



DOSSIER

ASOCIACIONISMO Y MOVILIZACIÓN FEMENINA. (SIGLOS XIX Y XX)

UTOPIAN DREAMS IN THE NEW WORLD AND FOR THE NEW WOMAN: THE INFLUENCE OF UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN FIRST WAVE FEMINISM. THE CASE OF MARIE HOWLAND AND TOPOLOBAMBO'S COMMUNITY.

Sueños Utópicos en el Nuevo Mundo y para la Nueva Mujer: La Influencia del Socialismo Utópico en el Feminismo de la Primera Ola. El caso de Marie Howland y la Comunidad de Topolobampo.

Macarena Iribarne

Associate Lecturer, University of Wollongong

mgonzale@uow.edu.au

Recibido: 11-05-2019- Aceptado: 20-10-2019

Cómo citar este artículo/Citation:

Macarena IRIBARNE, "Utopian dreams in the new world and for the new woman: the influence of utopian socialism in first wave feminism. The case of Marie Howland and Topolobambo's Community", *Hispania Nova*, 18 (2020), págs. 380-418.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/hn.2020.5112>

Copyright: © HISPANIA NOVA es una revista debidamente registrada, con ISSN 1138-7319 y Depósito Legal M 9472-1998. Los textos publicados en esta revista están –si no se indica lo contrario– bajo una licencia Reconocimiento-Sin obras derivadas 3.0 España de Creative Commons. Puede copiarlos, distribuirlos y comunicarlos públicamente siempre que cite su autor y la revista y la institución que los publica y no haga con ellos obras derivadas. La licencia completa se puede consultar en: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/3.0/es/deed.es>

Resumen: El continente americano fue originalmente concebido como el lugar ideal para desarrollar proyectos utópicos. Este espíritu utópico renovó su impulso en el siglo XIX. El socialismo utópico y, en especial, el pensamiento de Charles Fourier inspiraron la creación de comunidades ideales en Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica. Marie Howland gracias a su novela *Papa's own girl*, será la ideóloga y una de las creadoras y directoras del proyecto de ciudad ideal desarrollado durante el último cuarto del siglo diecinueve en Topolobampo, Sinaloa. Howland tratará de poner en práctica las ideas desarrolladas en su libro sobre el amor libre y la liberación de la mujer a través de un modelo comunitario de trabajo doméstico e independencia económica. Sus esfuerzos enfrentaron la resistencia de hombres que no estaban a la altura de la mujer nueva.

Palabras claves: Nuevo Mundo, Comunidades Ideales, Socialismo Utópico, Amor libre, Independencia económica de la mujer, Marie Stevens Howland.

Abstract: The Americas were originally conceived as the ideal place to develop utopian projects. This utopian spirit renewed its energy in the 19th century. Utopian Socialism and, particularly, Charles Fourier's thought inspired the creation of ideal communities in the United States and Latin America. Marie Howland was the ideologue, and one of the creators and leaders of the ideal city project developed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Topolobampo, Sinaloa – following the publication of her novel *Papa's own girl*. Howland tried to put into practice the ideas on free love and liberation of women through a community model of domestic work and economic independence that she developed in her book. Her endeavours faced the resistance of men who were not up to the new woman.

Keywords: New World, Ideal Communities, Utopian Socialism, Free Love, Women Economic Independence, Marie Stevens Howland.

INTRODUCTION

Three years ago, academics around the world celebrated the 500th anniversary of the publication of *Utopia*. Thomas More coined the term “utopia” as a title for his famous book published on December 1516. This term traces back to the Greek adverb *ou* (translated to English as “not”), and the noun *topos* (translated as “place”). In other words, utopia is a non-place, or the place that does not exist. Nonetheless, we can also read *utopia* as *eutopia*, that is, the good place¹.

More’s *Utopia* – by questioning the organization of property, work, religion and even (though timidly) gender relations – created a new literary genre and has inspired numerous social movements. More was inspired by a determining event that changed the face of Europe: the “discovery” of the New World. From the first pages of his book, this fact is evident. The traveller that discovers Utopia, Raphael Hythloday was a travel companion of Amerigo Vespucci, the man after whom the new continent was named². *Utopia*, both as a book and as a hope for a better place, is possible in the eyes of More because a place that did not exist (but existed from the discovery onward) could be transformed into a good place. Vasco de Quiroga, who was bishop of Michoacán (Mexico) from 1536 until his death in 1565, believed that More actually wrote his book to put it into practice in America³. Quiroga was the first to attempt at actualizing utopia in *real life* by congregating indigenous populations into Hospital-towns called

¹ George M. LOGAN and Robert M. ADAMS, “Introduction”, Thomas MORE, *Utopia*, Revised edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. xi.

² Thomas MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ Vasco de QUIROGA, *Información en Derecho*, Mexico, Secretaria de Educacion Publica, 1985, pp. 199- 202. See also: Vasco de QUIROGA, *La Utopía en America*, Madrid, Madrid, Dastin, s/a.

“*Repúblicas de Indios*”, which he organized after principles derived from Thomas More’s *Utopia*⁴.

Pierre-Luc Abramson claims that the utopian influence in America continued through the nineteenth century and took a new impetus with the creation of new nations after the independence processes in Latin America⁵. In the case of the United States, we find a similar process with the expansion of the territory to the West. For Harrison, “there was a strong conviction that society in the West was in a state of flux, and that it was possible to fashion new institutions which ensure a better world for the future⁶”.

Utopian Socialism played a key role in nineteenth century utopian projects, both in Latin America and the United States. Robert Owen was the first to venture into America. He left New Lanark (Scotland) in 1824 and founded New Harmony in the state of Indiana, United States⁷. Owen’s communitarian ideas enjoyed huge popularity. By 1840, however, Fourierism surpassed them in public esteem⁸. Fourier soon proved the appeal of his ideas beyond the United States. According to Abramson, he was the utopian socialist with more influence in Latin America across the nineteenth century⁹.

As a socialist, Fourier did not aim only to transform the organization of work. In his opinion: “The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation”¹⁰. He was looking for a complete transformation of social relations – including gender relations. His theoretical project was based on the construction of a social organization governed by passions and desire as the only way to achieve

⁴ Quiroga founded in 1531 the first Pueblo-Hospital de Santa Fe in Mexico City (hospital town) inspired by More. Paz SERRANO GASSENT, “Introducción”, in Vasco de QUIROGA, *La Utopía en America*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 and 20.

⁵ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *Las utopías sociales en America Latina en el siglo XIX*, traductor Jorge Alberto Luis PADIN VIDELA, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1999, p. 25.

⁶ John HARRISON, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. The Quest for the New Moral World*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, pp. 54 and 55.

⁷ Ian DONNACHIE, *Robert Owen. Social Visionary*, Edimburg, John Donald, 2005, p. 207.

⁸ John HARRISON, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁹ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁰ Charles FOURIER, “Theorie des quatre mouvements et des destinees generales”, in *OEUVRES COMPLETES DE CHARLES FOURIER*, volume X, Paris, Anthropos, 1966, Volume I, p.

harmony¹¹. In his view, the subjection of women resulted from a model of education based on the idea that they should devote themselves to motherhood and domestic work¹². Fourier claimed, however, that the majority of women do not have a natural inclination for any of these activities¹³, so they are not following their passions and desire when they act either as mothers or housewives. These premises made the emancipation of women an essential (and logical) element of social change. It is no surprise that Fourier's theory had several followers among progressive women in both France¹⁴ and America.

This article will follow the steps of one of these women, Mary Stevens Howland, and her role in a Fourierist community established in Latin America: Topolobampo, in the northwest state of Sinaloa, Mexico. I decided to focus both on Howland and on this community because of her key role not only in the conception of the ideas that crystalized in Topolobampo, but also in their implementation. The relevance of Howland and her experience in Topolobampo is quite evident if we take into account that, even if women were active part of the utopian communities of the Nineteenth century, there are few examples of women actually founding them¹⁵.

¹¹ Arantza CAMPOS RUBIO, *Charles Fourier. Pasion y Utopia. De la atraccion pasional a la Politica Sexual*, Leioa, Universidad del Pais Vasco, 1995, p. 4.

¹² Charles FOURIER, "Theorie de l'Unite Universelle", in OEVRES COMPLETES DE CHARLES FOURIER, volume X, Paris, Anthropos, 1966, Volumes II-V, p. 187. Charles Fourier, "Publication des Manuscrits", in OEVRES COMPLETES DE CHARLES FOURIER, volume X, Paris, Anthropos, 1966, p. 125.

¹³ Charles FOURIER, "Theorie de l'Unite Universelle", *op. cit.*, p. 190. Charles FOURIER, "Le Nouveau Monde industrielle et societaire ou invention du procede d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuees en series passionnes", in OEVRES COMPLETES DE CHARLES FOURIER, volume VI, Paris, Anthropos, 1966, p. 200.

¹⁴ The socialist feminist Flora Tristan became interested in utopian socialism after having read the work of Fourier, with which she maintained correspondence until his death. María de la Macarena IRIBARNE GONZALEZ, *Flora Tristán y la Tradición del Feminismo Socialista*, Madrid, Congreso de los Diputados, 2012, p. 92.

