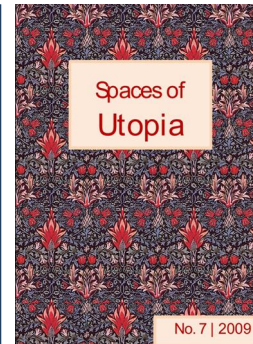


**Catholic Utopian Spaces:
The Essays of Christopher Dawson and
Hilaire Belloc's *The Servile State***

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Utopian spaces play a very important role in the work of the English intellectuals Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953) and Christopher Dawson (1889-1970). These spaces can be seen as inherently Catholic as their constitution is very much influenced by an idealised pre-industrial, pre-Reformation 'Catholic' Middle Ages. They are also clearly informed by contemporaneous Catholic and Papal thought. Their idyllic alternative spatiality consists of decentralised communities of individual households, localities, guilds and associations. And yet, a sense of Christian universalism, being part of a community of Christians, is also at the centre of these spaces. Thus, their utopian spaces, I argue, constitute a merging of two distinctive varieties of conservative, traditionalist idyllic spatial imagining. They encapsulate the spatiality of the Romantic Right, with its belief in 'natural', 'organic' communities that need to be allowed to 'grow' freely and to remain largely unbridled from the 'mechanisation' of modern life. These spaces also reflect the thinking of the

religious Right, with its claims of universalism and its notion of the universal Christian community of shared values and beliefs.¹

Their alternative spatiality is presented, however, not as a utopia but as feasible and practicable. The authors emphasise that these spaces were once a reality in pre-modern times, before the advent of centralising nation-states and mass capitalism. But these spaces are, in fact, a highly idealised, subjectively imagined spatiality from the supposed empirical reality of the past, projected onto a utopian canvas representing, for the authors at least, an enhanced, superior alternative reality. These spaces are what Soja calls “Secondspace” (Soja 1996: 79) and Lefebvre calls “representations of space” or “conceptualized space” (Lefebvre 1991: 38). They are largely “ideational” and come from “conceived or imagined geographies”, which does not mean that there is no initial material reality, (in our case the initial material reality is also historic), “but rather that the knowledge of this material reality is comprehended essentially through thought”, so that these spaces comprise a subjective and highly individualized spatial imagining (Soja 1996: 79). Imagined geographies are “the primary space of utopian thought and vision” and may originate in the “purely creative imagination” of writers (*idem*, 67).

Thus, these imagined spaces are undoubtedly a type of utopia, yet one which has, or has had, ostensibly at least, a historical, empirical existence, giving the proponent of these utopias the chance to represent these thoughts as actually quite practical and realisable. Therefore, their utopian vision represents an alternative spatiality based upon the spaces of an idealised, subjective and

individualized past. The texts also represent a concrete and radical critique of foundational elements within the English society of the time. Both authors are dismissive of the modern nation-state system, seeing the nation-state as an element of 'modernity' that alienates the individual and damages 'organic' communitarianism. They are also highly critical of Protestantism and see the Reformation as an event that severely harmed the universal sense of Christian community. For the authors, localised spaces, based upon an ambiguous and loose state system and interacting (quite ideally without any awareness of problematic tension or conflict), with a sense of Christian universalism, of a wider Christian community, is the ideal resolution to the problems of 'modernity'.

Belloc and Dawson may undoubtedly be seen as part of a Catholicisation process among certain ranks of English literature and intellectual life during the Edwardian period. The work of the English historian and essayist Christopher Dawson has undoubtedly been, in recent years, and especially since his death in 1970, "comparatively ignored" (Schwartz 2005: 203). Yet, Dawson was widely read in his time, among academics and students, as well as in Christian and more general educated circles. This is the first time that his work has been reassessed in relation to Catholic utopian thought. Hilaire Belloc gained a relatively wide readership during his lifetime, as well as a certain amount of notoriety, especially as one part of the "Chester-Belloc", as George Bernard Shaw called his intellectual togetherness with G.K. Chesterton. The present literary reputation of Belloc rests largely upon his verse for children, his *Cautionary Tales*.

