
ANYTHING GOES — QUEER ANOMALIES AND FLUID IDENTITIES

by

KAREN THOENS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2005

UMI Number: 3169990

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3169990

Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

15 April 2005 Anne Humpherys
Date Anne Humpherys
Chair of Examining Committee

15 April 2005 Steven F. Kruger
Date Steven F. Kruger
Executive Officer

Professor Gerhard Joseph

Professor Norman Kelvin

Supervision Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 — Introduction	1
Chapter 2 — From Victorian to Modern - British Literature 1886–1899	15
<i>Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde</i> - Robert Louis Stevenson (1886)	
<i>The Picture of Dorian Gray</i> - Oscar Wilde (1890/91)	
<i>The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes</i> - Sir Arthur Conan Doyle	
“A Scandal in Bohemia” (1892)	
“The Adventure of the Speckled Band”- Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1892)	
<i>The Heavenly Twins</i> - Sarah Grand (1893)	
<i>Dracula</i> - Bram Stoker (1897)	
<i>Heart of Darkness</i> - Joseph Conrad (1899)	
Chapter 3 — Realists, Regionalists, Sentimentalists and Sensationalists— American Literature 1888 –1905	90
<i>The Hidden Hand</i> - E.D.E.N. Southworth (1888)	
<i>Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins</i> - Mark Twain (1894)	
<i>The Awakening</i> - Kate Chopin (1899)	
<i>Contending Forces</i> - Pauline Hopkins (1900)	
<i>The House Behind the Cedars</i> - Charles Chesnutt (1900)	
<i>Winona</i> - Pauline Hopkins (1902)	
<i>The House of Mirth</i> - Edith Wharton (1905)	
Chapter 4 — After the War – American Literature 1925–1929	164
<i>The Great Gatsby</i> - F. Scott Fitzgerald (1925)	
<i>The Sun Also Rises</i> - Ernest Hemingway (1926)	
<i>Passing</i> - Nella Larson (1929)	
Chapter 5 — After the War – British Literature 1924–1928	225
<i>A Passage to India</i> - E.M. Forster (1924)	
<i>Mrs. Dalloway</i> - Virginia Woolf (1925)	
<i>The Well of Loneliness</i> - Radclyffe Hall (1928)	
Chapter 6 —Conclusion	278
Bibliography	288

Chapter 1

Introduction

Shifts in scientific thought, political ideologies and economic structures historically disrupt basic belief systems. These shifts become embedded in culture, enabling theoretical movement into previously unimagined areas. New cultural paradigms reenter science, politics, the economy, art and individuals' worldviews as changed assumptions about the nature of reality, a relationship that Ian Hacking describes as "looping effects" (34). This dissertation proposes that a shift of this type occurred during the modernist period in the United States and Great Britain, resulting in changes in our understanding of identity. These changes are evidenced in a movement from binary, polar, and discrete identity categories to multiple, fluid, and relative identity categories.

During the same time period, science, important because of its position as a mediator of cultural norms, exhibited a parallel shattering of basic concepts in physics. As a mediator, science legitimizes ideas within the culture. In the nineteenth century, science arbitrated identity constructions of race and gender; confirming the position of scientific authority to determine identity positions Russett notes, "Race was a burning social issue in England and America. . . . In this atmosphere science became a weapon, its findings useful as they legitimated or discounted the claims of black people to political and social equity. So too with sex" (7). As Darwin's theory of evolution looped through society during the late nineteenth century, it was used to support a worldview that defined certain races as primitive and to place them at a lower position on a hierarchical evolutionary ladder.

Evolutionary theory also tended to reinforce the notion of racial hierarchies

through the method of ranking and ordering bodies according to stages of evolutionary 'progress.' . . . According to the logic of recapitulation, adult African Americans and white women were at the same stage as white male children and therefore represented an ancestral stage in evolution of adult white males. (Somerville 24)

Science became the undisputable arbiter of identity hierarchy. "Scientists became the prophets of an updated Calvinism, ordaining some—the white, the civilized, the European, the male—to evolutionary maturity, and others—the dark skinned, the primitive, the female—to perpetual infancy. The cosmos itself disdained equality" (Russet 203).

Meanwhile, in the field of physics, a scientific revolution was at hand.

Significantly, the changes in physics, concurrent with the literary shift, occurred in the scientific identity categories of mass/energy and time/space. These scientific shifts and the shifts in personal identity categories reflect a looping effect in the perception of the nature of reality within the larger culture, a paradigm shift from the Victorian vision of reality to the modernist worldview.

Thomas Kuhn describes scientific revolutions as paradigm shifts; he recognizes Einstein's theory of relativity, first published as a paper in 1905, as generating such a shift. An analysis of the concurrent paradigm shift in identity categories during this period using Kuhn's criteria for scientific paradigm shifts, reveals the similarities in the structures of both movements including the influence of "anomalies," the "emergence of a crisis," the "repeated failure" of the anomaly to conform to expectations, pressure from external conditions and the emergence of an "acute crisis" (xi-xii). In the case of

identity paradigm shifts as reflected in literature, anomalies are queer characters, characters of ambiguous race, gender or sexuality who create what Majorie Garber describes as a “category crisis” (*Vested Interests* 16). In this dissertation, the term queer will be used to denote any character who performs a boundary crossing in one or more identity categories. This is not to suggest that crossings of this kind are exclusive to this era, but merely to mark the frequency and locations of the disruptions with a single term. Because of their frequency, these queer characters were noticeable disruptions in the narratives of their time. The pressure exerted on identity categories by the repeated failures of these queer identities to conform, combined with external conditions, transforms these anomalies into sources of “acute crisis” leading to the identity paradigm shifts reflected in early twentieth-century narratives.

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn explains how anomalies combined with other forces propel revolutions in science. In what Kuhn describes as “normal science” a “set of received beliefs” which is “predicated on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the whole world is like” (4-5) is the basis for scientific research. Anomalies are occurrences that do not perform as the scientific rule predicts they should. After repeated efforts to “evade anomalies that subvert the existing scientific practice” (6) are unsuccessful, research begins to discover a “new basis for the practice of science” (6). This is not generally a process welcomed by those from within the established scientific community who have established their careers by supporting the current set of received beliefs and are often resistant to change. In science, those who champion these new challenges are usually newcomers and outsiders; they frequently face stiff opposition from the scientific establishment as they challenge entrenched ideas.

Kuhn notes that often proponents of both sides coexist until those supporting the earlier scientific position retire or die and new scientists enter the field who have been taught the new one. Einstein was an outsider whose revolutionary ideas caused a scientific paradigm shift.

Similar forces are at work in the narratives during the two periods under discussion. The anomalies that are so apparent in identity characterizations during the earlier time period in both the British and American narratives reflect changes erupting within the culture that the narratives describe. The narrative shift into the new identity paradigm, however, is made by authors from a different generation who see reality from a different perspective.

Identity changes were neither linear nor simultaneous across the categories of race, gender or sexuality during this period; rather, the changes were sporadic, layered and relative. Interaction among identity categories complicates tracing the changes; nonetheless, we will see that category modifications were diffused, though unevenly, throughout all of them. The same is true of the other potential differences between English and American cultures. For although these cultures overlap and interact, there are clear differences, the most obvious of which are in the category of race, in which similar but different forces propel change within each culture. Different class structures in both cultures affect the playing out of race, gender and sexuality scripts as well; these will be noted only as they interact with the primary identity categories being studied. So, though it will be necessary to mediate the accident of different national contexts, it is possible to see similar shifts in texts from Britain and America in terms of category definition.

The texts I study here challenge binary identity categories and represent movement away from such binaries toward a new understanding of identity as diffuse. And however different they are, all of the narratives prior to the paradigm shift renegotiate or disrupt identity using a queer character who initiates identity transgressions by types of passing: by being of mixed race, indeterminate gender or sexuality, or by engaging in aberrant behavior, frequently sexual.

For the purpose of this study, the Victorian period will encompass the sixty-four year time period during which Queen Victoria reigned, from 1837 until 1901; modernism will refer to the time period that followed, from the early twentieth century until World War II. The paradigm shift that I propose in this dissertation has its cultural roots in the 1880s, a time period identified by sociologists Helen and Robert Lynd as “the major historical turning point in the modern world” (Cantor 8). According to Cantor, “Modernism emerged around 1900 as a coherent movement.” Others date it later, but certainly by the end of World War I, most would agree the modernist era in literature was well underway. The paradigm shift, which is initiated by the “anomalies” of the 1880s and intensified by political and cultural turmoil, emerges during this period of flux between the end of Victoria’s reign and the end of World War I and is fully realized by the late 1920s.

The chapters in this dissertation, which are arranged chronologically, will incorporate historical events that also impinge on the shift in identity categories or represent significant pressures on the existing Victorian paradigm. Some relevant historical events include the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court ruling on *Plessy v Ferguson*, which supported segregation laws in the United States; the trial of Oscar Wilde in 1895 in

England, which was a catalyst in establishing the category of homosexuality, and the struggle for women's suffrage in the U.S. and England.

Segregation laws established the color line, legitimizing racial identity categories. Before the Civil War, racial difference was not as significant as slave status. African-Americans were sometimes manumitted; not all blacks were slaves and many slaves weren't all black. The distinction between master and slave was marked by the slave's status as property, both a legal and a hierarchical classification. Following emancipation, the legislated color line attempted to reestablish dominance based upon segregation and binary racial credentials; it was at this point that race became a particularly significant category in the United States. While racial identity in the nineteenth-century attempts to mark and segregate African American, Asian, Native American and other non-white populations that live in the United States, Great Britain racialized non-English groups, including Africans, Indians, Asians and Irish, often in colonial settings. We can see these racial identities challenged in the texts in this study. In both the U.S. and England, white was the invisible norm against which racial identity was measured.

Similarly, following the Wilde trial, the identity category of homosexuality implied a new, invisible category—heterosexuality—that was normative. These two categories were understood as polar opposites with homosexuals defined by the sexologists as inverts or reversals of their physical sex, women trapped in men's bodies or men in women's bodies. Literature suggests same-sex attraction using queer characters before the infamous Wilde trial in a novel penned by Wilde himself, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Once the category of homosexual has been named as an identity, punished legally and labeled as pathology medically, authors struggle to depict the

identity. Before the shift, queer characters suggest queer sexuality in subversive texts such as *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *The Heavenly Twins*, *Dracula* and *Winona*. After the shift, modernist authors include same-sex desire in their novels using a variety of strategies from marginalized and ambiguous characters in novels like *The Sun Also Rises*, *Passing*, *Mrs. Dalloway* and *A Passage to India* to central characters in a novel that is legally challenged under obscenity laws, *The Well of Loneliness*. Overall, modernist literature portrays all forms of sexuality as relative, multiple and fluid.

Gender shifts follow a pattern similar to that of sexuality and race. As all categories interact with one another, conflated categories must sometimes be carefully deconstructed when examining individual texts; however, the overall movement from polar to fluid remains. As Marianne Dekoven notes, “Shifts in gender relations at the turn of the century were a key factor in the emergence of Modernism”(174). The New Woman of the late nineteenth century and the flapper of the early twentieth century along with the newly franchised female citizen moved away from Victorian ideologies of separate spheres to more fluid gender roles. In all of these identity shifts, constructs of race, gender and sexuality exist simultaneously and transform one another. The transformation that this layering of categories inevitably generates is central to this inquiry.

Throughout this study, racial, gender and sexual identities exist as socially constructed phenomena. An individual’s race/gender/sexuality becomes a social location, a three dimensional position described by vectors of race/gender/sexuality within a historically and geographically specific location. The resulting orientation of the components becomes internalized by the individual and is perceived as a part of the self.

The possibilities of new social locations based upon new public conceptions of reality during the modernist period resulted in marked differences in the ways a person could imagine him or herself. With the coming of modernism, as the cultural perception of race, gender and sexuality represented in narratives shifts to one which is multiple, fluid, and relative, the individual's conceptions of these social constructs is necessarily affected as well.

Although widely held, nineteenth-century essentialist bases for racial divisions produced no cogent scientific support; racial identity maintained its power, however, as a culturally and historically assigned category. In *Queering The Color Line*, Siobhan Somerville notes, "different countries use a different (and contradictory) logic of racial classification to determine who is 'white,' 'black,' or 'colored.'" (7). In the 1890s, court battles were fought over the right to assign identity, both racial and sexual. One's identity became a person's possession, a form of property. These arguments grew in part out of the ownership of bodies in slavery and in part out of the inestimable legal value of a good reputation; to be "culturally marked as nonnormative" meant to lose a "claim to the same rights as those . . . with the cultural legitimacy, or the property of a 'good name'" (Somerville 9). Although identity would seem an intimate personal matter, it was and remains both a political and legal position regarding the assignment of rights and privileges.

The concept of individual identity enlarges upon the idea of the human survival instinct. Thomas Hobbes proposed that self-preservation was the primary force motivating each human being. Since the body is the location of individual life, human behavior emphasizes attributes that ensure its survival. Building on Hobbes' location of

the individual consciousness within the body, John Locke borrowed the term identity from algebra and logic to describe the unity of body and mind in a single individual. Identity is composed of an individual's combined physical and mental properties within the "location of the autonomous self" (Cohen 25). John Locke used the term identity to refer to an "enduring quality . . . across time" (26) of an autonomous self, located in a body. Ed Cohen refers to these philosophical developments to explain how concepts of identity are attached to physical bodies or "embodied" and how identity components interact with each other. Embodied identity is only one short step from the faulty assumption of visibility, the belief that identity represents a combination of mind and body becomes contorted into an assumption that a body displays the identity that occupies it. Identity categories of race, gender and sexuality are assumed to be recognizable by those who hold with the persistent belief that identity is visibly embodied and can therefore be decoded by an astute observer: "That the physical body offers transparent evidence of its history, identity, and behavior is a deeply held cultural fiction in the Unites States" (Somerville 9).

The visibility of identity can be thwarted by the use of disguise and performance. Because people instinctively believe a visible identity, disguises can easily mislead them. Several queer characters like Irene Adler in "A Scandal in Bohemia" use this devise to their own advantage, cross-dressing to mislead witnesses into misreading their gender. After the shift, performance transcends disguise as individuals realize that they can become whomever they choose in novels like *The Great Gatsby*. Performance is more permanent than disguise; it involves not just a visual alteration, but a deeper more complete transformation into a totally new personality. Because of identity fluidity after

the shift, characters can change into different conceptions of themselves with relatively little difficulty.

Before the shift, nineteenth-century societal belief systems supported rigid polar identity constructs some authors sought to circumvent. Ultimately, anomalous characters erupted because the current belief system was not flexible enough to account for the variety of individual differences apparent to authors. One narrative solution to the problem of polar identities common at the end of the nineteenth century in both British and American literature was the use of the double. Some obvious examples of narrative doubles include: *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *The Heavenly Twins*, *Dracula*, *Heart of Darkness*, *The Hidden Hand*, and *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*. Often, doubling in these narratives serves to mediate queer racial, sexual or gender identities and is sometimes used in conjunction with cross-dressing. The strategy of employing a double subverts the cultural identity paradigm while the frequency of doubles during this time period contributes another anomaly, another symptom of the failure of the old identity concept. Margaret Atwood reminds us that seeing your double is ominous, "in traditional societies, such doubles were usually bad luck. According to Scottish folklore, to meet your own double was a sign of death: the double was a 'fetch,' come from the land of the dead to collect you" (Atwood 40). In this case, perhaps, the preponderance of doubles was an omen that marked the end of an era.

Negotiating restrictive identity constructs, the narratives examined in Chapters two and three are texts that are at once anomalous and canonical, representative of the norms and subversive of them. These texts accomplish this narrative sleight of hand

through the aforementioned strategies: queer characters, doubles, disguises and cross-dressing. Other narrative devices are also employed including: passing, another form of doubling or disguise; double narratives, a literal text combined with an implied subtext available to the astute reader, and the use of historical settings, frequently antebellum settings for racial novels in the United States using slavery as a metaphor or a reminder of a not very distant past. These chapters position the besieged Victorian paradigm just prior to the final acute crisis and shift to modernism. Historically, during this period, England and the United States are both involved in the colonialism and imperialism that fosters the land grabs leading into World War I. The war proves to be the last gasp of the old values and the final blow to disheartened heroes many of whom return home broken men.

Chapters four and five demonstrate the fluidity of characters after the war, once the paradigm has shifted. In the modern world, consumerism suggests that identity too can be purchased while technological advances in communication allow access to many previously denied general knowledge of the world. In British and American literature of the 1920s, race, gender and sexual identities are no longer polar, binary and discrete categories; rather, they have become fluid, multiple and relative. Gender identity has shifted markedly. Women claim a broader range of accepted behavior and may usurp male privilege, while men may display characteristics previously assigned only to women. A shift in the balance of power can be detected, as women gain power, men feel a loss of control; some men are even described as failures. Sexuality is multiple and may be homoerotic or ambiguous. Location is a significant vector of identity. Characters in these novels are described as fluid rather than queer because they are no longer anomalous but rather represent the new paradigm.

Changing the paradigm disrupts the ground rules so entirely that even the ordinary when viewed from a different perspective seems strange and unfamiliar. As Thomas Kuhn observes, “when paradigms change, the world itself changes with them” (111). The transformation of values and beliefs that occurred with the paradigm shift into modernism created such a change. Changing the perspective allowed for new questions to be asked of old topics, fresh ideas to be developed in traditional disciplines and entirely new disciplines to emerge. Dramatic shifts such as this have occurred before in other areas, political or religious shifts for example, and have become generalized as this one has. Shifts in scientific thought have been accompanied by other kinds of revolutionary shifts, as Kuhn notes, and many paradigm shifts in science itself have occurred over time. The paradigm shift from Victorianism to modernism in the narrative is part of a broader movement in literature. Modernism is marked as a new period in many areas of art and social sciences; each could be argued as a significant shift.

Philosophy, anthropology, psychology and sociology were experiencing dramatic changes at this time while women’s rights were achieving long contested successes. Commenting on the significance of the twenties in *Reading 1922* Michael North remarks, “that both philosophy and anthropology date their current methodological regimes from this year [1922] does not seem a trivial coincidence”(9). Meanwhile, the work of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung including the introduction of psychoanalysis into psychology in the early twentieth century was a significant event in their field. Sociology “probably the most original product of the social sciences” (Hobsbawm, *Empire* 273) was a redesigned discipline influenced heavily by the contributions of Durkheim and Weber in the early twentieth century. These broader advances, however, are beyond the

scope of this study, which maintains that this shift is singular in its effects on identity constructs of race, gender and sexuality observable in the narratives of Great Britain and the United States.

A problem presented by the lines of inquiry taken in this study is the application of Kuhn's model for the structure of scientific revolutions to a discipline other than science. The objection to applying Kuhn's model might be raised arguing that scientists alone are privileged to use esoteric scientific language and that science itself exists in a pure form, removed and independent of society. However, I would argue that since Thomas Kuhn's analysis of scientific revolutions is predicated upon an epistemological process based in language, the process may be applied to other systems outside of science. Further, disciplines themselves are arbitrary divisions of thought created to allow the human mind to create order out of a chaotic abundance of information. No discipline can exist pure and removed from society. The same argument can be applied to terms. Neither relativity nor paradigm are terms that can be the sole property of science or of any discipline. Even if understood as figurative, Kuhn's formula for a scientific paradigm shift can be applied to a literary shift such as the one I am describing.

Another question regarding choices for this study regards the decision to combine American and British literature. The decision to include both American and British literature in a study of cultural shifts does not suggest that both nations share the same culture although they have some common roots; however, they do share a common language and the literature and cultural phenomena of each circulates through the other. They are connected by a looping effect, which must be considered when evaluating these identity shifts. Significant events in one culture eventually circulate through both, as was

the case with the trial of Oscar Wilde.¹ Added to this is the difficulty in establishing a stable national identity for either literature when British authors were not only English but also Irish, Scottish, or Polish born and several authors from both countries became expatriates. Authors from both countries routinely read the literature of the other country and frequently published in both countries.

Finally, the term queer when used to describe a character before the shift is applied in the broadest sense, not simply to describe same sex attraction and not at all in a pejorative sense. Queer characters disrupt identity borders thereby challenging the very definitions of those categories. They initiate disturbances in the binaries of race, gender and sexuality. A racially queer character, for example, could be designated black culturally but passing as white in the narrative challenging that identity assignment and acting as an anomaly by disrupting the cultural expectation. In some novels, such as *A Passage to India*, characters in primary texts use the word queer to describe others. In cases where these texts are quoted, the word assumes whatever meaning the context of the quote suggests. After the shift, characters are no longer referred to as queer because they have become fluid.

In conclusion, this dissertation traces modernist paradigm shifts in the identity categories of race, gender and sexuality in some British and American literary texts from 1886 to 1929 integrating relevant historical shifts into rereadings of these texts.

¹ “Although Wilde’s trial and imprisonment took place in England, he became a transatlantic icon of homosexuality and decadence. According to one report, between 1895 and 1900, more than 900 sermons were preached against him in the United States” (Somerville 2).

Chapter 2

Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine facets of identity as imagined in British texts published between 1886 and 1899. In Chapter 3, I will examine American texts published between 1888 and 1905. Consistent with Kuhn's observations of scientific revolutions, cultural understanding of identity in the areas of race, class, gender and sexuality was already established and mainly uncontested before anomalies began to appear. Identity was recognized as binary, polar, discrete, and fixed. These identity constructs will be demonstrated in the texts examined in both chapters. Because the authors chosen for this study both see through the lens of the late nineteenth-century world view and challenge it, their creations rail against the boundaries that the authors have been taught to accept. So, these texts simultaneously demonstrate and begin to deconstruct the cultural frameworks that they describe. Because of the disparity between how identity is conceptualized and how it is felt by each of these authors, pressure is exerted on that nineteenth-century worldview and strategies must be employed by the authors to describe their visions within their century's conceptual formations.

This chapter will identify and explore strategies used by authors during this period to intervene between their own visions of identity and those of the cultures they exist within. The use of doubles and disguises is especially prevalent in these texts suggesting their effectiveness in mediating the rifts between what is expected and what is imagined. Multiple narrators, double narratives, multiple narrative devices and fragmented texts are also evident as mediating strategies. At a period when identity concepts were approaching fracture, the world itself was shrinking. The darkest, unexplored recesses of

the globe had recently been penetrated; transportation had been modernized; travel across oceans need no longer represent a hardship. Nationality itself was subject to revision, as exemplified in Sir Henry Morton Stanley's story.² Globalization was becoming a reality. "Now the major fact about the nineteenth century is the creation of a single global economy, progressively reaching into the most remote corners of the world, an increasingly dense web of economic transactions, communications and movements of goods, money and people linking the developed countries with each other and with the undeveloped world" (Hobsbawm 62). Both the United States and Great Britain were caught up in a new colonial explosion called imperialism.

Because of their shared language, common history, cultural, literary and political interactions, British and American texts could be expected to share similarities in something as basic as identity formations. Upon examination, both do reveal similar and fundamental shifts during the same time period. This is hardly surprising as often a book written in one of these countries was published in both, sometimes simultaneously. Authors too, often traveled and lectured in both the United States and Great Britain. Certainly, ideas traveled swiftly across the Atlantic in both directions demonstrating Hacking's "looping effect." Therefore, the examination of this identity category shift includes texts from both countries.

Finally, the external conditions described by Kuhn as necessary to propel a series of anomalies into an acute crisis were manifest in every identity category under

² Born "John Rowlands, Bastard" in the Welsh town of Denbigh on January 28, 1841, John was raised by relatives after his mother left town in disgrace. In 1859, John Rowlands boarded a merchant vessel for New Orleans where he began his transition into another identity by changing his name to Henry Stanley. Working for the *New York Herald* as a foreign correspondent, Stanley initially gained fame by finding Dr. David Livingstone in Africa. Stanley carefully concealed his origins by alternately passing himself off as born in New York or Saint Louis (Hochschild 21-56).

consideration. The synchronicity of disparate historical events and cultural changes provided the sparks to ignite the revolution.

History

On April 12, 1877, Sir Thomas Shepstone, the British Special Commissioner, declared the British annexation of the Boer republic of the Transvaal at an unpretentious ceremony in Pretoria. In August of 1877, Henry Stanley and the remains of his Anglo-American Expeditionary force arrived at Boma on the west coast of Africa after having crossed the continent from Zanzibar on the east coast. As a result of this expedition, Stanley established that the mighty Lualaba River of central Africa was the Congo River, which he followed to the coast. Along the way, Stanley named a series of waterfalls and a pool after himself. At the same time, Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, working for France, was also cutting his way through the African rainforest from Gabon in the west into the jungle to the east. These three separate events witnessed by few Europeans or Americans would set in motion a western imperialist frenzy that would ultimately lead to world war. “This partition of the world among a handful of states . . . was the most spectacular expression of the growing division of the globe into the strong and weak, the advanced and the ‘backward’ . . . It was strikingly new. Between 1876 and 1915 about one-quarter of the globe’s land surface was distributed or redistributed as colonies among a half-dozen states” (Hobsbawm 59).

Significantly, Henry Morton Stanley, whose report that “central Africa was a treasure house, a fountain of wealth waiting to be tapped” (Parkenham 38) provided an initial impetus for the coming wave of global colonial expansion, was a man aligned with

several countries. Welsh by birth, Stanley clung to the hope of British support and carried the British flag across Africa to represent the London paper *The Daily Telegraph*. The stars and stripes of the United States, representing Stanley's adopted country and the locus of his invented identity as an American newspaper reporter for the *New York Herald*, also crossed Africa as did the red flag of the Sultan of Zanzibar, ominously representing the power of the slave traders (Parkenham 38). But, finally, Belgium under the leadership of King Leopold II would maneuver into a position that would win Stanley's allegiance and ultimately, stealthily, would initiate its own claims to the Congo. The flag of the International Association of the Congo, blue with a gold star, would fly over the Congo, marking it as Leopold's private country. Stanley's mixture of national identities and allegiances extends to his chief rival in central Africa. Pierre de Brazza was recently a naturalized Frenchman, born in Italy. His lineage weakened his requests for sponsorship in the shifting world of French politics.

Between 1876 and 1912, the imperialist nations divided up the world among themselves. "Two major regions of the world were, for practical purposes, entirely divided up: Africa and the Pacific. No independent states were left at all in the Pacific, now totally distributed among the British, French, Germans, Dutch, USA and - still on a modest scale - Japan" (Hobsbawm 58). This imperialist race punctuated by competing national claims to colonized territory is reflected in fears of reverse colonization evident in literature of the time.

Race and Colonialism

Imperialism, a term denoting the merger of capitalism and colonialism, came into general use in 1890's. As globalization of industrialized economies demanded more raw materials and markets for finished products, developed countries grabbed for land to secure access to resources deemed necessary for commerce. Development of new technology including the internal-combustion engine, and the electric motor, created a growing demand for iron, copper, and other non-ferrous metals as well as rubber and oil. Precious metals continued to be in demand while the emergence of a growing middle class increased the market for consumer staples such as sugar, tea, coffee, and cocoa. Improved transportation for such previously unimagined luxuries as the banana created new markets. "Technological development now relied on raw materials which, for reasons of climate or the hazards of geology, were to be found exclusively or profusely in remote places" (Hobsbawm 63).

Rivalries for valuable territories created frictions between groups desiring exclusive rights to raw materials. In their own self-interest, the primary imperialist nations divided up the globe into colonies and spheres of influence. "Between 1880 and 1914 . . . most of the world outside Europe and the Americas was formally partitioned into territories under the formal rule or informal political domination of one or other of a handful of states: mainly Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, the USA and Japan" (Hobsbawm 57). Although they signed treaties, which recognized each other's claims and legally recorded divisions of the globe, the rivals contested borders and agitated for control of newly available territory or land with

recently discovered riches. “The rivalries between capitalist powers which led to this division also engendered the First World War” (61).

The position of race in this imperialist scramble for domination is significant. As Joseph Conrad notes, conquest usually means taking land away from those with a “different complexion” (10). Certainly, the scramble for Africa involved the subjugation of darker people by Europeans for economic ends. A display at the 1897 World’s Fair in Brussels evidences the complicity of racism and colonialism in the official attitudes toward the native people of Africa. The Congo display, erected by the Belgian government, included a display of Stanley’s Maxim gun, the weapon primarily responsible for both incredible slaughter in Africa and the exploration that preceded the land grab. Also on display was “a large set of linen tapestries portraying Barbarism and Civilization, Fetishism and Christianity, Polygamy and Family Life, Slavery and Freedom. The most extraordinary tableau, however, was a living one: 267 black men, women and children imported from the Congo” (Hochschild 176). When King Leopold II visited the Congo exhibit, he learned that the candy and other food items given to the Africans by the public were causing them indigestion. Leopold ordered a sign, “the equivalent of a don’t-feed-the-animals sign” It read “THE BLACKS ARE FED BY THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE” (176). The Africans ate and slept in Leopold’s stables. “These were not the only indigenous people placed on exhibit at world’s fairs and elsewhere around the turn of the century. Perhaps the most appalling case was that of Ota Benga, a Pygmy from the Congo, who was displayed in the monkey house of New York’s Bronx Zoo in September of 1906. An orangutan shared his space” (176).

Relying on a skewed interpretation of Darwin's theory of evolution, racist thought proposed that indigenous people were at a lower and more primitive stage of development than "civilized" white Europeans. This logic bolstered claims of racial superiority, which justified imperialism and segregation.

Sexuality and Gender

Changes in sexual mores at the end of the nineteenth century can be traced to a variety of causes: the growth of industry, and the subsequent mass migration of populations to cities; changes in class mobility and relationships; capitalism; and social and intellectual responses to these changes. These social conditions resulted in "a continuous battle over the definition of acceptable sexual behavior within the context of changing class and power relations" (Weeks 23). Although sexuality is often depicted as repressed and shrouded in secrecy during the nineteenth century, tremendous anxiety around gender role definition and sexual expression continued to build. Weeks notes that while sex was publicly denied, it was actually central to discourse, "Simultaneously and apparently paradoxically it was during the nineteenth century that the debate about sexuality exploded" (19).

Attitudes and beliefs about appropriate sexual behavior that had been established by the Church were now enforced by the government.³ Differences visible within various strata of society reflected the action of class position upon these established norms. Respectability regarding sexual behavior was largely linked to the growing middle class

³ The initial shift, the first civil law against sodomy, occurred in 1533 under Henry VIII and represented Henry's attempts to curtail the power of the Catholic Church in England. Under this law sodomy, which was interpreted as any non-reproductive sexual practice, became a capital civil crime. (Weeks 103)

and the effects of capitalism. Middle class women were held to standards of chastity to ensure the legitimacy and loyalty of sons and heirs to the family business. Sexual freedom for males of all classes was an established norm. This double standard combined with the division of women into the virtuous and the fallen necessarily worked in tandem. The existing social order was supported within the family where surveillance and control of sexuality was based. Family and society were divided ideologically into public and private spheres. In the 1880's, social purity campaigns reflected a growing agitation over the double standard and mounting concern over male sexual escapades resulting in syphilitic infections. Elaine Showalter observes that knowledge of syphilis was gender linked with males being educated while female were kept in the dark, "boys and men were lectured, warned, or even terrorized about venereal disease, well-brought-up girls were not supposed to know that such dangers existed. . . . Feminists regarded venereal disease as one of the terrible secrets about marriage which women were never told" (SA 196). New Woman authors tackled the forbidden subject of venereal diseases in their writing. The voices of these women contributed to the unrest over gender role definition during this period.

The phenomenon of the New Woman was the result of the interaction of complex social and economic forces. The rise of industrialization resulted in the movement of the workplace out of the home which ultimately excluded women from the economy. In this masculinized economic structure, middle class women were placed in a new position of economic dependence on men. This sexual division of work further devalued women's paid labor. In the 1890's, three-quarters of the females in the U.S. and Britain were not employed outside of the home (Hobsbawm 195). The creation of separate spheres of

home and business left few wage earning positions available to middle class women. Middle class families could not afford to support daughters who neither married nor worked. More pressure was exerted to educate these women and the availability of secondary education for girls increased. Elaine Showalter emphasizes the importance of these odd women as catalysts for change in the economic system. “Sexual anarchy began with the odd woman. The odd woman—the woman who could not marry—undermined the comfortable binary system of Victorian sexuality and gender roles” (Showalter *SA* 19).

A rise in birth control evident in the middle class is connected to economic stimuli during this period as well.⁴ Middle class women who did not work outside the home and had fewer children became involved in social crusades like the labor and socialist movements and the fight for women’s suffrage during their free time. The significant size of the women’s suffrage movement in Britain and US “measured the public strength of organized feminism” according to Eric Hobsbawm (201). Although agitation for change was evident, changes in women’s lives came more slowly. The Married Women’s Property Act in 1882 marked the beginning of legislative reform concerning the legal status of married women. But still, the largest numbers of visibly successful women were women authors and stage figures. These women became models for social change.

Anxiety over the dissolution of gender roles focused on the gender challenges posed by the New Woman. “Unlike the odd woman, celibate, sexually repressed, and easily pitied or patronized as the flotsam and jetsam of the matrimonial tide, the sexually independent New Woman criticized society’s insistence on marriage as woman’s only

⁴ Condoms were manufactured “in large quantities from the mid-century [19th]” (Mason 57). A birth control booklet, *Fruits of Philosophy*, published in 1877 made barrier methods widely known.

option for a fulfilling life” (Showalter *SA* 38). This gender based anxiety was exacerbated by the newly conceived sexual category, homosexuality. “The nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology. . . . The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species” (Foucault 43). In an exclusively male social milieu, the intrusion of the concept of homosexuality was particularly disturbing. Gender coding of the homosexual as effeminate, combined with polarized gender depictions of “real men” and “good women” (*Dracula*) or the exclusion of female characters entirely were literary evasions of the sexuality/gender problem. Male quest novels which were popular at the time avoided women and social mores. Male quest romances created a world devoid of women; the male heroes engaged in introspective journeys to exotic locations, far from the rigid moral codes of Victorian England. Showalter cites critic Joseph Boone’s observation that the quest romance “dealt by definition with a world almost totally devoid of women or heterosexual social regulations” (*SA* 82).

But at home in the civilized world, male sexuality had become a focus of concern. The Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s⁵ intended to control venereal diseases implicitly approved of prostitution. Supporters of social morality responded with outrage to the apparent state support of prostitution. The public perception of moral decay combined with various scandals fueled morality campaigns in Britain. These campaigns focused on what was perceived as “undifferentiated male desire” resulting in the targeting of both prostitution and male homosexuality (Weeks106). The primary target of

⁵ 1864, 1866, and 1868 (Gilbert, *NML* V2 48).

legislation was female prostitution. Meanwhile, homosexuality emerged as an identity category observed and classified by the sexologists. Pressure from the overlapping and competing attitudes toward and definitions of gender and sexuality forced a crisis. “It seems likely that the changes in attitudes toward homosexuality were often the consequences of other major changes. What was happening was that the ensemble of traditional assumptions was meeting new categorization and together being transformed by a series of intersecting influences” (Weeks 106). Prior to this, homosexual acts were combined into the general category of sodomy, non-reproductive and therefore sinful and illicit sexual behavior. The identity category homosexual was publicly embodied in the person of Oscar Wilde after his infamous trials in 1895.⁶

Oscar Wilde did not provide the only headlines for British tabloids. The notoriety of Jack the Ripper’s spree of bloody murder and mutilation of prostitutes in 1888, termed “the Ripper myth” by Judith Walkowitz, served as “a warning to ‘good’ women that ‘bad’ women could not protect themselves against a punishment they really deserved, and that no woman was safe outside the security of her home” (*qtd. in* Gilbert *NML* V2 48). The Ripper story is significant in the amount of publicity it generated and in the message the story conveyed. “[T]he Ripper murders quickly became ‘a modern myth of male violence against women;’ the message was one of warning for women “the city is a dangerous place for women, when they transgress the narrow boundaries of home and hearth and dare to enter public space” (*qtd. in* Showalter *SA* 127). This myth, still potent today, looped through culture along with the political pamphlets of advocates of the suffrage movement, the voices of feminists and innuendos concerning the Wilde trials. A

⁶ Detailed descriptions of Wilde’s libel suit against the Marquis of Queensbury and Wilde’s subsequent trail for “acts of gross indecency” (Cohen 126-209).

conglomerate of sex/gender input was instrumental in propelling the anomalies of Victorian culture into the acute crisis that pressured changes in the cultural understanding of identity.

Doubles

British and American literature of this period reflects these contemporary concepts of race, gender and sexual identity as discrete and polar. Because identity categories were not envisioned as fluid and multiple, authors frequently used the device of the double to describe the fluidity and multiplicity observed in anomalous identities. In the texts studied in these two chapters, the ubiquitous double both reflects the polarization of contemporary identity structures and enables variety in the depiction of identity characteristics through binary personality structures. The use of doubles and disguises serves to most nearly approximate the authors' anomalous visions of the reality of fluid identity. Duplicity signifies identity to these authors.

The obvious character doubles in *Doctor Jekyll and Mister Hyde* and *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, disguise underground homosexual texts that act as doubles of the literal texts. Doubles highlight gender inequities in *The Heavenly Twins*. Furthermore, because gender and sexuality overlap and subsume one another in significant ways in all of these texts, these categories often represent each other. *Heart of Darkness* establishes the male doubles of Marlow and Kurtz opposite the black/white gender doubles of The Intended and Kurtz's African mistress within the novel while drawing upon historical figures to serve as the models for characters, particularly Kurtz. Marlow's journey of self-discovery up the Congo doubles for Conrad's journey ten years earlier. Cross-dressing as a form of doubling is used in several of the texts discussed in these chapters. Female to male cross-

dressing serves to mislead Holmes about the identity of the infamous Irene Adler, *the woman* in “Scandal in Bohemia” while it affords Angelica freedom in *The Heavenly Twins*. *Dracula*, the ultimate double who transmutes into various non-human forms, is also a double text posing as a gothic horror story while hiding a subtext of overlapping gender and sexual roles.

In addition to the duality evident in the depiction of characters and the veiling of homosexual content during this period, the authors themselves evidence a significant identity doubling. Oscar Wilde’s homosexuality confirms most obviously that he led a double life. His Anglo-Irish nationality is a form of national doubleness shared by other authors examined here. Robert Louis Stevenson, as an Anglo-Scottish author, may also share Wilde’s secret sexuality⁷. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the eminently British knight, was Scottish born and educated. Bram Stoker is another British writer imported from Ireland while Joseph Conrad was a Polish expatriate writing under a pseudonym. None of the British writers examined in this chapter were actually born in England. Their positions as both outsiders and insiders in British society place them in unique marginal positions, which allow them to perceive the anomalies that challenge the structure of current cultural models. The mirroring in these authors’ lives of the duality found in their writing demonstrates the looping effect of contemporary identity category constructions which results in these polarities and binaries. The doubleness of their lives, their characters and their novels are the result of the late nineteenth-century vision of the

⁷ Karl Miller notes unverified rumors about Stevenson’s “secret life,” “homosexuality, impotence, a passionate feeling for his stepson, submission to a wilful [sic] and predatory wife—such charges have been pressed” (213). Wayne Koestenbaum also notes Stevenson’s possible homosexual attraction to his stepson. In a letter to Lloyd, Stevenson referred to his feelings as “a craving and a problem”. Koestenbaum adds that “Stevenson worries that it resembles homosexuality” (146).

individual.

In *Doubles*, Karl Miller observes the “revival” of duality at the end of the nineteenth century. He asserts that the period displayed a “hunger for pseudonyms, masks, new identities, new conceptions of human nature” while struggling with binary identity concepts. “Men became women. Women became men. Gender and country were put in doubt: the single life was found to harbor two sexes and two nations. Femaleness and the female writer broke free; the New Woman, and the Old, adventured into fiction” (207).

The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde — 1886

Henry Jekyll is in a sense the odd man of fin-de-siècle literature. Unable to pair off with a woman or another man, Jekyll divides himself and finds his only mate in his double, Edward Hyde. Jekyll is thus both odd and even, both single and double (Showalter *SA* 109).

Jekyll and Hyde is a double narrative in which the homosocial literal text anxiously evades a homosexual subtext; this is a doubling like that of Robert Louis Stevenson who apparently led his own double life. It is a novel of disguises and secrets, secrets both vigorously pursued and vigorously hidden, unuttered secrets. Posing as a gothic horror story, a mystery in which the detective never reveals his darkest suspicions, Stevenson's choice of genre disguises his inquiries into the complexity of identity. The novel's doubleness is one of many devices, such as multiple narrators, and a fragmented, pieced-together text, necessary to mediate the fault lines between Stevenson's vision and contemporary beliefs.

The narrative of *Jekyll and Hyde* both supports and subverts cultural class, gender/sexuality beliefs. Henry Jekyll, who, combined with Edward Hyde is the novel's queer character, acts as an anomaly in the homosocial world of British professional men. Outwardly a proper, respectable physician, Jekyll harbors certain "appetites" for "secret pleasures," (91) which arouse in him a "morbid sense of shame" (78). Jekyll, tortured by the struggle between the two incongruous aspects of his personality, believes that for him happiness lies in splitting the shameful, secret part into a separate entity. "If each, I told

myself, could be housed in separate identities, life would be relieved of all that was unbearable” (80). To safely indulge his unnamed desires, Jekyll creates, or more accurately, releases Hyde who functions as both Jekyll’s double and his disguise. Jekyll, split apart yet not entirely separate, secretly witnesses Hyde’s behavior, which he describes as selfish, occasionally sadistic, “monstrous” but also recognizes as “my vicarious depravity” (86).

The appearances of both Jekyll and Hyde support the cultural belief of identity as embodied —demonstrating a visible, readable outward manifestation. The Jekyll/Hyde split demonstrates the power of cultural identity paradigms to shape thought. Richard Enfield’s first description of Hyde suggests that Hyde’s depravity is visible. “He is not easy to describe. There is something wrong with his appearance; something displeasing, something downright detestable. . . He must be deformed somewhere; he gives a strong feeling of deformity, although I couldn’t specify the point” (8-9). Later, Utterson perceives Hyde as giving “an impression of deformity without any nameable malformation.” He reacts to Hyde with “disgust, loathing and fear” adding “the man seems hardly human!” (18). To Utterson, Hyde seems to be, “Something troglodytic” (18). Confirming contemporary beliefs, Utterson concludes that it is Hyde’s nature that is deformed, “the mere radiance of a foul soul that transpires through and transfigures its clay content”(18). It is Hyde’s depravity that is visible, “Satan’s signature upon a face” (18). This visibility of Hyde’s “foul soul” is evident to all who encounter him. Those who could describe Hyde could only agree on “a haunting sense of unexpressed deformity” (32). Even Jekyll describes his other half as visibly evil, “evil was written broadly and plainly on the face of the other” (83). Jekyll’s impression agrees with

Utterson's, "Evil besides . . . had left on that body an imprint of deformity and decay" (83).

In contrast to Hyde's deformed appearance, Utterson's appearance reveals his basic decency. Although he "was a man of a rugged countenance," his inner self was clearly evident "something eminently human beamed from his eye" (1). Jekyll's appearance suggests kindness and affection, "a large, well-made, smooth-faced man of fifty with something of a slyish cast perhaps, but every mark of capacity and kindness—you could see by his looks that he cherished for Mr. Utterson a sincere and warm affection" (22). At this point, the fracture with cultural beliefs occurs. Visible identity is a queer location for Jekyll/Hyde who crosses and recrosses the border at will; as much as Hyde is Jekyll's disguise, Jekyll is also Hyde's disguise. The shifting back and forth between these two identities ultimately undermines the Victorian era belief in the visibility of identity.

After meeting Hyde, Utterson muses that he "must have secrets of his own; black secrets by the look of him; secrets compared to which Jekyll's worst would be like sunshine" (21). Hyde's "black secrets," although unnamed, seem at least in part to be sexual and are, of course, simultaneously Henry Jekyll's "appetites" for "secret pleasures." Socially constructed standards of behavior that define normality and deviance are vital when considering the secrets in *Jekyll and Hyde*. As Weeks notes, the Victorian's public denial of sexuality disguised its centrality to the discourse of the time. Michel Foucault describes the growing importance of bourgeois values in establishing and enforcing sexual norms. Combined with Foucault's premise that modern society

required informants to enforce laws, and maintain social standards, the particular potency of sexual secrets and danger of discovery in this society becomes evident.

Significantly, throughout the novel, the bachelors around Jekyll continually act to both uncover and conceal his secrets. When Enfield recounts the story of the door to Utterson, he avoids implicating Jekyll, saying that the bank draft was “signed with a name that I can’t mention” offering only that “it was a name at least very well known and often printed” (6). Adding his suspicions of blackmail, Enfield explains his aversion to asking questions and making judgments “the more it looks like Queer Street⁸, the less I ask” (8). This early reference implying homosexuality as part of the secret surrounding Hyde is supported by other references throughout the novel. Despite the revulsion that everyone in the crowd feels toward Hyde, and the general suspicion regarding the authenticity of the name on the check, inquiries regarding Jekyll are suppressed. After the check is successfully cashed, Enfield assumes that Jekyll is being blackmailed by Hyde, “paying through the nose for capers of his youth” (7). Utterson’s deduction that Jekyll is the unnamed man leads him to the same conclusion, “I begin to fear it is disgrace”(11). Utterson contemplates Hyde’s position as “a figure to whom power was given.” Looking for a reason “for his friend’s strange preference or bondage,” (14) Utterson obsessively stalks Hyde. After seeing Hyde, Utterson, reading Hyde’s embodied identity, concludes that Jekyll is hiding from “the ghost of some old sin, the cancer of some concealed disgrace” (20). After searching out Jekyll’s relationship with Hyde, Utterson urges Jekyll to reveal his secret, “make a clean breast of this in confidence” and Utterson will help him (23). When Hyde is implicated in the murder of

⁸ William Veeder cites Spears and Partridge on the meaning of queer, “‘Queer’ meaning ‘male homosexual’ has entered the ‘general slang’ by the early 1900’s” (159).

Carew, Utterson conceals Jekyll's involvement with Hyde. Even after Hyde's suicide, Utterson and Poole carefully guard Jekyll's still unrevealed secret; they delay sending for the police until after Utterson reads Lanyon's narrative and Jekyll's statement.

The novel is obsessed with secrets and double images. In *Sexual Anarchy*, Elaine Showalter examines the dominant images in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, "Fin-de-siècle images of forced penetration through locked doors into private cabinets, rooms and closets permeate Utterson's narrative; as Steven Heath notes, 'the organising image for this narrative is the breaking down of doors, learning the secret behind them'" (110). One secret is Jekyll's mirror, described by Showalter as "almost as shocking to Utterson and the butler Poole as the existence of Hyde." The mirror represents Jekyll's "unmanly narcissism;" it suggests "the sense of the mask and the Other that has made the mirror an obsessive symbol in homosexual literature" (111). The mirror also provides a double image, that of the real man and his unsubstantial reflection.

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde can be read as a double text, as both the literal story of a scientist who has unleashed an evil, more primitive version of himself and as a secret story of hidden vices that dare not speak their names. One of the first indications of this subtext is in the first chapter, the "Story of the Door." Nabokov notes that Dr. Jekyll's house is as dualistic as he himself is, split between the respectable facade and living quarters associated with Doctor Jekyll and the back door with its adjoining laboratory, Hyde's quarters. The door itself is the subject of much interest and scrutiny early in the novel. This door, located on the "left hand" side of the street, was part of a "sinister block of building." The door on a "blind forehead of a discolored wall . . . bore in every feature, the marks of prolonged and sordid negligence; it was blistered and distained" (3).

