a way to avoid Armageddon in our time also. Thus, his world develops dangerous innovations slowly and responsibly, cautiously acknowledging history's linear element of Progress. This is contained by cyclical elements: the Church deliberately holds back technology for centuries, knowing that a similar regime applied in the earlier cycle's Middle Ages and so repeating that regime. The Twentieth Century is reshaped in the image of centuries earlier, an invasion of the Modern by the Mediaeval. This combination of linear and cyclical patterns is implied by the circular symbol that illustrates Pavane, one with two arrows pointing inwards and two pointing outwards (P,233): the linear arrows of progress and change are contained by a circle, the cyclical; events move in more than one direction, some arrows converging, others diverging. All of this means that the burden of Roberts's characters is twofold: they are pulled forwards by a linear imperative of progress, and pulled backwards by recurring cycles, by the redemptive past. And, because they are ordinary folk, not privy to the Church's understanding of the previous cycle, they suffer these inexorable pulls in ignorance, their plight inexplicable and harrowing, a tragic context like Thomas Hardy's. A doubled Fate rules their lives.

Roberts dramatises this Fate by means of sympathetic and tragic characterisation of some of its pawns. The world's dominant players are consistently distant: little is seen of the Popes who hold history back, or of the Old Ones, the mythical but real Fairy-Folk who occasionally appear to guide the slow movement back to electricity and the atom. Thus the text's sense of secrecy: the protagonists can only guess at what guides their lives. Eleanor, the heroine of the 'Sixth Measure', 'Corfe Gate', expresses the consequent helplessness to John the Seneschal: "As if I, and you too, all of us, were just tiny puppets on the grass. Or on a stage. Little mechanical things playing out parts we didn't understand." (P,212) Life is compared to a pavane, 'something stately and pointless, with all its steps set out.' (P,212) This perception underlines Roberts's ambiguous model of history: Eleanor wonders whether future cannot influence past, 'effects leading to causes', whether at the end of time things will not wind back to the start again (P,212-3). The cyclical governs the linear, and Fate is not even comprehensible as a force moving in one set direction.

Eleanor is not the only individual thus frustrated. When Margaret Strange attempts to discover why she is being manipulated by the agencies behind time, one of the Old Ones offers gnomic cosmic wisdom, affirming the mystification the Church imposes: "Do not despise your Church; for she has a wisdom beyond your understanding. Do not despise her mummeries; they have a purpose that will be fulfilled. She struggles as we struggle to understand what will not be understood, to comprehend that which is beyond comprehension" (P,147) Only John Falconer's son in the Coda is afforded an indication of why the strings of the human puppets are pulled as they are, and this is because he exists after the clash of

Church and Progress has been resolved. The dancers in the pavane are left in a grim ignorance.

In all Six poignant Measures the pattern is repeated. In 'The Signaller', the Second Measure, a semaphore operator is seduced by the Fairy Folk and separated from humanity; he is symbolic of the control of humanity by inscrutable agencies. And this control is bitterly ironic: the human pawns serve to bring the new responsible age of science closer, but die savagely or primitively in the process, unrewarded. Brother John in the Third Measure leads a revolt against the Inquisition, and has visions of the coming of an age of scientific wonders, of 'the age of tolerance, of reason, of humanity, of the dignity of the human soul' (P,116) But this is not soon forthcoming; John dies by drowning in a vain attempt to sail to Rome. Other characters can be seen in a similar light. Margaret Strange becomes the mistress of the Lord of Purbeck, and believes that class distinctions will never allow him to marry her (P,144-5). He does in fact ignore social conventions, and makes her his wife; perhaps individual happiness can be achieved. But it emerges later that Margaret died in childbirth, having produced a daughter - Eleanor - who is crucial to coming events (P,187). Margaret has served the larger 'Will'; she is a volitionless and expendable catalyst of change. Becky, the fishing village girl in the Fifth Measure, 'The White Boat', also dies, helping ensure the survival of a smuggling vessel which is part of an emerging movement of clandestine technology, the contraband of Progress (P,173-4). Most importantly, Eleanor, the Lady of Purbeck in the Sixth Measure, sparks the revolt that begins the inevitable decline of Papal rule; but she does not profit from the uprising, dying in violence and bewilderment, murdered by the regime's agents in her squalid

concealment (P, 222-5). The pavane is completed, but the dancers do not live on.

Roberts weaves into his complex tapestry two views of history, demanding their reconciliation. Unbounded linear Progress, the positivism of much American SF, leads to irresponsibility, to nuclear apocalypse; complete indulgence of nostalgic cyclicalism compels stagnation. In Pavane, the cycle moderates the line, and the better world hinted at in the Coda can result. Yet there is infinite suffering on the way, and Roberts, in portraying this, reveals a thorough suspicion of history, of the teleological macrocosm's cruelty to the human microcosm. This is typical of the ideology of British SF, with its ethic of humanity as part of a landscape or ecology, its left-wing concern for victims rather than for heroic individuals, its sense of harsh inevitability in history, as seen also in Aldiss's 'Helliconia' Trilogy. In his version of the failed Reformation, another British author, the satirist Kingsley Amis, varies the tone of this inversionary scenario, but not its theme.

Although a mainstream writer, Amis has had a long critical association with SF (15), and so his SF novel The Alteration (1976) (16) is in constant dialogue with genre conventions generally and with Pavane specifically. In constructing his Alternate History of a Papal 'Holy Victory', Amis, like Roberts, considers the merits of linear Protestantism and cyclical Catholicism, and presents a bleak judgement on both, but replaces Roberts's elegiac manner with satirical venom. He acknowledges the rigidity and hypocrisy, the monolithic ritualism, of a mediaevally-descended Papal regime, a father giving no freedom to his children; but he questions the validity and historical probability of Whiggist notions that freedom and democracy necessarily

arise from successful Protestant resistance to Catholicism, in the Sixteenth or Twentieth Centuries.

The Whiggist image of a Catholic Europe is realised in many aspects of The Alteration's counterfactual England of 1976. A unitary and technologically stagnant Christendom dominates the world; science is relegated to the fringes of intellectual endeavour, as a perversion. Dissidents are the targets of the secret police; culture is largely in service to religious devotion, as the novel's opening description of a magnificent 'Cathedral Basilica of St. George at Coverley', a triumph of ecclesiastical architecture, art, and music, attests (A, 7-11). The Pope, John XXIV, is as Machiavellian as any Pontiff of the Sixteenth Century, benign in public but shown plotting in private to reduce Europe's population, which is burgeoning because of the absence of contraceptives, by means of anti-fertility agents in water-supplies, artificial plague outbreaks, and, when these have been rejected, a sanguinary war with the Turks (A, 193-201). This is a totalitarian Papacy, the Heavenly hierarchy reflected on Earth, allowing no freedom or Progress. Catholicism is put in a poor light, but Amis is concerned to criticise Whig Protestant ideology also, and does so by means of a metaphor and a connected historical irony.

The curious focus of The Alteration is the proposed castration of a brilliant boy treble, Hubert Anvil, in order to preserve his heavenly voice. In fact, Amis employs this surgical alteration as the symbolic crux of his novel; it represents the operation Amis himself carries out on 'true' history. If Protestantism was, as in the Whig argument, the driving force of Progress in history, it served as a secular virility, filled with the potentials of technology and a dynamic world economy, the

world of capitalism. When Amis removes this virile Protestantism from his history, he leaves behind a world emasculated and passive indeed, but one like Hubert Anvil's pure voice also, pious, harmonious in spirit, dedicated to splendid spiritual aesthetics. The reader is offered a choice through this metaphor, a vision of the choices that face the world. The world can seek a dynamism that is adult (and, necessarily, mortal), or a serene, immortal, and changeless holiness. Hubert Anvil can escape castration, become an adult, change, die; or he can become a eunuch, an unaltering child of the Church, a part of its undying splendour.

Adulthood (or Protestantism) might seem the preferable option for Hubert and the world, the natural or biological path, the one embodying acceptance of autonomy and responsibility. Amis subverts this existential (or Protestant) bias, first by making his world Catholic and paternalistic, thus prejudging the choice offered the reader, and then by denying that any choice genuinely exists. Hubert does seek to escape the hopeless and ludicrous condition seen in other eunuchs such as Viaventosa and Mirabilis by fleeing to America, the hopefully named 'New England'. He fails, simply because he suffers from a testicular condition which necessitates his castration whatever his desires. 'God's will' is done. Hubert's very surname proclaims him an anvil, to be hammered by God as God wills; his voice will sing God's praises no matter what his actions. Amis questions whether free will exists, whether history is ever subject to the individual will; Protestantism's heroic individualism, its assumptions of adult autonomy, are in doubt.

To underline this point, Amis deploys a major historical irony. To escape emasculation, Hubert seeks to flee to

New England, where a form of Calvinist Presbyterianism survives: America seems to fulfil its archetypal function as a refuge from persecution in the Old World. But when Hubert's departure approaches, Amis reveals through the New Englander, Pastor Williams, that this alternate America is a deliberate echo of the segregationist South, of the rhetoric of Jim Crow, applied here to the Indians: "The Indian...is a child in many ways, very often a virtuous child, but still a child. His mind is less capable to be developed than yours or mine, because his brain is smaller, as our scientists have proved. To mingle with him truly is impossible, and no good can come of trying to" (A,179). The Pastor proceeds to justify 'separateness', and other racist mechanisms; it becomes clear that the land closest to the secular or Protestant ethic is a tyranny as bad as Europe, persecuting non-whites instead of heretics. Even where Protestant ethics prevail, human beings remain children, slaves to one cause or another.

Amis's satirical bite demolishes Whig myths, both through the dissimilarities (the Holy Victory of the Papacy) and the similarities (segregation, social engineering, such as that practised by the Pope) of his alternate world to ours. The Papal despotism emerges as a symbol of the inevitability of history for the individual, and the vanity of myths of empowerment and escape. Amis does not love his Catholic empire, but endorses it as that bleak symbol. He also employs ironies specific to SF to sharpen his onslaught on any form of linear positivism.

These ironies concern Alternate History fiction, which also exists in Amis's world. Apart from passing references to works such as Pavane (Galliard in Amis's world), Amis concentrates his metafictional irony on Philip K. Dick's The Man in the High Castle (1962) (17).

Hubert Anvil and his friends clandestinely read 'Time Romances' (Science Fiction), of which a sub-species or kindred genre is the 'Counterfeit World' romance (the Alternate History novel) (A,26). They discuss Dick's novel, but this is governed by a double irony. In our version of Dick's text, the Nazis and Japanese won World War Two, providing what seems to be a nightmarish vision of the world as it might have been; and in Dick's world, an alternative history novel describes an Allied victory and its consequences, but not the ones we know. The Nazi world and ours are seen distortedly. In The Alteration, Amis's version of Dick's novel, read by Hubert Anvil and his friends, postulates a history in which the Reformation succeeded, and Luther did not become a German Pope (A,26-8). By this twist, the history we know is presented as a grotesque fable, a fantasy for schoolboys; this puts Whig and capitalist notions of history in some doubt: progress and industrialisation are not stirring inevitabilities. Furthermore, the Alternate History the Amisian Dick has imagined is, like Hawthorne Abendsen's Allied world in the actual Dick novel, not an accurate reflection of our world: an English King Henry IX was an Arch-Schismatic, and Mozart and Beethoven lived longer and composed more than they historically did (A,27-8). Even if the Reformation succeeds, it need not lead to our 'reality'. With any historical certainties rendered dubious by these ironies, Amis again undercuts Whig conceptions of heroic individuals directing history as Progress. Evolution and other aspects of the secular world-view become mockeries, with Hubert and his friends chortling over the ideas of Darwin (A,28).

The satirical method of Amis further undermines ideals of heroic agency by placing familiar historical and contemporary figures in grotesquely altered contexts, another use of historical irony. The Catholic Church of

Amis's world appropriates these figures repeatedly, as in the opening Cathedral scene: instead of building Anglican churches, Sir Christopher Wren has built the Cathedral Dome (A,7); the visionary Nonconformist, William Blake, has here conformed and contributed 'still-brilliant frescoes depicting St. Augustine's progress through England'; the 'Pop' artist David Hockney is here noted for his 'Ecce Homo mosaic'; the socialist William Morris is credited with the 'spandrels on the transept arches'; the sculptor Epstein, Rodin's pupil, here Christianised to 'Epstone', has added a 'massive marble Pieta'; Mozart's Second Requiem marks the laying-to-rest of King Stephen III; and the Nazi and Stalinist security chiefs, Himmler and Beria, are present as 'aged representatives of the Holy Office' (A,8). Such distortions undermine the 'real world' by disturbing its historical basis; figures inextricably associated in the reader's mind with certain ideologies and tendencies are inverted. But this does not imply their freedom; they do much what they historically did, only in a different cause. Amis will grant no firm historical ground; Luther could just as well have led the Counter-Reformation as the Reformation. No cause is divinely or teleologically sanctioned, no choice is 'correct' or certain. The heritage of Whig historical thinking, the view of the Reformation as the ordained origin of the capitalist best of all possible worlds, is skilfully subverted, as its agents, good or evil, could have served any other history just as well and in much the same way in the end. (And having employed Catholicism as his cudgel, Amis however leaves Catholics with little consolation: the same message applies to secular assumptions of theirs.)

Amis's emasculated character and world satirise individualist ideologies even as they themselves epitomise the horror of a condition without science or

any conception of freedom. The question The Alteration poses is whether any one horror is worse than any other, whether we can choose at all. In the end, Amis's two old eunuchs, Mirabilis and Viaventosa, contemplating Hubert's fate as a castrato, can only nod slowly, bewilderedly, and say 'Deo Gratia' and 'Amen' (A,205). They would have said the equivalent in any other timeline.

The pessimism and sardonic emphasis of Amis are retained in two further fictions of Protestant failure, John Whitbourn's fantasies A Dangerous Energy (1992) and To Build Jerusalem (1995) (18). Whitbourn, whose tone is savagely cynical, like Amis employs a Papacy victorious in the Twentieth Century as a symbol of the doom of any progressive hopes. His twin strategies in this are, first, the depiction of the Church as all-powerful, assisted not only by the apparatus of the totalitarian state but also by black magic, of which many of its leading clerics are active practitioners; and second, the violent suppression and polemical denigration of any Protestant alternatives. Both techniques find expression in Whitbourn's protagonists. Whitbourn's two 'heroes', both Church operatives, are consummately and complacently ruthless, applying Machiavellian and Stoic doctrines with a warped intensity: Tobias Oakley in A Dangerous Energy rises in rank through intrigue, murder, and sorcery, gradually abandoning all scruples and so succumbing to an amoral negation of identity, 'the even, frigid trance in which he was to spend much of the rest of his life' (DE,254); the hero of To Build Jerusalem, who must combat a demonic and Protestant conspiracy against Papal rule in England, has subordinated his very identity to his assassin's role, being known as 'just plain "Adam", no longer having any other name' (TBJ,21). He distances himself from the moral dimensions of any situation, preferring a clinical 'hypercautious attention to

detail' (TBJ,28). It is these conscienceless agents who epitomise Whitbourn's Church and who suppress its opponents.

The methods of the Church are literally diabolical; its clergy are 'magician-priests', and the Church's champion, Oakley, begins summoning demons at an early age (DE,81-3). In an Introduction he later writes to a treatise on Demonology, Oakley indicates how the mediaeval Church in his world accepted the existence of demons and how its experts later compelled them to service, finally dispensing with any 'division' of supernatural entities into "good" and "evil". He himself advanced human control over demons: 'The Church, my profession, my peers, they all honoured me for this. They were mistaken.' (TBJ,161) The final note of regret indicates that this version of the Church has taken a Faustian path, amoral and damning. Its methods of uprooting heresy are correspondingly dreadful; when the 'Thames Valley Crusade' crushes the 'Levellers' (whose name alludes to the most radical Puritan revolutionaries of Cromwell's time) in a clear imitation of the Albigensian Crusade and other pogroms of official Christianity against heresy, prisoners are either sent to the galleys or killed by defenestration (DE,249). But this doubly dystopian Catholicism, which continues the Inquisitorial excesses of the Sixteenth Century and borrows the maleficent magic of the witches it once hunted, is given no utopian counterpoint. The Protestants who would topple the Church are ridiculed by Whitbourn: a Puritan leader, Ernest Grimmond, is presented as so extreme that in the course of a dream he rebukes even Oliver Cromwell 'for lack of zeal' and for 'his fondness for family, song, and wicked morris dancing'; in the same dream, Grimmond's vision of a Protestant utopia, in which property has been abolished, in which the rich and all sinners labour in

penal servitude, in which all towns have been demolished in favour of simple agrarian villages, and in which gallows stand everywhere, is pilloried, ironically by a temptress spirit in Cromwell's shape (TBJ, 239-240). The utopia of Grimmond is, indeed, a dream merely. The Puritans of Whitbourn's Twentieth Century have not advanced rhetorically since Cromwell's time; their convert, the English King Charles IV, can only repeat Seventeenth Century cant when looking back on his earlier life as a Catholic: 'Yes, though I lived never so ungodly a life, through the popish prattling of monstrous monks and the mumbling masses of those lazy chantry soul-carriers, I thought to be justified.' (TBJ, 303)

Thus, Whitbourn rearticulates Amis's twofold pessimism, the embodiment of human helplessness in ecclesiastical tyranny and the emptiness of all rival creeds. Whitbourn takes the traditional opposition of Catholic stagnation and Protestant Progress to its rhetorical ultimate, so discomfiting both sides in the debate. In a grand exercise in historical inversion, he, Roberts, and Amis have considered the alternative to the Reformation, acknowledging Catholicism's deficiencies, giving full play to the horrors it once perpetrated, but suggesting that philosophically speaking its anti-positivist view of history is more tenable, and its model of a unitary Christendom more sustainable, than the aggressive individualism and all-consuming capitalism that the Reformation in fact unleashed. This viewpoint, typical of British SF's anti-Libertarian thrust, invites Whiggist rebuttal; and this, ironically, comes from a recent British author, Paul J. McAuley.

McAuley, known for his revisionist Hard SF novels such as Four Hundred Billion Stars (1988) and Eternal Light (1991), produced in Pasquale's Angel (1994) (19) a version of

Sixteenth Century Europe in which the conflict of Catholicism and Protestantism has little part to play. Here, in a clear echo of the historical acceleration which transformed Victorian England into a computer-governed society in The Difference Engine (1990) by William Gibson and Bruce Sterling (20), Leonardo da Vinci, applying the scientific principles which he considered mainly in the abstract in actual history, has become the 'Great Engineer', making of his Florence an industrial metropolis, building factories, steam-powered vessels, and advanced weapons. The Renaissance is here exaggerated into Victorianism: alongside the period's familiar images of artists' studios and church bells ringing across prosperous streets, 'high chimneys of the sleepless manufactories on the other side of the Arno' discharge 'plumes of smoke', producing 'smog'; the sound of the city of Florence is a 'rumble of engines and looms', 'the monotonous heartbeat of the city's trade' (PA, 63). Although Leonardo himself is by the time of the novel's action retreating into an abstracted eccentricity (PA, 226-236), his genius has changed history. By placing his anachronistic Industrial Revolution in the heart of Catholic Italy, McAuley repudiates any easy association of Catholicism with stagnation, so exploding the Whig polemic critically employed by previous writers; but by elevating the single genius of Leonardo to history-altering prominence, McAuley reasserts Whig heroic individualism in the boldest manner possible. The old debate is barren; Progress can flourish anywhere, independent of religious dogmas and loyalties. The outcome of Leonardo's innovations is a mixed blessing for the characters in Pasquale's Angel's intrigue-crowded plot; indeed, McAuley can be seen employing technology as a harsh inevitability in the same manner as the preceding writers did the Catholic Church; but in broad historical terms, linear positivism is vindicated, the historical

pessimism of Roberts, Amis, and Whitbourn is rebutted(21). Thus the variety of historical debate in British SF.

4.4 Nineteenth Century America: Divisions and Redemptions

For American writers, the historical terrain most charged with nostalgia is their own Nineteenth Century. There is an ambivalence evident here: on the one hand, the expansion of the United States in that century, the sense of Manifest Destiny and boundless promise associated with the growth of America, inspires visions of similar processes on a galactic stage; on the other hand, the revisionist realisation of the brutalities of expansion, coupled with a sense of disappointment at the ultimate outcome of America's history in a Twentieth Century of segregation, 'Big Government', and the Vietnam War, generates a desire for a redemptive amendment of the past. Alternate Histories of Nineteenth Century America respond to the second imperative: the savage betrayals, the merciless exploitations, the persistent divisions of the history we know can be modified or erased, and the soil of America re-imbued with possibility; dreams of a New Jerusalem in the New World, such as animated so many settlers and idealists, can be realised. This redemption of history takes two forms: first, the visionary transformation of westward settlement, as attempted by the works of Orson Scott Card; and second, the alteration of the outcome of the U.S. Civil War, in the three very different manners urged by Ward Moore, Terry Bisson, and Harry Turtledove. Both redemptive strategies are considered in this Section.

Orson Scott Card, as a Mormon writer, is by definition concerned with the redemptive potentials of American history; his faith's holy books and westward pilgrimage in the Nineteenth Century constitute a narrative of the

quest for the New Jerusalem(22). Card's reproduction of this narrative in Science Fiction and Fantasy terms has taken various forms: the literal remaking of a future America through Post-Holocaust Mormonism in The Folk of the Fringe(1990); the metamorphosis of the military prodigy Ender Wiggin into a redeeming 'Speaker for the Dead' in the four 'Ender' novels; and the modification of the American past in five major novels published between 1987 and 1996. These last texts, all Alternate Histories, are Seventh Son(1987), Red Prophet(1988), Prentice Alvin(1989), and Alvin Journeyman(1995), constituting 'The Tales of Alvin Maker', as yet incomplete; and a single novel, Pastwatch: The Redemption of Christopher Columbus(1996) (23), which serves as a useful introduction to the assumptions of the rest.

The revision of American history is justified and then executed in Pastwatch. Card presents in all its cruelty the penetration of the New World by Europeans, concentrating on the extermination by the Spaniards of the Indians of the Carribean islands, as in the massacre of Putukam's villagers(PRCC, 43). In a direct call for history to be read as a moral document (his consistent urge to the reader), Card has historians centuries hence witness these events through a temporal monitoring device; their horror can be acted upon when time travel is developed. Agents are sent into the past to strengthen the technological and moral bases of the indigenous cultures of the West Indies and Central America; when Columbus arrives in 1492, he is physically thwarted, and then movingly converted to the cause of harmonious interaction with the Indians. History is redeemed through compromise: a culture fusing the best features of the Indian and Renaissance Spanish civilisations (with elements from the future added) comes into being, and it is this society which, inverting the voyages of treasure

ships on the Spanish Main, sends an armada to Spain in 1520, in a spirit of peace and co-operation (PRCC, 338-344). This is a vision which, although secularly argued, is profoundly religious in tone: Christlike, the people of the future allow their world, dying anyway, to be annihilated that the past may be redeemed; but the emphasis is primarily upon conversion, of the Spaniards who settle in the New World to an unmercenary and tolerant morality typical of the Indians, and of the Indians to common laws (and an abhorrence of human sacrifice) associated with Europe (PRCC, 334-5). Card remarks that it was the Indians 'who taught the Spanish what it meant to be Christian' (PRCC, 335). The religio-moral thesis of Card is made clear: the history of the Americas is that of the experience of Europeans achieving synthesis with the innocence of the new land, converting it and being converted by it; this process is too often perverted through the acquisitive intervention of colonialism; the synthesis should rather occur on spiritual ground, as in the resolutely New World faith of Mormonism; this lesson should be read in history and constitute an ongoing ideal. This creed is stated more fully in the 'Alvin Maker' series.

The 'Alvin Maker' novels are located in specifically Mormon territory: the American Midwestern Frontier in the early Nineteenth Century. In our history, this milieu was marked by the westward migration of settlers, many of them sectarian, like the Mormons; consequently, conflict raged between Whites and Red Indians. In the south, territories such as Illinois and Ohio bordered on the Southern slave states, adding tensions over the 'peculiar institution' and fugitive slaves to the region's volatile makeup. Card's project intensifies these conflicts, introducing magic, the supernatural 'knacks' of the region's people, as a further complicating factor. But

the intrusion of the magical allows a genuine Messiah to be born; this Christlike figure, Alvin Miller, redeems the period, his activities knitting America's White, Red, and Black threads into a potentially utopian whole, his intervention in conflicts making those conflicts, however dire, into spiritually charged allegorical confrontations, their extremity symbolic of moral oppositions to be reconciled. Again, Europe and America must compromise.

As a moralist, Card has always made his protagonists' crises exaggeratedly cruel, compelling their moral apotheosis. This he does in Seventh Son to the United States as a whole, so that an entire society can find redemption. America's ordeal is that it is divided far more in Alvin's world than in ours. As Card's map (SS, 10-11) shows, the 'United States' in his scheme has only seven states in the early 1800s, far fewer than the Thirteen of our America at its foundation. This is because of the continued presence in the New World of the forces of the Old. Here, the English Civil War (1642-1652) has been extrapolated into North America; because the Puritan Protectorate founded by Cromwell still rules Britain, America's Eastern seaboard is controlled in part by fundamentalist Protestants of the Roundhead sort, who dominate New England; they confront the Southern States, here the 'Crown Colonies', which are ruled by the exiled Stuart monarchs, whose Cavalier ethos makes of the South an even more hierarchical and feudal slave-based system than it historically was. The United States must tread a democratic golden mean between these two extremes, which constrict it geographically; Canada is still ruled by the Bourbon French and Florida by the Spanish, further limiting the USA's growth.

This lingering of European influence produces two major historical ironies. First, the Old World contaminates the New with its sins: New England's Calvinist bigotry and the aristocratic tyranny of the South obstruct the realisation of any cleansed and cleansing utopia in America. Further, the opposition of New England and the Crown Colonies is a bringing forward of the forces underlying the U.S. Civil War of the 1860s, of Puritanical moral prescription and disdainful Southern resistance to that prescription; America's own divisions are exaggerated by Card. Redemption is especially difficult in these conditions. Second, the USA of Card's imagining, shrunken and with a multitude of competitors, cannot indulge the easy Manifest Destiny of expansion the USA was allowed in our world. Here, the United States was the single continental power in the Americas; its competitors were numerically weak Indians and fading colonial empires. In Card's world, it must struggle for its gains, as one power among many. Thus, retarded by outside influences, by schisms and multiple obstacles, Card's alternate America must run a gauntlet of limitations.

But Card's moral scheme makes a virtue of this humbling: America is being tested and refined. The results are seen in Alvin's discussion of 'Americanism' with Taleswapper(SS,181-7). Here, Benjamin Franklin is cast as the originator of the United States, upon which he has imposed a founding document or Compact which prohibits slavery, racial discrimination, religious intolerance, and government censorship(SS,185); this Union is an inclusive society, not a 'White man's nation', in that it has reconciled all manner of groupings within itself, even granting full statehood to the Indians of the Iroquois Confederacy(SS,185). All America's fragments, even the 'Crown Colonies', are inspired by Franklin's

vision; George Washington, 'Lord Potomac', is martyred for it(SS,186-7). Inclusiveness helps integrate the Dutch of New Amsterdam (New York) and elsewhere into the Union(SS,201-2). This version of America, having to fight harder to establish itself, is far closer to realising its principles than its equivalent here; and so the basis of a wide redemption is laid.

It is in this context that Alvin Miller must act as a galvanising Messiah, adding the element of heroic individualism America requires to overcome Card's harsh odds. He is very much a child of the Frontier, where America's different threads can meet in synthesis. His story is told in a folksy oral manner, in the idiom of simple pioneers: Card's unnamed narrator sometimes directly addresses his listeners, as when he urges them to 'make sure the children are asleep, for this is a part of my tale that children ought not to hear, for it deals with hungers they don't understand too well, and I don't aim for this story to teach them.' (PA,2) Like oral folk history, the narrative is normatively preachy. As such, it is a simple Gospel of the New World: in Seventh Son, the tale of his early years, Alvin is equipped for Christhood through a rustic and pious upbringing as part of a large settler family in the new Midwestern territories. The people of his America frequently have small magical 'knacks' or Talents; he is soon capable of small miracles, such as control over roaches(SS,85-6). Alvin attracts the disapproval of institutionalised religion, in the person of the satanically-inspired Reverend Thrower, so signalling his role as a restorer of genuine faith; he is threatened by the Unmaker, an entropic Satan in whose eyes can be seen ultimate vacancy, 'neither love, nor forgiveness, nor anger, nor contempt' (SS,297), an adversary whose opposition suggests Alvin's nature as the Maker, the creative force.

Taleswapper, Alvin's mentor, is in fact William Blake, in Alvin's world fulfilling his own visionary prophecies in the Western wilderness. All of this points to Card's view of history as a spiritual and moral evolution, and forward to the redemption of American history by Alvin in Card's succeeding novels.

The end of Alvin's quest is prophetically hinted at several points, in the form of the 'Crystal City', seen by Alvin as a utopia waiting to be built, 'a city, shining in sunlight' whose people are not perfect but are free, never subject to hunger or ignorance (RP, 164-5). This vision is inclusive of all, like Ben Franklin's Compact; the Indian prophet, Tenska-Tawa, Alvin's Red counterpart, shows the City to Alvin, and later thinks of it as 'a crystal city catching sunlight and turning it into visions of truth for all who lived within it' (RP, 234). This prospect of a New Jerusalem in America is both religious and secular, both rapturous and utopian; in the course of Alvin's quest, the resolution of the world's physical crises will be indistinguishable from its spiritual renovation.

In the second 'Alvin' novel, Red Prophet, Card seeks to redeem the history of the Indian wars, and engages in historical irony that warrants close attention. Genuine historical events are foregrounded: the defeat of Tecumseh and the War of 1812. Historically, William Henry Harrison, as U.S. Governor of the 'Northwest Territory', fought two Indian leaders, the brothers Tecumseh and Tenskwa-Tawa, the first an alliance-builder among the Indian tribes, the second a religious leader. Tenskwa-Tawa was defeated at Tippecanoe; Tecumseh schemed with the British in Canada to continue fighting, but was killed in their service. The results were catastrophic for the Indians: their unity was broken and the Midwest

was lost to the Americans, laying the basis for their westward expansion beyond the Mississippi. Harrison became President decades later, in 1840, helped by his record as an Indian fighter(24). Card rewrites these events as a moral drama.