A large number of prominent thinkers chose to become Christians in the early decades of the 20th century, and, “even more striking, in view of its longstanding minority, persecuted, and oppositional status in British society” was the disproportionate number of these converts who journeyed to the Roman Catholic Church (Schwartz 2001: 12). The list of converts to Catholicism includes: Christopher Dawson, G. K. Chesterton, Eric Gill, Ronald Knox, Edith Sitwell, Sigfried Sassoon, David Jones, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, Muriel Spark, Maurice Baring, Frederick Copelston, Malcolm Muggeridge and E. F. Schumacher. One could also include, among a list of Catholic intellectuals, ‘cradle Catholics’, such as Hilaire Belloc and Barbara Ward and the ‘cradle convert’ J. R. R. Tolkien. It is apparent then that, with this group of high profile exponents of Catholicism, one has a list of some of Britain’s, in the first part of the 20th century at least, “most accomplished public intellectuals” (*idem*, 13).

The binding force connecting the disparate intellectual Catholic writers of the early 20th century was their antipathy to modernity and their “condemnations of modern mores were always intertwined with overt or tacit commendation of traditional options” (Schwartz 2005: 24). Becoming Catholic, however, in a country where ‘Britishness’, as Linda Colley has convincingly argued, was construed along the lines of a “common Protestantism” brought with it certain social perils (Colley 1992). Becoming a Catholic in Britain often resulted in “accusations of disloyalty to the nation, its Protestant heritage, even its sense of common decency”, conversion usually resulted in a “loss of social status” and for intellectual converts “the material and prestige losses were considerable” (Allit 1997: 5, 6).

Christopher Dawson

Christopher Dawson was one of the last 'gentlemen scholars' and although a historian, if an 'amateur' one (not having, until very late in life, a formal academic position), he rarely undertook research on primary sources but instead busied himself with secondary material and "the strength of his method lay in his careful digestion of the work of other scholars, an amazing range of secondary works" (Hitchcock 1993: 117). Catholicism was the guiding light of Dawson's writing and upon becoming a Catholic "his religious beliefs also became his hermeneutic" (Schwartz 2005: 230).

Dawson was also a learned, engaging, if, at times, less than lucid, essayist and his essay writings deal with a very wide variety of subjects, from medieval culture and historical reflections to contemporary issues in politics and education. He published collections of essays and numerous articles, which appeared in Catholic newspapers and magazines such as *The Catholic Times*, *The Dublin Review* and the *Commonweal*, in academic journals, such as *The Sociological Review*, in literary magazines, such as *The English Review*, as well as working occasionally for the BBC. Dawson's overall readership and audience was, thus, probably not extremely large, yet not insignificant either.

Dawson's utopian spaces are familial, rural, and regional and incorporate a type of professional guild organisation, as well as being, of course, intently Christian. They are greatly influenced by his total antipathy towards 'modern' culture and he is highly disparaging of nationalism and its spatial correlation, the nation-state, which he perceives as facets of modernity. His utopian spaces are

based upon an idealised pre-industrial, pre-Reformation Middle Ages of feudal local attachments and Christian universalism, as well as the Catholic subsidiary principle, as detailed in the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* from 1931, which also constitutes the search for a Catholic third way between Capitalism and Socialism.²

For Dawson the “modern cult of nationalism” “has been one of the most destructive forces that have threatened the existence of Western Culture” and “even in its milder forms” it has shown itself to be “unfavourable to the cause of civilisation” (Dawson 1968 [1954]: 5). Christian universalism, seen in an unproblematic fashion as a sense of Christian community, is more “truthful” and appropriate than narrow national forms and “it is impossible to treat the various national traditions and national cultures as self-sufficient and self-explanatory entities, for they are all rooted in the common tradition of Christendom” (*idem*, 8). The Reformation “destroyed the unity of medieval Christendom” and is “closely related to the growth of the sovereign state” (Dawson 1971 [1965]: 69, 175). Dawson is distrustful of the “modern state” as it “claims to dominate and control the whole life of society and of the individual” (Dawson 1935: xxii). Dawson’s utopian spaces may be seen principally as a form of anti-modern, ‘aristocratic regionalism’, in which an idealised ‘traditional’ spatiality of rural “miniature monarchies”, made up of “households” and with a ‘natural’ ruling class, form an English and a “Christian Commonwealth”.

