From a Society of Second-Handers to Galt’s Gulch: Ayn Rand’s Counter-Worlds

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Suggesting a contribution on Ayn Rand (1905-1982) usually calls for justifications, disclaimers, and caveats. Thus William O’Neill calls “[w]riting about Ayn Rand […] a treacherous undertaking” (3); Lester Hunt observes how many professors feel agonized by the passion Rand evokes in their students (“Book Reviews” 394) and opens his own inquiry into her ideas with a plea “to bear with [him]” (“Thus Spake” 79). Why the agony? Hardly read in Europe generally, hardly read by most literary scholars, Rand is known in the United States of America as “the ultimate gateway drug to life on the right” (4), as historian Jennifer Burns put it. Originally born under the name Alisa Rosenbaum in pre-revolutionary Russia, Rand came to the US at the age of twenty-one and first tried her hand at screen writing in the studios of Cecil B. DeMille.¹ Her third novel, The Fountainhead (1943), brought her to national attention; not so much because critics praised it—in fact they did not—but thanks to word of mouth. The novel celebrates stark individualism, resistance to the needs of society, and it divides the world neatly into creators and second-handers. These themes are further developed in Atlas Shrugged (1957), the tale of, as Rand put it, the man who stops the motor of the world because the latter does not appreciate its most creative minds. Together with other great innovators who no longer want their talent to serve an ever greedy, demanding government and a desolate, dependent yet

¹ Biographic information can be obtained from a variety of sources, but the two most important biographies on Ayn Rand to date are Jennifer Burns’s Goddess of the Market (2009) and Anne C. Heller’s Ayn Rand and the World She Made (2009). Both books are rare examples of non-objectivist inquiries into Rand’s life and persona in contrast to a large body of scholarship originating from Rand’s adherents.
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fastidious society, he founds an independent community, pursuant to radically capitalist ideals: Galt’s Gulch.

Since 2009 we can observe a resurging interest in Rand’s vision of an American economy free from government encroachments, a country that—once again—regards self-reliance and liberty as core values. In the wake of the Tea Party movement, Rand’s influence on American political thought and culture has become visible beyond the incidental prominent adherent like Alan Greenspan, Paul Ryan, or Jimmy Wales. Her name appeared on protest signs at Tea Party rallies, and publications such as Gary Weiss’s *Ayn Rand Nation: The Hidden Struggle for America’s Soul* (2010) remind us of the resonance of her ideas. Even in European media, Rand has become emblematic of how little Europeans sometimes understand American politics. A common theme of discussion is the desirability of Rand’s vision, the question in a sense of whether her ideals would lead America to a utopian or a dystopian state of affairs.

This chapter is not concerned with this ultimately political question, nor does it want to pass judgment on either side of this ideological divide. Instead it suggests exploring what we may refer to as Rand’s utopian impulse: I suggest that Rand’s oeuvre has from its beginning been marked by a utopian longing. “Utopia” is in this context loosely understood, based on its literal meaning of a “good” but not (yet) existent place, in contrast to the general tendency of understanding utopia as a “system of enhanced sociability” (Claeys 30). The utopian longing drives Rand’s characters who aspire to find another, better place that is set in stark opposition to the dystopian reality of the societies surrounding them. These counter-worlds however evolve in the course of Rand’s work. From the typical utopias that we already know from Russian literature, Rand progresses to what I deem to be a re-imagination of the American frontier. As is often the case in utopian/dystopian storytelling, the “here and now” becomes the dystopia, serving as the backdrop against which the utopian alternative is developed (Frye 336; Samuels 201). This becomes palpable in Rand’s account of her own departure to the United States. One of her most vivid memories was of an elderly man whose words of farewell resound in many of her stories of post-revolutionary Russia. She had to promise him to tell America that Russia was “a huge cemetery” and that they were “all dying” (Heller 85).