In Red Prophet, the self-defeating treachery of the Whites and the tragic nobility of the Indians are both exaggerated for moral effect. Well before Tippecanoe, White traders undermine the morale of the Indians with liquor, as is seen in the description of Hooch Palmer's distribution of whisky in Chapter One. The White leaders, such as Harrison, are described as brutal, cynical, exploitative. As such, they represent the corruption Card wishes to erase from history. In sharp contrast, the Indians are invested with a superhuman nobility; in line with revisionist appraisals, they are ecological paragons, interacting harmoniously with a Nature or Gaia-organism which gives them sustenance and clears paths for them through the wilderness: 'It would kill a man to run so fast for half an hour, except that the Red man called on the strength of the land to help him. The ground pushed back against his feet, adding to his strength. The bushes parted, making paths; space appeared where there was no space' (RP, 198). The Indians are crucial to Card's vision of harmony, and must not be destroyed.

The nobility of the Indians is epitomised in Tenskwa-Tawa. This 'Red Prophet' is mystically aware of alternate-historical possibilities: he seeks for a 'path that would lead to something good' (RP, 233) and realises that his people must be massacred at Tippecanoe, for any mercy by Harrison will lead to the future of Reservations and White domination of the land(RP, 234). Only the moral opprobrium occasioned by a great massacre will limit further White greed for Indian land, a greed which in

Tenskwa-Tawa's terms perverts that land, brutalising it into submission, forcing it to yield vast crops instead of a natural bounty, through 'alchemical trickery' (RP,234). The parallel alchemy of liquor distillation, which has so harmed the Reds, is of course similarly unnatural. The sacrificial nobility of the Indians who willingly wait for massacre, coupled with their ecological sensitivity, makes them martyrs for the larger harmony Card advocates. Indeed, Tenskwa-Tawa acknowledges to Alvin the necessary harmony of Whites and Reds; of the Crystal City he remarks, 'Red man can't build this place alone.' (RP,165)

Much is at stake therefore in Card's rewriting of the events at Tippecanoe and after. Harrison lies about the circumstances of Alvin's disappearance to spark an attack on the waiting Indians of Prophetstown or Tippecanoe; instead of the historical 'battle', an inexcusable massacre of nine thousand unresisting Indians occurs (RP,236-246). Card is of course pointing out the truth here: Tippecanoe was a massacre in our world as well. The consequences, as Tenskwa-Tawa hoped, alter the future: the remaining Indians flee beyond the Mississippi, there to survive united, blocking further white penetration westwards; the Whites, all of their historical brutality to Indians summed up in a single crime, are at last compelled to appraise their own attitudes. While the separation of Whites and Reds on either side of the Mississippi is an ironic echo of the Reservations of our history, the Indians retain much of their land, and so can be a continuing vital thread in the harmony Alvin will build. For the White 'victors' of Tippecanoe, the West has been lost.

Card employs further historical ironies to reinforce his point. In our history, Tecumseh sided with the British

against the Americans in the War of 1812, but was killed for want of their support. In Card's narrative, the French control Canada still, and Tecumseh fights with them, only to be betrayed, refused assistance in the Battle of Detroit (RP, 298-302). Again, White treachery is highlighted: whether British or French, the same deviousness is manifested across the histories. For British and French, their treachery is profitless; the British gained nothing in the War of 1812, and Card's Bourbon French commander, de Maurepas, is similarly discomfited. But, assisted by Alvin, Tecumseh escapes to join the other Indians in Red Prophet, rather than dying; White help allows his survival, a hint of future harmony. The victory at Tippecanoe made Harrison a hero in our history; the slogan 'Tippecanoe and Tyler Too' won him the Presidency in 1840. In Card's world, the massacre blights his career, as he is cursed by Tenskwa-Tawa to tell the story of his crime every day for the rest of his life or bleed from his hands (RP, 247); years later, this has made him a shunned outcast (AJ, 74-5). Card's relentless assertion of the self-defeating nature of ethnocentric treachery and greed in Red Prophet is an indictment of the mentality that fuelled American expansion in the Nineteenth Century; his insistence upon recognition by Whites of the Red Indian, the Other, and his emphasis upon the ecological responsibility of the Indians, indicates the redeeming harmonious history he wishes to impose upon the past. Alvin's United States has undergone its first moral cleansing.

In Red Prophet, Alvin accompanies the Indian leaders in their wanderings, assisting them and coming to understand their nature: he begins the reconciliation of Whites and Reds, their ultimate synthesis. In Prentice Alvin, he initiates a similar dialectic of Whites and Blacks. Alvin, now apprenticed to a blacksmith, befriends and

protects a fugitive black slave boy, who is dubbed Arthur Stuart, like the exiled English King who rules the Crown Colonies (PA, 84); this naming states the question, who has the more rightful title to represent the American South, the tyrannical King or the Talented slave? Card's King Arthur, reigning in 'Camelot' in the Crown Colony of Raleigh, is a mockery of the chivalry associated with his name; the boy Arthur, half-white and half-black, carries the best qualities of the South into his own exile in the Midwest, perhaps a future king.

Alvin's victory over slavery can only be symbolic at this stage of his career. Slavery is discredited in the person of Cavil Planter, a villainous plantation-owner who, inspired by the Unmaker and blasphemous misreadings of the Bible, sets out to 'whiten' the black race by means of continual rapes of his black slave-women. He sees Arthur's fugitive mother as his 'Hagar', who will be recaptured: 'and this time she'll stay in chains and give me more children until she can't have no more'; through this and further seed-spreading by his half-breed son, his 'children will surely be as numberless as the sands of the sea, like Abraham.' (PA, 237) The Reverend Thrower, an earlier tool of the Unmaker, joins in this process. By thus allegorically intensifying aspects of slavery, Card indicts it eloquently: slavery is revealed as more than mere forced labour, emerging as an expression of the desire to brutalise and rape, to impose one's own image upon the Other. As in Tenskwa-Tawa's analysis of the Whites' treatment of the land, their alchemical extraction of crops through fertilisers and poisons, alchemy becomes a metaphor, this time for slavery: for some 'White folk' it is 'a way of turning each bead of a Black man's sweat into gold and each moan of despair from a Black woman's throat into the sweet clear sound of a silver coin ringing on the money-changer's table.' (PA, 1)

Planter's 'whitening' of the blacks can be seen as a similar transformation.

With this judgement rendered, Card punishes the slave-owners in the person of Cavil Planter. Ironically, his wife commits adultery with a slave; Planter murders her, must forfeit his plantation, and now, dispossessed as well as corrupt, retains only his obsession with recapturing his fugitive son (PA, ch.20). The alchemical imagery Card uses furthers this Biblical judgement: that son, Arthur, sired by Planter in the brute alchemy of rape to help in the humiliation of Blacks, will remain free and a symbol of Black liberty. His friend and protector, Alvin, provides an ideal counter-example to Planter with a feat of positive alchemy: his masterwork as a blacksmith, which marks his passage to Master both as smith and as Messiah, is a golden plough, a product of Alvin's Talent as a Maker; Alvin believes that somewhere 'there was the perfect soil that his living plow was meant to delve', a fruitful part of the movement to the New Jerusalem of the Crystal City (PA, 340). This 'plow' can work for all America's people, the inverse of slavery's callous selfishness.

The Biblical harshness of Card's symbolic method can be seen in his appropriation of the Underground Railroad, which in Alvin's world, as in ours, is a system of assistance by Abolitionists to slaves seeking to escape North. As in our history, Southern slave-owners are legally entitled to send agents into the North to recapture their fugitive property; but Card's version of these agents, the 'Finders', have supernatural powers of sight, and are evil to an allegorical extreme: 'Truth was, these boys loved a good chase, loved showing folks that Finders couldn't be shook loose. And if it so happened they put a fistful of lead shot through

somebody's belly before the hunt was done, well, ain't that just the way of it? Like dogs on the trail of a bleeding deer.' (PA,297) The Finders bring slavery's evil beyond the Slave territories; it thus becomes a universal moral concern, and Old Peg Guester is justified in killing one Finder (PA,307) and Alvin another (PA,311) when they come seeking Arthur. Card's judgements are condign, and his characters are shaped accordingly. The Crystal City will be realised only through ordeal.

The series of ordeals making up the first three 'Alvin Maker' novels brings together the White, the Red, and the Black, if only potentially. After six years, Card returned to the series with Alvin Journeyman, which commences the as yet incomplete synthesis of America's sundered parts. Alvin begins to spread his Making ability among the people of the far Midwestern town of Vigor Church, signifying the democratic universality of Card's vision; his brother and dark opposite, Calvin (a significant echo of John Calvin, the wellspring of the bigotry of Card's New England) enters the service of the Unmaker, experiencing the corruption of an Old Europe under protracted Napoleonic rule, a symbol of the Old World evils the New must avoid; Alvin faces false charges of siring the son of a young woman, and must wage a long legal defence, a further ordeal, this time requiring intellectual strength; the pace of the series slows, as climactic events are awaited. The precise shape of the New Jerusalem has been substantially suggested by Card; its full realisation in the larger redemption of American history is promised.

Card's religio-allegorical scheme can be criticised. His Messianic, allegorical revision of America's past - its rewriting as something closer to the Mormon ideal of a spiritual Paradise in the New World - is cast in terms of

a redemptive concern for all of America's peoples; but the heroic individualism of Alvin's agency in this, combined with the patriarchal religious homiletics of Card's rhetorical method, places 'The Tales of Alvin Maker' in the camp of conservative, positivistic SF. The utopia of Liberty in a New World freed from the constricting corruption of Europe has been transferred in many Libertarian Future Histories to the galactic stage; Card realises the same hopes in their original, Nineteenth Century American context, his spiritual ideology encouraging the evangelical conversion of Reds and Blacks to his essentially White, sectarian, ideal. This conversion is a resolutely liberal gesture, but other than in Red Prophet, the utopian development of the 'Alvin' books takes place on White ground, in the pious sectarian atmosphere of Mormonism, the addition of others seeming very much like mere co-optation. In line with this, however inclusive it is hinted to be, Card's American utopia will be as moralistically Judaic as it will be egalitarian; it will be the outcome of prophecy, of a positivistic, linear teleology, whatever the obstacles in Alvin's way. Card's religious, rigidly sanguine appropriation of America's past finds some sober correction in the argument posed in the earlier novel Them Bones (1984), by Howard Waldrop (25).

Waldrop, well known for his tightly-woven shorter exercises in Alternate History, expresses a profound pessimism about the possibility of any viable White engagement with the indigenous American cultures. The hero of Them Bones, Madison Yazoo Leake, has Indian blood; like an Indian scout, he precedes a time-travelling expedition into the past. This party is made up of American soldiers and CIA operatives seeking to escape the nuclear and chemical Armageddon of the year 2002; symbolically, they are vectors of evil, importing

the corruption of their age into the idyllic bayous of pre-Columbian Louisiana. The implication at once is that attempts to rewrite history across time - as Card desires to do - are misguided. Leake and the main expedition arrive in separate time-lines. Leake finds himself in a version of history in which the Europeans have not colonised the New World, in which the Mound-Builder Indians and Aztecs flourish undisturbed, and in which a gentle variant of Islam rules the Old World. Living among the intelligent and practical Mound-Builders, Leake realises that our history is 'like a story of greed, folly and misfortune, like a tale told by a crazed and vindictive storyteller with a grudge against humanity' (TB,152), compared with the past of this other world. He sees great flocks of passenger pigeons, hunted to extinction in our world (TB,16-18); the wars among the Indian tribes are friendly skirmishes, pre-arranged 'ritual' battles in which the aim is not to kill but to capture and ransom the enemy (TB,103). It seems that America can be a Paradise, that revising the past can yield greater happiness, as Card maintains, even if only by means of the exclusion of White settlement.

But Waldrop soon explodes any such complacency. Quite early in Leake's narrative, he encounters a premonition of disaster in the 'Buzzard Cult', an Indian sect whose members 'worship Death itself, mourning, weeping, decay' (TB,43). Their anticipation of the end of the world is vindicated when the Mound-Builders are decimated by plagues conveyed across the Atlantic by Arab traders and are attacked in earnest by the Aztecs. The later chapters of Leake's account are filled with desperate violence, betrayal, and death; his arrival in this world has apparently been the signal for all of the postponed forces of history to appear and destroy its idyll. Waldrop is stating the inevitability of historical

patterns: in our world and the one Leake has entered, the Indians will suffer the same violations. Leake seeks to play the heroic individual's role, to redeem history; drugged and buried alive by the Buzzard Cult, he escapes, adopts the guise of the Woodpecker God (TB,174), and attempts the rescue of the Mound-Builders in Aztec captivity. But Leake's Christlike resurrection and would-be function as Saviour are pointless: most of the prisoners die anyway; and Leake is reproached and dismissed by the genuine Woodpecker God, who tells him that the disaster is irreparable, a 'great judgement': the gods are leaving, 'Death is God now; he is alive, he is walking' (TB,208), as the Buzzard Cult believed. No easy heroism, no Messianic vocation like Alvin's, can overcome historical inevitabilities.

Meanwhile, in a different universe, the rest of Leake's expedition, attempting to change the past in its own image, brings disease to another pre-Columbian America, and is exterminated in revenge. The pattern of invasion and plague is repeated again and again. The only response is a quiet human persistence, as Leake declares in his final resolution: 'So I'll become a Moundbuilder Rotarian, and live as long as I can, and do my best, and try to make life as nice as I can for those around me.' (TB,237) He warns his fellow modern Americans to leave his adopted world alone: enough damage has been done (TB,237). A similarly unheroic but therefore viable struggle against history is that of 'Bessie', an archaeologist who in 1929 discovers traces of the slaughtered main party in a bayou excavation, and seeks to change the future through a reasoned persuasion of others based on the omens found there, however difficult this will be (TB,230). Responsible alteration of the future may succeed where irresponsible intervention in the past can not. Waldrop's conclusions thus contradict

Card's completely: the past cannot be altered to good effect; historically entrenched catastrophes cannot be redemptively prevented or retrospectively palliated; no messianic heroism is viable; America cannot be remade as a New Jerusalem; anachronistic utopias are mere wishful thinking, an imperialism across time.

A similar clash of philosophies marks rival Alternate Histories of the U.S. Civil War. The first major novel of this kind, Ward Moore's Bring the Jubilee (1953) (26), is similar to Them Bones in its denigration of the redemptive potential of historical modification. Moore achieves this by describing an inversion of history - a Southern victory over the North in 1864 - which does not alter the basic shape of that history. In both our world and Moore's, a punitive regime is imposed on the loser. In our history, the victorious North imposed Reconstruction on the South, which was followed by a century of Southern poverty, segregation, and stagnation. In Moore's scenario, the defeated North faces a similarly harsh fate in 1864. It has to concede much western territory to the Confederacy; it has to pay enormous war reparations, which impoverishes the Union and occasions hyperinflation of its currency, as in Germany after World War One (BJ, 10). The rump Union of the 1930s and 1940s is poor and backward, its citizens perpetually in debt to banks and landlords, its population reduced by emigration and low fertility born of despair; to foreigners, it is a 'slum' (BJ, 10-11). For this United States, the Great Depression, an era which haunts Moore's text, began in the Nineteenth Century; its agony is if anything an exaggeration of that of our postbellum South.

In Moore's view, the same injustices will prevail, whatever the superficial swings of history. In his world, slavery is abolished by the Confederacy, just as it was

by the Union in ours. Moore's South is willing to countenance emancipation because this is a 'device for obtaining the benefits of slavery without its obligations' (BJ, 53). Blacks can be hired as workers instead of bought, and the cost of their upkeep need not be borne. Again, the two histories are in accord: the blacks are freed, but remain poor and exploited, becoming debt peons, labourers, and sharecroppers, the victims of segregation instead of servitude, despised in the North as much as in the South, where they are forever denied citizenship (BJ, 53). Such historical concurrence extends to foreign policy: just as our Union dominated Latin America through its economic hegemony in the later Nineteenth Century, Moore's Confederacy extends her influence southwards: she invades and conquers Mexico (BJ, 53). The more history changes, the more things stay the same. Moore intends his world as a mirror of our own, revealing our America's misdeeds and implying their inevitability.

The narrator and protagonist of Bring the Jubilee, Hodge Backmaker, the scion of a depressed Northern family, is a figure surrounded with bitter ironies. His surname implies what he becomes, both an historian of the professional academic variety (BJ, 152-3) and the recorder of his own life, the paradoxical text discovered by a Pennsylvanian householder in our own timeline in 1953 (BJ, 188). He 'makes' the 'back' time by writing it. But he is destined also to make history literally, by travelling back in time and inadvertently causing a Northern victory at Gettysburg in 1863, the seed of our history (BJ, 178-185). His life, shaped by the consequences of the Southern victory in 1864, allows him to become an incarnation of paradox: he is influenced during his young adulthood in New York by two philosophical mentors with opposite views of history. Roger Tyss teaches Hodge a

cyclical creed, that humans have no free will, that they act by mindless instinct in a meaningless, unplanned universe, repeating the same blind responses to the same recurring stimuli (BJ,42-5). In contrast, a Haitian diplomat, Rene Enfandin, urges a linear Catholic doctrine: the existence of absolute religious truths which we must strive to grasp through the subjective fog we, the imaginings of God, inhabit (BJ,63-5). The paradox of this clash is that the two philosophies Hodge assimilates, cyclical and linear, so different on the surface, can be reconciled. Both imply predestination; both imply our limitation, the illusory nature of our free will. Two philosophies, like two histories, may appear divergent but be essentially similar. We are programmed by instinct or by God: the outcome is the same, and we only appear to act freely.

Thus, when Hodge alters the outcome of Gettysburg, seemingly the most radical act of free will conceivable, he is changing nothing (nor does he intend to). He has created a paradox in time of a kind familiar in SF; but far more paradoxical is the fact that changing American history means merely a different sort of Reconstruction, of Emancipation, of American Imperialism, of economic Depression, the essence staying constant. Whether this is brute repetition of fixed behaviour in any context, or the unaltering will of God, can never be resolved. Hodge dies as a pensioner in the world he created, leaving behind only memories of his rambling stories and the manuscript of his unverifiable life in the world he annihilated (BJ,188-9). He is a figure of futility, wondering at the end whether his alteration of history is a cyclical event or by the mercy of God need occur only once (BJ,188). Either way, the ethic of change underlying Alternate History is discredited.

The fatalism of Ward Moore, his conviction that control over, and even understanding of, history is impossible, is contradicted by two more recent Alternate Civil War novels. Fire on the Mountain(1988) by Terry Bisson(27) proposes a dramatic departure from the conventional inversionary scenario of Confederate triumph. The framing narrative is set in a 1959 of worldwide socialist prosperity, with a prosperous black-ruled Africa leading the world and with the first Mars landings about to commence. The rationale for this is extravagantly utopian: John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry in 1959, bloodily crushed in our history, has succeeded, as described in the period journal that constitutes the main narrative, resulting in a massive slave revolt in the South. This turns the Civil War into a more fundamental conflict than the historical one, a war of slaves against masters, of democracy against tyranny. The slaves win, here earning true freedom because they free themselves; they establish a black free state, Nova Africa, in the Deep South; global socialism is encouraged, and triumphs also. Bisson, like Orson Scott Card, is redeeming American history, building a secular New Jerusalem on the stony ground of the Civil War.

Bisson rebuts Moore in a manner as extreme as the fatalism of the latter's novel. He proclaims the validity of both individual and collective free will, with a rhetorical exaggeration calculated to state his case decisively. Thus, the raid on Harper's Ferry, which had no chance of success in our history, can become a revolutionary victory through the sheer force of John Brown's will, in the face of all the power of the antebellum slave-owners, which the North needed four years to defeat in the actual Civil War. Collective heroism triumphs with similar improbability, as the slave revolt wins battles with the assistance of revolutionary

volunteers from many nations of the oppressed: General Harriet Tubman breaks an encirclement by Robert E. Lee 'with the first international detachment of Haitian cavalry, of Garibaldi in their red silks, of Cherokee and Creek warriors, and Pennsylvania Molly Maguires' (FM,131), against a background of military movements ironically echoing the genuine Civil War. International socialism is thus vindicated. Bisson's studiedly exuberant radicalism shows also in his dismissal of Abraham Lincoln as a leader interested only in the Union's survival, rather than in freedom for the slaves: Bisson's Lincoln, 'backed by U.S. capital' and leading white nationalists, attacks Nova Africa in 1870 to restore it to the Union, and, like our John Brown, is hanged for it (FM,70-1). It is no wonder that Bisson, like Kingsley Amis in The Alteration, employs the device of embodying our history in an SF novel published in his alternate world; his characters discuss and reject its scenario as grotesque (FM,154-6), with the implication that we should as well. Bisson demands a utopia that should have been.

Bisson defiantly uses improbability to express the polemical ardour of his utopian convictions. The opposite is true of the other recent response to Ward Moore, Harry Turtledove's The Guns of the South (1992) (28). This novel mildly recounts the results of a Southern victory, like Moore's occurring in 1864; General Lee is able to force Union recognition of Southern independence with the help of AK-47 rifles supplied by time-travelling Afrikaner white supremacists, but his subsequent course is plausibly set out. Turtledove makes Robert E. Lee the President of the postwar Confederacy, as Moore did; but whereas Moore's Lee is helpless to guide history in accordance with his ideals, obstructed by an over-powerful Congress and political corruption (BJ,53),

Turtledove's version of the statesman can function as a paragon of intelligent reform. Under Lee, the Confederacy evolves into a democratic state, abolishing slavery in a gradualist but sincere manner, maintaining cordial relations with the United States, and avoiding the racist ideology the Afrikaners had hoped to perpetuate. Turtledove argues a position midway between those of Moore and Bisson, allowing some individual heroism, but respecting historical realities; his is a cautious, evolutionary redemption of America's most grievous schism.

The Frontier and the Civil War elicit strong reactions from American SF and Fantasy writers. Both were milieux rich with utopian possibilities, of new social structures, new freedoms, new harmonies; instead, baser motives prevailed, in the Indian Wars and in Reconstruction and segregation. The temptation to revisit the visionary expectations of the Nineteenth Century is strong; Orson Scott Card and Terry Bisson do so, reflecting a profound nostalgic desiderium, which Howard Waldrop and Ward Moore can only partially temper.

4.5 Imperialism: The Rotted Mirror

Western Imperialism, particularly in the forms it took in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, is an uneasy subject for SF writers. As many American Future Histories demonstrate, such Imperialism is an excellent model for interstellar colonisation and galactic empires; yet the known exploitativeness and racism of colonialism requires a revisionary acknowledgement. This Section examines three texts, two American and one British, which use Alternate History as a lens to scrutinise the Imperial impulse, laying bare its considerable glamour and its self-aggrandising motivation, its self-defeating futility.

The American author John Crowley, whose usual focus has been upon the visionary interplay of Fantasy and History(29), produces in his long novella 'Great Work of Time' (1989) (in Novelty) (30) a carefully formulated but ultimately resounding critique of Imperialism. His tools are the ironies and implied desires of Alternate History. Crowley acknowledges the inspiration of James Morris's nostalgic and elegiac chronicle of the British Empire, the 'Pax Britannica' Trilogy(31) (N,141); he is thus aware of the allure of Empire, its missionary zeal, its vigour, its flavour of exotic frontiers. At the same time, he is determined to reveal the implication of these impulses, the stifling finality of Imperial bondage for colonisers and colonised.

At the centre of 'Great Work of Time' is the conceit of 'orthogonal logic', which permits time travel. Once this discovery is in the hands of the 'Otherhood', a secret society endowed by the Imperialist millionaire Cecil John Rhodes to ensure the eternal survival of the British Empire, it can be used to alter the past and guarantee that survival. This device allows Crowley to anatomise Imperialism as an ideology demanding absolute conformity to its will, as a mentality of selfish changelessness, as a creed feeding upon its own past, incestuously repeating its own idealised history.

The narrator and main character of the novella, Denys Winterset, is designed by Crowley to be an Everyman of the British Colonial Service, representative of its strengths and weaknesses: superficially he is the sort of man chosen to serve the continuing Empire in the 1950s, 'a respectable second at Oxford, a cricketer more steady than showy, a reserved, sensible, presentable lad with sound principles and few beliefs'; but there is an 'odd

strain in him', he is 'Too imaginative, perhaps; given to fits of abstraction' (N,48). He embodies the contradictions of colonialism: he is a colonial administrator, but also the sort of man who 'let the Empire down' in the post-1945 decolonisation period of our history, letting the colonies go. He is paradigmatic of an Imperial mentality which is torn between the urge to persist and a sense of of profound historical fatigue. Appropriately, he becomes the President pro tem of the Otherhood, who must both head the society's manipulations of the past and bring them to an end.

Crowley sees the destiny of unrestrained Imperialism as fixity, the ossification of conquering Self and conquered Other into a uniform and unchanging mass, the end of individuality, progress, history. Imperialism seeks to make everything Other into itself. As narrator, Winterset states that his story could begin and end with an image of changelessness, a forest underwater, moved only by slow, tranquil currents (N,39). The 'Angel' tells him as President pro tem that this is the end of history if the Otherhood continues its work: "There is not, nor will there be, change anymore" (N,117). Only the forest will remain. That the forest can begin or end the story indicates the circular nature of Imperialism, which always seeks to depart from and arrive at the same place: an identical metropolis and an identical colony.

Crowley underlines this judgement in two forms: the future generated by Rhodes's obsession with unchanging Empire, and the fate of Denys Winterset himself. The future Rhodes desires is indicated by him to Winterset when the latter, still young, visits Cape Town in the late Nineteenth Century: 'if we (he meant the Empire, of course) had not lost America, the peace of the world could have been secured forever. "Forever", he said.

"Perpetual Peace." And his pale opaque eyes were moist.' (N,128) He obtains his wish through the Otherhood: when Winterset, now President pro tem, ultimately visits the Twenty-First Century the Otherhood has induced, he is told by the 'Angel' that 'the Empire is quiet' and that there is indeed 'Perpetual Peace' (N,117). But the nature of that peace is horrifying; it is apt that Winterset beholds it as an old man, for it is a senility of Empire.

Crowley's description of this Twenty-First Century is intensely ironic, in that it ramifies the patterns of Rhodes's South African menage and of British colonialist society generally into a dreadful and final form, in much the manner of H.G. Wells's petrification of the British class system in his far-future Eloi and Morlocks in The Time Machine (1895). Winterset, another Time Traveller, finds three classes: the Hominidae, the masters; the Draconiidae, the servants; and the 'Sylphidae', otherworldly beings or 'Angels' (N,68,77). This is the heritage of Rhodes, an eternal order of things, in which master and servant hold perpetually the same relation: "never will one thing be confused again with another, higher for lower, better for lesser, master for servant." (N,117) Rhodes's household at Groote Schuur has become an infinite hierarchy. Its late Victorian misogyny and exclusion of women is reflected in the apparent absence of women among the ruling Hominidae, who resemble a colonial elite. The servants, the Draconics, parallel indigenous colonial subject races, like those in South Africa, in that they once were masters in a land now conquered by the Hominidae (N,77). Crowley affords a further comparison: Rhodes's young male companions were known as 'angels' (N,104), and they have their counterparts in the Sylphidae, the 'Angels' of the Twenty-first Century. The inflexible legacy of the Empire is what makes the future city seem so 'familiar' to

Winterset; despite its strangeness, he feels comfortable there (N, 65). It is his own world writ larger, and with finality.

Crowley's message is that history must take its natural course. Winterset's contact among the Hominidae, the 'Magus', summarises the impact of the Otherhood's repeated historical re-engineering as a forced branching and then breaking of time, the world 'each time growing smaller, having to be packed into lesser space, curling into itself like a snail's shell; growing ever weaker as the changes multiply, and more liable to failure of its fabric.' (N, 106) The Twenty-First Century is unstable, its details fluctuating from day to day. However much the Otherhood wishes to avoid the history we know - the hated 'Original Situation' with its death of the British Empire, its World Wars, permissiveness, and socialism - it has, in the person of Winterset, to accept the inevitable. He aborts the eternal Empire. Thus Crowley intimates the intolerable strains that mount within any closed, incestuous Empire, and the necessity of Change.

Crowley does not neglect the individual dimension of history, as reflected in his epitome of Empire, Denys Winterset. His two meetings with himself, allowed by the paradoxes of time travel, both encounters of an old and a young Winterset, have the same incestuous circularity as the undying Empire. The young Winterset has been sent by the Otherhood to ensure that Rhodes dies early, when his will still left his fortune to them; the old Winterset, having seen the dystopia beyond the year 2000, prevents this; to his younger self, he is thereafter a figure in dreams, a 'man in a black coat and bowler hat, into whose face I look as into a rotted mirror, who tells me impossible things.' (N, 132) This utterance is part of a narration by another old Winterset, to a young one

hitherto innocent of the Otherhood, the Winterset in our history, now restored; again the narration is incestuous, implying the narcissism of Empire. Winterset is condemned to a status like that of the Ancient Mariner, inhabiting reordered history full of the unspeakable knowledge of histories now blotted out - and twice over, as old and young versions survive their final flight, via the Egypt of the Suez Crisis(N,137), from an Africa becoming independent. Ward Moore's Hodge Backmaker is echoed. The final passages of 'Great Work of Time' are melancholy and hopeless, with little consolation from the Biblical quotation 'Saul has slain his thousands/ But David his tens of thousands' (N,140): the Otherhood sought to prevent the slaughters of our Twentieth Century, and so slew far fewer than the David of that Twentieth Century, who has overthrown the old Empires only to create worse, such as the Third Reich. That David triumphs; the Otherhood's deeds are expunged, and its survivors, like Britain's last advocates of Empire in the Suez Crisis of 1956, are broken men.

Crowley's representation of Empire as futile vanity is seconded by Lucius Shepard in his long novella Kalimantan(1990) (32). Shepard's technique, demonstrated in the many short stories collected in The Jaguar Hunter(1987) and The Ends of the Earth(1991), is consistent: he locates Western expatriates in exotic parts of the contemporary world, exploring the allure of the foreign and the extreme existential crises to be encountered within it. In an exotic mirror, dark secrets of the self are to be perceived, recounted with a radical lyricism. Kalimantan is a natural extension of this theme into the territory of Imperialism: as John Clute states, it is a homage to the Victorian and Edwardian scientific romances, those at once subversive and celebratory explorations of novel scientific cognition, narrating a

voyage into modern Borneo's interior in the 'belated', formal manner of Wells and of Conrad's Heart of Darkness (33). Once again, Westerners expand their knowledge and penetrate the alien, only to behold their own savagery reflected; and Shepard ramifies the exotic mirror through the superimposition upon an already strange Borneo of an alternate world.