In “The World Crisis and the English Tradition”, first published in *The English Review*³ in 1933, Dawson ruminates on the “essential condition of

England's achievement" prior to industrialisation, when "there was no need" for "rigid centralisation" or "bureaucratic organisation", but there still existed "a general relaxation of tension in the social organism" as English culture "spread itself abroad over the open country" and "a civilization grew up that was not urban" but "essentially rural and based upon the life of the family" (Dawson 1956 [1933]: 215).

Dawson emphasises the rural nature of his utopian spaces and the whole of English culture, he maintains, "has been a rural culture", the figure of the local squire was nothing more than a "glorified yeoman", although also "sometimes an oppressor" "he was never a stranger" and "thus the English culture and the social discipline that went with it were not a civilization imposed from above but grew up from below out of the very soil of England" (*idem*, 215, 216). But with industrialisation Dawson's rural idyll comes under attack as "the centre of gravity shifts from the village and the country house to the industrial town, the mine and the factory". The family and the home disintegrate into "a number of individual wage earners" and "a workers' dormitory" (*idem*, 218, 219).

Ownership of land is central to Dawson's utopian spaces and the disappearance of the landowning class has left "an immense gap in the social and cultural life of the countryside" and "all the vital forces of the nation" are becoming concentrated "in the great cities". He sees a need for "the restoration of social equilibrium by a measure of cultural de-centralisation and a more even distribution of the non-economic resources of the nation between city and countryside" and, although the process of centralisation is well advanced, "there is no a priori reason why a society should not recover its health and social stability by reversing the drift

towards centralization and deliberately strengthening its foundations in the life of the family and the country” (*idem*, 224). Dawson, thus, advocates a process of “cultural de-centralisation”, and, while it is unclear exactly what this constitutes or how it could be achieved, he undoubtedly calls for the reinvigoration of rural life, and for an idyllic interconnected structure of family, country house and village, as well as the empowerment of a rural landowning class.

Dawson also discusses the organisation of his idyllic spaces. In *Beyond Politics* from 1939, he argues for “the need for a higher degree of social organisation and a deeper sense of community”, while also emphasising that English democracy “must preserve vital elements of the aristocratic tradition”, as well as the “aristocratic principle of leadership”, which is “most effective at short range and among a limited circle” (Dawson 1939: 37, 48, 53). Thus, Dawson espouses a utopian ‘aristocratic regionalism’, based upon supposed traditional forms of authority and small-scale organisation, whose rulers formed the English elite. Dawson’s utopian spatiality is based upon his idea of a spatial pre-modernity in which “England consisted of thousands of miniature monarchies – often highly autocratic ones – ruled like the medieval state by the temporal power of the squire and the spiritual authority of the parson” (*idem*, 69-70). While Dawson does not openly argue for a return to this imagined pre-modern spatiality, his emphasis upon its advantages, and his criticisms of the modern state and its lack of rural based authority and scope, constitute an implicit suggestion for change.

In *The Judgement of the Nations* from 1943 he maintains that the “disintegration of Western culture” is connected to the establishment of large states,

as both “Western culture” and “freedom” (both remaining unclear and undefined), were cultivated in small-scale societies and have had difficulty adapting to the larger spaces of centralised states. “Western culture and freedom has been developed by the privileged or citizen classes of the relatively small-scale societies of the European state system”, but, he insists, “our problem arises from the difficulty of adapting the cultural ideals and the political institutions that had developed in this restricted field to the new world of large-scale mass states” and, as a result, we see a “tendency of culture to deteriorate in quality as it increases in quantity, and for the cruder and less highly developed political traditions to reassert themselves over the more delicate and civilized ones” (Dawson 1943: 22, 23).