Before fulfilling this promise with the novel *We the Living* (1936), Rand had already developed the idea of emigration as utopia in her screen play “Red Pawn” from 1931, in which an American woman, Joan, goes to a Soviet prison island to help her husband escape—escape abroad naturally. The story’s insular setting underlines the limited life options in the Soviet Union, turning the prison from metaphor to actuality. In this strictly confined space, the idea of “abroad” develops a dream-like quality, the promise of the unknown and better. Constantly envisaging this counter-world, Joan seduces the commandant in charge and instils in him the same longing to leave the country and experience freedom: “Over

The Idea of “Abroad”

Emigration has not only been a constant topos in Russian literature and utopian rhetoric (Heller and Niqueux 266-76), it was likewise Rand’s first idea of a better world. Whatever lay “abroad” was not only Rand’s personal utopia as a young woman, but it also motivated her early protagonists to escape their circumstances. As Rand explained in the essay “The Inexplicable Personal Alchemy” (1968), the idea of “abroad” encapsulated for her more than just an idle travel adventure:

The meaning of that word for a Soviet citizen is incommunicable to anyone who has not lived in that country: if you project what you would feel for a combination of Atlantis, the Promised Land and the most glorious civilization on another planet, as imagined by a most benevolent kind of science fiction, you will have a pale approximation. “Abroad,” to a Soviet Russian, is as distant, shining and unattainable as these; yet to any Russian who lifts his head for a moment from the Soviet muck, the concept “abroad” is a psychological necessity, a lifeline and soul preserver. (Return 125)

The prospect of emigration thus not only has a utopian quality for Rand, it is also one of the essential stories people tell themselves in order to live, as we may put it, with reference to Joan Didion. The story of abroad would not become that vital were it not for the intolerable reality of everyday life. As is so often the case in utopian/dystopian storytelling, the “here and now” becomes the dystopia, serving as the backdrop against which the utopian alternative is developed (Frye 336; Samuels 201). This becomes palpable in Rand’s account of her own departure to the United States. One of her most vivid memories was of an elderly man whose words of farewell resound in many of her stories of post-revolutionary Russia. She had to promise him to tell America that Russia was “a huge cemetery” and that they were “all dying” (Heller 85).

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there, far away, electric fires will blaze on dark boulevards ... and they’ll play the ‘Song of Dancing Lights’ ...” (“Red Pawn” 202).

The Western utopia is not only told as a story, it also resounds in songs played in the minds of the protagonists: The “Song of Dancing Lights” of “Red Pawn” finds its twin in *We the Living*, in which the protagonists dream of the “Song of Broken Glass” (120). This imagined soundtrack follows heroine Kira Argounova through her struggles to survive in post-revolutionary Russia without assimilating to party rule. “Abroad” again turns into the ideal counter-world, with not only Kira clinging to the hope of escaping across the border, but also with others in her family longing for the outside world to rectify things in Russia. Kira’s uncle Vasili, for instance, searches the papers religiously for news from the West:

> The news from abroad. Of course, there wasn’t much in the paper. They wouldn’t print it. But you have to know how to read between lines. And it won’t be long ... it won’t be long now before ... (*We* 77; emphasis in original)

Other family members by contrast can hardly believe that the ideal world indeed exists, even though it sometimes becomes palpable in objects of desire, such as French face powder: “Abroad. [...] Such a place does exist somewhere, doesn’t it? ... Abroad. ...” (*We* 80).

For Kira “abroad” turns into an actual, not only a mental necessity. Her lover Leo is brandished as a counter-revolutionary and sees fleeing to Berlin as the only option to survive. The two of them suddenly feel that they may partake in the material abundance and abundant opportunities that stands in marked contrast to the Soviet reality:

> Leo whispered: “Over there ... there are automobiles ... and boulevards ... and lights....”

The couple’s attempt to flee fails however and the dreams of a new beginning are aborted. Borders become a truly ambiguous space in Rand’s tale, for they are both fraught with hope and dreams, yet they are treacherous to cross and failure to reach the other side may result in utter devastation: “Beyond the snow was the world; beyond the snow was that consummate entity to which the country behind them bowed reverently, wistfully, tragically: Abroad. Life began beyond the snow” (*We* 120-1).