¹⁵ Other examples of a community founded by women are Nashoba created by Frances Wright in 1825. Robert Owen's New Harmony inspired this community. The slaves were supposed to pay for their liberty with their work to the community. Gail BEDERMAN, "Revisiting Nashoba: Slavery, Utopia, and Frances Wright in America, 1818-1826", *American Literary History*, Volume 17, Issue 3, 2005, p. 438. In addition, Martha McWhirter's Woman's Commonwealth (1879) was a unique successful community experiment "because it was a celibate, non-Catholic utopian community owned and operated completely by women". "Women and Utopia: The Woman's Commonwealth of Belton, Texas", Jayme A SOKOLOW and Mary Ann LAMANNA, *The Southwester Historical Quarterly*, Volume 87, No. 4, April 1984, p. 371. (371-392). See also Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Theoretical Approach to the Historical Archaeology of Utopian Communities", *Historical Archeology*, Vol. 40, No.1, 2006, pp. 158 and 159.

This community, as in the case of Vasco de Quiroga's Hospital-towns, was inspired in a utopian novel – *Papa's Own Girl*, which was published by Howland in 1874. The relevance of the novel to the foundation of the community was twofold. First, because R. Owen, who already had in mind its creation, would adopt the Fourierist model after reading the novel; and, second, because this work served as publicity and, at the same time, a source of inspiration for the pioneers who decided to leave the United States to build a utopian dream in Topolobampo.

The article pursues to test the historical relevance of utopian feminist writing against utopian feminist practices. In other words, the article will show how utopian texts embody indices of aspirations to emancipation that exist in specific historical contexts, precisely because they have (sometimes) been practically implemented via utopian communities.¹⁶ The article is thus structured in two sections. The main objective of the first and most extensive section is the analysis of *Papa's Own Girl* and Howland's revolutionary proposals on economic independence for women, free love and community life. This analysis is followed by the account of the problems that Howland and the settlers faced in Topolobampo, with a specific emphasis on the tensions that the resistance against the equality between the sexes sought by Howland caused among the pioneer men (and even some of the women involved in the community). This will set the argument to conclude by situating Mary Howland as a forerunner of feminist theory and practice at the contested intersection between class and gender.

MARIE STEVENS HOWLAND'S PAPA'S OWN GIRL: THE SEED OF A UTOPIAN ADVENTURE

Marie Stevens was born in a poor family in 1836 in Lebanon, New Hampshire. In her adolescence, she moved to Lowell, Massachusetts, looking for work to take care of her two younger sisters after the death of her father when she was twelve¹⁷. The

¹⁶ Kenneth M. ROEMER, *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere*, Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003, pp. 30 and ff.

¹⁷ Paul M. GASTON, *Women of Fair Hope*, Montgomery, The New South Books, 1993, pp. 23-24.

owners of this industrial town gave their employees the opportunity to continue studying through literary circles and libraries. They also encouraged them to create strong bonds of solidarity and community life. In this environment, Stevens became a radical. In 1857 she became Director of Elementary School # 11 in New York. That same year she married radical lawyer Lyman W. Case, who was her mentor and played an important role in her intellectual formation. They moved together to Unitarian Household, a community organized in accordance with the precepts of utopian socialist Charles Fourier in New York. There she met a young journalist, Edward Howland, who became her second husband¹⁸.

During the early 1860's Marie Stevens Case and Edward Howland travelled to Guise, France, to visit the *Familestère* – a Social Palace built by Jean-Baptiste-André Godin, the patron that Fourier waited his entire life, but who ironically arrived five years after his death¹⁹. Godin was born in 1817, the son of an artisan smith and his wife. He started working at his father's forge as an ironsmith apprentice at age eleven. He then began manufacturing cast iron stoves in 1840, thus creating a successful and innovative business. After reading the works of Owen and Saint-Simon, he discovered Fourier in 1842. His first attempt to build a Phalanx in Texas failed. However, the *Familestère* that he began building in Guise in 1859 was extremely successful²⁰. The building still exists and is now a museum²¹.

Godin exposed his ideas of communitarian living in his book: *Social Solution*. Marie Stevens (at this time, already known as "Howland") translated it to English in 1873²². As a good disciple of Fourier, Godin affirmed: "Among the general advantages

¹⁸ Dolores HAYDEN, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1982, pp. 91-96.

¹⁹ Charles Fourier was convinced that if he could find a patron to build the first Phalanx, this social palace would serve as an example and society would end up transforming as a whole. Every afternoon he sat in a cafe waiting for this patron until his death in 1837. Rafael DEL AGUILA, "Socialismo Utopico", in Fernando VALLESPIN (editor), *Historia de la Teoría Política*, tomo 4, *Historia, progreso y emancipación*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2002, p. 86.

²⁰ Robert S. FOGARTY, "The Familestère: Radical Reform through Cooperative Enterprise", in Marie HOWLAND, *The Familestère*, Philadelphia, Porcupine Press, 1975, s/n.

²¹ Webpage of the museum: <https://www.familistere.com/fr>

²² Dolores HAYDEN, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, Cambridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 and 100.

that social architecture²³ assures to all the members of the society, the organization of domestic service should be placed first”²⁴. His Social Palace in consequence had a restaurant and public laundry²⁵. The education of the children was also in hands of the community from the minute they were born. Godin divided the need of education in eight categories from the Nursery (with infants from birth to twenty-six or twenty-eight months) to the *Apprentisage* (where all the available occupations in the Familestère were offered to the children so they could choose one and begin gaining a salary or, if they were particularly talented, continue their studies)²⁶. According to Godin:

The child in the Social Palace receives all the care demanded by his age. The child is there [in the Nursery and the pouponnant] in the midst of surroundings adapted to his age, in the society of his peers, free from the loneliness and uneasiness tormenting him when separated from his comrades, and which he expresses by tears and cries. Forty infants in the Familestere nursery are less wearying and annoying than one in the isolated household²⁷.

This, however, was not only advantageous for the child. According to Godin, this organisation enabled “the household” to retain the “cleanliness, order and quiet so necessary to the repose of the labourer, which is impossible when the baby is permanently present”²⁸.

One year after she translated *Social Solutions*, Mary Howland published in 1874 her novel *Papa's Own Girl*. In this novel, she revealed her Fourierist ideas and the plans for a Social Palace. The influence of the Familestère is evident in this novel; however, Howland went even further in her proposals for a revolutionary transformation of the relations between the sexes.

Howland, by choosing fiction as the way to present her ideas, captures the attention of a wider audience and gives the reader a familiar terrain that then is

²³ Architecture is an essential element in all the utopian projects – beginning with More's *Utopia*.

²⁴ Jean Baptiste Andre GODIN, *Social Solutions*, translator Marie HOWLAND, New York, J.W. Lovell Company, 1886, p. 52 (emphasis added).

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 240 and 250

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 280 and 281.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 289.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

radicalized:

*Sentimentality and domesticity help to situate the reader in the unfamiliar terrain of *Papa's Own Girl*, but Howland's feminist, Fourierist, and free-love principles inevitably change some of the familiar coordinates of the sentimental or domestic novel. The sentimental apparatus of the novel offers a superficial sense of orientation, the feeling that this text is familiar terrain. But this very assurance that the text is a terra cognita opens the way for a profound experience of disorientation as typical characters and plots are subtly reshaped and re-aligned²⁹.*

Women in Howland's generation were conscious of the reforming power of fiction. Twenty-two years before the publication of *Papa's Own Girl*, another woman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, transformed the sensibility of her fellow citizens in regards to slavery with another novel: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The abolitionist discourse was not new; Beecher Stowe's challenge was precisely to make an old story new³⁰. Through her novel, she "established emotional identification as a widespread reading practice for consuming the story of slavery"³¹. Howland's *Papa's Own Girl* was consistently compared to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, thus highlighting "the role of literature in radical reform" by receiving favourable criticism not only from radical authors, but also from sources that were more traditional³².

Papa's Own Girl was published in 1874. Howland structured the novel in two broad narrative components, which we can call respectively the Pre-Frauenstein and the post-Frauenstein parts. In the first one, we learn about the life of the Forest family with special emphasis in Clara Forest, a radical woman that follows the steps of her radical father, Doctor Foster (after whom the novel is named) and Susie Dykes – a poor girl that became an unwed mother after being deceived by Clara's brother. After Clara's separation from her wealthy and unfaithful husband, Clara and Susie became business associates and successful economic independent women. The second part follows the steps of count Frauenstein, a millionaire who decides to build a Social Palace, marries

²⁹ Susan LYNCH FOSTER, "Romancing the Cause: Fourierism, Feminism, and Free Love in *Papa's Own Girl*", *Utopian Studies*, 32 and 33.

³⁰ Barbara HOCHMAN, *Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Reading Revolution: Race, Literacy, Childhood and Fiction, 1851-1911*, University of Massachusetts Press, 2008, p. 26.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, pp.31, 34 and 35.

Clara and takes Susie as his right-hand woman after adopting her illegitimate daughter, Minnie³³.

Howland's novel reinvigorated Fourier's ideas in the United States from the 1840s onward³⁴. Unlike other prominent Fourierists who neglected gender relations in their social criticism, Howland emphasized the emancipation of women.

It is important to assess correctly the role that Count Frauenstein has in the story. While it is true that he provides the money for building the first Social Palace, he did not save the two female protagonists. They had already saved themselves when he arrived to the town. Economic independence was the key to their success.