He argues for the virtues of private property, as well as the independence of the family and household. “In the past personal freedom has always been grounded on private property”, which brought with it “the right of freedom in the choice of an occupation” and was “bound up with the existence of a small primary group – the family (...) under the rule of the father” and “the base of the social edifice was constituted by the family as the primary social and economic unit” (*idem*, 130).

In what Dawson sees as the pre-modern form of societal and spatial organisation economics was “the Law of the household”. Thus, the “household”, which he describes as “a minute communist monarchy” under patriarchal rule, existed independently, with its independence based on property ownership. In this environment the “spiritual freedom of the past existed”, but the “old personal individual conception of property” was destroyed “by the coming of the new order

of industrial capitalism and socialism which has mechanized and de-personalized the economic basis of social life” and, thus, “the economic unit has grown larger and larger” (*idem*, 130, 131).

Formal economic organisation is also central to Dawson’s utopian spaces and he argues for the introduction of an updated form of medieval guilds. He calls for the introduction of “the freedom of association”, “the principle which has always distinguished the free citizen community of classical antiquity and modern Europe from the servile state in which the individual is regarded merely as a subject”, as well as “the freedom of vocation”, which is “the condition of personal responsibility” (*idem*, 133). He argues that “the freedom of association”, which he defines as the “spontaneous creation of new groups and organizations to meet new social needs”, needs to be “informed by the spirit of vocation and individual responsibility” “so that instead of a dead bureaucracy controlling a formless mass activity we have the organic form of a living community” (*idem*, 136).

Dawson’s nostalgic, romantic autobiographical fragment from 1949, *Memories of a Victorian Childhood*, first published as *Tradition and Inheritance* in the magazine *The Wind and The Rain*⁴, depicts what is, for Dawson, the perfect example of a highly utopian ‘aristocratic regionalism’, with its familial interconnectedness, peasant proprietorship, ‘natural’ authority figures from the local noble household and regional distinctiveness. Dawson emphasises the importance of Pietas, “the cult of parents and kinfolk and native place as the principles of our being” and he links this honouring of native place to Christian universalism, as “the cult of the family and the native place is not a form of

snobbery or false romanticism but the first debt we owe to society and to the Christian commonwealth” (Dawson 1989 [1949]: 10, 11).

In Craven, Dawson’s home area in Yorkshire, the “real social unit” was “the dale or the region”, yet “every farm and household” was also a “separate unit” and “everything depended on the family, which was a true economic society” (*idem*, 22, 25). Dawson then writes of how the remnants of traditional English spatial organisation were still to be seen in Craven, as in “outlying regions like Craven something of the old spirit still survived”, in which “noble households” “formed a little court” and, he implies, governed the local “peasant household(s) of the yeoman farmer”, which formed “the basic unit of the English commonwealth” (*idem*, 25, 26).

A sense of Christian universalism pervades the work of Dawson and is usually interchangeable with the idea of ‘Europe’. While universalism is constantly seen as a sense of community, it is something that, ultimately, should and could, according to Dawson, attain institutional form and for the Catholic convert European unity, in institutional form, can only be based upon a sense of Christian universalism. European unity, according to Dawson, should be based upon the now submerged yet still commonly held sense of “spiritual universalism”, which is “more than an idea” “because it was embodied in the superpolitical society of the Church” (Dawson 1943: 141). ‘Europe’ was, in pre-Reformation times, essentially a “spiritual unity” and European unity, if it is to be realised again, requires a spiritual reinvigoration (*idem*, 145). European union, according to Dawson, must be consistent with Christian universalism in the sense of Europe as a “commonwealth

of Christian nations” sharing “a common way of life” and constituting a “community of culture” (*idem*, 150).