In the hidden text, this sordid back door could be read to symbolically represent buggery, the anal intercourse associated with homosexuality; this is consistent with other images in the novel. “The male homosexual body is also represented in the narrative in a series of images suggestive of anality and anal intercourse” (Showalter *SA* 113). Significantly, this is Hyde’s entrance; he has his own key to this door.

As the novel opens, Stevenson describes Mr. Utterson as, “The last good influence in the lives of downgoing men.” In *Double Talk*, Wayne Koestenbaum examines this particular phrase within the context of nineteenth-century usage. “The word ‘shame,’ understood in the 1890’s to mean homosexuality has particular relevance to ‘going downward,’ for men who go down are guilty of moral decline and fellatio. As in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, which mentions illicit ‘down-going men,’ the social trajectory of downfall implies a reputation ruined by homosexuality” (147).

Enfield and Utterson, the two bachelor friends who remark on the infamous back door, present another male pair for examination. As Wayne Koestenbaum observes, *Jekyll and Hyde* is a parable of male twinship” (150). As the pair of phlegmatic observers who first witness Jekyll’s other half, Enfield and Utterson “make the fantasy plausible” according to Nabokov by their commonplace, unimaginative personalities. Stevenson must convey the “horror of Hyde” using the perceptions of these witnesses, a problem that Nabokov suggests is solved even though the author himself doesn’t have a clear vision of Hyde’s face. Enfield refers to Jekyll’s house as “Black mail House.” In this “society of bachelors,” the question that must be considered is, with what might Jekyll be blackmailed? What are these friends of Dr. Jekyll so uneasy about? *Jekyll and Hyde* reveals “the fantasies beneath the surface of daylight decorum, the shadow of

homosexuality that surrounded Clubland and the nearly hysterical terror of revealing forbidden emotions between men that constituted the dark side of patriarchy” (Showalter *SA* 107).

Showalter attributes the uneasiness of Jekyll’s friends to their comprehension of Jekyll’s “strange preference” for Hyde (111). Both class and sexual boundaries are crossed by this preference, as Hyde is clearly working class. Showalter suggests that Hyde’s conspicuous class makes him more desirable as a homosexual lover. “Jekyll’s apparent infatuation with Hyde reflects the late-nineteenth-century upper-middle-class eroticization of working-class men as the ideal homosexual objects” (111).

When Jekyll speaks for himself in his “Full Statement of the Case,” more suggestive comments regarding the nature of his hidden vices surface. Jekyll admits to “pleasures” which he hid, “a profound duplicity of life,” and “irregularities” which were concealed . . . “with an almost morbid sense of shame” (78). It is in Jekyll’s statement that a polarized, binary model is evident. Jekyll refers to “man’s dual nature” upon which he has experimented and his own position of “so profound a double-dealer” as a result of this nature (79). While Jekyll proposes his binary, “Man is not truly one, but truly two,” Stevenson’s awareness of the weakness of the model is voiced. “I say two because the state of my own knowledge does not pass beyond that point. Others will follow . . . I hazard the guess that man will be ultimately known for a mere polity of multifarious, incongruous and independent denizens”(79). It is at this point of the novel that both Stevenson’s support of the current cultural beliefs about identity and his resistance to them is most evident. These “multifarious, incongruent, independent denizens” are Stevenson’s anomalies that threaten the structure that supports “man’s dual nature.”

Wayne Koestenbaum understands the story's binary nature as its basic queerness, "Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* defines queerness as the horror that comes from not being able to explain away an uncanny doubleness" (147).

The doubleness in *Jekyll and Hyde* is indeed uncanny; for unlike the clear physical split evident in *Dorian Grey*, Jekyll vacillates between several identity positions. Vladimir Nabokov is drawn to the anomalies, the faults in the binary model. "There are really three personalities—Jekyll, Hyde and a third, the Jekyll residue when Hyde takes over"(183). These anomalies have drawn the attention of other critics. Peter Garrett quotes Chesterton's observation about the duality in *Jekyll and Hyde*. "The real stab of the story is not in the discovery that one man is two men; but in the discovery that the two men are one man"(Garrett 61). Even Henry Jekyll's story is not of a piece. Like *Dracula*, the narration of Henry Jekyll's story is fragmented, a conglomerate of ten different documents which pieced together presents the mystery of Edward Hyde; the last piece of the puzzle is left for Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case to resolve. Utterson, in the role of the detective, follows the clues to the door of Dr Jekyll's cabinet, which he and Jekyll's servant, Poole, break down with an ax. By their actions, they both precipitate and discover the suicide of Edward Hyde. Being at a loss concerning the whereabouts of Henry Jekyll, Utterson returns home to read the two narratives—Dr. Lanyon's and Jekyll's. These narratives will solve the mystery and clarify the disappearance of Dr. Jekyll. But, Jekyll's Final Statement of the Case hardly answers all questions; it chronicles an identity that is both double and yet not completely dual. His narrative shifts unreliably between identity positions when he describes his relationship to Hyde.

The pleasures which I made haste to seek in my disguise were, as I have said, undignified; I would scarce use a harder term. But in the hands of Edward Hyde, they soon began to turn toward the monstrous. When I would come back from these excursions, I was often plunged into a kind of wonder at my vicarious depravity. This familiar that I called out of my own soul, and sent forth alone to do his good pleasure, was a being inherently malign and villainous; his every act and thought centered on self; drinking pleasure with bestial avidity from any degree of torture to another; relentless like a man of stone. Henry Jekyll stood at times aghast before the acts of Edward Hyde; but the situation was apart from ordinary laws, and insidiously relaxed the grasp of conscience. It was Hyde, after all, and Hyde alone, that was guilty. Jekyll was no worse; he woke again to his good qualities seemingly unimpaired; he would even make haste, where it was possible, to undo the evil done by Hyde. And thus his conscience slumbered. (Stevenson 86-87)

This narrative authored by Henry Jekyll shifts positions between identities by repositioning narrative voices without warning. “The drama of shifting relations between Jekyll and Hyde is played out in terms of grammatical and narrative positions, the permutations of ‘I,’ ‘he,’ and ‘it.’ As narrator and author of his ‘Statement,’ Jekyll is ‘I,’ but as protagonist or object of his narrative he is sometimes ‘I,’ sometimes ‘he’ or ‘Jekyll,’ while Hyde is sometimes replaced by ‘I’” (Garrett 62). As positions shift within the narrative, the authorial voice moves from first person to omniscient narrator to indirect discourse, suggesting fragmentation and disruption of the speaker’s identity. In places, Jekyll owns Hyde’s actions completely. “I was often plunged into a kind of

wonder at my vicarious depravity.” In others, by distancing himself from his alter ego, Jekyll absolves himself of all guilt. “It was Hyde, after all, and Hyde alone, that was guilty.” Jekyll’s narrative substantiates the suspicion that Jekyll himself is not clear about the division between self and other that has disrupted his identity. Stevenson’s narrative strategy has expanded upon the “commonplace notion of human duality” by violently destabilizing “the doubling of the subject that is always produced by telling one’s story.” (Garrett 63). This technique not only shatters the stable subject, Jekyll, it throws into question the source and validity of the narrative itself. “It not only disrupts the projection of a stable subject; it makes speech and writing irresponsible by preventing us from determining their origins” (63).

Jekyll is convinced that he has succeeded in splitting Edward Hyde apart from his own identity. As he describes his “two natures,” he glosses over the overlaps of their identities to focus on their separation.

My two natures had memory in common, but all other faculties were unequally shared between them. Jekyll (who was composite) now with the most sensitive apprehensions, now with a greedy gusto, projected and shared in the pleasures and adventures of Hyde; but Hyde was indifferent to Jekyll, or but remembered him as the mountain bandit remembers the cavern in which he conceals himself from pursuit. Jekyll had more than a father’s interest; Hyde had more than a son’s indifference. (90-91)

The story reveals a far more complex and interactive relationship between the parts than Jekyll recognizes or admits. Eventually, Jekyll’s memories of the pleasures of Hyde’s secret sins caused his “spontaneous transformation” into Hyde. (Garrett 66). This

transformation is indicated by the “corded and hairy hand” Jekyll sees on his knee. “Who owns the ‘hand’ is a recurrent question that links the themes of identity and writing, from the check Hyde signs as Jekyll to the signature Jekyll creates for Hyde ‘by sloping his own hand backward’ to the ‘startling blasphemies’ written in Jekyll’s pious books ‘in his own hand’” (66).

The double meaning of hand in this narrative corresponds with the connection between the self represented in writing and the self represented by the physical being. Both of these locations are ruptured in *Jekyll and Hyde*. Ronald Thomas proposes that writing reinvents the self rather than representing it. In *Jekyll and Hyde*, the text not only reinvents the self of Jekyll, it first silences and ultimately replaces that self. “Even before the end of the book, the voice of Jekyll is silenced, replaced by the texts he has written. And even before his voice is suppressed, it is exposed as a form of writing itself — as a sign of Jekyll’s absence rather than his presence” (Thomas 73). Dr. Jekyll is literally killed by the text; more than killed, he is obliterated by it. “The text ends, in fact, as a detective novel customarily begins—with the disappearance of a body and the appearance of an enigmatic text (a will clouded by uncertain intentions, disputed authenticity, and an alteration of the name of the heir)” (75). The text of *Jekyll and Hyde* moves from the physical hand to the hand that writes to the text that replaces both hands with an other. “The strange case that *Jekyll and Hyde* finally makes is a case for the estranging yet enduring power of language to make ourselves totally other, something with a voice—and a life—of its own that replaces rather than represents the life of the author” (80).

In the end, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* acknowledges that binary division is inadequate to fully comprehend the complexity of identity and Jekyll/Hyde, as many of the queer characters in this study, is doomed to perish by his own hand. But *Jekyll and Hyde* has not vanished; although suffering critical disparagement for many years, the novel itself has remained popular since its publication. Jekyll and Hyde remains a common enough allusion to be listed in the dictionary and recognizable by people who have not read the book. The recognition of Jekyll and Hyde as a form of split identity testifies to the potency of the looping effect of the underlying ideas and imagery.

The Picture of Dorian Gray – 1891

Following two years after *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* also recreates the homosocial world of upper-class British men in the late nineteenth century. Both novels share double identities, disguises and an obsession with secrets. Like *Jekyll and Hyde*, *Dorian Gray* both supports and contests the assumption that identity categories of race, gender and sexuality were culturally inscribed, written on the body and visible to all who know how to read that text.⁹ Reading embodied text is central to Oscar Wilde's novel.

There are two Dorian Grays, the living, breathing Dorian who retains his youthful good looks and the other Dorian Gray, a sinister image hidden away in an attic under a large purple satin coverlet; this second, secret Dorian bears the physical evidence of the actual Dorian's life experiences. Dorian Gray believes that the picture reveals his soul. Basil Hallward believes that the painting reveals his, the painter's soul. Basil explains his reasoning to Lord Henry, "Every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not of the sitter . . . it is rather the painter who, on the coloured canvas, reveals himself" (10).

Basil Hallward refuses to exhibit the portrait because he is sure that he has revealed too much of himself on this particular canvas; he is certain that the portrait exposes his homosexual love of Dorian. "Because, without intending it, I have put into it some expression of all this curious artistic idolatry, of which, of course, I have never

⁹ Speaking of the shift to the homosexual as shift to an identity category from a behavior, Foucault notes that homosexuality was perceived as visible, "written immodestly on his face and body because it was a secret that always gave itself away. It was consubstantial with him, less as a habitual sin than as a singular nature" (43).

cared to speak to him” (15). When he painted the portrait, Basil did not express his feelings to Dorian, whom he believes has not read them in the picture, but he fears that others might be more perceptive. “But the world might guess it; and I will not bare my soul to their shallow, prying eyes”(15). For Basil, then, his own sexuality is exposed on the body of Dorian represented in the picture.

When Basil visits Dorian after Sibyl’s suicide, Dorian questions him about his secret reason for refusing to exhibit the picture. Basil’s response shocks and frightens Dorian. “Have you noticed in the picture something curious? — something that probably at first did not strike you, but revealed itself to you suddenly?” Basil misinterprets Dorian’s stunned reaction to this question as an affirmation that Dorian has read the artist’s feelings in portrait and goes on to admit his love. “I worshipped you. I grew jealous of everyone to whom you spoke. I wanted to have you all to myself. I was only happy when I was with you”(89). Dorian is relieved that Basil doesn’t know his secret, the true secret of the picture. While he dismisses Basil’s “strange confession” as merely an admission of admiration, Dorian is amused at the irony of the painter’s revelation and aware of the homosexual implications. “How much that strange confession explained to him! The painter’s absurd fits of jealousy, his wild devotion, his extravagant panegyrics, his curious reticences—he understood them all now, and he felt sorry”(91).

Basil’s homosexual identity is visually embodied in the portrait of Dorian. The magic of the picture has split Basil’s sexual identity from his own body where his fellow Victorians would expect it to be a visible vice. The picture functions to create a polarized

pair of Basil Hallwards, the physical, visible Basil, the painter, and the hidden, homosexual Basil, within the painting, who has been repressed into Dorian's picture¹⁰.

The painting visibly splits Dorian Gray's identity into a dichotomy as it does to Basil Hallward, making the picture a double of both characters; both characters are queer in their ability to hide their true identities. In the painting, Dorian's true identity is visible, an aging, dissolute, profligate, narcissistic murderer. The body of Dorian retains none of the expected physical markers of his experiences. Dorian is both horrified and fascinated by the picture and its revelations. Assured that the painter has missed the truly dreadful vision of himself in the picture, Dorian resolves to avoid accidental discovery by hiding it. "It had been mad of him to have allowed the thing to remain, even for an hour, in a room to which any of his friends had access"(91). But Dorian's greatest fear is that Victor, his servant, will see the portrait. Because he doesn't want Victor to know where the picture is hidden, Dorian sends him out of the house on an errand after sending for Mr. Hubbard, the frame-maker, to move it and securing the key to the attic, "He felt the man must be got rid of at once. He must not be allowed to see where the picture was being taken to" (93). Briefly, Dorian feels safe after hiding "the horrible thing" but, when he returns to the library, it is evident that Victor had returned from his errand before Hubbard and his assistant had left. Dorian worries that Victor may have met the men on their way out and "wormed out of them" the new location of the picture. He imagines Victor sneaking upstairs at night and breaking into the room. "It was a horrible thing to have a spy in one's house. He had heard of rich men who had been blackmailed all their

¹⁰ During the Wilde trials when Mr. Carson, the prosecutor, questioned Wilde, he specifically referred to Basil's conversation with Dorian about the painting and Basil's confession. The prosecutor clearly inferred Basil's homosexuality in this scene and, by extension, Wilde's homosexuality. Basil paints Dorian and reveals himself or, more specifically, his homosexual identity, according to Mr. Carson's argument in court (Cohen 126-131).

lives by some servant who had read a letter, or overheard a conversation, or picked up a card with an address, or found beneath a pillow a withered flower or a shred of crumpled lace” (96).

The emphasis on secrecy involving the picture that is evident in the behavior of both Dorian and Basil suggests that identity components culturally assumed to be embodied and visible could actually be concealed. While the picture suggests the visibility of identity components, Dorian’s passing defies conventional assumptions about identity by suggesting that it can be made invisible. Beyond his fear of the discovery of his real self by his servants, however, secrecy has another dimension for Dorian as well, that of class location.

Dorian’s particular fear of discovery by his servants suggests attitudes toward class that both support and challenge cultural beliefs. Dorian and Lord Henry are both accepted as upper class by birth; their class positions are acknowledged as fixed features of their identities. Lord Henry’s inquiry establishes Dorian’s pedigree early in the novel. He is Lord Kelso’s grandson; his mother was “an extraordinarily beautiful girl,” Lady Margaret Devereux, “all the Selby property came to her, through her grandfather.” Dorian’s father, however, was lower class “a penniless young fellow, a mere nobody;” he was unacceptable to her father who arranged to have him killed in a duel. “They said Kelso got some rascally adventurer, some Belgian brute, to insult his son-in-law in public, paid him, sir, to do it” (31). Although shunned for a time by his peers, Kelso retained the upper class position assured by his birth. Dorian’s mixed class origins mark him as a queer character in a different, more essential manner than the picture does. If class position is absolute and inherited, Dorian has passed as upper class his entire life.

The belief in absolute class differences grounds social attitudes throughout the novel. Lord Fermor explains to Lord Henry his attitude about the use of examinations for admission into the Diplomatic Corps, "If a man is a gentleman, he knows quite enough, and if he is not a gentleman, whatever he knows is bad for him" (30-31). Basil Hallward shares these beliefs. His reaction to Dorian's engagement is that Sibyl Vane's class position makes her unsuitable to be Dorian's wife. "But think of Dorian's birth, and position and wealth. It would be absurd for him to marry so much beneath him" (60). Sibyl herself shares this attitude. When he romances her, Dorian becomes "Prince Charming," Sibyl's class encoded name for him. Dorian accepts her name for him and never completely reveals his true identity to her, another instance of his use of passing strategies to hide his identity. By naming him, Sibyl paints her own version of Dorian Gray, the upper class gentleman. From her class and gender location, he is a fairy tale hero who will rescue her from her powerless class and gender positions. Married to Dorian, Sibyl would take her place in the upper class female sphere; she would no longer need to be a working woman. Dorian rejects this version of Sibyl. He is in love with Sibyl, the actress, the image of Sibyl, not her true self. Unlike the hidden image of himself, he plans to openly display Sibyl's image on the stage. Dorian, who so carefully hides his own identity, is drawn to an actress, a person who assumes many identities, someone who is adept at another form of passing. When her acting disappoints Dorian, Sibyl returns to her lower class identity in Dorian's eyes and suffers his rejection.

Since Victorian conventions attached morality to appearance, Dorian's handsome split self passes as a decent gentleman while his behavior defies every code of decency. Lord Henry steadfastly refuses to believe rumors about Dorian because he can see that

they could not possibly be true. “Even those who had heard the most evil things against him . . . could not believe anything to his dishonor when they saw him. He had always the look of one who had kept himself unspotted from the world”(99). Both his appearance and his perceived class combined to protect his reputation when stories about his activities surfaced. “Yet these whispered scandals only increased in the eyes of many, his strange and dangerous charm. His great wealth was a certain element of security. Society, civilized society at least, is never ready to believe anything to the detriment to those who are both rich and fascinating”(111).

Basil Hallward, concerned about the rumors he has heard, confronts Dorian, “the most dreadful things are being said against you in London”(116). Basil, personally convinced that immorality takes a physical form, believes that if Dorian’s had sinned, his sins would be visible. “I don’t believe these rumours at all. At least, I can’t believe them when I see you. Sin is a thing that writes itself across a man’s face. It cannot be concealed. People talk sometimes of secret vices. There are no such things. If a wretched man has a vice, it shows itself in the lines of his mouth, the droop of his eyelids, the moulding of his hands even”(117).

Victorian beliefs in the visibility of sin draw some of their power from the physical deformities associated with syphilis. As Elaine Showalter notes, the deformities exhibited by the portrait reflect the outward manifestations of syphilis. “The changes that take place in the portrait as the ‘leprosy of sin’ eat it away are like the progressive pathologies of syphilis: ‘hideous face,’ ‘warped lips,’ ‘coarse bloated hands,’ a red stain that has ‘crept like a horrible disease over the wrinkled fingers,’ ‘misshapen body and failing limbs,’ and a general air of the bestial sodden and unclean” (*SA* 177).

Although Dorian's appearance misleads Basil, when he continues to question Dorian about his activities more secrets are suggested. Basil asks, "Why is your friendship so fatal to young men?" Basil names several upper class young men who have been close to Dorian and are now ruined — "committed suicide," "his dreadful end," a father "broken with shame and sorrow" (117). In response, Dorian refuses blame for the "vices," "debauchery," forgeries and stupidities of his companions. Dorian's potential role in the downfall of women is easily inferred, but his relationships with these young men are murkier. As in *Jekyll and Hyde*, the secrets of the homosocial world of upper class men remain hidden and only hinted at both in the vague descriptions of vices and purposely hidden through the consent and complicity of their peers. Although concerned about the evil influence that Dorian wields over his intimate friends, Basil has continued to publicly defend him. Now, Basil believes that only seeing Dorian's soul would convince him of Dorian's morality. At first terrified at a suggestion that comes so close to his secret, Dorian recovers and rashly decides to show Basil his soul, an action which culminates in Dorian's murder of Basil. The vision of Dorian's hidden identity proves fatal for Basil.

Basil's visit with Dorian reveals other aspects of Dorian. During the visit, Basil confronted Dorian about "stories that you have been seen creeping at dawn out of dreadful houses and slinking in disguise into the foulest dens in London"(118). Dorian kept his own "curious disguises" in a "secret press" where he also hides the murdered Basil's belongings until he destroys them. Later, overcome by a desire for opium, Dorian sneaks out of his house "dressed commonly" (141). Throughout the novel, Dorian makes use of the physical identifiers of class to pass back and forth across class divisions both

hiding his activities from his servants and his upper-class identity from outsiders. Without a disguise, Dorian's class is visibly apparent to others, marking a double anomaly as the class position he occupies is not pure and because of the portrait. Sibyl's mother tells her son, James that she knows Dorian is rich and "one of the aristocracy" by his appearance.

Class is clearly written on the bodies of the lower class too. James Vane's corpse is identified by his class markings. The gamekeeper explains to Dorian that, "he looks as if he had been a sort of a sailor; tattooed on both arms, and that kind of thing" (158). Tattooing, of course, is actual writing on the body and so the cultural belief is demonstrated to be literally true.

When Dorian suggests to Lord Henry that he has murdered Basil Hallward, Lord Henry insists that it is impossible based upon his belief in class polarities. "It is not in you, Dorian, to commit a murder . . . Crime belongs exclusively to the lower orders. I should fancy that crime was to them what art is to us, simply a method of procuring extraordinary sensations" (162). Class power supports the illusion that the upper classes behave differently, better than the lower class. Members of the upper class are invested in maintaining this illusion, *The Picture of Dorian Grey* suggests otherwise, deconstructing the class identity beliefs seemingly supported by the novel.

The servants discover Dorian's dead and disfigured body and the portrait, returned to its original portrayal of Dorian in his youth. What conclusions will those servants reach now that Dorian's sins are clearly visible on his body? Furthermore, what is the picture's message about other British gentlemen? "By the power of contagious magic, the witness of the portrait implies that what lies behind the dignified facades of

the townhouses of Mayfair and Belgravia may be equally horrible—is equally horrible. Festering and hidden vices are the more hideous for their secrets than the visible evils of the East End, with its poverty and sordid ugliness”(Lawler 449). The picture has many secrets, one of which is that wealthy, aristocrats engage in vices that are perhaps worse than those of the poor people in the lowest class.

Because of the picture’s location hidden in the attic, it is linked physically with the schoolroom of Dorian’s youth, connecting his education with other environmental forces that combine to create identity. As a representation of the physical Dorian, the picture relates Dorian’s identity to his family heritage. This heritage is linked to other pictures in the text. In the picture gallery of his country house, Dorian has examined “the various portraits of those whose blood flowed in his veins” and wondered about his blood lines. “Had some strange poisonous germ crept from body to body till it had reached his own?” (111). These blood lines identify Dorian’s Darwinian inheritance, the parts of his essential self acquired by heredity. “When Dorian brings the portrait there, he places it in relation to other forces that have controlled and shaped his fate. From parents and ancestral avatars to schooling figures, they anticipate and modify the action of the portrait.” (Lawler 455)

Finally, what is the action of the portrait? Dorian assumes that the portrait has taken on his vices as its own physical attributes, sparing him from the appearance of guilt. “Often on returning home . . . he would creep upstairs to the locked room, open the door with the key that never left him now, and stand, with a mirror, in front of the portrait that Basil Hallward had painted of him . . . he grew more and more enamored of his own beauty, more and more interested in the corruption of his own soul” (99). Though Dorian

and the picture remain separate physical entities for the entire story, the correlation between Dorian's deeds and changes in the picture implies a physical link which the ending of the story supports. In attempting to destroy the picture, Dorian destroys himself.

The striking similarities between *Jekyll and Hyde* and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* reflect the looping effect of identity constructs through the culture presenting the same idea, a split identity, using different methods. Both novels represent identity conflicts as polar dualities that take physical forms, one in the person of Hyde, the other in the changing physical form of the picture. Both of these doubles interact with the original and are not truly split apart, a point made vividly clear in the endings of both novels; one half cannot exist without the other. Like Dr. Jekyll, Dorian Gray is not truly two but one. Both novels reflect the anxiety of the contemporary homosocial world and contain underground references to homosexuality. Both ultimately reject the concept of the visibility of identity and contemporary polar identity constructs.

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes — “A Scandal in Bohemia” 1892

Detective fiction uncovers the values and fears of the audience, the place and the time period. The first two-dozen Holmes stories concentrate on incidents that are frequently not crimes at all and seldom serious crimes; “A Scandal in Bohemia” is one of these stories. “Broadly speaking, they deal with disorders of the respectable bourgeois family”(Knight 370). These class-based threats from within the family reflect Doyle’s perception of Victorian culture. In his stories, Doyle expressed fears of “plunging into ‘the abyss’ a measureless chasm where reason, self-control, respectability, the bonds that hold society together, are all loosened, even lost. This fear is so insistent because it is structurally related to the positive values of Victorian society; its evil is a reflex of Victorian good”(Knight 371). The fear of loss of self-control and respectability, a looping cultural anxiety, is also clearly reflected in the obsession with secrets and emphasis on morality in *Jekyll and Hyde* and *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. “But not only are the crimes in Doyle structural to his society; so are the controls that fictionally operate against them”(Knight 372). The threats and values in the stories are determined within the same worldview. The detective who disarms these threats represents what is valued; he is scientific, detached, logical, observant, careful, analytical, and unemotional. He is male, a professional man who operates in the same homosocial world as both *Jekyll and Hyde* and *Dorian Gray*. Holmes is a queer character in these stories who frequently undermines the values and expected behavior of a professional man. His foil, Doctor Watson, who speaks for the common man reflects the values Holmes often questions.

The exclusively male point of view of these stories implies one source of anxiety, especially during this period of gender role challenges, relationships with women.

Significantly, Watson begins the story, “A Scandal in Bohemia,” with a description of Holmes’ attitude toward Irene Adler. “To Sherlock Holmes she is always *the* woman. I have seldom heard him mention her under any other name. In his eyes she eclipses and predominates the whole of her sex. It was not that he felt any emotion akin to love for Irene Adler. All emotions and that one particularly, were abhorrent to his cold, precise, but admirably balanced mind”(Doyle 32). This prominent positioning of Adler, a queer character, at the beginning of the story combined with Holmes’ unreserved admiration of her sets up the subversion of values at the story’s end and subtly, positively influences the reader in favor of Adler who, as the potential blackmailer in the story, would otherwise be positioned as the villain.

Adler earns Holmes’s respect when she outmaneuvers and outthinks him. The problem in this story exposes a fear that “women tempt men to be disorderly”(Knight 377). The King of Bohemia hires Holmes to retrieve a photograph of him and Irene Adler. As his former mistress, she has threatened to inform his bride-to-be of his improper sexual behavior by sending her the photo and thus destroy his chance for a politically advantageous union. Her motives, the King reveals, are jealousy and anger over his impending marriage. Sure Adler will go through with her threat, the King exclaims, “she has a soul of steel.” He adds, “She has the face of the most beautiful of women, and the mind of the most resolute of men”(Doyle 40). The patriarchal fear revealed by the plot is loss of male power and dominance to a woman. Significantly, the description of the threatening woman who possesses the mind of a man conveys the connotation of both a compliment and a fear combined. In context, the mind of a man suggests that a man’s mind is superior and valued; therefore, a woman who possesses a

man's mind is one to be respected and feared. The possession of characteristics which have been gender coded as male also implies a queer gender crossing by Irene Adler, a crossing embodied, or physically confirmed later in the story. In this story, Irene Adler holds all the cards; the king has attempted to retrieve the incriminating photograph by offers of money and has made five attempts to steal it. He has been unsuccessful; he is powerless. Irene's position of power reflects cultural anxiety over shifts in power away from the patriarchal model while the story's ending and Holmes' support of Adler and his subtly disparaging attitude toward the King imply the reasonableness of this shift.

Disguises and tricks play a significant role in the unraveling of this tale, a sign of the breakdown of class and gender boundaries. Holmes, Adler and even the king employ disguises with varying degrees of success in the story. Dressed as an unemployed groom, Holmes cases Irene Adler's home and learns all he can about her from the other grooms. When Holmes returns to his Baker Street flat still dressed as the groom, Watson, although aware of his "amazing power in the use of disguises" has to "look three times" before he is certain it is Holmes (41). This ability to pass as someone else establishes Holmes as a queer character and a double of himself. A valuable asset for a detective, Holmes' success at effecting disguises, slipping into another identity, challenges the notion of visible identity.

Sure that Adler has secreted the photograph at her home, Holmes has a plan. "Women are naturally secretive and they like to do their own secreting"(46). Disguised as a clergyman, Holmes breaks up a staged brawl centered on Irene Adler as she is getting out of her carriage. Out of compassion and gratitude, Irene has the injured and bleeding clergyman brought into her sitting room. At Holmes's signal, Watson tosses a

smoke rocket into the window and yells: “Fire.” This trick causes Irene to rush to her secret hiding place to retrieve the photo, disclosing its location to the disguised detective.

In an unexpected plot twist, Irene Adler has seen through Holmes’s trick after the fact. Disguised as a man, Irene follows Holmes home to assure his identity. “I have been trained as an actress myself. Male costume is nothing to me. I often take advantage of the freedom it gives”(51). By outsmarting Sherlock Holmes, Irene Adler has earned his respect; she has also, it would seem, proven herself to be as much of a threat as was feared. “And even for Holmes, woman is a threat; vigilance must be eternal” (Knight 377). Adler’s use of a male disguise “often” to “take advantage of the freedom it gives” demonstrates her usurping of male privilege as she sees fit. Her embodiment of a male by cross-dressing, a queer performance that she admits she enacts often, completes the gender crossing activity introduced by the king’s assertion that she had “the mind of the most resolute of men.” Irene Adler could represent the threat of the New Woman, a usurper of male privilege, a threat to male power. In a society where female subordination is the rule crafty women pose a threat. “To keep women down and yet to need them as wives, mothers, housekeepers, lovers, means there is constant pressure, constant fear that male dominance will crack”(Knight 374). Watson, the conventional and recently married man, reflects this anxiety. He does not share Holmes’ opinion of Adler whom he refers to as “the late Irene Adler of dubious and questionable memory”(32).

But, Irene Adler’s privileged position in the text goes further than identifying her as merely a threat to male power. She has Holmes’ respect and has even earned the admiration of her adversary, the King of Bohemia, “‘What a woman—oh, what a woman!’ . . . ‘Did I not tell you how quick and resolute she was? Would she not have

made an admirable queen?” (52). Also, it seems that Irene Adler has changed Holmes’ opinion of women. As Watson remarks, “He used to make merry over the cleverness of women, but I have not heard him do it of late. And when he speaks of Irene Adler, or when he refers to her photograph, it is always under the honorable title of *the woman*” (52). This shift in Holmes’ position on women subverts contemporary beliefs about patriarchal dominance and polar gender constructions.

In the end, Irene Adler removes the threat of the photo herself, by her own free choice. What was perceived as a threat that “may have an influence on European history” might have been overrated. Adler, happily married to another man, is integrated into society in the less threatening position of a married woman. The power of Holmes is recognized by both Mr. and Mrs. Irene Adler Norton who decide it is safest to flee England. “We both thought the best resource was flight when pursued by so formidable an antagonist”(51). Adler also affirms the king’s powerful position when she decides to keep the photo for her own safety. “As to the photograph . . . I keep it only to safeguard myself, and to preserve a weapon which will always secure me from any steps he might take in the future”(51). Although the perceived threat of the powerful (masculine) woman has been averted here, this story reflects significant shifts in gender identity. Irene Adler’s reasonable use of the power of the photograph implies social accommodation to a gender power shift away from the patriarchal model, perhaps even the possibility of the integration of the New Woman into society. Adler’s admission to frequent cross-dressing for the freedom it gives challenges the visibility even of gender identity and by extension other gender-coded attributes, such as thinking like a man.

Finally, Irene Adler's letter suggests a marital partnership where ideas and decisions become shared activities, "We both thought . . ."

***The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* "The Adventure of the Speckled Band" – 1892**

In "The Speckled Band," twin sisters, Helen and Julia Stoner are the focus of Sherlock Holmes' detective endeavors. Helen Stoner, fearful for her own life, relates to Holmes the strange details surrounding her sister's death two years earlier. Some peculiar coincidences to events preceding her sister's death have unnerved Helen. Helen functions as queer character because the conditions of her mother's will leave her "with control of my own income"(154) once she marries. Julia, Helen's dead sister, acts as her double not merely because of their relationship as twins but because Julia's murder provides the exact details of Helen's potential murder. Doyle uses the device of a double plot to propose different outcomes under essentially the same situation.

Both Helen and Dr. Grimsby Roylott appear separately on the same morning at Holmes' and Watson's flat in Baker Street providing an opportunity for contrasting descriptions. When Helen arrives "in a considerable state of excitement,"(152) she is shivering. Upon initial questioning by Holmes, she confides that she is shivering out of fear. Later that same morning when Dr. Grimsby Roylott pushes his way into the flat, he is so physically large that his figure fills the doorway. His demeanor is angry and threatening, with his "hunting-crop swinging in his hand,"(161) a sign of mastery and potentially a weapon. As a warning to Holmes not to meddle in his family's affairs, Roylott bends a fireplace poker double. Composed, Holmes calmly bends the poker back

to its original shape after Roylott storms out. Deducing Helen Stoner's vulnerability to Roylott's temper, Holmes notices "five livid spots on her wrist," the imprint of her stepfather's hand. Embarrassed, Helen explains that Roylott is "a hard man" and offers an excuse, "perhaps he hardly knows his own strength"(159). As Helen Stoner confides in Holmes and Watson, she reveals that she has nothing substantial upon which to base her concerns. Even her fiancé, though sympathetic, does not believe there is any danger; he ascribes her fear to her gender, "the fancies of a nervous woman"(154). Through these details, Helen is positioned as a delicate, vulnerable and frightened woman, the polar opposite of Roylott, whose strength and temperament signify his position as powerful, aggressive male. Holmes position, unruffled by Roylott's attempt to intimidate him, is that of a worthy and powerful male opponent, calm and self assured. Holmes also occupies a queer location by interfering in the patriarchal control Roylott claims over his stepdaughter.

After the gendered positions have been established, Doyle reveals Roylott's class location by positioning him as the last heir of a failed aristocratic line and by aligning him with the exotic Other through his long association with India. With both a family history of "dissolute and wasteful" ancestors and a personal history of unrestrained violence, Roylott "beat his native butler to death in India,"(154-155) Roylott's lack of self-control is both personal and inherited. Helen, described in animal imagery, has "restless, frightened eyes, like those of some hunted animal"(153). Her stepfather resembles a "fierce old bird of prey"(161). Both suggest irrational, subhuman characteristics; he, though, is still the hunter while she remains hunted. Roylott's aristocratic dissipation is represented by his "bile-shot eyes" and a face "marked with

every evil passion”(161). Doyle relies on the belief in the visibility of identity in this characterization. Roylott’s infamous temper and brutality introduce a lack of restraint in his character, a flaw he shares both Hyde and Kurtz.

When Holmes foils Roylott’s attempt to murder Helen, he inadvertently causes Roylott’s death by chasing the snake back toward Roylott whose death mirrors Julia’s. Rosemary Hennessy and Rajeswari Mohan propose that this story exemplifies the Victorian patriarchal sexual economy, which classifies women as property. “In staging the murder as symbolic rape (Roylott kills Julia by means of a poisonous snake sent through a vent connecting his bedroom to hers) the narrative dramatizes the sexual economy of the patriarchy: the equation of woman and property”(390). Holmes’ action in preventing Helen’s murder opposes Roylott’s patriarchal abuse of his second stepdaughter and in doing so proves his guilt in her twin sister’s death while simultaneously extracting an appropriate punishment. Although we are aware of her intention to marry, the death of her stepfather places Helen briefly in the position of a single woman with property; since he is the last of his line she is the only heir. So, through Holmes’ agency, the patriarchal plot is revised; Helen is spared the fate of her twin sister and she is financially empowered with her mother’s money and her stepfather’s estate.

Holmes admits to Watson that he is “indirectly responsible for Dr. Grimsby Roylott’s death” but he officially takes no credit for it nor are the circumstances of Julia’s death publicly revealed (173). The result of the official inquiry establishes Roylott’s cause of death as “indiscreetly playing with a dangerous pet”(172). The details of this case have been concealed according to Watson because of “a promise of secrecy made at

the time”(152) to a lady, most likely Helen Stoner, to spare her family name the ignominy of publicity about more of her stepfather’s excesses. Earlier in the story, Helen admits to paying off a local blacksmith to “avert another public exposure”(155). This need for secrecy connected with a loss of respectability is a repeated, looping theme in these narratives suggesting that that good character and respectability are not necessarily visible attributes. Although Holmes did not disclose Roylott’s greedy villainy at the time, Watson’s belated revelation in the form of this story serves as a warning to women of the dangers of patriarchy, and of being identified solely as property. Roylott’s lack of restraint, reason, and self-control are directly responsible for his demise; he is actually killed by his own weapon. This suggests that the patriarchy is damaging itself by its own excesses.

The Heavenly Twins – 1893

Aside from the obvious twins in the title, Angelica and Diavolo, the other pair in *The Heavenly Twins* are Evadne, a New Woman, and Edith, a conventional Victorian woman. Sarah Grand, the author, is credited with creating the term New Woman to represent women who do not feel bound to the roles outlined for them by a patriarchal definition of female. *The Heavenly Twins* questions the rationale underlying Victorian definitions of gender roles through the two queer characters in the novel, Angelica and Evadne.

The role of Evadne's father in her marriage to Major Colquhoun indicates the function of fathers in supporting the patriarchal domination of women. Aware of Colquhoun's wild past, Mr. Frayling heartily endorses his daughter's marriage to him. Evadne's mother, a conventional woman who is intimidated by her husband's tyranny, never questions his authority in these decisions. In a letter to Lady Adeline, Mrs. Frayling reveals this prior knowledge of Colquhoun's past. "He was rather wild as a young man, I am sorry to say, but he has been quite frank about all that to Mr. Frayling, and there is nothing now that we can object to"(Grand 55). Not only does Mr. Frayling fail to object to Major Colquhoun's dissolute past, he intentionally misleads Evadne as to Colquhoun's suitability when she asks him about her fiancé.

"You consider George in every respect a suitable husband for me?"

"In all respects my dear," he answered heartily. "He is a very fine, manly fellow."

"There is nothing in his past life to which I should object?" she ventured timidly.

“Oh nothing, nothing,” he assured her. “He has been perfectly straightforward about himself, and I am satisfied that he will make an excellent husband.” (55-56)

After confirming the accuracy of the letter about her new husband’s past that she received on the day of her wedding, Evadne seeks refuge with her aunt. As she comes to understand that her father did not object to Major Colquhoun’s premarital exploits, Evadne confides in her aunt. “And I can’t tell you how many sayings of my father’s recurred to me all at once with a new significance, and made me fear that there was some difference between his point of view and mine on a suitable husband” (77). Mr. Frayling completely supports Major Colquhoun asserting that Evadne is his property now and directs his wife to write to her at once. In the letter, Mrs. Frayling suggests that Evadne should return to her “right state of mind *at once*”(87). She also informs Evadne of her father’s decision to cut off communication with her until she returns to her husband: “your father is so horrified at your conduct that he declares he will neither write to you nor speak to you until you return to your duty” (88).

Evadne is firm in her position that a woman should expect no less morally in a husband than she, herself, offers to him. Critical of the patriarchy’s support of a double standard, Evadne dismisses the suggestion that she reform him and instead suggests that society reform itself. “I would stop the imposition, approved by custom, connived by parents, made possible by the state of ignorance in which we are carefully kept—the imposition upon a girl’s innocence and inexperience of a disreputable man for a husband” (78). Although her position is entirely reasonable, her aunt understands that it is not supported by Victorian cultural standards. “Mrs. Orton Beg knew in her head that

reason and right were on Evadne's side, but she felt in her heart the full force of the custom and prejudice that would be against her"(79). Subjected to intense pressure by her parents, Evadne agrees to live platonically in the same house as her husband to avoid a scandal, his greatest fear. After Evadne goes to Malta with Colquhoun where she is vulnerable and isolated, her mother writes that "her father had determined to cut her off from all communications with her family until she came to her senses," (113) meaning, of course, that she agree to conjugal relations with Colquhoun. Mr. Frayling rescinds his edict after Evadne threatens to write to the newspapers and reveal all and her mother briefly finds enough courage to support her. Colquhoun's concern about his reputation and Mr. Frayling's fear of newspaper exposure repeat the emphasis on secrecy seen in the other novels studied here and again emphasize that visual identity is unreliable. Mr. Frayling continues his crusade against Evadne by refusing to allow her to return home during an illness and ordering his wife and the other children to stay away from her on pain of expulsion from their home. Evadne remains in this sham marriage until the death of her husband, she suffering far more from the arrangement than he. Evadne's story particularly emphasizes the complicity of the father in maintaining the status quo and the significance that maintaining appearances has in compelling conformity. Reacting to Mrs. Orton Beg's defense of Evadne's actions, Mr. Frayling argues, "Why it's perfectly revolutionary. If other women follow her example, not one man in ten will be able to get a wife when he wants to marry"(115). Evadne's behavior is objectionable to her father because social practices assure men that they will be able to get what they want without the interference of women. By challenging current social practices, the queer character

Evadne becomes an anomaly that must be explained within the worldview thus pressuring gender identity constructs.

Evadne's double, Edith Beale also marries a man with a sordid past but unlike Evadne, Edith is unaware of the dangers of such a marriage. Evadne attempts to warn Edith who has been raised "to know no more of the world than a child does"(228). When Evadne protests Edith's engagement to Mosley Menteith, referring to him as "that dreadful man"(232) both to Edith and to Mrs. Beale, she is unable to substantiate the reasons for her objections beyond suggestions of his unsavory character. "When Colonel Colquhoun hints that there is something objectionable about a man it must be something very objectionable indeed" (232-233). Suggesting that her parents are willing to allow Edith to "throw herself away on a man you know nothing about," Evadne is astounded to hear that they are aware of his faults. "We *do* know that there have been errors; but all that is over now, and it would be wicked of us not to believe the best, and hope for the best. A young man in his position has great temptations—" (235). Naively, Edith believes that she can reform Menteith, "if he is *bad*, I will make him good; if he is lost, I will save him!"(234). Edith's position, a marital match to a man with a sexually promiscuous past that her parents are fully aware of, parallels Evadne's. Grand uses the strategy of doubling to present similar situations and suggest alternate solutions in a manner similar to Doyle's double murder plot in "The Adventure of the Speckled Band." In Grand's version, the women represent the polar opposites of conventional Victorian woman and the New Woman. Speaking of the Edith's engagement to Menteith, Colquhoun regards it as "a pity" but requests that Evadne not try to prevent the marriage. Admitting that she had already tried and failed, Evadne blames the "horrid system" for

the unsavory match. Within a year of her marriage, Edith is disillusioned and the birth of her child of “an unmistakable type” that “rapidly degenerated” increases her misery. Her unhappiness is exacerbated by her own physical decline. “The shadow of an awful form of insanity already darkened her days” (280). Both the sickly “little old man” baby and Edith had contracted syphilis from Menteith. After returning home to her parents in Morningquest, Edith, unaware of the source or nature of her illness, continues to degenerate. Driving near Fountain Towers with Angelica, Edith meets a French girl with an unhealthy looking baby. “It was small and rickety, with bones that bent beneath its weight, slight as it was” (290). Its name, Edith discovers, is Mosley Menteith; it is her husband’s illegitimate child and clearly another recipient of his syphilitic infection. The girl, taken advantage of and ruthlessly abandoned by Menteith, craves revenge. With Menteith’s debauchery revealed, his unredeemable nature becomes evident. In the presence of her husband, Sir Mosley Menteith, Angelica, Dr. Galbraith and her father, the bishop, Edith utters her condemnation of the social codes that left her vulnerable to these horrors.

Edith was looking at her father. “That is why I sent for you all,” she was saying feebly—“to tell you, you who represent the arrangement of society that has made it possible for me and for my child to be sacrificed in this way. I have nothing more to say to any of you— except” — she sat up in bed suddenly, and addressed her husband in scathing tones—“except to you. And what I want to say to you is — Go! go! Father! turn him out of the house. Don’t let me ever see that dreadful man again!” (300).

Tortured by her child's condition and going insane from the syphilis, Edith tells her mother, "Evadne was right!" (303). Edith dies horribly, a victim of Victorian gender rules. The use of the doubles Evadne and Edith in this novel serves to demonstrate the untenable position of women in their society. Educated women, like Evadne, are still ruled by patriarchal fathers who overlook other men's transgressions and support their desires as fellow men. Naive women, like Edith, unprotected by their families or the church remain vulnerable to dissolute suitors. Although Evadne avoided Edith's tragic fate, she ultimately paid a price for her standards. Subject to bouts of depression and hysteria after Colquhoun's death and her marriage to the kindly Dr. Galbraith, Evadne attempts suicide during her first pregnancy and clearly bears the scars of her battle against the double standard. The two narratives reflect on the homosocial world of the Victorian patriarchy and the function of secrecy and mutual support that sustains the power structure. As in the earlier narratives, gender is portrayed as binary, polar, and discrete. The challenge posed by the queer character is in usurping male prerogative and attempting to control her own destiny.

The character Angelica, the female double of her twin brother Diavolo, is the other queer character in the novel. After Angelica discovers the nature of Edith's illness, she has a dream in which she is prevented from combining her sphere of light with that of her spiritual male mate and forced back into her own sphere. Male voices warn her that if she knows too much she will demand pay for her labor and that would be "unwomanly." The voice of religion tells her "woman is satisfied with very little and silently submits" (294). Another voice, which claims to be the Pope, proclaims, "Home is The Woman's Sphere." Angelica locks the religious men out of her sphere asserting that women are

revising the moral laws. When a cardinal attempts to inform her of “the sacred duties of wife and mother,”(296) she tells him to mind his own business. Angelica is awakened from her dream by Edith’s wild cries. Later, speaking to the bishop, Edith’s father, Angelica tells him, “Things have gone wrong in the Sphere”(302). Perplexed, the bishop asks her what she is talking about. Angelica relates her dream to him implying that religions support of the doctrine of separate spheres has failed women. ““If you had been able to manage the Sphere, you see,’ Angelica concluded, ‘and to regulate the extent of it, you would have been able to make it a proper place for us to live in by this time’”(303). The bishop replies that she is “talking nonsense”(303). His daughter’s situation undermines the validity of his arguments.

Gender-linked expectations are also reflected in the language of the novel.

“*Womanly* women” and “manly men” signify specifically gender-coded behaviors in *The Heavenly Twins*. Mr. Frayling told Colquhoun at the time of his engagement to Evadne of her rejection of a clergyman. Colquhoun remembers, “He remarked at the time that women will only have manly men, and that therefore we soldiers get the pick of them” (239). When Evadne inquired about the suitability of Colquhoun as a husband, her father described him as “a very fine, manly fellow,” inferring that this quality is especially desirable in a husband. Mrs. Frayling is alluded to as a *womanly* woman, which is clearly uttered as a complimentary description. In the novel, she is bullied by her blustering husband who forces her to complete tasks he finds unpleasant while criticizing her lack of intelligence. The “ideal” woman, by these standards, is thoroughly ruled by her husband, no matter how lacking in decency, morality, intelligence or compassion he may be while the manly man lacks virtue and morality in favor of sexual attractiveness and experience.