Howland devoted two fifths of the novel to the adventures and misadventures of Clara and Susie. The emphasis on the personal story of both heroines cannot be

³³ As I mentioned above, the novel has two parts. The first part tells the story of the family Forest. The family members are Dr. Forest, a radical doctor who is above social pressures and embodies the highest morality; Mrs. Forest who, unlike her husband, represents morality and traditional values; and their four children. Their only son (and Mrs Forest's favourite child) seduces a poor and ignorant girl who lived in the family house, named Susie Dykes. He abandons pregnant Susie and, after this, he becomes an alcoholic. Clara shares the ideas of her father and refuses to reject Susie. Clara then marries a respectable man, Dr. Delano, for whom she feels a deep love, but whom she leaves disappointed after she discovers that he is cheating on her with another woman. After her separation, she opens a florist's shop with Susie – who must support her daughter Minnie–, so the two young women become economically independent businesspersons. The other two members of the family are the twin sisters Leila and Linnie. Their role is, however, secondary. Another relevant character is Dinah, a wise black servant and former slave who is a friend of Susie.

The second stage begins with the arrival of Count Paul Frauenstein (that is, women's rock), who had pursued studies at Cambridge and Heidelberg universities. He belonged to a noble lineage and had a fortune tantamount to two million dollars. With such credentials, the count received invitations from all the respectable families in the community and was regarded as the most desired bachelor. The count, to everyone's surprise, shares the same ideas as Doctor Forest about the economic independence of women, free love, and hypocrisy of concepts such as respectability or the illegitimacy of children. When meeting little Minnie, he decides to adopt her and, seeing how skilful Susie is in business, she invites her to travel with him to France to visit and study the Familèstere founded by Godin in Guise, with the aim of founding a similar phalanx in the province of New England. In the final part of the book, the phalanx is built. Love between Clara and Frauenstein meanwhile emerges, and they decide to unite their lives in a radical wedding with Doctor Forest as an officiant and witness (a decision that surprises the community because Clara is a divorced woman). Finally, the Palace opens its doors and all the important families of the town attend the opening party. The Forest family in full is there, even Mrs. Forest who undergoes a transformation becoming a member of the women's movement for temperance due to the alcoholism of his son (who, after the rehabilitation, unsuccessfully tries to marry Susie) and defends communitarian ideas, hence showing the benefits of cooperation. As a corollary, Dr. Forest introduces the guests to the newborn son of Clara and Paul as the first child in the entire community. Cfr. Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, Maria de la Macarena IRIBARNE GONZALEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 413, footnote 1857.

³⁴ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, "Marie Howland -19th Century Leader for Women's Economic Independence", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Volume 74, Issue 5, (November 2015), p. 1048.

neglected. By understanding their evolution, we can also comprehend their role in the construction of the Social Palace.

Clara Forest and Susie Dykes: radical inter-class sisterhood

I will therefore begin my discussion of the novel with an analysis of Clara Foster. In some way, Clara is the classic example of the nineteenth Century novel protagonist. She is the daughter of a middle class family. She was sent to study at Stonybrook College, a good school that bore resemblance to a high school rather than a college because, as Howland affirms, “equal education of the sexes was deemed a utopian idea amongst most people”³⁵. Howland was right. Even defenders of women’s education, such as John S. C. Abbot, were reluctant to teach women the same subjects that were taught to men³⁶. Howland thus reinforces the importance that middle classes gave to education at the time, but also critically emphasizes that girls’ education needed to be different³⁷. After her studies, Clara returned to her parents’ house until she married her first husband: Albert Delano. In other words, she did precisely what was expected from a young woman after studying in a women’s college³⁸.

Delano is everything that Clara’s mother, always concerned with opinion of her peers, could dream. He is a young doctor from an important and rich family from Boston³⁹. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the medical profession “grew in prestige, respect, and authority”⁴⁰. The election of the profession of the fictional character was, in my opinion, an intentional feminist narrative turn on Howland’s part. The “Delanos were not over-pleased [to] marry out of their set”, but accepted Clara

³⁵ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁶ Mark. I. WEST, “John S. C. Abbot’s Views on Female Education in Antebellum America Schooling as Pseudo-Trainig”, *The Journal of American Culture*, Volume 39, Number 2, (2016), p. 230.

³⁷ Judith ROWBOTHAM, *Good Girls Make Good Wives. Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 2

³⁸ Mark. I. WEST, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

³⁹ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁴⁰ Tiffany LEE TASNG, “A Fair Chance for the Girls. Discourse on Women’s Health and Higher Education in Late Nineteenth Century America”, *American Educational History Journal*, Volume 42, Number 2, (2015), p. 141.

because she was an educated middle class woman⁴¹. Clara is completely in love with her future husband, so she agrees to have a great wedding, even if she thinks of it as a show⁴².

Clara's marriage was not what she expected. Her husband was still in love with Ella, a glamorous woman who rejected him in the past, but who also constantly flirted with him⁴³. When Clara confronted him, he denied everything and told her that everything was in her imagination⁴⁴. Howland indeed cleverly chose medicine as Delano's profession. During the nineteenth Century medicine was invoked to justify gender inequalities and the doctors "saw themselves as moral as well as physical guardians of women"⁴⁵. Albert was not only her husband; he was also her doctor, so he medicated her for being jealous. In the eyes of the medical profession, "nervous weakness" was a female characteristic⁴⁶. Blake suggests that Howland anticipated Charlotte Perkins Gillman's short story *The Yellow Wall Paper*. First, because in both stories we have "the theme of a doctor/husband ignoring the concerns of his wife and reinforcing her submissive role". Second, in both cases the doctors recommended sedation and a "rest cure"⁴⁷.

To regain her husband's attention Clara tries to emulate Ella, even if she finds that degrading, as she wrote to her father in a letter: "I try to dress more showily. Albert likes the lilies-of-the-field style of Ella. Think of your Clara's pride! She enters the lists in a toilet display to regain the admiration of her husband. It is not pitiful?"⁴⁸ When she

⁴¹ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 206.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

⁴⁵ Lorna DUFFIN, "The Conspicuous Consumptive: Woman as an Invalid", in Lara DELAMONT and Lorna DUFFIN (editors), *The Nineteenth Century Woman. Her Culture and Physical World*, London, Croom Helm, 1978, 27.

⁴⁶ Tiffany LEE TASNG, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁴⁷ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op. cit.*, p. 1071.

⁴⁸ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

discovered a love letter written by Delano to Ella, however, she finally decided to leave him and went back to her parents' house⁴⁹.

Until the moment she leaves her husband, what we find is a tension between what Clara Forest thinks (because of her father's radical ideas) and what she actually does. Clara's relationship with Susie Dykes – who, in my opinion, is the real protagonist of this story –, nonetheless, escapes this gap between her thoughts and her actions.

Susie Dykes' background was completely different. Howland noted that she comes from a "low family"⁵⁰. After her family left, Dr. Forest received her in his house, but his wife decided to treat her as a servant⁵¹. Dan Forest, the only male child of this middle class family, tricked her, using the love that she feels for him, to come into his room. Howland is not very explicit, but it is possible to infer that he raped her⁵².

A note on the history of rape is necessary here. The language and notion of rape of the nineteenth century are completely different to our current conceptions on this crime⁵³. The notions of consent and coercion were radically different. As Sharon Block explains, "[s]ignificant trickery, coercion, and even physical force might have been an acceptable means to achieve sexual goals"⁵⁴. If there was an imbalance of economic power as the one Howland described, women were even in a more vulnerable situation⁵⁵. Rape was considered, alongside other forms of illicit sexual acts, as a consequence of unregulated sexual passions⁵⁶. The seducer and the rapist hence received similar social sanctions⁵⁷.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 274.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 55 and 56.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 82.

⁵³ Mary R. BLOCK, "Rape Law in 19th-Century America: Some Thoughts and Reflections on the State of the Field", *History Compass*, 7/5, (2009), p. 1393.

⁵⁴ Sharon BLOCK, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, Chappell Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006, p. 22.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

In the novel, until this moment Susie was not very different from other literary characters of poor girls' rape or seduced by middle or high-class men. We can think, for example, in Fantine from *Les Misérables* written by Victor Hugo ten years before this novel. However, Howland refused to circumscribe Susie in the role of a victim.

When doctor Forest discovered that Susie was pregnant, he wanted Dan to marry her. Howland used Doctor Forest's reprimand to his son to expose her ideas on the subjection of women:

*Brute force and ignorance have oppressed woman in all history, making her a slave to petty cares, denying her the political and social equality that belongs by right to human beings, and making dependant as a slave*⁵⁸.

Susie then overheard Dan reluctantly accepting his father's orders while whining about his duty to marry her. Susie interrupted them and bravely affirmed: "God forgive you, Dan, and make you happy. You will never marry Susie Dykes"⁵⁹. This is the crux of the novel in my view, as Susie's character rejects to become a victim and affirms her own free will.

After these events, Clara similarly rebelled against social expectations, embodied in her mother and her best friend. Following her father's example, Clara decides to maintain her relationship with Susie:

*Surely principles are better than religion [...] I know one who will help Susie openly, and without either calculation or shame; and I shall certainly follow his example, for I will trust my father's sense of right against the world!*⁶⁰.