Shepard's narrative, like Heart of Darkness, is framed by an unnamed speaker, who relays an English expatriate, Barnett's, account of his ordeal in the interior of Indonesian Borneo, Kalimantan. Barnett, much like Marlow, and the American McKinnon, much like Kurtz, inhabit this region, still untamed by the modern; through mystical drug states, they step further into the Other, into an alternate Borneo, an embodiment (perhaps) of all the truth, beauty, and power sought by colonialists in the Orient. Barnett, although weak, seeks that truth; McKinnon, although callow and superficial, seeks that power. Shepard symbolises the grails they desire in various fugitive forms: the drug 'seribu aso', which allows mastery of the gods and the powers of the land; the alternate Borneo, long ago the objective of shamanistic native 'dream wanderers'; the music of the East, which the unnamed framing narrator describes as bewitching to Barnett, a chaos containing 'the ringing of a sweet and secret bell, the elegant hint of some ungraspable mystical order.' (K, 160) All that the East offers is ambiguous, tantalising yet 'ungraspable'; Shepard thus sums up Imperialism as a quest which can attain nothing real, a futile pilgrimage or El Dorado.

Barnett argues with the Dutchman, Tenzer, the characteristics of the various colonising powers: the childish self-indulgence of the Americans (as in McKinnon), the heedless 'bloody-mindedness' of the

English (as in Barnett), the sly anonymity of the Dutch (as in Tenzer) (K,40-1). What they all have in common is lust for either knowledge or power: chiefly the latter, as Shepard's depiction of the corporate rape of Borneo with sawmills and oil-rigs (K,9) implies. As Barnett's narrative diagnoses it, any Westerner's quest in the East is fatally undermined by the very corruption it implies. McKinnon begins as an innocent brought to Kalimantan by the pure lure of the exotic (K,10-11), but succumbs, like Kurtz, to corruption; his 'every virtue' is undermined by 'lustful weakness', his protestations of conscience are hypocritical, he is 'the perfect colonial', a fate which Barnett sees as his own also (K,127). As the archetypal imperialist, McKinnon leads the way further into the interior of the foreign: he exploits the drug 'seribu aso', and opens the doors of perception to an alternate world.

The rape of Borneo has reflected the colonialists' nature back at them; Kalimantan's alternate version does the same. However exotic its strange fauna, its alien city, its monstrous temple and temple guardian, it reveals the nature of the Twentieth Century. Unusually, Shepard provides no detailed alternate history; the features of the other world are symbolic echoes of our world. The parallel Borneo has the customary appeal of the virgin land to the colonist: 'Here one could breathe untainted air and, free from the confusion of business, the howl of life insurance, and the snaky kiss of greed, could gain a perspective that would let one know oneself and thus the world.' (K,82) Barnett plans to become 'the official guide and administrator of Eden' (K,82). Having elicited such typical sentiments of escapism and avarice, the alternate world shows the consequences of those Imperial attitudes: long before, under alien masters, it became 'the seedy, blighted backwater of an empire that had spanned the

stars' (K, 93). This exotic Imperialism has had familiar effects: slave races, human sacrifice, and the eventual decline and ruin of the alien outpost of empire, through whose remnants Barnett wanders. Barnett's murder of McKinnon and the loss of his drug lead to the renewed inaccessibility of the parallel world; but its significance, as a symbol of the glittering prize Imperialism seeks and loses, has been established.

The theme of Kalimantan is the foreign lustre colonialists desire to own and domesticate, and then relinquish through corrupt incomprehension. Imperialism frustrates and exhausts itself; the air of the novella's conclusion is one of yearning bafflement. Barnett can only listen to the complex music of the Orient, exulting in it without understanding (K, 160). The West has sought to remake the East in its own egotistical image, and failed in two worlds.

The dystopian representations of Imperialism by Crowley and Shepard are reinforced by the direct inversion of history practised by the British author Christopher Evans in his novel Aztec Century (1993) (34). Evans, who writes SF narratives whose apparent conventionality is invariably deconstructively abandoned as they progress, to deeply ironic effect, subverts the assumptions grounding Western history since the Sixteenth Century with equivalent irony. In his world, which is seen through the eyes of Catherine, an English princess, the woe visited upon the Americas by Europe is reversed, revisited upon the Europeans in equal measure. As the novel's title implies, the Twentieth Century of Evans's imagining is not the American Century, not the age of world power for a White Anglo-Saxon United States, but rather the time of Aztec supremacy. In Catherine's history, the factors favouring the Europeans over the

American Indians have been removed. There, instead of the Europeans bringing plagues that decimate the Indians, Spanish sailors carry 'the pox' back to Europe, 'as big a scourge of history as the Black Death', stalling European colonisation of the New World and enabling the Aztecs to achieve 'world-power status' (AC, 99). Instead of conquering Mexico for the Catholic Monarchs of Spain in the 1520s, Hernan Cortes betrays his homeland and serves the Aztec cause, 'for the love of his Aztec mistress, Malinalli' (AC, 301). The continuing Aztec Empire unites the various Indian peoples under a common banner, achieving a cohering 'imperial ideal' (AC, 217); from there, it becomes a power equal to any other in the world. The history of European Imperialism and any European assumptions of superiority grounded in that history are being controverted with a savage irony.

The resulting Aztec-led Imperium adopts some European features, such as Catholicism, but a form 'interwoven with innumerable strands of their old pagan mythology'; the suspicion exists that the old sacrificial faith persists under this more humane 'veneer' (AC, 52). Borrowing from their victims with the same cavalier insouciance that Europeans showed in ransacking other cultures in our history, Evans's Aztecs conquer the world. The novel sees them already in control of much of the Americas, Asia, and Africa when the narrative begins; Catherine describes their conquests of Britain, Russia, and Protestant New England, after which they have no rivals. Catherine's own story is one of hopeful intrigue against her country's occupiers; but she has a difficult romance with the eventual successor to the Aztec throne, which culminates in betrayal, defeat, and disillusionment, a deflating reversal of the conventions of the popular romance novel, a genre Aztec Century often recalls. In the end, the Aztecs, as ruthless as any

European colonial power, are unchallenged. The European domination of the world has been reversed, eclipsed.

Evans's argument is vitriolic but sustained. Although he employs the Aztecs to mirror the excesses of European colonialism, he defends them against charges of barbarism based on their history of human sacrifice. When Catherine points out to the Aztec Prince Extepan that Aztec soldiers conquering Russia have been sacrificing their enemies to the old gods, he argues in response that all cultures are guilty of heinous atrocities, and cites vivid examples of such actions against his own people (AC, 240-1). No European pretensions of moral superiority can be sustained. To complete his ironic assault on the Eurocentric certainties of our history, Evans has Catherine, who has fled into our world, warn that the Aztecs are preparing to invade our timeline (AC, 351-2), a direct challenge to any historical complacency remaining in his readers. Evans's unsubtle upsetting of history completes the case more delicately argued by Crowley and Shepard.

These Science Fictional responses to Imperialism question the Imperialistic assumptions of the SF genre itself, its Libertarian ethnocentricities and linear heroisms. In reply, more traditional SF writers continue to indulge old prejudices, as seen in many of the Future Histories discussed in Chapters Two and Three; and even in the more measured sphere of Alternate History, right-wing pro-colonial polemics can be found. The ultra-Libertarian American author, S.M. Stirling, in his 'Draka' Trilogy, made up of Marching Through Georgia (1988), Under the Yoke (1989), and The Stone Dogs (1990) (35), describes, with a measure of horrified irony, the rise of an alternate South African White Empire to world domination in the Twentieth Century, its savage Machiavellian militarism

and racism proving more aggressive than even Nazi ideology. Whether a fiction of dreadful warning or a fantasy of power, this series dismisses any arguments against Imperialism as if they had never been stated.

4.6 The Second World War: Nine Dooms

In speculatively appropriating the relatively recent events of World War Two, SF's Alternate History writers face a dilemma. The temptation to which some of them succumb is the indulgence of Allied triumphalism: Nazism was unambiguously evil, its defeat was an absolute good, and so scenarios of an Axis victory allow portrayals of heroic resistance to an Enemy grown even more menacing than it historically was. But this is imaginatively anticlimactic: the Axis was defeated anyway, and plentiful mainstream texts dealing with the details of its actual demise are repeated in Alternate History to otiose and decreasing effect. In any case, the realisation has grown that the ideological forces fuelling the Axis survived the war, continuing in less obvious forms in the world the victorious powers engendered; World War Two was an ambiguous triumph, no permanent democratic panacea. Thus, the authors of Alternate Second World War stories discussed in this section have had to accommodate the irony that the inhuman impulses animating the losers motivated the winners and survived in them, at least to a degree; many 'Axis Victory' narratives qualify as Ironic or Satirical Alternate Histories, in that while they invert past history, their chief function is to scrutinise the complacent Present born of the Allied success in 1945.

The paradigm text in this regard is The Man in the High Castle(1962), by Philip K. Dick(36). This much-discussed novel presents the standard, and perhaps rhetorically exaggerated, scenario of Axis triumph: Hitler and the

Japanese, assisted by an assassination of Franklin Roosevelt that has left America weaker than in our history, conquer the world. The USA is partitioned, the Germans occupying the Atlantic and the Japanese the Pacific States; an autonomous rump America persists in between. Elsewhere, the Axis powers rule unchallenged over Europe, Africa, and Asia. But Dick does not employ this situation to indulge in the unambiguous propaganda of American resistance and reassertion. His characters are unheroic, complex, ordinary; they inhabit a world of few easy ideological certainties. While the Nazis are psychotically totalitarian, worshippers of the abstract and the inanimate to the point of conscienceless inhumanity (MHC, 41-2), the Japanese are quite sympathetically rendered, while the flaws of the Americans themselves are complexly discussed. Originating the ironic device of the casting of our world as an SF text read in the Alternate World (later employed by Amis and Bisson), Dick lets his characters glimpse the realities of an Allied victory through 'Hawthorne Abendsen''s novel The Grasshopper Lies Heavy. The postwar Anglo-American history Abendsen visualises is a distortion of what actually happened, but all the truer for that: the Allied conquerors bring democracy to the world, but also continued Imperialism and a Churchillian dictatorship (MHC, 145-8), the suspicion in any case being that Abendsen has propagandistically exaggerated the benefits of Allied domination. With incisive ironies, Dick interrogates the assumption that World War Two's outcome was unambiguously the right one, or that Imperialism and Fascism were the losers.

A synthesis of previous critical discussions of The Man in the High Castle yields some understanding of Dick's complex argument. As Kim Stanley Robinson remarks, when Dick's novel states that the Nazis won World War Two,

this is literally true for our world also, as fascism prevailed here through Allied victory just as a Taoist mystical humanism prevails through Japan's 'fascist' hegemony in Dick's alternate California; when Dick's Mr. Tagomi sees our world, it is a hell of racist inhumanity to him(37). Taking this perspective further, Cassie Carter views Dick's Japanese-dominated 'Pacific States of America' as a critique more of our United States and its 'Americanist' ideology than of the Japanese; the Japanese do colonise California, eliciting the same mixture of imitative subservience and sullen resentment from the conquered as Imperialists encounter anywhere, but their Imperialistic behaviour is simply an imitation of earlier American treatment of themselves and other non-whites. Japanese characters like Mr. Tagomi and the Kasouras obsessively collect American artifacts and echo archetypal American behaviour; they are being colonised by the Americans even as they rule California as occupiers(38). In Dick's Japanese, Americans behold the reflection of their own acquisitive, expansionist ethic, their own faults borrowed by their seeming enemies.

In the light of such realisations, no easy, linear, ethnocentric heroism is tenable, as such behaviour is implicitly and simplistically fascist. As Patricia S. Warrick demonstrates, Dick substitutes for such heroism a complex process of Taoist choice-making by his major characters, their subtle navigation through the quantum flux of an unreliable and brutal world constituting the novel's thematic crux(39). In the Taoist context of the constant balancing interplay of yin and yang, of the passive finding of the Way, dire fascist certainties have to be abandoned, the organic complexity of life and the Other acknowledged. Yet as John Rieder points out, this is a manifesto of uncertainty: ethical behaviour is demanded, but the flux of the world offers little

guidance towards that behaviour; without heroic options and without Providential assistance, Dick's characters are allowed only a vague optimism, a survival as individuals rather than any collective assertion(40). In this, Dick's 'pessimism radicalizes liberal humanism into anarchic individualism' (41). Individuals can shape their own lives through ethical choices, but, as Robinson says, this means that 'the best that can be accomplished by the protagonists is the holding action of keeping things from getting immeasurably worse' (42).

Fascism is thus contradicted by Dick in both the forms it adopted during World War Two: the aggression of the Axis, and the counteracting propagandistic triumphalism of the Allies. Both were simplistically arrogant and linear; Dick urges that they not be indulged anew, as threatened to happen in the 1960s West in which he wrote The Man in the High Castle. Other Alternate World War Two stories, written before and after Dick's novel, have to be appraised in the light of his ironic, contemporarily focused example. While Fascist horrors cannot be palliated, easy Allied triumphalism is hard to justify. Some authors defiantly persist in the 'democracy against tyranny' mentality of the Allies between 1939 and 1945; a second group acknowledges the danger of Fascist behaviour among the Allies, but retains some earlier heroic assumptions; a third category echoes Dick's sentiments, although in varying terms. Examples of these three approaches can now be examined.

An early text vindicating the Allied war effort as a crusade is the novella 'Two Dooms' (1958), by the 1950s satirical SF writer C.M. Kornbluth(43). Kornbluth upholds the logic that led the Americans to develop and drop the atom bomb; implicitly, he is justifying the mentality of 'nuclear deterrence' prevailing when his story was

written, during the Cold War. His protagonist, Dr. Edward Royland, must choose between the 'dooms' of Hiroshima and an Axis victory. Initially, working on the Manhattan Project, Royland resents his situation: the Project is inconclusive and unheroic, and he desires a combat role instead(HV,21). Kornbluth, in order to indicate how necessary the atomic bomb programme was, places Royland in a satirically conceived future Axis-ruled America. As a scientist, Royland comes to appreciate the unscientific irrationality of such a world: he is transported there, appropriately, by Mexican 'magic mushrooms' (HV,30-1); the Nazis have no proper science, believing atomic power to be impossible and using primitive research methods(HV,41); the Japanese are atavistically feudal, to Royland's fury(HV,62); returning to the Nazi zone, Royland is able to dupe his Dr. Mengele-like captor by appealing to his racial superstitions concerning Jewish sorcery(HV,75); escaping to his own time, Royland is certain the Allied side is superior, that it must develop nuclear bombs(HV,82). Even Hiroshima is preferable to the horrors of Fascism, especially as those horrors are mystical contradictions of the scientism prevalent in the SF of Kornbluth's time.

A similar exercise in sobering contrast is 'The Last Article' (1988), a story by Harry Turtledove(44). Here, the victorious Nazis have conquered British India; Turtledove makes the point that whereas the British of our history peacefully yielded India's independence in 1947, the Germans would have done no such thing. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru seek to persuade Field Marshal Model and the Wehrmacht to depart by means of the moral pressure of passive resistance; the response is massacres and executions, including those of Gandhi and Nehru. Our history is more benign, Turtledove insists; the British were Imperialists, occupying India against its will, but

not Fascists, and the Allied cause was just. A more radical argument is offered by Brad Linaweaver in his novella 'Moon of Ice' (1986) (45). The Nazis rule Europe in 1965; Joseph Goebbels, still a leading Nazi and the story's narrator, is imprisoned by renegade S.S. fanatics who intend to purify the world of non-Aryans by means of a racially selective plague (HV, 272-3), a device which discredits the Nazis much as Kornbluth did. Goebbels is rescued by anarchist guerillas, who thwart the plot; the implication emerges that Nazism, like any other inflexible system, must give way to the economic freedoms of Libertarian capitalism, and it duly does so: Hitler did Europe a favour by uniting it, lowering its tariff barriers (HV, 292-4). From Linaweaver's Libertarian perspective, the Axis could never have competed with America's vigorous liberty, and the Allies are vindicated without reservation.

The second category of Alternate Axis Victory story, that arguing a middle path between overconfidence and doubtful self-scrutiny, began with a very early novel, The Sound of His Horn (1952), by the British writer 'Sarban' (46). This text reflects both the triumphalism and the insecurity of the Allied victors after 1945. The protagonist, Querdilion, is a standard British adventure hero of the period, intrepidly escaping from a German Prisoner of War Camp during World War Two. He wanders mysteriously into a German-ruled Europe a century hence; here, conventionally, all Germans are either unfit bureaucrats or bullying extroverts. In accordance with standard indictments of Nazism, the Nazis ruthlessly enslave, experiment upon, or hunt 'inferior' people; they are fetishists of mediaevalism, loving castles, firelit feasts, misogynistic male camaraderie, all summed up in the hunt-master von Hackelnberg's lodge, where Querdilion finds himself. In contrast with these stereotyped

monsters, there are the archetypal hero and heroine, Querdilion and Kit North, a woman from the same social background, beautiful, athletic, 'plucky'. Until this point, Sarban's text reads like standard Allied war fiction.

But the novel's psychological currents and resolution subvert this. The German hunting rituals recall the fox hunting of Querdilion's own background, as does the novel's title, which quotes the English hunting song 'John Peel'. Perhaps Fascism is a feature of the English also; in any event, the story is resolved very much on von Hackelnberg's terms, for he reduces his prey to the level of animals, hunting Querdilion and Kit like animals and killing her like one; Querdilion escapes only through the magnanimity of von Hackelnberg, who at the end promises to hunt him again, a hint that Nazism will return. Back in his own time, Querdilion is recaptured by his contemporary Nazis, another sinister sign. If Querdilion's experience in the future was an episode of insanity, it is a fit that might recur. Sarban's implication is that the Allies did well to win, but that past evils linger in us, requiring vigilance.

Keith Roberts's novella 'Weinachtsabend' (1972) (47) adopts a similar position. Containing hunting scenes strongly reminiscent of Sarban's (HV, 154-6), this story examines in more subtle detail the contrasts between the British and the Nazis. As in Roberts's Pavane, England is occupied, this time by the Nazis. Roberts, like Sarban, is not entirely confident of England's Churchillian immunity to the lure of Fascism; his protagonist, Mainwaring, reads a forbidden history which tells of how Rudolf Hess's mission to make peace with Britain in 1941 succeeded. The history blames the 'English middle classes' for this reconciliation of the 'Two Empires', citing their

eagerness to embrace 'the doctrine of Aryan co-ancestry' (HV,138). Mainwaring is himself a collaborator with the Germans, a high-ranking bureaucrat in the British Nazi hierarchy. Where the British resisted Nazism in our history, a different side of their character has manifested itself there.

Roberts's device to reveal the divided nature of the English is a campaign by the resistance, the 'Freedom Front', to lure Mainwaring into the role of their assassin - to get him to kill his superior, the Minister of Liaison, who represents pure British Nazism. The Front, effectively Roberts's agent in the text, is aware of the two aspects of Mainwaring's, of the British, character: ethnocentric nationalism (Nazism) and romantic individualism, effectively the ideology of the Western Allies. The Front knows that when the Nazis dispose of Mainwaring's lover, Diane Hunter, for being a Front agent, he will react in either of two ways: the Nazi way, accepting her expendability and replaceability with any other woman, or the Western way, recognising her as a unique, and uniquely loved, individual. The Minister expects only the former, showing the complacent insensitivity of Nazism; Mainwaring, his humanity rekindled, kills him (HV,174), vindicating the Front's insight. They knew the Nazi conquest of the English character was not complete. Still, Mainwaring is only one man; he is about to die as the narrative ends; his reassertion of individualism is no guarantee of a wider Resistance victory. Roberts celebrates the values that defeated Nazism, but offers no absolute assurance of their sole possession of the postwar world.

Of those texts belonging to the third category of 'Hitler Wins' scenarios - the group sharing Dick's assumption that Fascism continues in our history - the most

substantial is The Iron Dream(1972), by Norman Spinrad(48). This radically experimental text sets out to confirm the similarity of America's Cold War mentality, its McCarthyism, anti-communism, militarism, and racism, to Nazism. Spinrad adds two further assumptions to his polemic: that right-wing Libertarian American SF, Heinleinian SF in Ursula Le Guin's view(49), reflects the same Fascist ideology as does the Cold War mindset mentioned above; and that Nazism was Freudian in character, channelling a 'bottled-up libidinal drive' into 'psychosexually charged fetishistic militarism and violence in the service of the expansionist state.' (50) Spinrad demonstrates these contentions through the conceit of an Alternate World, not one in which Hitler won the War, but one in which he emigrated to America in the 1920s and became an SF illustrator and writer, producing popular space operas such as The Thousand Year Rule and Tomorrow the World(ID,8-9).

In this way, Fascism contaminates American pulp SF, confirming the relationship of the two. The text of Hitler's 'masterpiece' of SF, Lord of the Swastika, constitutes the bulk of The Iron Dream, and in its fetishistic lust for racial supremacy and a simpler world of easy violence validates the psychosexual character of Fascism and the Fascism of right-wing SF. The 'Afterword' to Hitler's novel, written by 'Homer Whipple', a literary critic of the same Alternate New York where Hitler wrote his SF, extends Spinrad's attack to the American establishment. Whipple, the voice of that establishment, correctly identifies the phallic symbolism and power fantasy of Lord of the Swastika, but, this being a world without Nazism, he assumes that Hitler's imaginative excesses could never be realised in practice; he asserts therefore that instead of Lord of the Swastika appealing to a literal desire for brutality and genocide, it

expresses an understandable wish, however unrealistic, for strong leadership against Communism, which threatens to devour the world (ID,255). In this, Spinrad sums up the willingness of America's Cold War establishment to use Fascist methods, to undermine democracy, in the interests of fighting Communism; Whipple's America is allied with the Japan of 'the time-hallowed traditions of Bushido' (ID,255), a clear echo of the Axis. Nazism is physically absent in this timeline, but its violent fetishism permeates American popular culture and the America reflected by that popular culture. Nazism can triumph invisibly, or under other names; so also, Spinrad implies, can it triumph here.

Two other stories echo this theme. In 'The Lucky Strike' (1984) by Kim Stanley Robinson (51), the bombardier on the American aircraft sent to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945 deliberately misses the city; he is executed for disobedience to orders and giving comfort to the enemy (PT,162), but Japan surrenders without the need for further violence, and societies founded in the bombardier's memory ensure the long-term elimination of all nuclear arsenals (PT,166). Robinson questions the morality of Hiroshima and the nuclear stalemate of the Cold War; surely, he implies, if the Allies were the side of good, more virtuous strategies might have been implemented - a direct contradiction of the creed of C.M. Kornbluth. Another left-wing American author, Lucius Shepard, asks in his story 'A Spanish Lesson' (1985) (52) whether Hitler does not linger in the postwar world both literally and figuratively; the narrator, living in Spain in 1964 - a Spain significantly then still fascist - assists fugitives from a parallel world ruled by a demonic Hitler to escape the diabolical agencies the Nazis send to retrieve them. This act of rescue awakens the conscience of the narrator, as he declares in the

moral at the story's end (JH, 428-9); so, Shepard implies, should the conscience of the world be awakened, lest fascism claim it. For the Hitlers of the past still dominate the present: 'are we not also governed by the dead, by the uncorrupting laws they have made, laws whose outmoded concepts enforce a logical tyranny upon a populace that no longer meets their standards of morality?' (JH, 419-420)

Significantly, the three works concurring closely with The Man in the High Castle are all set in worlds without any direct Nazi victory; their emphasis is upon the Nazism within us. All Alternate World War Two tales reveal, whether intentionally or not, the attitudes of this world, of the postwar Allies justifying or scrutinising their own actions and beliefs. The Second World War, as the foundation of the present, is the key to the ideology of the present, and of postwar SF; as the preceding discussion has shown, that ideology is a mixture of the ethnocentric complacency that won and lost the Second World War and of the doubts that arose in the War's receding shadow. The nature of the Present acquires further, if varied, illumination from a final set of Alternate Histories, discussed briefly in the following Section.

4.7 The Present: Fantastic Echoes

Alternate Histories modifying contemporary reality are generally fantasies. Alternatives to our 1980s and 1990s are implicitly or explicitly millennial, expressing a radical discontent with the status quo in terms of desiderium, of a longing for the restoration of things irretrievably lost. This replacement of the Present with its desired image is counterfactual, but draws more on myths, on Fantasy, than upon history. This Section briefly considers three authors who compose Ironic or

Satirical Alternate Histories, fantastic variations on the last decade; this discussion indicates some further directions that the Alternate History form can take.

The American fantasist Rachel Pollack replaces the Present with a New Age counterpart. Her linked novels, Unquenchable Fire (1988) and Temporary Agency (1994) (53), describe a version of contemporary America which has been formed by an occult revolution against secular patriarchal capitalism. This is a utopia realised through magic, through spells and the employment of demonic agencies; its rhetoric is recognisably feminist and Marxist, but its methods are shamanistic and its perception of its own revolutionary past is couched in terms of myth and deeply symbolic dream. Popular history tells that when the city of Vera Cruz has been liberated by the Revolutionary Founders, a Founder, 'Miguel Miracle of the Green Earth', in order to signify his people's break with the past, sends all of them a prophetic dream urging the destruction of all existing stockpiles of food; he then feeds the populace with magical cake, filling them with a holy joy (UF, 54-5). Adherents of old patriarchal religions are cured of their dogma by a Founder who sings their possessing illusions out of them (UF, 316). In the post-Revolutionary present, when a politician from New York, arrogant in his skepticism, questions the magical abilities of the City's powerful College of Tellers, his dissent is punished with a curse causing frogs to issue from his mouth whenever he opens it to speak (UF, 2-4). These episodes all describe secular revolutionary modalities of change, but transfer them to the ground and language of myth. In the midst of otherwise unaltered modernity, a different and liberatory logic has been embraced, without any historical or scientific rationale, but with a potent millennial ideological thrust. Unquenchable Fire tells of the

conception and birth of this world's Messiah, but ignores the consequences of that birth in favour of a close narration of the mother's life in this occult utopia; Temporary Agency portrays the politics of Pollack's society in the light of magic and a lesbian relationship. This intimacy of focus, combined with the wider revolutionary background, claims the late Twentieth Century for a mystical feminism yearning to avenge its long suppression in our history. Pollack's vision is rapturous, but countervailingly dark in its vengeful implication.

Gene Wolfe's novel There Are Doors (1988) (54) also makes of the alternate world an object of gender-related longing, but in this case the desire is that of a single individual, Adam K. Greene, for a woman, his lover but now departed for another realm. That realm is a parallel world, magical both in the sense that it accommodates supernatural forces and in that it embodies and punishes all of Adam's archetypally masculine erotic yearnings. In the bleak alternate America into which Adam periodically wanders, one reminiscent of a Great Depression without end (55), men die after sexual congress; they can only approach women as goddesses, to whom they are ritual sacrifices. Adam's former lover is the literal Goddess of this other world (TD, 275-6), and so the ultimate symbol of Love as an emasculating abasement. Adam's sanity is dubious, his yearning idolisation of women an implication that all such patriarchal chivalry is insane, self-destructive; like Pollack, Wolfe weaves elements of dream and nightmare into his alternate present, making it an embodiment of contemporary desires, but implying the dark perversity of those desires at the same time.

A final novel, The Iron Dragon's Daughter (1993), by the deft contemporary SF fabulator Michael Swanwick (56), uses

the fundamental material of Fantasy to reflect modern history. The heroine, Jane, is abducted from this world into the alternate world of Faerie, echoing many fairy tales; but the true domain scrutinised, as in most fairy tales, is ours. The phases of Jane's career in Faerie mirror child labour in the Industrial Revolution, the lives of modern teenagers haunting shopping malls, the studies of scholars seeking to master Nature at Renaissance universities, the lifestyles of spoiled scions of the capitalist aristocracy: Faerie has been industrialised, its realm of elves, dragons, and magic remade in the image of capitalism and the stages of capitalism's historical progress. Because Faerie is a narrative reflection of our world, it sums up the fate of our world, mirroring our dystopia. And, being an anti-fantasy, as John Clute has described it (57), The Iron Dragon's Daughter thus declares the futility of any dreams of alternate worlds, any fantastic alternatives to the Present: they, like Faerie, will partake of the realities of our history, its inevitable corrosive capitalism. By thus debunking millennial fantasies, Swanwick sums up their appeal and dismisses them with a single gesture. Millennial discontent is potently wishful, but wishful thinking, he implies, leads nowhere, unless it is to the very place from which the dreamer first departed.

* * *

The Alternate Histories thus far considered reflect the past directly, modifying history through irony either to reappropriate the brave potentials of the past or to deny the redemptive promise of those potentials. Chapter Five now discusses Alternate History fictions which add metafiction to history and irony, so modifying the past in the light of its previous literary representations.

CHAPTER FIVE: ALTERNATE HISTORIES - HISTORY, IRONY, AND METAFICTION

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter continues the discussion of Alternate Histories begun in Chapter Four, but shifts its emphasis from worlds based on the 'facts' of history alone to those based both on historical eras and on those eras' bodies of literature. Chapter Four's scenarios were interactions of history with a deliberately distorting irony; Chapter Five's parallel worlds are constructed by their authors on a triangular basis, the points of the triangle being the history and irony of before with metafiction added. The ironic tension of these texts is with the actual past and with earlier writers' interpretations of it.

A major consideration here is the effect of metafictional methods upon the reader's perception of the nature of history. When an Alternate History bases its historical modification upon fiction instead of history, it implies that history is inherently fictional. Metafictional Alternate Histories are deeply subversive of historicist assumptions that history is a science; they make of the past a ludic recombinant playground, in which fact and fiction blur, in which the causal principles of the physical universe can be replaced at any time with the symbolic laws governing fictional narratives. This class of Alternate History is counterfactual in the sense of disregarding both what happened and what can happen; its texts are fictions of fictions, celebrating or subverting the self-images of past epochs rather than the more objective external images afforded by strictly factual history. They create impressionistic collages of subjective and objective history, pastiches of reassembly characteristic of Postmodernism.

This Chapter contains two major sections, each discussing a cluster of Alternate Histories relating to a period particularly rich in texts for metafictional appropriation. The first such period is the Renaissance, which five writers approach with a mixture of reverence and interrogation; the second is the Victorian Era, the subject of many 'Steampunk' novels, which bring ironic fragmentation to a superficially monolithic and complacent age.

5.2 The Renaissance: Degrees of Progress, Degrees of Truth

The Renaissance of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, separating the modern from the mediaeval, offers much the same challenge to Alternate History writers as does its contemporary event, the Reformation (discussed in Chapter 4.3). Again, the question at issue is the one ideologically fundamental to Science Fiction and Fantasy, that of Progress. But whereas the Reformation was a sectarian issue, one placing capitalist Protestantism and feudal Catholicism at bitterly opposite poles, the Renaissance was a universal process, at least in the European context of the Alternate Histories discussed in this Section. The cultural and intellectual revolution proclaimed by the Renaissance transcended any narrow boundaries of religion and politics; while SF writers are free to see Protestantism and its innovations as a contingent option, replaceable with Papal conservatism, they are inclined to see the Renaissance as inevitable. They differ as to what the Renaissance was, what it represented and what it could have represented.