The gender code challenge represented by the New Woman is especially culturally potent during this period pushing gender identity definitions into a position of crisis.

The twins of this novel especially serve to examine gender role definition and training. Although they are twins, Angelica is the more gifted of the two. Both grow similarly until puberty when distinctions based on gender begin to interfere with their equality. First, the family attempts to educate Diavolo more thoroughly than Angelica by hiring a tutor for him but the twins subvert this tactic. However, regardless of how fairly the family treats them, clearly only Diavolo has opportunities in the larger world.

Angelica is confined to the woman's sphere of marriage. Although Angelica experiences a taste of male freedom by cross-dressing, ultimately, her gifts are restricted by social conventions that keep her at home. Angelica and Diavolo are presented as polar opposites socially as far as opportunities are concerned. Grand's depiction of Angelica as the smarter more aggressive twin and Angelica's cross-dressing positions her as an anomaly. Like Irene Adler in "A Scandal in Bohemia," Angelica passes as a man for the freedom it allows her. Angelica's cross-dressing usurps male privilege; the subversive nature of her actions in this novel becomes another anomaly pressuring identity concepts.

Arguably *The Heavenly Twins* reflects the crisis around gender role definition in the late nineteenth century. Its position as "one of the most popular books of the 1890's" (Senf xii) confirms the interest in redefinition of gender roles during the period. Grand's book influenced other writers. In *A Literature of Their Own*, Elaine Showalter notes that Mark Twain was an admirer of Sarah Grand adding that his "much annotated copy of *The Heavenly Twins* is in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library" (205). Carol Snef cites Robert Rowlett's article in *Mark Twain Journal*, which asserts

that Twain revised *Pudd'nhead Wilson* after reading *The Heavenly Twins*. (xviii). As other novels in this study, *The Heavenly Twins* had a transatlantic influence. Snef mentions “*The Heavenly Twins* was a best selling novel in both England and the United States” (xvii).

Dracula - 1897

In *Dracula*, Bram Stoker combines the male quest and gothic genres while uneasily exploring the boundaries of race, sexuality and gender. During this exploration, the queer character, Dracula, destabilizes these identity categories. Stoker explores male Victorian anxieties over the blurring of boundaries in all of these categories. His insistent masculinity challenges the figure of the New Woman who in *Dracula* is symbolically subdued. In “‘Kiss Me with Those Red Lips’: Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,” Christopher Craft describes *Dracula* as, “a book whose fundamental anxiety, an equivocation about the relationship between desire and gender, repeats, with a monstrous difference, a pivotal anxiety of late Victorian culture”(444). Victorian anxiety over destabilized gender roles prompts the question, “Are we male or are we female?” (446). When Van Helsing transfuses Quincey Morris’s blood into the desperately anemic Lucy, we are reassured that men are indeed men, and that one of their functions is to save women in trouble, “A brave man’s blood is the best thing on this earth when a woman is in trouble. You’re a man, and make no mistake. Well, the devil may work against us for all he’s worth, but God sends us men when we want them”(Stoker 136). But what is Lucy’s identity position as both the recipient of the blood of many men and the source of Dracula’s feeding? It seems possible that Lucy has become queer in the same amorphous way that Dracula is.

The contemporary understanding of sexuality and gender location is challenged when the three vampire sisters at Castle Dracula tempt Jonathan Harker. As he awaits their approach, Harker anticipates their sexual aggression. “I felt in my heart a wicked

desire that they would kiss me with those red lips” (Stoker 42). Craft comments on the inversion of gender expectations in this pivotal scene where the male displays female passivity and the female is portrayed as sexually aggressive. “Immobilized by the competing imperatives of “wicked desire” and “deadly fear,” Harker awaits an erotic fulfillment that entails both the dissolution of the boundaries of the self and the thorough subversion of conventional Victorian gender codes”(444). Harker’s position while anticipating this female sexual aggression is one of intense pleasure and longing. This subversion of gender codes acts to destabilize them. Noting that the mouth is “the primary site of erotic experience in *Dracula*”(445) Craft observes that the female opening represented by the mouth shifts to the male penetration of fangs, an inversion of the expected sexual relationship, “Luring at first with an inviting orifice, a promise of red softness, but delivering instead a piercing bone, the vampire mouth fuses and confuses . . . the gender-based categories of the penetrating and the receptive” (445). The continual blurring of gender and sexual category identifiers destabilizes rather than supports the categories.

Dracula’s furious interruption of the vampire sisters’ seduction of Jonathan introduces another aspect of gender and sexuality, the specter of homosexuality that remains just beneath the surface of this novel. “How dare you touch him, any of you? How dare you cast your eyes on him when I had forbidden it? Back, I tell you all! This man belongs to me!”(Stoker 43). The homoerotic threat of Dracula suggested in Dracula’s claim of ownership remains implicit throughout the novel. “[T]he sexual threat this novel first evokes, manipulates, sustains, but never finally represents is that Dracula will seduce, penetrate, drain another male”(Craft 446). This “demonic inversion

of normal gender relations” (446) demonstrates the limited options within a polar, binary identity structure in which gender subsumes sexuality. The gender split is irrevocable and sexuality imperatively gender linked in a binary which concludes that other choices can only be monstrous and demonic and yet possible, tempting and even enticing, “an agony of delightful anticipation” (Stoker 42).

Talia Schaefer argues for a homoerotic reading of *Dracula* based partly upon Stoker’s relationship with Wilde and the timing of the book’s writing immediately after Wilde’s incarceration. Unwilling to martyr himself in Wilde’s defense and unable to remain entirely silent, Stoker, Schaefer proposes, resolved his dilemma by creating a “diffused, hidden, flowing, distorted” version of Wilde in *Dracula*. The vampire becomes a double for Wilde, “*Dracula* reproduces Wilde in all his apparent monstrosity and evil, in order to work through this painful popular image of the homosexual and eventually transform it into a viable identity model” (471). Citing Victorian sexologist Edward Carpenter’s term, the “intermediate sex,” Schaefer supports her vision of Wilde as vampire. Homosexuals, or inverts, according to Carpenter, were neither male nor female while vampires were analogously located in “a no-man’s-land like the Undead who were neither dead nor alive. Furthermore, the associations between homosexuality and anality led many writers to connect homosexuality with defecation, dirt, and decay” (472-473). An argument supporting *Dracula* as an underground homosexual text marks *Dracula* as the queerest of queer characters who challenges identity constructs in every category considered in this study. *Dracula*, *Jekyll and Hyde* and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* all marked by significant homosexual subtexts are three widely read narratives looping faultline stories through the culture during this important decade.

Phyllis Roth also proposes a sexuality/gender reading of *Dracula*. Asserting that the novel addresses significant Victorian age sexual anxieties, Roth proposes, “much of the novel’s great appeal derives from its hostility toward female sexuality”(411). The insistent masculine domination of the women in *Dracula*, especially those presented as erotically assertive, corroborates this point. Roth points out that “the New Woman who is sexually aggressive is verbally assaulted”(412) in this book. In *Dracula*, the most identifiable New Woman type, Lucy Westenra, is finally put to rest in a scene described by Elaine Showalter as a “gang rape with the impressive phallic instrument” (*Sexual Anarchy* 181). A band of men, all former suitors who have literally given their blood, led by the scientist, Professor Van Helsing, enter Lucy’s tomb and pound a wooden stake that is three inches thick and three feet long through her heart to cure her of vampirism.

Arthur placed the point over the heart, and as I looked I could see the dint in the white flesh. Then he struck with all his might. The Thing in the coffin writhed; and a blood-curdling screech came from the opened red lips. The body shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions; the sharp white teeth clamped together till the lips were cut, and the mouth was smeared with a crimson foam. But Arthur never faltered. He looked like a figure of Thor as his untrembling arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake, whilst the blood from the pierced heart welled and spurted up around it. His face was set, and high duty seemed to shine through it; the sight of it gave us courage, so that our voices seemed to ring through the little vault. And then the writhing and quivering of the body became less, and the teeth ceased to champ, and the face to quiver. Finally it lay still. The terrible task was over. (Stoker 192)

Significantly, throughout this vivid description, Lucy is never referred to by name or by the female pronoun, she; her body parts are never described with the female possessive pronoun, her. All references to Lucy and her body are devoid of gender: “the heart,” “the flesh,” “the Thing,” “the opened red lips,” “the body,” “the sharp white teeth,” “the lips,” “the blood,” “the pierced heart,” “the body,” “the teeth,” “the face,” and “it” Lucy has been unsexed. But, even this is not enough; she must be silenced. “Then we cut off the head and filled the mouth with garlic. We soldered up the leaden coffin, screwed on the coffin-lid, and gathering up our belongings, came away”(193). Once the proper male gender ascendancy has been reestablished, all is right in the world again. “Outside the air was sweet, the sun shone and the birds sang, and it seemed as if all nature was tuned to a different pitch. There was gladness and mirth and peace everywhere, for we were at rest ourselves”(193). This violent, penetrating gender correction, which attempts to symbolically reestablish male dominance over a silenced, buried female threat, reveals male anxiety over the destabilization of gender roles perceived as a real threat. But a disturbing question remains, is Lucy a woman or a vampire—a queer being capable of both male and female sexuality? Has the New Woman actually been subdued or has another, even more threatening identity been revealed creating even more gender role instability? The violence of this scene supports the degree of gender identity instability exerting pressure on current beliefs.

[T]he novel’s real—and the woman’s only—climax, its most violent and misogynistic moment [is] displaced roughly to the middle of the book, so that the sexual threat may be repeated but its ultimate success denied . . . The murderous phallicism of this passage clearly punished Lucy for her transgression of Van

Helsing's gender code, as she finally receives a penetration adequate to insure her future quiescence. (Craft 455)

This "enthusiastic correction of Lucy's monstrosity" attempts to terminate the female menace and answer the latent homoeroticism of the vampire figure with potent male heterosexual power. By combining forces, the men who were rivals for possession of Lucy a short time before, attempt to restore by the use of brutal force "the line dividing the man who penetrates and the woman who receives" (456). This scene reveals a profoundly nostalgic yearning to restore the binary, discrete, polar gender identity markers, which have been challenged by the New Woman, women's political movements and other cultural pressures. Mina, however, because of her "defilement" by Dracula continues to represent a threat to this restoration of order until the end of the novel and perhaps beyond in her position as mother.

Bram Dijkstra connects the novel's "antifeminine obsession" (460) to concerns over evolution theory and degeneration prevalent at the time. *Dracula*, Dijkstra contends, demonstrates the totality of cultural propaganda and anxiety over any possibility of gender role redefinition.

Stoker's work demonstrates how thoroughly the war waged by the nineteenth-century male culture against the dignity and self-respect of women had been fought, and how completely the ideological implications of the dualistic struggle between the angels of the future and the demons of the past had entered into that semi-conscious world which nurtures the cultural commonplaces governing the average person's perceptual environment. (Dijkstra 460)

Dracula is a horror story of disintegrating boundaries and changing identities.

“The novel is about the thrills and terrors of blurred sexual, psychological and scientific boundaries, Dracula lives in Transylvania, ‘on the border of three states,’ which we might read as the states of living, dead, and undead, or of masculinity, femininity and bisexuality” (Showalter *SA* 179). Science represented by Professor Van Helsing and his technological tools—the typewriter, the phonograph and the camera, and modern medical instruments including the hypodermic needle and the surgeon’s blade, has assumed the position of mediator and recorder of identity phenomena. *Dracula*, however, discloses not merely the sexual and gender anxieties of late Victorian culture; it also exposes the tensions surrounding a collapsing empire and concerns over racial purity.

In *Sexual Anarchy*, Elaine Showalter relates issues of colonialism and race to two novels which describe two men’s journeys from England to less civilized places, Jonathan Harker in *Dracula* and Charlie Marlow in *Heart of Darkness*. “Harker’s journey to Transylvania is much like . . . Marlow’s journey to the Inner Station - a quest for the heart of darkness” (179). Because of Harker’s function as Dracula’s double, and similarly Marlow’s as Kurtz’s double, the trip is also a voyage into the dark self, the repressed self of sex and violence. Yet, Dracula’s journey to London is what terrifies Harker and by extension the late Victorian readers of the novel. Dracula’s presence warns that England may again become “one of the dark places of the earth” (Conrad 9). “Dracula’s mission in England is the creation of a race of monstrous women, feminine demons equipped with masculine devices” (Craft 448). In “The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization,” Steven Arata makes the case that *Dracula* touched the raw nerve exposed by a perception that Britain’s empire was

declining and aroused fear of mastery by races of whom Britain had been master. Stoker's choice of Transylvania in the Carpathians as Dracula's homeland would be significant to many readers in 1897 who were well aware of the "Eastern Question." "Victorian readers knew of the Carpathians largely for its endemic cultural upheaval." The region, identified for its "ceaseless clash of antagonistic cultures," conjured an image of "political turmoil and racial strife" (463). Jonathan Harker travelling east from Budapesth noted, "The impression I had was that we were leaving the West and entering the East . . . among the traditions of Turkish rule" (Stoker 9).

Dracula whose origins are rooted in "the whirlpool of European races"(Stoker 33) represents ethnic diversity, a challenge to British notions of ethnic purity. Dracula's narration of the history of his people is "as much about the mixing as the spilling of blood"(Glover 40). The conquests of his land and by his ancestors described by Dracula were inevitably followed by propagation, the mixing of bloodlines. "We Szekelys have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lion fights, for lordship" (Stoker 33).

The challenge is that this mixing is seen as better than the English race's purity. The health and vigor of the Englishmen in *Dracula* is questionable. Jonathan Harker, after his escape from Castle Dracula is nursed by Sister Agatha, and described by Mina as "thin and pale and weak looking," a "a wreck" (Stoker 99). Neither Arthur Holmwood, as the aristocrat Lord Godalming, nor Dr. Seward possesses anything near Dracula's energy, mastery or vibrancy. The men are forced to work as a team to defeat the one man, Dracula.

Dracula expresses British fears at the end of the nineteenth century over degeneration of the species represented by the dangerous mutation, the New Woman, and by the dissipation of the male aristocrat who represents the future of the race. These threats are represented but not always dismissed, marking the novel as a faultline story. In the resolution of the narrative, the reader is offered the comfort of the news that Mina and Jonathan Harker's son was born a year to the day after Quincey Morris died. This information implies that the threat has been contained and the world has returned to normal. Jonathan reveals his "secret belief that some of our brave friend's [Quincey Morris] spirit has passed into him [the child]. His bundle of names links our little band of men together; but we call him Quincey"(326). What remains unmentioned by Harker is that the child's birthday is also the day that Dracula died. Dracula claimed both Jonathan Harker, "This man belongs to me!" (43) and Mina who was visibly marked as his for much of the narrative. The child represents Dracula at least as much as he does the "little band of men." Although Mina seems to represent Victorian womanhood in comparison to Lucy whose courtship activities and queer sexuality with Dracula mark her as a New Woman figure, Mina does not remain inactively shielded from the world in the separate sphere of women. She is an active participant in the final chase, collaborating fearlessly with the men in the destruction of Dracula even aiming her revolver at the gypsies who guard the casket. Also, it is Mina's Journal that provides the narrative of the final chase and the destruction of Dracula. Her typewriting skills, her transcription of Jonathan Harker's journal and even her memorization of the train schedules make her an essential participant in the chase and establish her business skills. Unlike Lucy Westenra, Mina as an "assistant schoolmistress" is a working woman. (55) Mina, who is recognized by the

patriarchal Van Helsing as “a brave and gallant woman” so loved that men risked much for her, is a queer character whose amused comments about the New Woman belie the fact that she herself could be described as a New Woman. The ending of *Dracula*, when examined, is far less certain than Jonathan Harker’s tone assumes. Even the death of Dracula, because of its inconsistency with the ritual Van Helsing insisted was necessary for Lucy, is “riddled with ambiguity” (Stoker 325). The undeniable queerness of Dracula whose physical form mutates at will and who crosses the border between life and death alone would argue for the book’s inclusion as an anomaly that questions identity concepts.

These fears of racial pollution and reverse colonialism, and more importantly, the fear that England is no longer strong enough to resist colonization are not expressed by Bram Stoker alone. The ultimate expression of this fear of going native is Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*.

Heart of Darkness — 1899

Heart of Darkness overflows with polarized binaries and insistent imagery, male/female, black/white, civilization/primordial jungle, civilized/primitive, restraint/abandon, and especially, primarily, lightness and darkness. Critical readings cannot avoid these binaries because they structure Conrad's interior/exterior journey up the unnamed river/Congo and into his/our own heart/hearts of darkness. Black/white imagery dominates the narrative to such a degree that it is cited in support of claims of racism against the book. Chinua Achebe focuses intently on Conrad's black/white imagery to substantiate his criticism, calling it Conrad's "fixation on blackness." Citing this description from *Heart of Darkness*, "A black figure stood up, strode on long black legs, waving long black arms," Achebe comments, "as though we might expect a black figure striding along on black legs to wave white arms! But so unrelenting is Conrad's obsession"(258). The black/white imagery of *Heart of Darkness* demonstrates the pattern of polar, binary imagery upon which Conrad constructs his narrative. More intriguing than Conrad's "obsession," however, is the interpretation of these binaries. Polarities shift, while "inscrutable" darkness becomes the vehicle for self-knowledge. *Heart of Darkness* deconstructs its own binaries and examines the historical issues of imperialism that set the stage for a world war.

Kurtz, an enlightened white European, "an emissary of pity, and science and progress," "a prodigy"(28)who succumbs to the lure of the primitive is the queer character in the novel. By going native, Kurtz embodies British cultural fears of reverse colonization. Furthermore, Kurtz's defection marks *Heart of Darkness* as a "faultline

story,”¹¹ one that by displacing darkness and savagery onto a white European body challenges the current worldview. The lure of the jungle that entraps Kurtz partially in the form of “a wild and gorgeous apparition of a woman” (60) is feminized by Conrad. Elaine Showalter describes Marlow’s journey as “the penetration of a female wilderness, here a place of lassitude, paralysis, darkness, suffocation” and reads the novel as a “dark story of the divided self in the culture of the Other” (SA 98). This conflation of primitive colonized places, female power and the power of darkness is also evident in two of the novels of Rider Haggard, another late nineteenth-century writer of male quest novels.¹² This looping of conflated identity categories, which according to Gilbert and Gubar, extends to Freud’s writing in *The Interpretation of Dreams* and Rudyard Kipling’s writing on India¹³ demonstrates male reactions to contemporary female identity category challenges and disruptions.

Paradoxically, this journey into the feminized wilderness is an exclusively male undertaking intended for the ears of an exclusively male audience. Marlow, acting as Kurtz’s double, indirectly narrates Kurtz’s fragmented story to five other men, Company men, one of whom becomes the narrator of the novel to an imagined male audience. Nina Straus notes the novel’s “extremely masculine historical referentiality, its insistence on a

¹¹ In *The Wilde Century*, Sinfield identifies stories that disrupt our worldview by failing to conform to current perceptions of reality as “faultline stories.”

¹² Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar note that Rider Haggard’s popular male quest novels *King Solomon’s Mines* and *She* implied a “conspiracy between ‘strange races’ and the (eternal) feminine.” This “racial/sexual otherness could unman western marauders” and “call into question the very nature and culture of the imperialistic project” (Gilbert *NML* 40).

¹³ In *No Man’s Land*, Gilbert and Gubar connect Haggard, Conrad, Kipling, Stoker, Freud and others to female imagery conflated with darkness and otherness. “Kipling and his imperialist contemporaries sexualized colonized India” (37). “Haggard’s novels might have seemed to Freud to provide appropriate metaphors for the pioneering trips on the ‘royal road to the unconscious’ along which his own female patients were guiding him” (43).

male circle of readers.”(quoted in Showalter, *SA* 96). Showalter recognizes the “importance of narrative transmission from one man to another, in an interminable process”(SA 96) to emphasize the exclusion of women from the revelations of the story. Male and female categories are polarized by this exclusion, which is precipitated by Marlow’s perception of gender identity and difference. Marlow’s narrative insists that women are incapable of integrating truths already evident to men into their idealistic belief systems. Charlie Marlow’s reaction in response to his aunt’s suggestion that he could become “something like an emissary of light, something like a lower sort of apostle” and civilize the African natives by “weaning those ignorant millions from their horrid ways” (15-16) is a confirmation of separate spheres. According to Marlow, men live with facts; women live in a world of their own. “It’s queer how out of touch with truth women are! They live in a world of their own and there had never been anything like it and never can be. It’s too beautiful altogether, and if they were to set it up it would go to pieces before the first sunset. Some confounded fact, we men have been living contentedly with ever since the day of creation, would start up and knock the whole thing over”(16).

In the end, women are excluded from sharing in the meaning of the story because of this perception Marlow has of gender difference. This polarized view of gender, voiced early in the narrative but occurring chronologically after the Congo voyage and his meeting with The Intended, foreshadows and clarifies that meeting. Marlow’s entire conversation with the Intended is filled with evasions and responses with double-meanings. When The Intended speaks of Kurtz to Marlow, ““And you admired him!”” his evasive response is “He was a remarkable man” (73). Marlow’s ambiguous responses

lead him into “the lie,” his ironic substitution of her name for Kurtz’s actual last words, “The horror! The horror!” (68). Marlow’s explanation, “I could not tell her. It would have been too dark—too dark altogether,”(76) implies that he has saved her from the darkness of the truth. His lie is based upon The Intended’s unrevised vision of the pre-Congo Kurtz and Marlow’s own gender constructs. It would seem that Marlow believes that he has saved her “too beautiful altogether” vision of Kurtz by sparing her from “some confounded fact” that “would start up and knock the whole thing over”(16). Remarking on his own reaction to this lie, Marlow comments, “It seemed to me that the house would collapse before I could escape, that the heavens would fall upon my head,” and adds “But nothing happened. The heavens do not fall for such a trifle”(76). Almost as an afterthought, Marlow wonders about a more central and destabilizing question, “Would they have fallen, I wonder, if I had rendered Kurtz that justice which was his due?” (76). What would have happened if Marlow had told the truth? Are women capable of dealing with “confounded facts”? This reflection destabilizes the male/female binary pair imagined within the novel and represents a strategy of constructing and then deconstructing binaries that is employed throughout the novel.

Race subsumed under the polarized categories of civilized/savage, and white/black is initially destabilized in *Heart of Darkness* when Conrad locates both darkness and the primitive on the Thames. “‘And this also,’ said Marlow suddenly, ‘has been one of the dark places of the earth’”(9). Personally critical of the realities of Belgian imperialism in the Congo, Conrad repeatedly demonstrates the savagery of civilized Europeans, an important theme in the novel and the focus of binary destabilization. The Danish steamboat captain Fresleven was accidentally killed by

natives after he “started to hammer the chief of the village with a stick” in a dispute over two black hens. Fresleven who had been a decent man, “the gentlest, quietest creature that ever walked on two legs,” savagely beat an old man, “whacked the old nigger mercilessly”(12). Marlow’s explanation subverts the polarities suggested by the episode, “he had been a couple of years out there already engaged in the noble cause, you know, and he probably felt the need at last of asserting his self-respect in some way”(12). Citing this incident, Stewart reads the tone as a mixture of sarcasm and apology. “Thus is the nobility of the white man’s grand burden sapped and trivialized. Marlow’s parenthetical ‘you know’ (such things taken for granted by us far-thinking Europeans) teeters uneasily between sarcasm and apologetics”(Stewart 370). Conrad establishes skepticism of the European “noble cause” early in the novel. Fresleven’s actions foreshadow Kurtz’s fence posts topped with human heads reversing and destabilizing the expected polarized positions of the civilized white Europeans and the primitive black savages. Conrad’s critique of “civilization” in the African jungle reflects his disdain for the bureaucracy of imperialism that supports the savagery evident in the fictional Company’s dealings with the natives, what he calls “the merry dance of death and trade” (17). The grove of death at the outer station is an example of the savage indifference of bureaucracy whose chief accountant kept his books in “apple pie order”(21) a short distance away. In *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad exposes the consequences of the hierarchy of bureaucracy, “the scramble for position within the institution”(Levenson 396). Conrad’s vision of colonialism positions the Company as the ultimate arbiter of identity; characters’ names reflect functions within the Company such as General Manager, the brickmaker, and the chief accountant rather than distinct individuals.

Imperialism presents itself to Conrad as an affair of inefficient clerks, disaffected functionaries, envious subordinates, and defensive superiors—all arrayed within a strict hierarchy whose local peak is the General Manager and whose summit is the vague ‘Council in Europe.’ The Company gives identities, establishes purposes, assigns destinies, and with its bizarre configuration of Central and Inner Station even constructs geography. (Levenson 395)

Replacing individual identity with a title derived from a Company assigned function dehumanizes the characters and generalizes the inhumane activities of colonialism across a spectrum of individuals. On a deeper level, this tactic also questions the location and meaning of identity, a significant move away from established identity beliefs and toward the changed concepts of modernism. One exception to this namelessness is the queer character, Kurtz, who is elevated above the position of common company functionary. Kurtz also functions as Marlow’s double but here as in Conrad’s use of other binaries the relationship is established then deconstructed.

Conrad questions not merely the behavior of “civilized” bureaucrats in the jungle but the construction of the concept of civilization itself. “The incongruity between the Company and the wilderness is a particular instance of that more Conradian incongruity between value and fact, between the system of meanings we devise and the world reluctant to accept them”(Levenson 396). This “Conradian incongruity” between the “system of meanings” or current paradigm and the real world as Conrad perceives it is the anomaly which continually fractures the binaries in the narrative. On a local level, Kurtz’s descent into savagery blurs the line between being civilized and being a savage. In a broader reading, the narrative questions the binary construction of

civilization/savagery itself, deconstructing the halves of this binary which dissolve into each other.

Just as Conrad's fictional company "constructs geography," so did the European explorers who set in motion the imperialist colonial frenzy. One explorer also initiated some of the imagery that Conrad used in *Heart of Darkness*. In a popular non-fiction account of his exploration, *Through the Dark Continent*, Henry Stanley imagines Africa as the "dark continent;" he continued this vision of a dark Africa in two more books, *In Darkest Africa* and *My Dark Companions and Their Strange Stories* (Hochschild 51). Conrad uses the same dark/light imagery to describe the map of Africa after Stanley's exploration. "It had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery— a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over. It had become a place of darkness" (Conrad 12).¹⁴

Darkness and lightness sometimes collapses into black and white; these pairs of polarities set the stage for the moral drama of the novel.

Of all the suggestive metaphors used in the story there is nothing like the title itself. On one level it indicates merely the geographical location of the Belgian Congo and the color of its inhabitants. On another it refers to the evil practices of the colonizers of the Congo, their sordid exploitation of the natives, and suggests that the real darkness is not in Africa but in Europe, and that its heart is not in the black Africans but in all whites who countenance and engage in colonialistic enterprise. While on the first level the metaphor has a direct, factual, and straightforward application, on the second it is ironic, for what is apparently black

¹⁴ In *King Leopold's Ghost*, Adam Hochschild describes Stanley's exploration of Africa as an "act of appropriation" in which he made maps "as if he were a surveyor, mapping the continent he crossed for its prospective owners." Henry Stanley is the man who filled in the white space in the center of the map of Africa. Before his trip to from central Africa to the mouth of the Congo River, "On European maps, everything in between is blank" (51-52).

is really white, and what is apparently white is really black. (Singh 270)

The heart of darkness literally represents a geographic location, Stanley's "darkest Africa," while darkness and blackness blur into one another and darkness/blackness can refer to race. Once established, the binaries become displaced, white becomes black and black white, while darkness becomes a function of whiteness. This ironic displacement marks another binary constructed and then deconstructed in the novel.

Inconsistent with Marlow's rejection of his aunt's idealism concerning his mission in Africa, chronologically voiced after his African experience, Marlow was drawn to Kurtz because of his moral reputation "this man who had come out equipped with moral ideas of some sort"(33) in opposition to the veniality of the others, especially the manager of the Central Station. This is confirmed when Marlow eavesdrops on the Manager complaining to his uncle about Kurtz's ideals. The Manager sarcastically derides Kurtz's plan, "Each station should be like a beacon on a road to better things, a centre for trade of course but also for humanizing, improving, instructing" (34). Later, Marlow's discovery of Kurtz's manuscript, the "Suppression of Savage Customs," affirms Kurtz's initial idealism. Kurtz becomes a symbol of lightness, opposed to the darkness of colonial Africa. Kurtz's fall, his submission to his own heart of darkness, undermines the initial polarities. *Heart of Darkness* is not only the story of the fall of one tragically flawed man; it is a narrative of the failure of values.

Kurtz's tragic flaw, his lack of restraint, is portrayed in opposition to the restraint of the hungry cannibals. Like the episode involving Captain Fresleven, the civilized behavior expected of the European is exhibited by the natives while European civility is replaced by savagery. Marlow contemplates the restraint of the hungry cannibals with

amazement. “Restraint! What possible restraint? Was it superstition, disgust, patience, fear—or some kind of primitive honor? No fear can stand up to hunger, no patience can wear it out, disgust simply does not exist where hunger is, and as to superstition, beliefs, and what you may call principles are less than chaff in a breeze”(43). Unable to fathom the cannibals’ motives, Marlow concedes that it is unexpected. “And these chaps too had no earthly reason for any kind of scruple. Restraint! I would just as soon have expected restraint from a hyena prowling amongst the corpses of a battlefield”(43). In contrast to the cannibals’ restraint is Kurtz’s abandon. Describing the heads on stakes outside of Kurtz’s house, Marlow attributes the atrocity to Kurtz’s “lack of restraint,” to “something wanting in him.”

The heads on stakes “only showed that Mr. Kurtz lacked restraint in the gratification of his various lusts, that there was something wanting in him—some small matter which when the pressing need arose could not be found under his magnificent eloquence. Whether he knew of this deficiency himself I can’t say. I think the knowledge came to him at last—only at the very last. But the wilderness had found him out early, and had taken on him a terrible vengeance for the fantastic invasion. I think it had whispered to him things about himself which he did not know, things of which he had no conception till he took counsel with this great solitude—and the whisper had proved irresistibly fascinating. It echoed loudly within him because he was hollow at the core. (57-57).

Kurtz’s inner struggle proves redemptive for his double, Marlow, who begins to understand his own heart of darkness. “I saw the inconceivable mystery of a soul that

knew no restraint, no faith and no fear, yet struggled blindly with itself”(66). Levenson argues that Kurtz does not fail merely because of his own lack of restraint but because of a broader failure, the failure of social values. “Kurtz’s fall is not merely due to the surge of instinct that routs social values; it is due to a failure of the values themselves”(402). Conrad does not end in this dark place. “But the failure of principle does not mark the demise of value in *Heart of Darkness*, only a change in its source. If value cannot descend from social ideal, it must ascend from psychic abyss”(402). Conrad moves into modernist territory with the implied solution to the moral dilemma he has produced. In *Heart of Darkness*, moral values arise from individual experience. “The ascent from the Kurtzian horror is an ascent to a region of experience in which virtue and vice disclose themselves in sight and sound, taste and smell. Between fragile social conventions and blind passions morality finds a place in the impressions of the Practical Moralist” (Levenson 405).

Because of their challenges to current identity constructs and their influence on contemporary readers, all of the texts examined in this chapter acted as anomalies whose repeated failures to conform to expectations pressured Victorian identity paradigms toward an acute crisis. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the looping effects of these and similar texts combined with the pressure exerted by concurrent social changes causing a fracture in the structure of identity categories. The dramatic changes in identity concepts evident in modernist texts are the revolutionary result of those combined pressures.

This process of anomalies, social pressure, crisis and change was also evident in the United States. In the following chapter, anomalous American texts that exhibit

similar challenges to identity constructs will be examined. The identity categories of race, gender and sexuality are examined in these texts using many of the same strategies as the British texts including queer characters, doubles, and disguises. British and American challenges are most similar in the area of gender. While the American texts are more focused on race, sexuality is more evident in the British texts. However, despite differences in focus, both countries exhibit the same dramatic challenges and changes in identity constructs during the same time period.

Chapter 3

Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine facets of identity as imagined in American texts published between 1888 and 1905. As in Chapter 2, I will employ Thomas Kuhn's analysis of the structure of scientific revolutions as an epistemological method in this examination. According to Kuhn's analysis, a crisis emerges due to the failure of anomalies to fit into the current paradigm. Anomalies that fail to conform to cultural identity category definitions, signified here as queer characters, will be demonstrated in literature of this period and pressure on these category definitions from external conditions will be identified. This dissertation contends that as in scientific revolutions the repeated failure of these literary anomalies to conform combined with pressure from external conditions generated an "acute crisis" which ultimately propelled the shift in these identity categories visible in modernist literature (Kuhn xi, xii). As demonstrated in the British texts, this shift moves identity categories of race, gender and sexuality away from binary, polar, and discrete constructs to multiple, fluid, and relative constructs. When identity anomalies circulate through society, a looping effect occurs, broadening their circle of influence.

Like their British counterparts, these authors conceptualize within the same cultural belief systems that they challenge. Thus a gap exists between their intuitive responses to identity and culturally supported visions, and authors as a result frequently use literary strategies to represent and negotiate identity. Twins, doubles and disguises, identity splitting devices that were relied heavily upon by the British authors discussed in Chapter 2 to acknowledge and bridge this dichotomy, appear in all of the texts examined in this chapter.

Doubles

As in late nineteenth-century British texts, doubles are frequently employed in American literature of the same period and serve primarily the same purpose, evasion of rigid identity constructs. Because of the particular American emphasis on race, many of the doubles are mixed race characters who pass as white, but gender passing is also a recurring strategy in these novels. Disguises also create doubles and work as a similar method of negotiating identity.

In *The Hidden Hand*, Capitola's twin brother, her double, dies at birth enabling her survival as his dead body doubles for the issue of childbirth while she is smuggled away from her captive mother, also named Capitola and, therefore, also her double. The young Capitola cross-dresses in New York City, passing as a boy to survive on her own, and audaciously usurps male privilege challenging gender borders throughout the novel. Later, Capitola disguises herself as Clara Day to rescue her from a villainous plot. Black Donald, one of the novel's villains, uses disguise as his primary method of operating and creates numerous doubles. Disguise is form of doubling used in both *The Hidden Hand* and in Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, which even contains doubles in its title. However, the obvious doubles, the twins Luigi and Angelo are not nearly as important to Twain's primary irony as his switched-at-birth black and white babies, the doubles who are not twins. Again, cross-dressing, combined with passing, both gender and racial, and the use of disguises creates double identities to circumvent rigid polar identity constructs. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, the narrative itself is doubled; there are two story lines in the novel, that of Dave Wilson and that of Tom and Chambers, the switched babies. Dave Wilson is undeservedly nicknamed Pudd'nhead

Wilson upon his arrival at Dawson's Landing shortly before the babies are switched. In both narratives, the actual identities are disguised, either by misunderstanding in the case of Wilson, or by willful deceit in the case of the babies. Both are eventually unified in an ironic ending. There are also doubles in *Contending Forces*; Grace Montfort and Lucy, the slave who was forced to replace Grace as Anson Pollock's mistress after her suicide, are doubles. Charles and Grace Montfort's sons, Charles Jr. and Jesse, are black and white doubles as each is raised as a member of a different race. When she becomes Sappho Clark to hide from her past, Mabelle Baubean has become her own double. John and Rena Walden duplicate themselves in *The House Behind the Cedars*. John Walden is black in Patesville, North Carolina; as John Warwick of South Carolina, he is white and his own double. When he convinces his sister Rena Walden to pass as Rowena Warwick and help care for his child, she too becomes her own double. In *Winona*, Captain Henry Carlingford, a member of the British nobility passes as a Native American, White Eagle, and becomes his own double. Later in the novel, Winona, a mulatto, blackens her face and cross-dresses passing as a black male, Allen Pinks. In *The Awakening*, the somnolent Edna Pontellier is her own double; Edna changes so completely when she awakens, she becomes another version of herself as if she has been dreaming all her life. In comparison, Lily Bart in *The House of Mirth* has never been asleep. Her doubling is a conscious duplicity, a difference between surface social presentation and her own hidden self, an identity that chafes under unfair gender restrictions, like the need to entice and marry a man who is not her mental equal. Edna has just awakened to these gender restrictions in her narrative.

The doubles in these narratives are often motivated by restrictive race and gender binaries as evidenced by the repeated involvement of cross-dressing and racial passing. However, upon careful close reading, sexuality is frequently subsumed by both of these categories and all three identity categories are at times being deconstructed simultaneously. Passing demonstrates the permeability of identity borders of race and gender. The mulatto and other mixed-race characters function as signifiers of racial indeterminacy in these texts and therefore represent nonconforming anomalies. “The figure of the mulatto should be understood and analyzed as a narrative device of mediation. . . . the mulatto figure in literature became a more frequently used literary convention for an exploration and expression of what was increasingly socially proscribed” (Carby 89). In this chapter, novels with mixed race characters include: *The House Behind the Cedars*, *Contending Forces*, *The Hidden Hand*, *Winona*, *Pudd’nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, and *The Awakening*. In most of these novels, the characters engage in racial passing and are pivotal to the plot. Racial passing challenges the assignment of racial identity and the concept a color line based on binary racial identities. Gender passing is incorporate in several novels also with *Winona* and *Pudd’nhead Wilson* challenging both gender and racial identities and the underlying assumptions grounding binary identity formations.

Identity and Inheritance

These novels share the device of doubles to evade rigid identity constructs; they also share a recurring motif of inheritance. Before industrialization and modern commerce made it possible for many people to acquire fortunes almost overnight from trade, family names were tied to land, to legitimate bloodlines and to fortunes made and

preserved over generations. Identity was linked to a surname, a physical location, and a class location, especially for the upper classes. Older, established families with recognized names belonged to an elite social group. This is the world of Miss Lily Bart in *The House of Mirth*, the world of white upper-class privilege. Inheritance is a marker of that privilege; it is a gateway into a world of inherited wealth that is passed along with family name and identity from generation to generation insuring the continued replication of hierarchal power structures. As a gateway to privilege, inheritance is also contested territory and therefore it is not surprising that it is reflected in the plots of most of the texts in this chapter. Because inheritance is institutionalized through legal codes, it tends to support established hierarchal privilege. With the legal success segregationists were having establishing a color line, those legally identified as black could expect to lose rights and privileges based upon the assignment of a nonnormative racial identity. Inheritance works as a metaphor for lost privileges and rights in this context and is a plot device in all three novels written by African American novelists.

Although John and Rena Walden's father intended to draw up a will reasoning "money will make them free of the world," (Chesnutt 112) his sudden death prevented him from providing for his illegitimate children so they were disinherited in *The House Behind the Cedars*. Passing as John Warwick, a white man, however, John Walden married into the inheritance of his white wife. Disinherited as a black man, Walden claimed a higher class and economic status by passing as a white man. His sister Rena failed to pass and was unable to change her class status indicating that the addition of gender to the race/class equation changes the odds. In *Contending Forces*, Charles and Jesse Montfort were also disinherited when Anson Pollock redefined their race as black

based upon the unsubstantiated claim that their mother was racially mixed. Restitution of their inheritance was made later after Charles escaped to England and reclaimed his whiteness. Hopkins returns to the theme of lost inheritance in *Winona* where the search for an heir to a fortune in England drives the plot and race complicates it. Both Winona and Judah are illegally transported south and enslaved under the false claim that their mothers were slaves to prevent Winona from establishing a claim to her inheritance. The message in all of these novels is that privilege is attached to the white racial identity. The same person passing as white gains benefits, in this case inheritance, but when labeled black is refused those privileges sometimes at the cost of his or her freedom. Frequently, the person who mediates the disposal of inheritance benefits is white. The power to assign both identity and privilege remains with the normative group. Mark Twain's message about race and identity is the same. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Mark Twain reverses the race/class inheritance scenario with the switched-in-infancy characters of Tom and Chambers. Because his mother had passed off Tom as the white son of her master, Percy Driscoll, Tom inherited his estate after murdering him. When Wilson revealed the deception, Tom's black racial identity was reassigned and he became property, a part of that same estate. Roxy's recitation of Tom's lineage as the illegitimate mixed-race son of Virginia aristocracy further demonstrates that as Roxy's black son Tom had been disinherited before he passed as white. As a white man, Tom inherits property; as a black man, he is denied property; as a black man, he is property.

Women fare only slightly better in gaining their inherited wealth in the texts studied here. "Disinherited," (Wharton 174) was the one word that sealed Lily Bart's doom in *The House of Mirth*, in a society where value was judged economically. Hudson

Bart's financial ruin and death had initially plunged Lily and her mother into genteel poverty, so Lily's first loss of an inheritance was actually the lack of one from her father, disappointing her class and gender expectations. In upper class society, money followed bloodlines; women born into wealth expected to remain wealthy without ever being involved in the making of money, or trained to do so. The second loss, when Mrs. Peniston disinherited Lily, transformed disappointment into tragedy. In her aunt's eyes, Lily had failed to behave properly for a woman of her class. In this case, inheritance again has a gatekeeper, gender rules enforced by the older generation. Those rules sealed Lily's doom. In *The Awakening*, Edna escaped from her husband's house and financed her "pigeon house" with an inheritance, "a little money of my own from my mother's estate," (Chopin 87, 76) combined with winnings from the race track, based upon her intimate knowledge of horses. As upper class women, both Lily and Edna depended upon inherited money to gain autonomy. Women of this class must either inherit or marry into wealth; there really was no other choice. In Lily's case the lack of money proves tragic; in Edna's, autonomy proves insufficient without sexual freedom. In *The Hidden Hand*, the actions of avaricious men caused Capitola and her mother to be disinherited and face poverty. Eventually, their hidden lines of ancestry are uncovered restoring possessions to the legitimate female heirs. The message about gender identity and inheritance is similar to that of race. Power regulates access to privilege based upon identity and that power is usually in the hands of wealthy white men. Racial and gender identities influence rights and privileges. Only those possessing normative identities, upper class white males, can be assured of inheriting.

Houses

Along with the motif of inheritance, these novels use houses as recurring images tied to gender. The interiority suggested by the image of a woman contained inside a house supports binary, polar identity definitions of women as housekeepers and homemakers. Two novels include the image of houses in their titles, *The House of Mirth*, and *The House Behind the Cedars* to reveal the focus of the novels. Wharton's consideration of the realities of marriage and money to the upper class is alluded to in the title. "Even the title of *The House of Mirth* suggests a mercantile firm"¹⁵ (Ammons 345). *The House Behind the Cedars*, as the narrator observes, "might well have seemed a fit place to hide some guilty or disgraceful secret" (Chesnutt 7): this secret is miscegenation, a secret fiercely denied by whites who maintained a color line based upon racial purity. Twain, an author who exposes this secret in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, describes the "whitewashed exteriors" of the houses in Dawson's Landing. Tom's secret meetings with Roxy occur in a deserted haunted house and his thievery is accomplished by breaking into the houses in Dawson's Landing cross-dressed as a girl. In *The Hidden Hand*, Capitola's mother is held prisoner in "Hidden House," which appropriately is Capitola's inheritance. Edna moves into the "pigeon house," her own home in *The Awakening*, while the characters in *Contending Forces* and *Winona* move from house to house. Sappho relocates to a different house to escape sexual predation and must work at home because she is a black woman whose coworkers refuse integration. Winona is imprisoned in a house as a slave, escapes and ultimately inherits a house in England along with recognition as a member of the upper class. In accordance with the notion of "separate spheres," houses represent the confinement and restrictions associated with the

¹⁵ The allusion to the Bible confirms the irony of the title. "The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning; The heart of fools is in the house of mirth" (Eccles. 7:4).

social definition of a women's place. The number of instances of confinement, imprisonment and restriction of women in houses in these texts is significant as another anomaly, a complaint registered regarding gender restrictions. When connected to race, houses often represent entitlements denied because of racism.

These novels all contest identity category constructions of race, gender and sexuality, constructions which frequently overlap each other. Because their projects are similar, the authors use similar narrative strategies: doubles, disguises, passing, cross-dressing and mixed race characters to challenge the polar, binary and discrete identity constructs. The paradigm shift, which occurs during this period, is propelled by anomalies such as those represented in these novels and in society as well as by social changes and historical events.

These American authors exploit the genre best suited to support their deconstructionist projects. Twain, Southworth and Hopkins¹⁶ choose humor and/ or sensationalism as vehicles to subversively contest identity definitions. These popular forms, readily recognized a wide audience, enhanced the looping effect of their identity characterizations. Regionalist writers capitalized on local color as a technique to distance themselves from sensitive material.¹⁷ Wharton, Chopin, Chesnut and Twain used local color to disguise their agendas and negotiate the "elusive process of social change"

¹⁶ *Winona* and Hopkins's other "magazine novels" use the sensational fiction genre ending each episode with a cliffhanger to entice the audience to buy the next issue. In *Contending Forces*, which was written as an entire novel rather than as a serialized novel, Hopkins chose the genre of sentimental romance.

¹⁷ Sandra Gilbert proposes that Chopin's uses local color as a "narrative strategy" to deal with "extreme psychological states without the excesses of sentimental narrative and without critical recrimination" (Showalter, Elaine "Chopin and American Women Writers" 312).

(Kaplan 9).¹⁸ This strategy indirectly confronted identity anomalies. In *Contending Forces*, Hopkins chose the genre of sentimental romance as a tactic to subtly confront racial realities and to convey her sense of “lost and recovered familial connections” in the black community.¹⁹ These authors exploited these various genres subversively to challenge identity constructs and manipulated different narrative forms in similar ways to confront similar issues. Another tactic that these narratives have in common is that all of the novels directly concerned with racial issues are set, at least for a part of the story, during slavery. This strategy allows the novelists to connect current racial inequities to slavery. Also, recurrent images and motifs are evident in these narratives. These repetitions provide clues to themes shared across the breath of these texts.

Race in the United States

Race was the most volatile and contested of the identity categories in the United States in the late nineteenth century. Assumed to be a visible and easily identified category, binary racial identities, black/white, were legislated to replace the social order dismantled by the abolition of slavery. Theorizing perverse distortions of Darwin’s theory, new fields of science categorized races and designated their positions in a hierarchal order. “From the mid-nineteenth century on, science provided the basis for the ideological elements of a comprehensive worldview summed up in the term *race*” (Baker 16). Science, which claimed to be based upon objective facts and empirical proof, in its

¹⁸ In *The Social Construction of American Realism*, Amy Kaplan describes realism as “strategy for imagining and managing the threats of social change” (10). Using this definition, these authors could be classified as realists.

¹⁹ Yarborough notes that “lost and recovered familial connections” is a convention of the sentimental romance. Hopkins believes that reclaiming family involves crossing racial barriers. (Yarborough xxxii)

role as a mediator of cultural norms provided an uncontested affirmation of racism under the guise of sociology and anthropology.²⁰ “The American public voraciously consumed anthropology as popular culture. Similarly, world’s fairs, magazines and museum exhibits validated anthropology as a professional discipline in the academy because it provided a scientific justification for Jim Crow segregation and imperial domination” (Baker 22). With science to support polar, discrete, and hierarchal racial categories, the argument could be made for discrimination based upon these perceived differences. “White supremacy, evolution, and racial inferiority routinized the notion that there was a natural and inevitable evolution of nations, races, and technology, from rude savagery into proficient civilization. This teleology was both encoded in discursive ideas of Social Darwinism and enacted in laws that structured race relations” (Baker 25).