Even if Clara questioned society for rejecting Susie (who in her eyes is the victim of her brother for being an unwed mother), their relation was not particularly radical at this stage of the story. Clara then became Susie's teacher in Mrs. Buzell's house. Middle class women educating poor ones in a domestic setting was quite common at

⁵⁸ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

the time⁶¹. Clara presented education as an antidote against seduction, thus reinforcing the link between moral education and formal education in schools⁶².

This is also relevant from an economic perspective. In Howland's narrative, this becomes evident when Susie refused to accept Dan's allowance for the maintenance of their common daughter, Minnie. Clara frankly tells her that she must accept Dan's money⁶³.

Finally, both Clara and Mrs. Buzzell persuade Susie to marry Dan. Howland tells us that "[p]assively, Susie submitted to the judgment of Clara and Mrs. Buzzell"⁶⁴. Clara, as a radical middle class woman, thinks that her brother acted badly and, therefore, his marriage to Susie is a matter of justice. However, when the minister decides not to perform the ceremony because Dan was drunk at his own wedding, we hear Susie's voice again. Dan mockingly told her: "I think you are a fool." Susie then answered with a smile: "Maybe I am, dear, but I am not your wife"⁶⁵. This is the second time she rejects Dan, even in her social and economic precarious situation. Howland notes that, after the failed wedding, Clara was disappointed with Susie for being "so serene, and evidently glad even, that the movement had failed"⁶⁶.

After that, the women follow different paths. Clara, as I indicated above, marries Albert Delano and moves to Boston. Susie continues living with Mrs. Buzzell and persists in her education, this time with Doctor Foster as a teacher⁶⁷.

She also initiates her own flower business. She focuses all her energies in reaching economic independence as a personal goal: "If I am prudent, I need not make

⁶¹ During the 19th Century, middle class interest for education encompassed working class girls. "Anxiety about the corruption of social relationships and the degeneration of the 'lower orders' gave an urgent priority to the education of girls as the chief agents of cultural reproduction in the working-class family of the future". Meg GOMERSALL, *Working-class Girls in Nineteenth-century England. Life, Work and Schooling*, Wiltshire, MacMillan Press LTD, 1997, p. 60

⁶² Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 186.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 187.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 211.

any ruinous failures. Oh, to be rich! To own my own house, my own fortune, and never more be a dependant even upon the dearest and noblest people in the world!”⁶⁸ Economic independence is the cornerstone of Howland’s theory on the emancipation of women. She goes even further than John Stuart Mill, who claimed that economic independence would not be necessary if marriage were an equal contract (i. e., a legal nexus not implying the obligation of obedience); any woman who was morally entitled to separation could obtain it in fair terms; and all “honourable employments” were freely open to both men and women⁶⁹. For Howland, on the contrary, it does not matter how “noble” or “dearest” are the people paying the bills – women need to be economically independent as a matter of principle.

Susie Dykes offered economic independence to her former mentor, when Clara returned home after she left Albert Delano. Clara now understands the importance of economic independence. She does not want, for example, to buy her train ticket with her husband’s money. She preferred to ask for a loan and gave her watch as security emphasizing: “understand that my husband is not to pay this under any circumstance”⁷⁰. Then, when her mother claimed that she had “a legal right to his property”, Clara affirmed: “I don’t care a straw for it”⁷¹.

Susie then invited Clara to be her business partner. Together they establish the company “Dykes and Delano. Florist”⁷². The name of the company, in my opinion, expresses Howland’s critique on the still existing Anglophone custom according to which a woman acquires the name of her husband and keeps that name even in the case of separation⁷³. Even if Clara signed the letter where she communicated Albert

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 217 and 218.

⁶⁹ John Stuart MILL, “El sometimiento de la mujer”, en John Stuart Mill y Harriet Taylor Mill, *Ensayos sobre la igualdad de los sexos*, traducción de Pere Casanellas, Madrid, Mínimo Tránsito/Antonio Machado Libros, 2000, p. 199.

⁷⁰ *Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, op. cit.*, p. 276 and 277.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 289.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 292.

⁷³ Later in the novel *Frauenstein* will say: “There is not justice in a woman’s losing her name by marrying”. *Ibidem*, p. 464. A recent study of women’s post-divorce name choice found that around 50% of the women still choose to retain their ex-husband name. The percentage is higher in older women, white women, women with less education and women that have been married for more time. Michelle

her determination to leave him with her maiden name, her company is a constant reminder of her relationship with her estranged ex-husband. Lucy Stone, the famous suffragist and abolitionist who married in 1855, was one of the first women to retain her maiden name. After her death, prominent feminists created the Lucy Stone League in 1893 to help women to keep their surnames after marriage. However, until the 1970s almost all women adopted their husband's name⁷⁴. In other words, marriage entailed women's loss of their birth name one hundred years after Howland's incisive critique.

Mrs. Buzzell suggested Clara to move with them so she could take care of Minnie, because Susie was busy with the business. The words of the old teacher are "When I see a woman seriously working to gain an independent position, I am always delighted"⁷⁵. Even if they are partners, Howland makes clear that Susie is who knows more for the success of the business. It is important to have in mind that Howland was herself a working class woman⁷⁶. Working class women in Howland's generation overturned the Victorian model of women as dependent and based their claims for independence and full citizenship on their ability to earn wages⁷⁷. While Susie is "truly happy"⁷⁸ with her life, Clara spends "sleepless nights, thinking over her buried hopes, and sometimes thinking that her life is a failure"⁷⁹. Susie is from the sentimental bonds that still attach Clara to middle class concerns and sensibilities.

When Mrs. Buzzell passes away, she leaves her real estate to the Company. She also leaves some cash to Minnie, so she can be "independent in a modest way; so if she chooses to enjoy the luxury of living an old maid, she can do so"⁸⁰. Howland is right when she said that being an unmarried woman was a luxury. For many women

HOFFNUNG and Michelle A. WILLIAMS, "When Mr. Right Becomes Mr. Wrong: Women's Postdivorce Name Choice", *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, Vol. 57, N. 1, (2016), pp. 22 and 23.

⁷⁴ Claudia GOLDIN and Maria SHIM, "Making a Name: Women's Surnames at Marriage and Beyond", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 18, Number 12, (Spring 2004), p. 143.

⁷⁵ *Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁷⁶ Paul M. GASTON, *op.cit.*, pp. 24 and 25.

⁷⁷ See: Lara VAPNEK, *Breadwinners: working women and economic independence, 1865-1920*, University of Illinois Press, 2009.

⁷⁸ *Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 303.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 314.

without proper jobs opportunities, marriage was the only way to have a decent life⁸¹. The to this form of subjection is, again, economic independence - which in this case appears in the form of a gift from the old teacher.

Paul Frauenstein: a new man for a new woman

Seven years transpire in the story until Howland introduces the character of count Frauenstein. We can simplify Frauenstein by describing him as a romantic hero that “resolve[s] both the sentimental and the utopian plot”. There is more depth to this character, however, as he could be described as representing subversive masculinities⁸². With respect to his participation in financing the Social Palace, Howland simply responds to a Fourierist logic. Utopian Socialists did not pursue class confrontation, but put their “faith in persuasion” instead.⁸³ In Fourier’s case, as I already mentioned, he was expecting a patron to pay for the first Phalanx⁸⁴. Howland had already lived in one of these Phalanxes. The Familestère in Guise was only possible because Godin decided to finance it. However, in my opinion Frauenstein’s relevance lies in the fact that he questions gender relations, including respectability, economic independence and sexual freedom. Howland pursued not only cooperation between different classes, but also between different genders.

In this sense, both Doctor Forest and (particularly) Frauenstein represented a new model of masculinity. In other words, the new woman required a new man. In Howland’s own words, “[o]nly free women are worthy of free men”⁸⁵.

Howland was fortunate enough to have lived satisfactory heterosexual relationships. Edward Howland, her second husband, inspired the characters of Doctor Forest and Frauenstein⁸⁶. Her first husband Lyman W. Case was the one that

⁸¹ Carole PATEMAN, *El Contrato Sexual*, traducción de Maria Luisa Femenias, Barcelona, Anthropos, 1995, p. 219.

⁸² Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁸³ Bernard BRICK, *Socialism*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 31.

⁸⁴ Rafael DEL AGUILA, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁸⁵ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

⁸⁶ Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

introduced her to the radical circles and approved her relationship with Edward Howland⁸⁷. When Case died in 1892, he left her a small legacy⁸⁸.

In the novel, Doctor Delano always questioned double moral standards. After Clara's failed attempt to marry Susie with Dan he observed: "Susie Dykes has more heart and brain than nineteenths of the women I know [...] She has not fallen yet; for she respects herself, despite this misfortune"⁸⁹. Frauenstein will be even more emphatic against the idea of respectability:

*Respectability!" said the count, thoroughly aroused. "I wonder that women do not hate the very word. No woman ever becomes worthy of herself until she finds out what a sham it is – a very bugbear to frighten slaves. No woman knows her strength until she has had to battle with the cry of 'strong-minded', 'out-of-her-sphere', 'unfeminine', and all the other weapons of weak and hypocritical antagonists"*⁹⁰.

Doctor Forest also defended women's economic independence. However, Frauenstein expressed more clearly his thoughts on this issue:

*I believe, though, I am always on the side of women as against men. I see very few happy women; and they will never be happy, until they are pecuniary independent. All fields should be freely opened to them. They are quite as capable of enterprises as men are, and of filling offices of trust. They should have the same education that men have. Men should give their daughters money, as they do their sons, and send them abroad to continue their education"*⁹¹.