The Abstract Ideal

Kira and Leo long for another world within reach; in the novella *Anthem* (1937), Rand’s protagonist does not know any other world than the one he is presented with, but he still refuses to obey its rules. Here Rand plays differently with the genre of dystopia and lets her reader enter a society which has not only cut itself off from the amenities of modern life; it has also dispensed with the concept of individualism. She thereby references Yevgeny Zamyatin’s novel *We*, written in the early 1920s, in which an obedient subject of OneState, D-503, is transformed, as Gary Rosenshield explains, “from a number into human being” (52)—the very process Rand’s protagonist will undergo.

Even though Zamyatin’s dystopian novel had not been published at the time Rand still lived in Russia, she probably read it (Burns 50; Heller 102). Prior to its first publication in 1924, notably in English, Zamyatin’s dystopian critique of societal regimentation had circulated among select readers in Russia, among them in all likelihood Rand (Parrinder 18). The
main elements of the two dystopian accounts thus bear many similarities: A society apparently kept within the confines of a cityscape; an outside world whose existence is either denied or ignored; a past unknown to most and not discussed by anyone; a system whereby people are numbered instead of having a name.

Reminiscent of Plato’s Republic, *Anthem*’s children are no longer raised by their parents but by society as a whole. Individual desires and aspirations are completely disregarded, and the destiny of each person is in the hands of the government and administrative forces. In a sense Rand’s technocratic society has already followed Hayek’s proverbial “road to serfdom” and lives with the consequences. It thus reflects Karl Popper’s criticism of utopias, as the portrayed society believes itself to be superior, yet they have to depend on totalitarian means to implement its vision and its ideals at the expense of individual freedom (qtd. in Sargent 19). Fittingly Rand’s protagonist and narrator bears a cumbersome—and, in light of the plot, ironic—name, Equality 7-2521, and has been forced into a life as a street sweeper. However he does not even have the language to voice his misgivings and articulate his own ideas: The regime has reshaped language and eliminated singular pronouns: “I” does not exist. The perversion of language that the character Kira Argounova experiences under the Socialist regime extends in this society down to the very core of a language’s function, namely to allow the speakers to define their identity.

Equality 7-2521 overcomes the imposed oneness with society and finds the strength to rebel against the suppressive norms, not least thanks to his love for a young woman, again named with a telling, cynical label, Liberty 5-3000. During his street-sweeping duties, he discovers a tunnel harboring a laboratory. There he starts experimenting with the apparatuses and re-discovers electricity. However in a society where each person has to fulfill a specified role, only “scholars” are supposed to innovate. Thus the street sweeper’s presentation of his invention at the World Council of Scholars is bound to fail. His subsequent refusal to accept their ridicule and their dismissive attitude force him to flee the city and venture beyond its boundaries to the Uncharted Forest, a territory that has so far been off-limits to everyone. He is soon joined by Liberty 5-3000. Together they come across a house dating back to the Unmentionable Times, where they find modern appliances and a well-stacked library, including volumes of Greek mythology. Thanks to reading and perusing these books, likewise a subversive act in Zamyatin’s *We*, Equality 7-2521 finally finds the one word that helps him to express his feelings and thoughts properly: “I.”

Transgressions are key to the plot and pave the way to experiencing a different life as it must have been common in the Unmentionable Times: Equality 7-2521 challenges the limitations set by society on different levels, testing boundaries both in the literal and the metaphorical sense. For instance he unblocks the entrance to the tunnel that bears witness to the Unmentionable Times, and his venturing further takes him on a journey that simultaneously takes him back and forth in time. In his appearance before the Council of Scholars, he breaches another spatial and hierarchical convention as he disregards the place assigned to him as a bystander. His flight beyond the boundaries of the city ultimately frees him from the rules and limitations of life in a totalitarian society, and he discovers the possibility of freedom. He has ventured out to a frontier zone where he is free from the oppressive state, a space fraught with opportunities—an actual utopia.