Racial hierarchies assumed separate races; miscegenation disrupted these essentialist racial categories by creating mixed-race offspring. “At stake were the very social categories of difference that secured white elite male power. And the problem was only aggravated by the visibly widespread fact of miscegenation” (Hale 46). The ambiguity of racial classifications introduced by racially mixed people presented powerful arguments against the methods of classification which privileged whites over other races. “The rise of racial thinking and white supremacist ideology throughout late nineteenth-century American culture had in part been an attempt to ground this feared mutability of identity in the seeming concreteness of blood, science and the body” (Hale 47). Although the Civil Rights Act of 1871 “prohibited racial discrimination in inns,

²⁰ See Edward Taylor. “The Science of Culture,” *Primitive Culture*, 1871; Herbert Spencer. “The Primitive Man—Physical,” “The Primitive Man—Emotional,” “The Primitive Man—Intellectual,” *The Principles of Sociology*, 1876. Mary Kingsley. “The Clash of Cultures” *West African Studies*, 1899 Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, eds. *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History c. 1880-1900*.

public conveyances, and places of public amusement,” (Baker 19) southern states enacted legislation that racially separated blacks and whites in those locations. After Reconstruction, the oppression of blacks took the form of segregation and violence. “If individual white men could no longer be masters, then the white community collectively would, by custom and when necessary by law, name the space if not the content of servitude” (Hale 47). Supported by identity constructs that envisioned black and white as polar opposites, the construct of race allowed for no intermediate races.

Whites were constructing modern racial identity . . . an absolute division that dissolved any range of racially mixed subjectivities, a natural and embodied but not strictly biological or legal category . . . Positing an absolute boundary and the freedom to cross only in one direction, segregation remained vulnerable at its muddled middle, where mixed-race people moved through mixed spaces, from railroad cars to movies to department stores, neither public nor private, neither black nor white. (Hale 9)

With the institution of segregation, race became equated with location; whites determined who could occupy specific ground. “The culture of segregation made race dependant on space, and the color bar became less a line than the ground on which southern people were allowed to drink and buy and stand” (Hale 228, 229). Racial categories were ambiguous, culturally determined and sometimes in conflict with visible reality. In the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, the U.S. Supreme Court determined that “Blacks and Whites were responsible for assigning and signifying social categories based upon some scientific criteria that actually varied from state to state” (Baker 24). According to this

ruling, Plessy, a man who was visibly white, could be determined by the conductor of the train to be black and seated accordingly.²¹

Racial violence enforced racial hierarchies. Spectacle lynchings sent a powerful message to blacks about white dominance: “lynchings denied that any space was black space, even the bodies of African Americans were subject to invasion by whites” (Hale 229). In a complex conflation of race, gender and class, black men were lynched in defense of white women. “The routine violence perpetrated by lynch mobs was always portrayed as justice served in the name of chivalry and the ‘protection’ of White southern women” (Baker 36). Although limited by gender expectations, racial position conferred power to white women and correlatively doubly oppressed black women. “White women, after all, shared a racial power that contradicted the supposed inferiority of their gender. And the fear of the ‘black beast rapist’ exploded not in the 1870’s when African American men were more recently released from the ‘civilizing influence of slavery,’ but in the 1890’s as whites began building segregation as culture upon segregation as policy” (Hale 233).

The physical separation of the races supported by polar constructs of race was challenged by the literature of the period. The use of doubles in much of the relevant literature mirrors W.E.B. Du Bois’s observation on black identity during this period.

[T]he Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other

²¹ “The *color* of the plaintiff, Homer Adolph Plessy, was White or ‘in the proportion of seven eights Caucasian and one-eighth African blood’ and ‘the mixture of colored blood was not discernable in him’” (Baker 24).

world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. (Du Bois 3)

Other strategies, as we will see, also challenged these strict racial hierarchies.

Gender

Like race, gender identity definitions were contested during this period and like race, science became arbiter that those in power used to justify the status quo. “Race and gender, not infrequently linked, are the two great themes of nineteenth-century science” (Russett 7). As in discussions about race, scientists were asked to judge gender differences. “[S]cience became a weapon, its findings useful as they legitimated or discountenanced the claims of black people to political and social equality. So too with sex. By the third quarter of the century women were laying claim to rights and opportunities previously reserved for men” (Russett 7). Scientific study in various fields conducted by white men reached conclusions about women, which like the conclusions about race, supported contemporary hierarchies. “Anatomy and physiology, evolutionary biology, physical anthropology, psychology, and sociology evolved comprehensive

theories of sexual difference” (Russett 10). Similar to their conclusions about race, scientists in various disciplines supported the belief in polar, discrete and hierarchical identity definitions.

The overwhelming consensus of this work was that women were inherently different from men in their anatomy, physiology, temperament, and intellect. In the evolutionary development of the race women had lagged behind men, much as ‘primitive people’ lagged behind Europeans. Even as adults, they remained childlike in body and mind, never developing traits, such as beards, that distinguished the men from the boys (Russett 11).

As in Britain, American women were escaping from the home into schools, social organizations and the workplace. The New Woman phenomenon was evident on both sides of the Atlantic. Women contested scientific assertions about their physical inferiority and inadequate intelligence. The growth of women’s organizations after the Civil War “of which suffrage organizations were only a small part, marked the real emergence of American women onto public life, and resulted in awakening many to their disadvantaged and secondary status” (Russett 8). The eventual redefinition of gender roles impacted on both women and men. “As historians now recognize, the period 1880-1920 redefined gender identity for American men as well as for American women” (Showalter, “Death of the Lady” 366).

In the following section, I will demonstrate how a handful of American texts from this period challenge enforced binaries of race, gender and sexuality, albeit individually.

***The Hidden Hand* – 1888**

In *The Hidden Hand*, Capitola cross-dresses and passes as a boy to survive on her own in New York City. Her behavior throughout the novel directly defies gender rules that other female characters observe; she is self-assured, assertive, active, physical, brave, defiant, and disobedient. Nina Baym argues that Capitola is “not only the first in a long line of tomboy heroines in American fiction, but one of only a few who never relinquishes nor apologizes for her tomboy character” (xii). Capitola’s gender passing combined with her refusal to be limited by cultural gender restrictions marks her as a queer character.²² Using humor, Southworth both confirms and challenges cultural beliefs in the visibility of gender and subverts conventional gender restrictions.

Capitola’s cross-dressing causes confusion in a New York City courtroom. Although all are aware of Capitola’s disguise at this point, the disparity between her appearance and her gender so disrupts their expectations that three different speakers address her male clothing rather than her female person. Twice, the court clerk speaks to Capitola as a boy, ““Now, then, what is your name, my lad—my *girl*, I should say?”” (35); later, he questions her, “Boy—*girl* I should say—what tempted you to put yourself into male attire?” (35). The court Recorder shares this confusion, ““Go on—go on my good boy—*girl* I mean”” (36). Finally, Ira Warfield, nicknamed Old Hurricane, continues to voice the confusion over Capitola’s gender. “Come, come my little man—my good little *woman*, I mean” (39). “. . . this case of a boy in girl’s clothes—I mean the *girl* in girl’s clothes—I declare I don’t know what I mean!” (43). “My boy, girl, I mean!” (43). “Now, my lad—pshaw! My lass, I mean. (43). Southworth exploits cultural beliefs

²² “One of the most important aspects of cross-dressing is the way in which it offers a challenge to easy notions of binarity, putting into question the categories of ‘female ‘ and ‘male,’ whether they are considered essential or constructed, biological or cultural” (Garber 10).

about the visibility of identity for humorous effect while simultaneously deconstructing them. Because identity is so strongly linked to appearance, the characters seem confused even though they know that Capitola is female.

Capitola's defense of her cross-dressing challenges the institutionalization of gender-based work restrictions with common sense reasoning. Explaining that she was alone and destitute and that no one wanted to hire a girl, she notes that she was denied work that she was able to perform based solely on her gender. "And so, while all the ragged boys I knew could get little jobs to earn bread, I, because I was a girl, was not allowed to carry a gentleman's parcel, or black his boots, or shovel the snow off a shopkeeper's pavement, or put in coal, or do *any*-thing that *I* could do just as well as *they*. And so because I was a girl, there seemed to be nothing but starvation or beggary before me" (38). Concealed by an emphasis on her cross-dressing and by situational humor, Capitola's testimony represents a challenge to the category of female as defined at the time, a person restricted from paid employment by the perceived constitutional weakness of the gender.

This early instance of gender passing sets the stage for Capitola's pattern of defiance of gender rules.²³ After Warfield claims Capitola as his ward, she refuses to become subservient and allow him to determine her behavior. Capitola chides him, "I'm not a cur to be fed with roast-beef and beaten with a stick! nor, nor, nor a Turk's slave to be caressed and oppressed as her master likes!" (109). Although she has no means of supporting herself, she insists on controlling her own destiny, threatening to return to New York if any attempt is made to restrain her, "Freedom and peace are even sweeter

²³ Gilbert and Gubar describe cross-dressing as "an implicitly feminist strategy" and comment on Alfred Habegger's conclusion that "imitating men . . . plays a crucial role in popular nineteenth-century women's fiction" (Gilbert, *No Man's Land* V2 347).

than wealth and honors!” (109). Warfield complains that, “Cap evidently thinks that the restriction of her liberty is too heavy a price to pay for protection and support!” (155). Southworth positions Capitola’s actions in opposition to the behavior expected of a daughter or a married woman, obedience and acceptance of restrictions in return for protection and support.

Southworth examines the practical outcomes of adhering to “the doctrine of true womanhood” in *The Hidden Hand* and “attacks what seem to her destructively influential ideologies of the feminine” (Baym xiii). Because of Capitola’s rebellion against Warfield’s rule, he consults the local minister. Warfield laments Capitola’s lack of training in female behaviors, “she has never been taught obedience or been accustomed to subordination, and don’t understand either! She rides and walks out alone in spite of all I can do or say! If she were a boy, I’d thrash her! But what can I do with a *girl*?” (155). When the minister suggests confinement as a solution, he betrays a polar, binary understanding of gender and implicates religion in the enforcement of gender stereotypes. “Lock her up in her chamber until she is brought to reason” (155). After Capitola amuses herself by confessing to him that she has Alfred hidden in her closet, later revealing that Alfred is a poodle, the minister advises Warfield to treat her like a boy. “Thrash that girl as if she were a bad boy—for she richly deserves it!” (164). Southworth uses humor subversively here; Capitola’s amusing antics distract the readers’ attention from the crux of the episode. By reversing his advice, the minister has unintentionally supported Capitola’s demands for equal treatment.

Capitola claims masculine privilege both socially and physically. “Cap’s bodily excesses suggest particularly masculine excesses. As she challenges Craven to a duel or

works for her living on the streets, Capitola either acts or dresses as a male” (Ings 144). Eventually, “Old Hurricane,” the bastion of white male power in the novel, praises Capitola’s brash defiance of gender rules. When Warfield hears the story about Capitola saving Clara, he declares, “You deserve to have been a man, Cap! Indeed you do, my girl!” (286). Warfield’s highest compliment, that Capitola “deserves to be a man,” is the culmination of Southworth’s gender role reversal strategy. While Capitola successfully flaunts male power, the traditional females in the novel are contained and suppressed by abusive men and the patriarchal legal system. While Clara is literally rescued, Capitola metaphorically rescues traditional female readers.

In addition to Capitola’s cross-dressing, Southworth employs other devices to challenge gender boundaries. The multiplicity of doubles and disguises in *The Hidden Hand* serve to mediate binary, polar identity constructions and describe fluid identities not otherwise imaginable. Capitola, the heroine, is the female twin who survives birth in captivity and is secretly smuggled to safety because of the pleading of her mother, also named Capitola, whose face and hand are hidden. “Born on a Halloween night to a ‘masked mother,’ Cap is literally born into masquerade” (Ings 134). Her dead brother and her mother both act as her doubles, one in name and the other, physically. Both are agents in her disguise and escape. Capitola’s existence is disguised when her brother’s dead body given up to her mother’s captors. Furthermore, Capitola’s actions which usurp male privilege can be read as her acting as a surrogate for her dead twin brother and claiming his rights. Although Old Hurricane is aware that Capitola Le Noir is her name, he calls her Capitola Black to disguise her identity and to protect her, effectively making her a double of herself. Another double, Old Hat, is a linguistic double of Capitola’s

nickname, Cap. “In nicknaming her heroine ‘Cap’ Black, Southworth links her with ‘Old Hat,’ a black woman who nurses Cap’s dying guardian, Granny Grewell” (Ings 133). Capitola’s foil, Clara Day is positioned as her polar opposite, “the second, more traditional heroine in the novel, Clara Day, who is as clear-minded and sunny in character and countenance as Cap is complex and dark” (Ing 136). Although opposites, Capitola becomes Clara’s double when she disguises herself as Clara to foil Gabriel Le Noir’s plan to marry the unwilling Clara to his son, Craven.

Capitola’s masquerade as Clara is the queerest performance in the novel.

Described as “a bit of a Don Quixote” as she rides to Hidden House, Capitola travels “in quest of new adventures” (241). Her decision to go to Hidden House was based on a young woman she saw there. “And now the presence there of a beautiful girl near her own age tipped the balance, making the temptation to ride thither outweigh every consideration of duty, prudence and safety” (241). As Capitola becomes disoriented in the forest, she muses “one would think this were the enchanted forest containing the castle of the sleeping beauty, and I was the knight destined to deliver her” (242).

Positioned by the author as Don Quixote, an idealistic and chivalrous male hero, Capitola envisions herself as a knight chosen to rescue sleeping beauty. The physical shift of Capitola to (male) hero is accomplished when Capitola actually does rescue Clara, a damsel in distress. Ironically, when Capitola changes clothes with Clara, she, as the imagined (male) knight, passes as a woman; Capitola the heroic knight disguised as Clara is cross-dressing as a woman. Shifting genders again, Capitola regrets the necessity for trickery in her rescue. “Dear girl, if I were only a young man, I would deliver you by the strength of my own arm, without subjecting you to inconvenience or danger” (276). By

posing as the only available hero, Capitola as knight emphasizes Southworth's deconstruction of male stereotypes in the novel. Colonel Gabriel Le Noir and his son Craven Le Noir represent stereotypical males, selfish, powerful men intent upon forcing Clara into a marriage that would benefit them. "In Southworth's novels stereotyped males — unlike stereotyped females — are very dangerous creatures, because they are aggressive, passionate, foolhardy and selfish. Moreover, they do not respect women and, far from using their physical strength and cultural power to protect the weaker sex, they use their advantages for purposes of exploitation and domination" (Baym xiv). By masquerading as Clara, Capitola, the nontraditional woman and the nonconventional male, has passed as a traditional woman and an unconventional male.

Southworth's use of doubles and disguises to explore identity in *The Hidden Hand* is also evident in the character Black Donald, one of the story's villains. Masquerade is Black Donald's signature tactic. At Capitola's first meeting with him, Black Donald comes to Hurricane Hall disguised as a sailor peddling goods assumed to be smuggled. When Capitola identifies the origin of Donald's goods as New York, it becomes apparent that even his wares are disguised. Donald removes his scarf and hat and reveals his identity after Capitola expresses an interest in meeting the infamous Black Donald. Earlier in the novel, disguised as a Quaker, Donald had handcuffed the sheriff after trying to sell him the handcuffs. Later he disguised himself as a black man. Finally, in his ultimate disguise, Donald becomes Father Gray, a preacher who amuses himself by tricking everyone in town and releasing his fellow bandits from jail. Descriptions of Black Donald suggest he would be easily identified. "He stood six feet eight inches in his boots, and was stout and muscular in proportion. He had . . . an abundance of long,

curling black hair and beard that would have driven to despair a Broadway beau . . .” (126). Using the character of Black Donald, Southworth again challenges the cultural belief in the visibility of identity. When even such an identifiable man can appear in public and remain unrecognized by the people who most wish to capture him, clearly, identity can become invisible for those skillful enough to disguise themselves.

Black Donald shares a black name with Capitola Black. The novel’s multiple black and white binaries exhibit slippage from signifying physical appearance while implying moral characteristics, as in Black Donald, to suggesting race. Ing proposes that this slippage reflects the overlapping of characteristics assigned to the identity categories of race and gender and reflects the social controls exerted upon identities in which race and gender have become conflated.

As the confident “ragged lad,” Cap is identified with such “dark” characteristics as “jet black hair,” “black eyebrows,” and “black lashes” (33). Conversely, her feminine “forehead broad, white and smooth” (33) suggests purity and a pampered life and, indeed, seems out of place on a streetwise newsboy. These conflicting physical characteristics link two sides of Capitola’s character: the dark qualities evoke the risk-taking, bold boy, while the white girl’s forehead suggests the innocent sentimental heroine. Significantly, such a configuration relates to the historical imbrication of race and gender: the “true women” in the South were white, and black men were seen as potential threats to white women’s purity. Thus the stereotype of coding white women as “helpless” and black men as dangerous and “oversexed” functions as a form of social control: white women

dared not act unlike a lady, that is, like a black woman, and black men had to be particularly deferent to white women (Ings 135,136).

The duality apparent in Capitola's black/white characterization evidences Southworth's mediation of the contemporary, polar, discrete gender and race identity constructs through the creation of a bifurcated character. Race and gender slippage is also evident in Capitola's birth scene. Her mother, whose face and hand are covered with black crepe, is held prisoner; her captors intend to take her baby. This representation clearly suggests the oppression of generations of anonymous slave women who give birth in captivity only to have their children taken from them. Her mother, whose married name of Le Noir translates to black, symbolically represents the oppression of black women. This symbolic representation of slave women is used to intensify the sense of Capitola's mother's oppression at the hands of men rather than to confront racial injustice. Here, racial oppression is used symbolically to critique gender oppression.

Capitola's names—Le Noir, her birth name, and Black, the name Old Hurricane gives her,—raise another identity issue. Capitola does not know her true identity as the daughter and heir of Capitola and Gabriel Le Noir. She exists in the social world of Hurricane Hall as Capitola Black but upon the discovery of her lost mother she does not claim the name of Capitola Le Noir and is quickly married to Herbert and becomes Mrs. Greyson. "Capitola's symbolic and literal Black-ness become ironically both present and absent: she is at once (socially) 'Black' and not (originally) 'Black,' originally 'Le Noir' and not (socially) 'Le Noir'. . . the girl transforms from Capitola Black into her mother's daughter to Capitola Greyson, a blending of white and black" (Ing 137). This blending of black and white into grey suggests racial blending, a topic raised by the presence of the

mulatto, Granny Grewell, Capitola's surrogate mother and savior. The hint of racial blending alludes to white male sexual colonization of slave women, miscegenation and the incontestable evidence of mixed race children. Mulattos, racially queer characters, are heavily represented in the literature of this time period where their very presence argues against the possibility of a color line.

Capitola is not the only character who doesn't know her true identity. Traverse Roche, Ira Warfield's son, is unaware of his father's identity through much of the novel; therefore, he does not actually know who he is. Capitola Le Noir, Capitola's mother, was misidentified as insane and locked up in an asylum. Although both of these identity questions serve as plot devices, they also repeat and therefore intensify the questioning of identity categories evident in the novel.

Shifts in the cultural understanding of gender apparent in this novel loop through it back into the culture. Because *The Hidden Hand* enjoyed years of popularity, a large number of readers reconsidered the cultural gender norms, which it challenged. Baym identifies *The Hidden Hand* as Southworth's most popular novel, serialized three times before being published as a book and reissued regularly for thirty years after that. *The Hidden Hand* was also produced as a drama in both the United States and in England; there were "at least forty dramatic versions including three produced in London" (Baym x). Noting the wide audience for Southworth's novels, Baym credits them with "exerting substantial influence on readers and writers" (x). Alfred Habegger also identified *The Hidden Hand* as a "widely-loved book" (Gilbert, *No Man's Land* V2 347). Katherine Ings notes that the character of Capitola disrupts traditional gender constructs and claims

that Southworth's non-traditional heroine serves to "critique women's limited place in nineteenth-century society" (131).

The Hidden Hand is both a representation of cultural gender expectations in the United States in the late nineteenth century and an anomaly that destabilizes those norms. Alfred Habegger observes that *The Hidden Hand* "offers a cross-dressing fantasy that represents a major mainstream response by author and readers to a felt female weakness" (qtd. in Gilbert, *No Man's Land* V2 347). By presenting characters like Clara Day who totally adhere to contemporary gender expectations, the novel describes those expectations. By its dogged interrogation of gender codes, however, *The Hidden Hand* also functions as an anomaly. "By the end of the novel, all supposedly innate gender differences have been thoroughly dismantled as false ideology" (Baym xiv). Southworth's novel contributes to the external conditions forcing changes in the perception of identity by demonstrating the pitfalls of compliance and by challenging cultural gender myths. "In sum, showing how women disable themselves by conforming to cultural stereotypes of female passivity and self-abnegation is only part of *The Hidden Hand's* cultural agenda. It also proposes new ideas of masculinity" (Baym xv). Southworth works to undermine the belief that a self-sacrificing woman can reform an immoral man. "It rejects the myth that self-sacrificing women exert moral influence over men, a myth often invoked by adherents of 'True Womanhood' to justify women's self-sacrifice and counter all attempts to improve their status under law" (Baym xv). Using humor as a disguise, *The Hidden Hand*, questions and challenges gender identity constructs while the novel's popularity disseminates these ideas throughout a broad reading audience.

Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins - 1894

Identity, both racial and gendered, is also the central question and the central problem in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Like Southworth, Twain also uses doubles and disguises as a strategy to explore the complexity of identity both within and outside of the parameters of late nineteenth-century beliefs. Twain's ironic device of the switched-at-birth children, one black, one white, undermines the drop of Negro blood assumptions of his day.²⁴ Based upon these assumptions, Negroes could be identified on sight. Twain ridicules the visibility and separation of racial and gender identity as Tom, the black slave, so easily passes for white and Chambers, the white heir, is so easily misidentified as black, even by his own father and as Tom cross-dresses, successfully passing as a woman. Because of the indeterminacy of their racial and personal identities, both Tom and Chambers are queer characters. In this story, race, arguably the most visible of identity markers, has become invisible. At about the same time that Roxy accomplished the undetected identity switch of the babies by a simple change of clothing, the town's perception of another pivotal character was misconstrued based upon a misinterpreted joke. As Tom is misidentified as white, David Wilson was incorrectly identified as a pudd'nhead based upon the community's misinterpretation of his comment about a barking dog.²⁵ These two seemingly unconnected events become entwined in a double

²⁴ "By law and custom the identity of an individual could be quantified by fractional division of blood into categories of white and black" (Fisher 313).

²⁵ Barry Wood proposes these two events as the axis of the double narrative action in the novel. A diagram of this double narrative in his essay demonstrates the parabolic movement of the two plot lines from the point where they cross (at the exchange of babies and the half a dog comment) curving away from each other to the point of the most extreme isolation and identity masking of Tom and Wilson and then back toward each other until they cross again when both characters are unmasked at the end of the story. The town remains in "disequilibrium" until the denouement of the novel when both characters' correct identities are recognized and the town's equilibrium is restored (Wood 379).

narrative; this narrative strategy allows Twain to challenge identity assumptions.

Twain's use of a double narrative, queer characters, double characters and disguises allows him to contest identity contradictions within slaveholding communities and racial identity based on fractional divisions of bloodlines after the Civil War. The strategy of doubles employs contemporary definitions of race and gender to deconstruct them and humor to disguise the process. At the climax of the novel, the character labeled a fool, brilliantly argues his case of switched identities using the technology of fingerprinting to unmask the assumed white heir as a black man. "Pudd'nhead's unmasking of Tom is a case of truly multiple discoveries of identity in which Tom is simultaneously revealed as a Negro, a false heir to the Driscoll estate, a thief, the real face behind the disguise of a girl, and a murderer" (Wood 378). Throughout the novel, Tom effectively crossed the identity lines of race and gender by passing as white and black, male and female. The crossings themselves challenge the perceived visibility of race and gender. These crossings would never have been detected by the residents of Dawson's Landing were it not for the intellect and scientific curiosity of a man labeled a "pudd'nhead" by that same community

The masking of David Wilson occurs when he first arrives at Dawson's Landing. Wilson's remark, in response to the yelping, snarling and growling of an invisible dog, reveals an ironic wit. "I wish I owned half of that dog . . . because, I would kill my half" (5). Through the ponderous, muddled reasoning process of the townsfolk, Twain exposes their intellectual frailties, "'What did he recon would become of the other half if he killed his half? Do you recon he thought it would live?' 'Why he must have thought it, unless he *is* the downrightest fool in the world; because if he hadn't thought that, he would have

wanted to own the whole dog, knowing that if he killed his half and the other half died, he would be responsible for that half, just the same as if he had killed that half instead of his own” (5). Fisher and Elliott argue that this seemingly irrelevant incident which marks Wilson a fool is significant on several levels all relevant to issues of identity. First, the division of the invisible barking dog into halves suggests the proportion of white and black blood used to artificially decide race in the South. Also, Tom is a divided and disguised character, both not actually visible for what he is, and racially divided into the identity-defining 1/32 black. Like the barking dog, Tom also disrupts the community by his hidden, lawless activities. Tom and Roxy’s mulatto identities suggest something even more sinister about Dawson’s Landing, its invisible history of interracial sexuality and miscegenation.²⁶ Wilson’s disrespect of property and ownership is criticized by the residents of a slave holding town, a town in which the possibility of ownership of another person was deemed reasonable, a place where a slave should have respect for his owner’s property and not steal or risk being sold down the river. Of course, theft is another relevant topic here, as the theft of two dollars from Mr. Percy Driscoll triggers Roxy’s anxiety that her baby could be sold “DOWN THE RIVER” at any time based solely on the caprice of her master. This recognition combined with David Wilson’s perceptive question about the similarity of the two infants, “How do you tell them apart, Roxy, when they haven’t any clothes on?” (9) initiates the identity switch.

Fisher and Elliot advance the half-a-dog remark as a unifying concept for the entire novel which connects all the pairs of doubles: the “bifurcated character of Pudd’nhead Wilson,” the Wilson of the narrative with the perceptive, ironic Wilson of

²⁶ James Cox interprets the scene as a threat to slaveholding values and connects the barking dog to Tom, “the ‘invisible’ slave whose flagrant amorality exposes the deceitful morality of the community” (Fisher 305).

the Calendar; the almost identical twins, Luigi and Angelo; the other twins, Tom and Chambers and the final, implied pairing, slave and dog. The half-a-dog remark of the narrative's Wilson indicates that like his calendar persona, he perceives "what makes mankind tick in this Middle-American community and of where the greatest danger to the community lies" (Fisher 310). The Italian twins, like the two halves of Wilson, are both doubles and a single unit. Luigi committed murder to save Angelo's life, a noble deed according to Angelo. Luigi, however, sees it quite differently. "You overlook one detail; suppose I hadn't saved Angelo's life, what would have become of mine? If I had let the man kill him, wouldn't he have killed me, too? I saved my own life, you see"(Twain 52). Luigi understands that without his other half, he would cease to exist. "Luigi knows instinctively that you can't kill half a dog, and his knowledge of this runs deeper than the community" (Fisher 312). The other twins, Tom and Chambers, though not actually related might as well be. Their appearances are so similar in infancy that the switch accomplished by changing their clothes goes undetected. Roxy's action reveals the essence of the half-a-dog scenario; forced by the whims of her master into the betrayal of substituting her master's son for her own son, Roxy metaphorically sells Percy Driscoll's son down the river. Fisher and Elliot equate being sold down the river to figurative death; they connect this death to the arbitrary killing of half-a-dog.

Finally, Roxy expresses the implied pairing of slave and dog when she contemplates her relationship with her son who has become her master. "She saw herself sink from the sublime height of motherhood to the somber depths of slavery. The abyss of separation between her and her boy was complete. She was merely his chattel now, his convenience, his dog, his cringing and helpless slave, the humble and unresisting

victim of his capricious temper and vicious nature” (21). The pairing of slave and dog is implied in the narrator’s comment about Percy Driscoll’s humanity. “He was a fairly humane man, toward slaves and other animals; he was an exceedingly humane man toward the erring of his own race” (Twain 9). In this racist equation, a slave is numbered as a member of a lower species than a human being, closer to an animal than to a white man. The half-a-dog remark serves not only to thematically unify the doubles in *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, it articulates Twain’s premise for the novel; arbitrary division of the whole is clearly fatal. Written in an already segregated South and published just four years before the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* supporting the South’s Jim Crow laws, *Pudd’nhead Wilson*’s half-a-dog analogy predicts the consequences of Southern blindness and racism. Fisher and Elliot agree on a broad reading of the Wilson’s “unfortunate remark,” as “a complex analogy wherein for man or for society the whole organism is the fundamental unit of being, and any arbitrary division or artificial quantification for purposes of convenience, profit, or punishment can only mean death” (Fisher 311).

In a further development of the analogy of Wilson’s half-a-dog remark and Southern racial divisions, Twain’s insistence on the complicity of the first families of Virginia in the mixing of racial bloodlines which produced mulatto children is highlighted in Roxy’s proud repetition of Tom’s lineage. After revealing to Tom that she is his mother, Roxy brags, “Dey ain’t another nigger in dis town dat’s as high-bawn as you is” (Twain 43). When Tom asks about his father, Roxy reassures him. “He was de highest quality in dis whole town - Old Virginnny stock, Fust Famblies, he was” (43). Later, Roxana’s response to Tom’s cowardice in avoiding the duel with Luigi reveals that

she “has picked up white prejudices”²⁷ (Pettit 352). In her ironic recitation of Tom’s bloodlines, Roxy becomes a “merciless reporter of bloated Southern notions of ancestry” (352). Finally, supported by her internalized racism, Roxy’s angrily responds to Tom cowardice as a disgrace to his ancestors. “It’s de nigger in you, dat’s what it is. Thirty-one parts white, en on’y one part nigger, en dat po’ little one part is yo *soul*. ‘Tain’t wurth savin’, ’taint wuth totin’ out on a shovel en tho’in in de gutter. You has disgraced yo’ birth . . . here you is, a slinkin’ outen a duel en disgracin’ our whole line like an ornery low-down hound! Yes, it’s de nigger in you” (Twain 70). Roxy’s convoluted reversal of the obvious in her scolding of Tom challenges the basis of Jim Crow laws, the concept that there was a clear color line and polar, distinct racial identities that could be separated.

Although the residents of Dawson’s Landing are in agreement that killing half a dog would probably kill the whole dog, they have no qualms about how to divide the dog. Once Tom’s identity as Roxy’s son is established, his “one part nigger” outweighs his “thirty-one parts white” and he meets the one fate Roxy tried to save him from; he is sold down the river. The color line during slavery appeared to be a black and white issue but as Twain demonstrates it’s not exactly that simple; not all slaves are all black, some perhaps are not even half black. Barry Wood notes the contradictions implicit in Twain’s description of the whitewashed houses in the comfortable town of Dawson’s Landing, a town supported by slavery. “The irony rests in the fact, nowhere mentioned, that there is — there must be — a line of demarcation between slaveholders and slaves, presumably corresponding to the color line between white and black. Later we learn of a deeper

²⁷ Roxy claims “one of the more confusing family pedigrees in American literature” (Pettit 352).

irony: the blurring of this color line through a long history of miscegenation” (Wood 373).

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, race and gender identities are disguised, doubled, switched and sometimes invisible. Accepted standards for determining identity are undermined. The hidden carrier of racial identity, sexual activity, is partially disclosed. While the reader clearly sees that the common sense of Middle America makes no sense, the ironic wit of the outsider sees through the arbitrary racial divisions of a Southern town. Twain uses the strategies of a double narrative structure, double characters, queer characters, disguises and unexpected plot developments to interrogate identity structures. In the guise of a detective story, science mediates identity. After the visibility of identity has been questioned in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, science claims the precision and authority to become the arbiter of identity. Wilson's use of fingerprints to establish Tom's identity with certainty privileges science over visual recognition. *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, working as a detective story, proposes that identity is neither visible nor readable; it must be detected and can not be visually assigned. As a popular and canonical writer, Twain's satirical challenges to binary, polar racial identities circulated through culture acting as a counterforce to the pseudoscientific claims supporting white supremacist propaganda. Twain's humor appealed to a wide audience increasing potential the looping effect of his anomalous text.

***The Awakening* – 1899**

Unlike *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, in which the principal focus of the identity challenge is race, in *The Awakening*, the emphasis is on gender identity issues combined with sexuality. Edna Pontellier's personal identity crisis awakens in her an individual identity that can no longer conform to social expectations. Jules Chametzky notes "What Kate Chopin shows so beautifully are the pressures working against woman's true awakening to her condition, and what that condition is" (221). Because of her double nature, Edna is like two different people, the unawakened Edna and the awakened Edna; this duality, the realization of a different self, challenges conventional conceptions of gender and marks Edna as a queer character.

Significantly, the story of Edna Pontellier's awakening to her true self opens with a noisy parrot squawking "go away!" in French. "A green and yellow parrot, which hung in a cage outside the door, kept repeating over and over: 'Allez vous-en! Allez vous-en! Sapristi! That's all right!'" (Chopin 3). The parrot, which spoke some Spanish and "a language which nobody understood,"(3) irritated Mr. Pontellier with its jabbering and so he moved to his own porch to pursue his reading in silence. The placement of the chattering caged bird and Mr. Pontellier's decision not to listen to it at the opening of the novel indicates the importance of the bird as a symbol and language as a focus of the novel. The bird is a double for Edna; like the caged parrot, Edna's potential for growth is checked by the cage of restrictions limiting her choices as a wife and mother, by the boundaries of imagination to perceive other possibilities and by the limits of language to express a different reality, to actualize a different identity. "Edna inhabits a world of

limited linguistic possibilities, of limited possibilities for re-organizing her feelings, and therefore limited possibilities for action” (Yaeger 285). The parrot, a possession confined in a cage, can no longer follow its natural instincts; the parrot’s existence is limited to providing entertainment to others by repeating phrases that have no meaning to it. Others construct the world of the parrot. Although it speaks, it does not possess the language that would enable it to open its cage. Edna Pontellier awakens to a gradual understanding of the limits of her cage; eventually, she reaches the ultimate awareness that she does not possess the language to envision a complete escape. Jules Chametzky remarks that Edna’s initial challenge is to escape from the domination of her husband and the restrictions of her identity as wife/mother, “the struggle is for the woman to free herself from being an object or possession defined in her functions, or owned, by others” (221). The definition of a wife as a possession is established early in the novel. As *The Awakening* opens, Léonce reminds Edna of her status within their marriage when he complains about her exposure to the midday sun. ““You are burnt beyond recognition,” he added, looking at his wife as one looks at a valuable piece of personal property which has suffered some damage” (4).

The gender-based function of separate spheres is also established early in the story when Léonce decides to go to Klein’s hotel to play billiards. Kate Chopin shows middle class men and women living in two different worlds, worlds that were polar and discrete. The men’s world was the world of business; in *The Awakening*, this included the financial world of Carondelet Street and the sporting world of club men gambling. “Léonce is fully absorbed by the business, social, and sexual activities of the male sphere, the city, Carondelet Street, Klein’s Hotel at Grande Isle, where he gambles, and

especially the New Orleans world of clubs and the red-light district” (Showalter, Sister’s Choice 78). The women’s world was the world of mother-women on Grand Isle in the summer and women who were at home to visitors during the social season in New Orleans. Madame Ratignolle who doted on her children and her husband represents the mother-women of Grande Isle.

When Léonce Pontellier returned from Klein’s at 11P.M.in an exuberant mood, he awakened his wife with chatter and gossip. Disappointed at her sleepy responses, Léonce decided to check on the children. Upon returning to the bedroom, Léonce insisted that Raoul had a high fever. Although Edna was sure that this was not true, “Mr. Pontellier was too well acquainted with fever symptoms to be mistaken” (Chopin 7). Upbraiding Edna for her failure to adequately fulfill her function as a mother, Léonce lit a cigar and sat down. “He reproached his wife with her inattention, her habitual neglect of the children. If it was not a mother’s place to look after the children, whose on earth was it? He himself had his hands full with his brokerage business. He could not be in two places at once; making a living for his family on the street, and staying home to see that no harm befell them. He talked in a monotonous insistent way” (7). Edna went out on the porch to cry. “Such experiences as the foregoing were not uncommon in her married life” (8). As she sat on the porch, Edna experienced a feeling of “indescribable oppression.” Léonce left the next morning to return to work in Carondelet Street. Several days later, a package of candies and other delicacies arrived for Mrs. Pontellier. As she shared them with the other women, “all declared that Mr. Pontellier was the best husband in the world. Mrs. Pontellier was forced to admit that she knew of none better” (9). Léonce uses the children to manipulate Edna and as a signifier of her duties as a wife and mother.

Gilbert and Gubar note that in her characterization of Léonce Pontellier, Chopin “depicts his imperiousness in swift understated domestic episodes” (Gilbert, *No Man’s Land* V2 100). As in Léonce’s insistence about Raoul’s fever, these episodes reveal “Léonce’s casual self-absorption and Edna’s mild rebelliousness,” and are followed by “offhand gifts of money and friandises”(100). Léonce, “possessed by the possessive male will” and supported by hierarchical gender constructs, expects compliance. The other women who assure Edna that Léonce is “the best husband in the world” reflect the established gender norms.

This late night awakening to motherly duties initiated by Léonce is the first of many such awakenings in the novel; each moves Edna toward a different conception of herself and further away from definitions based on cultural gender restrictions. The episode establishes Léonce’s dominance over Edna and his dissatisfaction with her attention to what he perceives as her duties as a wife and mother; her identity, determined by her husband, is thus defined by her gender and her functions. Edna’s feelings of oppression combined with her understanding that as a husband she “knew of none better” than Léonce is both ironic and enlightening. As Edna awakened to her double, her hidden sensual self, others noticed the change in her; the identity change was visible. Mr. Pontellier reflects on this doubleness.

It sometimes entered Mr. Pontellier’s mind to wonder if his wife were not growing a little unbalanced mentally. *He could see plainly that she was not herself.* That is, he could not see that she was becoming herself and daily casting

aside that fictitious self which we assume like a garment with which to appear before the world. (55)²⁸

Léonce was not the only one who saw a change in Edna. When Madame Lebrun and Victor encountered Edna in New Orleans, Madame Lebrun commented that Edna looked “handsome” to which Victor responded, “The city atmosphere has improved her. Some way she doesn’t seem like the same woman” (59).

When Edna Pontellier examines her options through her awareness of the lives of other women, Adele Ratignolle and Mademoiselle Reisz represent female choices available to Edna. Similar to the male/female gender definitions of the time, Edna’s alternatives seem to be binary, polar, and discrete but Edna longs for another choice, one not available in these two models. Elaine Showalter proposes that these characters also reproduce the narrative possibilities available to the author in deciding the direction of the plot. “Madame Ratignolle and Mademoiselle Reisz not only represent important alternative roles and influences for Edna in the world of the novel, but as proto-heroines of sentimental and local color fiction, they also suggest different plots and conclusions” (Showalter, *Sister’s Choice* 76). The choice Adele Ratignolle’s character proposes is a sentimental ending; Edna’s rebellion would end and she would return to her husband with the ability to perceive him differently. Mademoiselle Reisz’s character offers the choice of solitary devotion to art, a celibate existence. Edna rejects both of these alternatives but is unable to imagine another narrative choice. “Chopin wished to reject both of these endings and to escape from the literary traditions they represented; but her own literary solitude, her resistance to allying herself with a specific ideological or aesthetic position, made it impossible for her to work out something different and new” (76,77). Early in the

²⁸ Italics mine.

story, Edna interprets her options as a choice between the men in her life, Léonce and Robert. When Robert returns and offers to marry Edna, she is forced to see that “this plot suffers from the same restrictions as the one in which she is already involved in her life with Léonce” (Edwards 284). Unwilling and unable to choose Mademoiselle Reisz’s path of solitary abstinence, Edna discovers a third choice, suicide.

Although Edna escaped from Léonce’s domination by leaving his house and moving into her own “pigeon house,” this decision resulted in her enclosure in an even smaller space. Social restrictions on her behavior have trapped her. Edna’s position, much like the predicament of the green and yellow parrot as the novel opens, is one of containment within a worldview that fails to acknowledge alternatives that she finds acceptable. Consistent with the theme of awakening, Edna envisioned another self that could no longer accept social restrictions upon her sexuality, her behavior, her self. Because scandal about her would eventually touch her children, Edna did not choose to live an openly sensual life in New Orleans. “Edna is trapped in the awareness that succumbing to sexual desire moves one from the private realm of feeling to the public realm of production and that children can demand the mother’s life even if they cannot claim the woman’s soul” (Edwards 285). Since she had already determined not to sacrifice her self for her children, suicide was the only choice left for her. Edna rejects the enclosure that signifies female in her world for the ocean, representing open space without restraint.

Edna had once told Madame Ratignolle that she would never sacrifice herself for her children, or for anyone. Then had followed a rather heated argument; the two women did not appear to understand each other or to be speaking the

same language. Edna tried to appease her friend, to explain.

“I would give up the unessential; I would give my money, I would give up my life for my children; but I would not give myself. I can’t make it more clear; it’s only something which I am beginning to comprehend, which is revealing itself to me.” (Chopin 46)

The virulence of the critical reception of *The Awakening* confirms its position as a novel that seriously challenged late nineteenth-century standards of female behavior. Early critics labeled *The Awakening* “unwholesome in its influence,” “an essentially vulgar story,” “sex fiction,” “gilded dirt,” “unhealthily introspective and morbid,” “trite and sordid,” “not altogether wholesome in its tendency,” and “unwholesome in its influence.” Critics were concerned that the novel was instrumental in “promoting unholy imaginations and unclean desires” and particularly concerned that Chopin failed to notice Edna’s unacceptable behavior, complaining “nowhere a single note of censure of her [Edna’s] totally unjustifiable conduct.”²⁹

The disruption of gender categories and sexual rules envisioned in *The Awakening* triggered these criticisms. Chametzky attributes the “condemnation” of *The Awakening* as “shocking and immoral” to what was seen as Chopin’s “amoral attitude toward departures from genteel standards of sexual propriety” (221). Clearly a queer, disruptive character, Edna crossed barriers of gender and sexual standards. “Chopin’s contemporaries were dismayed by *The Awakening* because its sexual realism assaulted American sexual-caste mythology. Profoundly subversive and courageous, the novel collapsed traditional categories that had long segregated dark women and white women

²⁹ From Contemporary Reviews. Kate Chopin. *The Awakening*. Ed. Margo Culley. (New York: Norton, 1994). 161-173.

in American literature and advanced a new conception of female desire that was color-blind and democratic” (Elfenbein 292). Restrained by the circumscribed worldview of her culture, Kate Chopin employed the device of duality to create Edna Pontellier, the queer heroine who stops conforming but continues to question. “At a very early period she had apprehended instinctively the dual life—that outward existence which conforms, the inward life which questions” (14). Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar conclude that Edna’s duality condemned her to her fate, much like that of Jekyll and Hyde or Dorian Grey. “Edna Pontellier’s fate occurred precisely because the mad rebellious woman and the sane submissive woman were now really inhabitants of the same body, and their life-and-death struggle took place not in an attic or a parlor but in the troubled female consciousness” (Gilbert, *No Man’s Land* V2 89).

***Contending Forces* – 1900**

Combining a resistance to binary racial constructions as in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, a resistance to polar gender constructions as in *The Awakening* and a resolution to tackle social constructions of sexuality, Pauline Hopkins' novel *Contending Forces* was written for political and social rather than artistic motives.³⁰ During a period of intensifying racial violence marked by the abatement of recently gained rights, Pauline Hopkins challenged the ideology that supported racism and segregation. "Her narratives rewrote contemporary versions of the relationship between the races during slavery in order to challenge contemporary racist ideologies" (Carby 128). Hopkins disputed white supremacist beliefs that were encoded in segregation legislation. Blacks and whites were not polar opposites, or distinct, separate species as the supremacists claimed; moreover, the significant population of mulattoes, the result of white on black sexual violence, exposed the absurdity of a color line based upon discrete racial identities. Shifting the focus of her racial analysis onto the history of white sexual and racial violence, Hopkins contested the segregationist construct of essentialist racial identities. "Social Darwinism and the discourse of racial inferiority were replaced by an attack on the barbarity of the practices of rape and lynching" (Carby 128). Hopkins intended her novel to loop through culture and improve social conditions for African Americans. *Contending Forces* was "specifically designed to effect social change" (Yarborough xxx).

Reflecting the pressure exerted upon blacks to acquiesce to rules recently imposed by Southerners seeking a method of social control, political institutions supported a new

³⁰ In the Preface of *Contending Forces*, Pauline Hopkins informs the reader that her intent in writing the book is "to raise the stigma of degradation from my race" and honestly describe the strengths of blacks that are "unrecognized by writers of the Anglo-Saxon race" (13-14).

form of oppression, segregation. “Audrey Smedley contends that the cultural construction of race only ‘reached full development in the latter half of the nineteenth century, [when] the legal apparatus of the United States and various state governments conspired with science to legitimize this structural inequality by sanctioning it in law’ (qtd. in Baker 16-17). The invention of the color line in the late nineteenth century sought to legally establish identity categories based upon cultural definitions of race as polar and discrete. Grace Hale agrees; she describes the “culture of segregation” (21) as a white creation designed to inhibit black progress with “a myth of absolute racial difference” (21). Hale locates the cultural construction of polar racial identities in the same time period as Smedley does. “Racial essentialism, the conception of sets of personal characteristics as biologically determined racial identities, grew in popularity among whites in tandem with the rise of the new black middle class and its increasing visibility, especially in cities. . . . Making and perpetuating the myth of absolute racial difference in this region, the division of the world into absolute blackness and whiteness, required the creation of racial segregation as the central metaphor of the new regional culture” (Hale 21, 22). The social project supported by Hopkins’ writing included dismantling this myth and the legalized oppression it supported by redefining racial identity and refusing binary, polar and discrete racial definitions.

In *Contending Forces*, Hopkins challenges the color line with an assortment of mixed race characters, notably with Sappho Clark, a mulatto who must transcend gender expectations conflated with racial identity definitions to survive. In Sappho, the queerest character in the novel, Hopkins combines two narrative strategies employed by contemporary authors to subvert conventional identity constructs. Sappho is both a

mulatto and a double. In both positions, she acts as an anomaly and challenges race and gender rules. In an effort to escape a past of racial and sexual violence, Sappho invents a new identity and relocates to Boston to create a new life. Hopkins uses the double figure of Sappho Clark/Mabelle Beaubean to demonstrate and subvert specific cultural definitions of black females. Because she has given birth to an illegitimate child, the result of an incestuous rape by her white half-uncle, Mabelle Beaubean has been denied the purity required of a white Victorian female. "Hopkins suggests that Sappho's narrative is, by virtue of Victorian codes about sexuality, one that cannot be disclosed" (Brown 52). Sappho Clark, the "reinvented self," (52) of the sexually abused and therefore unspeakable Mabelle Beaubean, functions as a double of her original self, a character who attains respectability by her rebirth as a different person in a different place. Sappho's masquerade must be uncovered to reveal the continuing story of white male sexual oppression of black women.

One of Hopkins's narrative strategies is her choice of the genre of sentimental fiction in which to present her case against racial essentialism and violence. A central convention of sentimental fiction is the purity of the heroine; Hopkins realigns this convention to suit her own purposes. First, the conflation of gender and race that constructs white females as both pure and morally vigilant and black women as sexually available must be challenged. Mabelle Beaubean's history demonstrates the difficulties faced by black women in protecting themselves against white male sexual aggression. The heroine of Hopkins's sentimental novel reflects the sexual realities faced by black women. "The compelling image of purity that is a 'natural' part of the white heroine's destiny often looms as wishful thinking for the mixed-race heroine. What is a privileged,

unquestioned, and fiercely introverted reality for white heroines is a battle against entrenched political and social doctrine for women of African descent” (Brown 55). In addition to Sappho/Mabelle’s nineteenth-century story, the history of the Montfort family reinforces the vulnerability of mixed-race women to sexual violence by white men.