Finally, Frauenstein was an advocate for free love. The concept of free love has changed since the nineteenth Century. In the 1850s, free love "found its basis in Fourierism and perfectionism and aimed to produce children in freedom, meaning freedom from church or state control"⁹². However, it was not until the 1870s that free love became a widespread feminist tendency⁹³. Howland's generation regarded free

⁸⁷ Dolores HAYDEN, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁸⁸ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op. cit.*, p. 1150.

⁸⁹ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 359.

⁹² Wendy HAYDEN, *Evolutionary Rhetoric: Sex, Science, and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Feminism*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2013, p. 17.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

love as a link to the power of women to decide if they wanted to maintain a sexual relation with a man, even if that man was their husband⁹⁴. For the sexual radicals, as Sears has called them, it was important that women had control not only over their sexuality, but also over their reproductive capacities⁹⁵. Linda Gordon affirms that the marriage system in the nineteenth Century was based legally and by habit in the sexual submission of women. “Feminist insistence in the right of women to say ‘no’ and to justify this negative in function of birth control constituted a fundamental rejection of male domination in sex”⁹⁶. In a time with a high death rate during childbirth and limited access to contraceptives (and negative opinions about them, even among feminists), abstinence was presented as the only possibility of decide to be or not a mother⁹⁷. Free love advocates were not alone in their campaign. Under the slogan of “Voluntary Motherhood” we find other two groups who embraced it: suffragists and mortal reformers⁹⁸.

For Howland, free love also meant that women have the right to take the initiative in a romantic relation⁹⁹. Clara’s transformation into a businessperson and her economic independence granted her the necessary confidence to embrace her sexual freedom. For example, after a discussion with Albert Delano when they were still living together, Clara lamented not having the right to not sleep with him¹⁰⁰. The right of the “wife unilaterally to refuse her husband” was “at the heart of voluntary motherhood”¹⁰¹. However, Clara had to wait until she was an economic independent woman to embrace free love. Years after their separation, Albert felt attracted to her new confident self, so

⁹⁴ Hal D. SEARS, *The Sex Radicals. Free Love in High Victoria America*, Lawrence, The Royal Press of Kansas, 1977, p. 4.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 4 and 5.

⁹⁶ Linda GORDON, “La Lucha por la Libertad Reproductiva: Tres Etapas del Feminismo”, en Zillah Eisenstein, *Patriarcado Capitalista y Feminismo Socialista*, traducción de Sara Sefchovich y Stella Mastrangelo, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1980, p. 130.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 129 and 130.

⁹⁸ Linda GORDON, *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*, University of Illinois Press, 2002, p. 55.

⁹⁹ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 235.

¹⁰¹ Linda GORDON, *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

he tries to spend the night with her. Clara rejects him even if he was invoking his marital rights:

It does not strike me as a crime to wish to see my wife in her room.

I am not your wife, and you are not my husband.

The law would hold a different opinion; and, allow me to add, a somewhat less sentimental one.

Was it ever our mutual understanding that we were husband and wife, simply because of the ceremony of marriage? asked Clara¹⁰².

This dialogue summarizes the core of feminist free love discourses at the time: free love has to “be an agreement between partners, not a compulsory activity validated by church or state. At its basis was the right of women to choose their sexual partners based on love, not economic necessity or social or family pressure”¹⁰³.

Clara’s relationship with Frauenstein, the prototype of the new man, is completely different from the very beginning and is a clear example of a relationship based on free love. Howland introduces the character of Frauenstein in a chapter that starts with this words “Another year has passed –a busy and prosperous year for the firm of “Dykes and Delano, Florist””¹⁰⁴. In other words, she is telling us that Clara is already an economically independent woman. Frauenstein met her in the florist shop, where she is in her working clothes – and falls in love with her¹⁰⁵. The relationship between men and women in the eyes of Howland must have love at its basis, and this is only possible if women are economically independent:

*I tell you a woman who has fought that fight, and conquered an independent position by her own industry, has attractions in the eyes of a **true man**, as much above the show of little graces, polite accomplishments, meretricious toilets arts, and the gabble of inanities, as heaven is above the earth. She is a woman whom no man can hold by wealth or social position, but only by the devotion and manliness can inspire¹⁰⁶.*

¹⁰² Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

¹⁰³ Wendy HAYDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 346.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 364. Emphasis added.

Frauenstein waits until she takes the initiative to begin a relationship with him. Then they marry in a radical ceremony, officiated by doctor Forest. This second marriage is completely different to the “show” performed for her first wedding. In other words, church and state are absent from the second marriage¹⁰⁷. After the ceremony, Clara affirms – with her new husband’s agreement and support – her right to decide the moment to initiate her first sexual encounter with Frauenstein.¹⁰⁸

Even if Doctor Forest and Paul Frauenstein share many ideas, the sexual relationship between Clara and Paul has some egalitarian traits that the relation of the doctor and his wife could never have. Howland represents Mrs. Forest as an economically dependent woman that uses her sexuality to manipulate her husband and force him to banish Susie from their home after she found out that she was pregnant¹⁰⁹:

That night Mrs. Forest appeared in the doctor’s room in a ravishing night toilet that had been packed away in lavender since the days of their honeymoon.

*Is it possible that even virtuous men are sometimes the victims of artful women?*¹¹⁰

Clara’s economic independence did not change with her marriage. She leads with Susie the florist and the nursery industries in the Social Palace¹¹¹. Her economic condition did not change with her maternity either. Clara and Paul’s baby is introduced by the end of the book with these words by doctor Forest “It is *our* baby. It is the child of the Social Palace. Every man is its father, every woman its mother, and every child its brother and sister”¹¹².

The character of Clara represents the middle class woman who breaks with conventions and fights for her economic independence. Her reward is an egalitarian relationship with a husband who shares his ideas about free love and women’s

¹⁰⁷ Wendy HAYDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

¹⁰⁹ Precisely the only source of power that according to Rousseau women have. Jean Jacques ROUSSEAU, *Emilio, o de la educacion*, traducción de Mauro Armino, Alianza, Madrid 2005, p. 535.

¹¹⁰ Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 409.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 546.

economic independence. Howland was aware that one of the main causes of women's oppression and lack of equality was the conception of domestic work and child-rearing as distinctive feminine spheres. The Social Palace sets the conditions to free women as Clara from these burdens.

Before addressing the Social Palace, I think it is necessary to focus on what happened with Susie after the arrival of Count Frauenstein. While Frauenstein falls in love with Clara, he also recognizes the capacity for business and its implementation in Susie¹¹³. For this reason, he invited Susie to join him in his travel to Guise in order to study closely Godin's Social Palace¹¹⁴. The relationship between Frauenstein and Susie illustrates a new sort of interaction between women and men, in this case emerging from shared interests rather than from attraction or sexual domination. Frauenstein trusts Susie's abilities but also cares about her personal problems. For this reason, he decides to adopt Minnie. Both of them are aware that until the world changes, being a bastard was a disadvantage for Minnie¹¹⁵.

Dan Forest – who is now a destitute alcoholic – returned to the town precisely when Susie and Minnie are leaving to France. Howland cleverly uses Dan as representative of the “old men.” The only explanation Dan can imagine for both the trip and the adoption of Minnie is that Frauenstein has married Susie¹¹⁶. When he finds out that she was not married, he tries to win back her heart by offering her the life of a honest woman. Susie replies:

I have conquered independence, won friends among the noblest and best, and compelled even my worst slanderers to respect me and my child, you-you come to me and offer to make me an honest woman, by the offer of your debauched self. If that is an honour, give me dishonour for the rest of my life”. Dan raved and threatened, still talking in a very authoritative style about his child. “Thanks Heaven! she is not your child, she is mine. There's one bit of justice which the law offers to a dishonoured mother. My child is mine! You cannot take her from

¹¹³ Even when Clara was her teacher, she recognize this capacity for pragmatic action: “Susie has taught me what applications means”. *Ibidem*, p. 187.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 425.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 219 and 375.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 429.

*me, as you could if I should marry you. [...] I should not dream of marrying you-no: not if you were to become emperor of the world*¹¹⁷.

I have said before that I consider Susie the true heroine of this story. Susie defies all the prejudices around class and sex of her time. She is an unwed mother who becomes a successful and independent businesswoman. She is happy without romantic love – a condition that, even in our days, entails a radical transgression of gender standards. Howland transformed the most dependent character (for her initial love to Dan and her precarious economic situation) into the freest woman of the novel.

The Social Palace: class and gender cooperation

Howland's description of the Social Palace is based in her own experience as an inhabitant of Godin's Palace. With Versailles and Godin's palaces in mind, their palace would be "much handsomer" and bigger¹¹⁸. From a Fourierist perspective, the Phalanxes were the cornerstone and example of how the world should look like. Frauenstein follows the same ideal: "A capitalist builds this [Palace], but hereafter labor organisations will build them for themselves, all over the world, until, as I hope, it shall become one fair garden from the Atlantic to the Pacific"¹¹⁹.