All of the Alternate Renaissances analysed in this Section are concerned with dialectics of one sort or another. The reasons for this lie in the Renaissance's

contradictions and in its desire for harmony. The Renaissance was historically contradictory. On the one hand, the Renaissance was a retrospective process. Its scholars sought to revive the learning of the Classical period; its concerns, philosophical and theological, were usually continuations of the thinking of previous eras; its scholarly languages were Latin and Greek; much of its art and literature alluded to ancient myth and to the chivalry of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the Renaissance was progressive, dismissing mediaevalism in favour of bold novelties of argument, technological innovation, geographical exploration. This contradiction, occurring because of the inevitability of the old serving as the new's foundation and because of the need for social hierarchies to restrain perilous change, preoccupies all of the five texts analysed here.

In all of these novels, then, the clash of retrospection and propection, of conservation and innovation, is the central dialectic. The ability of these elements to combine, to co-exist, is a further reflection of the Renaissance's historical character. The period authors metafictionally subject to this section's genre texts - Shakespeare, Spenser, Ariosto, Francis Bacon - all sought, as Renaissance Humanists, to harmonise different tendencies within ideal wholes. Spenser, whose allegory The Faerie Queene is appropriated by Michael Moorcock, attempted the summation of twelve virtues, of twelve sorts of allegorical experience, in a single perfect knight; Bacon, utilised by Brian Stableford, sought the reconciliation of many branches of knowledge within a single scientific system. The Humanist ideal of integration is explored in all of these five SF and Fantasy novels: all ask whether the Renaissance could harmonise, or dialectically contain, the forces it embodied, static continuity and radical departure, in a

healthily dynamic mixture. Most of the novels value in some respects the supposed serene stability of the Middle Ages; all value the Renaissance's ethic of the new. This Section first discusses three novels which anatomise the Renaissance's capacity for Progress; it then proceeds to two texts which explore the clash of the Renaissance's nostalgic idealism with its emerging Machiavellian realism.

Expectations of Progress can be unrealistic. Poul Anderson's fantasy novel, A Midsummer Tempest (1974) (1), the first of this section's texts to be published, demands of the Renaissance more than it historically could deliver. Anderson's story is a tribute to Shakespeare; it draws extensively on both The Tempest and A Midsummer Night's Dream for its settings and language, fusing the themes and characters of the two plays with a romantic tale of an alternate English Civil War. This fusion redeems that War, altering its significance and its outcome, so that Shakespeare's fantastic worlds and the world of history combine in an ideal vision, a better Renaissance than the actual one.

This literary alchemy is an attempt by Anderson to resolve a contradiction inherent in his own Libertarian ideology (2). Anderson desires both Progress of the standard technological variety and a simpler, more pastoral world in which an honourable individualism can thrive. The first demand is of the future, the second of the past. The reconciliation of these two demands is theoretically possible in the Renaissance: it contained the simpler unities of the Middle Ages and the dynamism of the Modern. Yet in practice its elements of stability and of change were at war. In Anderson's chosen setting, the English Civil War (1642-6), the Parliamentarians or Roundheads, representing capitalist Progress, and the

Royalists or Cavaliers, standing for social continuity and monarchical absolutism, clashed bitterly, demonstrating the difficulty of Anderson's desired synthesis of their values. In any case, both sides were inconsistent: the Roundheads were in favour of representative democracy, yet imposed a harsh Puritan theocracy on England; the King might maintain the serene beauties of the countryside, but he also threatened continued feudalism and centralising despotism. For anything like Anderson's utopia of simplified nostalgic progressivism to be realised, he has to call on the Renaissance's own fantasies of harmony, its comedies, a genre paradigmatic of reconciliation.

The result is a Renaissance out of vision or dream. Anderson's Royalists are being defeated by the Roundheads in a world in which Shakespeare is not dramatist but Historian (MT, 150). Here, all the events of his plays literally occurred; and while the destructive potentials of tragedy are present, it is the redemptive agency of comedy that acts on the events that in our history led to the King's execution and Cromwell's dictatorial Protectorate. Prince Rupert, in Anderson's world as in ours a leading Royalist general and romantic symbol of his cause, is captured by the Roundheads, but falls in love with his Puritan captor's niece, Jennifer Alayne, escapes with her help, is assisted to Prospero's Isle with help from Titania and Oberon, now resident in the English wildwood, and on the Isle retrieves Prospero's Book of spells, after encounters with Ariel and Caliban and a reunion with Jennifer. The magic book permits the complete rout of Cromwell's army; Rupert uses it to summon up the spirits of the land, which, resentful of the Puritan threat to the integrity of the countryside, sweep the Roundheads from the battlefield at Glastonbury Tor (MT, 298-307). A comic Cornishman, Will Fairweather, a

symbol of respectful rustic decency, acts as the conduit for the wrathful ancestral forces (MT, 301-3).

Despite such violence, and as the importance of the humorous Will indicates, Anderson is writing in the spirit of comedic reconciliation. Cromwell's side is associated with an anachronistic industrialisation of England, involving the construction of polluting factories (MT, 96) and railways (MT, 107); its dogma is cruel and inflexible, as seen in Malachi Shelgrave's mistreatment of Jennifer (MT, 91); but the Roundheads have throughout been cast as self-righteous but blundering straw men, comic Puritans akin to Malvolio in Twelfth Night, their villainy temporary but their usefulness as agents of change permanent. After his victory, King Charles is merciful, entering London not as a 'conqueror' but as a 'healer' (MT, 309); he allows the foremost Roundhead leaders to go into exile, pardons all their followers, and promises the end of Royalist archaism, of royal 'folly', 'tyranny', 'unwillingness to listen or to change', along with that of the 'arrogance, intolerance, and haste' of his foes: a new Parliament will be called (MT, 309-310). A genuine reconciliation of conservative and progressive forces has been achieved: a universe-hopping observer concludes the novel by remarking that although the 'romantic reactionaries' have won in Anderson's world, the potentials of science have been realised there, with 'reason triumphant, which matters most - no stopping it, because along with the bad there's too much good, hope, challenge, liberation' (MT, 317). Anderson makes of the Renaissance a better, more pacific, more harmonious time, by juxtaposing it with its own ideals, as rendered by Shakespeare.

This use of Shakespeare, although it constitutes a rather uneven pastiche, conveys Anderson's harmonising impulse with some eloquence. By making Shakespeare his world's literal Historian, Anderson makes history function in the spirit of poetry: King Oberon sums up Puritanism's character as a mixture of its rigid historical actuality and of poetic menace, as a "wintry creed where only hell knows warmth; where rites which interceded once for man with Mystery, and comforted, are quelled; where he is set against the living world, for he is now forbidden to revere it in custom, feast, or staying of his hand; where open merriment's condemned as vice and harmless foolery as foolishness; where love of man and woman is obscene - there's Faerie's and Old England's foe and woe!" (MT, 76) This poeticising tendency in dialogue extends to most of the novel's characters, including Rupert, Jennifer, the Puritan Malachi Shelgrave, and Will Fairweather, who speaks in an earthy rustic prose to match the more polished oratory of his social superiors. In this manner, Anderson makes his characters like the cast of a Renaissance comedy, complete with separated and misunderstood lovers, comic Puritan villain, and equally comic salt-of-the-earth rustic chorus-member. The outcome is the conventional one, of a romantic marriage, of harmony restored; but because this is poetic history, the harmony is not that of the lovers alone, but of the whole kingdom. Anderson achieves in his Renaissance the symbolic wedding of progress shorn of dogma (Jennifer, no longer living in her Puritan uncle's household) and tradition shorn of tyranny (Rupert, nephew of a King now committed to liberty). That such an easy, comic solution neglects the element of Tragedy has not escaped other writers.

Brian Aldiss brings a harsher perspective to bear on the Renaissance in his Gnostic fantasy The Malacia

Tapestry (1976) (3). Aldiss sees in the Renaissance 'the conflict between fecundity and entropy, between the rich variety of life and the silence of death', which David Pringle and John Clute view as his chief thematic concern(4); the Renaissance was built partly of the dead Middle Ages and their constricting conservatism, and partly of the Modern, with its activism and progressive vitality. Aldiss indicates the difficulty of shaking off the past's dead hand, of liberating the energy of novelty, by means of his book's setting: a city state located in an alternate Renaissance Balkans, geographically and symbolically midway between the burgeoning Italy of Leonardo da Vinci and the (allegedly) changeless Empire of Byzantium. Malacia has the fecund cultural brio of Renaissance Italy, but is under an entropic curse never to progress, never to innovate. Like Aldiss's world of Helliconia(5), Malacia must somehow reconcile the cyclical nature of history, which condemns it to eternal repetition, with the ideal of linear history, which can restore it to vitality; Aldiss's hero, Perian de Chirolo, must break out of the stagnant 'tapestry' of Malacia, realising progress. The stable collectivism of the Middle Ages can at last yield to the progressive individualism of modernity; but the way is extremely hard, and the ambiguity of Aldiss's text does not easily yield to such generalisations. In The Malacia Tapestry, the Renaissance often seems a diabolical trap, incapable of producing the Progress it promised.

Aldiss has not simply placed his city state outside the chief Italian centres of the Renaissance. closer than they to the entropic pull of unaltering Byzantium, the lasting citadel of the Middle Ages; he has located Malacia in a damned world, one with few potentials. Aldiss appropriates the Gnostic dogma proclaiming the world to be the creation not of God but of a Satanic sub-

creator or Demiurge, its implication being that, apart from the divine unconscious sparks of human souls, human bodies and their environment are unblessed, gross, carnal, fatally far from the 'pleroma' inhabited by the true God(6). Perian's father, Mandaro, states the tenets of Malacia's rival Natural and Higher religions thus: "They agree that the world was created by Satan, or the powers of Darkness; they agree that God, or the Power of Light, is an intruder in this universe; the fundamental difference is that adherents of the Natural Religion believe that humanity should side with Satan, since God can never win; whereas we of the Higher Religion believe that God can triumph in the great battle, provided that human beings fight on his side rather than Satan's." (MT, 72) The humans of Malacia face an arduous task in resisting a principle of entropic Evil that created them; they are literal descendants of the Serpent of Eden, 'cold-blooded, created in the image of the Prince of Darkness' (MT, 159), 'homo saurus' rather than homo sapiens (MT, 160). Saurian ancestor species persist in Malacia, attracting some of the reverence attached to holy cows. Malacia is a false world, a demonic realm of appearances; cast in the mould of an heretical mediaeval dogma, it is slow, patriarchal, unyielding, offering little progress, little liberating activism.

Aldiss thus embodies in his text some left-wing pessimism: Malacia is emblematic of conservatism, an epitome of hierarchical reaction and oppression. Much of the novel's plot concerns attempts at technological innovation: a balloon is designed and launched (MT, 111-6); a foreigner, Otto Bengtsohn, develops a primitive form of photography, the 'zahnoscope' (MT, 35). But such inventions are tolerated only if they serve or amuse the city's rulers; the clerical hierarchy, headed by Bishop Gondale IX, regulates any seeds of change. Bengtsohn's invention

is rejected; he is murdered, and his head thrown in the river (MT, 306). This suppression of science is also politically motivated: Bengtsohn and his associated working men, such as Bonihatch, advocate revolution. Malacia's stagnancy prohibits not only innovation, but any hope of social justice also.

Other than this political element, the text presents two terrains for liberatory struggle: the personal and the aesthetic. These are paradoxically connected: in the Renaissance, the primary means of personal expression and innovation was art; but art, of which Malacia, like any Renaissance city, is full, is also a lure, posed by the Satan, the artistic Demiurge, who has crafted this closed world. The 'temptation' posed to any artist is, in David Wingrove's words, that of succumbing 'to the closed self-system which Satan represents - art as its own justification' (7). Art can be liberatory, but if pursued as an escapist indulgence, or as a mere mercenary pandering to the vanity of the wealthy, it obstructs change. Aldiss is interrogating the Renaissance as to the function of its lauded art: was that art progressive, socially useful? Bengtsohn's zahnoscope can revolutionise society through visual communication of subversive images, or it can merely record the thespian exhibitions of a jaded elite (as it does, in preserving the tableaux of 'Prince Mendicula', MT, 53-63). The narrative of Perian de Chirolo, an actor and inhabitant of the realm of art, traces whether personal and aesthetic liberations are possible, whether the Renaissance could enable a general freedom.

Perian's emergence from aesthetic sybaritism into altruistic radicalism is the plot of The Malacia Tapestry. He is surrounded by easy aesthetic gratifications in his life as a rake: he is a frequently-

unemployed actor, who womanises constantly, and who can relish all the splendours of a decadent Byzantine city. A typical description of Malacia's endless appeal to the senses is embodied in prose itself celebratory and seductive: 'About the edges of the great square...were booths...where one might view two-headed calves, dioramas of ancient time, animated human skeletons, oriental jugglers, live ancestral animals, snake-charmers from Baghdad, fortune-tellers, marionettes, gaudy magic-lantern shows, and performing shaggy-tusks no bigger than dogs.' (MT,25) This and similar meandering descriptions, such as that of a collection of relics which indiscriminately mingles treasures and 'rubbish' (MT,269), make it clear that art as fragmentary but splendid curiosity is useless, that it must be assembled into meaning; Perian does this, by organising the rakish tatters of his own life.

Initially, Perian is a mere sensualist, dismissed by the socialist Bonihatch as a parasite, concerned only with appearances (MT,213). His awakening from this is catalysed by his disappointment in a long-running affair with Armida, the daughter of a powerful magnate. He has assumed he can obtain social betterment through this, but Armida ultimately dismisses their presumed engagement as a jape, 'a little secret fun between us' (MT,298). Perian has served her father in various capacities, and has loved her sincerely enough, rescuing her from certain death at one stage; he discovers that such loyalty to the hierarchy is repaid only with contempt, and his politics shift towards those of Bonihatch and Bengtsohn. This political education is a lesson in the nature of art also: Perian is an actor, both literally and in the sense that he is one of Satan's many puppets in the dark drama that is Malacia; in both capacities, he acted in the idle aristocratic play of Prince Mendicula, commissioned by

Armida's father. Hearing that the zahnosopic record of the play has been destroyed by the Malacian regime (MT, 290-1), Perian can begin to see that the play was subversive, that it mirrored his own disappointed intrigues in love. If seen critically, art can symbolise truth.

Having achieved a newly radical vision of life and art, Perian can step out of the static tapestry of Malacia, and enter a mobile and vital world. Others can share this progress: La Singla, with whom Perian prepares to share a genuine love at the novel's end; and the artist Nicholas Fatember, who retains a true creativity in the midst of Malacia's stagnation, symbolised by his powerful, 'startling black eyes' in the midst of his surrounding physical 'ruin' (MT, 271). Vitality can triumph, as the Renaissance promised, if only in a few, tentative cases. The medium of that vitality can be Perian's love or Fatember's art; they are jointly liberatory, doubly so in view of the especial obstacles posed by Aldiss's Gnostic conceit of an ultimately fallen world.

Aldiss's metafictional scheme is an ultimate one also, in that he draws upon the entire body of previous representations of the Renaissance to achieve a distillation of the period, a quintessence in allusive, baroque prose of all the Renaissance's glamour and danger, its limiting conservatism and its boundless promise. Period artworks by Tiepolo and Maggiotto (from very late in the Renaissance, and suggestive of its decay) illustrate the text; plays, like that of Prince Mendicula, recall Renaissance theatre; the countless artifacts of Malacia are like scattered fragments of Renaissance art, architecture, and craftsmanship; the arcane erudition of Perian's father and others recalls Renaissance scholarship; the speculations of Perian and

his friends echo the Renaissance's rediscovery of philosophy; the politics of Malacia, oligarchical and parochial, resemble those of the Renaissance Italian city states; the magic of Malacia echoes the *magia* and alchemy of Renaissance hermetic philosophers. The Malacia Tapestry, as an alternate world fantasy and fictive collage of the Renaissance, allegorises that period, presenting its evolution of secular art and altruistic individualism in a narrative essence, one of a harsh, testing, purgatorial rigour.

Another British writer, Brian Stableford, unites Poul Anderson's scientific optimism with Aldiss's dark obstacles to that optimism. His anti-horror novel or Scientific Romance, The Empire of Fear (1988) (8), narrates an Alternate History in which mediaevalism has an especially strong hold on the Seventeenth Century, but employs this simply as a rigorous test for Progress and Science, making their inevitable victory all the more striking and admirable. Stableford draws on the literature of the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries for values to advocate and to oppose, in a metafictional scheme of sweeping didacticism.

The 'Empire of Fear' of the novel's title is literal; it is the novel's setting as well as its thematic concern. In Stableford's Europe of 1623, the Renaissance, along with the progress and liberty it might bring, is harshly restrained by an aristocracy of literal vampires, who rule Europe with an exaggerated cruelty. All the forces of conservative archaism are ranged, conveniently for Stableford's didactic purpose, on their side: because the vampires are immortal, obsolete ideas remain in fashion; because they are aristocrats and require human blood to survive, predatory feudalism and a biologically determined class structure remain in force; because the

vampires are in power, the Church expediently supports them, preaching human fatalism, subservience to a divinely-appointed status quo. Like the rulers of Malacia, the vampires are suspicious of any scientific innovations, tolerating them only as toys to distract men from rebellious political thought (EF, 8). Against this tyranny of the old, so similar to Aldiss's, Stableford poses a revolutionary scientific spirit, one which transforms his retarded history into an accelerated one, a statement of optimism impatiently contradicting Aldiss's caution.

Stableford draws his scientific rhetoric from the works of Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Bacon can be viewed as one of the Renaissance's foremost philosophers of science, influential in his advocacy of induction based on empirical experimentation; his agenda for a new, pragmatic, active discipline of science was a central Humanist challenge to earlier religious and overly abstract paradigms of understanding (9). Bacon's emphasis on practical science as the means to human improvement affirms Stableford's theme generally; but his specific contribution to The Empire of Fear is his disquisition on 'idola' in his Novum Organum (1620) (10). This identifies four categories of idola, false images, the deep fallacies of the mind which can lead Reason astray. Although Bacon was discussing the relatively mundane intellectual errors of his own day, Stableford attaches his categories to the more direct and lurid confrontation of science and ignorance in The Empire of Fear. In a letter to Edmund Cordery, the father of the novel's hero, Stableford's version of Bacon identifies the basis of vampire power when he declares that Fear, like the rule of the vampires, is an Empire; Death and its emissaries, War, Plague, and Famine, because they impose mortality on humans, impose on them also the logic of fear and

ignorance, 'the *eidola* which hide from them true knowledge of the divine and mundane worlds' (EF, 183). These *eidola* ensuring vampire hegemony are the genuine enemies to be fought. By alluding to Bacon, Stableford enlists a Renaissance ally in his battle against mediaevalism; Bacon's philosophical propositions allow the condemnation of superstition, and his empirical methods provide a mentality that can defeat Stableford's symbolic vampires.

In describing that defeat, Stableford borrows the style and technique of the late Victorian and Edwardian Scientific Romances, on which he is a critical expert. As John Clute remarks in his discussion of The Empire of Fear, British Scientific Romances, by comparison with American SF, are uninterested in fast-moving plots and the seizure of control over the natural world, preferring a contemplative understanding, a relatively 'passionless' cognitive clarity(11). The 'Empire of Fear' can only be dispelled by a selfless enlightenment, extended by the hero to all people. The result is that Stableford's text is gravely and impersonally didactic, a tale not of the hero's personal aggrandisement but of his costly servitude to scientific truth. Noell Cordery's companions and enemies are all exemplary types: Quintus, a wise mentor; Leilah, an exotic and beautiful princess; Langoisse, a romantic and doomed buccaneer; Ntikima, a faithful African guide; Dragulya, a dark villain; and supernatural temptresses like the vampires Carmilla, Cristelle, and Berenike. All speak with a dignified, sometimes archaic, loftiness; Noell's quest has a strong air of allegory. Like H.G. Wells and other writers of Scientific Romances, Stableford uses Science Fiction as a means for earnest philosophical exposition.

The plot of The Empire of Fear functions as an illustration of the scientific method, applied to the obstructions of history. Noell Cordery's father, a scientist in favour with the vampires of Grand Normandy (including England, and still ruled in the 1620s by an immortal Richard the Lionheart) discovers a biological basis for vampirism, which permits a sally into germ warfare against his hated masters. After his father's martyrdom, Noell flees London, and proceeds to Africa, where the secrets both of how to destroy existing vampires and of how to create new ones can be found. With this information acquired, Noell confronts the vampires on the island of Malta (in an echo of the Ottoman siege of the Hospitaller fortresses there in 1565), losing to them militarily and being himself martyred, his death however redeeming the world, in that the vampire aristocrats are decimated by the plague he has sown, and the secret of immortality is rendered universal. From being a tyrannical restraint surrounded by superstitious fear, vampirism is revealed to be scientifically explicable and the key to a utopian future.

Stableford's dialectic, then, is of supernatural mystery and rational science, the synthesis being an intensification of the latter. He underlines this by means of further metafictional borrowings, from H. Rider Haggard and Bram Stoker. Noell's quest into Africa, described in Parts Three and Four, is reminiscent of Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885) in the details of the journey, and of She (1886) in Noell's encounter with an immortal Queen, Berenike, in Africa's heart (EF, 197-8). But Stableford debunks his model; whereas Haggard romantically perpetuated the glamour of Africa as a savage continent with lasting secrets, Stableford wishes to expose it to the rational light of day, extracting its secrets, making them available to the world. Noell brings

scientific comprehension of vampirism out of Africa with him: it is a contagious biological phenomenon, which came to Africa on a meteor millennia ago. By dispelling Haggard's literary darkness, Stableford explodes superstition on levels literal and literary. He does the same to Bram Stoker's seminal vampire novel Dracula(1897): Noell is confronted on Malta by Vlad Dragulya, a version of Stoker's villain, who is ominous enough, winning the battle at the head of a Wallachian vampire army and engaging in much talk of stakes and torture(EF,343-4), but being defeated himself by Noell's dissemination of plague and the knowledge behind it(EF,Part Five). Again, Stableford debunks a mystificatory text, exemplifying his general campaign against the eidola of ignorance.

Stableford portrays the Church as complicit in vampire tyranny. An earlier Pope, Gregory, is described as condemning the vampires; they 'had been quick to force a new pope to condemn Gregory as the foulest of heretics, and had now gone so far as to place a vampire on the throne of St. Peter' (EF,10). Thus, the Church becomes a collaborator with the vampire regime, whatever the efforts of dissidents like Noell's friend Quintus. Noell talks of 'the corruption of Rome, the parties of the clergy, the follies of faith' (EF,195). For Stableford, the Catholic Church is yet another archaic monument to be discredited, and he does this by subversive substitution. He quickly quotes the Gospel of John on eucharistic doctrine, establishing the spiritual link between consuming Christ's blood and eternal life(EF,33). Vampirism is an obvious parallel; and when it becomes the property of all humankind as Noell's bequest, it offers a secular, scientific immortality, achieved through regular doses of ordinary human blood. Heaven and its sacraments need no longer be heeded. As a confirming irony, this

mundane immortality is offered by a martyr to science: Noell dies in agony on the scaffold that all others may live eternally(EF,348-9), a victim of the corrupt Vatican and a Christ figure to replace the original one. Secular rationalism is a creed as well as a method; by extension of Stableford's argument, paradise can be attained through scientific advance generally, a positivist teleology.

Stableford makes this paradise literal. Part Six of The Empire of Fear is set in the 1983 resulting from Noell's sacrifice. The location is Nova Scotia, in a North America quite similar socially and technologically to our own, here known as 'New Atlantis' (EF,380). This is a direct reference to Francis Bacon's utopian text, New Atlantis(1627), in which he described such a society as might result from scientific innovation and improved administration. By conflating Bacon's vision with a modern world much like ours, Stableford, in a posture of pure theodicy, implies that the present is a utopia, that the scientific progress unleashed by the Renaissance is justified in every way. No nostalgia for mediaevalism, such as Poul Anderson expresses, is indulged by Stableford. Part Six's protagonist, Michael Southerne, is one of the few who, because of a rare syndrome, cannot become immortal in Stableford's world; but he ends the novel by echoing Noell's positivistic selflessness, as he reflects that even a mortal should be grateful that others may live forever(EF,386). In this way Stableford excuses any evil side effects of Progress; they are justified by their end; his conclusion is theodicy as blatant as any of Robert Heinlein.

The three novels by Anderson, Aldiss, and Stableford demonstrate how SF and Fantasy writers view the essential ambiguity of the Renaissance, its contradictory mixture

of Progress and conservatism. Anderson relishes the mixture, hoping to preserve its balance; Aldiss longs for Progress, but implies that conservatism is stronger; Stableford values Progress as an absolute ideal, and grants it total victory. Here are SF's three major ideological options: sentimental Libertarian conservatism, pessimistic radicalism, and utopian positivism, as anatomised in Chapter Three. The Renaissance initiated the Change that is at the root of SF; SF and Fantasy writers naturally regard it with revealing shades of reverence.

Two further Alternate Histories, by Michael Moorcock and Chelsea Quinn Yarbro, examine the Renaissance from a related angle: the issue of another of its dualisms, that of idealism and realism. Both suggest that the period's idealism, however creditable, was an eidolon as misleading as those dismissed by Stableford. These novels articulate the transition from mediaevalism to the modern and the duty this imposed to acknowledge full secular reality, however unpleasant and compromising.

Like Stableford's victory of science over ignorance, the dialectic of virtue and vice in his fellow British writer Michael Moorcock's Gloriana, or The Unfulfill'd Queen (1978) (12) is triumphant and sweeping. Drawing upon Elizabethan history and Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene, Moorcock creates a Renaissance as fabulous and redemptive as Poul Anderson's, one capable of reconciling extreme opposites and so recognising its own nature.

Gloriana is in many ways the culmination of the dozens of novels making up Moorcock's 'Eternal Champion' Cycle. In the various sub-sequences of this Cycle, set across many parallel worlds in a Multiverse embracing countless Alternate Histories, various incarnations of a single

wandering warrior spirit, the Eternal Champion, fight elemental battles of some style but little subtlety. These adventures, which borrow contexts and motifs from many forms of popular fiction, have gradually imparted the moral that the struggle of Law and Chaos, the Multiverse's opposing principles, must be resolved in favour of neither. A compromise of Chaos's random fecundity and Law's sterile stability must be found, a difficult Golden Mean or Balance. That Balance is struck in Gloriana, after many vicissitudes; but the literalism of Moorcock's earlier heroic fantasies is moderated, so that Law and Chaos are replaced with subtler poles of virtue and vice, realism and romance, rendered with more delicacy than elsewhere in the story of the Eternal Champion. In Gloriana, the Champion is split into two halves, the Queen (Virtue) and Captain Quire (Vice), and the two must be rejoined, married.

The setting for Moorcock's alchemical marriage of vice and virtue is an alternate Renaissance England of ornate splendour, the Empire of Albion. It is essentially a realisation of all the most grandiose dream-images of the British Empire: this Albion was founded by exiles from Troy led by Brutus, as in the legendary History of the Kings of Britain by Geoffrey of Monmouth; its Queen, Gloriana, is an exaggerated version of Elizabeth I, presiding over a court of highly accomplished nobles and artists; its Empire, which includes Poland, Arabia, India, and America, is one upon which the sun never sets, globally dominant, a magnified reflection of Victoria's domain. But the primary dream of Albion Moorcock utilises is that of Edmund Spenser.

Spenser published the first three Books of The Faerie Queene in 1590, and the next three in 1596, not living to complete the projected twelve. His purpose in this long

allegorical poem was, in his own words, to 'fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline'; the epic's chief hero, a version of King Arthur, would through the Twelve Books become 'perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised', a perfection which the reader could find instructive(13). The six extant Books tell of the picaresque exploits of various paladins of the court of the Queen of Faerie, a geographically indefinite realm where virtues and vices acquire literal expression; each Book narrates the triumphant assumption or epitomisation of a Virtue, such as Holiness or Temperance, by a Knight, in the face of armed opposition and temptation by the Vices. The Faerie Queene, Gloriana, governs the circle of Knights; the British hero, Arthur, repeatedly intervenes in the action; Spenser is celebrating the virtues and glories of his England, his Gloriana representing Elizabeth I(14).

Moorcock modifies this design substantially. He acknowledges that his 'romance' 'does have some relation to The Faerie Queene' (G, 5); he retains much of Spenser's atmosphere of chivalry, his technique of allegory, some of his moral labels. His 'Gloriana' is ruler of Albion as Spenser's is of Faerie; he also has an Arthur (Captain Quire), a Duessa (one of Gloriana's daughters), a Una who acts as a wise moral guide (Gloriana's confidante, Una, Countess of Scaith). But such parallels are outweighed by departures. Moorcock is in fact repudiating Spenser's allegorical polarisation of Virtue and Vice; he is insisting on a dialectic of the two, a tempering of Gloriana's ideal world of chivalry with pragmatism. This dialectic has its climax in the marriage at the novel's end of Gloriana and Quire, the 'Moon of Romance' and the 'Sun of Reason', ideal virtue and pragmatic vice(G, 377). The narrative of Gloriana works a transformation on that

of The Faerie Queene: the allegory now is of Good (or Law, or Romance) accommodating Evil (or Chaos, or Realism).

In bringing about the clash and unification of these qualities, Moorcock shifts the terrain of allegory from Spenser's external landscapes of quest (which promoted the exercise of respectable, public virtues such as Courtesy, Chastity, and Justice) to an internal, private or psychological domain, the Queen's vast Palace. This edifice, almost a world in itself and showing the Gothic inspiration of Mervyn Peake's *Castle Gormenghast*, is emblematic of a human mind, the ruling mind of Albion, its open chambers a public or conscious level, its Walls and dungeons, filled with insane outcasts and concealed horrors, a private or unconscious level. The Queen, an idealised public figure, rules in state in the open; dreadful subversion, in the person of the scheming Captain Quire, lurks in the walls. For the mind and thus the realm to be healthy, the two parts must be integrated.