Thus, Dawson has a distinct utopian vision, distributed among various essays and works, informed by the Catholic subsidiary principle, as well as the idea of Christian universalism. In Dawson’s ‘aristocratic regionalism’ the region is of an ambiguous and unspecified scale but consists of an organic unit made up of property owning independent family households, where each household is a “miniature communist monarchy” run in a patriarchal fashion, and overseen regionally by the ‘natural’ authority figures of the parson or priest and the noble, who then runs the region in a similar fashion to the household. Dawson also argues for medieval type guilds so that people of the same occupation may associate freely with one another. Dawson concedes, however, that his pre-modern, highly utopian aristocratic regional space has largely vanished, although aspects can, seemingly, still be detected, and he argues directly for the re-introduction of rural authority and leadership, the re-invigoration of country life and, in a quite vague way, de-centralisation. The last unit within his scale of utopian spaces is a medieval inspired “Christian Commonwealth”, understood as a sense of Christian universalism and common European culture.

Hilaire Belloc

The Anglo-French author Hilaire Belloc also depicts utopian spaces of a distinctly Catholic nature, inspired as well by the subsidiary principle and the idea of Christian universalism. Belloc’s universalism is more markedly and exclusively

Catholic than that of Dawson, and he occasionally partakes of a repugnant anti-Semitism, as well as being continuously and vociferously anti-Protestant. Belloc was an essayist, poet, travel writer and popular historian and, especially in the Edwardian period, was well known for being highly opinionated and a pointedly provocative Catholic controversialist. Often associated with his friend and fellow Catholic G.K. Chesterton, he fought intellectual running battles with the secularists of Edwardian times, especially H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw.

Belloc's best-known engagement with political idea making was Distributism. It was also the brainchild of G. K. Chesterton, the artist Eric Gill and the Irish Dominican priest and Philosophy lecturer Vincent McNabb and, rather than being a formal political 'movement', it existed largely within the writings of these authors, and especially within the pages of Chesterton's magazines *New Witness* (1913-1923) and *G. K.'s Weekly* (1925-1936). It was based upon a highly utopian system of economic and political localism and proprietorship, and was very much influenced by Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and the principle of subsidiary, as well the idea of a Catholic Christian universal community. Distributism was both anti-Capitalist and anti-Socialist, believed in small communities, "independent peasant proprietorship", was pro rural and anti-urban, emphasised the importance of "regional dialect", "folklore" and "local diversity" and demonised "unification, regimentation and centralization", as well as the nation-state (Quinn 1993: 164).

Distributism never managed to make the transformation from utopian ideal to reality and made "little practical headway" (Allit 1997: 207). As a political idea,

however, it occupied the minds of thousands of people and was a mainstay within Catholic social thought in Britain during the 1920s and 30s and later travelled across the Atlantic. In the United States it even provided the model for two attempts at utopian community building. The Catholic social activist Dorothy Day attempted to put it into practise on the Catholic Worker Movement's rural communes, as did the Marycrest communards of rural New York in the late 1940s (Hoyt, *The Catholic Counterculture in America 1933-1962*). Both utopian experiments were, however, in "practical terms" a failure (Allit 1997: 207).

Belloc's *The Servile State* from 1912 is the central text of Distributism. The modern state is servile, argues Belloc, in that the majority of individuals and families are in a slave-like condition, as they are un-free and forced into being un-propertied wage earners, while the powers of the state are used to maintain a capitalist, property owning elite. This is contrasted in the work by Belloc's model society, from a decidedly idealised Middle-Ages, in which local areas and free, property-owning workers associated freely with one another for mutually advantageous reasons. This medieval society contained a landowning peasantry, whose associate bodies and guilds safeguarded "the division of property", thus, prohibiting the growth of a "proletariat upon the one side" and a "monopolising capitalist upon the other", "by binding men of the same craft or the same village together; guaranteeing the small proprietor against loss of his economic independence" (Belloc 1912: 49, 50). The guild was "a society partly co-operative, but in the main composed of private owners of capital whose corporation was self-

governing, and was designed to check competition between its members: to prevent the growth of one at the expense of the other" (*idem*, 49).