For Howland the Phalanxes were the example of how independent and free women and men, regardless of their social class, were supposed to live, work, love and interact guided by passions such as "attraction to luxuries" and "love of labor"¹²⁰. As a socialist feminist, she was aware that a transformation of the domestic conditions of working women was essential to their emancipation. The Social Palace would include public kitchens, public laundry and a system of education that, as in the Guise's Palace,

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 470 and 471.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 372.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 414.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 423 and 424.

would begin as soon as they were born¹²¹. All the services were offered in the Palace for free¹²².

The Palace was meant to provide workers, regardless of their sex, with the opportunity to own the means of production and their own house. Economic independence would then be a shared objective for women (of any social class) and working class men:

Dependence and degradation are synonymous”, said Clara; “and now you see why this workingmen’s palace is a mighty work. There, for their labor, all the industrious can have comforts and luxuries, while their rents go to pay for their homes¹²³.

The Palace was ruled by two councils of directors. One with twelve “ablest women” and the other with twelve “ablest men” both “chosen by ballot by all the members”¹²⁴. In other words – something expectable, considering Howland was a suffragist – women had an equal right to vote in the Palace and equal representation¹²⁵.

Papa’s Own Girl, with its romantic plot, its defence of free love, independent women and working cooperation prompted debate and action among its readers. There is a consensus among scholars on feminism, socialism and utopianism that the novel attracted the attention of Albert Kimsey Owen, a young engineer who was planning to connect by train (before the Panama canal was built) the Eastern lands in the United States with Topolobampo Bay, in the Northwestern part of Mexico. The novel convinced him of implementing Fourierism in Topolobampo Bay¹²⁶.

The novel not only influenced Owen. For Susan Lynch Foster, the novel “appears to have been an effective domestic missionary in recruiting many of those

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 451-454.

¹²² *Ibidem*, p. 520.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 475.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 508.

¹²⁵ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 880.

¹²⁶ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 260 and 261; Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 34; 1102; Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1102, Dolores HAYDEN, “Two Utopian Feminists and Their Campaign for Kitchenless Houses”, *Signs*, Vol. 4, No. 2, (Winter 1978), p. 277.

who undertook the journey to Mexico, or who supported the colony from home”¹²⁷. Blake shares the same views on the reception of the novel¹²⁸. Mary Howland’s role in Topolobampo, however, was limited to that of an ideologist. After meeting Owen, she worked with him for the next two decades in both the United States and Mexico to implement her ideas through this project.

MARIE STEVENS HOWLAND AND THE CREDIT FONCIER OF SINALOA: LIVING THE UTOPIA?

Owen contacted the Howlands in 1875. Years later, Mary Howland remembered their first encounter in a letter.

*We became acquainted with Mr. Owen ... when, after reading my Papa’s Own Girl he came to Hammonton to visit us. It was a most memorable occasion that, when for the first time we heard the name of Topolobampo*¹²⁹.

This meeting was decisive for both parties. Owen’s project of a large port in the bay of Topolobampo and a railway line linking the West with the East was transformed into a utopian project that would serve as an example to the cities of the future. Mary Howland, on the other hand, saw in Owen a patron and a unique opportunity to carry out the project of the Social Palace.

The socialist metropolis of the West

Owen’s project in Topolobampo was more ambitious than those developed by count Frauenstein in the fictional world of *Papa’s Own Girl* and Godin in real life. He was not thinking about a Social Palace, but an actual ideal city of 29 square miles – the same area as New York¹³⁰. The project included not only a train but also the construction of a port. This strategic position was supposed to give this exemplary city a

¹²⁷ Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹²⁸ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1100.

¹²⁹ Letter quoted by Holly Blake. The original can be found in: “Biography of Edward Howland,” rough draft (1891), Fair-hope Public Library Collection. *Ibidem*, p. 1104.

¹³⁰ Leopold KATSCHER, “Owen’s Topolobampo Colony”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Volume XII, (1906), p. 164.

universal projection in world affairs¹³¹. According to Dolores Hayden, Owen's and Howland's plan was the following:

Organized on a grid plan overlaid with diagonal streets, Topolobampo included three types of dwellings: residential, hotels and picturesque freestanding cottages with adjoining cooperative housekeeping facilities. [...] The city plan also boasted extensive child care facilities, lake and flower gardens, cooperative stores, and factories, homes for the sick, libraries, and concert halls, all suggestive of endless supply of communal and private resources and leisure to enjoy them¹³².

Owen had political contacts in both the United States and Mexico that helped him obtain a concession for the exploitation of the bay lands¹³³. He was friend of Manuel González, president of Mexico between 1880 and 1884, and figurehead of the dictator Porfirio Díaz¹³⁴. González signed the concession during his presidency¹³⁵. Owen did not have, however, the funds to build a city, not even a single Social Palace. To finance the project he founded a company called *The Credit Foncier of Sinaloa*, "which issued 200,000 shares of 10 dollars: 100,000 reserved for future settlers and 100,000 for the free market." This company was initially very successful¹³⁶.

Mary Howland played an important role in the first days of the company. She was the one who chose the name. Foncier translates as land, she chose it because the settlers were going to use their shares to lease the company land and build homes and the idea of land remitted to something permanent¹³⁷. To promote these shares and transmit their plans they created a weekly newspaper that had the same name as the company. Even though Marie and Edward Howland appeared as editors, he recognized that Marie was the actual editor¹³⁸. The weekly newspaper was essential in securing

¹³¹ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹³² Dolores HAYDEN, "Two Utopian Feminists and Their Campaign for Kitchenless Houses", *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹³³ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *A Southwestern Utopia. An American Colony in Mexico*, Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 2nd. Edition, 1964, p. 35.

¹³⁴ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

¹³⁵ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹³⁶ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

¹³⁷ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1110.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 1114.

future investors and settlers for the community¹³⁹. Fourier also used a newspaper to advertise “for a philanthropist to finance his *phalansteres*”¹⁴⁰.

In Owen's ideal project, we find several characteristic features described by Howland in her novel. Private ownership of the means of production is non-existent: almost everything belongs to the community¹⁴¹. The city, “far from being equal, would shelter an aristocracy of work and merit”¹⁴².

Owen – in theory at least – was also an advocate for the equality between men and women:

*The woman manages and spends her own property as she pleases, seeks out any occupation she likes, and depends upon the man as little as he does upon her. This complete independence will at last make woman truly noble, free and intelligent. Then she will influence society in a favorable manner*¹⁴³.

He was also a suffragist¹⁴⁴. However, some tension began to emerge between Howland and Owen in relation to the place women should play in this project. The shareholders elected the board of directors¹⁴⁵. For Howland, this was problematic because usually the husband was who usually owned the shares¹⁴⁶. It is necessary to remember that before the enactment of the *Married Woman's Property Acts* (MWPA's) and *Earnings Acts* (EA's), upon entering the marriage contract, “the wife transferred her property to her husband, who had exclusive ownership and control rights over it. Any property acquired by her during marriage also became her husband”¹⁴⁷. The first MWPA's enacted in the 1830's and 1840's pursued to protect women's property from

¹³⁹ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁰ Bernard BRICK, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁴¹ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Cfr: Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, pp. 412 and 475.

¹⁴² Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Cfr: Mary STEVENS HOWLAND, *op. cit.*, pp. 533 and 537.

¹⁴³ Quoted by Leopold KATSCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁴⁴ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1105.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁶ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1116.

¹⁴⁷ Daniel MACDONALD and Yasemin DILDAR, “Married Women's Economic Independence and Divorce in the Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century United States”, *Social Science History*, 42, (Fall 2018), p. 601.

their husband's creditors¹⁴⁸. The legislation then evolved to protect separate estates and rights to earning. However, the process was uniform. Some States passed MWPA's and EA's in the 1850's but other waited until 1910's¹⁴⁹. Another problematic aspect was the judicial interpretation of these laws¹⁵⁰. The reality was then that if, in theory, women could vote, in practice many women lost their right to vote because of Owen's decision.

The community's decision bodies also departed from Howland's original plans. She described in her novel two board of directors, whose appointments were evenly distributed between 12 members of each sex. When ten individuals established the board of directors of the Credit Foncier in 1886¹⁵¹, however, Howland was the only woman appointed to this position¹⁵².

That same year, two directors decided to travel to Topolobampo with 167 settlers. Both Howland and Owen agreed that it was too early to receive settlers¹⁵³. The first group of 27 people to arrive accordingly found two serious problems: insalubrity –a full-blown epidemic of malaria - and lack of drinking water¹⁵⁴. Despite these problems and not having a reliable source of food, more settlers kept coming. At the beginning of 1887, the community had around four hundred members. As a temporary solution, they made a deal with a man make Haskell and moved to his land 30 miles inland¹⁵⁵. The settlers began cultivating several crops in Haskell's land. Unfortunately, before they could enjoy the first substantial harvest, Haskell terminated the contract. The situation was then desperate. After Howland published an appeal for help, the aid came from the readers of the *Credit Foncier of Sinaloa*¹⁵⁶. Unfortunately, the settlers never achieved

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 603.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 605.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 604.

¹⁵¹ Leopold KATSCHER, *op. cit.*, p. p. 10.

¹⁵² Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1120.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 1122.

¹⁵⁴ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p.269.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 62 and 63.

food self-sufficiency and always depended on external help¹⁵⁷. The majority of them were intellectuals – not peasants.