To make this convergence of opposites possible, Moorcock implants in both Virtue and Vice the seeds of the other. Ultimately, the Palace's hidden parts are the Queen's responsibility, the blame for their horrors hers; Quire, operating from those hidden places, is a realist, and imparts to the realm a needed Reason. The Queen, a radiant figure beloved by her subjects, seen as the guarantor of global peace, is on the surface the embodiment of Law. But her father, King Hern (Henry VIII, in essence), just as clearly represented Chaos, in his barbaric or 'cynical' tyranny (G, 300). His hereditary character lingers in Gloriana, for example in her secret seraglio, exposed and devastated late in the novel (G, 355-6). The Queen contains the potentials of Vice: towards

the end of Gloriana, she is temporarily tempted by Quire into abandoning her royal responsibilities through her infatuation with him, almost destroying her Empire. It emerges by stages that Gloriana's prosperous reign, like Elizabeth I's, has been based on espionage and assassination by her chief minister, Lord Montfallcon, an equivalent of the actual Lord Walsingham; Quire was one of his chief agents. Virtue and Order are public appearances, privately reliant on and subject to their opposites; Moorcock's's Gloriana, like her historical original Elizabeth I, is no absolute paragon.

Similar ambiguities are found on the side of Chaos or Vice. Captain Arturus Quire, superficially an amoral rake in the manner of Lord Byron, is the novel's agent of discord; first in the service of the Queen and then that of the Arab Caliph Hassan, he murders, manipulates, and intrigues, his task in the latter part of Gloriana being to advance Hassan's bid for the Queen's hand by sowing lethal dissension at her Court. But he acts more out of artistic delight than true malice; as he tells Lord Montfallcon, he manipulates life and truth to 'amplify' and 'define' his senses, he plays his own emotions 'with the skill and care of a musician' (G,147). He serves Hassan chiefly out of resentment at Montfallcon's belittling of his sense of artistic honour. He has much of the ideal and ordered in him: eloquence, artistry, an idealism as to the methods he uses. In any case, before changing sides, he was one of the agents employed by Montfallcon to prop up Gloriana's Golden Age of peace. Chaos or Vice, especially in inspired embodiments like Quire, can contain seeds of Law or Virtue.

Chaos and Law being thus compatible, Moorcock's plot brings them together in a traumatic climax of political breakdown and sexual confrontation, in which Quire rapes

Gloriana(G, 375-6), an action which, at last satisfying the Queen's 'unfulfill'd' desire for orgasm, is supposedly redemptive, symbolising idealistic Virtue's compromise with the necessary realism of Vice. (Significantly, Moorcock, responding to feminist criticism, revised this ending in the 1993 edition of Gloriana, replacing the rape with an eloquent affirmation of Gloriana's woman's rights.(15)) Now the symbolic marriage of Gloriana and Quire (Moorcock's version of Spenser's virtuous Prince Arthur) can occur, initiating, as Chapter Thirty-Five's heading declares, 'a New Age That Shall be Truly One of Golden Moderation with Romance and Reason in Balance at Last' (G, 377). Realism and Romance combine; after the marriage, 'Chivalry shall flourish again, but it shall be of a more practical order than before' (G, 377). Spenser's celebration of the Twelve Aristotelian Virtues has been subverted, rendered into an allegory of moral pragmatism.

Moorcock's purpose in this is perhaps to compel the Renaissance text he is appropriating to candour as to the true state of affairs in Elizabethan England and the world generally. Moorcock's theme is the balancing of Law and Chaos, the admission by each of the necessary agency in the entirety of things of the other. Spenser's England proclaimed the ideal of the Virgin Queen and a virtuous Protestant Kingdom in patriotic self-eulogies like Spenser's. Moorcock's Albion is ruled by a Queen who is no virgin, who has many bastard children, who moans at night of her unfulfilment, her inability to achieve orgasm(G, 14). Her courtiers freely conduct amours; Lord Ingieborough is an admitted pederast(G, 281). Gloriana's espionage service, in the persons of Montfallcon and Quire, is candidly amoral. Such things, however well disguised, were realities in Spenser's England also. Moorcock's imaginary Renaissance is ideal only in

appearance, and is forced to admit its reliance on the real; so, Moorcock implies, should the often idealised historical Renaissance, that it may be better known and more sincerely celebrated. The Renaissance was capable of miracles of dialectical reconciliation, as reflected in the argument of Gloriana; this was its intellectual ideal; cannot the Renaissance (and our world generally) include reality, however unpalatable, in its synthesis of things?

The American fantasist Chelsea Quinn Yarbro embraces both Moorcock's metafictional technique and his critique of Renaissance idealism in her fantasy novel Ariosto (1980) (16). Like Moorcock, she appropriates a chivalric romance written in the Sixteenth Century, and subjects it to scrutiny by realism. Her chosen text is Orlando Furioso (final text 1532) by the Italian poet Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533). This epic, like The Faerie Queene, is a grand narrative of knightly heroism; it is set against the background of warfare between Christians and pagans in early mediaeval France, and details the exploits of Orlando and his passion for his lady Angelica (17). Like Moorcock, Yarbro rewrites the material of the original romance to reflect ironic doubt about the viability of chivalrous ideals; but unlike Gloriana, Ariosto allows the Renaissance poet to parody a direct voice, as he is the novel's protagonist.

Yarbro's approach to Renaissance idealism is sympathetic but ruthless: she applauds its humanity and heroism, and then deconstructs it. This is achieved through two interleaved Alternate Histories, in each of which Ariosto is prominently placed; they can be seen as reflections of the actual Ariosto's two careers, his reluctant life as a courtier and his preferred role as poet and dreamer. The first thread of Ariosto, 'La Realta', is broadly

realistic, presenting the triumph of the civic spirit of the Italian Renaissance; the city states of Sixteenth Century Italy have resisted the temptations of factional division, holding off the Spanish and French and so preventing the Hapsburg-Valois Wars, which in our history devastated the peninsula. A powerful federation of cities, Italia Federata, has been formed, sovereign and powerful as the spiritual and cultural centre of Europe. The ideal of the common good has triumphed over the vendettas of Medicis and Borgias, of Venetians and Genoese. Ariosto's patron in 'La Realta', Damiano, the Italian Primario, is an apparently ideal ruler, humane, responsible, a symbol of unity. 'La Realta' makes the political hopes of Ariosto's Italy concrete.

Ariosto's second thread, 'La Fantasia', extracts its hopeful perspective from Ariosto's poetry, illustrating the more fanciful dreams of his age. Because the Italy of 'La Realta' is more powerful than it was in our history, its version of Ludovico Ariosto is able to avoid the nostalgic setting of Orlando Furioso, locating his equivalent epic in the New World, which seems open to Italian colonisation. 'La Fantasia' is that epic; more personal than Orlando Furioso because it seems capable of fulfilment in Ariosto's own future, this tale makes an imaginary Lodovico a knightly hero, an Orlando figure fighting for good and battling the enemies of God. He is not merely an ideal self-image of Ariosto; the fact that he fights in America is highly significant.

Yarbro is commenting upon Renaissance European attitudes towards the New World. Idealists saw it as the new Eden, where innocence yet persisted and all could be built anew; purposefully, Thomas More, the author of Utopia (1518), is introduced as a character in 'La Realta' (A, 30), his vision - perhaps ironic - of a perfect

society in the Americas informing Yarbro's text. 'La Fantasia' idealises the Red Indians in accordance with Ariosto's preconceptions, making their towns well-built cities, their rulers kings of the European kind, and their warriors, such as Falcone, men of courtly speech and knightly honour. In the polite dialogues of Lodovico, Falcone, and the Indian chieftains, in their sustained proofs to each other of courage and honourable devotion, Yarbro sums up the idealism of imagination, which in this Sixteenth Century can populate unknown regions with European and Christian constructs, universalising Ariosto's notions of right and virtue. This optimistic but ethnocentric impulse makes America a locale for romance, a place where great deeds can at last be done.

Yarbro offers in 'La Realta' and 'La Fantasia' two ideal worlds, the second a fantasy of the first and therefore doubly wishful. They are the Old and the New World as wished for at the time, the outcome of good intentions, what *should* have been. But idealism is now realistically examined, and both worlds shatter. In 'La Realta', conspiracies by Cardinal Cosimo de Medici and King Henry VIII, as well as the brutal realities of politics in the age of Machiavelli, result in the gradual disintegration of the Primario Damiano's domestic peace, and then of Italia Federata itself; in the end, Damiano is murdered, and Ariosto with him. They were too trusting of their enemies. Yarbro's implication is that no noble experiment can obstruct historical inevitability; the fragmentation of Italy, in economic decline in any case, had to occur, as did the rise of new nation states like Henry VIII's England, independent of the Papacy and so of Italy. Yarbro deconstructs her own Alternate History; its outcome is much like that of our own Renaissance, Ariosto even dying in the same year as here.

Utopian alternatives to our world collapse like the dreams they are. As the Ariosto of 'La Realta' discovers that the assumptions upon which he has been grounding 'La Fantasia' - Italian involvement in America on an ambitious scale, a Nuova Genova there of palazzos and a signory - are false, that the involvement is tentative and the town a mere trading post, his disillusionment shows in his epic. That epic suffers the same collapse as Italia Federata; dreadful 'warriors of frost and flint' are encountered, and in the end Lodovico suicidally charges the inhuman enemy (A, 340), a gesture summing up the brave futility of chivalric ideals. 'La Fantasia' trails away in the final thoughts of Ariosto (fatally wounded by the plotters in 'La Realta'), the last consoling dreams of a defeated and dying man (A, 360-1).

Yarbro doubly dismisses Renaissance idealism, as Ariosto and his alter ego Lodovico fail before the amoral pragmatism of Cosimo de Medici and the evil wizard Anatreccacciatore. Both 'La Realta' and 'La Fantasia' end abruptly, suggesting dreams disappointingly truncated. Yarbro perhaps suggests the passing of the chivalrous naivete of mediaevalism, the traumatic birth of what the Renaissance after all delivered, the modern age of secular pragmatism. Her novel is a parable of the inevitability of the cynical present.

The five Alternate Histories discussed in this section all view the Renaissance as the origin of modern secular reality; by returning to it, they can celebrate or condemn the present in embryo. The Renaissance's element of constancy, mediaeval stability and idealism, so lacking in the Twentieth Century, is regarded with genuine nostalgia only by Anderson, although it is respected to some degree by Moorcock and Yarbro; it is abandoned or modified by all five authors, as Twentieth

Century complexities inevitably demand. The Renaissance's other component, Progress, leads to the present; it is acknowledged by all five authors as an ancestral precondition, but is interrogated searchingly by all the writers excepting Stableford. That interrogation is implicitly one of the Twentieth Century also, of its lack of romantic honour, of the arduousness of its Progress, of its vice, of its disillusioning realism. The Renaissance mirrors the flaws of the late Twentieth Century; in the hands of the 'Steampunk' authors, the Victorian period does the same.

5.3 The Victorian Age: Steampunk Iterations

The Renaissance was a crucible of Progress, and so a natural territory for SF and Fantasy writers; the Victorian and Edwardian period appeals to them for similar but more complex reasons. It, like the Renaissance, was a period of rapid social, technological, and ideological change; the Industrial Revolution and the global extension of capitalism through Imperialism altered the world in ways dramatic and traumatic, providing an abundance of material for speculative reworking. The results of such reworking have emerged since the 1970s in the 'Steampunk' subgenre, which brings Postmodernism to bear on the Gothicism and Classical Realism of the 'the Age of Steam', the Nineteenth Century, permitting a subversive and exuberant reinterpretation of the hundred years before 1914. In the process, the concerns of the late Twentieth Century frequently find ironic voice.

Four specific features of the Victorian period engage the attention of Steampunk authors. The first is, as intimated, the Industrial Revolution; dramatic technological innovation and its human cost often feature in Steampunk novels, together with a fascination with the

capability of Nineteenth Century scientists to make breakthroughs and invent new technologies as individuals, employing their own private resources. Eccentric but brilliant scientists abound in Steampunk narratives, portrayed with irony. A second and related appeal of the Nineteenth Century is Imperialism, which can both be satirised as egotistical greed and used as a device to open exotic vistas of adventure. A third Victorian characteristic is the era's apparent complacency, its belief in its own stability and moral rectitude; subversive parody of this attitude can generate powerful ironies, discrepancies between public propriety and concealed depravity. Finally, the Nineteenth Century saw the origins of mass popular fiction, including the first Scientific Romances; metafictional pastiches of these allow SF writers to revisit ancestral territory and examine the foundations of their own genre. Steampunk novels are inherently recursive, nostalgic and ironic about the motives for that nostalgia.

The characteristic locale of Steampunk novels is London, the centre of the Victorian drama. John Clute argues that the vast, swarming metropolis of squalidly exotic crime and comfortable gentlemen's clubs envisioned by such writers as Tim Powers is a synthesis of representations of the British capital by Charles Dickens and by successor authors such as G.K. Chesterton and Arthur Conan Doyle. In Clute's view, Dickens contributes to Steampunk London its multitudinous grotesquerie, its lurid Gothicism and its menacing eccentrics; but his pervading moral concern is abandoned, as this London must serve as a venue for timeless, heedless adventure, and so the less authentic but more picturesque and nostalgic London of Chesterton's fantasies and of Sherlock Holmes tempers Dickens's social outrage. What amounts to a capitulation to the complacency of theodicy is a

prerequisite for Steampunk's ludic extravagance(18). But given that some Steampunk novels, such as those of William Gibson and Bruce Sterling, Michael Moorcock, Brian Stableford, and Stephen Baxter, evince a Dickensian seriousness of theme, that 'capitulation' can rather be viewed as an inevitable *compromise* between Victorian moral earnestness and the sardonic revisionist appraisal of the past endemic to Steampunk as a form of Postmodernist pastiche; the earnestness can persist, but only in altered form, through the medium of the pastiche.

The irreverent contemporary ethos of 'punk' links Steampunk with Cyberpunk. Christine Kenyon Jones, although apparently unaware of the 'Steampunk' label, has verified the connection between the Postmodernism of the Cyberpunk subgenre and the subversive appropriation of biography in a number of Steampunk novels. Identifying works by Brian Aldiss, Tim Powers, Tom Holland, and others as 'Romantic biofictions' because of their fantastic reworking of the lives of Romantic poets such as Lord Byron, Kenyon Jones points out that although the supposed historical and existential stability of the Nineteenth Century is the antithesis of Cyberpunk's accelerated disintegration and cyborgising of human identity, Steampunk biofictions have much in common with Cyberpunk philosophically and technically. Both are subgenres that emerged in the 1980s and that explore the 'organisation' and 'disorganisation' of the self; both exemplify Frederick Jameson's definition of Postmodernism as a deliberately affectless and fragmentary paradigm of pastiche. Cyberpunk deconstructs identity and reassembles it in cybernetic collages; Steampunk biofiction deconstructs superficially reliable Nineteenth Century biography, reassembling it in new forms, ones dissonant with any Victorian assumptions of psychological stability. In Tim Powers's hands, the Romantic poets

become collages or cyphers of the supernatural, even as the surface facts of their biographies remain constant.(19) This helps to explain why Cyberpunk writers like William Gibson, Bruce Sterling, Rudy Rucker, and Neal Stephenson have written Steampunk also. If Kenyon Jones's argument is extended to the whole of Steampunk, it can be seen that Steampunk writers systematically appropriate the wider history and literature of the Victorian age, creating pastiches which remake that period in ironically distorted images of itself, depriving it of history's usual certainty. The result can be nostalgic adventure or ironic satire; but in every case the spirit of the late Twentieth Century, a deconstructive revisionary lightness, is evident.

With these characteristics of the subgenre identified, the remainder of this Section examines a wide range of Steampunk novels, confirming the consistency of their dissection of their chosen era. First, several prototypical Steampunk novels are briefly assessed, to establish the subgenre's founding impulse. Then, a major representative text, The Difference Engine by Gibson and Sterling, is analysed, demonstrating the full range of Steampunk techniques and concerns as applied to metafictional Alternate History. Ten further texts are surveyed to reveal variations upon and extensions of the methods of The Difference Engine; and finally, mention is made of Steampunk's Secret Histories, which complement its Alternate Histories.

Steampunk's deconstructive interest in the Nineteenth Century was probably inspired in part by recursive Scientific Romances written by British authors as the New Wave gave way to Romantic nostalgia in the 1970s. In Frankenstein Unbound(1973) (20), Brian Aldiss returned, through the agency of a time-travelling protagonist, to

the time of Mary Shelley and to the fictional world of her seminal Gothic SF novel Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus (1818). Although he was primarily interested in celebrating Mary Shelley and her text, Aldiss did subversively mingle the historical and the fictional, allowing Joseph Bodenland to meet both author and Monster, as David Wingrove points out (21). The basis for critical pastiche was also laid by Michael Moorcock in his trilogy The Dancers at the End of Time (1972-6) (22), which alternated between a decadent far future mirroring the fin-de-siecle literature of the 1890s and a late Victorian England where H.G. Wells is encountered; Wells's Time Traveller is a minor character. Moorcock pastiches Victorian novels of manners in the format and style of these novels, showing how readily the apparatus of SF can be married to such period literature. In his The Space Machine (1976) (23), subtitled 'A Scientific Romance', Christopher Priest mingled Wells's The Time Machine and The War of the Worlds, satirising the coy morality of Victorian literature even as he revisited the excitement of the Martian invasion. These works established a template for Steampunk, of nostalgic pastiche and critical dialogue with the past; that template's development in many later works of Alternate History can now be discussed.

The most ambitious Steampunk Alternate History, and the one which most rigorously interrogates the Victorian era, is The Difference Engine (1990), by William Gibson and Bruce Sterling (24). The fact that the two foremost Cyberpunk writers produced this text confirms Steampunk's correspondence with Cyberpunk; and the resemblances between the two subgenres, as specified by Kenyon Jones, are fully borne out by the novel. Because The Difference Engine is a set of iterations by an Artificial Intelligence coming to full consciousness, its characters

are in a real sense simulations, figures of Virtual Reality. The past is radically remade by Gibson and Sterling, both through their conceit of a computer narrating the history that has generated it and through the recasting of Victorian England as an Alternate-Historical dystopia. The Difference Engine is a subversive remodelling of the Nineteenth Century, a multi-levelled scrutiny of the period's 'complacent' view of history and of itself. The various levels of this onslaught deserve detailed attention.

On the level of direct historical modification, Gibson and Sterling produce a dystopia out of the Progressive dreams of Victorian industrialists and Utilitarians. Two major alterations of history are implied: the inventor Charles Babbage, who in fact designed, but did not build, primitive computers in the 1830s, succeeds in constructing such a device (DE, 356); and the Tory regime which repressively ruled Britain in the years following the defeat of Napoleon is brought to an end not through Whig Reform but through a revolution by Industrial Radicals, who wish to harness technology to its 'beneficial' ultimate (DE, 357-362). The outcome is an exaggerated Industrial Revolution; the England of 1855 has undergone ruthless historical acceleration, so that it has motorised transport fifty years early, computers a century before their time; London is a polluted megalopolis; the beginnings of Twentieth Century totalitarianism are prematurely evident in a government which rules through public terror (as in the hanging of Luddites like Walter Gerard) and covert repression (as in the secret police activities of Laurence Oliphant). Dreams of Progress have become nightmares.

This dystopia threatens to become worse, to equal and surpass Twentieth Century parallels. Oliphant proposes to

the novel's main character, Edward Mallory, that the calculating Engines made possible by Babbage might allow universal surveillance, an examination of society of 'a wholly novel precision and intensity' (DE,97). The Government will in due course know all, control all; this is taken nearer fruition in later discussions between Oliphant and the 'kinotropist' John Keats (DE,371-2). Furthermore, this version of the British Empire is more dominant than in our history, without rivals; it has succeeded in dividing one potential enemy, the United States, into at least five pieces (the Union, the Confederacy, Texas, and California (DE,250), as well as the New York Commune), and with Babbage's Engines, its technological supremacy is even greater than that historically enjoyed by Victoria's Britain. This British Empire defeats the Russians in the Crimea, and the Indian Mutineers, with 'mortar-organs' of a type more likely to be found in the 1940s (DE,242-3). The fact that this Britain is led by Lord Byron as Prime Minister, that Keats assists the rise of its police regime, and that its leading ministers are industrialists like Brunel and Colgate, suggests that industrialism and Utilitarianism have achieved too much power, that they have corrupted Romanticism and themselves, replacing utopia with dystopia. Gibson and Sterling question the humanity and the political wisdom of the attitudes of Victoria's industrial capitalist Britain.

This dystopian prospect is strengthened by The Difference Engine's metafictional strategy. This involves a major literary borrowing and major literary omissions, which work to the same effect. Various of the novel's characters are appropriated from Sybil: or the Two Nations (1845), by Benjamin Disraeli (25), as John Clute observes (26). The effect is to remove any possibility of an alternative to Byron's regime. The actual Disraeli,

novelist and later Conservative Prime Minister in the 1870s (but reduced to an ordinary journalist in The Difference Engine), was in the 1840s a leading member of the Tory 'Young England' faction, which, in opposition to the more realistic ideology of Robert Peel, urged a vision of a paternal, pastoral, simpler England. This would be ruled by a benevolent aristocracy, meeting the needs of the lower classes through generosity and patronage; heroic altruism by the privileged would prevent any danger of proletarian revolution. Disraeli preached the 'Young England' programme of benign hierarchy in three novels, including Sybil (27); by inverting the events and values of Disraeli's text, Gibson and Sterling obliterate the very concept of a milder, unindustrialised England.

Their deflation of Sybil is ruthless, as seen in the 'First Iteration', 'The Angel of Goliad'. In Sybil, the hero, Charles Egremont, is an aristocrat who comes to sympathise with the protesting Chartists and the common people; in The Difference Engine, he remains a snob, and betrays Sybil's father, the Chartist agitator Walter Gerard, to his death. In Sybil, Sybil Gerard herself is the eventual bride of Egremont; in The Difference Engine, she is abandoned by him, forced into whoredom. In Sybil, Mick Radley is the standard good-hearted Cockney; in The Difference Engine, he is a somewhat cynical criminal, Sybil's patron in her whoredom. No benign sympathy between the classes can produce social harmony in the Britain of Byron and Babbage. But this is not textually emphasised simply in order to discredit Disraeli. While they are condescending about Disraeli's nostalgic 'Merry England'-style utopianism, Gibson and Sterling in the main present the alternative, of a heartless dystopia, as far worse; the characters of Sybil were far happier as Disraeli conceived them. The point rather is that this is

a totalitarian Britain. John Clute complains that the novel has no moral centre, no Charles Dickens to present an humane response to its tyranny(28); but this is simply the authors' deliberate literary omission, their 'suppression' of Victorianism's conscience, Disraelian or Dickensian, in order to present Victorian realities in a more scathing, unredressed form, and in order to imply that their version of Victorian England's Government brooks no dissent. In their world, Disraeli is only a reporter, Dickens does not exist, Shelley has been 'chained away' as an agitator(DE,362), Wilkie Collins is a Luddite dissident rather than a writer, and soon violently defeated(DE,287), Byron and Keats are a part of the regime, Coleridge and Wordsworth head a utopian commune far away in the Americas(DE,373). Without a contradictory voice, the Artificial Intelligence iterating The Difference Engine has a total, inhuman, sway; the Industrial Revolution is revealed in all its terror.

The fact that the entire text is a series of iterations signals the next stage of the assault on Victorianism by Gibson and Sterling. As the novel gradually makes clear, an Artificial Intelligence in the 1991 of The Difference Engine's history is the book's 'narratron', in Sterling's words 'telling itself a novel as it studies its own origins' (29). This is the process of its coming to full consciousness: the novel, Gibson states, is 'a long self-iteration as this thing attempts to boot itself up, which it does in the final exclamation point' (where it can at last utter the pronoun 'I', DE,383) (30). All of the text's artifacts and characters are, then, fragments of data, assessed by the computer's 'All-Seeing Eye' and assimilated into its new monolithic Self. Oliphant's scheme for universal public surveillance has evolved into an all-monitoring cybernetic successor to humanity, an

ultimate Frankenstein's Monster. The implications of this for ideas of Victorian solidity and stability are shattering.

As in their Cyberpunk novels, Gibson and Sterling are fragmenting people and things into quanta of information that can then be radically reassembled (in this case, into the narratron). This is indicated by their technique of pastiche: as they have stated, they borrowed countless fragments of Victoriana and period prose in writing The Difference Engine, incorporating and modifying them, or, as they put it, deboning Victoriana and giving it 'a new skeleton and a different set', even though 'it still smells the same' (31). The outward aspect may remain, but a transformation has occurred, the elements have been rearranged. This Postmodern ease of fragmentation and alteration implies that all Victorian ideas of reliable identity, of moral constancy, of abiding institutions, are worthless. In the world created by Gibson and Sterling, all signs are altered in valency: Byron turns from rake into great leader; the YMCA becomes the Young Men's Agnostic Association; the Derby is not a horse race but a motor race. This is ambiguous, however: it undermines the arrogant certainties that resulted in Victorian excesses like industrialism, Imperialism, and social hypocrisy; but it also warns against the very relativism and absence of existential centre to which those excesses can (and in The Difference Engine do) ultimately lead. The device of the narratron allows the subversion of Victorian complacency; but the narratron also symbolises the amoral totalitarianism which springs from and replaces that complacency.

The narratron is the product of a complex plot which amounts to a comprehensive denunciation of the Victorian positivism which encouraged ruthless advocacy of

industrial progress. Gibson specifies one target of the text as the Nineteenth Century 'Whig conception of history, which is that history is a process that leads to us, the crown of creation' (32). This complacency of outlook is theodicy, rejected by Sterling because it disregards the views of those not favoured by the status quo (33). The Difference Engine debunks linear Whiggism partly by pointing out that the Victorian Age was nothing final, only a stage of social evolution (in this case on the road to the narratron) and partly by emphasising the governance of history by contingency, chaos.

The role of contingency in the novel is central. Instead of historical inevitability, a volatile quantum uncertainty shapes events. Thus, Alternate History is possible: Babbage can build his calculating engines, Byron's wife can drive him from poetry into radical politics (DE, 361). The world can change, no destiny prevails. More specifically, Mallory, the protagonist of Iterations Two to Four, is a believer in evolutionary Catastrophism, the doctrine that change occurs through sudden, traumatic interruptions of the world's equilibrium. Thus, he believes that the dinosaurs died out because of a great cometary impact (as probably did happen): 'the mighty Dinosauria, adapted to a world now shattered, fell in massed extinction, and the leaping machineries of Evolution were loosed in chaos, to repopulate the stricken earth with strange new orders of being' (DE, 215). The 'leaping machineries' of course suggest the Babbage Engines, the precursors in mechanical evolution of the narratron. Catastrophism implies that any stable system can collapse at any time, through unforeseen, chaotic trends. The logic and imagery of this model of contingency pervade the text. In due course, in the Fourth Iteration, the theory's validity is shown: Lord Byron's death, a random happening, combines with

sweltering heat, wildcat strikes, and the arrival of American and other radicals to spark a revolutionary uprising in London, which is soon crushed, owing to its own chaotic, poorly co-ordinated nature. Gibson and Sterling, demonstrating the prevalence of contingency, thoroughly rebut simple teleological Whiggism.

But the fact of the revolt's suppression, along with the novel's general darkness of implication, indicates a sinister corollary: that the victory of the Industrial Radical regime is inevitable. The plot of The Difference Engine, which meanders, seemingly chaotically, through incidents in the lives of various characters, is the path the narratron's All-Seeing Eye follows as it deduces its own origin. The apparent randomness of this route - through the life of Sybil Gerard as a London whore, then via an intrigue surrounding the 'Texian' exile Sam Houston, then through the confrontations of Edward Mallory with the anti-technological Luddites of Captain Swing on Derby Day and during the London riots, finally by way of the efforts of Laurence Oliphant to suppress remaining revolutionary activity - is only apparent. Ada, the daughter of Lord Byron, a scientific genius known as 'The Queen of Engines', has designed a Modus, 'a gambling-system, a secret trick of mathematical Enginery, to defeat the oddsmakers' (DE,172). Because this punch-card programme, runnable on Babbage's computing Engines, permits control of Chance, it is an answer to contingency; via it, an outcome can be certainly predicted. The Modus is also the seed that, spreading like a virus in the Victorian computers, will give rise to the narratron in 1991. The narratron is inevitable, the single exception to contingency. The plot of The Difference Engine, then, traces the movements of the Modus through various hands, some hostile to its purpose, some unconscious of it, until Oliphant can put it to

work, ensuring the continuation of the Industrial Radical regime and the evolution of its ultimate expression, the narratron. Gibson and Sterling structure their novel along the lines of Chaos Theory, which supposes an apparent chaos, or contingency, concealing predictable patterns, those patterns the product of mysterious 'strange attractors'. The Modus is such an organising attractor, and those who control it can control history. With the Modus, the side of the Government, of the narratron, can defeat any foreign or revolutionary challenge; through their technology of surveillance (ultimately the All-Seeing Eye) they can, increasingly, detect any hostile tendency as it starts; theirs is an ultimate totalitarianism. The incestuous historical engineering by the 'Otherhood' in John Crowley's 'Great Work of Time' (34) is recalled, and the conclusions are similar.

The effect of this reasoning is ambiguous. Gibson and Sterling rebut Whiggist notions of inevitable theodicy, but imply also that those notions, if held for long by the powerful, can become true. This message is intended to apply to the present: Sterling remarks that The Difference Engine is 'our disease projected onto a lab animal of the 19th century', that if we watch the 'symptoms', we will 'understand what's happening to us' (35). The Victorians were the short-term outcome of the Industrial Revolution, while we are the longer-term product. Gibson and Sterling displace present realities, of computers, pollution, political ferment, and urban overpopulation, to 1855, and what ensues there, by implication, is happening here also. Perhaps the narratron and other totalitarian monsters await, or exist already, in subtler forms, such as bureaucratic government and public surveillance systems.

But the contemporary implications of The Difference Engine are more complexly sinister than any such simple warning. Gibson and Sterling are in fact detailing the progress of tyranny, from earlier forms based upon ignorance to new forms based on the use and control of information. Tyrannies before the computer age depended on the absence of information, ensuring the ignorance of their populaces and ruling through uncomplicated propaganda and coercion. Then arose the Postmodern Age, with its far-flung and open information society, with its subversive flux of meanings, with its disintegrative contingency of cause and effect, a general guarantee of freedom. But the threat now arises that, with sufficient power to amass and control information, governments or corporations can exploit the data-rich chaos of the Postmodern Age to impose a new, more comprehensive tyranny (as the Industrial Radicals use their own intelligence capabilities, and the disorganisation of Captain Swing's rebels, to suppress his revolt), replacing that chaos with certainties of their own choosing. The Difference Engine traces the emergence of such a tyranny, one which can see all and control all, finally realising the Orwellian nightmare of complete dictatorship. Like many Cyberpunk novels, The Difference Engine warningly reveals the deep dystopian potentials of the present in the illuminating context of another time.