The highly utopian, idealised medieval state is imagined by Belloc as an ambiguously organised, interconnected chain of local families: "The state, as the minds of men envisaged it at the close of this process, was an agglomeration of families of varying wealth, but by far the greater number owners of the means of production" (*idem*, 50). "Every action of medieval society" was "directed towards the establishment of a state in which men should be economically free through the possession of capital and of land" (*idem*, 51). The local "distributive state" of the Middle-Ages was, however, destroyed by the "dreadful moral anarchy" of Capitalism, whose turning point in Britain was the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries, and which introduced a "new land owning class" (*idem*, 52, 65). This new class consisted of "a mass of new families", which became "wealthy out of all proportion to anything the older England had known" (*idem*, 65). Thus, a "few wealthy families" acquired "hold of the bulk of the means of production" and it is this supposed post-Reformation wealth grab and "not the so-called Industrial Revolution" which "accounts for the terrible social condition in which we find ourselves today" (*idem*, 67, 68).

Belloc calls the supporters of the Distributive State "Conservatives and Traditionalists" who respect "the old forms of Christian European life", thus emphasising the supposed 'European ness' of the Distributive system (*idem*, 105, 106). They are people who know that "property was distributed throughout the State during the happiest periods of our past history" and "where it is properly

distributed today, you have greater social sanity and ease than elsewhere” (*idem*, 106). Those “who would re-establish, if possible, the Distributive state” in place of Capitalism are “men concerned with known realities” and who have “for their ideal a condition of society which experience has tested and proved both stable and good” (*idem*, 106). They are, therefore, “more practical than the Collectivists as they deal with things, which either are or have been in actual existence” (*idem*, 105, 106).

The man who desires “to re-establish property as an institution normal to most citizens” is the most radical as he is “working against the grain of our existing Capitalist society”, while he (Belloc’s language is consistently patriarchal) “who desires to establish Socialism – that is Collectivism – is working with the grain of that society” (*idem*, 108). The “Collectivists” are not only attacked due to the impracticality of their system, by suggesting something which has never before been in existence, but they also help maintain “the Servile State” by working within its system. Thus, Belloc uses the supposed historical existence of the utopian spaces he describes to emphasise their feasibility and practicality and simultaneously attacks the impracticality of the “Collectivists”, while also, indeed, acknowledging the difficulties inherent in his proposed property distribution (*idem*, 110-117). Belloc, thus, imagines, and argues for, a society based upon independent property owning families and localities, linked together through guilds, rather than collectivist, mass and “servile” states.

Belloc is also of the opinion that what he has proffered as an alternative to the “servile” state is the true form of the “old Christian state” (*idem*, 163), by which

he really means the Catholic Christian state. According to his analysis the pre-Reformation world existed in a kind of spiritual-state equilibrium, in which statehood was small and local, and consisted of independent peasant proprietors, and these 'state-lets' were united at European level by the sense of Christian universalism. But with the Reformation the English Catholic Church was nationalised, Church property was sold, a number of families acquired extraordinary wealth and "after the Reformation there began to arise all over England those great "country houses" which rapidly became the typical centres of English agricultural life" (*idem*, 65). With this action England became Capitalist and "permitted a vast section of her population to become proletarian" (*idem*, 68).

Belloc sees the Reformation as the most important event in European history and he is convinced that it is the ultimate cause of all the cultural, economic, social and political problems of Western society (Ker 2003: 59). Belloc's idea of 'Europe' is invariably connected to Catholicism, as his notorious phrase from *Europe and the Faith* from 1920 would suggest: "the Faith is Europe, and Europe is the Faith". He sees the denial of unity as the essential principle of Protestantism (Ker 2003: 59) and his utopian distributive space is perceived as a return to the "old Christian state" and, thus, a return to Catholic Christian universalism. Belloc's distributive 'state' is, therefore, part of an almost state-less world where bonds are local and this sense of locality interrelates effortlessly, and in an unproblematic fashion, with a universal sense of a Catholic Christian community.