The settlers were scattered in several settlements. The one in the port – where the utopian city should be placed – was known as Pacific Colony. *La Logia*, however, was the most successful of them. The settlers built there a community Dinning Hall and a community laundry¹⁵⁸. They also had a medical dispensary and a school for the children from the colony, that also admitted students from high-class Mexican families:

A strange situation; here was a group of colonist in foreign soil “top heavy with intellect” (...) readily welcomed into the highest-class homes, asked to educate the higher-class children- yet toiling in the fields to produce the bare substance for living; in competition with Mayo Indians and the poorest class of Mexican labor (...).

Yet here was a group of foreigners of superior education, encouraged by President Diaz, setting a strange, disturbing example (...) they stood first of all for the rights of the poorest classes, and would no doubt teach their thoughts to the children of these higher-class Mexicans¹⁵⁹.

"Unfortunately," says Abramson, "Owen was not a man who would settle for a limited success of 160 hectares and 180 people, even less when the Mexican government demanded, with renewed insistence, the execution of contracts" that included the construction of the port and the railway¹⁶⁰.

Mary Howland life at Pacific Colony

Regardless their awareness on the precarious conditions of the colony and the deteriorated health of Edward, the Howlands decided to emigrate to Topolobampo in 1888¹⁶¹. Owen lived in Pennsylvania¹⁶². Mary felt that she had a responsibility with the settlers as she expressed to Owen in a letter one year before:

¹⁵⁷ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p.270.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

¹⁶⁰ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p.272.

¹⁶¹ Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁶² Leopold KATSCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

*I know (...) that there will be plenty of trouble there, but it will not sink into my heart (...) I have so become a part of those people that I cannot but count the hours till I am on the way to them. You would never hear me complain. I go expressly to suffer and if not have a good share, I shall be disappointed*¹⁶³.

Mary Howland became both a leader and a role model for a good number of the settlers. Some of them travelled to Topolobampo, as I referred above, after reading *Papa's Own Girl*; and the first baby born in the colony name was named Mary in her honor.¹⁶⁴ The Howlands published the first issue of *The Credit Foncier of Sinaloa* in Topolobampo on September 15 1888¹⁶⁵. Edward's books also turned into the primary collection of the community library¹⁶⁶.

Howland was prepared to suffer material deprivation. Her decision to stay in the Pacific Colony rather than in the *La Logia* is a good proof of this. Edward stayed in *La Logia* because of his illness. This was a painful separation for the spouses¹⁶⁷. However, she was not prepared to waste her energy in defending herself against attacks due to inappropriate behavior as a woman.

The situation of the women in the community was not very different from that of other women in ideal communities¹⁶⁸. They were the ones in charge of the domestic tasks and the care and education of the children in very precarious situations¹⁶⁹. According to Robertson, only three women tended the community kitchen that fed the colonists across ten years¹⁷⁰. However, some of the women insisted that they were equal to men, who were supposed to cook as well¹⁷¹.

¹⁶³ Quoted by Holly Jacklyn Blake: 1887, Letter to A. K. Owen. July 26. Fresno Collection.

Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1124.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 1124.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁶⁶ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1129.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 1131.

¹⁶⁸ Barbara TAYLOR, *Eve and the New Jerusalem. Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, Virago Press, Essex, 1983, p. 248.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

We need to remember that some of these women were readers of *Papa's Own Girl*, and were therefore expecting equality between men and women. Ida Hogeland was one of these women. She was one of the first teachers of the colony¹⁷². According to her brother: "Ida read the book and it helped give her a new birth into a higher life. She remains one of the brave to-day with faithful pioneers in Sinaloa"¹⁷³. Ida Hogeland became a good friend and ally of Howland¹⁷⁴.

Howland, as a good heiress to Utopian Socialist ideals, regarded education as an essential tool to transform gender relations¹⁷⁵. Until her arrival, education was in the hands of Doctor Edwin Schellhous, one of the first directors to arrive to Sinaloa. Howland complained about his gender ideas in a letter to Owen:

To show how retrogressive he is, he has lately given a lecture on the Rights of Women using all the arguments of the anti-woman suffragists -going even further, denying that is proper to her to hold property or to be a bread winner. This is so contrary to the principles of the Credit Foncier¹⁷⁶.

Howland became then the director of education and, with the assistance of other progressive women, replicated the educational system of the Familestère. Schelhous, nonetheless, proved to be fearsome enemy even after Howland established a successful school at *La Logia*¹⁷⁷. Schelhous and other settlers, men and women, began a smear campaign against Howland based on what they considered inappropriate behaviour for a woman. Harriet Standfast, who had travelled with her from the United States, accused her of swimming naked in front of men. Some settlers

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 45.

¹⁷³ Letter of Napoleon Hogeland published in the *Credit Foncier of Sinaloa* 3.20 (1887), quoted by Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁴ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1130.

¹⁷⁵ Utopian socialists will have a blind faith in the transforming role of education. For the education in Fourier see: Charles FOURIER, "Théorie de l'Unité Universelle", volumen IV, en *Œuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, tomo V, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4, 5, 143 y 144. Education is even more important for another Utopian Socialist: Robert Owen. See: Robert OWEN, "A New View of Society; or, essays on the principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the application of the principles to practice", en *IBID, A New View of Society and other writings*, New York, Everyman's Library, 1972, pp. 1-90.

¹⁷⁶ Quoted by Holly Jacklyn Blake: 1890, Letter to A. K. Owen. April 6. Fresno Collection. Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1134.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*.

began questioning her role as editor of the *Credit Foncier* saying the newspaper lacked “manly” qualities. Other settlers accused her of having an extramarital affair with Christian Hoffman¹⁷⁸.

Owen did not have the money to carry out his project and the contracts he had signed with the Mexican government. Christian Hoffman, one of the wealthiest businesspersons in Kansas, agreed to join him in his Sinaloa adventure¹⁷⁹. In July of 1889, they formed a contract by which Hoffman “bought a large part of Owen's shares and undertook the task of recruiting men, finance the excavation of water supply and acquire land in the Rio Fuerte Valley. For its part, the Credit Foncier, was obliged to supply labour, pay the company of Hoffman for the water service and, above all, recover from their hands - within four years and at very high prices - the land that this one had acquired”¹⁸⁰.

Hoffman travelled to Sinaloa where, according to Abramson, he fell in love with Mary Howland¹⁸¹. During his visit in the spring of 1889, they spent a good amount of time together and their mutual attraction was obvious to everyone in the colony – even to Hoffman’s wife, who wrote to Owen complaining about the affair. Howland explained to Owen she had an intellectual (not a physical) relationship with Hoffman, and that the mutual confidence that she shared with her husband Edward allowed her to develop close relationships with other men¹⁸². The role that Hoffman was playing in the community at the time thus resembled that of Frauenstein in *Papa’s Own Girl.*, Frauenstein was in love with Clara, but he also had a strong relationship with Susie Dikes based on their shared interests and his admiration to her capacity as a business woman and leader. The members of the community, however, did not see Howland’s relationship with Hoffman in these terms.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 1136.

¹⁷⁹ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 and 81.

¹⁸⁰ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p.272 and 273.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 272.

¹⁸² Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, pp. 1136 and 1137.

Howland was not intimidated by the criticism against her sexual mores. She continued defending free love in the Credit Foncier. Owen showed her his support in this dispute with other settlers¹⁸³.

Hoffman's investment helped the community at the beginning, but in the long term, it became one of the causes of its complete failure. The new settlers from Kansas did not share the ideas of cooperation and the difference that already existed between two groups, known as "the kickers" and "the saints", became deeper. The kickers, who the newcomers joined, demanded land titles and water rights¹⁸⁴. The saints, on the contrary, were faithful to the principles of cooperation¹⁸⁵. Howland was part of the Saints and continued supporting Owen, but her close relationship with Hoffman put her in a delicate position. The two groups ended up fighting violently for access to water¹⁸⁶.

New disputes in relation to gender sexual mores arose from Howland's and other women's habit to ride horses astride instead of side saddle¹⁸⁷. This time, some Mexicans contributed to the dispute. They did not like the egalitarian gender relations in the colony¹⁸⁸. This time Owen declared that he was against the reforms that damaged the reputation of the colony, including Free Love¹⁸⁹.

Edward continued providing Howland with love and support, as he told her that he was "delighted to see the ladies ride 'properly'"¹⁹⁰. Unfortunately, he died on 25 December 1890¹⁹¹. Mary Howland had lost her truthful free lover and companion. In the anniversary of his dead, she wrote "surely, of all the misfortunes that can befall a woman, to lose her husband is measurable greatest. Not a legal companion. I mean,

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 1138.

¹⁸⁴ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

¹⁸⁷ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1139.

¹⁸⁸ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁸⁹ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, p. 1139.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1141.

¹⁹¹ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

but one who is *real* husband, friend, comrade, mentor, brother, lover all in one, as was Edward to me”¹⁹².

Howland did a last effort to bring sexual equality to the colony with the creation “Woman’s Integral Cooperation Propaganda” to recruit progressive women. Owen opposed this initiative as well¹⁹³.