Other Steampunk Alternate Histories follow a variety of strategies. Two, by Rudy Rucker and Paul di Filippo, do on a larger scale what Gibson and Sterling do to the lives of Nineteenth Century authors and public figures, subversively rearranging their biographies. A novel by Colin Greenland appropriates the Dickensian Bildungsroman as a model for pseudo-Victorian space opera. Michael Moorcock and Stephen Baxter write pastiches of the Scientific Romance, ironising its escapism and its

earnestness. Kim Newman reassembles Victorian history out of innumerable fragments of biography, popular literature, and film. These different approaches reveal the subgenre's full range of ironic homage.

In his pastiche novel The Hollow Earth (1990), the American Cyberpunk author Rudy Rucker, who normally writes mathematical narratives showing Beatnik influence, considers the life and works of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) with a sardonic symmetry. Rucker paradoxically assails conventional biography on two levels: his alternate version of Poe, while still a writer and recognisably similar to our Poe, undergoes external experiences unlike those in our world, implying that the surface details of biography are mutable and of little importance; and this other Poe encounters his fantasies in physical form, suggesting that psychoanalytic biography too obsessively looks inside the mind, neglecting essential external influences. Both forms of analysis are unreliable, and cannot even compensate by falling back on each other. Yet The Hollow Earth employs a symbolism that separates the objective and subjective worlds; with biography chastened, Rucker allows it some consolation, by retaining its categories. He employs them anarchically, however.

The division between the objective and the subjective (although never very reliable) is signified by Rucker in two ways. First, there is the novel's narrative strategy, which contrasts an apparently objective narrator, Mason Reynolds, with his psychotically subjective companion, Eddie Poe. Mason is a conventional extrovert, whose story, starting on his family's Virginia farm in the 1830s, is an echo of Tom Sawyer's; Eddie Poe, like a morbidly literate and introverted Huckleberry Finn, is the wayward influence, leading Mason into adventures of

an alarming nature. These adventures signal the text's second, and entirely literal, distinction of the subjective and the objective: via a balloon journey which echoes the real Poe's 'The Balloon Hoax' (1844), Eddie Poe takes Mason into the interior of the Earth, which in Rucker's universe is hollow, a further metafictional allusion, this time to Poe's The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket (1838). Rucker's Earth is repeatedly likened to a skull; entering it takes one from the objective external world into a fantastical, subjective inner one.

This interior of the Hollow Earth, known as Htrae in the mirror-mode of Samuel Butler's Erewhon (1872), is an escapist fantasy world, in which the absence of gravity signifies the absence of realistic constants. It is the literalised source of many of Poe's dream images, such as the Conqueror Worm; but its beautiful women, splendid telepathic gods, savage tribes, and floating seas are a general reservoir of fantastic archetypes, such as were later used by Edgar Rice Burroughs, H. Rider Haggard, and A. Merritt. With his characteristic paradoxical iconoclasm, Rucker affirms and debunks psychoanalytic biography, by making unconscious elements verifiable, but too much so to be merely subjective. He employs the Hollow Earth against factual biography also: when Eddie Poe and Mason pass between the universes and enter our world, their pigmentation is inverted, they become black, and are taken for escaped slaves (HE, 251). Edgar Poe, the Southern literary gentleman, becomes what his region most despised. If mere skin colour can alter entirely what a person is and how he is treated, all biographical preconceptions of individual uniqueness and significance die. And Rucker, having satirised the world of fantasy in Htrae, proclaims the socially unjust real world to be little better. The inner and outer universes of the

Victorian Age, and their literary and biographical representations, have been sardonically, if shallowly, interrogated.

Another American author, Paul Di Filippo, engages in similar irreverent biographical critique in his novella cycle The Steampunk Trilogy (1995) (37). An adept Postmodernist fabulator, Di Filippo characteristically combines eclectic ideas and textual fragments to bizarre ironic effect; his alternate Victorian Age is so constructed. It is filled with unusual associations of famous names and concepts, the suggestion again being that conventional biography is a convenient structuring of 'facts' that in truth were contingent, variable. Borrowing the eccentric scientists and some of the style of the more ordinary Scientific Romances, the novella 'Victoria' describes experiments in the generation of giant newts with a human appearance; one such, a harmlessly promiscuous creature, takes the place of Queen Victoria early in the latter's reign and retains the throne, suggesting that the symbol of the age, its chief moral guide, might have been regal and puritanical only in appearance. 'Hottentots' demolishes Nineteenth Century racism by presenting the anti-Darwinian Swiss-born naturalist and racial theorist, Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), with a happily-married and very articulate Afrikaner-Hottentot couple, who lead him into adventures satirically ridiculing racially-based fantasies such as those of H.P. Lovecraft. The final novella, 'Walt and Emily', in slightly more serious vein, takes Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman through a love affair and a journey into a psychic realm known as 'Summerland', in which their male and female essences, incompatible in the real world, can find a dream-union. The prose throughout draws on their respective bodies of poetry, so that their lives are rewritten in words authentically theirs. Like

Rucker, Di Filippo mingles real and imaginary history, the biographical and imaginative lives of his subjects, in his biofictions; outer and inner Victorianism are satirically examined, lightly but revealingly.

A novel which borrows the tone of the Victorian Age, but which makes no specific reference to its luminaries, is the baroque space opera Harm's Way (1993) (38), by the British writer Colin Greenland. Greenland's text is both a homage to the Victorian Bildungsroman and a satire upon it. The novel is set in an alternate British Empire which spans the Solar System; the literal existence of the tangible medium of the Aether in space allows sailing ships to travel between the planets. This Empire, although it is exotic in conception, is a precise image of Victoria's. A familiar air of missionary earnestness is prevalent. Spaceships, as indicated, are similar to the sailing vessels of the Nineteenth Century. Social injustice, recalling that described by Dickens, persists. Imperialism continues, as the French win influence on a backward Mars and the Union Jack is planted on far moons. Aliens make this Solar System as polyglot as the historical British Empire. Greenland retains the splendours and hypocrisies of that Empire, in a careful balance, as he does in the form of his narrative. That narrative is explicitly Victorian, modelled on the Dickensian Bildungsroman: a young girl, Sophie Farthing, leaves her home on a space station known as the Aeyrie, undergoes maturing and dangerous experiences on the Earth, the Moon, Mars, and among the outer planets, discovers her true identity, and enters the adult estate. Greenland's style is a direct pastiche of sentimental Victorian prose: 'Oh Reader, how can I explain? Though the hills and fields of Britain were vast to me, and the Earth herself more vast; yet London seemed vaster than all.' (HW, 100) Yet Greenland does critique his model: he

replaces the standard hero of the Bildungsroman with a heroine of equal resourcefulness, in a characteristic gesture to feminism; and the outcome of Sophie's quest for her true parents reveals her father as a murderous ogre, whom she kills, a negation of the happy reunions of the typical Victorian sentimental novel. By making the Victorian Empire greater and more lasting, and by paying tribute to its literary forms, Greenland shows affection for the era; but his retention of its injustices and his rejection of its sexism and painful sentiment ironise and condemn it also.

Other Steampunk novels are concerned less with the lives and literature of the Victorian elite than with SF's ancestral texts, the Scientific Romances (39). Two British writers, Michael Moorcock and Stephen Baxter, have repeatedly written parodic homages to this set of forerunner texts: Moorcock in order to scrutinise and explode Edwardian utopias, and Baxter in order to expand upon the ominous hints of H. G. Wells.

Although Moorcock's 'Oswald Bastable' novels appeared between 1971 and 1981, and so are more forerunners of Steampunk than central examples of it, they are characteristic of how the subgenre was to develop, employing pastiche and Alternate History to consider ironically the utopian expectations of the years between Victoria's death and the First World War. In The Warlord of the Air (1971), The Land Leviathan (1974), and The Steel Tsar (1981) (40), Moorcock expatiates on two of his recurrent concerns: past utopias, and the necessity of the abandonment of messianism. These subjects are linked, for the utopias examined, whether capitalist or socialist, are embodiments of the false hopes, the moral capitulations and mass abdications of responsibility, which allow messianism to flourish. This messianic

syndrome is seen by Moorcock as the root of the horrifying conflicts and dictatorships of the Twentieth Century: it occasioned Nazism, Stalinism, Maoism, their wars and purges. Early Twentieth Century Scientific Romances frequently incorporated utopian schemes, sometimes ones of continued Imperial security, sometimes ones of anarchic breakdown and the construction of improved societies in the ensuing vacuum. To subvert these conflicting dreams, the origin of messianism and war, Moorcock adopts the styles and voices of the texts that expressed them; he gives each of several utopian visions an alternate world in which it is literally realised; then he brings forward the limitations and dark corollaries of each utopia, shattering it. Only in the final volume is this pattern at all modified.

Oswald Bastable is Moorcock's adult version of the boy whose more innocent, comic adventures were the topic of three turn-of-the-century children's books by E. Nesbit(41). Now that he is grown up, he must enter the Twentieth Century, witnessing its varied horrors. Like most of Moorcock's heroes, he is an incarnation of the Eternal Champion, who wanders an infinity of parallel worlds, part Wandering Jew expiating an ancient guilt, part Christ-figure taking the burdens of these worlds upon his shoulders. Bastable himself visits a succession of Twentieth Centuries, tracing the origins of the Century's syndrome of conflict. In each timeline a ruling utopia excludes a large percentage of humanity; a messiah arises who proposes a counter-utopia; the conflict of visions means catastrophic war. Hiroshima becomes a symbol of the results; in two worlds it is bombed in the name of ideal socialism, ironically beginning wars instead of ending them. Bastable acts as historian of all this, sending memoirs of his experiences in each timeline to the Trilogy's 'editor', Michael Moorcock, or to his

grandfather, allowing our world a salutary glimpse of its alternatives.

Bastable is indicative of both the problem Moorcock discusses and its solution. His initial character is that of a stoical, stiff-upper-lipped, authority-respecting English soldier, the cause and instrument of Imperialism. He will stand by whatever the elite declares to be utopian. As he discovers different, wider perspectives, he can acquire instead a new responsibility, a new, redeeming sympathy and insight. With knowledge of several worlds, he can realise by the end of The Steel Tsar that the answer to the bloodletting of the Twentieth Century is the intelligent assumption of individual responsibility, the avoidance of mass ideological hysteria. As the anarchist Nestor Makhno says to Bastable, "We are all guilty. We are all innocent. Only when we accept responsibility for our own actions are we free - and only then will the world be safe for us all" (ST,152). When the series ends, Bastable is no longer an abdicator of his will to utopian ideologies; his ordeal can end, and he need no longer wander the worlds.

The 'Oswald Bastable' Trilogy is, as stated earlier, a parody of late Victorian and Edwardian Scientific Romances. Although Moorcock alludes to many originals, including Jules Verne's tales of messianic inventors like Captain Nemo, he probably makes most use of The Angel of the Revolution (1893) and Olga Romanoff (1894), both by the British author George Griffith (1857-1906). These feature the conspiratorial establishment of a utopia and its later collapse, with the clashes of aerial battleships and general catastrophe as accompaniment - clear precursors of Moorcock's anarchic mingling of technologies and ideologies novel to the Edwardian

period. But Joseph Conrad is invoked also. Conrad himself, under his original Polish name of Konrad Korzeniowski, is present in the Trilogy as an airship and submarine captain; some irony is generated when Bastable signs on as second officer on Korzeniowski's ship *The Rover* to replace 'Marlowe' (WA, 85). The implication is that Bastable has an authorial function, akin to that played by Marlowe in Conrad's stories: he will be narrator in tales that are superficially ones of adventure (at sea, or elsewhere), but are in fact bleak parables of disillusionment. Moorcock appropriates the form of the popular Scientific Romance, but his intention is to explode any sanguine facility attaching to the genre, steering it in the direction of the starker, more philosophical Scientific Romances of H.G. Wells.

The Warlord of the Air resembles the Scientific Romances of Imperialism in conception and style. It imagines the the extension of colonialism into the late Twentieth Century, an expectation common among Edwardians generally and in their SF specifically; Bastable, who has been leading a British punitive expedition in the Himalayas in 1902, is unsurprised when, thrown magically into 1973, he finds a world of continued Edwardian stability, without World Wars, with the great Empires still intact. Like the typical hero of pre-1914 popular fiction, Bastable is naively accepting of hierarchical authority, a believer in patriotic 'pluck'; he does not recognise what the perpetual Imperialism around him means. To him, this 1973's airships and monorails, its seemingly contented workers and subject peoples, are the marks of utopia. But this Edwardian dream is shattered. Bastable encounters the revolutionary utopianists of this world, its equivalent of Edwardian anarchists, specifically versions of Joseph Conrad, Che Guevara, and Lenin, as well as Moorcock's 'Warlord', O.T. Shaw, a charismatic but

despotic echo of Edwardian fictional villains. At first Bastable thinks such men mad (WA, 50), but later, meeting them, he sees something of their intellectual cogency. They are proposing a socialist utopia in opposition to the Imperialist one. At first, their idealism is attractive, because of the range of individual views they express. But what follows is a clash of fanaticisms; both colonialists and revolutionaries are slaves to ideology; the revolutionaries are dominated by one messianic leader, Shaw; war, devastating and even nuclear, ensues. Mass capitulation to the utopian dogmas of Imperialism and socialism vitiates humanity and Reason; the story, with all its parodic excitements of aerial flight and war, is finally and in fact a dreadful warning.

The Land Leviathan follows a similar course. Bastable now encounters another Edwardian utopia: that of unbounded technological progress. The miraculous inventions of a Chilean genius, O'Bean, have brought apparent perfection to the 1904 in which Bastable finds himself. But they also allow every tension of class, race, and material interest to manifest itself in mass destruction, as new weapons are developed. The result is global anarchy, genocide. With the first utopia demolished, a counter-utopia arises: the messiah of the Blacks, Cicero Hood, establishes a vast New Ashanti Empire and takes revenge on Europeans and White Americans for colonialism and slavery. Again, ideologies clash in Armageddon, with the wonders of the Scientific Romance, such as the huge Land Leviathan, only serving the cause of genocide. White supremacists battle Hood; Bastable serves the latter, if only because murderous justice is a somewhat better cause than pure racism. Some possibility of a solution to the conflict of utopianisms is held out by 'Bantustan', a South African state set up by Mahatma Gandhi, which lacks sweeping condemnations of others and cults of

personality. But the name 'Bantustan', recalling South African 'homelands', is not inspiring; and Bastable's quest for Balance, for moderate individualism, continues.

The Steel Tsar reiterates and concludes the concerns of the previous volumes, if more didactically and less wittily; Moorcock modifies his use of the Scientific Romance in order to allow an end to Bastable's cycle of wanderings. There are signs in this volume that Moorcock's agenda of compromise, of responsible anarchism, is at last finding a ready ear, even as messianism persists. In this novel's version of 1941, the grand Imperialisms of Britain and Japan go to war, in a direct echo of World War Two; Hiroshima is bombed by revolutionary fanatics; Russia is threatened by malign conspiracies. However, this version of Russia is ruled by Alexander Kerensky, who was not toppled by the Bolsheviks in 1917. His regime is at last a reasonably sympathetic utopia, perhaps because it is less an anti-socialist dream born of Edwardian theodicy than a genuine alternative to Communism, a rational compromise between capitalism and extreme socialism. This is hopeful, but Kerensky is under attack from Stalin, still a revolutionary and as treacherous and ruthless as ever, hoping to found a totalitarian counter-utopia. Moorcock's Stalin (known by his proper name of Djughashvili) is The Steel Tsar's radical messiah. He is a demagogue who preaches a mixture of religion and socialism; Moorcock, again drawing on the fanciful technologies of the Scientific Romance, gives him a robotic alter ego, a literal 'Steel Tsar' (ST, 143-4), which suggests both his inhumanity and his resemblance to the old despotic tsars he once fought; he is quite willing to use nuclear weapons in his quarrel with the Russian Government. This novel ends more optimistically than its predecessors, however: lurid apocalypticism succumbs to moderation.

Djugashvili's airship captain explodes his atomic bombs harmlessly in mid-air, having disposed of Stalin (ST, 151). Armageddon is avoided; although the cycle of utopianism and messianism may continue elsewhere, in one world at least Reason has prevailed. Bastable, wise and mature at last at the novel's close, can join the League of Temporal Adventurers, those who control time rather than being controlled by it, and can desert the mould of the Eternal Champion. His quest is at an end.

Another author who appropriates the matter of the Scientific Romance is Moorcock's fellow British writer, Stephen Baxter; but Baxter's technique is very different. Most of Baxter's work has been Hard SF in his 'Xeelee' Future History series; in his ventures into pastiche Scientific Romance, he has retained this emphasis. His two Steampunk novels, Anti-Ice (1993) (42) and The Time Ships (1995) (43) are both homages to the early works of H.G. Wells; instead of subverting his models or using them ironically, Baxter celebrates them, reinforcing their arguments and extrapolating from them. His use of the concepts and rhetoric of contemporary Hard SF is clearly intended to complement the scientific content and speculation of Wells's texts, updating them while respecting them. This is no sycophantic praise for the Victorian Age, however; Wells was critiquing his own era: Baxter supports this enterprise in one novel, before meditating upon Wells's scientific perspective in the other.

Anti-Ice is not a sequel to Wells's The First Men in the Moon (1901), but is certainly a commentary upon it. In Wells's novel, the substance known as Cavorite is 'opaque to gravitation'; its anti-gravitational capability is liberating, as it allows the protagonists to travel to the Moon, but is also potentially very destructive. Wells

explores this ambiguity, and also uses Cavorite as a means of imaginative access to the interior of the Moon, where his highly organised Selenite society is both a Swiftian contrast with human depravity and a warning of totalitarian directions to come. In the end, Cavor and the secret of his Cavorite are lost on the Moon; given the human folly that is Wells's theme, this is perhaps a good thing. Anti-Ice takes this last argument further(44). Again, a remarkable substance has been discovered: anti-ice, which liberates power on a nuclear scale if heated. Again, a first voyage to the Moon is undertaken by a brilliant scientist (Sir Josiah Traveller instead of Cavor) and a callow young man (Ned Vicars instead of Bedford), the new substance acting as the fuel. But Baxter departs from Wells in allowing anti-ice to remain in human hands; unlike Cavorite, it is a natural substance, mined in Antarctica; the British Government possesses it in some quantity, and has for some time.

Anti-ice is consequently the basis for major historical modification, and Wells's pessimism about human nature is justified. Baxter takes the essence of his Alternate History from The Difference Engine, critiquing like that novel the excesses of the Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, and so taking up Wells's socialist themes. This Victorian Britain is industrialised to a dystopian degree, its accelerated development propelled by anti-ice. The British Empire in turn uses anti-ice to cow the rest of the world. Early in Anti-Ice, the British Army destroys Sebastopol, its main target in the Crimean War, with an anti-ice shell, with effects like those at Hiroshima(AI,23). After Vicars and Traveller return from the Moon, they find Britain intervening in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 with another anti-ice bomb, aiming it at the warring armies but missing and instead

destroying Orleans (AI, 267-8). After this, Britain imposes a harsh peace on Europe, preventing German Unification, forcing a Westminster-style government on France, and placing British garrisons at vital points all over the Continent (AI, 274-5). Traveller inadvertently assists this process by betraying the location of vast new stores of anti-ice (AI, 276), increasing British power further. Writing in 1910, Ned Vicars foresees uprisings against the increasingly repressive regime in Britain, one dominated by industrialists; abroad, foreign powers prepare to assert themselves against a Britain equipped with many more nuclear missile-style 'Gladstone Shells', the danger being that one of them, Germany, may have anti-ice weapons of its own (AI, 278-9). Nuclear war threatens decades before it ever did in our world. Wells's fears concerning the impact of Promethean gifts are borne out; with anti-ice or Cavorite in human hands, tyranny born of capitalism, nationalism, and Imperialism would grow.

Having thus enlarged upon the theme of The First Men in the Moon, Baxter wrote a direct sequel to The Time Machine (1895), The Time Ships. This continues the adventures of the Time Traveller, adding the notion of Alternate Histories to that of movement along a single timeline. The Time Traveller is exposed to many of the developments in physics since Wells's time, notably quantum theory, which allows his entry into multiple worlds; each time he enters the past, his actions generate a new universe. Much irony is evoked by his late Victorian reactions to sundry histories: one in which the Morlocks inhabit a Ringworld, a sphere completely surrounding the Sun; another in which the First World War continues into the 1940s, and involves battles between British and German time machines; and a third in which a small human colony marooned in prehistoric times grows

into a galactic civilisation before humans would otherwise have evolved. Despite these extravagant additions to Wells's scheme, which create an ironic dialogue between Victorian and 1990s SF, The Time Machine's essential quality is retained. Vast gulfs of time still create feelings of melancholy awe; human aspiration still seems petty, in contradiction of Victorian complacency; and in the end, the Time Traveller, persisting in his enquiry begun in Wells's novel, opts not to return to his own time, going back to the future he originally visited, that of the Eloi, to find Weena, confront the Morlocks once more, and remain in their era. The Time Traveller is still recognisably Wells's creation, an explorer of the unknown for enlightenment rather than for aggrandisement. Where he complemented Wells ideologically in Anti-Ice, Baxter in The Time Ships complements the spirit of his writing, the scientific selflessness quintessential to the Wellsian and Stapledonian Scientific Romance.

A final variety of Steampunk Alternate History takes the fragmentation and reassembly of the past to its logical extreme. Two novels by the British author Kim Newman - who, like Howard Waldrop and Paul Di Filippo, specialises in esoteric and eclectic pastiche - make of the period between 1885 and 1918 a collage of the macabre. Anno Dracula (1992) and The Bloody Red Baron (1995) (45) are essentially Horror novels, and celebrate that genre's antecedents through Alternate History. Their premise is that Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897) ends differently: Count Dracula defeats his tormentors, emerges into public life, marries Queen Victoria in 1888, and transforms Victorian Britain into a Gothic tyranny, all of its repressed tendencies emerging in the form of supernatural horrors. This recasting of the Victorian age as an embodiment of the unmoral subconscious is a dramatic satirical

inversion. Vampirism becomes fashionable, the means to immortality. The resulting Britain is, appropriately, a collection of whatever elements of Victorian popular culture lend themselves to the macabre, as well as of some later popular representations of Nineteenth Century England.

In Anno Dracula, figures of some importance are: Dracula himself; the Prime Minister, Lord Ruthven, from John Polidori's The Vampyre (1819); Sherlock Holmes's brother Mycroft, of the Diogenes Club; Holmes's Moriarty; Jack the Ripper, who is in fact the Dr. John Seward of Dracula, an actual historical figure conflated with a fictional one; Sax Rohmer's Dr. Fu Manchu; Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll; Sergeant Dravot from Rudyard Kipling's 'The Man Who Would be King'; and H.G. Wells's Dr. Moreau. These characters freely encounter actual historical personalities, like Queen Victoria and Oscar Wilde. The Bloody Red Baron, which explores the First World War in Newman's timeline, adds the likes of Dr. Caligari, characters from the Biggles novels by Captain W.E. Johns, the Good Soldier Svejk, Snoopy, who is killed by the Red Baron he has dogged for so long, and, as a setting, Clark Ashton Smith's Chateau du Malinbois, from his 'Averoigne' Cycle. These are intermingled with authentic figures, like Baron von Richtofen, Mata Hari, Field Marshal Haig, Edgar Allan Poe, Adolf Hitler, Franz Kafka. These ensembles interact in a mixture of the comic and the eerie, in narratives filled with literary and cinematic echoes. As in other Steampunk novels, the mingling of the real and the imaginary, the ironic rearrangement of biography, is profoundly subversive of any view of history as constant, reliable, determinable. Newman's point is that history is a fiction, our perception of it culturally shaped, our recollection of it made up less of

facts than of fictional representations of those facts. He remakes history as a vaudevillian nightmare.

The Steampunk subgenre, in summary, is the Victorian era through a Postmodernist lens. Because the Nineteenth Century ushered in the technological age, it mirrors the later stages of that age; contemporary concerns find resonance a century ago. The Victorian Age spawned Science Fiction in the Scientific Romance, and SF naturally returns there recursively. And because Victoria's reign claimed moral rectitude and existential stability, it is a natural target for satirical deconstruction. All of these factors lure SF writers away from the future, into history, which can be endlessly processed and reprocessed, analysed, debunked, ironised. Victorian Classical Realism succumbs to Postmodernism, which gazes appropriatingly pastwards, like the narratron's All-Seeing Eye.

Appendix to 5.3: Steampunk Secret Histories

In addition to the Alternate Histories discussed above, the Steampunk subgenre boasts many Secret Histories, which complement and extend the techniques and perspectives already noted. This Appendix briefly lists some such works, as an indication that the subject of Steampunk is wide and deserves further investigation. Steampunk Secret Histories characteristically inhabit the interstices of the Nineteenth Century, not contradicting the surface facts of the period, but rather embellishing them, constructing supernatural and scientific conspiracies which then underlie recorded history, explaining it in new and subversive ways. The Victorian Age is again deconstructed, as a ludic fluidity nests inside its apparent solidity, throwing new and startling meanings to the surface. Three categories of Steampunk Secret History can be identified:

Subversive biofictions. Christine Kenyon Jones identifies Tim Powers and Tom Holland as authors of texts which, like the Steampunk Alternate Histories by Rucker and Di Filippo, rework biography, in this case the lives of the Romantic poets(46). The facts of their established biographies are retained, but supernatural intrusions and perplexities of identity relentlessly complicate the interpretation of those facts. Key novels are The Anubis Gates(1983) and The Stress of Her Regard(1989) by Tim Powers, as well Tom Holland's developing series about the adventures of an immortal Lord Byron after his apparent death, made up thus far of The Vampyre(1995), Supping With Panthers(1996), and The Libertine(?1997).

Intellectual Secret Histories. Brian Stableford's 'Werewolves' Trilogy, consisting of The Werewolves of London(1990), The Angel of Pain(1991), and The Carnival of Destruction(1994), discusses the development of the philosophy of science in the Victorian era, utilising the same strategy as Stableford's earlier novel of the Renaissance, The Empire of Fear. An underworld of the supernatural threatens human survival, but more particularly challenges the rational skepticism of the protagonists; through long investigation in the spirit of the Scientific Romance, they attach natural explanations to werewolves and gods, so that the forms of superstition become instead affirmations of science. The Carnival of Destruction sorties briefly into Alternate History, associating a German victory in World War One with the cognitive darkness the novels aspire to dispel.

Parodic Scientific Romances. Various Steampunk Secret Histories are pastiches of the proto-SF of the Victorian and Edwardian periods, paralleling the novels of Moorcock and Baxter. Noteworthy examples are Homunculus(1986) and

Lord Kelvin's Machine (1992) by Tim Powers's colleague James P. Blaylock, which populate Victorian London with mad scientists and occult conspirators in a burlesque of Victorian popular fiction; Morlock Night (1979) by K.W. Jeter, a pastiche of The Time Machine, as well as the same author's dampeningly recursive Infernal Devices (1987); and another Scientific Romance by Brian Stableford, The Hunger and Ecstasy of Vampires (1996), which conflates The Time Machine, Dracula, and the biographies of period authors such as Wells, M.P. Shiel and Oscar Wilde.

As these categories indicate, Steampunk's agenda is consistent across Alternate and Secret Histories, a comprehensive revision of the Nineteenth Century.

* * *

Chapters Four and Five have indicated much of the range of technique and subject matter in the Alternate Histories produced by SF and Fantasy. Alternate Histories can approach the past earnestly, rewriting it to fulfil utopian and visionary agendas. They can intensify historical evils, and proclaim with utmost pessimism the refusal of an inflexible history to be redeemed. They can ironically alter the past in the image of the present, so revealing the nature of that present. They can invert historical outcomes, rectifying past injustices. They can subvert or celebrate past ages through the medium of pastiche. This range of strategies gives full voice to the similarly varied ideological spectrum of SF and Fantasy.

CONCLUSION

This Thesis's extensive survey of historical appropriation and historical construction in SF and Fantasy affords three interlinked conclusions. These are, first, that SF is indeed a form of Historical Fiction, as argued in Chapter One; second, that the 'historical plurality' of SF, its range of historical philosophies and techniques of historical borrowing, has increased enormously over the decades of the genre's existence; and third, that the ideology informing an SF text can be assessed by reference to its author's specific use, and degree of manipulation, of history. All of these observations apply more tentatively to Fantasy, being true mainly of those of its Historical Fantasies which correspond closely in ideology and technique to genre SF. With this reservation regarding Fantasy, the three conclusions can be given some demonstration and amplification.

This Thesis has presented a multitude of examples of SF's engagement with history. Again and again, works of SF imitate historical periods in their creation of hypothetical futures and of other worlds. Many SF texts revisit the past through time travel, or explore its implications by modifying it, producing Alternate Histories. Genre SF can in fact be divided into subgenres distinguished by their different approaches to history: Future History, Alternate History, Secret History, Renarrated History. SF relies heavily upon historical irony: the success of its narratives depends in great measure upon the incongruous or anachronistic presence of familiar elements of the past in settings supposedly novel or far from human experience. History helps structure SF's narratives; it gives the genre the insight into macrocosmic processes it requires to depict large-

scale events and cosmic teleologies. SF texts objectify themselves by retaining recognisable historical links to the present of their authors. Even forms of SF not discussed in detail in this Thesis, ones typically set in the near future or in the unmodified past, mingle eras ironically, rely upon historically-based verisimilitude in their settings, and have objectifying ties to the times of their texts' composition. All of this serves to demonstrate SF's reliance upon history, the genre's foundation in historical reference and manipulation. The redefinition of SF as Historical Fiction proposed on Page 1 of this Thesis has been shown to be descriptive of the general nature and the specific mechanics of the genre.

The second major conclusion drawn, that of SF's increased degree of 'historical plurality', is also borne out by this Thesis's survey of the genre. Chapter Two indicates the general adherence of pre-1960 SF to the 'consensus' Future History later defined by Donald Wollheim. This entailed a scientific and positivistic teleology to which almost all SF writers, whatever their varied philosophies and styles, were pressured to conform. Future History and theodicy predominated in First SF. But as Chapter Three demonstrates, after 1960 a far greater variety prevailed: even within Future History, the old orthodoxy now co-existed with textual strategies reflective of Posthistorical pessimism and critical utopianism. Also after 1960, the Alternate History subgenre flourished, becoming a major subsection of both SF and Fantasy, as the range of counterfactual works discussed in Chapters Four and Five attests. The technical range of SF has grown enormously.