In 1807, Charles Montfort accompanied by his wife and sons moved his slaves from Bermuda to North Carolina to avoid the British abolition of slavery there. Hopkins’s description of Grace is intentionally ambiguous. “Her complexion was creamy in its whiteness, the tint of the camellia” (Hopkins, *Forces* 40)³¹. Bill Sampson, a local redneck, is the first to question her racial identity. “Strikes me, Hank, thet thet ar female’s got a black streak in her somewhar” (41). Although his companion disagrees, Bill persists, “Thar’s too much color in the face and too little blud seen under the skin fer a genooine white ‘ooman” (41). Angered by Montfort’s leniency toward his slaves especially his plans to eventually free them, stung by his insulting disdain, suspicious of Grace Montfort’s racial heritage, and driven by greed, a group of locals attack the Montfort home and murder Charles under the guise of “the committee on public safety”(Hopkins, *Forces* 70). During the attack, Grace Montfort is tied to a stake and whipped in a scene interpreted by Hazel Carby as a rape. “Hopkins represented the brutal rape of Grace in the displaced form of a whipping by two of the vigilantes. . . Hopkins metaphoric replacement of the ‘snaky, leather thong’ for the phallus was a crude but effective device, and ‘the blood [which] stood in a pool about her feet’ was the final evidence that the ‘outrage’ that had been committed was rape” (Carby 132). This opening episode introduces Hopkins’s strategies for the novel. She shows that white men viewed

³¹ Intended as a basis for comparison, Hopkins description of Grace Montfort is placed within a page of the first questions about her race.

women who were perceived to be racially mixed as sexually fair game. This matters because by suggesting that the category of race itself is ambiguous through the racially queer characters, Grace Montfort and her sons, Hopkins also raises questions about the construction of racial identity and about race as a visible category. Hazel Carby argues that race need not be visibly confirmed to be construed as an identity category as exemplified by Grace Montfort.

[T]he focus of the text quickly became the suspicion and subsequent rumor that the blood of Grace Montfort was “polluted” by an African strain. Hopkins made it clear that it was irrelevant whether Grace Montfort was a black or a white woman. Her behavior was a representation of “true womanhood,” but her skin was a little too “creamy.” The readers were left to guess her actual heritage; what was important was that the suspicion of black blood was enough cause for the ostracism of the whole family and Grace Montfort’s transition from the pedestal of virtue to the object of the sexual desire of a local landowner, Anson Pollock. (131)

After the raid, Anson Pollock, a wealthy neighbor who orchestrated the raid because of his lust for Grace, claims Grace and her children. Grace escapes her captivity through suicide and is replaced as Pollock’s mistress by Lucy, her black maid. Hopkins uses the Grace/Lucy double as a strategy to question lines of racial demarcation. Lucy, the black slave, becomes the substitute for a white woman in a white man’s bed. The children of Charles and Grace Montfort, Charles Jr. and Jesse, also cross and blur the color line. Before the attack, both were white; after it, both become slaves, the property of Anson Pollock along with their mother. Charles, purchased from Pollock by an

Englishman, is taken to England where he again becomes white. Jesse, who escapes north, reclaims his white identity but becomes part of the black community there by marrying a black woman. Carby interprets this plot line as challenging racial categories. “One grew up ‘black’ the other ‘white,’ which emphasized Hopkins’s political intent of blurring the lines between the races” (Carby 132). Brown agrees that Hopkins’s project in creating these black and white brothers and doubles is to dispute the concept of a color line.

Hopkins’s text is saturated with malleable racial identities. Perhaps the most contorted of these identities is that of Jesse Montfort who goes from being a rich white child, to an enslaved “black” person, to a self-declared and self-emancipated white man, to a husband of an African-American woman and father of interracial offspring. Such flexible racial histories and personas enable Hopkins’s figures, male and female, to escape America’s rigid racial codes and avoid being constrained within the limited sociopolitical and educational circles of the American Negro. (Brown 68)

In *Contending Forces*, mixed-race characters undermine polar racial constructs and establish grounds for opposition to segregation. The narratives of racial violence in this novel are structured to explore the connections between power, race, gender, sex and violence and to expose the motives behind the lynching myth. The story of the Montfort family foregrounds the discussion of lynching and rape in the nineteenth century. Later in the novel, a historically accurate narrative of a lynching is printed in the *Torchlight*, a racist publication; the article concludes by announcing the purpose of lynchings as the demonstration of racial rules. “The Negroes of this section have been taught a salutary

lesson” [by the lynching of Jim Jones] (Hopkins, *Forces* 224). The violence was primarily a warning to other blacks to be aware of the boundaries of race in the South. Hopkins describes Jones as “burly,” and doubles his race with two adjectives, “black” and “Negro” while the victim is described as “beautiful” and “white woman” accentuating racial stereotypes: “Jim Jones, a burly black Negro accused of the crime of rape against the person of a beautiful white woman”(223). The story itself followed established lynching conventions; a black man is accused of a crime, frequently rape, against a white person, and captured by vigilantes, is tortured and burned alive. “The routine violence perpetrated by lynch mobs was always portrayed as justice served in the name of chivalry and the ‘protection’ of White southern women”³² (Baker 36). The lynching mythology of black savage/animal attacking pure, weak white women supported racial myths and hierarchies of race and gender. Baker notes that in addition to suppressing blacks, “it helped reinforce the cult of White womanhood” (37). Hopkins integrates this story into the plot as the catalyst for a political rally but the topic is central to Hopkins’s motives for writing the novel, to dispute these myths and suggest the true motives for racial violence.

At the political rally, Luke Sawyer tells his own story which connects economic motives to lynchings and violence. His family was murdered because his father had established a successful business and when a white man decided to compete with him and eventually ordered him to leave town, he refused. Luke also related the story of Mabelle Beaubean unaware that she is a member of the audience in her new identity, Sappho Clark. After her white uncle abducted, imprisoned and raped the fourteen-year-

³² See Thomas Gossett. *Race: The History of an Idea*. 4th ed. New York: Schocken, 1970. 270; James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1982. 2.

old Mabelle, he murdered her family for protesting and threatening legal action. He justified his actions saying, “What does a woman of mixed blood, or any Negress, for that matter, know of virtue? It is my belief that they were a direct creation by God to be the pleasant companions of men of my race”(261). The women’s stories in *Contending Forces* provide Hopkins’s rebuttal to the lynching myths that accuse black men of rape. “The tragic southern experiences of Grace Montfort and her distant descendant by marriage Sappho Clack suggests there is a legacy of sexual abuse, a tragic female history that will be continually reenacted in America” (Brown 60). Will Smith, the hero of the novel, voices Hopkins’s argument in his speech at the rally.

Lynching was instituted to crush the manhood of the enfranchised black. Rape is the crime which appeals most strongly to the heart of the home life. Merciful God! Irony of ironies! *The men who created the mulatto race, who recruit its ranks year after year by the very means which they invoked lynch laws to suppress*, bewailing the sorrows of violated womanhood! No; it is not rape. If the Negro votes, he is shot; if he marries a white woman, he is shot; if he accumulates property, he is shot or lynched—he is a pariah whom the National Government cannot defend” (271).³³

In this speech, Hopkins identifies the primary motives for lynching — maintaining a racial hierarchy. Throughout the novel, she challenges segregation laws based on polar, discrete concepts of race, primarily through the strategies of doubles and mixed-race characters blurring racial lines. “The social relations of the separation of the races in which Hopkins fiction was produced——disenfranchisement, lynching and the

³³ Factual accounts of lynchings during the 1880’s and 1890’s were compiled and published in 1895 by Ida B. Wells Barnett. *On Lynchings. Southern Horrors A Red Record of Mob Rule in New Orleans*. Reprinted edition. Salem, NH: Ayer Co, 1991.

institutionalization of Jim Crow—were displaced by her alternative fictional history of close blood ties through miscegenation” (Carby 128).

The House Behind the Cedars – 1900

Written in the same year as *Contending Forces*, *The House Behind the Cedars* also argues against visible, binary racial identities. Charles Chesnutt structures his argument against racial classification around John (Walden) Warwick and his sister Rena, the mixed race offspring of a white father and a racially mixed mother. John and Rena are so light skinned that they can and do pass as white. Because they disrupt definitions of racial identity, they are queer characters. In *The House Behind the Cedars*, Chesnutt challenges the belief that race is a visible category and demonstrates the economic advantages of passing, changing one's racial classification from black to white.

Chesnutt provides the motive for John's racial passing by describing a conversation between John and Judge Straight that occurred before the Civil War when John was sixteen years old and hoped to become a lawyer, a profession open only to whites. Judge Straight recognized John and questioned him, "It's plain that you are a lad of good blood, and yet I don't know whose son you can be. What is your father's name?" (Chesnutt 110). Judge Straight's ironic comment about John's "good blood" uses blood as a synecdoche for race. By contemporary standards, John's blood would be deemed tainted. Judge Straight recognizes John's mixed blood as he considers John's ambitions. "Now, this son, with his father's face and his father's voice, stood before his father's friend, demanding entrance to the golden gate of opportunity, which society barred to all who bore the blood of the despised race" (Chesnutt 112). John's father's name, of course, is not the same as his son's because John was illegitimate, the son of his father's mistress. John's illegitimacy serves multiple purposes. It reminds the judge of his unfulfilled obligation to John's father who had confided his intentions to provide

economically for his illegitimate offspring. His untimely death combined with the legally supported claims of distant white relatives prevented John from benefiting from his father's "large estate"(112). John and his sister signify all of the mixed race children, the products of miscegenation, who were the legacy of white male sexual oppression of black women during slavery. Finally, his illegitimacy metaphorically represents the function of race in denying legitimate economic opportunities to the black heirs of slavery.

In setting this scene before slavery is abolished, Chesnutt is free to list all of the restrictions on "free" blacks before the Civil War and to consider the slippery definitions of race in the South both before and after the war. During his conversation with Judge Straight, John insists that he is white; he even rolls up his sleeve to display his white skin. The judge refuses John's arguments and responds with a list of restrictions on "free" blacks. "You are black,' he said, 'and you are not free. You cannot travel without your papers; you cannot secure accommodations at an inn; you could not vote, if you were of age; you cannot be out after nine o'clock without a permit. If a white man struck you, you could not return the blow, and you could not testify against him in a court of justice. You are black, my lad, and you are not free'" (Chesnutt 113). Referring to the Dred Scott decision,³⁴ the judge quotes from a pamphlet, which he says states the essence of the law. "[N]egroes are beings 'of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; in fact, so inferior that they have no rights that the white man is bound to respect, and that the negro may justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit'" (113). Not persuaded by the judge, John argues, "It may all be true . . . but it don't apply to me. It says 'the negro.' A negro is black; I

³⁴ In 1857, the United States Supreme Court ruled that "the slave Dred Scott could not sue for his freedom because he was not a person but property" (Zinn 182).

am white, and not black” (113). The judge responds, “Black as ink, my lad. . . One drop of black blood makes the whole man black” (113). Wald classifies the “one-drop rule” as “binary logic” (11) that acknowledges only the racial categories of black and white. Race as a constructed identity category believed to be polar, binary and discrete is challenged by the suggestion that the definitions of race supported by visible evidence were ambiguous.

Chesnutt’s point is that at work in the dialog there are conflicting definitions of what constitutes race. John bases his judgment on “ocular proof:” What is true about racial definition is based on what is observable, what can be seen, evaluated, known through the eyes. The judge draws initially upon the doctrine of “the custom of the country,” the notion that the truth of racial identity (as well as other legal matters) depends upon the practices, the customs, the conventions, of the time and place. (Gibson viii)

The judge consuls John that in Patesville, North Carolina where he is known and recognized as black, he must remain so, but in South Carolina, or anywhere else where “no one knew your origin,” (115) John could be white simply by claiming the privileges granted to white men. “As it turns out, the issue is not in the least legal (the question of John’s legal racial status never arises) but practical, having to do with what people around him think—how they personally understand and define race” (Gibson ix).

Before the Civil War, southern states used different standards to determine racial identity. In South Carolina, race was not divided into fractional units as it was in North Carolina; “reputation and social standing” determined racial identity rather than “the racial identity of a parent or grandparent” (xi). In North Carolina, John’s “racial identity

is determined by percentage of ‘blood’”(xi). After the Civil War, these standards changed. “It is at this moment in history that ‘white’ finds its modern definition in America: It comes to mean one whose forebears are white and white only; one who does not carry in his or her body a *known* (or acknowledged) ‘drop of black blood’”(xi).³⁵

As the novel opens, John, who successfully passed for white ten years earlier, has returned to Patesville during a business trip. When he chances a visit home, he tells his mother and sister about his life. “His story had for the women the charm of an escape from captivity, with all the thrill of a pirate’s tale”(15). Passing stories are anomalies that reveal flaws in the lines of racial demarcation. Successful passing encourages others to attempt to cross the color line, destabilizing the category and contributing to the creation of a crisis. As successful passing stories loop through the black community, they create an oral history of resistance to racial assignment. “As Rena listened, the narrow walls that hemmed her in seemed to draw closer and closer”(15). Eventually, John proposes that Rena join him at his home in South Carolina to help care for his son now that his wife has died. “A child needs some woman of its own blood to love it and look after it intelligently”(16). “Of its own blood” carries the double meaning of relationship and race.

In South Carolina, where she passed for white as easily as her brother had, Rena Walden becomes Rowena Warwick. Both Rena and John are doubles in this novel. Each exists as a black person and a white person; each identity has its own name. When George Tryon proposes to her, Rena/Rowena’s situation is complicated by her

³⁵ Audrey Smedley contends “that the cultural construction of race only reached ‘full development in the later half of the nineteenth century,’ when ‘the legal apparatus of the United States and various state governments conspired with science to legitimize this structural inequality by sanctioning it in law’”(qtd. in Baker 16,17).

conscience. “Rena’s secret was the worm in the bud, the skeleton in the closet” (51). Although she longs to reveal her secret to Tryon, doing so would also imperil her brother and his son. At Rena’s request, John discusses their family with Tryon, but he carefully misrepresents their family history. “I think you ought to know, George . . . that my sister and I are not of an old family, or a rich family, or a distinguished family; that she can bring you nothing but herself; that we have no connections of which you could boast, and no relatives to whom we should be glad to introduce you. You must take us for ourselves alone—we are new people”(57). John and Rowena Warwick truly are new people but not in the way that Tryon assumes. Tryon’s response reveals the gender role polarities of the time, which figure in the outcome of their relationship. “If a man is noble and brave and strong, if a woman is beautiful and good and true, what matters it about his or her ancestry?” (57).

When coincidence reveals Rena’s racial history to Tryon, he rejects her. After Tryon’s rejection, Rena reflects on her identity and her place in society. “The failure of Rena’s attempt to pass forces her to see herself in a different light, not only in the light of her own eyes but in the light of the vision of the society around her that defines her race” (Gibson xiii). Rena attributes her failure to pass to her gender, which she believes determines her position. “A man may make a new place for himself—a woman is born and bound to hers”(121). With both race and gender constructs attached to identity definitions, passing becomes more difficult for female characters.

[T]he narrative trajectories of male and female mulatto characters in nineteenth-century fiction differed considerably, with tragedy the more likely end for a female character . . . John Warwick successfully passes into

the white world . . . His beautiful sister Rena, however, is exposed in her attempt to pass as white and subsequently dies young, fleeing the attentions of rival suitors into a wilderness that ultimately punishes and destroys her.

(Somerville 113)

Unable to overcome her gender, Rena was doomed to fail at the same masquerade that her brother was so successful at performing. “Rena is given an inadequate, sexist education that teaches her to walk regally, but not to think and reason. Although she is expected to bring off the challenging deception of passing, an act requiring a sharp wit and intellect, she is cast as a typical Southern belle, a type not known for her native intelligence” (Ferguson 201). When John offers to move with her to another part of the country and try again, Rena refuses. “Rena has begun to see how passing, race, class and gender intersect” (Gibson xiv). Chesnut demonstrates the complexity of identity components by describing the interaction of race and gender in Rena’s failure to pass. “*The House Behind the Cedars* demonstrates the inability of Rena Walden to overcome the passivity of her learned gender role to pass as white in South Carolina society along with her brother” (Ginsberg 12).

***Winona* — 1902**

Beyond racial passing, gender passing and cross dressing, *Winona* adds homoeroticism, homosexual inferences, border crossings, and references to sodomy in to challenge nineteenth century American identity categories of race, class, gender, sexuality and nationality. In this antebellum narrative, Pauline Hopkins deconstructs contemporary identity categories using queer characters, doubles, disguises and an amalgamation of literary genres. “Generically the novel combines the western, fugitive slave narrative, romance, potboiler/soap opera, political novel, and traditional allegory to tell the story of the paradisiacal possibility but real life destruction of a truly mixed-race North American family” (Ammons 214). This mixed-race family includes White Eagle, a white man passing as a Senaca; his wife, a “handsome well-educated mulattress who had escaped from slavery” (Hopkins, *Winona* 290); Judah, a black boy whose mother had died during an escape, adopted as their son; Winona, their daughter, and Nikomis, a mixed-race Senaca, who worked as their housekeeper. Contesting nineteenth-century categories of race, class, gender and sexuality by challenging their boundaries, Hopkins’s novel situates the narrative on racial, geographic, physical and political borderlines. “Many strange tales of romantic happenings in this mixed community of Anglo-Saxons, Indians and Negroes might be told similar to the one I am about to relate, and the world stand aghast and try in vain to find the dividing line supposed to be a natural barrier between the whites and the dark-skinned race” (Hopkins, *Winona* 287). The first barrier, a national and geographic one, is the Niagara River where *Winona* opens on an island near the border of the United States and Canada. “Hopkins demonstrates just how permeable these supposed ‘natural barriers’ are by foregrounding movement through or

over racial, cultural, and national boundaries. Characters repeatedly pass across the United States-Canada border and between England and North America, demonstrating the fluidity of racial and cultural identity” (Somerville 100).

Noting that many white men “sought to conceal their identity in the safe shelter of the wigwam,” Hopkins reverses the anticipated racial passing strategy from passing as white to passing as *not* white (Hopkins, *Winona* 288). “Nor were all who wore the tribal dress Indians. Here and there a blue eye gleamed or a glint of gold in the long hair falling about the shoulders told of other nationalities who had linked their fortunes with the aborigines” (288).³⁶ Captain Henry Carlingford, “heir to the great Carlingford estates” and a queer character, was born into the British nobility but had disguised himself to avoid an unjust murder conviction in England. His double the American Indian, White Eagle, has fathered a daughter, Winona, with an escaped mulatto. Winona, also a queer character, can claim two nationalities, and two races as her heritage combined with her Native American social affiliations (426). “Like her father, White Eagle, Winona seems fully assimilated into the Senecan Community” (Somerville 101). In choosing Henry Carlingford, a white man, as the first passing character, Hopkins destabilizes racial expectations, a tactic she employs throughout the novel. “Reversing the familiar conceit of a light-skinned African-American passing for white, Hopkins shows that racial passing is also practiced by whites. . . Hopkins emphasizes that notions of racial, cultural, or national purity dissolve in this borderland setting” (Somerville 100). Adding to the

³⁶ “Writing at a time of intensified U.S. genocidal policy against Native Americans, most vividly obvious in the massacre of Sioux at Wounded Knee in 1890, as well as a period of escalating atrocities against African Americans, evident particularly in lynchings, which were both terrorist and genocidal (Drinnon; Gossett), Hopkins stages in *Winona* a new origins myth for North America that renounces European cultural values in favor of Indian and African American ones” (Ammons 216).

queerness of his performance, Carlingford is also an aristocrat who is passing as a member of a lower class and an Englishman passing as a Native American

Hopkins set her novel in the antebellum South, fifty years before the period in which she was writing. As in *Contending Forces*, she uses history to link current racial inequities to the oppression of slavery. “The story of *Winona* used the historical landscape of slavery to represent the contemporary social order. Situated against the background of John Brown and the Free Soil movement in Kansas, the tale concentrated on organized and individual acts of resistance and self-defense against oppression. *Winona* was transparently a call for organized acts of resistance against contemporary persecution displaced to a fictional history” (Carby 154,155). As a call to action against oppression, *Winona* was written to loop through culture agitating a crisis in identity categories, particularly racial categories.

Hopkins symbolically connects the novel to the history of the kidnapping and enslavement of African natives. After the murder of their father, Winona and Judah were whisked away by men who fraudulently claimed that they had owned White Eagle’s wife and Judah’s mother. Mr. Maybee explained to Warren Maxwell that the men’s actions were legal “under the new act for the rendition of fugitive slaves jes’ passed by Congress” (Hopkins, *Winona* 314).³⁷ When Maxwell argued that both children were “born free,” Maybee explained the law; if the mother was a slave, the child would also be a slave. ““The child follows the condition of the mother. That’s the law”” (315).

³⁷ “The Fugitive Slave Act passed in 1850 was a concession to the southern states in return for the admission of the Mexican war territories (California especially) into the union as nonslave states. The Act made it easy for slaveowners to recapture ex-slaves or simply to pick up blacks they claimed had run away” (Zinn 176). Hopkins again connects to the history of slavery to emphasize the use of “legal procedures” to enslave “free blacks,” demonstrating the lack of any protection under the law for those labeled black and connecting it to her current concerns about segregation.

Attacking compromises made to southern states under slavery, Hopkins ridicules the protection of the law for blacks at the turn of the century by demonstrating institutionalized prejudice that historically could make a slave of a free person under the guise of law.

Acting as an agent of the British law firm representing the Carlingford family in the United States, Warren Maxwell becomes entangled in an intricate plot. Captured by white supremacists after helping to rescue Winona and Judah from slavery, Maxwell is almost lynched. Hopkins again reverses anticipated racial roles in the Maxwell lynching scene by replacing the usual black victim with a white one. After Maxwell is dragged with a noose around his neck, bound, and about to be burned alive, Colonel Titus halts the lynching and insists Maxwell be put in jail in accordance with the law. “[L]et all things be done with decency and order according to the process of law . . . This man is a British subject” (Hopkins, *Winona* 372). Hopkins saves Maxwell with the supremely ironic device of “the law,” a law that she protests was not protecting American blacks from lynchings as she wrote.

Maxwell’s imprisonment sets up the queerest border penetration in the book. To help him survive in jail, Winona blackens her face and dresses in men’s clothing to pass as Allen Pinks, a black man who offers to be Warren Maxwell’s nurse. As an escaped slave and a woman legally defined as black, Winona must darken her face to actually appear to be black and to pass as black.³⁸ Hopkins questions the visibility of race by portraying a black character passing as black. Winona’s queer double, Allen Pinks, destabilizes several identity categories. “Whereas Hopkins uses Winona’s disguise to

³⁸ Winona is racially mixed. Her father was white and her mother was mulatto making her by the standards of the day a quadroon.

develop her theme of dismantling naturalized constructions of gender and race, in doing so, she introduces the specter of homosexuality into her text. As Allen Pinks, Winona becomes both subject and object of erotic fascination” (Somerville 101). The reader, initially unaware of the masquerade, witnesses a tender scene between the male nurse and his male patient.

He stood for some moments gazing down on the Saxon face so pitifully thin and delicate. . . The nurse was leaning one hand on the edge of the miserable pallet bed bending over the sick man. There with a light touch on his hair; a tear fell on his cheek; the nurse had kissed the patient!

When the door had closed behind the lad, Warren opened his eyes in full consciousness; and as he brushed the tear from his face, there came a puzzled look into his eyes. (Hopkins, *Winona* 387).

Although this male on male kiss is not what it appears to be, the homoeroticism of the scene is undeniable. “The scene is constructed so that we suspect but do not know that Allen is ‘really’ Winona, the boy is ‘really’ a girl; we have a hunch that gender is straight (pun intended), but we cannot know. The text only permits us to see same-sex attraction, a man tenderly caring for and kissing another man” (Ammons 217). Furthermore, Warren Maxwell reciprocates this same-sex attraction seemingly expressed by Allen Pinks.

Maxwell was fascinated by his nurse; he thought him the prettiest specimen of boyhood he had ever met. The delicate brown features were faultless in outline; the closely cropped black hair was like velvet in its smoothness. He could not shake off the idea that somewhere he had known the lad before in his life. At times this familiarity manifested itself in the tones of voice soft and low as a

woman's, then again it was in carriage of the head or the flash of the beautiful large dark eyes. It was an evasive but haunting memory. (Hopkins, *Winona* 388-389)

Point of view becomes critical as Hopkins skillfully manipulates her characters and her readers in this suggestive scene. To the reader, Allen Pinks has literally kissed Warren Maxwell and, more importantly, to Warren Maxwell who "opened his eyes in full consciousness," the kiss was from a male—a male he finds attractive.

Throughout this scene, Hopkins plays with the reader's knowledge and ignorance. Although the reader may gradually recognize that this "prettiest specimen of boyhood" is Winona in disguise, Maxwell himself ostensibly remains ignorant of the real identity of this "lad," despite his rapt attention to Pink's body. Thus while the reader may know that their kiss is "really" heterosexual, to Maxwell the kiss is homoerotic, and significantly, self-consciously marked as interracial. The object of Maxwell's desire is "really" a girl, but he ostensibly knows it only as desire for a boy. (Somerville 104).

The doubling of Winona in this scene disrupts the male/female polar binary, the white/black polar binary and implies homosexual and interracial attraction. "In Hopkins's portrayal of transvestism, she worries the supposedly natural borders between male and female as she pivots between mulatto heroine Winona and the Western sidekick, Allen Pinks. Importantly, Winona's transvestism does not invert but rather blurs her gender" (Somerville 103). This blurring of gender lines, noticeable in such feminine details in the description of Pinks as a "voice soft and low as a woman's," (Hopkins, *Winona* 388) ruptures polar gender binaries. Significantly, Winona's disguise

allows her “to enter an all male space,” (Somerville 104) prison and Western adventure stories—both closed to women. The continual renegotiation of racial, sexual and gender specific territory within the narrative highlights the cultural interaction of these identity categories. “Whereas intimacy between a white man and a younger black man had been sanctioned within the space of the prison, that of a white man and a younger biracial woman remains culturally taboo” (105).

Prior to this homoerotic scene in the jail, Maxwell witnessed a violent black/white, male/male sexual exchange in the cell below his through a stove pipe hole. Nuanced references to sodomy, homosexuality and sexual oppression mark the description of the incident, Maxwell’s reaction to it and Hopkins disavowal of it.

One day he was aroused to greater indignation than usual by hearing heart-rending cries come from the lower room. Hurrying to the stove-hole he gazed one moment and then fell fainting with terror and nausea upon the floor. He had seen a Negro undergoing the shameful outrage, so denounced in the Scriptures, and which must not be described in the interests of decency and humanity. (Hopkins, *Winona* 385)

Siobhan Somerville argues persuasively that the “shameful outrage” alluded to by Hopkins “which must not be described” is sodomy. Supporting her claim, Somerville notes that a violent lynching scene had been graphically described earlier in the novel and concludes that the act, which is indescribable “in the interests of decency,” cannot be mere violence but must therefore be sodomy, an act traditionally shrouded in silence. “The content of this ‘shameful outrage’ is left unspecified, a muteness consistent with the

history of confusion around the term ‘sodomy’ itself” (107).³⁹ The implication in this scene is that a white male guard is raping a black male prisoner. Somerville cautions that neither sodomy nor homosexuality is explicitly mentioned by Hopkins and concludes that the “outrage” was not intended to be read as a homosexual act because the context of the act was violence. “Thus the same silence surrounds and can collapse two very different acts: consensual sex between two men and the often homophobic, misogynistic, and brutalizing crime of rape by one man against another” (Somerville 108).

This scene is significant because of Maxwell’s reaction to it, the male/male kiss which follows shortly after it and Hopkins careful distancing of herself from the unnamed violent act. After witnessing the “outrage,” terrified and nauseous, Maxwell faints and remains delirious through the night. Maxwell identified not with the white guard (and penetrating male position) but with the black rape victim (and female position). Maxwell saw himself as black and for a moment, the black male rape victim became Maxwell’s double. He also saw himself in the traditionally female sexual position and for a moment, the outraged female became Maxwell’s double. After describing the incident, Hopkins immediately disowns it; “we tell no tale of fiction” (Hopkins, *Winona* 385). The “disorder and disruption in Hopkins’s text” around this incident marks Hopkins’s refusal of responsibility for its presence (Somerville 108). Because the incidence of sodomy and sexual assault of both male and female blacks are factual, Hopkins reports them as realistic while simultaneously relocating the source of the information outside of her text. This tactic allows Hopkins to refuse responsibility for the presence of the

³⁹ Somerville quotes Jonathan Goldberg, “Sodomy is, as a sexual act, anything that threatens alliance—any sexual act, that is, that does not promote the aim of married procreative sex (anal intercourse, fellatio, masturbation, bestiality—any of these may fall under the label of sodomy in various early legal codifications and learned discourses)” (19).

offensive material in her novel while she simultaneously raises the issue of white on black sexual aggression and rape, even to the point of sodomy. Hopkins's acknowledgement of sexual violence is intended to loop through culture and discredit racial stereotypes about the race of the perpetrators of this violence.

In addition to exploring race/gender sexual interactions, Hopkins questions class/gender sexual relationships. When one of the novel's primary villains, Bill Thomson, explains his motives, the polarized gender advantage of privileged men over working class women in England comes into play.

I was Lord George's valet: my sister, Miss Venton's maid. Lord George could never resist a pretty face, and my sister was more than that. . . so Lord George made love to the maid, deceived her, and when he tired of his toy abandoned her to the usual fate of such women—the street. I found her when it was too late, and I swore revenge so long as one lived with a drop of the blood in his veins.

(Hopkins, *Winona* 428).

Reflecting Victorian gender and class beliefs, Lord George, a wealthy man, can act as a sexual predator debauching a working class woman with impunity. Lord George's actions parallel those of slave masters with female slaves, except rather than deception coercion was the method of choice. Hopkins again inserts her message of resistance. Bill Thompson's story of vengeance upon the Carlingford family serves as a warning of resistance to class privilege. Bill Thompson, a southerner who acts as henchman for Colonel Titus, a Carlingford nephew, is another disguised character, a double of the Carlingford's British valet. Colonel Titus, a southern slaveholder throughout the novel, was formerly a British aristocrat. These nationality shifts from British aristocracy to

southern gentry in America signifies another movement across identity borders.

Reversing this movement at the end of the novel both Winona and Judah move to England, she to take her place as her father's heir to her father's estate and nobility, he to fight for England, gain knighthood and "marry into one of the best families of the realm" (435).

Published in installments as a serialized story in the *Colored American Magazine*, *Winona* was intended to educate, entertain and raise black awareness of political issues. "As part of her project to revise the mulatto figure and to disrupt the conventions of racialized desire, Hopkins uses Winona's blackface and transvestism to figure Winona's mobility across lines of race and gender" (Somerville 110). Her extensive use of doubles, disguises, role reversals, passing scenarios and border crossings of all types destabilizes identity categories. Writing "narratives of the relations between the races that challenged racist ideologies," (Carby, *Magazine Novels* xxxv) Hopkins contributed to the looping effect of anomalies pressuring for change in society.

The House of Mirth – 1905

Duality is internalized in *The House of Mirth*; the doubling is subtle but clearly present. Unlike the mixed race women in *Winona*, *The House Behind the Cedars*, or *Contending Forces*, Lily has no need to pass to be accepted in society; however, she finds the gender constraints repressive. On the surface Miss Lily Bart, “a figure to arrest even the suburban traveler rushing to his last train,” (Wharton 5) appears to be the archetypal socialite. At twenty-nine, she is an “arresting”(5) figure, beautiful, intelligent, possessing all the conversational skills and social talents a marriageable young woman could desire. But in *The House of Mirth*, Lily Bart is a queer character who is not what she appears to be. Although outwardly compliant, Lily evades and defies the conventions of her class. “On the surface she perfectly embodies society’s ideal of the female as decorative, subservient, dependent, and submissive; the upper-class norm of the lady as a nonassertive, docile member of society. But only on the surface. In fact Lily has merely learned to suppress and camouflage her own impulses and ambitions” (Ammons 349). Lily’s “impulses and ambitions” challenge the beliefs of her class. Ammons concludes that Lily rejects those beliefs. “Her behavior is nonconformist, as are her real ambitions” (350). Lily’s “real ambitions” include independence and self-determination; “she wants to escape—she wants to govern her own course in life. Her problem is that she is equipped for no life except the one she leads” (350). Lily hints at her discontent during her visit to Selden’s flat when she complains, “How delicious to have a place like this all to one’s self! What a miserable thing it is to be a woman”⁴⁰ (8). But Lily was bred to wealth; she possessed neither the skills needed to support herself nor the inclination

⁴⁰ “Why it is a miserable thing to be a woman is the subject of *The House of Mirth*, and Lily’s story does not exist in isolation. It has significance in the novel for every woman in the novel: from the richest, Mrs. Charles Augustus Trenor, to the poorest, Mrs. Haffen” (Ammons 354)

toward anything short of luxury. “She was so evidently the victim of the civilization which had produced her, that the links of her bracelet seemed like manacles chaining her to her fate” (8).

The split between Lily and her camouflaged double is alluded to by Elaine Showalter when she describes *The House of Mirth* as “Wharton’s major revision of a male text” — Oscar Wilde’s *Picture of Dorian Gray*. Comparing Lily to Dorian Gray, Showalter notes that like Dorian, Lily is her own double. “Lily’s picture is in one sense her mirror, but it is more fully her realization of the ways in which her society has deformed her. In contrast to Dorian Gray’s portrait, Lily’s monster in the mirror is not one whose perfect complexion has been marred by lines of worry, shame or guilt, but rather a woman with a ‘hard, brilliant’ surface” (Showalter, *Mirth* 365). After Gus Trenor reveals her financial obligations to him, Lily escapes to Gerty Farish’s flat. Contemplating Trenor’s words, Lily is appalled by what she has become. “She seemed a stranger to herself, or rather there were two selves in her, the one she had always known, and a new abhorrent being to which it found itself chained” (Wharton 117). As Gerty attempts to comfort her, Lily acknowledges this doubling. “Can you imagine looking into your glass some morning and seeing a disfigurement—some hideous change that has come to you while you slept? Well, I seem to myself like that—I can’t bear to see myself in my own thoughts—I hate ugliness, you know—I’ve always turned from it—but I can’t explain to you—you wouldn’t understand” (Wharton 131). These “two” Lilys, one visible to all, one only to herself in moments of reflection, represent the division of her psyche resulting from her masquerade as the ideal upper class woman. “Some feminist critics have argued that this ‘stranger’ in Lily, this second and abhorrent self, is the

female personality produced by patriarchal society and a capitalist economy” (Showalter, *Mirth* 365). In the end, Lily is unable to sustain two selves and her death is remarkably similar to that of Dorian Gray’s. Lily’s farewell to Selden suggests her awareness of the impossibility of her double position.

“There is someone I must say goodbye to. Oh, not *you*—we are sure to see each other again—the Lily Bart you knew. I have kept her with me all this time, but now we are going to part, and I have brought her back to you—am going to leave her here. When I go out presently she will not go with me. I shall like to think that she has stayed with you—and she’ll be no trouble, she’ll take up no room.” (Wharton 240)

Certainly, as Showalter asserts, both a patriarchal society and a capitalist economy influenced the standards that measured Lily’s behavior. Independence and self-determination are impossible for Lily defined as she is as a commodity and trapped by her culture in a role she can neither escape nor fulfill. As the novel opens, Wharton positions Lily as the object of Lawrence Selden’s scrutiny and “speculation”⁴¹ eventually leading to his conjecture of her price. “He had a confused sense that she must have cost a great deal to make, that a great many dull and ugly people must, in some mysterious way, have been sacrificed to produce her” (Wharton 7). Amy Kaplan argues that Wharton focuses on Lily’s value and visibility to deconstruct society in both its broadest and narrowest definitions.⁴² “By introducing the main character through Selden’s confusion,

⁴¹ The narrator notes of Lily “She always roused speculation” (Wharton 5).

⁴² Kaplan notes that society has two different meanings both of which are relevant to her discussion. The first is what might be referred to as high society or the upper class “the exclusive realm of the elite.” The second is the broader meaning of society as a whole “the inclusive yet impersonal network of civic, political, and cultural institutions” (Kaplan 89).

the narrative introduced itself as a more accurate ‘speculation’ about Lily’s relation to her setting, a promise to clarify the mystery of Lily’s production by computing her cost, by unfolding the relation between the veiled figure of the lady and the crowd that surrounds her” (Kaplan 88). Wharton dissects the complexities of elite society “through the mediation of spectatorship” (89). Wharton ironically subverts the convention that identity is visible. In Lily’s world morality is equated with the appearance of propriety while value is measured in economic terms; Wharton challenges both of these measures of worth.⁴³

Establishing the relevance of the “charmed circle” of the elite in relation to the crowds that “lurk around its edges to peer inside,”(89) Kaplan observes the interrelationship between these two unstable social groups; the insiders rely upon the gaze of the outsiders to establish their own identities. Describing the hostess Judy Trenor,⁴⁴ Kaplan notes, “Her own identity, like that of the other characters in the novel, depends on the very crowd she dominates” (Kaplan 90). Crowds form a backdrop for events in the novel to establish the boundaries of class privilege.⁴⁵ The dilemma of the elite is that to confirm their superior social position they require the recognition of those they choose to exclude. The “gaping mob”(90) is more than a voyeuristic crowd feeding off of glimpses of the upper class; the mob represents pressure from the lower classes upon the positions of the elite. Challenges to the hierarchy of class structure by the influx of people with new money into society highlight the fragility of class identity.

⁴³ Lily whose sexual behavior is unimpeachable becomes the focus of the Dorset scandal through Bertha’s manipulation of appearances.

⁴⁴ Wharton characterizes Judy Trenor as defined by her role: “she seemed to exist only as a hostess, not so much from any exaggerated instinct of hospitality as because she could not sustain life except in a crowd” (Wharton 34).

⁴⁵ Such as at Jack Stepney’s wedding to Miss Van Osburgh

“*The House of Mirth*, however, shows that the dazzling ascendancy of new money did more than alter the demographic composition of New York’s elite. The representation of this class and of its relation to other classes underwent fundamental transformations as . . . [the old money] formulated rituals and rules of polite behavior designed to consolidate their class interests and regulate the admission of newcomers” (Kaplan 92).

The House of Mirth reveals the mechanism behind the curtain of high society’s drama. When she moves “completely out of her own circle,” (Wharton 214) Lily discovers the permeable boundaries of class. “But strangest of all to Lily was the encounter, in this later group, of several of her acquaintances” (214). To Lily’s surprise, young men from the elite set circulated comfortably among this lower class. This activity was a revelation to Lily about the workings of class and gender. “Lily had an odd sense of being behind the social tapestry, on the side where the threads were knotted and the loose ends hung” (215). Illustrating the overlap of class and gender and the polarities of gender identity, the young men of Lily’s circle have different rules regulating their behavior than the women do. The sexual affairs of the various men in the novel never compromise their reputations or cause their social ruin as just the hint of impropriety does to Lily. Of course, enough money can provide cover for actual indiscretions as Bertha Dorsett illustrates. “Throughout the novel, wealth means having the power to hide these loose ends, to render invisible the work on which one’s existence depends” (Kaplan 100).

Wharton’s disclosure and critique of the politics of class, gender and economics challenges the cultural beliefs of her time.

[M]ost of her fiction is focused with cold fury on the limits and liabilities of “the feminine” in a culture that fashions women to be ornamental, exploitative and inarticulate . . . [This is] the subject of Edith Wharton’s unflinching and unremitting exploration: the precise details as well as the cruder contours of the process by which women are socialized as prisoners of sex, and more specifically the horror (to the ‘lady’ herself and others) of the cultural techniques of feminization that created the female ‘sex parasite.’ (Gilbert, *No Man’s Land* V2 129)

Lily Bart’s socialization as a lady is the root cause of her downward spiral from the privileged world of New York society into poverty and death. In describing Lily as “fatally overspecialized,” Jennie Kassanoff identifies Lily’s fatal flaw (62). The identity Lily has been trained to assume severely restricts her options. She must negotiate her best price and marry a wealthy, eligible man while the men in the novel, living at the other end of this polarized gender identity construct, are free to acquire women as their wives to enhance their social status and pursue other women for sexual gratification.

Following the practice of separate spheres, Lily’s socialization mandated that she marry and provided no business training as she was expected only to need the skills of a hostess. Lily’s business naïveté coupled with Gus Trenor’s economic power and sexual desire proves the catalyst for Lily’s tragic fall.

The encounter between Gus and Lily stands at the center of *The House of Mirth* structurally and thematically. It is a violent, ugly scene and probably the most important episode in the book. In its perfect coalescence of predatory economics and sexual politics, the scene explains why Lily, who works very hard to line up

prospective husbands, finally lets them all get away from her: she does not want to be owned by any man. (Ammons 351)

Lily realizes too late that this is not a choice she is free to make in her world. Without the protection of a man, Lily is fair game for other women to exploit for their own ends.⁴⁶ “Without the rich man’s money and favor no woman in *The House of Mirth* could function, and the system is designed to keep women in divisive and relentless competition for that money and favor” (Ammons 354). As Carry Fisher points out to Lily, “the only thing to save you from Bertha is to marry someone else” (Wharton 197). Lily belatedly accepts Rosedale’s offer of marriage only to discover that her value to him as a wife had diminished. “She therefore determines to marry Rosedale and with that decision, even though the marriage never comes to pass, we see that Lily has been forced, finally, to give up all ambition for independence: the social system has triumphed. Her spirit has been crushed” (Ammons 353). Rosedale’s rejection “made her feel herself no more than some superfine human merchandise” (Wharton 200). Continuing the metaphor of commodity trading, Rosedale suggests to Lily that she has a chance to redeem her reputation by using Bertha’s letters to Selden to blackmail her. The letters have become emotional currency that could buy back Lily’s reputation. Lily’s rejection of the plot seals her doom. “Wharton saves Lily from Rosedale’s plot by extracting her from the circuit of exchange; yet outside that circuit she can have no self and is left ‘unsphered in a void of social nonexistence’” (Kaplan 103). Unwilling to compromise herself to the standards her culture has dictated, Lily has no place in society. “On a

⁴⁶ Bertha Dorset is quick to seize on Lily’s vulnerability to cover up her own improprieties with Ned Silverton.

symbolic level, she is murdered by her culture: and its ghastly triumph is to make her its agent, its last enforcer of a literal and permanent passivity on Lily Bart” (Ammons 356).

As an outsider seeking entry into the realm of the upper class, Rosedale is a queer character. He is one of the newly rich from other classes “lurking at their [the upper class] boundaries” (Kaplan 11) that is causing such a disruption in the scheme of things. Because the social rules are not innately Rosedale’s, he represents both a threat to the old guard and the potential for change in the system; as such he is an anomaly. “Real change, Wharton shows us in the novel, must come from outside the dominant class structures. Thus the figure of Simon Rosedale, the Jewish financier making it big on Wall Street, takes on increasing importance as the novel develops” (Showalter, *Mirth* 367). Rosedale, who continues sincerely to offer to help Lily after she has fallen out of social favor is the person to whom she chooses to confide the secret of the money she owes Gus Trenor. “Rosedale plays the curious role of demonic realist in opposition to Selden’s romantic . . . he is the only one in the novel who knows as much about Lily as do the narrator and reader” (Kaplan 103). Rosedale, the outsider, ironically has the greatest insight into the workings of the upper class.

Wharton’s examination of the borders of class and gender in *The House of Mirth* question contemporary identity concepts and link them to capitalism. Kaplan concludes that Wharton’s “writing undermines those boundaries between feminine and masculine, private and public, home and business, boundaries which both arise from and collapse into the medium of the market” (67). Furthermore, she implicates patriarchal economic power as the agent of women’s continued subordination. “[W]omen prey on each other—stealing reputations, opportunities, male admirers—all to parlay or retain status

and financial security in a world arranged by men to keep women supplicant and therefore subordinate” (Ammons 354). Disturbed that publicity and visibility have become measures of prestige; Wharton is clearly critical of “the ideals of a world where conspicuousness passed for distinction” (Wharton 168).

This novel serves as a transitional text moving women’s writing into a new era. “*The House of Mirth* is a pivotal text in the historical transition from one house of American women’s fiction to another, from the homosocial women’s culture of the nineteenth century to the heterosexual fiction of modernism” (Showalter, *Mirth* 358). Because Wharton reveals and challenges class values, she contributes to the crisis that causes the shift. “Thus Wharton does not simply chart the breakdown of the traditions of the old guard and the rootlessness of the new; rather she participates in changing forms of representing class power” (Kaplan 93). Wharton’s deconstruction of class and gender in *The House of Mirth* acted as an anomaly by challenging current beliefs. As “a national bestseller” which “launched her career as America’s foremost novelist in the two decades that opened the twentieth century,” Wharton’s novel continued to loop through culture destabilizing the norms (Ammons, *Mirth* vii).

Chapter 4 —Introduction

In olden days a glimpse of stocking
 Was looked on as something shocking,
 Now heaven knows, ———
 Anything goes. ———
 Good authors too who once knew better words
 Now only use four letter words, writing prose, ———
 Anything goes.
 The world has gone mad today—
 And good's bad today, —
 And black's white today, —
 And day's night today, —
 When most guys today, —
 That women prize today, —
 Are just silly gigolos;———— (Porter).

In the title song of Cole Porter's 1934 Broadway musical, *Anything Goes*, Porter parodies the shifts in cultural and literary trends he has observed in twentieth-century America. For Porter, the changes could be summed up in the words "the world has gone mad today." The evidence that Porter offers of this madness is that writers "who once knew better words" are now using "four letter words"— using obscene language, and writing about things never before tolerated or perhaps even imagined; they are writing about sex in indiscrete ways. His proof includes changes in the concept morality itself,

which regulates sexual behavior —“good’s bad today;” changes in gender standards — “the guys women prize are silly gigolos;” slippage in racial borders — “black’s white today;” all of Porter’s parodic lyrics involve reversals of polar binaries which he claims have occurred in this new, mad world. And, as we shall see in the literature of the twenties, Porter can support his claims. Major authors who “once knew better words” may have been censored in the past, but now they “only use four letter words.” Authors not only used profanity and sexually explicit words but choose subjects that were restricted or completely avoided when writing prose in the past.⁴⁷ Sexuality recognized only as heterosexual had become binary, even to the point of suggesting homosexual desire between women and has become more fluid in heterosexual contexts. And, black was white today, sometimes. That is, people who were both black and white for whom the binary was never accurate are recognized in literature. In the twenties, race was a more fluid category. Perhaps the world really had gone mad today, as Porter claims. Certainly, the polar binaries that could be depended upon just a few short decades earlier— male/female, black/white, heterosexual/nonsexual —had changed dramatically.

By the nineteen twenties, the identity shifts proposed in this dissertation were occurring; change was evident, though at a different pace in each category. Modernist literature reflects a shift in the concept of racial, sexual and gendered identities from binary, polar, discrete, and fixed to multiple, relative, fluid, indeterminate, mutable and unstable. In *The American Century*, Norman Cantor cites “antipathy for or rejection of absolute polarities” as a characteristic of modernism (47). He contends that modernism

⁴⁷ Modernist authors were not free of censorship, of course, and books were still banned. Scribners insisted that Hemingway edit Mike Campbell’s line in *The Sun Also Rises*: “The bulls have no balls.” because they were sure that word alone would “doom the book” (Reynolds 55). With coercion, Hemingway agreed to change it to “The bulls have no horns.”

questioned “absolute, separable polarities,” seeing them rather as “integrated,” “interactive,” and “not absolute,” and as “phenomena, which, when observed closely revealed themselves to be related to one another”(47). I will call characters that exhibit these identity shifts fluid characters rather than queer characters as the transformative characters in the earlier chapters were called. These fluid characters reflect an identity structure that has changed rather than a structure being challenged as was the case for the queer characters of late nineteenth-century fiction. Race, gender and sexuality remain the central focus of this study; class as it relates to and becomes subsumed by the other categories will be discussed in that connection only.