Belloc emphasises the virtues of utopian localised ‘state-lets’ of independent peasant proprietors; and a return to a medieval type Christian universalism. Distributism was “an expression of subsidiarity, the Catholic social teaching which may be defined as the belief that the state should not arrogate to itself powers which could be perfectly adequately exercised by the individual, by the family, or by local authorities” and “notions of subsidiarity suffuse *The Servile State*” (Quinn 1993: 171). *The Servile State* is also permeated by the utopian spaces of an idealised Catholic Middle Ages and the Reformation is seen as the defining occurrence in European history. The Distributive state, as imagined by Belloc, would necessitate a return to supposed pre-Reformation forms of societal existence.

Thus, the essays of Christopher Dawson and Hilaire Belloc’s *The Servile State* undoubtedly depict what may be termed distinctly Catholic utopian spaces. The adversaries of both authors are represented by Capitalism, Socialism, centralisation, mass states, as well as the Reformation, which is seen by both writers as directly related to nation-state formation. The loss of a sense of European unity, perceived as the feeling of Christian universalism and spiritual community, is deemed also by both authors to be largely the fault of the Reformation and Protestantism. Dawson and Belloc do not foresee any tension existing between the regional spaces they idealise and the sense of European universalism, which they both see as inherent to Christianity. Their utopian spaces also serve the function of criticising, fairly radically, specific, and indeed foundational, elements within their society. They criticise state centralisation,

Protestantism and 'modernity', the 'real' England for both writers being the localised, pre-Reformation and pre-industrial England, the medieval, Catholic England of Chaucer rather than the industrial, urban England of Dickens.

The utopian 'solutions' both proffer include independent property owning families and households, general decentralisation, guilds and associations based upon occupation and a sense of locality, as well as a reinvigorated sense of spiritual unity. Belloc's basic unit, above that of the family, is the 'village' made up of independent proprietors, while Dawson's is that of the 'region', in which 'traditional', 'natural' leader figures from the local aristocracy reign supreme. The utopian spaces are depicted as practical and feasible due to their supposed historical existence, but are really pseudo-historical utopian spaces, projections of a supposed empirical past truth, which may be, they argue, re-instated to help mould the reality of the future. They also constitute a coming together of two distinct kinds of conservative spatial imagining, that of the Romantic Right, with its belief in 'organic', 'naturally' developing communities, and the Christian universalism of the Religious Right.

Notes

¹ For a discussion of the idyllic spaces of conservative thought, see Maier 2006: 34.

² Pius XI's encyclical reinforces the importance of private property, decentralised power and medieval type guilds and associations based upon occupation. The state "should leave to smaller groups the settlement of business of minor importance, which otherwise would distract it" and those in power should be convinced that "the more faithfully this principle of subsidiary function be followed, and a graded hierarchical order exist between various associations, the greater will be both social authority and social efficiency, and the happier and more prosperous the condition of the commonwealth" (Pius XI 1931: 35).

³ *The English Review* was established by Ford Madox Ford in 1908 as a political and literary monthly magazine, staying in business, although regularly changing editors, until 1937, when it merged with *The National Review*. It started as an organ of the "liberal left" then changing to the "illiberal right". Under Ford the magazine published work of a very high quality, including that of Thomas Hardy, W. B. Yeats and D.H. Lawrence. While the literary quality nosedived after Ford left the editorship, by 1933 Douglas Jerrold was editor and the magazine, although now quite conservative, was able to regain some of its literary quality, containing, for example, in one addition three reviews by T. S. Elliot. The magazine's circulation remained quite limited and never rose above 1,000 copies a month. See White 1984: 125-129.

⁴ *The Wind and the Rain* was started by Michael Allmand and Neville Braybrooke in 1941 and ran, with an irregular output, until 1951. It was ideologically "anti-left" and "tried to hold on to spiritual values, especially those with a Catholic orientation, in a world of chaos, turmoil, and change" (Baker 1986: 497, 499). "Contributions by important post-war British thinkers" include that of Dawson, "the only autobiographical statement Dawson ever published" (*idem*, 498), as well as W. H. Auden on Graham Greene and some of the first translations of August Strindberg into English.

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