But this enhanced plurality is one of ideology and historical philosophy also. As SF has evolved, experiencing changing market and cultural conditions, it

has fragmented into different subgenres and movements, which cater to different shades of ideology and aesthetic sensibility. As this Thesis's multiplicity of examples shows, there has thus come into being an SF of potent diversity, encompassing linear optimism and cyclical pessimism, Libertarianism and feminism, utopias and theodicies, earnest engagements with history and cynical deconstructive rearrangements of it. The result is a Babel of texts, the ideological decoding of which is one of SF's greatest challenges to its readers and its critics thus far.

The third conclusion to be drawn from this Thesis is that for that ideological decoding to succeed, every SF text's choice of historical model and implicit assumptions about the manipulability of history must be analysed. On an immediate level, an author's decision to appropriate a particular period is highly significant. As Chapters Four and Five indicate, specific past epochs carry very specific burdens of meaning; when a text imitates or modifies the Second World War or the Reformation, definite issues are being confronted (or evaded), an engagement is being undertaken with ideologically charged debates of the past and the present. The positions authors assume relative to these debates act as their ideological measure. But the third conclusion can be extended somewhat further, to take into account authors' more general convictions as to history's governability.

This Thesis has referred repeatedly to historical optimism and pessimism in SF: some writers assume that history can be manipulated easily in hopeful directions; others take more account of history's inflexibility and its mercilessness to the individual. Broadly speaking, the belief that history is easily amenable to human control is typical of Libertarian Hard SF, the mode

dominant in the genre before 1960 and still very prominent in American SF after 1960. This tendency has influenced some British writers, if only ambiguously, as in the case of Brian Stableford. Texts which manipulate history with sanguine confidence, which resolve it into linear theodicies, which are relatively uninterested in mundane objectifying links with the present, are generally recognisable as Libertarian in ideology. In contrast are the works of most major British writers, as well as many American New Wave, Romantic, and 1980s Humanist texts: they are historically pessimistic, appropriating history with greater caution, displaying their authors' more sober liberalism in a close objectifying accountability to the present. This permutation includes the Cyberpunks and other Postmodern fabulators, whose confidently anarchic appropriation of history is contemporarily and deconstructively sardonic in effect. It is, then, a work's belief or lack of belief in the pliability of history, as reflected in the hubris or heedfulness of its historical appropriation, that can identify its ideological stamp, as much as can the work's specific historical content.

Science Fiction and the portion of Fantasy related to it contain history and are defined by their use of it; their changing natures are marked by their changing approaches to history and its appropriation. This Thesis has provided some strong support for these assertions, and has indicated how they can guide interpretation of the textual strategies and the ideological characters of SF and Historical Fantasy.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. Fleishman (1971), 15.
2. Henderson (1974), xvi.
3. Henderson (1974), 13.
4. See Lukacs (1962).
5. Henderson (1974), 9.
6. See James (1985/6).
7. James (1985/6), 7.
8. James (1985/6), 6.
9. Ketterer (1976), 67.
10. Jameson (1974), 275.
11. Jameson (1974), 276.
12. Canary (1974), 82.
13. Canary (1974), 86.
14. Parrinder (1980), 89.
15. Parrinder (1980), 93.
16. Parrinder (1980), 94-7.
17. Parrinder (1980), 101-2.
18. Wendland (1985), 5.
19. Elkins (1977), 229.
20. Elkins (1977), 229.
21. Quoted in Clute (1995), 384. This definition is discussed by Robinson in the course of a discussion with Bud Foote: Foote with Robinson (1994), 52-3.
22. See Lowentrout (1988).
23. See Gary K. Wolfe (1986), 108-111.
24. Suvin (1979), viii.
25. Suvin (1979), viii
26. Suvin (1979), ix.
27. Ketterer (1976), 66-7.
28. Ketterer (1976), 65. For a much fuller statement of Ketterer's argument, see Ketterer (1974).
29. Kreuziger (1982), 1-6.
30. Kreuziger (1982), 187.

31. James (1985/6), 7.
32. See Gary K. Wolfe (1986), 38-40.
33. Gary K. Wolfe (1986), 40.
34. Clute (1995), 9.
35. Clute (1995), 9.
36. Parrinder (1979), 67.
37. Browning (1985), 24-5.
38. Gary K. Wolfe (1979), 8.
39. Parrinder (1979), 70.
40. See Berger (1988).
41. Outlined by Wollheim (1971), 42-4. For more detail, see Section 2.1 of this Thesis.
42. See Klein (1977).
43. Parrinder (1980), 34.
44. Elkins (1977), 230.
45. Elkins (1977), 231-2.
46. Levin (1977), 254.
47. Parrinder (1980), 30-1.
48. Nicholls (1993), 892.
49. Stableford (1993), 1076.
50. For a general discussion of Hegel, see Cairns (1971), Pt II, Chapter V.
51. For more details of Vico's thought, see Cairns (1971), Part III, Chapter I, Section 2.
52. See Cairns (1971), Part III, Chapter IV, for an analysis of Toynbee's theory of historical cycles.
53. See Cairns (1971), Part III, Chapter II, on Spengler.
54. Clute on 'Theodicy' (1997), 939. Also see Clute (1995), 342-4.

CHAPTER TWO

1. See Clute (1995), 8-11, on First SF.
2. See Section 1.5 for discussion of these currents in early genre SF.
3. Smith's sequences of novels, ever-escalating and exuberant galactic space operas written for the most part

from the 1920s to the 1940s, fancifully portrayed the triumphs of heroic adventurers and scientific prodigies; Heinlein's 'Future History' stories, published in in the 1940s and 1950s and assembled as the omnibus volume The Past Through Tomorrow in 1967, were more circumspect, but still extremely confident of a future driven by technological and entrepreneurial expertise.

4. See Wollheim (1971), 42-4.

5. Delany (1984), 236.

6. For a fuller discussion of theodicy, see Section 1.6.

7. The Asimov editions employed here are Foundation (London: Panther, 1983), Foundation and Empire (New York: Avon, 1969), and Second Foundation (London: Panther, 1969). The Edward Gibbon edition I have used is the Everyman text of 1950 (6 vols.), edited by Oliphant Smeaton. Abbreviations used with quotations are:

Foundation = F; Foundation and Empire = FE; Second Foundation = SF; The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire = DFRE. My discussion of Asimov is restricted to the

original 'Foundation Trilogy', omitting the much later sequels, which, beginning with Foundation's Edge (1982), take the series away from its close dialogue with Gibbon.

8. See Wells's The Shape of Things to Come (1933) and Stapledon's Last and First Men (1930) and Star Maker (1937).

9. Paul A. Carter (1977), 246.

10. See both Elkins (1976) and Taylor (1988).

11. Manlove (1986), 29-31; Elkins (1976), 33-4; Taylor (1988).

12. Grigsby (1984), 178; Elkins (1976), 35.

13. Elkins (1976), 33-5.

14. Manlove (1986), 29-30.

15. Elkins (1976), 29.

16. Paul A. Carter (1977), 246.

17. See Hassler (1988).

18. See Gibbon's Volume I, chs. 1-3 for his idealised view of the Roman Republic.
19. Manlove (1986), 28.
20. Each 'Foundation' story attains a solution which is then the problem in the next story - see James Gunn (inaccessible) cited in Delany (1984), 234; Wilson (1978) discusses Asimov's structuring of his stories as mysteries, with vital clues allowing their narrative solution.
21. Manlove (1986), 24-5.
22. Hassler (1988), 41, concurs.
23. Seen by Delany (1984), 233, as a reflection of Hiroshima, the emergence of a sudden new force.
24. Manlove (1986), 17.
25. Elkins (1976), 31-2.
26. Another portrayal by Asimov of such historical control is The End of Eternity (1955). Of course, some critics argue that Asimov's views on the controllability of history evolved and varied as he wrote the 'Foundation' stories - see Delany (1984), 233, and, more broadly, David Brin in Westfahl (1997), 23. Wilcox (1990) argues that contemporary trends continually changed the emphasis of Asimov's works.
27. The Poul Anderson editions employed here are as follows: Trader to the Stars (London: Panther, 1967); The Trouble Twisters (London: Gollancz, 1967); The Earth Book of Stormgate (New York: Berkley, 1978); Satan's World (New York: Berkley, 1983); Mirkheim (New York: Berkley, 1977); The People of the Wind (London: Sphere, 1977); Ensign Flandry (London: Coronet, 1976); A Circus of Hells (New York: Signet, 1970); The Rebel Worlds (New York: Signet, 1969); The Day of Their Return (New York: Doubleday, 1973); Flandry of Terra (London: Coronet, 1976); Agent of the Terran Empire (London: Coronet, 1977); A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows (London: Sphere, 1984); A Stone in Heaven (New York: Ace, 1979); The Game

of Empire (New York: Baen, 1988); The Night Face (New York: Ace, 1978); and The Long Night (London: Sphere, 1985). Abbreviations: Trader to the Stars = TS; Satan's World = SW; Mirkheim = M; A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows = KGS; A Stone in Heaven = SH.

28. See Sandra Miesel's 'A Chronology of Technic Civilization' in A Stone in Heaven, 252-5.

29. Miesel (1979), identifies the correspondence of Anderson's mercantile cycle with the period of the Hanseatic League and the Age of Exploration, and of his Imperial cycle with Ancient Rome.

30. Both stories appear in Flandry of Terra. For van Rijn's similar action, see 'The Man Who Counts' in The Earth Book of Stormgate.

31. Miesel (1979), 251.

32. The Gordon R. Dickson editions employed here are as follows: Necromancer (New York: Ace, 1981); Tactics of Mistake (New York: Ace, 1981); Soldier, Ask not (London: Sphere, 1978); Dorsai! (London: Sphere, 1978); Lost Dorsai (London: Sphere, 1984); The Spirit of Dorsai (London: Sphere, 1981); The Final Encyclopaedia (London: Sphere, 1985); Chantry Guild (London: Sphere, 1989); Young Bleys (New York: Tor, 1992); and Other (New York: Tor, 1995). Abbreviations: Necromancer = N; Soldier, Ask Not = SAN; The Final Encyclopaedia = FE.

33. See Miesel (1985) for Dickson's use of the heroic and spiritual patterns of the Middle Ages.

34. See Raymond H. Thompson (1979).

35. See Miesel (1985).

36. Again, see Miesel (1985) for knightly parallels.

37. Butvin (1995), 360.

38. Miesel (1985), 392.

39. Butvin (1995), 361.

40. See John Buchan, Montrose (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928), for an indication of how similar Dickson's military geniuses are to Montrose.

41. The Alfred Bester edition employed here is the 'definitive' one, The Stars My Destination (New York: Vintage, 1996). Abbreviation: TSMD.
42. In The Demolished Man, 'psi powers' are the basis of the civilisation Bester describes.
43. For the circumstances that influenced Bester's writing, see his autobiographical essay, 'My Affair With Science Fiction', in his collection Starlight (1976).
44. See Mc Carthy (1983).
45. For Bester's constant emphasis on imprisonment and release, see Kelleghan (1994).
46. See Blackmore (1990).
47. The Jack Vance editions employed here are as follows: The Star King (London: Coronet, 1980); The Killing Machine (London: Coronet, 1980); The Palace of Love (New York: DAW, 1979); The Face (New York: DAW, 1979); The Book of Dreams (New York: DAW, 1981); Trullion: Alastor 2262 (London: Mayflower, 1979); The Gray Prince (New York: Tor, 1992); Marune: Alastor 933 (London: Coronet, 1978); Maske: Thaery (London: Fontana, 1978); Wyst: Alastor 1716 (London: Coronet, 1980); Galactic Effectuator (London: Coronet, 1983); Araminta Station (New York: Tor, 1988); Ecce and Old Earth (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Underwood-Miller, 1991); Throy (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Underwood-Miller, 1992); and Night Lamp (New York: Tor, 1996). Abbreviations: The Face = F; The Book of Dreams = BD; Trullion: Alastor 2262 = TA; The Gray Prince = GP; Marune: Alastor 933 = MA; Maske: Thaery = MT; Wyst: Alastor 1716 = WA; Galactic Effectuator = GE; Araminta Station = AS; Throy = T.
48. Rawlins (1983), 357.
49. Clute and Edwards (1993), 1265.
50. See Rawlins (1989) for a discussion of the changing phases of Vance's career.
51. As argued by James (1989).
52. Shirley (1988) (unpaginated).

CHAPTER THREE

1. See Clute (1995), 10-11, on the transition to Second SF.
2. See Delany (1984), 236.
3. The Frank Herbert editions employed here are: Dune (New York: Berkley, 1984); Dune Messiah (London: New English Library, 1982); Children of Dune (London: New English Library, 1982); God Emperor of Dune (London: New English Library, 1981); Heretics of Dune (London: Gollancz, 1984); and Chapter House Dune (London: Gollancz, 1985).
4. Hand (1985), 24.
5. See Hand (1985).
6. Di Tommaso (1992), 311.
7. Di Tommaso (1992), 319.
8. See God Emperor of Dune.
9. Mulcahy (1996), 34.
10. The C. J. Cherryh editions employed here are as follows: Heavy Time (New York: Warner Books, 1991); Hellburner (London: New English Library, 1992); Downbelow Station (London: Methuen, 1983); Merchanter's Luck (New York: DAW, 1982); Voyager in Night (London: Methuen, 1985); Rimrunners (New York: Warner, 1989); Tripoint (London: New English Library, 1995); Forty Thousand in Gehenna (London: Methuen, 1987); Cyteen (New York: Warner, 1988); Brothers of Earth (New York: DAW, 1976); Serpent's Reach (New York: DAW, 1980); Hunter of Worlds (New York: DAW, 1977); Cuckoo's Egg (New York: DAW, 1985); The Faded Sun Trilogy (omnibus, Methuen, 1987); The Pride of Chanur (London: Methuen, 1983); Chanur's Venture (London: Methuen, 1986); The Kif Strike Back (London: Methuen, 1987); Chanur's Homecoming (New York: DAW, 1987); Chanur's Legacy (New York: DAW, 1992); and Angel With the Sword (London: Gollancz, 1987).

Abbreviations: Downbelow Station = DS; Angel With the Sword = AS; and Cyteen = C.

11. Williams (1986), 85.
12. Williams (1986), 86.
13. Williams (1986), 86.
14. Williams (1986), 86-7.
15. This series consists of In the Ocean of Night (1977), Aceoss the Sea of Suns (1984), Great Sky River (1987), Tides of Light (1989), Furious Gulf (1994), and Sailing Bright Eternity (1995).
16. This climaxes with Ringworld (1970).
17. The David Brin editions employed here are: Sundiver (London: Orbit, 1996); Startide Rising (London: Orbit, 1996); The Uplift War (New York: Bantam, 1987); and Brightness Reef (London: Orbit, 1996). At the time of writing, I had not yet read Infinity's Shore (London: Orbit, 1997); I omit this title from the Bibliography. Abbreviations are: Sundiver = S; Startide Rising = SR; The Uplift War = UW.
18. Wilcox (1991), 115.
19. Wilcox (1991), 116.
20. The edition of Miller used here is A Canticle For Leibowitz (London: Orbit, 1993). Abbreviation: CL.
21. Dunne (1987), 107-8.
22. Seed (1996), 269.
23. Gary B. Herbert (1990), 160.
24. Gary B. Herbert (1990), 160-1.
25. Seed (1996), 268.
26. Senior (1993), 337.
27. See Manganiello (1986).
28. Manganiello (1986), 167.
29. The George R. R. Martin editions employed here are as follows: Dying of the Light (New York: Baen, 1990); Sandkings (New York: Baen, 1986); Songs of Stars and Shadows (London: Coronet, 1981); Nightflyers (New York: Tor, 1987); Portraits of His Children (New York: Baen,

1992); and Tuf Voyaging (London: Gollancz, 1988).
Abbreviations: Dying of the Light = DL; Sandkings = S;
Nightflyers = N; Tuf Voyaging = TV. 'Men of Greywater
Station' in Songs of Stars and Shadows was co-authored by
Howard Waldrop.

30. This image of history as a static tapestry is
explicit in Brian Aldiss's The Malacia Tapestry (1976)
(see Section 5.2).

31. The Wolfe editions employed here are: Shadow and Claw
(New York: Tor Orb, 1994), an omnibus containing The
Shadow of the Torturer and The Claw of the Conciliator;
Sword and Citadel (New York: Tor Orb, 1994), an omnibus
collecting The Sword of the Lictor and The Citadel of the
Autarch; and The Urth of the New Sun (London: Gollancz,
1987). Abbreviations: Shadow and Claw = ShCl; Sword and
Citadel = SwCi; The Urth of the New Sun = UNS.

32. Andre-Driussi (1996), 127.

33. See Wolfe's reply to a question in McCaffery with
Gene Wolfe (1988), 354-5.

34. See Wolfe's reply to a question in Greenland with
Gene Wolfe (1984), 38.

35. Wolfe in McCaffery with Gene Wolfe (1988), 350.

36. Henighan (1994), 68.

37. Henighan (1994), 75.

38. Note the parallels between the events and setting of
The Shadow of the Torturer and those of Great
Expectations.

39. See Wolfe's essay 'Words Weird and Wonderful', in his
collection Castle of Days (1992).

40. Clute (1988), 151.

41. See Andre-Driussi (1996).

42. The Book of the Long Sun is made up of Nightside the
Long Sun (1993), Lake of the Long Sun (1994), Calde of the
Long Sun (1994), and Exodus From the Long Sun (1996).

43. The Brian Aldiss editions used here are Helliconia
Spring (London: Cape, 1982); Helliconia Summer (London:

Cape, 1983); and Helliconia Winter (London: Cape, 1985).
Abbreviations: Helliconia Spring = HSp; Helliconia Summer
= HSu; Helliconia Winter = HW.

44. See the Appendices to the omnibus edition of
Helliconia (London: Voyager, 1996), v-vi.

45. Broderick (1995), 97.

46. Aldiss, Introduction to Helliconia, vi.

47. Aldiss, Appendices to Helliconia, xi.

48. Griffin and Wingrove (1984), xii-xiii.

49. The editions of Le Guin that are employed here are as
follows: The Left Hand of Darkness (London: Orbit, 1994);
The Word for World is Forest (London: Panther, 1980); The
Dispossessed (London: Grafton, 1975); Always Coming Home
(London: Grafton, 1988); A Fisherman of the Inland Sea
(New York: Harper Prism, 1994); and Four Ways to
Forgiveness (New York: Harper Prism, 1995).

50. Bittner (1984), xiii.

51. Finch (1985), 248.

52. Whalen (1992), 88.

53. See Whalen (1992).

54. The Sterling editions employed here are: Schismatrix
(London: Penguin, 1986) and Crystal Express (London:
Legend, 1990). Abbreviations: Schismatrix = S; Crystal
Express = CE.

55. Bukatman (1991), 351. Craig Thompson (1991) argues
that Schismatrix's final device of transcendence is
fantastic, a move away from technological progress to the
Hegelian Absolute; but Sterling's emphasis throughout the
novel is on technology as a transformative engine,
something he never renounces, whether it facilitates the
Absolute or not.

56. Aldiss and Wingrove (1986), 415.

57. The Iain M. Banks editions used here are: Consider
Phlebas (London: Orbit, 1988); The Player of Games
(London: MacMillan, 1988); The State of the Art (London:
Orbit, 1991), a collection including the title novella;

Use of Weapons (London: Orbit, 1990); and Excession (London: Orbit, 1996). Abbreviations: Consider Phlebas = CP; The Player of Games = PG; Use of Weapons = UW; Excession = E.

58. Clute (1995), 99.

59. Clute (1995), 30.

60. The Bear editions in use here are: Queen of Angels (New York: Warner Questar, 1990); Heads (London: Legend, 1991); and Moving Mars (New York: Tor, 1993).

Abbreviation: Moving Mars = MM.

61. Hatfield (1990), 240-3.

62. The Kim Stanley Robinson editions used here are: Red Mars (London: Harper Collins, 1992); Green Mars (London: Harper Collins, 1993); and Blue Mars (London: Harper Collins, 1996). Abbreviations: Red Mars = RM; Green Mars = GM; Blue Mars = BM.

63. Franko (1994), 191-3.

64. Franko (1994), 191.

65. Franko (1995), 306.

66. For Robinson's utopian arguments, see Foote with Robinson (1994).

67. History and memory dominate an earlier version of this Future History, Icehenge (1994).

68. Foote (1994), 65-6.

69. Spinrad (1997), 154.

70. For Robinson's views on Postmodernism, see Foote with Robinson (1994), 56.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. See Jakiel and Levinthal (1980).

2. See The Time Patrol (New York: Tor, 1991) and The Shield of Time (New York: Tor, 1991).

3. See Fritz Leiber, The Big Time (London; Orbit, 1976) and Changewar (New York: Ace, 1983).

4. Hellekson (1996), 235.

5. Hellekson (1996), 241-2.

6. See Ferguson (1997).
7. Principles of omission similar to those mentioned by Hacker and Chamberlain (1981), 335.
8. The de Camp edition used here is Lest Darkness Fall (New York: Del Rey, 1979). Abbreviation: LDF.
9. See Norwich (1990), chs. 10-12.
10. The text used here is de Camp, 'Aristotle and the Gun' in Gardner Dozois (ed.), The Legend Book of Science Fiction (London: Legend, 1991), 23-58. Abbreviation: 'AG'.
11. The Turtledove edition employed here is Agent of Byzantium (London: New English Library, 1978). Abbreviation: AB.
12. Cameron (1991), 301-2.
13. The Roberts edition used here is Pavane (London: Penguin, 1984). Abbreviation: P.
14. Aldiss and Wingrove (1986), 373.
15. As shown by his critical study New Maps of Hell (1960).
16. The Amis edition used here is The Alteration (London: Panther, 1978). Abbreviation: A.
17. See the discussion of The Man in the High Castle in Section 4.6 of this Thesis.
18. The Whitbourn editions employed here are: A Dangerous Energy (London: Gollancz, 1992) and To Build Jerusalem (London: Gollancz, 1995). Abbreviations: A Dangerous Energy = DE; To Build Jerusalem = TBJ.
19. The McAuley text used here is Pasquale's Angel (London: Gollancz, 1994). Abbreviation: PA.
20. See the discussion of The Difference Engine in Section 5.3 of this Thesis.
21. For an intriguing contrast, in which Leonardo renounces his inventions after seeing their lethal impact in war, see Jack Dann, The Memory Cathedral: A Secret History of Leonardo da Vinci (1995).

22. See Collings (1990) for a discussion of how Card's mormonism informs his SF and Fantasy.
23. The Card editions employed here are: Pastwatch: The Redemption of Christopher Columbus (New York: Tor, 1996); Seventh Son (London: Legend, 1989); Red Prophet (London: Legend, 1989); Prentice Alvin (New York: Tor, 1989); and Alvin Journeyman (New York: Tor, 1995). Abbreviations are: Pastwatch: The Redemption of Christopher Columbus = PRCC; Seventh Son = SS; Red Prophet = RP; Prentice Alvin = PA; Alvin Journeyman = AJ.
24. See Morison et al. (1969), 357-386, for more detail as to the historical events surrounding Tippecanoe and Tecumseh.
25. The Waldrop text used here is the first hardcover edition of Them Bones (Willimantic, Connecticut: Ziesing, 1989). Abbreviation: TB.
26. The Moore edition employed here is Bring the Jubilee (London: Four Square, 1965). Abbreviation: BJ.
27. The Bisson text in use here is Fire on the Mountain (New York: Avon, 1990). Abbreviation: FM.
28. The Turtledove edition used here is The Guns of the South (New York: Ballantine, 1992).
29. See Crowley's novels Little, Big(1981), Aegypt(1987), and Love & Sleep(1994).
30. The Crowley text used here is 'Great Work of Time' in Crowley's collection Novelty (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 37-141. Abbreviation: N.
31. See James Morris, Heaven's Command(1973), Pax Britannica(1968), and Farewell the Trumpets(1978).
32. The Lucius Shepard edition used here is Kalimantan (London: Legend, 1990). Abbreviation: K.
33. Clute (1995), 245.
34. The Evans edition used here is Aztec Century (London: Gollancz, 1993). Abbreviation: AC.
35. The only editions of the three Stirling novels are paperback originals: Marching through Georgia (New York:

- Baen, 1988); Under the Yoke (New York: Baen, 1989); and The Stone Dogs (New York: Baen, 1990).
36. The Dick text used here is The Man in the High Castle (London: Penguin, 1965). Abbreviation: MHC.
37. Robinson (1984), 43.
38. See Cassie Carter (1995).
39. Warrick (1992), 74.
40. See Rieder (1992).
41. Rieder (1992), 231.
42. Robinson (1984), 40.
43. The Kornbluth text used here is 'Two Dooms', in Gregory Benford and Martin H. Greenberg (eds.), Hitler Victorious (London: Grafton, 1988), 21-82. Abbreviation: HV.
44. The Turtledove text used here is 'The Last Article' in Turtledove's collection Kaleidoscope (New York: Del Rey, 1990), 214-244.
45. Linaweaver's 'Moon of Ice' appears in Benford and Greenberg (eds.), Hitler Victorious, 213-294. Abbreviation: HV. A novel-length version of 'Moon of Ice' was published in 1988.
46. 'Sarban''s real name was John W. Wall. The edition used here is The Sound of His Horn (London: Sphere, 1970).
47. Roberts's 'Weinachtsabend' appears in Benford and Greenberg (eds.), Hitler Victorious, 131-176. Abbreviation: HV.
48. The Spinrad edition used here is The Iron Dream (London: Panther, 1974). Abbreviation: ID.
49. Le Guin (1973), 42.
50. Spinrad (1988), 17.
51. Robinson's 'The Lucky Strike' appears in his collection The Planet on the Table (New York: Tor, 1987), 123-167. Abbreviation: PT.

52. Shepard's 'A Spanish Lesson' appears in his collection The Jaguar Hunter (London: Paladin, 1988), 394-429. Abbreviation: JH.
53. The Rachel Pollack texts used here are Unquenchable Fire (London: Century, 1988) and Temporary Agency (London: Orbit, 1994). Abbreviation: Unquenchable Fire = UF.
54. The Wolfe text used here is There Are Doors (New York: Tor, 1989). Abbreviation: TD.
55. So described by Clute (1995), 149.
56. The Swanwick edition employed here is The Iron Dragon's Daughter (London: Millennium, 1993).
57. Clute on Swanwick (1997), 913-4.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. The Poul Anderson edition employed here is A Midsummer Tempest (New York: Tor, 1985). Abbreviation: MT.
2. See the discussion of Poul Anderson in Section 2.3 of this Thesis.
3. The Aldiss edition used here is The Malacia Tapestry (London: Cape, 1976). Abbreviation: MT.
4. Clute and Pringle on Aldiss (1993), 11.
5. See the discussion of the 'Helliconia' Trilogy in Section 3.3 of this Thesis.
6. For more detail on Gnostic ideas of the Demiurge and related matters, see Quispel (1987).
7. Wingrove in Griffin and Wingrove (1984), 208.
8. The Stableford edition used here is The Empire of Fear (London: Simon and Schuster, 1988). Abbreviation: EF.
9. For a general discussion of Bacon's life and thought, see Bowen (1963).
10. The text of the Novum Organum can be found in Johnson (1965), 79-96.
11. Clute (1995), 81-2.

12. The Moorcock edition employed here is Gloriana, or The Unfulfill'd Queen (London: Flamingo, 1986).
Abbreviation: G.
13. Spenser in his Prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, in Spenser (1979), 15.
14. For discussions of Spenser's themes, see Bayley (1971) and Hough (1972).
15. See the revised edition of Gloriana (London: Phoenix, 1993), 361-6.
16. The Yarbrow edition employed here is Ariosto (New York: Tor, 1988). Abbreviation: A.
17. For discussions of Ariosto's life and themes, see Guido Waldman's Introduction to Ariosto (1983) and Cuccaro (no date).
18. Clute (1995), 64-6.
19. See Kenyon Jones (1997).
20. Edition of Aldiss: Frankenstein Unbound (London: Granada, 1985).
21. Wingrove in Griffin and Wingrove (1984), 168.
22. The Moorcock editions used here are: An Alien Heat (London: Grafton, 1982); The Hollow Lands (London: Grafton, 1977); and The End of All Songs (London: Grafton, 1984).
23. The Priest edition used here is The Space Machine: A Scientific Romance (London: Gollancz, 1988).
24. The Gibson and Sterling edition employed here is The Difference Engine (London: Gollancz, 1990). Abbreviation: DE.
25. The Disraeli edition to which I have referred is Sybil: or The Two Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1927).
26. Clute (1995), 235.
27. Schwarz (1979), chs. 3 and 4, supplies this information.
28. Clute (1995), 237.
29. Fischlin et al. with Gibson and Sterling (1992), 10.

30. Fischlin et al. with Gibson and Sterling (1992), 10.
31. Fischlin et al. with Gibson and Sterling (1992), 9.
32. Fischlin et al. with Gibson and Sterling (1992), 7.
33. Fischlin et al. with Gibson and Sterling (1992), 7.
34. See the discussion of Crowley in Section 4.5 of this Thesis.
35. Fischlin et al. with Gibson and Sterling (1992), 6.
36. The edition of Rucker used here is The Hollow Earth (New York: Avonova, 1992). Abbreviation: HE.
37. The di Filippo edition used here is The Steampunk Trilogy (New York and London: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1995).
38. The Greenland edition used here is Harm's Way (London: Harper Collins, 1993). Abbreviation: HW.
39. For the general content and range of Scientific Romances, see Suvin (1983).
40. The Moorcock editions used here are: The Warlord of the Air (London: Granada, 1981); The Land Leviathan (London: Granada, 1984); and The Steel Tsar (London: Granada, 1981). Abbreviations: The Warlord of the Air = WA; The Steel Tsar = ST.
41. The Story of the Treasure Seekers (1899), The Would-be Goods (1901), and The New Treasure Seekers (1904).
42. The Baxter text used here is Anti-Ice (London: Harper Collins, 1993). Abbreviation: AI.
43. The Baxter edition used here is the paperback version of The Time Ships (London: Voyager, 1995).
44. In his story 'The Ant-Men of Tibet' (in Interzone 95 (May 1995), 6-22), a direct sequel to The First Men in the Moon, Baxter describes how the Selenites destroy Earth using Cavorite.
45. The Newman editions used here are: Anno Dracula (London: Simon and Schuster, 1992) and The Bloody Red Baron (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1995).
46. See Kenyon Jones (1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Aldiss, Brian, Frankenstein Unbound (London: Granada, 1985).
2. Aldiss, Brian, Helliconia (London: Voyager, 1996).
3. Aldiss, Brian, Helliconia Spring (London: Cape, 1982).
4. Aldiss, Brian, Helliconia Summer (London: Cape, 1983).
5. Aldiss, Brian, Helliconia Winter (London: Cape, 1985).
6. Aldiss, Brian, The Malacia Tapestry (London: Cape, 1976).
7. Aldiss, Brian, with Wingrove, David, Trillion Year Spree (London: Gollancz, 1986).
8. Amis, Kingsley, The Alteration (London: Panther, 1978).
9. Anderson, Poul, Agent of the Terran Empire (London: Coronet, 1977).
10. Anderson, Poul, A Circus of Hells (New York: Signet, 1970).
11. Anderson, Poul, The Day of Their Return (New York: Doubleday, 1973).
12. Anderson, Poul, The Earth Book of Stormgate (New York: Berkley, 1978).
13. Anderson, Poul, Ensign Flandry (London: Coronet, 1976).
14. Anderson, Poul, Flandry of Terra (London: Coronet, 1976).
15. Anderson, Poul, The Game of Empire (New York: Tor, 1988).
16. Poul Anderson, A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows (London: Sphere, 1984).
17. Anderson, Poul, The Long Night (London: Sphere, 1985).
18. Anderson, Poul, A Midsummer Tempest (New York: Tor, 1985).
19. Anderson, Poul, Mirkheim (New York: Berkley, 1977).
20. Anderson, Poul, The Night Face (New York: Ace, 1978).