Howland left Topolobampo in 1893. According to Robertson, this was also the last year in which Owen was in Sinaloa¹⁹⁴. Ida Hogeland became the new editor of the *Credit Foncier* and published it until 1895¹⁹⁵. After some time with relatives, Howland moved to the single-tax community of Fairhope where she was a librarian until 1921¹⁹⁶. In 1901, the fearsome businessperson Benjamin Francis Johnston bought the lands of the old Owen concession and expelled the last settlers¹⁹⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

Mary Stevens Howland was the ideologist of one of the most ambitious communitarian projects of all times: the city of Topolobampo. The community followed the theories of the French utopian socialist Charles Fourier based on Howland’s reading and revamping of his works. Howland, as many other progressive women of her time, exploited the revolutionary potential for the liberation of women embedded in Fourierism and was responsible for its revival after the American Civil War.

Howland chose a novel as the medium to express her ideas. *Papa’s own Girl* was published in 1876. Howland, in this sense, followed the utopian tradition inaugurated in 1516 with Thomas More’s *Utopia*. Utopia, as a literary genre with deep political implications, was received and developed in the United States, for example, through works such as *Looking Backwards* (1888), by Edward Bellamy; or *Herland*

¹⁹² Howland to Edward Stedman, December 25, 1896. Quoted by Susan LYNCH FOSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁹³ Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, *op.cit.*, pp. 1142 and 1143.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas R. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 and 122.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

¹⁹⁶ For her last years in Fairhope see: Paul M. GASTON, *op.cit.*, Chapter 2. The Odyssey of Mary Howland, pp. 19-61.

¹⁹⁷ Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

(1915), by Charlotte Perkins Gillman. The utopian genre facilitated Howland's attempt to reach a broader audience and introduce revolutionary ideas via a discourse that was familiar to nineteenth century American audiences, such as that of the romantic novel.

In *Papa's Own Girl*, Mary Howland addressed some of the major feminist inquiries of her time –economic independence, education, marriage, suffrage, sexual abuse, single mothers, free love and voluntary motherhood- with an incisively critical perspective. Howland made a working class young woman the heroine of her story – a reflection of her experience as a self-educated working class woman who became a social reformer.

Even if *Papa's Own Girl* was the Road Map for the creation of an ideal community in Topolobampo, the majority of the men who joined it were willing to transform their ideas about work and property, but not to contribute to a profound transformation in the relations between men and women. Mary Howland suffered in her own person, and with a high personal cost, the audacity of living as a liberated woman in a community that ideally was created to transform the World, including the gender relations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pierre-Luc ABRAMSON, *Las utopías sociales en América Latina en el siglo XIX*, traductor Jorge Alberto Luis PADIN VIDELA, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.

Gail BEDERMAN, "Revisiting Nashoba: Slavery, Utopia, and Frances Wright in America, 1818-1826", *American Literary History*, Volume 17, Issue 3, (2005), pp. 438-459.

Holly Jacklyn BLAKE, "Marie Howland -19th Century Leader for Women's Economic Independence", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Volume 74, Issue 5 (November 2015), pp. 878-1190.

Mary R. BLOCK, "Rape Law in 19th-Century America: Some Thoughts and Reflections on the State of the Field", *History Compass*, 7/5 (2009), pp. 1391-1399.

Sharon BLOCK, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, Chappell Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006, p. 22.

Arantza CAMPOS RUBIO, *Charles Fourier. Pasion y Utopia. De la atraccion pasional a la Politica Sexual*, Leioa, Universidad del Pais Vasco, 1995.

Bernard BRICK, *Socialism*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Rafael del AGUILA, "Socialismo Utopico", in Fernando VALLESPIN (editor), *Historia de la Teoria Politica*, tomo 4, *Historia, progreso y emancipacion*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2002, pp. 65- 100.

Ian DONNACHIE, *Robert Owen. Social Visionary*, Edimburg, John Donald, 2005.

Lorna DUFFIN, "The Conspicuous Consumptive: Woman as an Invalid", in Lara DELAMONT and Lorna DUFFIN (editors), *The Nineteenth Century Woman. Her Culture and Physical World*, London, Croom Helm, 1978, pp. 26- 56.

Robert S. FOGARTY, "The Familestere: Radical Reform through Cooperative Enterprise", in Marie HOWLAND, *The Familestere*, Philadelphia, Porcupine Press, 1975, s/n.

Charles FOURIER, "Le Nouveau Monde industrielle et sociétaire ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuées en séries passionnées", en *Œuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, tomo VI, Anthropos, Paris, 1966.

- "Théorie de l'Unité Universelle", en *Œuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, tomos II- V, Anthropos, Paris, 1966.
- "Publication des Manuscrits", en *Œuvres complètes de Charles Fourier*, tomos X- XII, Anthropos, Paris, 1966.

Paul M. GASTON, *Women of Fair Hope*, Montgomery, The New South Books, 1993.

Jean Baptiste Andre GODIN, *Social Solutions*, translator Marie HOWLAND, New York, J.W. Lovell Company, 1886.

Claudia GOLDIN and Maria SHIM, "Making a Name: Women's Surnames at Marriage and Beyond", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 18, Number 12, (spring 2004), pp. 143- 160.

Meg GOMERSALL, *Working-class Girls in Nineteenth-century England. Life, Work and Schooling*, Wiltshire, MacMillan Press LTD, 1997.

Linda GORDON, “La Lucha por la Libertad Reproductiva: Tres Etapas del Feminismo”, en Zillah Eisenstein, *Patriarcado Capitalista y Feminismo Socialista*, traducción de Sara Sefchovich y Stella Mastrangelo, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1980, pp. 124-156.

Carl GUARNERI, J., *The Utopian Alternative. Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991.

John HARRISON, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. The Quest for the New Moral World*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.

Dolores HAYDEN, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1982.

- “Two Utopian Feminists and Their Campaign for Kitchenless Houses”, *Signs*, Vol. 4, No. 2, (Winter 1978), pp. 274-290.

Wendy HAYDEN, *Evolutionary Rhetoric: Sex, Science, and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Feminism*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2013.

Barbara HOCHMAN, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin and the Reading Revolution: Race, Literacy, Childhood and Fiction, 1851-1911*, University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.

Michelle HOFFNUNG and Michelle A. WILLIAMS, “When Mr. Right Becomes Mr. Wrong: Women’s Postdivorce Name Choice”, *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, Vol. 57, N. 1, (2016), pp. 12-35.

Maria de la Macarena IRIBARNE GONZALEZ, *Flora Tristan y la Tradición del Feminismo Socialista*, Madrid, Congreso de los Diputados, 2012.

Leopold KATSCHER, “Owen’s Topolobampo Colony”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Volume XII, (1906), pp. 144- 175.

Tiffany LEE TASNG, “A Fair Chance for the Girls. Discourse on Women’s Health and Higher Education in Late Nineteenth Century America”, *American Educational History Journal*, Volume 42, Number 2 (2015), pp. 137-150.

George M. LOGAN and Robert M. ADAMS, “Introduction”, Thomas MORE, *Utopia*, Revised edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. xi-xxix.

Susan LYNCH FOSTER, "Romancing the Cause: Fourierism, Feminism, and Free Love in *Papa's Own Girl*", *Utopian Studies*, *Utopian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1997), pp. 31-54.

Daniel MACDONALD and Yasemin DILDAR, "Married Women's Economic Independence and Divorce in the Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century United States", *Social Science History*, 42, (Fall 2018), pp. 601-629.

John Stuart MILL, "El sometimiento de la mujer", en John Stuart MILL y Harriet TAYLOR MILL, *Ensayos sobre la igualdad de los sexos*, traducción de Pere Casanellas, Madrid, Mínimo Tránsito/Antonio Machado Libros, 2000, pp. 145-261.

Thomas MORE, *Utopia*, Revised edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Robert OWEN, "A New View of Society; or, essays on the principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the application of the principles to practice", en IBID, *A New View of Society and other writings*, New York, Everyman's Library, 1972, pp. 1-90.

Kenneth ROEMER, *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere*, Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.

Jean Jacques ROUSSEAU, *Emilio, o de la educacion*, traducción de Mauro Armino, Alianza, Madrid 2005.

Carole PATEMAN, *El Contrato Sexual*, traducción de Maria Luisa Femenias, Barcelona, Anthropos, 1995.

Vasco de QUIROGA, *Información en Derecho*, Mexico, Secretaria de Educacion Publica, 1985.

- *La Utopia en America*, Madrid, Dastin, s/a.

ROBERTSON, Thomas R., *A Southwestern Utopia. An American Colony in Mexico*, Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 2nd. Edition, 1964.

Judith ROWBOTHAM, *Good Girls Make Good Wives. Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Hal D., SEARS, *The Sex Radicals. Free Love in High Victoria America*, Lawrence, The Royal Press of Kansas, 1977.

Paz SERRANO GASSENT, "Introducción", in Vasco de QUIROGA, *La Utopia en America*, Madrid, Dastin, s/a, pp. 5-51.

Jayne SOKOLOW and Mary Ann LAMANNA, "Women and Utopia: The Woman's Commonwealth of Belton, Texas", *The Southwester Historical Quarterly*, Volume 87, No. 4, (April 1984), pp. 371-392.

Suzanne M. SPENCER-WOOD, "A Feminist Theoretical Approach to the Historical Archaeology of Utopian Communities", *Historical Archeology*, Vol. 40, No.1, (2006), pp. 152-185.

Mark I. WEST, "John S. C. Abbot's Views on Female Education in Antebellum America: Schooling as Pseudo-Trainig", *The Journal of American Culture*, Volume 39, Number 2, (2016), pp. 228-232.