Two of the texts chosen for this chapter, *The Great Gatsby* and *The Sun Also Rises* are canonical works by major American authors chosen expressly for that reason. The pulse of the new American consumer culture reverberates through *The Great Gatsby*. Berman emphasizes the influence of mass culture throughout the novel; “There is hardly a mass cult theme untouched.” (*Modern Times* 114). *The Sun Also Rises* has also been described as a “work of art anchored in time” (Reynolds 44) because of the exigency of historical context in its production and interpretation. Both novels represent different aspects of American culture’s changing identity structures during this era. These changes loop through both of these novels and pass back again through the culture as they are read⁴⁸ and absorbed. In this historical moment following World War I, the identity paradigm shift is clearly evident.

In the third novel, *Passing*, by Nella Larsen, an African-American writer representative of the Harlem Renaissance, speaks to the gender/race/sexuality identity

⁴⁸ In her Introduction to critical essays on *The Sun Also Rises*, Linda Wagner-Martin notes that in 1925 “a good bit of the international literary world was reading F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*” (Casebook 4). The novel was looping through a larger circle than just the American reading public.

dynamic. Although social and historical limitations complicate the consideration of these identity categories, Larson tackles the challenges of depicting black female sexuality avoided by black writers before her.

Larsen recognized that the repression of the sensual in Afro-American fiction in response to the long history of the exploitation of black sexuality led to the repression of passion and the repression or denial of female sexuality and desire. But, of course, the representation of black female sexuality meant risking its definition as primitive and exotic within a racist society. . . . Racist sexual ideologies proclaimed the black woman to be a rampant sexual being, and in response black women writers either focused on defending their morality or displaced their sexuality onto another terrain. Larsen confronted this denial directly in her fiction. (Carby 174)

Woven into Larsen's narrative is the surreptitious activity of passing. Passing in defiance of cultural racial assignments is a performance of identity that denies the essentialism of racialized boundaries. "Passing' represents race to be a fiction of identity" (Wald 8). Passing narratives existed in late nineteenth-century fiction as subversive, transformative stories. *Passing* remains a part of that legacy; however, Clare Kendry's sexual and racial fluidity mark her identity performance as significantly different from earlier passing disguises.

All three texts in this chapter share performance as a vehicle of identity fluidity. In earlier novels, characters used disguises to change identity. Sometimes they passed as a different race by face blackening as in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* or as a different gender by changing clothing as in *The Hidden Hand* or "A Scandal in Bohemia." Others like

Sherlock Holmes simply disguised themselves as another person for a brief period of time. Disguise changes outward appearance; performance adds another entire dimension. There is still a visual component to performance so the concept of disguise has not disappeared but rather evolved. Myrtle Wilson changes her outfit when she arrives at the apartment in New York. She has not disguised herself; everyone knows who she is, but she has become almost a different woman, a woman from a higher class. This performative piece is operative in most of the characters who demonstrate the ability to create or change their own personal identity in these novels, characters as different as Jay Gatsby and Clare Kendry. The use of the double was another evasive strategy authors employed in the late nineteenth century to create identities that were not fixed. After the shift, the extraordinary number of doubles evident earlier disappears because identity can be displayed fluidly in social context without the need for ingenious strategies.

Gender identity has shifted markedly in social context. Women claim a broader range of accepted behavior than in the past. The nineteenth-century binary of good/wicked women becomes less obvious and operative. "Modernism was not committed to the separation of the male and the female on moral, biological, or psychological grounds, as the Victorians had been" (Cantor 47). Women claimed the freedom to make their own choices about their own lives rather than follow society's scripts as their mothers had. "The American woman had been the special stabilizer of nineteenth-century society, and it was the change in female behavior which underlined the overall changes that had taken place . . . [modern young women] defined equality not as political or economic opportunities but as something more subtle and more

threatening: freedom —the right to self expression, self-determination, and personal satisfaction” (Fass 23).

While claiming their rights, some of these modern women usurp what had once been reserved as male privilege. Some signify these claims to male territory with an androgynous appearance such as the short “bobbed” hair of the flapper. Others defy gender dress codes in sexual areas, by wearing short skirts or make up. “Bobbed hair (the badge of flapperhood), short skirts, silk stockings for everyday wear, cosmetics . . . were all outward signs of the escape from convention” (Fass 22). Brett Ashley chose androgynous style in *The Sun Also Rises*; she wore “her hair brushed back like a boy’s. She started all that” (Hemingway 22) and a man’s felt hat. In *The Great Gatsby*, Jordan Baker also has an androgynous appearance and bearing, “like a young cadet” (Fitzgerald 15). Both characters have masculine names that indicate their trespasses into formerly male-only territory. Of course, as in the past, there is more freedom for upper-class women to explore these expanded gender possibilities. Brett’s title, Lady Brett Ashley, and Jordan’s upper-class social position and career as a professional golfer give them more freedom to make their own choices. Both of these characters suggest the image of the flapper, perhaps more of an icon than a reality for most American women, but an image that caught the imagination and circulated a new gender stereotype throughout society, a liberating image. “Although the highly glamorized flapper seen dancing, smoking, and drinking in public and consorting with men of her own choice in cafés and dancehalls was largely a media phenomenon, the image of the short-skirted, shimmying, seductive, sleek new woman promised unprecedented freedom for twentieth-century women in general” (Martin 49).

As women were gaining freedom, power and privilege, men's roles were changing too. Many men returned from the war broken physically or emotionally. In literature, this power shift is reflected by male characters who are less dominant, more emotional and sensitive. Some men are portrayed as broken, as failures or as emasculated. Jake's war wound has left him physically damaged and emasculated. George Wilson is a broken man, an unsuccessful man who can't satisfy his ambitious and lusty wife. Even Tom Buchanan loses his mistress and fears social changes that could challenge his privileged position.

A major change in gender identity is the dissolution of polarized male/female spheres, each with their own specialized set of gendered attributes. The romantic pairings of Jordan Baker with Nick Carraway and Brett Ashley with Jake Barnes effectively demonstrate this change. Both Nick and Jake are veterans of the war yet they are both surprisingly silent about it. Neither lays claim to a hero's status perhaps understandable in Jake's case because his wound is more of an embarrassment than a badge of honor, but Nick also claims no glory. Neither man is particularly dominant or aggressive. For instance, Nick's impression of Tom on seeing him again after many years reveals as much about Nick's attitude about himself as about Tom's arrogance. "Now, don't think my opinion on these matters is final," he seemed to say, "just because I'm stronger and more of a man than you are" (Fitzgerald 11). Both Jake and Nick assume the role of observers in life, narrators of the novels rather than the center of the action. Nick shows his sensitivity in his willingness to help Gatsby arrange a meeting with Daisy and in his disgust at how people who attended his parties desert him after his death. Jake is also sensitive. He cries when he returns to his apartment after his evening

out with Brett but agrees to bail her out of trouble when she leaves Pedro Romero. Even though Robert Cohn has punched him and knocked him out, Jake agrees to shake hands. It's not that either of these men is effeminate or weak; both are reasonable, decent men in their respective novels, which is the point. Cultural norms have shifted allowing more fluid gender characteristics for both male and female characters. Both Nick and Jake are men who have gender characteristics that are not purely masculine and both are paired with androgynous women. Neither of them gets the girl in the end. The marriage plot is foiled and the endings remain open in both novels with both women still free to make their own choices.

Some of the choices these women make are sexual choices. Women had more freedom to pursue sexual fulfillment than ever before. "Students of modern sexual behavior have quite correctly described the twenties as a turning point, a critical juncture between the strict double standard of the age of Victoria and the permissive sexuality of the age of Freud" (Fass 260). Brett Ashley and Myrtle Wilson are two of the female characters who pursue their own sexual fulfillment. A wider range of behavior was acceptable.

Heterosexuality and homosexuality are now recognized categories; homosexual characters begin to appear in literature. "Homosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it was transformed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphroditism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species" (Foucault 43). From the homosexual men seen briefly at the bal musette in *The Sun Also Rises* to Clare Kendry's homoerotic appeal to

Irene Redfield in *Passing*, homosexuality is present in the literature of the twenties.

Desire was recognized as multiple and fluid.

In *Passing*, Larsen “satirizes and parodies the manners and morals of the black middle class” (McDowell 89-90) but in doing so she demonstrates blacks gaining more power, and more access to money. Tom Buchanan voices white patriarchal fears of racial overthrow. Both books suggest some change in the black/white power dynamic.

Continued segregation meant continued use of the subversive tactic of racial passing. In Clare Kendry’s case, it was the performance of a lifetime rather than just an afternoon’s amusement.

These identity shifts were initiated by the repeated failure of the nineteenth-century identity anomalies to conform to the current identity paradigm, by pressure from the external conditions discussed earlier and by the acute crisis these pressures precipitated. That crisis point was reached during the decades prior to World War I, causing the final break with the old beliefs. The war added the last external push. “There are times when man’s entire way of apprehending and structuring the universe is transformed in a fairly brief time, and the decades which preceded the First World War were one of these” (Hobsbawm 243). What had not been transformed before the war, fell to the new order after it. “More than a shell-shocked and war-weary hedonism worried those in the older generation who saw the world they knew falling around them. In the process of discovering life for themselves, the young were consciously and knowingly rejecting the conventions in manners and morals, according to traditionalists” (Fass 19). With modernism came the deconstruction of the old identity constructs, dismantled along with other beliefs from the past that had sent so many to their deaths in the trenches.

“The literature of the postwar period stands as proof of this profound disillusion with the old order” (Cantor 164).

While literature was reacting to changes in the cultural construction of identity categories, science was having a revolution in the field of physics. The structure which Thomas Kuhn proposes for that revolution is the same structure that I propose can also be applied to the changes we see in identity categories. These paradigm shifts share more than a basic structure of change and synchronicity; however, they share an epistemological similarity. Newton argued that mass and energy were polar, and discrete, separate entities. “The two important assumptions of Newtonian physics had been that mass and energy were distinct—in fact, that they constituted polarities—and, in addition, that the dimensions of time and space were absolutely distinct and separable” (Cantor 118). Einstein proposed that mass and energy were relative, changeable and unstable. Einstein’s theory of relativity proposed “the interaction of mass and energy, and showed that they were ultimately interrelated and that each could transform into the other at a certain point in the interactive process. He also argued that space and time were ultimately not separable, that they too were interactive” (Cantor 119). Both our understanding of physics and our understanding of human identity shifted in the same way at the same time because the paradigm shift was larger than either. “Successive paradigms tell us different things about the population of the universe and about that population’s behavior” (Kuhn 103).

As knowledge in one field increases, that knowledge circulates causing adjustments and changes in other fields that may on the surface seem entirely unrelated. “[T]he historian of science may be tempted to exclaim that when paradigms change, the

world itself changes with them” (Kuhn 111) In 1905, Einstein’s theory “shattered the prevailing thought-world of physics” (Cantor 118) the reverberations were felt long afterwards.

The Great Gatsby — 1925

The Great Gatsby and its author, F. Scott Fitzgerald, have come to represent an era. “[T]here is probably no writer who is more identified with a decade than Fitzgerald is identified with the 1920s. His short stories defined the flapper and the new morality, and his novels caught the essence of the historical moment” (Lehan 2). In novels like *The Great Gatsby*, the literature that represented this “historical moment” became known as modernism. Fitzgerald’s depiction of “the flapper and the new morality” as icons of the age marks a cultural shift in the understanding of identity in modernist literature away from nineteenth-century norms. This shift is visible in the fluidity of the characters in *The Great Gatsby*. All of the significant characters in *the Great Gatsby* are fluid characters: Jay Gatsby, Daisy Buchanan, Tom Buchanan, Jordan Baker, Myrtle Wilson, George Wilson and Nick Carraway. The fluidity of these characters is marked in different ways, but each represents a significant shift from the perception of identity during the late nineteenth century. “There are, I think, not one but two great models of conceiving the self in this novel. The first is familiar, a theme of the life of the decade and also of the author: actually to *become* other than you are. The second is of equal interest and importance, to *be* what you are in disguise” (Berman, *Modern Times* 125). Berman marks this identity construction shift as “a theme of the life of the decade” both recognizing the cultural shift in identity and indicating the looping effect of this shift through culture and literature.

In *The Great Gatsby*, markers of this fluidity include a demonstrated ability to create or change one’s personal identity, a characteristic shared by Gatsby, Myrtle, and Daisy. Another marker of fluidity is an identity that is perceptibly unstable and relative.

The rumors about Gatsby and his own inconsistent narratives of his past life evidence this kind of instability and relativity. For female characters, the refusal of nineteenth-century gender definitions is a marker of fluidity; this includes women who claim a broader range of accepted behavior, and may usurp male privilege. The flapper is synonymous with this refusal. Jordan Baker as an independent, almost androgynous figure possesses this kind of fluidity. These newly claimed privileges include female freedom to acknowledge female desire and pursue sexual fulfillment, to work outside the home, and to live independent of male control. In claiming sexual prerogatives, the behavior of these women demonstrates overlapping sexual and gender identities. While for male characters, the gender shift often results in a loss of power. Male characters are depicted as less dominant, struggling to maintain dominance or no longer fully in control; some are broken men. George Wilson exemplifies the broken man, a man whose wife is clearly not under his control but to whom he clings nonetheless. Racial identity fluidity is inferred by the instability of racial hierarchies expressed by Tom's fear of racial overthrow and the power reversal symbolized by the black passengers in the limousine. "As we crossed Blackwells Island a limousine passed us, driven by a white chauffeur, in which sat three modish Negroes, two bucks and a girl. I laughed aloud as the yolks of their eyeballs rolled toward us in haughty rivalry" (Fitzgerald 73). Black characters claim space and visibility on the fringes of this novel in positions that suggest upward mobility. The man who identified the "death car," Gatsby's yellow car, was "a pale, well dressed negro" (147). As demonstrated in these examples of economic status challenging racial position, identity categories continue to be interactive and to be subsumed by one another.

Gatsby's fluid identity is central to the plot and structure of *The Great Gatsby*; his identity is revealed to be multiple, relative, mutable, indeterminate and unstable.

"Fitzgerald seems at every point to emphasize the unconnected-ness of Gatsby. Gatsby has shifting identities according to which party guest one listens to, but most of the identities, even the one that turns out to be 'true,' have something of the unreal or fantastic about them" (Lewis 46). Myrtle's sister, Catherine, who attended one of Gatsby's parties, tells Nick, "Well, they say he's a nephew or a cousin of Kaiser Wilhelm's. That's where all his money comes from" (Fitzgerald 37). She adds a sinister quality to this identity, "I'm scared of him. I'd hate to have him get anything on me"(37). A girl at Gatsby's party confides to Jordan, Lucille and Nick, "Somebody told me they thought he killed a man once" (48). Lucille adds, "It's more that he was a German spy during the war" (48). One of the men agrees, "I heard from a man who knew all about him, grew up with him in Germany" (48). The first girl disagrees, "Oh no . . . it couldn't be that, because he was in the American army during the war" (48). The novel is structured around the mutability and relativity of Gatsby's identity. "Each character sees Gatsby differently, or sees something different about Gatsby" (Berman, *Modern Times* 167).

Nick Carraway reports on Gatsby's identities throughout the novel sometimes from the perspective of a confused or disbelieving onlooker. Initially surprised by Gatsby's youth and vigor, Nick describes his own vision of his wealthy neighbor. "I had expected that Mr. Gatsby would be a florid and corpulent person in his middle years"(Fitzgerald 53). Nick expresses skepticism about Gatsby's origins. "I would have accepted without question that Gatsby sprang from the swamps of Louisiana or from the

lower East Side of New York. That was comprehensible. But young men didn't—at least in my provincial experience they didn't—drift coolly out of nowhere and buy a palace on Long Island Sound" (54). After Nick first meets Gatsby, he asks Jordan, "Who is he?" She replies, "He's just a man named Gatsby" (53). When Nick presses her for more information, Jordan offers, "Well, —he told me once he was an Oxford man" (53). For an instant, Nick feels he knows something concrete about Gatsby, but Jordan quickly discounts this information. "A dim background started to take shape behind him but at her next remark it faded away. 'However, I don't believe it'"(53). Jay Gatsby is first presented as the Gatsby of rumor, innuendo and fabrication before he is linked to a past or a more tangible identity.

After hearing the incredible and conflicting rumors that he describes as "bizarre accusations," (69) Nick hears Gatsby's version of his life, which seems no more credible than the rumors. "'Well, I'm going to tell you something about my life,' he interrupted. 'I don't want you to get the wrong idea from some of these stories you hear'"(69). Initially, Nick judges Gatsby's story to be improbable to the point of absurdity. Nick's reactions to Gatsby's narrative mirror those of the reader leading us from disbelief to acceptance.

"I'll tell you God's truth." His hand suddenly ordered divine retribution to stand by. "I am the son of some wealthy people in the middle-west—all dead now. I was brought up in America but educated at Oxford because all my ancestors have been educated there for many years. It is a family tradition."

He looked at me sideways—and I knew why Jordan Baker had believed he was lying. He hurried the phrase "educated at Oxford," or swallowed it or choked on it as though it had bothered him before. And with this doubt his whole statement

fell to pieces and I wondered if there wasn't something a little sinister about him after all.

"What part of the middle-west?" I inquired casually.

"San Francisco."

"I see."

"My family all died and I came into a good deal of money."

His voice was solemn as if the memory of that sudden extinction of a clan still haunted him. For a moment I suspected that he was pulling my leg but a glance at him convinced me otherwise.

"After that I lived like a young rajah in all the capitals of Europe—Paris, Venice, Rome—collecting jewels, chiefly rubies, hunting big game, painting a little, things for myself only, and trying to forget something very sad that had happened to me long ago."

"With an effort I managed to restrain my incredulous laughter. The very phrases were so threadbare that they evoked no image except that of a turbaned 'character' leaking sawdust at every pore as he pursued a tiger through the Bois de Boulogne." (69-70)

As Gatsby continues his story, claiming to have been a war hero, Nick listens skeptically. "My incredulity was submerged in fascination now; it was like skimming hastily through a dozen magazines" (71). Finally, Gatsby produces proof in the form of a medal for valor from Montenegro and a photograph of himself with a group of other men at Oxford. Nick quickly moves from cynical disbelief to acceptance. "Then it was all true" (71). In this one brief sentence, Nick banishes his skepticism based upon these

tokens of Gatsby's claimed identity. Gatsby's version of his past is intended to distinguish him from ordinary men. "I didn't want you to think I was just some nobody"(71). The fluidity of Gatsby's identity is revealed through his fictionalized biography, a story that is substantiated by a few actual facts and embellished with wild fantasies. This Gatsby is one of multiple identities claimed, performed or credited to him. Nick's total acceptance after his initial disbelief signals the success of Gatsby's invented identity. Gatsby's concern about being perceived as "some nobody" reveals his own insecurity about his identity.

The early Gatsby was actually Jimmy Gatz, the son of "shiftless and unsuccessful farm people," (104) a young man with limited possibilities. Gatsby "created a new self when he seized the 'destiny' offered by Dan Cody and his yacht, so that Jimmy Gatz, whose name perhaps signified a poor immigrant of Central European stock at the beginning of the century, became romantically named Jay Gatsby" (Parkinson 103). Remnants of this version of Gatsby reside in photographs hung over Gatsby's desk: one of Dan Cody "my best friend years ago" and one of Gatsby "in yachting costume" with a "pompadour" (99). Shifts in Gatsby's identity are signaled by changes in clothing styles. Gatsby, wearing "a torn green jersey and a pair of canvas pants," (104) rowed out to Cody's yacht and in so doing initiated his first transformation into Jay Gatsby. Aboard Dan Cody's yacht, *Tuolomee*, Gatsby was equipped with "a blue coat, six pair of white duck trousers and a yachting cap"(106). This simple change of clothes moves Gatsby economically and socially into another realm of existence and a corresponding new identity. It also provides the exposure and training Gatsby will need to move into a different class identity. "Gatsby's turning to illusion is the most total of any character in

the novel. He . . . seems to believe that he can create a personality based on the values of American popular culture. Thus, at the age of seventeen, he defines for himself a completely new identity” (Parr 63).

Throughout *The Great Gatsby*, clothing continues to signify identity. When he first met Daisy Fay, Gatsby was wearing an army officer’s uniform. Dressed like all the other men who fought for her attention, Gatsby’s uniform obscured his class position and gave him his initial access to this otherwise unattainable dream girl. “[H]e was at present a penniless young man without a past, and at any moment the invisible cloak of his uniform might slip from his shoulders”(156). Gatsby created another identity to win Daisy for the moment. “[H]e let her believe that he was a person from much the same strata as herself”(156). But then, unintentionally, he fell for her. Jordan Baker remembers Gatsby as a young lieutenant from Camp Taylor who “looked at Daisy . . . in a way that every young girl wants to be looked at sometime”(80). Although she had met Gatsby before, his identity transformation during the four-year interval after that meeting was so complete that Jordan perceives him as another man. “His name was Jay Gatsby and I didn’t lay eyes on him again for over four years—even after I’d met him on Long Island I didn’t realize it was the same man” (80). After the war, Gatsby’s new wealthy identity is apparent in his choice of clothing. Nick catalogs the shirts Gatsby displays for Daisy’s approval. “He took out a pile of shirts . . . shirts of sheer linen and thick silk and fine flannel . . . shirts with stripes and scrolls and plaids in coral and apple and green and lavender and faint orange with monograms of Indian blue” (97- 98). The Gatsby that Jordan Baker failed to recognize on Long Island was created in response to the opulence of Daisy’s home in Louisville. To navigate class barriers and create his new persona,

Gatsby acquires a consultant with expertise. “I’ve got a man in England who buys me clothes” (97). As before, the change in clothing signals a change in identity. “Gatsby affects a certain style of dress which ostentatiously proclaims his wealth” (Parkinson 102).

Gatsby’s identity is linked to money, to his ability to buy elegant clothes, expensive cars and mansions on Long Island⁴⁹ that imitate “some Hôtel de Ville in Normandy”(Fitzgerald 9) and to throw lavish parties. By spending money extravagantly, Gatsby erases his class background to become the man he chooses. Identity was first mass marketed as merchandise in the twenties according to Ronald Berman. “In the marketplace of ideas personal identity was itself to become a commodity” (Berman, *Modern Times* 33).⁵⁰ Gatsby’s primary motivation, his obsession with Daisy, propelled his recreation of himself into a man who could win her and keep her, a gentleman.⁵¹

An icon of Gatsby’s wealthy persona was his gaudy, fantastic automobile which serves as both symbol and plot device in the novel.⁵² The correlation between Gatsby’s identity and his car suggests a larger, looping cultural connection between cars and identity in twentieth-century America. Like descriptions of Gatsby himself, descriptions of his car are multiple in the novel.

I’d seen it. Everybody had seen it. It was a rich cream color, bright with nickel, swollen here and there in its monstrous length with triumphant

⁴⁹ “Gatsby’s house (like Myrtle’s apartment) is a showcase of consumption” (Berman, *Cambridge* 86).

⁵⁰ “The *American Mercury* (April 1924) published a sardonic study of character acquired through consumption . . . [including] ads that showed consumers ‘how to rise quickly’ and ‘how to become’ something other than what they were” (Berman, *Cambridge* 33).

⁵¹ “Gatsby does not want only to be a success, he wants to be a gentlemen” (Berman, *Cambridge* 87).

⁵² “Possibly the most famous literary possession of the twentieth century is his car” (Berman, *Cambridge* 86).

hatboxes and supper boxes and tool boxes, and terraced with a labyrinth of windshields that mirrored a dozen suns. Sitting down behind many layers of glass in a sort of green leather conservatory we started to town. (Fitzgerald 68)

Gatsby's automobile glitters with wealthy imagery; its excesses from the "labyrinth of windshields that mirrored a dozen suns" to the "green leather conservatory" interior suggest the conspicuous consumption of the newly rich. During the course of the narrative, Gatsby's car like Gatsby's identity has a relative rather than a static position. It shifts from the "circus wagon" (128) that Tom disdains as ostentatious to the "death car,"⁵³ the vehicle that ran down Myrtle, to the "Big yellow car. New." (147) observed by a witness, to "the yellow car"(164) that led George Wilson to Gatsby. In this final connection, the "yellow car" that killed Myrtle translates into the belief that Jay Gatsby killed Myrtle; for George Wilson, the car is Gatsby. The car itself seems to emerge as a fluid character.

Jay Gatsby's identity remains relative and contested throughout the novel. When Tom and Daisy go to a party at his house, Tom focuses on the question of Gatsby's identity. "'Who is this Gatsby anyhow?' demanded Tom suddenly. 'Some big bootlegger?' . . . 'A lot of these newly rich people are just big bootleggers, you know'"(114). The question lingers and Tom promises to pursue an answer. "I'd like to know who he is and what he does," insisted Tom. 'And I'll make a point of finding out'" (115). Later, Tom disputes Gatsby's connection to Oxford based upon his taste in clothes. "'An Oxford man!' He was incredulous. 'Like hell he is! He wears a pink suit.'"(129). At the Plaza Hotel when Tom finally confronts Gatsby about Daisy, he

⁵³ Using free and indirect discourse, Nick narrates Michaelis' description of the accident. "The 'death car,' as the newspapers called it, didn't stop; it came out of the gathering darkness, wavered tragically for a moment and then disappeared around the next bend" (144).

again assaults his identity. “I suppose the latest thing is to sit back and let Mr. Nobody from Nowhere make love to your wife” (137). Pursuing the issue of class identity, Tom challenges Gatsby, “I’ll be damned if I see how you got within a mile of her unless you brought the groceries to the back door” (138). Tom’s claim to Daisy rests on his assurance of his class superiority; he attacks Gatsby as “a common swindler” (140). Tom answers his own question, “Who are you anyhow?”(141), by connecting Gatsby to the illegal sources of his wealth, a connection which unnerves Daisy and secures Tom’s success. Even in death, Gatsby’s identity remains fluid as Henry C. Gatz arrives for the funeral of his son, Jimmy.

Like Gatsby, Myrtle Wilson is a fluid character who demonstrates the ability to change her identity. In Tom’s New York apartment, Myrtle changes into “an elaborate afternoon dress” and becomes someone else.

Myrtle Wilson chooses to imitate old money rather than new style. Her dress is, to use Nick’s word for it, “elaborate.” It follows a style that uses many yards of material for each piece. The style calls for heavy use of ornament and complication. It calls for changing dresses at appropriate hours of the day.

When Myrtle models that style in her apartment—and she is supremely aware of the relationship of that style to her new self—she displays more than clothes.

(Berman 61).

Myrtle assumes an identity that she has chosen, purchased, and performs. “With the influence of the dress her personality had also undergone a change. The intense vitality that had been so remarkable in the garage was converted into impressive hauteur”(Fitzgerald 35). She changes right before Nick’s eyes. “Her laughter, her

gestures, her assertions became more violently affected moment by moment and as she expanded the room grew smaller around her until she seemed to be revolving on a noisy, creaking pivot through the smoky air” (35). Securely ensconced in her new class identity, Myrtle complains about the elevator boy when Tom asked her for more ice. “Myrtle raised her eyebrows in despair at the shiftlessness of the lower orders. ‘These people! You have to keep after them all the time’” (36). “These people,” the group that Myrtle has to “keep after,” is the same group she was a member of before she boarded the train for New York. Like Jay Gatsby, Myrtle has her own motives for change; she too intends to move through class barriers and become someone else.

Myrtle, who is blue-collar, has surrounded herself with the artifacts of the middle class. . . Everything about the apartment suggests that Myrtle, like Gatsby, has gotten her ideas about style and class from the mass market. . . . She has bought books, magazines, furniture, pictures, and a “police dog” . . . because of the urgings of advertisements which promise status through acquisition. Her catalogue of all the things she’s “got to get” – a massage, a wave, a collar for the dog, a wreath, an ash tray – is a blueprint for becoming what she knows she is not. (Berman, *Cambridge* 89).

Berman connects identity to commodity through an examination of the magazine *Vanity Fair*.⁵⁴ “One of its greatest themes is the acquisition of identity by conscious choice” (*Modern Times* 17). Myrtle Wilson shops for an upwardly mobile identity at Pennsylvania Station. “She understands that purchases and styles are meant not to gratify but to display the character of choice—and the choice of character” (Berman, *Modern Times* 17).

⁵⁴ “*Vanity Fair* was . . . the main source of the creation of social identity through high style” (Berman 17).

Like Jay Gatsby and Myrtle Wilson, Daisy's identity is fluid. "In many ways, Daisy is like Gatsby. At crucial moments in her life, she deliberately chooses to embrace certain illusions and play certain roles as a way of creating for herself a sense of meaning and purpose and as a way of coping with 'the pressure of the world outside'" (Parr 66-67). Berman agrees with Parr on this point. "

[C]haracter, identity, personality—the subtly different variants of selfhood—seem to be acquired. It is as if all three [Gatsby, Daisy and Myrtle] were to some extent blank or unfulfilled; and then finished only by the addition of externalities. The major characters have, so to speak, designed their selves around certain scripts and, especially in the case of Myrtle and Daisy, keep referring themselves to themes or even to scenes from ads and movies and other sources of personal identity. (Berman, *Modern Times* 113)

Hollywood is the source of Daisy's "theory on the creation of self" (*Modern Times* 124). Berman argues that Daisy's identity is constructed and performed based at least partially on movie images. Daisy "is willing to modify her sense of self. She acquires her self, and one of her sources is Hollywood"⁵⁵ (*Modern Times* 126). Citing Daisy's reaction to her daughter's birth, Berman makes a case for Daisy's choice of a role in her identity performance. Daisy decides that a woman can consciously choose to play the fool to her own advantage. "'All right,' I said, 'I'm glad it's a girl. And I hope she'll be a fool—that's the best thing a girl can be in this world, a beautiful little fool'" (Fitzgerald 21). Berman locates the source of Daisy's chosen identity as the movie's image of the dumb

⁵⁵ To support his theory, Berman quotes a *Saturday Evening Post* advertisement urging readers to go to a movie to experience a different life. "Before you know it you are *living* the story—laughing, loving, hating, struggling, winning! All the adventure, all the romance, all the excitement you lack in your daily life are in—Pictures" (*Modern Times* 126).

blonde. Fitzgerald “describes a personality built, by strategic intention, around the idea of protective innocence. . . . The most direct model for agreeable female stupidity comes . . . from the movies (*Modern Times* 127).⁵⁶ Furthermore, this Hollywood archetype had begun to loop through culture; “dumb blondes became a national institution” (Berman, *Modern Times* 127).

By performing her chosen identity, Daisy insulates herself from unwanted emotions and excuses her own careless behavior.

“You see I think everything’s terrible anyhow,” she went on in a convinced way.

“Everybody thinks so —the most advanced people. And I *know*. I’ve been everywhere and seen everything and done everything.” Her eyes flashed around her in a defiant way, rather like Tom’s, and she laughed with thrilling scorn.

“Sophisticated—God, I’m so sophisticated!” (Fitzgerald 21-22)

Speaking from her position of “protective innocence,” Daisy evades responsibility for her actions. “Daisy talks about the assumption of character as if it were inherently theatrical. She talks about the general conditions of life as if they excused anything” (Berman, *Modern Times* 125). Early in the narrative, Daisy has refused to accept the consequences of her actions because “everything’s terrible anyhow;” the consequences of Daisy’s actions will ultimately be transferred to others. “It is really about Gatsby’s fate,” Berman concludes: “Daisy has been exonerated in advance” (*Modern Times* 125).

Daisy’s insulation from her own emotional responses to experiences is characterized by the impression of her absence from those experiences. “Fitzgerald has gone to great lengths in order to emphasize Daisy’s psychological absence from events,

⁵⁶ Berman notes that Gloria Swanson and Clara Bow starred in movies in the early twenties that portray women who use “trickery, glamour, pouting, conniving, cajoling” to “get their way (or their man)” (*Modern Times* 126).

her Hollywood style” (Berman, *Modern Times* 121). This absence is signified by Daisy’s voice, which represents her identity more insistently than her physical presence in the narrative. “The instant her voice broke off, ceasing to compel my attention, my belief, I felt the basic insincerity of what she had said. It made me uneasy, as though the whole evening had been a trick of some sort to exact a contributory emotion from me” (Fitzgerald 22). Daisy’s disembodied voice “compels” both “attention” and “belief” from her listeners. “From one end of the story to the other Daisy has a magic voice that never says ‘no’” (Berman, *Modern Times* 126). Nick, who finds Daisy’s voice compelling, also interprets it as revealing. “‘She’s got an indiscrete voice,’ I remarked. ‘It’s full of ——’ I hesitated. ‘Her voice is full of money,’ he said suddenly” (Fitzgerald 127). The first and last remnants of Daisy’s identity are her voice, a voice full of privilege supported by money, which provides her with an escape from consequences. “But with every word she was drawing further and further into herself, so he gave that up and only the dead dream fought on as the afternoon slipped away, trying to touch what was no longer tangible, struggling unhappily, undesperingly, toward that lost voice across the room” (Fitzgerald 142). Daisy’s ultimate identity performance is her almost complete physical disappearance; she has become totally insubstantial, remaining audible only to plead to leave entirely. “The voice begged again to go” (Fitzgerald 142).

Like Daisy, Jordan Baker performs her identity and conforms to Berman’s second identity classification: “to *be* what you are in disguise” (*Modern Times* 125). Berman’s meaning here is closer to performance than disguise. Jordan does not change her outward appearance and disguise herself as someone else; rather the self she presents

to the world is a conscious performance intended to project a particular image of a self outward. Jordan is a fluid female character who appropriates male privilege and sexual freedom by rejecting nineteenth-century gender rules. She executes her identity performance through a complex series of strategies, which allow her to claim the gender concessions conceded wealthy upper-class women and to use her social influence while enjoying the freedom of a flapper identity. Jordan “claims all the advantages of an emancipated lifestyle yet will use any strategies or duplicities to retain the traditional advantages accorded to a lady” (Parkinson 81-82). Shrewdly, Jordan exploits her class and gender locations while simultaneously refusing their restrictions. “Occupying a secure place in a socially influential stratum, she manipulates a patriarchal world to her own advantage” (75).

Jordan’s profession and the celebrity it allows give her free access to the media, a place in the spotlight, without the fear of censure for a lack of female modesty; she has it all. “While a lady stayed out of public view, the flapper puts herself in the spotlight and flaunts her outrageously modern self. She invites the public gaze and grooms herself accordingly” (Sanderson 150). Jordan’s career as a professional golfer provides notoriety and authorizes a certain freedom of movement. We become aware of Jordan Baker’s celebrity when Nick recognizes her before he realizes who she is. “It occurred to me now that I had seen her, or a picture of her, somewhere before” (Fitzgerald 15). When he does make the connection, he remembers her fame but forgets the details of her flaws. ““Oh, —you’re *Jordan Baker.*’ I knew now why her face was familiar—its pleasing contemptuous expression had looked out at me from many rotogravure pictures of the

sporting life at Ashville and Hot Springs and Palm Beach. I had heard some story of her too, a critical, unpleasant story, but what it was I had forgotten long ago” (Fitzgerald 23).

Based upon her identity as a professional athlete, Jordan’s body and her body language escape the restrictions of femininity and take on male attributes. “I noticed that she wore her evening dress, all her dresses, like sports clothes—there was a jauntiness about her movements as if she had first learned to walk upon golf courses on clean, crisp mornings” (Fitzgerald 55). Her androgynous appearance and bearing are described in military terms, “cadet” and “salute,” terms usually reserved for males. “She was a slender, small-breasted girl with an erect carriage which she accentuated by throwing her body backward at the shoulders like a young cadet” (Fitzgerald 15). Her confident, open manner and assertive suggestion that Nick call her also indicate a usurpation of male primacy. “‘Please come and see me. . . . Phone book. . . . Under the name of Mrs. Sigourney Howard. . . . My aunt. . . .’ She was hurrying off as she talked—her brown hand waved a jaunty salute as she melted into her party at the door” (Fitzgerald 57).⁵⁷ Jordan Baker embodies the image of the flapper and by extension marks a dramatic shift from late nineteenth-century gender-based restrictions. “Fitzgerald makes it clear that the construction of the flapper implies the dismantling of outdated ideals of femininity” (Sanderson 151).

This “dismantling of femininity” initiates a reflexive male reaction. “Tom’s paternalistic mentality is disturbed and shocked by her independence” (Parkinson 75). Nostalgic for lost patriarchal power, Tom believes that because she is a “nice girl,” Jordan should be controlled. “‘She’s a nice girl,’ said Tom after a moment. ‘They oughtn’t to let her run around the country this way’” (Fitzgerald 23). Because of his

⁵⁷ Ellipses are Fitzgerald’s

assumptions about her appearance and flapper identity, Jordan's escort to Gatsby's party believes that he will benefit sexually from Jordan's break with gender rules. "Jordan's escort, a persistent undergraduate given to violent innuendo . . . [was] obviously under the impression that sooner or later Jordan was going to yield him up her person to a greater or lesser degree" (Fitzgerald 49). Insensitive to Jordan's motives or perhaps oblivious to current shifts in female power, neither of these men's estimations hits the mark. Jordan is always in control. "Jordan's composure and self-sufficiency express her determined 'absence of all desire': she has her sexuality and her emotions well under control and will not give way to impulse" (Parkinson 76). Nick's estimation of Jordan exposes the motive behind her identity choice. To maintain her autonomy, Jordan gains advantage through duplicitous means; she cheats to usurp male privilege.

Jordan Baker instinctively avoided clever shrewd men and now I saw that this was because she felt safer on a plane where any divergence from a code would be thought impossible. She was incurably dishonest. She wasn't able to endure being at a disadvantage, and given this unwillingness I suppose she had begun dealing in subterfuges when she was very young in order to keep that cool insolent smile turned to the world and yet satisfy the demands of her hard jaunty body (Fitzgerald 63).

Like Daisy and Myrtle, Jordan Baker consciously chooses her identity; she maintains her persona through performance. "Fitzgerald's women . . . know that popularity is based upon illusion. . . they have an essentially political relationship to men and to the social order. They know what they are, but even more they know what they *represent*" (Berman, *Modern Times* 126). Jordan Baker as a representative of the flapper

figure marks a significant departure from nineteenth-century representations of women. Fitzgerald “seems to be implying that women’s status and sexual image is at a point of crisis in the post-war world” (Parkinson 82). A corresponding shift in male identity is also evident in *The Great Gatsby*.

Unlike many of the other characters in the novel, Tom Buchanan does not choose to change his identity; rather, he struggles to preserve it and his inherited privileges. Nevertheless, he is a fluid character because the hierarchical position upon which his identity is based is challenged by redefinitions of racial, gender and class positions that are beyond his control. Tom’s recognition of the instability of his privileged identity reflects the social reality of the world outside of the book, a world that has changed dramatically. “Tom’s view of society is totally hierarchical, his own position by established right being at the top. There is irony in his fears for the decline of civilization, since his brutal arrogance and complete lack of moral concern are a measure of that decline in the novel” (Parkinson 130).

Tom’s appearance belies his threatened position; his powerful body suggests his elite social position. He first appears in the novel “in riding clothes . . . standing with his legs apart on the front porch” (11). His physical power is emphasized in a description that stresses his male attributes: “dominance,” “enormous power,” “enormous leverage,” and “a cruel body.”

Two shining, arrogant eyes had established dominance over his face and gave him the appearance of always leaning aggressively forward. Not even the effeminate swank of his riding clothes could hide the enormous power of that body—he seemed to fill those glistening boots until he strained the top lacing and you could

see a great pack of muscle shifting when his shoulder moved under his thin coat.

It was a body capable of enormous leverage—a cruel body. (Fitzgerald 11)

Tom's hyper-masculinity is displayed in contrast to the "effeminate swank" of the riding outfit that his muscles shift and strain visibly under. Tom's appearance, both intensely physically masculine and surprisingly effeminate, sets up the dichotomy of his position of power. Although a man of great wealth and power, he seems oddly impotent at crucial moments of his life.

At one of those crucial moments, as Tom, Nick and Jordan are driving into New York for what will become Tom's confrontation with Gatsby over Daisy at the Plaza Hotel, Tom is told by George Wilson that he and his wife are going west. Tom, confused and panicked, seems powerless. "His wife and his mistress, until an hour ago secure and inviolate, were slipping precipitously from his control" (131). These contiguous scenes suggest the vulnerability of Tom's position, that previously unquestioned and unassailable place.

Even Tom's women occasionally defy him. When Daisy explains the source of the bruise on her knuckle, she calls Tom "a great big hulking physical specimen of a —" "I hate that word hulking," objected Tom crossly, 'even in kidding.' 'Hulking,' insisted Daisy" (16). Myrtle too defies him when she insists on repeating Daisy's name. But for her the price is higher, Tom breaks her nose. Tom yearns nostalgically for the gender roles of the previous century. "I may be old-fashioned in my ideas but women run around too much these days to suit me" (110). Tom is referring here to Jordan Baker and perhaps his own wife not, of course, to George Wilson's wife. More importantly, however, Tom is referring to the demise of an era, an era in which men like him had

uncontested supremacy of class, gender and race. Race has been on Tom's mind lately, race and white supremacy.

Tom asks Nick, "Have you read 'The Rise of The Coloured Empires' by this man Goddard?" (Fitzgerald 17). He explains the basis of current supremacist thinking, the pseudo-science of racism. "The idea is if we don't look out the white race will be — will be utterly submerged. It's all scientific stuff; it's been proved.' . . . 'Well, these books are all scientific,' insisted Tom . . . 'It's up to us who are the dominant race to watch out or these other races will have control of things'" (17). Tom reflects the anxiety among some of the rich and powerful men in the world outside of the book that the hegemony of race, class and gender had become unstable; he warns "if we don't look out" power will migrate to "these other races."

In a supremely ironic defense of the institution of marriage, Tom uses an analogy that reveals his fear of class and race equality. "I suppose the latest thing is to sit back and let Mr. Nobody from Nowhere make love to your wife. Well, if that's the idea you can count me out. . . . Nowadays people begin by sneering at family life and family institutions and next they'll throw everything overboard and have intermarriage between black and white" (Fitzgerald 137)⁵⁸. Appropriately, the response comes from an interloper. "We're all white here,' murmured Jordan" (137). For all his wealth, in many ways, Tom is a failure. "Tom is a compendium of American Failures; he is rich with no conscience, moralistic without being moral, exclusionary, racist, and, above all, true only to himself" (Berman, *Twenties* 85).

George Wilson is another fluid character and male failure in the novel. His wife brazenly meets her lover in front of him at his garage. "She smiled slowly and walking

⁵⁸ Ellipses is Fitzgerald's.

through her husband as if he were a ghost shook hands with Tom, looking him flush in the eye” (Fitzgerald 30). Tom’s estimation of George Wilson is, “He’s so dumb he doesn’t know he’s alive” (30). Even Michaelis, who befriended him after Myrtle’s death, understood George’s limitations. “[H]e was almost sure that Wilson had no friend: there was not enough of him for his wife” (167). Like Tom, his wife challenged him. “Throw me down and beat me, you dirty little coward!” (144). And, like Gatsby, his outward appearance could be deceptive, but unlike Gatsby, for George Wilson it was merely a disguise for a day not the performance of a new identity. “He borrowed somebody’s best suit to get married in and never even told me about it”(39). George Wilson is a broken man before Myrtle dies; her death provides the impetus for the only aggressive action Wilson takes in the entire novel.

After George Wilson murders Gatsby, Daisy and Tom quickly disappear; Nick Carraway, the only truly decent character in the novel, is left to try to set things right. Unlike Tom Buchanan who is a throwback to old male gender qualities especially in his sometimes-brutal relationships with women, Nick represents the more fluid gender qualities of the modern male. Nick’s relationship with the androgynous Jordan Baker shows him to be considerate and less dominant than Tom. Their relationship is more balanced as Jordan takes the first initiative at Gatsby’s party telling Nick to call her at her aunt’s house. On the night of Myrtle Wilson’s death, Nick is clearly more emotionally distressed about both Myrtle’s death and the scene between Gatsby, Tom and Daisy at the Plaza than Jordan who invites him into the Buchanan’s house and is surprised at his refusal. She’s equally surprised when he breaks up with her the next day on the phone.

Nick never explains this; he is preoccupied with Gatsby's troubles at the moment but it is related to Jordan's lack of insight into Nick's empathy for Gatsby. Nick who claims to be "half in love with her" (Fitzgerald 186) in the end does not marry Jordan Baker.

In writing *The Great Gatsby*, Fitzgerald documents the American culture of twenties especially gender changes evident during that time period. "F. Scott Fitzgerald is best known as a chronicler of the 1920's and as the writer who, more than any other, identified, delineated, and popularized the female representative of that era, the flapper" (Sanderson 143). We see how the flapper image has changed gender concepts. "Fitzgerald makes it clear that the construction of the flapper implies the dismantling of outdated ideals of femininity" (Sanderson 151). Also, the rise of consumerism is evident in his fiction to the point that one can buy a new identity.

Fitzgerald was regarded . . . as *the* writer who best represented images of the new post-war generation of ambitious middle-class Americans wanting to enjoy the consumer spending boom of the 1920s. His stories seemed to express the dream world which advertising was busily constructing: jazz and dancing; young flappers who cut their hair, smoked and drank—new women; romantic night life. (Parkinson 12)

Because Fitzgerald draws an accurate picture of modern America in his novels, implications about cultural changes might be derived from his novels.

Finally, this novel supports the position that ideas loop through society. Nick makes an offhanded remark to Daisy about feeling "uncivilized," (Fitzgerald 17) and Tom reacts unexpectedly, "violently" talking about "civilization" and referring to a book. "Have you read 'The Rise of the Coloured Empires' by this man Goddard?"(17).

As Tom says of his current favorite book, “everybody ought to read it”(14), and the implication is that ideas do in fact circulate from texts. Fitzgerald has gone to some trouble to indicate—in a very pointed communication from Nick to the reader—that an eruption has occurred that reveals underlying truths. Beneath the surface of a “pleasant” evening is resentment, even rage if we are to judge from what seems to be its displaced forms in Tom. We get from “art” to “science” to race very quickly. (Berman, *Modern Times* 22)

Aside from Fitzgerald’s literal intent, Tom’s blatant racism, supported by a pseudo-scientific text , is the implied idea which Berman notes, that facts circulate from texts, creating the looping effect that has been exemplified throughout this dissertation as a method of cultural dissemination of information.

The Sun Also Rises - 1926

A year after the publication of *The Great Gatsby*, Ernest Hemingway published his “startling example of the newly modern novel,” (Wagner-Martin, *Casebook* 3) *The Sun Also Rises*. As in *Gatsby*, the characters demonstrate fluid identities; also as in *Gatsby*, some characters are veterans of the war. Although the characters in *The Sun Also Rises* have survived the “debilitating trauma of World War I,” the novel itself “contained almost nothing about that cataclysmic event” (3) except for a few elusive references to Jake’s wound. This notable absence is part of a pattern of things unspoken but significant in the novel that can provide a point of entrance for examining *The Sun Also Rises*. “We are constantly aware in the novel of the presence of what we are not told” (Aldridge 127). In addition, although mention of the war itself is virtually absent, its aftermath reverberates throughout the novel demonstrating that the cataclysm of World War I was the final great external pressure propelling the cultural shift evident after the war. “In *The Sun Also Rises* Hemingway makes it clear that the postwar sensibility as exemplified by Jake is one of severe loss, emasculation, and impotence. In contrast to Robert Cohn’s anachronistic readiness to fight to protect his honor or defend his lady from insults, Jake feels tricked by the war and is dismayed at having been a pawn in an international con game masterminded by bankers and politicians” (Martin 49).