21. Anderson, Poul, The People of the Wind (London: Sphere, 1977).
22. Anderson, Poul, The Rebel Worlds (New York: Signet, 1969).
23. Anderson, Poul, Satan's World (New York: Berkley, 1983).
24. Anderson, Poul, The Shield of Time (New York: Tor, 1991).
25. Anderson, Poul, A Stone in Heaven (New York: Ace, 1979).
26. Anderson, Poul, The Time Patrol (New York: Tor, 1991).
27. Anderson, Poul, Trader to the Stars (London: Panther, 1967).
28. Anderson, Poul, The Trouble Twisters (London: Gollancz, 1967).
29. Andre-Driussi, Michael, 'Posthistory 101', Extrapolation Vol. 37, No. 2 (Summer 1996), 127-138.
30. Ariosto, Ludovico, Orlando Furioso (trans. and introd. Guido Waldman) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
31. Asimov, Isaac, Foundation (London: Panther, 1983).
32. Asimov, Isaac, Foundation and Empire (New York: Avon, 1969).
33. Asimov, Isaac, Second Foundation (London: Panther, 1969).
34. Banks, Iain M., Consider Phlebas (London: Orbit, 1988).
35. Banks, Iain M., Excession (London: Orbit, 1996).
36. Banks, Iain M., The Player of Games (London: MacMillan, 1988).
37. Banks, Iain M., The State of the Art (London: Orbit, 1991).
38. Banks, Iain M., Use of Weapons (London: Orbit, 1990).
39. Baxter, Stephen, Anti-Ice (London: Harper Collins, 1993).

40. Baxter, Stephen, 'The Ant-Men of Tibet', Interzone 95 (May 1995), 6-22.
41. Baxter, Stephen, The Time Ships (London: Voyager, 1995)
42. Bayley, Peter, Edmund Spenser: Prince of Poets (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971).
43. Bear, Greg, Heads (London: Legend, 1991).
44. Bear, Greg, Moving Mars (New York: Tor, 1993).
45. Bear, Greg, Queen of Angels (New York: Warner Questar, 1990).
46. Berger, Albert I., 'Theories of History and Social Order in Astounding Science Fiction, 1934-55', Science Fiction Studies 44, Vol. 15, Pt. 1 (March 1988), 12-35.
47. Bester, Alfred, 'My Affair With Science Fiction', in Bester, Starlight (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 387-409.
48. Bester, Alfred, The Stars My Destination (New York: Vintage, 1996).
49. Bisson, Terry, Fire on the Mountain (New York: Avon, 1990).
50. Bittner, James W., Approaches to the Fiction of Ursula K. Le Guin (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984).
51. Blackmore, Tom, 'The Bester / Chaykin Connection: An Examination of Substance Assisted by Style', Extrapolation Vol. 31, No. 2 (Summer 1990), 101-124.
52. Bowen, Catherine Drinker, Francis Bacon: The Temper of a Man (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963).
53. Brin, David, Brightness Reef (London: Orbit, 1996).
54. Brin, David, Startide Rising (London: Orbit, 1996).
55. Brin, David, Sundiver (London: Orbit, 1996).
56. Brin, David, The Uplift War (New York: Bantam, 1987).
57. Broderick, Damien, Reading By Starlight: Postmodern Science Fiction (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).
58. Browning, Gavin, 'Scientism in Science Fiction', Foundation 33 (Spring 1985), 24-36.

59. Buchan, John, Montrose (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928).
60. Bukatman, John, 'Postcards From the Posthuman Solar System', Science Fiction Studies 55, Vol. 18, Pt. 3 (November 1991), 343-357.
61. Butvin, Susan M., 'The Final Encyclopaedia: Gordon R. Dickson's Creative Universe', Extrapolation Vol. 36, No. 4 (Winter 1995), 360-368.
62. Cairns, Grace E., Philosophies of History (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971).
63. Cameron, Euan, The European Reformation (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
64. Canary, Robert H., 'Science Fiction as Fictive History', Extrapolation Vol. 16, No. 1 (December 1974), 81-95.
65. Card, Orson Scott, Alvin Journeyman (New York: Tor, 1995).
66. Card, Orson Scott, Pastwatch: The Redemption of Christopher Columbus (New York: Tor, 1996).
67. Card, Orson Scott, Prentice Alvin (New York: Tor, 1989).
68. Card, Orson Scott, Red Prophet (London: Legend, 1989).
69. Card, Orson Scott, Seventh Son (London: Legend, 1989).
70. Carter, Cassie, 'The Metacolonization of Dick's The Man in the High Castle: Mimicry, Parasitism, and Americanism in the PSA', Science Fiction Studies 67, Vol. 22, Pt. 3 (November 1995), 333-342.
71. Carter, Paul A., The Creation of Tomorrow: Fifty Years of Magazine Science Fiction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).
72. Cherryh, C.J., Angel with the Sword (London: Gollancz, 1987).
73. Cherryh, C.J., Brothers of Earth (New York: DAW, 1976).

74. Cherryh, C.J., Chanur's Homecoming (New York: DAW, 1987).
75. Cherryh, C.J., Chanur's Legacy (New York: DAW, 1992).
76. Cherryh, C.J., Chanur's Venture (London: Methuen, 1986).
77. Cherryh, C.J., Cuckoo's Egg (New York: DAW, 1985).
78. Cherryh, C.J., Cyteen (New York: Warner, 1988).
79. Cherryh, C.J., Downbelow Station (London: Methuen, 1983).
80. Cherryh, C.J., The Faded Sun Trilogy (London: Methuen, 1987).
81. Cherryh, C.J., Forty Thousand in Gehenna (London: Methuen, 1987)
82. Cherryh, C.J., Heavy Time (New York: Warner Books, 1991).
83. Cherryh, C.J., Hellburner (London: New English Library, 1992).
84. Cherryh, C.J., Hunter of Worlds (New York: DAW, 1977).
85. Cherryh, C.J., The Kif Strike Back (London: Methuen, 1987).
86. Cherryh, C.J., Merchanter's Luck (New York: DAW, 1982),
87. Cherryh, C.J., The Pride of Chanur (London: Methuen, 1983).
88. Cherryh, C.J., Rimrunners (New York: Warner, 1989).
89. Cherryh, C.J., Serpent's Reach (New York: DAW, 1980).
90. Cherryh, C.J., Tripoint (London: New English Library, 1995).
91. Cherryh, C.J., Voyager in Night (London: Methuen, 1985).
92. Clute, John, Look at the Evidence (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995).
93. Clute, John, Strokes (Seattle: Serconia Press, 1988).

94. Clute, John, 'Swanwick, Michael' in Clute and Grant, John (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy (London: Orbit, 1997), 913-914.
95. Clute, John, 'Theodicy', in Clute and Grant, John (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy (London: Orbit, 1997), 939.
96. Clute, John, and Edwards, Malcolm J., 'Vance, Jack' in Clute and Nicholls, Peter (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Science Fiction (London: Orbit, 1993), 1264-1266.
97. Clute, John, and Pringle, David, 'Aldiss, Brian W.' in Clute and Nicholls, Peter (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Science Fiction (London: Orbit, 1993), 10-13.
98. Collings, Michael, 'Afterword: The Folk of the Fringe' in Card, Orson Scott, The Folk of the Fringe (London: Legend, 1990), 239-243.
99. Crowley, John, 'Great Work of Time' in Crowley, Novelty (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 37-141.
100. Cuccaro, Vincent, The Humanism of Ludovico Ariosto: From the "Satire" to the "Furioso" (Ravenna: Longo Editore, no date).
101. de Camp, L. Sprague, 'Aristotle and the Gun', in Dozois, Gardner (ed.), The Legend Book of Science Fiction (London: Legend, 1991), 23-58.
102. de Camp, L. Sprague, Lest Darkness Fall (New York: Del Rey, 1979).
103. Delany, Samuel R., 'Reflections on Historical Models', in Delany, Starboard Wine (Pleasantville, New York: Dragon Press, 1984), 224-244.
104. Dickson, Gordon R., Chantry Guild (London: Sphere, 1989).
105. Dickson, Gordon R., Dorsai! (London: Sphere, 1978).
106. Dickson, Gordon R., The Final Encyclopaedia (London: Sphere, 1985).
107. Dickson, Gordon R., Lost Dorsai (London: Sphere, 1984).

108. Dickson, Gordon R., Necromancer (New York: Ace, 1981).
109. Dickson, Gordon R., Other (New York: Tor, 1995).
110. Dickson, Gordon R., Soldier, Ask Not (London: Sphere, 1978).
111. Dickson, Gordon R., The Spirit of Dorsai (London: Sphere, 1981)
112. Dickson, Gordon R., Tactics of Mistake (New York: Ace, 1981).
113. Dickson, Gordon R., Young Bleys (New York: Tor, 1992).
114. di Filippo, Paul, The Steampunk Trilogy (New York and London: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1995).
115. Disraeli, Benjamin, Sybil: or The Two Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1927).
116. di Tommasso, Lorenzo, 'History and Historical Effect in Frank Herbert's Dune', Science Fiction Studies 58, Vol. 19, Pt. 3 (November 1992), 311-325.
117. Dunne, Thomas P., 'To Play the Phoenix: Medieval Images and Cycles of Rebuilding in Walter Miller's A Canticle for Leibowitz', in Yoke, Carl B. (ed.), Phoenix From the Ashes: The Literature of the Remade World (New York, Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 105-115.
118. Elkins, Charles, 'An Approach to the Social Functions of American Science Fiction', Science Fiction Studies 13, Vol. 4, Pt. 3 (November 1977), 228-232.
119. Elkins, Charles, 'Asimov's "Foundation" Novels: Historical Materialism Distorted into Cyclical Psycho-History', Science Fiction Studies 8, Vol. 3, Pt. 1 (March 1976), 26-36.
120. Evans, Christopher, Aztec Century (London: Gollancz, 1993).
121. Ferguson, Niall, 'Introduction' to Ferguson (ed.), Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals (London: Picador, 1997).

122. Finch, Sheila, 'Paradise Lost: The Prison at the Heart of Le Guin's Utopia', Extrapolation Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall 1985), 240-248.
123. Fischlin, Daniel, Hollinger, Veronica, and Taylor, Andrew, "'The Charisma Leak": A Conversation with William Gibson and Bruce Sterling', Science Fiction Studies 56, Vol. 19. Pt. 1 (March 1992), 1-16.
124. Fleishman, Avrom, The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf (London and Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).
125. Foote, Bud, 'A Conversation with Kim Stanley Robinson', Science Fiction Studies 62, Vol. 21, Pt. 1 (March 1994), 51-60.
126. Foote, Bud, 'Notes on Kim Stanley Robinson's Red Mars', Science Fiction Studies 62, Vol. 21, Pt. 1 (March 1994), 61-66.
127. Franko, Carol, 'Dialogical Twins: Post-Patriarchal Topography in Two Stories by Kim Stanley Robinson', Science Fiction Studies 67, Vol. 22, Pt. 3 (November 1995), 305-322.
128. Franko, Carol, 'Working the "In Between": Kim Stanley Robinson's Utopian Fiction', Science Fiction Studies 63, Vol. 21, Pt. 2 (July 1994), 191-212.
129. Gibbon, Edward, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (ed. Oliphant Smeaton), 6 vols. (London: Everyman's Library, 1950).
130. Gibson, William, and Sterling, Bruce, The Difference Engine (London: Gollancz, 1990).
131. Greenland, Colin, Harm's Way (London: Harper Collins, 1993).
132. Greenland, Colin, 'Riding A Bicycle Backwards: An Interview with Gene Wolfe', Foundation 31 (July 1994), 37-44.
133. Griffin, Brian, and Wingrove, David, Apertures: A Study of the Writings of Brian Aldiss (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1984).

134. Grigsby, John L., 'Herbert's Reversal of Asimov's Vision Reassessed: Foundation's Edge and God Emperor of Dune', Science Fiction Studies 33, Vol. 11, Pt. 2 (July 1984), 174-180.
135. Hacker, Barton C., and Chamberlain, Gordon B., 'Pasts that Might Have Been: An Annotated Bibliography of Alternate History', Extrapolation Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter 1981), 334-379.
136. Hand, Jack, 'The Traditionalism of Women's Roles in Frank Herbert's Dune', Extrapolation Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 1985), 24-28.
137. Hassler, Donald M., 'Some Asimov Resonances from The Enlightenment', Science Fiction Studies 44, Vol. 15, Pt. 1 (March 1988), 36-47.
138. Hatfield, Len, 'The Galaxy Within: Paradox and Synecdoche as Heuristic Tropes in Greg Bear's Science Fiction', Extrapolation Vol. 31, No. 3 (Fall 1990), 240-257.
139. Hellekson, Karen, 'Poul Anderson's Time Patrol as Anti-Alternate History', Extrapolation Vol. 37, No. 3 (Fall 1996), 234-244.
140. Henderson III, Harry B., Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
141. Henighan, Tom, 'The Cyclopean City: A Fantasy Image of Decadence', Extrapolation Vol. 35, No.1 (Spring 1994), 68-76.
142. Herbert, Frank, Chapter House Dune (London: Gollancz, 1985).
143. Herbert, Frank, Children of Dune (London: New English Library, 1982).
144. Herbert, Frank, Dune (New York: Berkley, 1984).
145. Herbert, Frank, Dune Messiah (London: New English Library, 1982).
146. Herbert, Frank, God Emperor of Dune (London: New English Library, 1981).

147. Herbert, Frank, Heretics of Dune (London: Gollancz, 1984).
148. Herbert, Gary B., 'The Hegelian "Bad Infinite" in Walter M. Miller's A Canticle For Leibowitz', Extrapolation Vol. 31, No.2 (Summer 1990), 160-169.
149. Hough, Graham, A Preface to The Faerie Queene (London: Duckworth, 1972).
150. Jakiel, S. James, and Levinthal, Rosandra E., 'The Laws of Time Travel', Extrapolation Vol. 21, No.2 (Summer 1980), 130-138.
151. James, Edward, '"The Cadwal Chronicles" and the Criticism of Vance', Foundation 42 (Spring 1988), 65-70.
152. James, Edward, 'The Historian and Science Fiction', Foundation 35 (Winter 1985/6), 5-13.
153. Jameson, Fredric, 'In Retrospect', Science Fiction Studies 4, Vol. 1, Pt. 4 (Fall 1974), 272-276.
154. Johnson, Arthur (ed.), Francis Bacon (London: B T Batsford, 1965).
155. Kelleghan, Fiona, 'Hell's My Destination: Imprisonment in the Works of Alfred Bester', Science Fiction Studies 64, Vol. 21, Pt. 3 (November 1994), 351-364.
156. Kenyon Jones, Christine, 'Science Fiction and Romantic Biofictions: Aldiss, Gibson, Sterling, Powers', Science Fiction Studies 71, Vol. 24, No. 1 (March 1997), 47-56.
157. Ketterer, David, New Worlds For Old: The Apocalyptic Imagination, Science Fiction, and American Literature (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1974).
158. Ketterer, David, 'Science Fiction and Allied Literature', Science Fiction Studies 8, Vol. 3, Pt. 1 (March 1976), 64-75.
159. Klein, Gerard, 'Discontent in American Science Fiction', Science Fiction Studies 11, Vol. 4, Pt. 1 (March 1977), 3-13.

160. Kornbluth, C.M., 'Two Dooms' in Benford, Gregory, and Greenberg, Martin H. (eds.), Hitler Victorious (London: Grafton, 1988), 21-82.
161. Kreuziger, Frederick A., Apocalypse and Science Fiction: A Dialectic of Religious and Secular Soteriologies (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982).
162. Le Guin, Ursula K., Always Coming Home (London: Grafton, 1988).
163. Le Guin, Ursula K., The Dispossessed (London: Grafton, 1975).
164. Le Guin, Ursula K., A Fisherman of the Inland Sea (New York: Harper Prism, 1994).
165. Le Guin, Ursula K., Four Ways to Forgiveness (New York: Harper Prism, 1995).
166. Le Guin, Ursula K., The Left Hand of Darkness (London: Orbit, 1994).
167. Le Guin, Ursula K., 'On Norman Spinrad's The Iron Dream', Science Fiction Studies 1, Vol. 1, Pt. 1 (Spring 1973), 41-44.
168. Le Guin, Ursula K., The Word For World Is Forest (London: Panther, 1980).
169. Leiber, Fritz, The Big Time (London: Orbit, 1976).
170. Leiber, Fritz, Changewar (New York: Ace, 1983).
171. Levin, A. E., 'English Language Science Fiction as a Socio-Cultural Phenomenon', Science Fiction Studies 13, Vol. 4, Pt. 1 (March 1977), 246-256.
172. Linaweaver, Brad, 'Moon of Ice' in Benford, Gregory, and Greenberg, Martin H. (eds.), Hitler Victorious (London: Grafton, 1988), 213-294.
173. Lowentrou, Peter, 'The "Metamorphoses" of Darko Suvin: Final Synthesis or Dogged Antithesis', Foundation 42 (Spring 1988), 37-45.
174. Lukacs, George, The Historical Novel (trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell) (London: Merlin Press, 1962).

175. Manganiello, Dominic, 'History as Judgement and Promise in A Canticle For Leibowitz', Science Fiction Studies 39, Vol. 13, Pt. 2 (July 1986), 159-169.
176. Manlove, C. N., Science Fiction: Ten Explorations (London: MacMillan, 1986).
177. McAuley, Paul J., Pasquale's Angel (London: Gollancz, 1994).
178. McCaffery, Larry, 'On Encompassing the Entire Universe: An Interview With Gene Wolfe', Science Fiction Studies 46, Vol. 15, Pt. 3 (November 1988), 334-355.
179. McCarthy, Patrick A., 'Science Fiction as Creative Revisionism: The Example of Alfred Bester's The Stars My Destination', Science Fiction Studies 29, Vol. 10, Pt. 1 (March 1983), 58-69.
180. Martin, George R. R., Dying of the Light (New York: Baen, 1990).
181. Martin, George R. R., Nightflyers (New York: Tor, 1987).
182. Martin, George R. R., Portraits of His Children (New York: Baen 1992).
183. Martin, George R. R., Sandkings (New York: Baen, 1986).
184. Martin, George R. R., Songs of Stars and Shadows (London: Coronet, 1981).
185. Martin, George R. R., Tuf Voyaging (London: Gollancz, 1988).
186. Miller, Walter M., A Canticle For Leibowitz (London: Orbit, 1993).
187. Miesel, Sandra, 'Afterword: The Door Into Darkness' in Dickson, Gordon R., The Final Encyclopaedia (London: Sphere, 1985), 681-692.
188. Miesel, Sandra, 'Afterword: The Price of Buying Time' in Anderson, Poul, A Stone in Heaven (New York: Ace, 1979), 237-251.
189. Moorcock, Michael, An Alien Heat (London: Grafton, 1982).

190. Moorcock, Michael, The End of All Songs (London: Grafton, 1984).
191. Moorcock, Michael, Gloriana, Or, The Unfulfill'd Queen (London: Flamingo, 1986).
192. Moorcock, Michael, Gloriana; Or, The Unfulfill'd Queen (revised edition) (London: Phoenix, 1993).
193. Moorcock, Michael, The Hollow Lands (London: Grafton, 1977).
194. Moorcock, Michael, The Land Leviathan (London: Granada, 1984).
195. Moorcock, Michael, The Steel Tsar (London: Granada, 1981).
196. Moorcock, Michael, The Warlord of the Air (London: Granada, 1981)
197. Moore, Ward, Bring The Jubilee (London: Four Square, 1965).
198. Morison, Samuel Eliot, Commager, Henry Steele, and Leuchtenburg, William E., The Growth of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), Volume One.
199. Mulcahy, Kevin, 'The Prince on Arrakis: Frank Herbert's Dialogue with Machiavelli', Extrapolation Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring 1996), 22-36.
200. Newman, Kim, Anno Dracula (London: Simon and Schuster, 1992).
201. Newman, Kim, The Bloody Red Baron (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1995).
202. Nicholls, Peter, 'Optimism and Pessimism' in Nicholls, Peter, and Clute, John (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Science Fiction (London: Orbit, 1993), 891-892.
203. Norwich, John Julius, Byzantium: The Early Centuries (London: Penguin, 1990).
204. Parrinder, Patrick, 'Science Fiction and the Scientific world-view', in Parrinder (ed.), Science

- Fiction: A Critical Guide (London and New York: Longman, 1979), 66-88.
205. Parrinder, Patrick, Science Fiction: Its Criticism and Teaching (London and New York: Methuen, 1980).
206. Pollack, Rachel, Temporary Agency (London: Orbit, 1994).
207. Pollack, Rachel, Unquenchable Fire (London: Century, 1988).
208. Priest, Christopher, The Space Machine: A Scientific Romance (London: Gollancz, 1988).
209. Quispel, Gilles, 'Gnosticism From its Origins to the Middle Ages', in Eliade, Mircea (ed. in chief), The Encyclopaedia of Religion (New York: MacMillan, 1987), Vol. 5, 566-574.
210. Rawlins, Jack, 'Jack Vance', in Fletcher, Marilyn P. (compiler and ed.), Reader's Guide to Twentieth Century SF (Chicago and London: American Library Association, 1989), 579-587.
211. Rawlins, Jack, 'Linear Man: Jack Vance and the Value of Plot in Science Fiction', Extrapolation, Vol. 24, No.4 (Winter 1983), 356-369.
212. Rieder, John, 'The Metafictive World of The Man in the High Castle: Hermeneutics, Ethics, and Political Ideology', in Mullen, R. D., Csicsery-Ronay, Istvan, Evans, Arthur B., and Hollinger, Veronica (eds.), On Philip K. Dick: Forty Articles From Science Fiction Studies (Terre Haute and Greencastle: SF-TH Inc., 1992), 223-232.
213. Roberts, Keith, Pavane (London: Penguin, 1984).
214. Roberts, 'Weinachtsabend', in Benford, Gregory, and Greenberg, Martin H. (eds.), Hitler Victorious (London: Grafton, 1988), 131-176.
215. Robinson, Kim Stanley, Blue Mars (London: Voyager, 1996),
216. Robinson, Kim Stanley, Green Mars (London: Harper Collins, 1993).

217. Robinson, Kim Stanley, 'The Lucky Strike', in Robinson, The Planet on the Table (New York: Tor, 1987), 123-167.
218. Robinson, Kim Stanley, The Novels of Philip K. Dick (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984).
219. Robinson, Kim Stanley, Red Mars (London: Harper Collins, 1992).
220. Rucker, Rudy, The Hollow Earth (New York: Avonova, 1992).
221. 'Sarban' (John W. Wall), The Sound of His Horn (London: Sphere, 1970).
222. Schwarz, Daniel R., Disraeli's Fiction (London: MacMillan, 1979).
223. Seed, David, 'Recycling the Texts of the Culture: Walter M. Miller's A Canticle For Leibowitz', Extrapolation, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Fall 1996), 257-271.
224. Senior, W. A., "'From the Begetting of Monsters": Distortion as Unifier in A Canticle For Leibowitz', Extrapolation Vol. 34, No. 4 (Winter 1993), 329-339.
225. Shepard, Lucius, Kalimantan (London: Legend, 1990).
226. Shepard, Lucius, 'A Spanish Lesson', in Shepard, The Jaguar Hunter (London: Paladin, 1988), 394-429.
227. Shirley, John, 'Introduction', in Vance, Jack, Green Magic (New York: Tor, 1988), no pagination.
228. Spenser, Edmund, The Faerie Queene (ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr.) (London: Penguin, 1979).
229. Spinrad, Norman, 'Introduction: Hitler Victorious' in Benford, Gregory, and Greenberg, Martin H. (eds.), Hitler Victorious (London: Grafton, 1988), 13-20.
230. Spinrad, Norman, The Iron Dream (London: Panther, 1974).
231. Spinrad, Norman, 'Mars', in Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine, Vol. 21, No. 6 (June 1997), 144-157.
232. Stableford, Brian, The Empire of Fear (London: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

233. Stableford, Brian, 'Scientific Romance', in Nicholls, Peter, and Clute, John, (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Science Fiction (London: Orbit, 1993), 1076.
234. Sterling, Bruce, Crystal Express (London: Legend, 1990).
235. Sterling, Bruce, Schismatrix (London: Penguin, 1986).
236. Stirling, S. M., Marching Through Georgia (New York: Baen, 1988).
237. Stirling, S. M., The Stone Dogs (New York: Baen, 1990).
238. Stirling, S. M., Under the Yoke (New York: Baen, 1989).
239. Suvin, Darko, Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: On the Poetics and History of a Literary Genre (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979).
240. Suvin, Darko, Victorian Science Fiction in the UK: The Discourses of Knowledge and Power (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1983).
241. Swanwick, Michael, The Iron Dragon's Daughter (London: Millennium, 1993).
242. Taylor, Angus, 'Asimov, Popper, and the Fate of the Galaxy', Foundation 42 (Spring 1988), 59-64.
243. Thompson, Craig, 'Searching for Totality: Antinomy and the Absolute in Bruce Sterling's Schismatrix', Science Fiction Studies 54, Vol. 18, Pt. 2 (July 1991), 198-209.
244. Thompson, Raymond H., 'Shai Dorsai!: A Study of the Hero Figure in Gordon R. Dickson's Dorsai', Extrapolation Vol. 20, No. 3 (Fall 1979), 223-229.
245. Turtledove, Harry, Agent of Byzantium (London: New English Library, 1988).
246. Turtledove, Harry, The Guns of the South (New York: Ballantine, 1992).

247. Turtledove, Harry, 'The Last Article', in Turtledove, Kaleidoscope (New York: Del Rey, 1990), 214-244.
248. Vance, Jack, Araminta Station (New York: Tor, 1988).
249. Vance, Jack, The Book of Dreams (New York: DAW, 1980).
250. Vance, Jack, Ecce and Old Earth (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Underwood-Miller, 1991).
251. Vance, Jack, The Face (New York: DAW, 1979).
252. Vance, Galactic Effectuator (London: Coronet, 1983).
253. Vance, Jack, The Gray Prince (New York: Tor, 1992).
254. Vance, Jack, The Killing Machine (London: Coronet, 1980).
255. Vance, Jack, Marune: Alastor 933 (London: Coronet, 1978).
256. Vance, Jack, Maske: Thaery (London: Fontana, 1978).
257. Vance, Jack, Night Lamp (New York: Tor, 1996).
258. Vance, Jack, The Palace of Love (New York: DAW, 1979).
259. Vance, Jack, Star King (London: Coronet, 1980).
260. Vance, Jack, Throy (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Underwood-Miller, 1992).
261. Vance, Jack, Trullion: Alastor 2262 (London: Mayflower, 1979).
262. Vance, Jack, Wyst: Alastor 1716 (London: Coronet, 1980).
263. Waldrop, Howard, Them Bones (Willimantic, Connecticut: Ziesing, 1984).
264. Warrick, Patricia S., 'The Encounter of Taoism and Fascism in The Man in the High Castle', in Mullen, R. D., Csicsery-Ronay, Istvan, Evans, Arthur B., and Hollinger, Veronica (eds.), On Philip K. Dick: 40 Articles From Science Fiction Studies (Terre Haute and Greencastle: SF-TH Inc., 1992), 74-90.

265. Wendland, Albert, Science, Myth, and the Fictional Creation of Alien Worlds (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985).
266. Westfahl, Gary (ed.), Bear, Greg, Benford, Gregory, and Brin, David, 'Building on Isaac Asimov's Foundation: An Eaton Discussion with Joseph D. Miller as Moderator', Science Fiction Studies 71, Vol. 24, Pt. 1 (March 1997), 17-32.
267. Whalen, Terence, 'The Future of a Commodity: Notes Towards a Critique of Cyberpunk and the Information Age', Science Fiction Studies 56, Vol. 19, Pt. 1 (March 1992), 75-88.
268. Whitbourn, John, To Build Jerusalem (London: Gollancz, 1995).
269. Whitbourn, John, A Dangerous Energy (London: Gollancz, 1992).
270. Wilcox, Clyde, 'Governing Galactic Civilization: Hobbes and Locke in Outer Space', Extrapolation Vol. 32, No. 2 (Summer 1991), 111-123.
271. Wilcox, Clyde, 'The Greening of Isaac Asimov: Cultural Change and Political Futures', Extrapolation Vol. 31, No. 1 (Spring 1990), 54-62.
272. Williams, Lynn F., 'Women and Power in C. J. Cherryh's Novels', Extrapolation Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer 1986), 85-92.
273. Wilson, Raymond J., 'Asimov's Mystery Story Structure', Extrapolation Vol. 19, No. 2 (May 1978), 101-107.
274. Wolfe, Gary K., Critical Terms for Science Fiction and Fantasy: A Glossary and Guide to Scholarship (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1986).
275. Wolfe, Gary K., The Known and the Unknown: The Iconography of Science Fiction (Kent, Ohio: Kent University Press, 1979).

276. Wolfe, Gene, Shadow and Claw (New York: Tor Orb, 1994).
277. Wolfe, Gene, Sword and Citadel (New York: Tor Orb, 1994).
278. Wolfe, Gene, There Are Doors (New York: Tor, 1989).
279. Wolfe, Gene, The Urth of the New Sun (London: Gollancz, 1987).
280. Wolfe, Gene, 'Words Weird and Wonderful', in Wolfe, Castle of Days (New York: Tor, 1992), 234-251.
281. Wollheim, Donald A., The Universe Makers (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).
282. Yarbrow, Chelsea Quinn, Ariosto (New York: Tor, 1988).

University of Cape Town