A New Atlantis: Galt’s Gulch

“I,” the individual, would move into the center of Rand’s later works *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*. The utopian longing mentioned earlier is less palpable in *The Fountainhead* than in Rand’s actual opus magnum. *In The Fountainhead*, she still shows trust in American society to be its own utopia, to become—though through a painful process—a society of strong individuals who may express their creativity free from constraints and do not strive to imitate any old-world examples. However it is only in her 1957 novel that she outlines her actual ideal counter-world, notably against a dystopian background. In *Atlas Shrugged*, she describes an ideal community quite different from “traditional” utopian projects: While Northrop Frye identified a general tendency of utopias to feature a predominant state whose citizens subordinate their personal desires to
society’s needs (335). Rand envisions a community independent of the state and with the individual pursuit of happiness as its core tenet.

*Atlas Shrugged* revolves around Dagny Taggard, heiress of a railway company, who tries to fight against an ever stronger regulatory state to save her family’s legacy. Her story is set in a dystopian future America, a country shaken by an enormous economic crisis, but seemingly the only nation in the world where some forces try to prevent a total economic collapse and hope to turn around the state of affairs. The rest of the world already seems lost; governments in Latin America are unstable, and notably Europe is in a wretched situation, as one of the protagonists explains:

> [A]nd, in the People’s States of Europe, millions of men being held in bondage by means of their desire to live, by means of their energy drained in labor, by means of their ability to feed their masters, by means of the hostage system, of their love for their children or wives or friends [...] (Atlas 518)

On the one hand, Dagny Taggard’s opponents are the so-called “looters” who want to live off the hard work of entrepreneurs and make their survival ever harder by pushing through legislation that pretends to level the playing field, but in fact only exploits the successful. On the other hand, Dagny’s fight becomes even more strenuous because the few other dedicated and gifted inventors, businessmen, and artists simply disappear instead of joining forces with her. In fact these “creators” have followed the summons of John Galt.

“What is John Galt?” (*Atlas* 11) is the catchphrase of the novel, a phrase expressing resignation and disillusionment. For those who know Galt’s identity by contrast the question becomes a battle-cry. Not only does John Galt construct an engine that renders all prior technical innovations obsolete, but he also builds a community according to his own vision, his personal Atlantis: “The Isles of the Blessed. [...] They said Atlantis was a place where hero-spirits lived in happiness unknown to the rest of the earth. [...] Atlantis was lost to mankind, even then” (*Atlas* 147). He offers like-minded people a refuge in a shielded valley in Colorado, Galt’s Gulch, where they can live a productive and meaningful life without fear of being taken advantage of. The community is self-reliant and adheres strictly to market principles, with everyone paying for each service or good received. Its customs have evolved accordingly, as Galt explains:

> Miss Taggart, [...] we have no laws in this valley, no rules, no formal organization of any kind. We come here because we want to rest. But we have certain customs, which we all observe, because they pertain to the things we need to rest from. So I’ll warn you now that there is one word which is forbidden in this valley: the word ‘give’. (Atlas 655; emphasis in original)

As a consequence, former entrepreneurs, scientists, and other brilliant minds perform menial labor, not minding the alleged lack of challenge as they work solely for themselves and their own good—in other words, they are on strike: “We have withdrawn the works of our minds from society, and not a single idea of ours is to be known and used by men” (*Atlas* 679-80).

Galt and the other strikers flee civilization to a protected valley and build a new community under the sign of the dollar that is reshaping the world outside—Galt’s Gulch becomes emblematic of resistance, individualism, and innovation. The contract that defines this utopia’s communal aspect focuses on the benefits of mutual exchange and the sanctity of individual liberty. Rand’s utopian vision is thus quite simple: to ensure individual freedom and nothing more. Galt’s Gulch is not only a place, it is an ongoing process, as the frontier was argued to be.

**A Return to the Frontier?**

Galt’s Gulch, the frontier settlement imagined by Rand, is a community of those who defy the very idea of community, of creators who work for their own benefit and pleasure rather than for the advancement of society. They thrive when left alone and flee civilization and the constraints of government control. Their desires thus roughly mirror the myths of life on the American frontier, the life of the freedom-loving and self-reliant pioneers.