After the war, the male and female separate worlds of the late nineteenth-century gender identities had vanished, replaced by a more integrated reality. “The blending of the polarized spheres that traditionally separated the lives of women and men was, in part, the result of the centrifugal swirl of events following World War I” (Martin 47).

New gender identities emerged represented by a new couple, Brett, an independent, sexually-liberated woman who wore her hair cut short and Jake, a soldier who returned from the war physically less of a man; both are fluid characters. “Brett and Jake emerge as the paradigmatic couple who best represent the shift in the perception of gender following World War I” (Martin 47). At first glance, it is evident that women have gained sexual freedom and men have lost power and authority, and although this is generally true especially in comparison to the earlier period, the complexity of human interactions is also evident in Brett’s gender position. “Brett represents the principle of female eros unbounded by patriarchal control . . . [Jake’s] sexual impotence is a sign of loss of masculine power and authority and the axiomatic right to exercise social control” (51). Although Brett can choose to sleep with Robert Cohn or Pedro Romero, once a man claims her, she begins to lose her freedom to choose. “One of the important observations about sexual politics in the novel is that masculine eroticism confines women . . . In traditional courtship situations, the woman’s power is the power to be pursued; once caught, she forfeits her opportunity to choose” (52). When Pedro Romero asks Brett to change into his conception of a woman, to let her hair grow longer, she feels compelled to end her affair with him. ““He wanted me to grow my hair out. Me, with long hair. I’d look so like hell. . . He said it would make me more womanly. I’d look a fright”” (Hemingway 242). Romero’s attempt to control Brett’s appearance and his desire to marry her after she had become “more womanly” (242) made it clear that she would have to leave this young man she found so desirable. “Interestingly, Brett breaks up her relationships when her lovers attempt to claim her, that is, to exercise authority over her” (Martin 52).

For Brett and Jake especially, the movement away from the old binary is so extreme in *The Sun Also Rises* that Wendy Martin expresses it as almost a role reversal. “In *The Sun Also Rises*, men cry and women swear; Brett aggressively expresses her sexual desires, while her lovers wait to be chosen; she likes action—noisy public gatherings, large parties, the blood and gore of the bullfight—whereas the men appreciate the pleasure of sipping brandy in a quiet café” (Martin 56). Because the old roles have been deconstructed and experimentation is permissible, a wider variety of gender behavior is evident than in the earlier time period.

The loss of traditional cultural meaning is accompanied by a loss of certainty about proper feminine and masculine behavior. Since gender is a social construction, new roles represent a response to new realities, and through trial and error, new forms of sexual behavior emerge. New configurations of gender shatter the old frame, and stripped of their traditional roles, the characters in *The Sun Also Rises* are more transparent, that is, more able to express a greater range of feelings. (Martin 56).

As new gender configurations collide with sexuality and sexual orientation in *The Sun Also Rises*, close readings of the text for things unspoken or ambiguous become productive and imperative. In the scene at the bal musette when Brett first appears in the novel, gender conflated with sexual orientation can be interpreted as performative or gender coded based upon established expectations of male and female behavior.

Regardless of the method of decoding the ambiguities in this chapter, five⁵⁹ separate critics concur about the implied homosexuality of the young men. In the earliest of these essays, Arnold and Cathy Davidson deconstruct “static notions of gender” found in interpretations of *The Sun Also Rises* by adapting Roland Barthes’s method of close reading using the diacritical mark, /. “This slash exemplifies the uneasy concatenation of unreconciled opposites that reside in any text. . . . It comes down to either/or, but/and, black/ white, and, above all . . . male/female” (Davidson 86-87). Using this technique, Davidson and Davidson destabilize gender-based constructions by closely reexamining specific passages in the text. “[T]he opposition between male/female, masculine/feminine, and . . . men/women [is both] . . . pervasive (the all male ritual of bullfight, the crucial matter of Jake’s wound) and . . . undermined (Brett with her bob and her swagger, Romero with his grace and sensitivity, Jake with his manly principles but without his manhood)” (88). In the bal musette scene, the Davidsons argue, the reader must interpret the homosexuality of the young men who accompany Brett from the various clues provided in the passage. “The reader, like Jake, and validating Jake, must read the ostensible sexual preference of the young men from the various signs provided and thereby decode covert private sexuality from overt public sociability. The signs, moreover, must be obvious.” (Davidson 89).

Two taxis were coming down the steep street. They both stopped in front of the Bal. A crowd of young men, some in jerseys and some in their shirt-sleeves, got out. I could see their hands and newly washed, wavy hair in the light from the

⁵⁹ Five different critical essays cited in this dissertation examine this scene for its homosexual content. Arnold and Cathy Davidson. “Decoding the Hemingway Hero in *The Sun Also Rises*,” Ira Elliott. “Performance Art: Jake Barnes and ‘Masculine’ Signification in *The Sun Also Rises*,” Debra Modellmog. “Contradictory Bodies in *The Sun Also Rises*,” Daniel Traber. “Whiteness and the Rejected Other in *The Sun Also Rises*” and Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes. *Hemingway’s Genders*

door. The policeman standing by the door looked at me and smiled. They came in. As they went in, under the light I saw white hands, wavy hair, white faces, grimacing, gesturing, talking. With them was Brett. She looked very lovely and she was very much with them. (Hemingway 20)

Although the reader might not yet have enough clues to be expected to draw a conclusion, both the policeman and Jake recognize immediately that the young men are homosexuals; the policeman's smile indicates conspiratorial heterosexuality. "To begin with, we can supply the label that Jake (or Hemingway) declines to use. Consistent with the conventions of conversation and censorship at the time, the term 'homosexual' remains, so to speak, in the closet." (Davidson 89). These men are marked "without ever having to be named" (90) by a series of signs: the "policeman" who "smiled," "white hands," "wavy hair," "white faces," and "grimacing, gesturing, talking." Davidson and Davidson slyly offer the observation that "policemen, of course, are never wrong in such matters and are never homosexuals themselves" (90). Ira Elliot supports this conclusion adding that the young men are marginalized by the shared, coded smile. "Jake's 'diagnosis' is confirmed, his own masculinity momentarily consolidated, by the policeman by the door of the bar, who, in a gesture that bonds the two 'real' men and marginalizes the homosexuals as 'other,' looks at Jake and smiles" (Elliott 65).

Then, there is the inexplicably definitive whiteness of the young men—"white hands," "white faces"—whiteness not used as a racial marker, but rather as a marker of gender differentiation, "white in contradistinction to the tanned hands of real men—the dark leathery hands of a Basque shepherd or of the man on the billboard advertising chewing tobacco" (Davidson 90). Elliot believes that Jake reads signs evident in the

young men's actions; "they have created themselves as a type in order to enact (perform) the role of homosexual" (Elliott 65). Again, white is not read racially, but rather as not masculine; it is read as a feminine indicator. "Their casual dress and careful grooming suggest a 'feminine' preoccupation with physical appearance. Their hair appears to be styled ('wavy'), like a woman's, while their 'white hands' suggest delicacy, their 'white faces,' makeup or powder" (Elliott 65). Their "grimacing, gesturing, talking" provide more clues; "real men are more restrained, reticent" (Davidson 90). Their body language is suggestive. "Rather than exhibiting the reticence and rigidity associated with masculinity, they are overly and overtly expressive, uninhibited in the use of their bodies and voices" (Elliott 65). Jake and the policeman read the encrypted messages of homosexuality; the messages are gender coded and performative. "The young men have their homosexuality 'written' on their faces and on their bodies. They 'perform' their sexuality through facial expressions and physical gestures" (Elliott 65).

Jake translates what the Davidsons describes as "sexual and textual absences"(quoted in Elliot 65) into homosexuality, but what he has actually seen is a gender performance by men of attributes generally ascribed to women. "Jake objects not so much to homosexual behavior (which is unseen) but to 'femininity' expressed through the 'wrong' body. Gender-crossing is what troubles Jake; the rupture between a culturally determined signifier (the male body) and signified (the female gender) disrupts the male/female binary" (Elliott 66). Jake and the policeman do not see homosexuals; they see men whom they perceive as acting like women. These men, then, must be homosexuals.

What Jake "reads" is not, therefore, sexuality, but gender. In Butlerian terms,

Brett's companions are "imitating" the "wrong" gender. Sexual identity can be determined through careful observation of behavior, and sex and gender collapse into a single "truth" manifest in appearance. The "feminine," regarded as the exclusive province of the female, is seen as inscribed within/on the female body. Its appropriation by the male constitutes a gender transgression which in and of itself becomes the visible sign of homosexuality. The homosexual reveals himself through a performative "error," and, by this logic, the feminine, effeminate, or feminized man is always homosexual. (Elliott 66)

Both Jake and these young men exist simultaneously as male and yet not male. "Jake Barnes's male identity is called into question by the genital wound he suffered during the First World War . . . his fractured sense of self functions in relation to homosexuality and to the homosexual men he observes at a *bal musette*" (Elliott 64). Jake is both identified with these men and differentiated from them. "A crucial difference" between Jake and these young men "serves to mark one masculine absence as opposed to the other" (Davidson 90). When Brett is introduced into the story at this point, she becomes the focus of heterosexual male desire, Jake's desire. "Jake may be ill-equipped to deal with Brett's sexuality, but not from lack of desire. Lacking such desire, the gay young men who accompany Brett are thus defined as other – not men, not Jake"(90).

As the *bal musette* scene continues, one of the young men asks Georgette, a prostitute Jake claims is his fiancée, to dance. Ultimately, various men and women change partners on the dance floor.

One of them saw Georgette and said: "I do declare. There is an actual harlot. I'm going to dance with her, Lett. You watch me." The tall dark one, called

Lett, said: "Don't you be rash."

The wavy blond one answered: "Don't you worry, dear," And with them was Brett. I was very angry. Somehow they always made me angry. I know they are supposed to be amusing, and you should be tolerant, but I wanted to swing on one, any one any thing to shatter that simpering composure. . . . As soon as the music stopped another one of them asked her to dance. She had been taken up by them. I knew then that they would all dance with her. They are like that. (Hemingway 20).

Surprisingly, although he is aware of Brett's presence, Jake's attention is riveted on the gay men, and he seems inexplicably angry. Why? "That these men represent and enact gender nonconformity violates the cultural boundaries demarcating appropriate social and sexual behavior. Any attempted remapping of these culturally agreed upon borders exposes the arbitrariness of their frontiers, which in turn calls for a rethinking of the ontological groundwork of sex/gender itself" (Elliott 69). Nancy Comley and Robert Scholes propose that Jake's anger at the homosexual men is related to his ultimate sexual alignment with them. His inability to perform sexually and their refusal to perform sexually combined with his heterosexual desire and their lack of heterosexual desire ultimately leave them in the same position in a heterosexual equation. "The sexually fragmented Jake is thus linked to men he perceives in fragments as unmanly because he has himself been unmanned. Indeed, his wound has put him in the passive feminine position of lack and has put Brett in the active position of finding men to provide the apparatus that Jake has lost" (Comley 44).

On the dance floor at the bal musette, as the pairings change, the implication is that every pair is a generic male/female couple; however, upon examination the halves are not exactly interchangeable. The generic labels themselves become fluid. “But most of all, the switch in partners suggests, like swinging, the fundamental equivalence of different pairings — Jake and Georgette, Jake and Brett, the young men and Brett, the young men and Georgette. Georgette and Brett (prostitution/promiscuity) are thereby conjoined, and so too are Jake and the boys (sexually maimed/homosexual)” (Davidson 91). Debra Modellmog expands upon the Davidsons’s method by pursuing an examination of the labels. Jake frames his own manliness in opposition to the homosexuals’ lack; however, his manliness is challenged by his failure to have sex with either Georgette or Brett. “What began as an inseparable unit (sexually maimed-homosexual) ends up as free floating terms (sexually maimed, homosexual) and the characters, particularly Jake and Brett, are revealed as bodies of contradictions” (156). Upon examination, the complexity of the pair of terms becomes evident. “Ultimately these pairings challenge the validity of defining gender and sexuality in terms of binarisms—masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual” (Moddelmog 156).

When a sleepy Jake confuses Brett for Georgette, Modellmog notes that a comparison of the two women is more complicated than the prostitute/promiscuous pairing allows, “both women sleep around . . . one because she believes it’s the way she’s made, the other because it’s the way she makes a living” (Moddelmog 157). The differences between the two women (prostitute/promiscuous) are not really so great; Brett’s financial survival depends upon her continued support by a series of men. Brett’s behavior suggests that she is disaffected with the system. “Brett’s self-destructive drinking and

her attempts to distance herself from sexual role stereotyping—for example, her short hair is ‘brushed back like a boy’s’ and she wears a ‘man’s felt hat’ — indicate her resentment of this prescribed arrangement”(Moddelmog 157). Her lovers attempt to correct her gender transgressions. Mike Campbell offers to buy her a new hat. “Brett is dangerously close to overturning the categories upon which male and female identity, and patriarchal power, depend” (Moddelmog 157).

Beyond a rejection of gender rules, however, Brett’s choice of hairstyle and clothing may indicate more. “Brett’s cross-dressing conveys more than just a social statement about gender. It also evokes suggestions of the transvestism practiced by and associated with lesbians of the time”⁶⁰ (Moddelmog 157). Here, too, she may be paired with Georgette. When Jake introduces Georgette Hobin to his friends he says her name is Georgette Leblanc, the name of an acknowledged lesbian singer and actress in Paris at the time.⁶¹ “This association consequently deepens the symbolic relationship of Brett to Georgette, linking them in a new equation: independent/lesbian⁶². Brett’s transvestism crosses over from gender inversion to sexual sign: not only does Brett desire the lesbian’s economic and social autonomy but she also possesses same sex desire” (Moddelmog 158). Brett’s ambiguous fashion choices are not the only clues that lead to questions about her sexuality. One is her association with the gay young men, and the insistence with which Jake points it out. “With them was Brett...she was very much with

⁶⁰ For some women writers during this time period, “cross-dressing became a way of addressing and redressing the inequities of gender categories” (Gubar 347).

⁶¹ Debra A. Moddelmog. “Contradictory Bodies in *The Sun Also Rises*.” *Ernest Hemingway’s The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook*. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 155-165.

⁶² In “Sexual Inversion” Havelock Ellis remarks on the high frequency of Lesbianism among Parisian prostitutes.

them... And with them was Brett.” (20) Another is her preference of Jake as an object of desire. “Like a woman, Jake has no penis with which to make love with Brett⁶³ . . . In this context, Jake’s notion that Brett ‘only wanted what she couldn’t have’ takes on an added meaning. Besides nonpenile sex, she wants to find a way to accommodate the fluidity of sexual desire and gender identification that characterize her condition” (Moddelmog 159).

Jake’s choice of the boyish Brett is equally revealing considering his attraction to the bullfighter, Pedro Romero. “Jake’s attraction to Brett can be partially attributed to his homosexual desire, a desire that seems about to break through the surface of Jake’s narrative at any time” (Moddelmog 159). Jake’s description of Brett is analogous to his description of Pedro. “Brett was damned good looking. She wore a slipover jersey sweater and a tweed skirt, and her hair was brushed back like a boy’s. She started all that.” (Hemingway 22). Jake uses similar words to describe Pedro. “He’s a damned good-looking boy” (Hemingway 167). “When we were up in his room I never saw a better looking kid” (Hemingway 167). Furthermore, Jake’s connection with the sport of bullfighting, an exclusively homosocial affiliation, tests the border between the homosocial and the homoerotic and blurs the lines of gender/sexuality. “The bullfighter’s conquest over the ultimately compliant and submissive bull is, consequently, totally self-referential: the male as signifier and signified, the male as object and subject of his own desire” (Davidson 96). The bullfight is a ritual which substitutes for human sexuality where the “male and female have been elided but sex and death are hopelessly intermingled” (Davidson 96).

⁶³ Ernest Hemingway: *Selected Letters* (quoted in Moddelmog) in a letter written in 1951, Hemmingway states that Jake has lost his penis but not his testicles and spermatic cord.

Romero smiled. The bull wanted it again, and Romero's cape filled again, this time on the other side. Each time he let the bull pass so close that the man and the bull and the cape that filled and pivoted ahead of the bull were all one sharply etched mass. It was all so slow and so controlled. . . .

Romero's left hand dropped the muleta over the bull's muzzle to blind him, his left shoulder went forward between the horns as the sword went in, and for just an instant he and the bull were one, Romero way out over the bull, the right arm extended high up where the hilt of the sword had gone in between the bull's shoulders. Then the figure was broken. There was a little jolt as Romero came clear . . . (Hemingway 217-218)

Jake takes great pride in his *afición*, a "mystical male brotherhood" that "confers masculinity by association" and especially for Jake with his wounded masculinity, "excuses him for himself" (Davidson 94). Even this phallic worship seems somehow awry. "But there is finally something suspect in the aficionados vesting so much of their own manhood in a boylike matador who, through girlish flirtation and enticement, woos a bull to its death" (Davidson 94). In the end, the aficionados themselves in relation to the matador they revere "seem all, in a sense, steers" (95), emasculated.

The relation between Jake, Brett and Pedro not a triangle as often described but something more complex. It could be described as "a web in which desire flows in many directions. When Brett and Pedro consummate their desire for each other, Pedro also becomes Jake's surrogate, fulfilling his desire for Brett and hers for him, while Brett becomes Jake's 'extension' for satisfying his infatuation with Pedro" (Moddelmog 161). The complexity of desire evident among these characters and the fluidity of their gender

role characterizations and sexuality illustrates the shift in these categories from the earlier period. “Considering the way Jake gazes on Pedro’s body (a body that, like Brett’s, blends male and female, masculine and feminine), the moment when Jake brings together Pedro and Brett is also the moment when the text reveals its inability to separate heterosexual from homosexual desire within the desiring body” (Moddelmog 161).

What is new and surprising in *The Sun Also Rises* is the suggestion of homosexual desire both as an aberrant, marginalized activity as seen in the homosexual men at the bal musette but also as a possibility of barely concealed homosexual desire within a heavily homosocial context. “Jake’s relationships with Bill Gorton and Pedro Romero constitute two of the more important sources of sublimated homosexual desire” (Moddelmog 159). Another marker of change is Brett. “What makes Bret interesting as a character is the way that Hemingway has assigned her qualities from both sides of his gendered repertory of typical figures and situated her somewhere between the extremes of good and bad behavior on both scales” (Comley 45-46). What a giant leap women in fiction have taken with Lady Brett Ashley. “[Hemingway] does not regulate Brett to the domestic realm. By leaving his heroine free and relatively intact both emotionally and physically, he disengages from the tradition of the destruction of the female protagonist in American fiction from *Charlotte Temple* to *The House of Mirth* and *The Awakening*” (Martin 60).

In addition to the gender and sexuality identity issues that are central to this novel, a racialized boundary exists between Jake’s friends and the local peasants who attend the festival in Pamplona. Jake’s privileged friends are outsiders by virtue of racialized economic, color and social positions best described as “whiteness.” Although Mike Campbell for instance is bankrupt, his claim to a Scottish aristocratic title and the

promise of an inheritance on which he borrows allows him not to work and to be “totally irresponsible about money” (Donaldson 90). Jake’s friends attend the bullfights in Spain without an understanding or appreciation of the cultural significance of the event.

Montoya excuses Jake for his friends’ behavior and their excesses because Jake is a true aficionado but in the end, introducing Brett to Pedro has made him, too, unwelcome among the aficionados. After Robert Cohn has beaten up Pedro Romero, Mike refers to the incident. “I gave Brett what for you know. I said if she would go about with Jews and bull-fighters and such people, she must expect trouble” (Hemingway 203). Cohn, marginalized by the anti-Semitism of the group, is connected in Mike’s mind with Romero, the bull-fighter, because both have slept with Brett, nominally Mike’s fiancée. Romero is marginalized as a Spaniard, non-white in the context of Mike’s Othering comment, “and such people.” As with the other binaries that might be suggested in this novel, upon examination, this one too is more fluid than substantive and Jake’s refusal to identify with a particular group makes it so. Jake “can be read as a figure of hybridity who mixes identities to avoid claiming allegiance to any totalizing narrative. Ultimately, it is the Basque peasants, situated sufficiently outside and within the center, to whom Hemingway has Jake turn as a viable Other to give his world meaning” (Traber 167).

Identity is certainly fluid in *The Sun Also Rises*. “Actions, appearance, and desire in *The Sun Also Rises* spill over the ‘normal’ boundaries of identity and identification so that categories become destabilized and merge with one another” (Moddelmog 162).

Passing – 1929

In *Passing* as in *The Sun Also Rises*, what remains unspoken is central to unlocking the message about identity suppressed in the text. The surface text of the novel challenges the color line by demonstrating characters designated as black who easily pass as white; this surface text conceals an ambiguous subtext which remains hidden beyond the ending of the novel. Both texts presume identity fluidity, one racial, the other sexual. Also as in *The Sun Also Rises*, desire crosses heterosexual borders; desire spreads in webs from Clare Kendry especially to Irene Redfield who refuses to acknowledge it.

When Irene suddenly encounters Clare waiting in the living-room, Irene's husband seems to have found Clare too.

She remembered her own little choked exclamation of admiration, when, on coming downstairs a few minutes later than she had intended, she had rushed into the living-room where Brian was waiting and had found Clare there too. Clare, exquisite, golden, fragrant, flaunting, in a stately gown of shining black taffeta, whose long, full skirt lay in graceful folds about her slim golden feet; her glistening hair drawn smoothly back into a small twist at the nape of her neck; her eyes sparkling like dark jewels. (Larson 203)

Judith Butler notes that both Irene and Brian find Clare “in her desirable way” and suggests that they “mirror each other's desire as each turns towards Clare” (Butler 169). Although Irene remembers the emotion, she never articulates it. “Irene's exclamation of admiration is never voiced, choked back it seems, retained, preserved as a kind of seeing that does not make its way into speech. She would have spoken, but the choking appears to stifle her voice; what she finds is Brian waiting, Brian finding Clare as well, and Clare

herself. The grammar of the description fails to settle the question of who desires whom” (Butler 168).

The stifling of Irene’s voice is of particular interest as she narrates most of the events in *Passing*. More than suppressing information, Irene deliberately misleads both herself and her readers. “It is largely through her eyes, described appropriately as ‘unseeing,’ that most of the narrative’s events are filtered, significantly, in retrospect and necessarily blurred. The classic unreliable narrator, Irene is confused and deluded about herself, her motivations, and much that she experiences. It is important, therefore, to see the duplicity at the heart of her story” (McDowell 88-89). To see the story intentionally buried by Irene, the reader must detect this duplicity; the author provides clues. “Larson undercuts Irene’s credibility as a narrator” (McDowell 89). Irene reveals more about herself than she is aware of in her narrative. “As is often typical of an unreliable narrator, Irene is by turns hypocritical and obtuse, not always fully aware of the import of what she reveals to the reader” (McDowell 89). As the story progresses, the reader understands Irene’s motivations better than she herself does. “Despite her protestations to the contrary, Irene, with a cold, hard, exploitative, and manipulative determination, tries to protect her most cherished attainment—security” (McDowell 89).

As an unreliable narrator, Irene performs an intricate sleight of hand with issues of race and sexuality throughout the novel to avoid disclosing the dangerous homosexual attraction she feels for Clare. In this dance of race and sexuality, Irene substitutes fear of Clare’s exposure for passing whenever her own homosexual desire threatens to break through the surface of her consciousness. Confronted by Clare about not responding to her letter, Irene, who had consciously chosen silence as her answer to Clare’s letter and

who had reasoned that she and Clare were “strangers in their desires and ambitions” (Larsen 192), protests the danger of passing as her excuse, a rather weak excuse considering that Irene herself was passing when she first encountered Clare on that hot afternoon at the Draton Hotel. The exchange is filled with sexual overtones.

“Rene, please tell me quite frankly why you didn’t answer my letter.”

“Because you see—” Irene broke off and kept Clare waiting while she lit a cigarette, blew out the match, and dropped it into a tray. She was trying to collect her arguments, for some sixth sense warned her that it was going to be harder than she thought to convince Clare Kendry of the folly of Harlem for her. Finally she proceeded: “I can’t help thinking that you ought not come up here, ought not to run the risk of knowing Negroes.”

“You mean you don’t want me, ‘Rene?”

Irene hadn’t supposed that anyone could look so hurt. She said, quite gently, “No, Clare, it’s not that. But even you must see that it’s terribly foolish, and just not the right thing.”

The tinkle of Clare’s laugh rang out, while she passed her hands over the bright sweep of her hair. “Oh, ‘Rene!” she cried, “you’re priceless! And you haven’t changed a bit. The right thing!” Leaning forward, she looked curiously into Irene’s disapproving brown eyes. “You don’t, you really can’t mean exactly that! Nobody could. It’s simply unbelievable.”

Irene was on her feet before she realized that she had risen. “What I really mean,” she retorted, “is that it’s dangerous and that you ought not to run such silly risks. No one ought to. You least of all.”

Her voice was brittle. For into her mind had come a thought, strange and irrelevant, a suspicion, that had surprised and shocked her and driven her to her feet. It was that in spite of her determined selfishness the woman before her was yet capable of heights and depths of feeling that she, Irene Redfield, had never known. Indeed, never cared to know. The thought, the suspicion, was gone as quickly as it had come.

Clare said: "Oh, me!"

Irene touched her arm caressingly, as if in contrition for that flashing thought. "Yes, Clare, you. It's not safe. Not safe at all."

"Safe!"

It seemed to Irene that Clare had snapped her teeth down on the word and then flung it from her. And for another flying second she had that suspicion of Clare's ability for a quality of feeling that was to her strange, and even repugnant. She was aware, too, of a dim premonition of some impending disaster. It was as if Clare Kendry had said to her for whom safety, security, were all-important:

"Safe! Damn being safe!" and meant it. (Larsen 194-195)

Irene's response that it was "just not the right thing" to Clare's hurt question, "You mean you don't want me, 'Rene?" is described by Clare as "simply unbelievable." Clare is clearly right when she says, "You don't, you really can't mean exactly that!" Caught, unable to tell the truth about why she is avoiding Clare, Irene shifts to warning Clare. Irene's warnings about passing disguise her own suspicions, suspicions which Irene represses before they fully surface, suspicions not just about the depths of Clare's feelings but about her own feelings as well. It is then, while caught in an indefensible

position, that Irene initiates her racial/sexual dance of substitution and shifts to a plea for Clare's safety when another thought crosses her mind and is instantly erased. That thought, perhaps something less than a fully developed thought is what Deborah McDowell describes as the "Nameless. . . Shameful Impulse"(95). In repentance for that thought, that impulse, "Irene touched her [Clare's] arm caressingly" (Larson 195). The homoeroticism of this scene is more obvious following Clare's entry into Irene's bedroom a few lines earlier:

For Clare had come softly into the room without knocking, and before Irene could greet her, had dropped a kiss on her dark curls.

Looking at the woman before her, Irene Redfield had a sudden inexplicable onrush of affectionate feeling. Reaching out, she grasped Clare's two hands in her own and cried with something like awe in her voice: "Dear god! But aren't you lovely, Clare!" (Larson 194)

The "inexplicable onrush of affectionate feeling" that Irene feels for Clare is swiftly buried and denied as Irene stalls and covers for her unkind disregard of Clare's letter. When Clare is physically present and Irene is under "the seduction of Clare Kendry's smile," (162) she agrees to things that she regrets as soon as Clare has vanished from sight. While Irene struggles to suppress her attraction to Clare, she denies even to herself her own feelings, opting instead for the security of her marriage. "Though, superficially, Irene's is an account of Clare's racial passing and the related issues of racial identity and loyalty, underneath the safety of that surface is the more dangerous story—if not named explicitly—of Irene's awakening sexual desire for Clare" (McDowell 90).

That unnamed desire forms a subtext of the narrative so subtly interwoven into the plot that it is often overlooked by critics or even dismissed as a form of paranoia in Neo-Freudian⁶⁴ analyses of Larsen's novel. This critical silencing of homosexual desire imitates the silencing in the novel of the lesbian desire that was too dangerous to allow to surface but remained only a murmur, a whisper from revelation. "In a sense, the conflict of lesbian desire in the story can be read in what is almost spoken, in what is withheld from speech, but which always threatens to stop or disrupt speech. And in this sense the muteness of homosexuality converges in the story with the illegibility of Clare's blackness" (Butler 175).

As the narrative alternates between Irene's private thoughts and Clare's public actions, both what might be talked about and what must be silenced are never far from the surface either of Irene's completely hidden story or of Clare's secret but less dangerous one. "The question of what can and cannot be spoken, what can and cannot be publicly exposed, is raised throughout the text, and it is linked with the larger question of the dangers of public exposure of both color and desire" (Butler 169). The danger of exposure that Irene warns Clare about is the danger that her husband, John Bellew, might discover that Clare is black. Irene is horrified on first meeting Bellew when she hears him call Clare "Nig." Before Irene can respond, Clare asks Bellew to explain his joke. "When we were first married, she was as white as — as — well as white as a lily. But I declare she's gettin' darker and darker. I tell her if she doesn't look out, she'll wake up one of these days and find she's turned into a nigger" (Larsen 171). He assures Irene and Clare, "I know you're no nigger. I draw the line at that. No niggers in my family. Never

⁶⁴ For a recent example of a critical reading which contests the suggestion of lesbian desire in *Passing* using paranoia as an alternate interpretation see Brian Carr. "Paranoid Interpretation, Desire's Nonobject, and Nella Larsen's *Passing*." *PMLA* 119.2 (3/2004): 282-295.

have been and never will be” (171). Bellew’s racist position assumes a polar white/black binary. A permeable border like the one his wife crosses and recrosses with ease completely disrupts Bellew’s binary and shatters his image of the “black scrimy devils”(172) he has unwittingly married. Clare’s fluid identity is unimaginable in Bellew’s static conception of race.

Ironically, blackness is both silent and invisible through much of the story. Passing, both racial and sexual, is an act of silence — of not giving information. Clare’s light skin and hair visually mark her as white; so, she is assumed to be white, the norm. Her silence intentionally does not disrupt that assumption.

Blackness is not primarily a visual marker in Larsen’s story, not only because Irene and Clare are both light-skinned, but because what can be seen, what qualifies as a visible marking, is a matter of being able to read a marked body in relation to unmarked bodies, where unmarked bodies constitute the currency of normative whiteness. Clare passes not only because she is light-skinned, but because she refuses to introduce her blackness into the conversation, and so withholds the conversational marker which would counter the hegemonic presumption that she is white. (Butler 170-171)

By shattering the black/white binary, Clare refutes the essentialism of racism on which systems of segregation are based. “Again and again Clare seems to have this effect on people: her presence destabilizes their role inscription. Clare’s husband, Jack Bellew, through his insistence on the ‘innate’ differences between the races, emphasizes a conception of identity that is essentialistic, fixed, and unitary: one is white or black not both of these things at once” (Cutter 86). Clare and to a lesser extent Irene and Gertrude,

all of whom are culturally defined as black, form a third category, not black/not white. Culturally defined as black, visibly undistinguishable from those defined as white, their racial fluidity, their act of drinking tea and laughing at Bellew's ignorance while he rants about hating niggers who were "always robbing and killing people" (Larsen 172), their performance of passing with impunity dismantles the binary upon which racist assertions depend.

Clare's fluid identity also causes others to question their own racial definition and position. When Irene first encounters Clare after twelve years, her curiosity about passing involves racial identity in a practical way. "What about background? Family, I mean. Surely you can't just drop down on people from nowhere and expect them to receive you with open arms, can you?" (Larsen 158). Irene's questions reveal more than just a casual interest in this "hazardous business of passing" (157). Since she has at least on this one occasion flaunted segregation rules and taken advantage of her light skin to usurp white privilege, Irene is aware that passing is a possibility for her, too. "Irene sees passing as a problem of identity—how one accounts for oneself, defines oneself apart from all known social ties—but it is a problem that clearly interests her. So despite Irene's insistence on safety, stability, and social fixity, she does have a fascination with that which transcends the limits and refuses to stay stable and fixed" (Cutter 87). So, although Irene has passed at a restaurant, she has never questioned her racial assignment or considered deeply the implications of race until Clare disrupted her racial torpor. "Irene's racial identity is thus destabilized by Clare's presence, and for the first time, she begins to question what race means" (88). Now, Irene's privileged class position fails to shield her from a growing discontent about limits imposed upon her by race, limits, ironically, that her husband,

Brian, has chafed at for years. “Irene Redfield wished, for the first time in her life, that she had not been a Negro. For the first time she suffered and rebelled because she was unable to disregard the burden of race” (Larsen 225).

The source of Irene’s suffering is her subconscious disavowal of her homosexual desire for Clare which she displaces onto Brian as heterosexual desire. Both the experience of desire and the reaction of displacement take place in quick succession, almost simultaneously. Rage quickly follows Irene’s belief that she has been betrayed by both her friend and her husband. When asked by a hurt Clare why she had not been invited to a private party at the Redfield’s home, Brian, sure Irene had simply forgotten, told her to come. When Brian explains this to Irene, she is at first surprisingly angry, then she irrationally concludes that Brian is involved with Clare.

Her fright was like a scarlet spear of terror leaping at her heart.

Clear Kendry! So that was it! Impossible. It couldn’t be . . .

“You’re right. One of us ought to.” She was surprised that it was in her normal tones she spoke, caught as she was by the heart since that dull indefinite fear had grown suddenly into sharp panic.

She shook her head, unable to speak, for there was a choking in her throat, and the confusion in her mind was like the beating of wings. Behind her she heard the gentle impact of the door as it closed behind him, and knew that he had gone.

Down to Clare. . . .

The face in the mirror vanished from her sight, blotted out by this thing which had so suddenly flashed across her groping mind. Impossible for her to put it

immediately into words or give it outline, for, prompted by some impulse of self-protection, self recoiled from exact expression. (Larsen 217-218)

Although Irene has no reason to suspect Brian of having ever cheated during their marriage or of having a particular interest in Clare, once she has seized on this thought, she never seriously questions the validity of her assumption. “Given her tendency to project her disowned traits, motives, and desires onto others, it is reasonable to argue that Irene is projecting her own developing passion for Clare onto Brian” (McDowell 91).

After Irene has projected her disowned desire, she reacts with rage. Judith Butler interprets *Passing* as “a theorization of desire, displacement, and jealous rage”⁶⁵ (Butler 182). At the party, Irene’s rage breaks through the surface suddenly, unexpectedly.

A feeling of absolute unimportance followed. Actually, she didn’t count. She was to him, only the mother of his sons. That was all. Alone she was nothing. Worse. An obstacle.

Rage boiled up in her.

There was a slight crash. On the floor at her feet lay the shattered cup. Dark stains dotted the bright rug. Spread. The chatter stopped. Went on. Before her, Zulena gathered up the white fragments. (Larsen 221)

The intensity of Irene’s emotions builds to a crescendo, reaching its climax with the sound of the cup smashing on the floor followed by silence. Again, silence is significant as is the shattered white cup. “This time Irene’s own vision of Clare is followed not only by a choking of speech, but by a rage that leads to the shattering of her tea cup, and the interruption of chatter. The tea spreads on the carpet like rage, like blood, figured as dark

⁶⁵ Butler further suggests that *Passing* “has significant implications for rewriting psychoanalytic theory in ways that explicitly come to terms with race” and gender not merely alongside one another but “articulated through one another.”

color itself suddenly uncontained by the strictures of whiteness” (Butler 170). The shattered tea cup foreshadows Clare’s fall and death at the end of the novel, shattering her whiteness at the same time as her color is revealed.

Both the shattered cup and Irene’s cigarette are used by Larsen to represent Clare. “To suggest the extent to which Clare’s death represents the death of Irene’s sexual feelings for Clare, Larsen uses a clever objective correlative: Irene’s pattern of lighting cigarettes and snuffing them out.” (Mc Dowell 93). Larsen has Irene toss a cigarette out the window minutes before Clare falls to her death from the same window to clearly set up the parallel. “Because Clare is a reminder of that repressed and disowned part of Irene’s self, she must be banished, for, more unacceptable than the feelings themselves is the fact that they find an object of expression in Clare” (93) Clare’s death is written with enough ambiguity to remain open to interpretation which allows the entire text to remain fluid.

Irene laughed a little, then said: “It seems dreadfully warm in here. Mind if I open this window?” With that she pushed open one of the long casement-windows of which the Freeland’s were so proud. . . .

Irene finished her cigarette and threw it out, watching the tiny sparks drop slowly down to the white ground [seventeen stories] below. . . .

Then the roar of John Bellew’s voice above all the other voices in the room: “I’m *not* wrong! I’ve been to the Redfields and I know she’s with them. You’d better stay out of my way and save yourself trouble in the end.” . . .

“So you’re a nigger, a damned dirty nigger!” . . .

It was that smile that maddened Irene. She ran across the room, her terror

tinged with ferocity, and laid a hand on Clare's bare arm. One thought possessed her. She couldn't have Clare Kendry cast aside by Bellew.

She couldn't have her free. . . .

What happened next, Irene Redfield never afterwards allowed herself to remember. Never clearly.

One moment Clare had been there, a vital glowing thing, like a flame of red and gold. The next she was gone.

There was a gasp of horror. . .

Irene wasn't sorry. She was amazed, incredulous almost.

If only she could be as free of mental as she was of bodily vigor; could only put from her memory the vision of her hand on Clare's arm!

"It was an accident, a terrible accident," she muttered fiercely. "It *was*." . . .

What if Clare was not dead? (Larson 237-240)

Clare's death scene incorporates racial, gender and sexual identity strands of the narrative into a culturally astute understanding of the position of black female sexual identity in the United States of the late 1920's. Bellew represents not simply one white man who has been deceived by a light-skinned black woman but the "historically entrenched power of the white male gaze"(Butler 184). Bellew's "exposing and endangering gaze" banishes Clare at the same time as "Irene's offer of an apparently helping hand" sets her in motion out the window to her death. The danger of acknowledging lesbian desire combined with the danger of the break up of her marriage place Irene "at the social site of contradiction: both options threaten to jettison her into the public sphere in which she might become subject, as it were, to the same bad winds" (Butler 184). She could not allow herself her

desire; she was safe only in her marriage. “Her passion for Clare had to be destroyed only because she could not find a viable place for her own sexuality to live”(185). In this position, the oppressed may become the instrument of oppression. Choosing safety as “the most important and desired thing in life” (Larsen 235), Irene acts to preserve her security above all else. “Trapped by a promise of safety through class mobility, Irene accepted the terms of power which threatened her, becoming its instrument in the end. . . . the white norm [is] reiterated and executed by those whom it would—and does—vanquish” (Butler 185).

In *Passing*, Clare is a fluid character who resists classification in most binary identity categories. “Clare chooses not to be confined by any one signification, be it of race, class, or sexuality. She finds her identity not on some sense of an ‘essential self’ but rather on a self that is composed of and created by a series of guises and masks, performances and roles. In so doing, she transcends the labeling of society, for the more she passes, the more problematic and plural her presence becomes” (Cutter 75). Clare’s fluidity stands in stark contrast to the identity possibilities available to black women in the late nineteenth century. “In Clare Kendry, then, Larsen has created a character who slides from race to race, class to class, and from one sexual orientation to another. Clare refuses to be fixed in one signification; she multiplies the subject positions available to her in a dizzying plethora that confounds all who confront her” (Cutter 94).

Chapter 5

Introduction

Just as Cole Porter identified the dramatic changes he observed in early twentieth-century America in his musical *Anything Goes*, modernist authors marked the abrupt changes they saw by attempting to date the break in modern culture. For Virginia Woolf that date was 1910, while D.H. Lawrence chose 1915 (North 6). Significantly, both wrote about the break in 1922, the year, according to Willa Cather, that the “world broke in two” (3). Ezra Pound ends the Christian era in October of 1921 when James Joyce completed penning *Ulysses* (3). Historians too see England at “a moment of historical crisis” (5) in 1922. Historian C.F.G. Masterman believes England must adapt to changes as significant as any since 1066: “Here, then, is a complete and startling transformation of values; not slowly from one to another, but suddenly almost brutally forced upon the life of millions by causes altogether outside their own control” (qtd in North 5). The end of World War I clearly marked the beginning of a new era. Michael North credits “a displaced recognition of social changes that had already taken place, but so swiftly and completely that they baffled the understanding”(5). By the end of World War I, recognition of the enormity of the paradigm shift that affected society and the aftereffects of the devastation of the war was entering the public consciousness. For Great Britain, the postcolonial era had begun; the year 1922 marked the birth of the Irish Free State. From this date forward, the British colonial empire would be forced to shift from expansion to self-justification.

As in the United States, the identity transformations advanced in this dissertation were occurring in Great Britain by the 1920's. Modernist literature written there also reflected a shift from binary, polar, discrete, and fixed racial, sexual and gendered identities to multiple, relative, fluid, indeterminate, mutable and unstable identities. As in the previous chapter, characters who exhibit these identities will be called fluid characters to indicate their difference from the queer characters before the paradigm shift. Also as in American literature, the shifts are dissimilar in the various categories and expressed differently in specific novels, but shifts in all the categories are evident nonetheless. These shifts are the end product of the final external crisis, the cataclysm of World War I.

The year 1922 was the first real post-war year for England, the first year that society could function normally again and that people could become aware of the changes that had occurred in society while the war raged. Perhaps that is why it is mentioned so often as a pivotal year. New methodologies in both philosophy and anthropology date from this year (North 9). The publication of Freud's *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* in 1921 and 1922 (65) made this new science of the mind available to the general public. North proposes "psychoanalysis also increased what Anthony Giddens calls 'the institutional reflexivity of modernity' whereby sciences that seek to describe and explain social processes also become a part of the very social world they study" (67). Similar to Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, in which the process of observing interferes with obtaining results, "the institutional reflexivity of modernity" implies that the circulation of previously esoteric scientific knowledge among the uninitiated interferes with the study of the society in which they live. The process is no longer a pure, separate and objective science but rather has become embedded in the

society it proposes to study. This pattern of scientific knowledge seeping into the general population is part of the larger phenomena of a looping process spreading new thoughts across all strata of the culture. Physics was another science that the general public had some knowledge of; everyone had heard of Einstein's theory of relativity. "Einstein was discussed, [G.K.] Chesterton complained, by people who hadn't a prayer of understanding his theories because science was promoted by the same process that promoted soap" (North 18). That process, of course, was advertising, which made products available to consumers in mass markets using new communication technologies like radio. Mass media was making knowledge a commodity. This was another change that the twentieth century had brought to England as it had to the United States.

Other shifts that England shared with the United States were those in gender roles where the changes were considerable. Women gained some sexual and gender freedom, the right to vote and many middle class women were becoming emancipated from the home; men in England returned from the war in large numbers emotionally broken or physically handicapped. A whole generation of men in Europe was decimated by the war. England suffered more devastating losses in the war than the United States because the U.S. had entered the war later. The trauma of that war is reflected in two of the novels discussed in this chapter, *Mrs. Dalloway* and *The Well of Loneliness*. The shadow of the loss of empire and the conflation of race, gender and sexuality is reflected in the other novel, *A Passage to India*. All three novels reflect the changes in gender codes and sexuality apparent in British culture. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Peter Walsh, who had been away from England in India for several years, notices that change in sexual and gender behavior. Women and men behave more freely together than they had in the past.

[A] change of some sort had undoubtedly taken place. What did the young people think about? Peter Walsh asked himself. Those five years—1918 to 1923—had been, he suspected, somehow very important. . . . On board ship coming home there were lots of young men and girls—Betty and Bertie he remembered in particular—carrying on quite openly; the old mother sitting and watching them with her knitting, cool as a cucumber. The girl would stand still and powder her nose in front of everyone. And they weren't engaged; just having a good time; no feelings hurt on either side. As hard as nails she was—Betty . . . she would marry when it suited her to marry. . . (Woolf 71-72)

By implication, just five years earlier Peter would expect only an engaged couple to be “carrying on openly.” Peter is also surprised that Betty will be choosing when she will marry and is “having a good time” now with a man she has no intention of marrying while the “old mother [is] watching.” Parental authority seems to approve of this new code of sexual/gender behavior. These reflections make Peter seem quite provincial, and yet Peter is a man one would not expect to be easily shocked. He himself intends to marry an Indian woman, a married woman with children, but he noticed this change, with a note of disapproval, “hard as nails she was —Betty.” Then, we are to suppose, the change was indeed a noticeable one, since even Peter, a worldly man, takes notice.

Changing gender codes are reflected in all three of these novels in the difference in attitudes about marriage. This is consistent with the trend seen in American novels of the twenties. Marriage is not the trajectory of *A Passage To India*. Although Adela came to India considering marriage to Ronny Healsop, she broke the engagement shortly after her arrival when she saw how India had changed him for the worse. Adela reconsidered,

and they become officially engaged that same evening, but the movement from this point on is away from rather than toward their final union. Ultimately, Adela leaves India unmarried and Ronny remains a bachelor until the end of the novel.

Ronny's mother, Mrs. Moore, who accompanies Adela to India seems satisfied with the announcement of the engagement. To her, the announcement is an item to be checked off on a list rather than a personally moving or hoped for event. Later during an argument over Aziz's guilt, the twice-widowed Mrs. Moore offers this critique of marriage. "Why all this marriage, marriage? . . . The human race would have become a single person centuries ago if marriage was any use. And all this rubbish about love, love in a church, love in a cave, as if there is the least difference, and I held up from my business over such trifles!" (Forster 224). Her impatience and indifference toward marriage is startling; as a twice-married member of an older generation one would expect her to revere it.

Adela's decision to marry continues to distress her. Before the trial, she offered to break off the engagement, but her suffering and notoriety had made her more desirable to Ronny. "In her sadness she said to him, 'I bring you nothing but trouble; I was right on the Maiden, we had better just be friends,' but he protested, for the more she suffered, the more highly he valued her. Did she love him? This question was somehow dragged up with the Marabar, it had been in her mind as she entered the fatal cave. Was she capable of loving anyone?" (235). After the trial, however, when she failed to support the British case, Ronny's attitude changed dramatically.

And Adela—she would have to depart too; he hoped she would have made the suggestion herself ere now. He really could not marry her—it would mean the

end of his career . . . Then he would ask her to release him. She had killed his love, and it had never been very robust” (287).

From desirable asset to political liability, Adela has lost her personal identity in Ronny’s eyes. In the end, it was Ronny who finally broke the engagement and arranged for Adela’s passage back to England: “and in the end Ronny and I part and aren’t even sorry” (291). Finally, Cyril Fielding who had avoided marriage for so long marries Stella Moore, but “was not quite happy about his marriage” (357). Fielding offers another critique of marriage: “Marriage is too absurd in any case. It begins and continues for such very slight reasons. The social business props it up on one side, and the theological business on the other . . . I suspect that it mostly happens haphazard, though afterwards various noble reasons are invented” (292). Marriage, then, fails to be a driving force in this novel. Certainly, it is never prescribed as a woman’s place for the fluid characters the reader meets. The most compelling relationship and attraction in this novel is the friendship of Aziz and Fielding, different races, different nationalities, different religions, same sex — a very queer pairing — not the stuff of a marriage plot at all.

Although Adela failed to marry, her trip to India was remarkable. Adela’s voice wields unexpected power in the courtroom, suggesting women’s growing influence. By implication, “her testimony also judges British legal superiority to be fraudulent and unstable” (Walls 179). Adela Quested is a fluid character because she refuses the old roles assigned to women by the McBrydes, the Turtons and the Heaslops of the world and “renegotiates Victorian social spheres by employing a woman’s voice to disrupt the chauvinistic and racist legal traditions undergirding the British Empire” (Walls 173).