Frederick Jackson Turner developed his famed and later regularly criticized frontier thesis in 1893. He believed he had found the one element that shaped the American spirit and set it apart from Europe, where most settlers came from originally: the experience of the frontier.
Referring to an evolutionary model, Turner linked America’s ideological and mental emancipation from Europe to its territorial expansion. The more the frontier line moved to the West, Turner argued, the further removed settlers felt from their European heritage, not only in spatial but also in emotional and cultural terms. Life on the frontier infused American culture with dynamism and a readiness to adapt to ever-changing circumstances:

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, the fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces of American character. (32)

Turner later explained that the frontier was a place where new modes of social organization could be tested, a place synonymous with opportunity but also with change and progress—the frontier was, in his eyes, both place and process. He argued however that this defining role of the frontier for the construction of America as a nation bore its risks, as there was no more open space:

So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power. But the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits. (55)

Turner’s thesis was not only criticized because its ultimate prediction was disproved by history but also because of its many faulty assumptions and its often limited view of the social realities on the frontier. Yet in spite of the many instances Turner’s idea has been called obsolete, it has inarguably captured what many still associate with life on the frontier,

4 Stephen Aron provides a concise overview of the many criticisms of the frontier thesis as well as new approaches (261-84). See also among others Klein who provides further insight into the deconstruction of the frontier thesis. He discusses the criticism by Yale historian George W. Pierson (20-31), and he considers the frontier thesis in light of Hayden White’s suggestion that all history is fiction (47-57).

namely its mythical importance to the narrative nation building of the United States.

Judging from Rand’s journals, notes, and secondary sources, she had not been familiar with Turner’s famed frontier thesis. Yet she must have been aware of the historical and metaphoric importance of the frontier. Rand was greatly impressed by Western tales for the way they celebrated heroism and the struggle of the virtuous individual (Columns 11-12). Moreover she read cowboy poetry and was deeply impressed by one example of the genre that she quoted at several occasions, namely “The Westerner” (1947) by Charles Badger Clark, Jr. (1863-1957).

The poem begins with a reference to the forefathers, as Rand pointed out, but moves on to underline independence, individualism, and self-reliance:

My fathers sleep on the sunrise plains,
And each one sleeps alone.
Their trails may dim to the grass and rains,
For I choose to make my own.
I lay proud claim to their blood and name,
But I lean on no dead kin;
My name is mine, for the praise or scorn,
And the world began when I was born
And the world is mine to win.

Rand felt that the last five lines captured “what had once been the spirit of America—a spirit which would be impossible today, but which we must now struggle to bring to a rebirth” (Return 204). Had she continued quoting from the poem, there would no longer have been any room for doubt what kind of political spirit she was demanding from Americans:

I dream no dreams of a nurse-maid state
That will spoon me out my food.
A stout heart sings in the fray with fate
And the shock and sweat are good.

A “nurse-maid state” is what the “second-handers” of Rand’s novels asked for, what the rulers in Anthem, the Soviets in We the Living, and the government in Atlas Shrugged believed necessary for their fellow
citizens. Yet quoting the end of the poem would have weakened Rand’s message and the image of the frontier that she wanted to convey. Clark closes by highlighting the importance of one human virtue that Rand had very controversial views on:

From noon to noon all the earthly boon
That I ask my God to spare
Is a little daily bread in store,
With the room to fight the strong for more,
And the weak shall get their share.

Rand famously decried altruism as self-sacrifice and denounced any attempts that forced people to be charitable. It would be wrong though to rush to the conclusion that Rand simply recreated the story of the frontier as a naïve immigrant who fell for fictional renditions of the pioneer past. She was in fact close to two descendants of pioneers who both were aware that the narrated and the actual frontier differed considerably. One of the two was writer and journalist Isabel M. Paterson (1886-1961), the other was Rose Wilder Lane (1886-1968), writer, journalist, adventurer—and daughter of Laura Ingalls Wilder (1867-1957), who immortalized life on the frontier in her children’s books, the Little House on the Prairie series.

5 Rand states her position on altruism at various instances in her major novels as well as in interviews and essays. The main essay in For the New Intellectual (1963) is a good starting point for anyone interested in learning more about Rand’s central ideas on altruism (3-58).

6 It is necessary to add however that Wilder Lane had considerable influence on the book series, as she acted as advisor and editor for her mother. Her impact on the final manuscripts was first established by William Holtz in The Ghost in the Little House: A Life of Rose Wilder Lane (1993). Lane’s letters to her mother, which give insight into the editing process, can be consulted at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Archive in West Branch, Iowa.

Of the two, Paterson was probably in the better position to provide Rand with a sober view of frontier life, as the two were very close for some time. Paterson was born to a frontier family in Ontario that later tried its luck in both Florida and Michigan, yet was haunted by failure. Paterson herself left her home as soon as she came of age to work as a secretary and to eventually become a journalist and novelist. She became widely known as a literary critic and columnist with the New York Herald Tribune in 1924, which gave her a platform to voice her libertarian views and to later express her concerns for the policies of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. In 1940 Rand contacted Paterson to win her support for the presidential campaign of Wendell Willkie and found in Patterson a mentor who provided her with “a virtual graduate school in American history, politics and economics” (Burns 78).

Whether the two ever discussed Paterson’s memories of frontier life cannot be established. There are no references to Paterson’s early life in their correspondence, and neither of the two recorded any such discussions in their diaries. It is however more than likely that Paterson did share her impressions of frontier life with Rand, for the experience had shaped Paterson’s idea of ideal government. Paterson did not idealize the pioneers nor did she agree with the frontier theory because Turner’s thesis led, in her eyes, to the conclusion that American history was merely a lucky coincidence (Cox 15; 258). Still Paterson was convinced that the way frontier settlements were organized was optimal since the government played only a minor role. The frontier experience confirmed her belief that a “spontaneous order” was possible, that no legal or formal framework was necessary to maintain harmony (Cox 16).

“Spontaneous order” is also achieved in Rand’s frontier vision which clearly deviates from both Wilder Lane’s and Paterson’s more nuanced account of their childhood worlds. While the two frontier women stressed the importance of co-dependence, Rand still seemed to have clung to the myth of the independent, self-sufficient pioneer. Altruism, even in its

7 For the only monograph on Paterson, see Cox’s The Woman and the Dynamo: Isabel Paterson and the Idea of America (2004).
more common understanding, had thus to remain a forbidden word in the life of her protagonists and followers.

Conclusion: Utopian Longing and Libertarian Storytelling

From its very beginning, Rand’s prose was inspired by a utopian longing: In her early work, she developed the classical theme of emigration as a utopia, as a key to a better world. Setting the promise of Western Europe off against the desperate circumstances in post-revolutionary Russia, she also reflects her personal desire for a life outside the confines of her home country. She then briefly tried her hand at a more classical example of dystopian fiction, taking Zamyatin as her inspiration. Yet it was in America that she first found her personal utopian longing fulfilled and where she developed her final counter-world, Galt’s Gulch. She has thus moved her utopia not only literally more West, but she has also conceived her own frontier myth, imagining a capitalist community, to her the least European experience possible.

At a point when she had already abandoned her career as a novelist, Rand justified the idealization of characters and the stylized plots by defining fiction’s purpose accordingly: It should show us how things might and ought to be (Podritske and Schwartz 128-9). One may argue that the utopian mode continued outside of Rand’s fiction. Just as many myths of self-reliance on the frontier have been debunked and the necessity of community under those dire circumstances stressed, some argue that the kind of laissez-faire capitalism Rand stands for is unrealistic and merely utopian (Hodgson 5; Samuels 203; Weinberg), thus not different from socialist dreams. If we followed this line of argument though we would enter the rather futile debate whether any ideology has a realistic vision of the ideal society and its mode of subsistence. For Rand we may acknowledge that she was well aware of the difference between her utopian ideal, as exemplified in Galt’s Gulch, and the goals attainable in everyday politics. Although she was convinced that characters such as John Galt did exist outside of fiction, she accepted the deficits in most of humanity, but still believed us capable of self-reliant lives and of pursuing our goals independently. Making her own utopia reality thus was not her priority; escaping and avoiding dystopia by contrast had to be everyone’s goal, hence our need for the example of Galt’s Gulch.

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