In the twenties, men like McBryde have less power than in the old days. Ronny as the City Magistrate and voice of the Raj failed to overpower the voice of one woman with the rhetoric of empire. Ronny's individual failure positions him with other failed men who appear in the novels of the twenties, the compensatory result of female power gain, loss of male power.

Unlike Victorian marriage plots, in *Mrs. Dalloway* the failure to marry is the man's failure and loss; Peter Walsh never gets over Clarissa Dalloway's rejection of him. He attributes his other failures in life to this one failure as he searches for ways to redeem himself in her eyes. Afraid of her censure, Peter is unsure whether to reveal his new love, Daisy, to Clarissa. She is very young, pretty and Indian, a barely noticeable racial undertone hidden in the text in three short words, "very dark . . . dark" (Woolf 157) and implied in her position as "the wife of a Major in the Indian Army" (45). Peter's second marriage would involve a divorce for her and an interracial marriage for him, neither commented upon directly in the text. Lady Bruton and Hugh Whitbread spoke of him at lunch; she reflecting that it would be "impossible"(107) to help him. Lady Bruton remarked that he was "in trouble with some woman . . . They all guessed that *that* was at the bottom of it" (108). Peter was pejoratively judged as flawed and perhaps unmanly for being unable to handle his affairs with women discreetly.

Dr. Holmes labels Septimus, a veteran of the war, a coward, a word synonymous with failure. His valor in the war counts for nothing in Holmes' eyes. Men fail in the novel in visible ways, but sexuality remains undercover. The most potent sexuality in the novel is reserved for a single kiss, the full meaning of which Clarissa Dalloway never completely allows herself to acknowledge. It is not, however, heterosexual sexuality.

The final blow to the heterosexual marriage plot comes in *The Well of Loneliness* when both Stephen Gordon and Mary Llewellyn reject Martin Hallam's love. Although Stephen was still unaware of her sexuality when Martin declared his love, his marriage proposal "proved his judgment to be flawed" (Hemmings 184). As a real man, he should have recognized that Stephen was by her performance of masculinity unavailable as a heterosexual partner. Since Havelock Ellis describes female inverts like Mary as women "the average man would pass by" (Hemmings 183), Martin compounds his poor judgment by falling in love with Mary. Finally, when he and Stephen compete for Mary's affection, Martin is forced to concede: "It's all over—you've beaten me Stephen . . . The bond was too strong" (Hall 432).⁶⁶ It is only Stephen's self-sacrificing love of Mary that leaves her in Martin Hallam's arms and as critic Clare Hemmings reminds us, we have no more access to Mary's story than we had to Bertha's story in *Jayne Eyre*: "we must seek out Mary's possible futures in other texts" (Hemmings 194). Clearly, in this novel, the primary pairing is Stephen and Mary and it is only the intolerance of society that threatens their happiness.

⁶⁶ ellipsis are Hall's

A Passage to India — 1924

A clash of identity categories in *A Passage to India* results from friction among several social systems, each with its own set of integral identity constructions. The Indian gender systems as seen in *A Passage to India* are polar and homosocial across several ethnicities, multiple religions, castes and racial mixtures with varying attitudes toward sexuality. Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and other religious groups claim believers whose ancestors migrated from other parts of Asia, Africa and the Middle East retaining long histories of tribal loyalties and animosities. The multiplicity that is India is dominated by British rule. The staid Anglo-Indians base their identities on Victorian ideals while failing to notice the British Empire's decline. Forster expresses modernist fluidity in the central characters, notably English and Indian characters who seek connections across the cultural and racial divide: Cyril Fielding, Mrs. Moore, Adela Quested, and Dr. Aziz. The central conflict of the novel involves an accusation of rape against an Indian doctor, Dr. Aziz by a young English woman, Adela Quested.

The Anglo-Indian culture of the Club, the central gathering place, retains the polarized gender constructions of the Victorian age; the women expect their men to perform duties in support of them. Cyril Fielding's refusal to submit to this system makes him unpopular in the English camp. Adela Quested with her modern views on marriage and women's rights also does not fit in and gets a chilly reception from those in the Club. Even the elderly Mrs. Moore has no patience for their nostalgia and little interest in their activities.

The cultures of India also support separate, polarized gender constructions. Indian women are largely invisible in this novel but the gender polarity of their culture is

occasionally visible. Some of the Indian women at the “Bridge Party” face the shrubs rather than meeting the English women as Mrs. Moore and Adela had hoped; the Anglo-Indian women speak disparagingly of those “purdah women” (Forster 41). At the trial, another brief reference suggests the English attitude toward Indian women by way of free and indirect discourse: “And a number of Mohammedan ladies had sworn to take no food until the prisoner was acquitted: their death would make little difference, indeed, being invisible, they seemed dead already, nevertheless it was disquieting” (238).

Although *A Passage To India* depicts various identity systems, it privileges the voice of modernism, reflecting the shift of racial, sexual and gendered identities from binary, polar, discrete and fixed to multiple, relative, fluid, indeterminate, mutable and unstable. India as Forster describes it embodies the modernist paradigm being itself multiple, relative, fluid, indeterminate, mutable and unstable; it is the perfect setting and symbol: “nothing in India is identifiable, the mere asking of a question causes it to disappear or to merge in something else” (91).

In *A Passage to India*, the collapse of identity categories into one another is both driven and complicated by imperialist hegemony. Because of the hierarchies imposed by British colonialism, location becomes a significant vector of identity in this novel. Geographic location becomes a marker of race and of a fantasized exotic Oriental sexuality that is measured against a Western imperialistic norm. Although identity is multiply located in the novel, conflated identity categories may initially appear as oppositional binaries, especially presented as they are within the central motif of the rape trial of Dr. Aziz. Upon close examination, however, identity in the novel is multiple, complex and fluid. To see this fluidity clearly, deconstructing racial/gender/sexual

binaries combined with a close reading of selected sections of the narrative uncovers the collapse of identity categories into one another and exposes identity fluidity.

Applying the Davidsons' method⁶⁷ of destabilizing gender-based constructions of "unreconciled opposites that reside in the text" using the diacritical mark,⁶⁸ identity pairings which are at once "pervasive and undermined" (Davidson 88) can be seen to be fluid and multiple rather than binary and polar. The pairing rapist/victim applied to Dr Aziz/ Adela Quested fractures when examined in relation to the narrative. This rapist/victim binary is immediately conflated with Indian (uncivilized) male/ English lady then generalized into the more political oppositional binary of sexual violence/military violence; all of these pairings are normalized to the colonizers' racial bias. The movement of these pairings is from a gender/power relation binary to a conflated gender/race/nationality binary to a generalization of the specific into a racialized stereotype connected to a distorted version of a historical past.

When applied to the specifics of the text, these binaries fail on every level. The initial charges against Aziz included an attack and apparently concrete proof of that attack found on the body of the alleged attacker. "That he followed her into the cave and made insulting advances. She hit him with her field glasses; he pulled at them and the strap broke, and that is how she got away. When we searched him just now, they were in his pocket" (Forster 185). Before the train had returned to Chandrapore from the Marabar Caves with Dr Aziz on board, a full-scale official response had been launched. Elizabeth Walls notes, "From the moment that Adela is retrieved from the Marabar Hills after her unsettling ordeal there, the official narrative of guilt begins to form in the British camp.

⁶⁷ The Davidsons adapted their method from Roland Barthes

⁶⁸ This method was used to examine *The Sun Also Rises*.

It is clear from the outset that gender is their rallying point” (172). Turton, the Collector, is appalled that Fielding might even consider the possibility of Aziz’s innocence: “That a lady, that a young lady engaged to my most valued subordinate—that she—an English girl fresh from England—that I should have lived—” (Forster 182). The shift from rapist/victim to Indian (uncivilized) male rapist/English lady victim is made before Fielding or Aziz have even left the train station. Turton fully expected support from all British men. Fielding’s refusal to shift to the new construct Indian (uncivilized) male rapist/ English lady victim is more than irritating; it is unpatriotic.

But the Collector looked at him sternly, because he was keeping his head. He had not gone mad at the phrase “an English girl fresh from England,” he had not rallied to the banner of race. He was still after facts, though the herd had decided on emotion. Nothing enraged Anglo-India more than the lantern of reason if it is exhibited for one moment after its extinction is decreed. All over Chandrapore that day the Europeans were putting aside their normal personalities and sinking themselves into their community. Pity, wrath, heroism, filled them, but the power of putting two and two together were annihilated. (Forster 183)

Speaking to Mr. McBryde, the District Superintendent of Police, Fielding discusses the evidence against Aziz. He makes the point that a guilty man would surely not have held on to evidence that would connect him to the crime. For McBryde, however, the second binary, Indian (uncivilized) male rapist, here read as “not British” which to him by definition translates to “not normal,” refutes Fielding’s logic moving to the final binary

which the entire British enclave will finally and quickly adopt — sexual violence/military violence. Fielding speaks first in defense of Aziz.

“Those field-glasses upset me for a minute, but I’ve thought since: it’s impossible that, having attempted to assault her, he would have put the field glasses into his pocket”

“Quite possible, I’m afraid; when an Indian goes bad, he goes not only very bad, but very queer.”

“I don’t follow.”

“How should you. When you think of crime you think of English crime. The psychology here is different. . . Read any of the Mutiny records. . . ⁶⁹ (187)

According to Mr. McBryde, Fielding should accept the incident at the cave which has so far been described as “insulting advances” (185) to be a sexual assault of “an English girl fresh from England” by an (uncivilized) native male. Furthermore, the District Superintendent of Police proposes a connection between Dr. Aziz’s “insulting advances” and the Mutiny of 1857, general violence aimed at both British civilians and the Raj. He bases his second conclusion of Aziz’s “queer” behavior on a standard that infers that those who are not British are likely to behave “queerly” and on his reading of British records of a mutiny that occurred sixty years earlier. Yonatan Touval points out that to McBride the norm is British and everything else is simply queer: “Set against the

⁶⁹ Refers to the Mutiny of 1857 sparked by the sepoys refusal to use new cartridges lubricated with pig and cow fat that the Muslims objected to because biting the cartridges would make them infidels. The uprising began in Meerut, spread quickly to Delhi and other areas. “Both sides adopted mass murder as an instrument of policy” (251) intentionally killing women and children. British “racial arrogance” is cited as a precursor to the mutiny. The increasing everyday use of the word “nigger” is also noted prior to the revolt. It took eighteen months to restore the British Raj. (James 233- 298)

normative standard of what is expected from things English, queerness thus becomes constituted by its *difference* from things English” (116).

Mc Bride is the first to connect the alleged attack with the Mutiny, but by the end of the day, the entire British enclave has jumped from the first binary to the last generalization. Touval connects the single allegation of a sexual attack to mutiny: “In collapsing sexual into nationalist (and military) violence, the reference to the mutiny of 1857 also phobically abstracts the alleged sexual crime of one individual to the possibility of a nation-wide rampage” (Touval 112).

In the rapist/victim binary, Adela Quested is barely satisfactory as a victim to the English camp. By showing an interest in India and its people, she had not become “one of them,” a member of the British camp, and that was impossible now, regardless of her situation.

Although Miss Quested had not made herself popular with the English, she brought out all that was fine in their character. For a few hours an exalted emotion gushed forth, which the women felt even more keenly than the men, if not for so long . . . If she wasn't one of them, they should have made her one, and they could never do that now, she had passed beyond their invitation . . . These regrets lasted only a few hours. Before sunset, other considerations adulterated them, and the sense of guilt (so strangely connected with our first sight of any suffering) had begun to wear away” (Forster 199, 200).

At the club where the British had agreed to meet to discuss the situation, the English arrived calmly: “[T]he natives must not suspect that they were agitated” (200).

Mrs. Blakiston expresses her anxiety in racist terms about remaining in her bungalow alone. Her lower class status is excused in this time of crisis and her desire to be one of them in a way that Adela Quested had rejected makes her more acceptable within the small closed community.

One young mother—a brainless but most beautiful girl . . . with her baby in her arms . . . her husband was away in the district, and she dared not return to her bungalow in case “the niggers attacked.” The wife of a small railway official, she was generally snubbed; but this evening, with her abundant figure and masses of corn-gold hair, she symbolized all that is worth fighting and dying for; more permanent a symbol, perhaps, than poor Adela. (Forster 200)

Ironically, Mrs. Blakiston, “brainless” but “beautiful” has replaced the victimized Adela as the symbolic “English girl fresh from England;” she makes a better symbol to rally around. Her racialized fear and feminine desire for protection from the imagined danger of the uprising of uncivilized Indian males completely fits the racialized panic that the British enclave is working itself into. Walls proposes Adela’s position is generalized by her gender: “Anglo-India’s explanation of Adela’s situation lends support to the gendered constructs of Empire, reifying ‘all that is worth fighting and dying for’ among the British gentry holed up at the Club—or, British cultural indelibility symbolized by the refined and chaste (white, upper class) British woman” (Walls 174). By this time, Adela seems all but forgotten in the almost hysterical response to her attack.

At the club, The Collector confirms the danger of a native uprising⁷⁰ by warning the women while assuring them of their safety. “‘I want to talk specially to the ladies,’ he says. ‘Not the least cause for alarm. Keep cool, keep cool. Don’t go out more than you can help, don’t go into the city, don’t talk before your servants. That’s all.’” Later, Turton warns Mrs. Callendar of things that must not be said “in these times” (201). He asks the ladies to leave. “These times” also assumes a more generalized state of disturbance than Adela’s attack would seem to justify. The women, mollified, subtly shift their allegiance. “They moved out, subdued yet elated, Mrs. Blakiston in their midst like a sacred flame. His [the Collector’s] simple words had reminded them that they were an outpost of Empire. By the side of their compassionate love for Adela another sentiment sprang up which was to strangle it in the long run” (202).

Torn by contradictory desires, Turton as the leader was forced by his own political wisdom to follow that “old weary business of compromise and moderation” (203). His heart was not in it.

He longed for the good old days when an Englishman could satisfy his own honour and no questions asked afterwards. . . .He had constantly to remind himself that, in the eyes of the law, Aziz was not yet guilty, and the effort fatigued him.

The others, less responsible . . . had started speaking of “women and children”

⁷⁰ At Amritsar, riots had occurred after the arrest of two leading citizens Dr. Satya Pal, a medical doctor and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, a lawyer, two nationalists who supported the Khalifat movement. In the ensuing riots, Miss Marcia Sherwood was badly beaten. In retaliation, claiming to restore order, Brigadier General Dyer ordered Indian troops to fire on a crowd of Indians who had gathered for a mass meeting defying a curfew. Without warning, Troops fired into the crowd for ten minutes killing 379 Indians and wounding 1,500. (James 472-473)

—that phrase that exempts the male from sanity when it has been repeated a few times. . . . Each felt that all he loved best in the world was at stake, demanded revenge, and was filled with a not unpleasing glow, in which the chilly and half-known features of Miss Quested vanished, and were replaced by all that is sweetest and warmest in private life. “But it’s the women and children,” they repeated, and the Collector knew he ought to stop them intoxicating themselves, but he hadn’t the heart. . . . Many of the said women and children were leaving for the Hill Station in a few days, and the suggestion was made that they should be packed off at once in a special train. (203)

Turton’s final word that evening to “his own people” (204) is a warning to maintain the appearance of normality. “Don’t start carrying arms about . . . Get the womenfolk off to the hills, but do it quietly, and for Heaven’s sake no more talk of special trains . . . One isolated Indian has attempted — is charged with an attempted crime” (204). By the end of the day, the transfer from rapist/victim to sexual violence/military violence is almost complete.

On the morning of the trial, several of the English leaders gather in Ronny’s private room behind the courtroom to prepare for the trial. Major Callendar shares his impression of the Indians’ reaction to the accusation and the trial.

“What’s happened is a damn good thing really, barring of course its application to present company. It’ll make them squeal and it’s time they did squeal.” . . . nothing’s too bad for these people.” . . .

“At last some sense is being talked,” Mrs. Turton cried much to her husband’s discomfort.

“That’s what I say; I say there’s not such a thing as cruelty after a thing like this.”

“Exactly, and remember it afterwards, you men. You’re weak, weak, weak.

Why, they ought to crawl from here to the caves on their hands and knees

whenever an Englishwoman’s in sight, they oughtn’t to be spoken to, they

ought to be spat at, they ought to be ground into the dust, we’ve been far too

kind with our Bridge Parties and the rest.”⁷¹ [Mrs. Turton] (Forster 239-240).

This clear reference to Amritsar⁷² completes the sexual violence/military violence binary just as the trial is about to begin. Those in the English camp have swiftly moved from the Aziz’s accusation of “insulting advances” to fears of an mass Indian uprising and talk of “special trains” to evacuate the women and children. As the rapist/ victim binary is expanding, it is simultaneously beginning to fail. Adela first voices her doubts about Aziz’s guilt to Ronny and Mrs. Moore when she returns to his cottage.

“Aziz . . . have I made a mistake?”⁷³

“You’re over-tired,” he [Ronnie] cried, not much surprised.

“Ronny, he’s innocent; I made an awful mistake.”

“Well, sit down anyhow.” . . .

“But Ronny, dear Ronny, perhaps there oughtn’t to be any trial.”

“I don’t quite know what you’re saying, and I don’t think you do.”

“If Dr. Aziz never did it he ought to be let out.”

⁷¹ This is a clear reference to the “crawling order” given by Brigadier General Reginald Dyer at Amritsar. All Indians were forced to crawl on their bellies in the street where Miss Sherwood had been assaulted. (James, 474)

⁷² G.K. Das identifies Amritsar as the incident upon which Forster modeled *A Passage to India*. (Das 3-7)

⁷³ ellipses Forster’s

A shiver like impending death passed over Ronny. . . .

“I thought you said, ‘Aziz is an innocent man,’ but it was in Mr. Fielding’s letter.” [Adela to Mrs. Moore]

“Of course he is innocent,” she answered indifferently: it was the first time she had expressed an opinion on the point.

“You see, Ronny, I was right,” said the girl.

“You were not right, she never said it.”

“But she thinks it.”

“Who cares what she thinks?” . . .

“I will not help you torture him for what he never did.” . . . [Mrs. Moore]

“Have you any evidence in the prisoner’s favor?” . . . [Ronny]

“One knows people’s characters, as you call them,” she retorted disdainfully, as if she really knew more than character but could not impart it. “I have heard both English and Indians speak well of him, and I felt it isn’t the sort of thing he would do.”

‘Feeble, mother, feeble.’ . . .

Adela said: “It would be so appalling if I was wrong. I should take my own life.”

He turned on her with: “What was I warning you just now? You know you’re right, and the whole station knows it.” . . .

“[W]ouldn’t it be possible to withdraw the case?” . . . [Adela]

“[T]he case has to come before a magistrate now; it really must, the machinery has started.” . . .

Ronny picked up the list of steamship sailings with an excellent notion in his head. His mother ought to leave India at once: she was doing no good to herself or anyone else there. (225-229)

Adela's hesitant suggestion of Aziz's innocence is countered by Ronny's immediate resistance. Even Mrs. Moore's distracted support is enough to convince Ronny to ship her back to England. As much as he claims to be an agent of impartial justice, Ronny, the City Magistrate, has a stake in Aziz's verdict that has nothing to do with concern over Adela. In this dialogue, Walls perceives Adela's hesitancy about the charges: "Adela asserts Aziz's innocence to Ronny, realizing the extent to which her trauma, masked by hazy memories and emotions, has been appropriated and manipulated within the Anglo-Indian community in order to reinforce British rule in Chandrapore. Not surprisingly, Adela's claims are consistently undermined by Ronny who counters her logic by questioning her state of mind" (Walls 177). Fearing that the case against Aziz will be blown apart if Adela's doubts have any support, Ronnie arranges a quick passage for his mother. "Adela and Mrs. Moore are ultimately banished from Anglo India for refusing an identity politics that hinges on identifying Indians" (Touval 117). Too much publicity surrounds the incident now, Adela cannot simply be permitted to back out; the only solution is for an Indian to be found guilty at this point. Mrs. Moore instinctively senses Aziz's innocence and feels drawn to him more than to the English crowd she met in while in India: "Mrs. Moore, who from the start disassociates herself from the Anglo-Indian community, identifies with Indians rather than, transitively, identifies them, and so must be hastily shipped away at the crucial moment when she begins to shake Adela's confidence in, precisely, the *identity* of her assailant" (117).

Finally at the trial, Adela totally fractures the rapist/victim binary with her statements. “Adela’s confidence is lost altogether during the trial . . . it’s that loss of confidence in identifying her Indian assailant that formally ends Adela’s short tenure in Anglo India” (117). It is also the unexpected, disruptive female voice that fractures the binary created by the hegemony of empire. “I’m afraid I have made a mistake. . . . Dr. Aziz never followed me into the cave. . . . I withdraw everything.” (Forster 255-256). Aziz was released.

[P]opular racism *expects* Aziz to be a rapist; evidential facts show that, even if attempting to act on that racial stereotype, Aziz *failed* to rape; political interests demand that Aziz continue to emblemize a certain kind of threat; and imperial misogyny fuels this fantastical chain from the start with the sincere wishes that Adela had been raped—or how else to read the aftermath of a trial in which everyone’s greatest irritation seems to lie less in the fact that Aziz is vindicated than that Adela wasn’t raped after all? (Touval 115).

Aziz, cleared of the charges of rape moves from the position of rapist in the rapist/victim binary into the victim position, victimized by the rape accusation and the racism of the Raj. Adela Quested although not a rape victim is a victim of the system of romantic chivalry that uses gender as a racist device. The attempt of the Raj to use Adela Quested’s gender as their instrument to enhance their racial power in India failed at her expense.⁷⁴

The second binary Indian (uncivilized) male/English lady fails with the racist assumption that an Indian male must be uncivilized and behave in a savage manner: the

⁷⁴ Davidis claims “this brand of chivalry . . . bolsters its power over a presumably inferior race using the so-called inferior sex” (Davidis 187).

false expectation that Aziz would be a rapist, the assumption that his behavior is “queer” because he is not English. It fails on account of Adela Quested as well. She is not the English lady that the Raj expects at the trial; she refuses to support the party line. As Walls concludes, “Adela proves despite her unsteadiness that the feminine utterance and the knowledge of one British woman are more viable than the Raj had ever supposed” (Walls 179). Adela refuses to be constrained by the old gender rules of the British Raj; she is a fluid character. As modern women, Adela and Mrs. Moore cannot find a place within the repressive society of Anglo-India: “Adela is Forster’s unacknowledged representative of modernity in the novel; her private insights, brought to public fruition at the trial, disengage from and dislodge Victorian social constraints concerning gender, race and class in imperial India by operating from a subordinate position inside the dominant legal structure engendered by the Raj” (Walls 181).

By exonerating Aziz, Adela fractures all of the conflated binaries. If Aziz is not a rapist, then all of India is not on the verge of rising up in rebellion against the Raj and the (uncivilized) Indian men are not on the verge of raping the English women. If this is true, what can be said of Aziz’s statement to Fielding at the end of the novel?

[It is the] “Old story of ‘We will rob every man and rape every woman from Peshawar to Calcutta.’ I suppose, which you get some nobody to repeat and then quote every week in the *Pioneer* in order to frighten us into retaining you! We Know!” (Forster 361).

Aziz did not rape a woman; however, he was discovered with Adela’s field-glasses.

“We will rob every man and rape every woman”: what seems like an unproblematically straight pairing of two different kinds of violence (rob/man; rape/woman) immediately breaks down by the sheer insistence

upon that unproblematicity, as “rape” and “rob” prove to be tongue twisters of a particularly dangerous kind. . . . [These] two thus threaten to mismatch verb with object, rendering not only a woman robbed, but also, and far more problematically, a raped man. (Touval 112)

This pairing forces a return to McBryde’s observation that Indians who go bad not only go “very bad” but also go “very queer.” Add to this Mc Bride’s testimony at the trial on his pseudo-scientific theory about racial and sexual attraction, “Oriental Pathology . . . the darker races are physically attracted by the fairer, but not *vice versa*— . . . just a fact which any scientific observer will confirm” (Forster 243). McBryde posits dark races attracted to fair but omits any mention of gender. “Since only race here charts the law of desire, the queerness of the Oriental extends precisely to the possibility that the Oriental might be homosexual” (Touval 118). Taken together, Indians that go bad, especially Indians in possession of someone else’s property might be robbers. “And if Aziz had failed in his assault on Adela—or even if he had never launched one in the first place—the worse for him. For to refute one charge is invariably to produce another: if Aziz had merely *robbed* Adela of her field-glasses, there’s no telling that he wouldn’t *rape* the City Magistrate next” (Touval 118). Unchallenged, McBryde’s racial theories are fluid enough to charge Aziz with a different crime, but they are challenged. Immediately after McBryde proclaims his views on Oriental Pathology, a voice from the crowd argues, “Even when the lady is so uglier than the gentleman?” (Forster 243). Adela observes that Aziz is handsome while he reflects sadly on the unkindness of God to have given a female such faults as freckles and Adela’s shape. In his rob and rape complaint to Fielding that is really aimed at the British colonial rulers Aziz challenges the “hegemony

of the normative” in colonial India (Touval 111). Through an examination of the relationships and identities as constructed by the ruling powers, Aziz “perceptively exposes the insidious collusion between colonial imperialism and Western sexuality” (111).

In the context of sexuality, the friendship of Aziz and Fielding, located as it is in India within the discourse of race and colonialism, is fraught with homoerotic implications. Parry offers the thought, “Because the libidinal is woven into an intricate narrative web, a discourse in the tradition of homosexual Orientalism is inseparable from the fiction’s mediations on friendships within colonial conditions” (Parry 163). During their first face-to-face meeting, Aziz’s generous offer of his own collar stud inserts innuendo along with Aziz’s stud into Fielding’s tight collar hole. Aziz, concerned over Fielding’s lack of progress inserting the stud, intervenes and successfully slips it in himself. “I say, Mr. Fielding, is the stud going to go in? . . . Let me put in your stud. I see . . . ⁷⁵the shirt back’s hole is rather small and to rip it wider a pity” (Forster 68-69). Sara Suleri refers to the collar stay episode as “the most notorious oblique homoerotic exchange in the literature of English India” (qtd. in Bristow 87). In this brief scene, Forster integrates Aziz and Fielding’s easy familiarity, Aziz’s obliging subservience and homoeroticism. “The stud represents ‘the rapidity of their intimacy’ . . . it symbolizes exploitative imperial rule, and it is an obscure emblem of homosexual desire” (Bristow 87).

Although McBryde’s normative English gender standards may mark Aziz as queer, Aziz’s actions are consistent with those of “the presumptively heterosexual Indian male . . . rather expected as part of the institution of Indian maleness” (Touval 121).

⁷⁵ ellipses Forster’s

Touval believes reading Aziz as queer based upon the homosocial structure of the culture within which he lives reveals “Anglo-Indian homophobia” (Touval 121). When Aziz cries out to Fielding after Adela Quested inexplicably has run off, “Fielding! Oh, I have so wanted you!” (Forster 172), or after his acquittal when he pleads, “Cyril, Cyril, don’t leave me” (258), Aziz “exhibits a kind of natural abandon . . . one whose maleness is reckoned all too lightly under guard” (Touval 121). Aziz has no need to guard his maleness. To whom, then, does this homoeroticism appeal?

When considering Aziz’s friends, all are Indian men with three exceptions: Mrs. Moore, Adela Quested and Cyril Fielding. “Aziz found the English ladies easy to talk to, he treated them like men. Beauty would have troubled him, for it entails rules of its own, but Mrs. Moore was so old and Miss Quested so plain that he was spared this anxiety” (Forster 71). Fielding is the odd man. “Fielding is left to choose between two categories whose algebra *ugly English woman*=*queer Indian man*, even for so liberal a guy, must be hard to take” (Touval 121). The Anglo Indians were of one mind regarding Mr. Fielding’s preferences. Fielding’s choice of Indian men over English women and men as companions “bespeaks more than a simple break of convention . . . and can only be explained by, a desire for Indian men, a desire strong enough, at any rate, to be entirely consistent with ‘dropping’ the women” (122). Fielding had ready excuses for not being married and not pursuing marriage throughout much of the narrative. “[I]n *A Passage To India*, chumming with the Indians isn’t merely socially queer (although it is), but must also be explainable by a queer predisposition” (122). Fielding, although married by the end of the novel, remains sexually fluid. “The accounts of easeful male associations to which Fielding is admitted, resonate the courtly same-sex eroticism of the Arab-Persian-

Islamic literary tradition and fulfill a fantasy of unconcealed homosexual associations still forced into secrecy in Britain” (Parry 163).

Mrs. Dalloway — 1925

Her decision to “buy the flowers herself” (Woolf 3) for her party that evening would free up the servants for other work, and Clarissa Dalloway is pleased to be out in London early in the morning in the middle of June. *Mrs. Dalloway* opens with Clarissa busy with her party plans, and within her own consciousness. Apparently now content to be “the perfect hostess,” Clarissa had once “cried over” (7) that title which had been Peter Walsh’s intentional insult in her youth; she divides her attention between her errand, memories of that youth at Bourton with Sally Seton and Peter, the distractions of her immediate surroundings and thoughts of her current life. Clarissa rejected Peter’s marriage proposal that summer long ago; they would cross paths twice today. Peter would also cross paths twice with Septimus Warren Smith, a World War I veteran and a total stranger, while each traveled through London; Clarissa would never meet Septimus, but she would become aware of him, the connection would be unexpected. The interconnectedness of individuals is central to identity fluidity in *Mrs. Dalloway*.

During modernism, technology became a vehicle for fluid identity constructs spawning innovations that enabled previously unimagined degrees of connectedness between people. That connectedness enhanced the modernist vision of identity fluidity seen in novels. Beginning with radio in 1922, new forms of communication, which spoke indiscriminately to the public, circumvented identity barriers by offering information to all without restrictions. This mass communication and reception of ideas suggests, at least superficially, mass consciousness—a simultaneous knowledge of events by complete strangers. “For the first time in history people unknown to each other who met knew what each had in all probability heard (or, later, seen) the night before: the big game, the

favourite comedy show, Winston Churchill's speech, the contents of the news bulletin" (Hobsbawm, *Extremes* 196).

In *Mrs. Dalloway*, this simultaneity of knowledge through mass marketing is exploited and satirized using a skywriting advertisement. "There it was coming over the trees, letting out white smoke from behind, which curled and twisted, actually writing something! making letters in the sky! Every one looked up" (Woolf 20). While the airplane flew over London various observers, noticed it, watched in amazement and reacted. The crowds were part of a group conscious of the writing, and aware of others who were also watching. "'Glaxo,' said Mrs. Coates in a strained, awe-stricken voice, gazing straight up . . . 'Kreemo,' murmured Mrs. Bletchley, like a sleep-walker. . . . All down the mall people were standing and looking up into the sky" (20). As all of these different women and men watched the airplane, they tried to decode the message the smoke was writing across the sky. "As they looked the whole world became perfectly silent. . . . 'It's toffee,' murmured Mr. Bowley—" (21).

Not everyone who watched was enjoying a carefree stroll. Lucrezia Warren Smith saw the airplane from Regent's Park where she sat with her shell-shocked⁷⁶ husband, Septimus, a casualty of the war. Hoping to draw Septimus back into reality as Dr. Holmes had ordered her to do, Lucrezia drew his attention to the airplane. "Look, look, Septimus!" (21) Septimus saw the skywriting, but he interpreted it self referentially, supporting his hysteria. "So, thought Septimus, looking up, they are signaling to me" (21). A woman with a child spoke to Lucrezia. "It was toffee; they were advertising

⁷⁶ Dr. Charles Myers coined the term shell shock for a nervous disorder exhibited by survivors of explosions of shells where no physical explanations could be found for their symptoms. Myers quickly discovered that the symptoms also occurred in men not exposed to explosions and that the cause was not organic. (Showalter, *The Female Malady* 167-168)

toffee, a nursemaid told Rezia” (22). Returning home from her morning errand, buying flowers for her party, Clarissa Dalloway is distracted by her own thoughts and not conscious of the airplane or its message. ““What are they looking at?” said Clarissa Dalloway to the maid who opened the door” (29).

On Derby Day 1922⁷⁷, The *Daily Mail* was the first to use skywriting as an advertising technique; at the time, this was a breakthrough. “[I]t allows the ‘reader’ to see others in the audience ‘reading’ at the same time and so makes the whole process of reception self-consciously social” (North 83). The message that was written in the sky that day was “Daily Mail” (81) not “Glaxo Kreemo.” The *Daily Mail* claimed that “everyone within an area of a hundred square miles—and there were millions—gazed spellbound at this fascinating sight, and there was a general chorus of ‘Daily Mail’ as soon as the aeroplane finished the first word and had just commenced upon the second” (qtd. in North 83). The *Daily Mail* also proposed that even the response of the crowd, repeating the name of the newspaper was part of the advertisement. Michael North contends that in *Mrs. Dalloway*, “Woolf lampoons the *Daily Mail*’s pretensions even more mercilessly than had its direct competitors” (83).

In Woolf’s version of the skywriting, the *Daily Mail* has been removed from the London sky and replaced with Glaxo Kreemo toffee; there are no general choruses of “Daily Mail,” or even “Glaxo Kreemo,” rather individual voices respond one at a time, but all look. North credits Woolf with countering the *Daily Mail*’s claims by demonstrating the individuality of members of the audience; even advertising slogans can be misread: “What we see in Woolf’s account is the ineluctable subjectivity and

⁷⁷ Michael North notes that in her diary Virginia Woolf records the *Daily Mail*’s skywriting advertisement. When Woolf began writing *Mrs. Dalloway* in November of that year she was still impressed by it (81).

idiosyncrasy of the individual, for whom even the most public language can have a purely personal significance, as these letters have for Septimus Smith, who decides that they are secret signal in a language private to himself” (83). For generations somewhat inured to the claims of advertisers, the inattention, unpredictable tastes and eccentricity of the audience comes as no great surprise; we would be, perhaps, more surprised if the crowd had in fact murmured in unison “Glaxo Kreemo.”

Virginia Woolf does parody the *Daily Mail*'s inflated claims as Michael North suggests, but more importantly she recognizes the significance of a new kind of communication and ingeniously utilizes the skywriting advertisement as a bridge, one of several structural connections that move the novel seamlessly from one character's inner narrative to another's. The skywriting not only links characters' narratives, it also links several disparate but related topics: modern science, communication, individual consciousness, and identity. Modern science, represented by the airplane and the skywriting itself, is later represented less kindly by the psychiatric treatments Dr. Holmes and Sir William Bradshaw inflict upon Septimus Smith. The mass communication somewhat crudely written in the sky suggests a new interconnectedness available in the modern world through technology, which allows a synchronized group consciousness of events never before possible. Ideas can potentially loop through all strata of society instantly. In the “Glaxo Kreemo” scene, Woolf demonstrates the interconnectedness of consciousness, which in *Mrs. Dalloway* serves as both a theme and method of narrative structure. The interconnected identities that Woolf portrays are inherently relative, fluid and mutable, a characteristic of modernist writing.

As Peter Walsh remembers Clarissa, he thinks of her theory of the connectedness of an individual with every one and every thing she is associated. Peter believes that Clarissa has influenced him more than anyone else.

Clarissa had a theory in those days . . . It was to explain the feeling they had of dissatisfaction; not knowing people; not being known. For how could they know each other? . . . she felt herself everywhere ; not “here, here, here” . . . but everywhere. She waved her hand, going up Shaftesbury Avenue. She was all that. So that to know her, or to know any one, one must seek out the people who completed them; even the places. (Woolf 152-153)

Mrs. Dalloway demonstrates Clarissa’s theory as each character narrates the interconnections of his or her life; each consciousness is intricately interwoven within a complex framework of other lives and narratives.

Clarissa’s theory posits incomplete and mutable individual identities, relative to other equally fluid identities that influence and help complete them. “[P]eople are never actually complete, because the threads of acquaintance and intimacy connect each individual to a wider group that is always changing and expanding, often in unexpected and inexplicable ways” (North 84). These threads are revealed throughout *Mrs. Dalloway* during which much of the action, except one dramatic leap from a window, is interior and frequently involves past events. That one leap connects to a web of consciousness, the unconscious and to the therapeutic approaches used to mediate both. These lead to Sir William Bradshaw and through him to Clarissa Dalloway and her party.

Much of *Mrs. Dalloway* takes place within individual characters’ consciousnesses. The most disturbing consciousness to be inside is that of Septimus

Smith, a soldier who survived World War I physically intact but mentally wounded. Upon his return to England, Septimus begins to see and hear his dead friend, Evans, an officer who was killed in the war. When Evans died in Italy, “Septimus, far from showing any emotion . . . congratulated himself upon feeling very little and very reasonably” (Woolf 86). The military code of manliness demands that soldiers suppress emotions on the battlefield, a demand that contributed to the epidemic of shell-shocked soldiers both during and especially after the war. For Septimus, the breakdown occurs after the war. “For now that it was all over, truce signed, and the dead buried, he had, especially in the evening these thunder-claps of fear. He could not feel” (87). After the war was over, Septimus is appalled by his inability to experience emotion, a symptom of the long repression of his emotions during the war.

As his mental condition deteriorates, his wife Rezia sends for a doctor. Reflecting the general belief of the medical establishment that men do not suffer from mental breakdowns, Dr. Holmes, a general practitioner, assures Septimus that “health is largely a matter in our own control” (91). Septimus does not want to see the “damned fool” again so when Dr. Holmes returns, he is compelled to give “that charming little lady [Rezia] . . . a friendly push” (92) to get in to see him. After forcing his way in, Holmes browbeats Septimus. Chastising Septimus because “He had actually talked of killing himself to his wife” (92); Holmes prods him, “Wouldn’t it be better to do something instead of lying in bed?” (92). After all, Dr. Holmes reassured him, “there was nothing whatever the matter with him” (92). Septimus begins to feel desperate; he feels he must escape from Holmes: “Human nature, in short, was on him—the repulsive brute with the blood red nostrils. Holmes was on him” (92). Holmes plans to restore Septimus to

normalcy by porridge, bromide and coercion. Meanwhile, Septimus begins to hallucinate: “It was at that moment (Rezia gone shopping) that the great revelation took place. A voice spoke from behind the screen. Evans was speaking. The dead were with him” (93).

When Septimus frightens Rezia by talking to Evans, he is referred to Sir William Bradshaw for a consultation. Sir William, the nerve specialist, renowned for his “lightening skill, and almost infallible accuracy in diagnosis” decides when the Smiths entered the room that the case is serious and “ascertained in two or three minutes” (95) the diagnosis and treatment. Septimus is to have the rest cure at one of Sir William’s homes in the country. Rezia objects. She does not want Septimus taken away from her. He doesn’t like doctors. Sir William tells her, “There was no alternative. It was a question of law” (96-97). Desperate, Rezia had gone to Sir William Bradshaw looking for help for her husband. “Never, never had Rezia felt such agony in her life! She had asked for help and been deserted! He had failed them! Sir William Bradshaw was not a nice man” (98). It is out of her control; Septimus will be taken to be locked away at five o’clock that evening. Sir William says it is the law.

At home, Septimus is better than he had been for days, playing with Rezia like he used to do while she worked on a hat for a customer, Mrs. Peters. Mrs. Peters is a big woman, but she has chosen a very small hat. Too small, Septimus notices, and Rezia agrees, “absurdly small”(143). Septimus takes it from Rezia, “an organ grinder’s monkey’s hat,” (143) he calls it. Rezia was so pleased they were laughing and “poking fun privately like married people” (147) again. Then he remembers that they would come for him soon. “So he was in their power! Holmes and Bradshaw were on him! The brute with the red nostrils was snuffing into every secret place! ‘Must’ it could say! Where

were his papers? the things he had written?” (147). Rezia finds his papers; they look at all of them together. “Evans, Evans, Evans— his messages from the dead; do not cut down trees; tell the Prime Minister. Universal love: the meaning of the world. Burn them! He cried” (147-148). Rezia thought them beautiful. She ties them with a string and promises no one will get at them, and then she goes downstairs to prevent Holmes from coming up.

Holmes forces his way past her. Septimus can hear Holmes on the stairs and so he considers his choices: the knife, the gas fire, razors? “There remained only the window . . . the tiresome, the troublesome, and rather melodramatic business of opening the window and throwing himself out. It was their idea of tragedy, not his or Rezia’s (for she was with him). Holmes and Bradshaw like that sort of thing. (He sat on the sill.) But he would wait till the very last moment. He did not want to die. Life was good.” (149). Then, right after Septimus’ horrible plunge, Holmes judged the man he just drove out the window. “‘The coward!’ cried Dr. Holmes, bursting the door open. Rezia ran to the window, she saw; she understood” (149). Holmes’ total incompetence was apparent when he admitted that he never expected suicide. “Who could have foretold it? A sudden impulse, no one was in the least to blame . . . And why the devil he did it, Dr. Holmes could not conceive” (150). Truly, Holmes drove Septimus out the window to his death.

Parroting the Victorian ideal of masculinity, Holmes judges Septimus a coward; brave men do not kill themselves. In this version of masculinity, “suicide . . . was regarded as a final admission of shameful and unmanly weakness” (Showalter, *Malady* 193). Holmes’s rigid insensitivity was based on a binary, polar gender model from the past. Not only were gender rules changing for women in the twentieth century, they were

changing for men too. The war had been the final blow.⁷⁸ In her exhaustive study of gender and madness, *The Female Malady*, Elaine Showalter devotes an entire chapter to shell shock, the term coined for male hysteria during World War I. That study explains the role of gender during the war that led to the epidemic of shell shock victims. Ultimately, the war provided a “crisis of masculinity” (171), the Victorian gender paradigm collapsed under the pressure. Young men had been sent to war with unrealistic heroic expectations based on gender ideals that crumbled under the pressure of the intolerable conditions they encountered.

Chief among the values promoted within the male community of the war was the ability to tolerate the appalling filth and stink of the trenches, the relentless noise, and the constant threat of death with stoic good humor, and to allude to it in phlegmatic understatement. Indeed, emotional repression was an essential aspect of the British masculine ideal (Showalter, *Malady*169).

England was overwhelmed by the number of men who failed to live up to that ideal. Therapy both during and after the war was “essentially coercive” (176). With little understanding of the subconscious mechanisms that caused the hysteria, most therapies failed to offer appropriate or humane treatments. The characterizations of both Dr. Holmes and Sir William are accurate historical representations of the muddled science of nerve doctors at the time. Virginia Woolf, herself an unwilling victim of the “enforced passivity” (181) of nerve doctors, was all too well aware of current practice in the field of psychiatric medicine. Her association during the writing of *Mrs. Dalloway* with

⁷⁸ Between 1919 and 1929, 114,600 ex-servicemen in England claimed pension benefits for shell shock and related problems. (Showalter, *Malady* 190).

Siegfried Sassoon who was hospitalized during the war for shell shock⁷⁹ may have suggested Septimus Smith's name. Woolf had an insiders' understanding of the condition and the terrible shortcomings of the treatments available.

As gender played an important role in creating the unrealistic expectations that made war more horrific for the men in the trenches, it also necessitated a renaming of hysteria itself. Forty percent⁸⁰ of England's fighting men could not be labeled hysterical; a more warrior-like term was needed. These soldiers suffered from shell shock. They were simply dazed from the physical concussion, shocked by the explosions of the shells. They merely needed to pull themselves together, to get a grip and they'd be back at the front. "The efficacy of the term 'shell shock' lay in its power to provide a masculine-sounding substitute for the effeminate associations of 'hysteria' and to disguise the troubling parallels between male war neurosis and the female nervous disorders epidemic before the war" (Showalter, *Malady* 172). Once doctors discovered that there was no organic cause for the symptoms, medical treatment became more punitive. Viewed as a form of cowardice by many in the military establishment, many supported denial of pension benefits or dishonorable discharges for victims of shell shock. Military authorities attempted to prevent disclosure of shell shock and the extent of its victims to the public. Hiding so many victims especially after the war when these broken men came home would prove impossible, but even with the large numbers of shell-shocked veterans, public attitudes toward mental illness remained unenlightened. Locking away those who behaved abnormally in lunatic asylums remained a popular solution. The

⁷⁹ Showalter, *Malady* 192.

⁸⁰ One estimate asserts that as high as 40 percent of the war casualties by 1916 was due to shell shock. (Showalter, *Female* 168).

growing influence of Freud's theories of the unconscious led psychiatric theorists, however, to contest the ineffectual methods of practitioners like Sir William.

Virginia Woolf recognized this legacy of the war and its connection to the patriarchal social structure of Victorian England that had brought it to this state. Her case against the gender system and against the war is argued implicitly by Septimus Smith, the common soldier, and what becomes of him after the great war is over while the politicians go on tinkering with the world and the Prime Minister goes to parties. Septimus Smith goes to Clarissa's party too, but as a gatecrasher, the worst kind of uninvited guest. "Oh! Thought Clarissa, in the middle of my party, here's death, she thought" (Woolf 183). Lady Bradshaw introduces Septimus, though only as an anonymous "young man" (183), confiding in Clarissa; she speaks with admiration of her husband's role in "a very sad case. . . . A young man (that is what Sir William is telling Mr. Dalloway) had killed himself" (183). Clarissa is not as impressed with Sir William as Lady Bradshaw is. She has encountered him in the past professionally with a friend to ask his advice and thought, "one wouldn't like Sir William to see one unhappy. No; not that man" (182), hardly a complimentary impression to have of a man who proposes to be a nerve specialist.

Upon hearing this news, Clarissa escapes from her party into the little room where she contemplates Septimus's suicide. "Always her body went through it first . . . He had thrown himself from a window. Up had flashed the ground; through him, blundering, bruising, went the rusty spikes. There he lay with a thud, thud, thud in his brain, and then a suffocation of blackness" (184). Clarissa feels what Septimus felt. For a brief moment, she becomes Septimus. She understands Septimus, "Death was an attempt to

communicate” (184). Clarissa gets his message: “Sir William Bradshaw, a great doctor yet to her obscurely evil . . . capable of some indescribable outrage . . . they make life intolerable men like that” (184-185). Clarissa who doesn’t see the very public message written in the London sky intuitively exactly what Septimus could not endure, the “indescribable outrage,” how he could make “life intolerable.”

Clarissa was Septimus and understood his motives. Woolf implies that a common consciousness exists briefly between the dead Septimus and the living Clarissa. Clarissa imputes the root cause of Septimus’s suicide, and interprets his message. Septimus also shares his consciousness. He hears Evans’ voice; of course, it is part of his madness, part of his guilt for feeling nothing at the time, for allowing himself to feel nothing. But, Evans also becomes a part of Septimus in that way that Woolf’s characters share parts of themselves. Both Clarissa and Septimus are fluid characters; both are open to the influence of others upon their own identities. Neither is rigidly held within the structure of polar binary identity constructs. Victorian insistence on maleness during the war destroyed Septimus. Although he forced himself to behave in the way expected of him, his mind betrays him in the end. Holmes labels Smith a coward and therefore a failure as a man.

Because of shifting gender roles, men who model themselves on the old standards or are measured against them, like Septimus, might find themselves labeled failures. Peter Walsh, another fluid character in *Mrs. Dalloway*, is described as a failure by others and struggles to avoid defining himself as one. Remembering Peter’s potential in his youth, Clarissa is disappointed by the things he hasn’t achieved. “For he was quite happy, he assured her—perfectly happy, though he had never done a thing that they had talked

of; his whole life had been a failure. It made her angry still” (Woolf 8). Peter knew Clarissa’s values and reasoned that she might view him as a failure, although he hedged, “presumably,” he hoped not. “What she [Clarissa] would say was that she hated frumps, fogies, failures, like himself presumably; thought people had no right to slouch about with their hands in their pockets; must do something, be something” (76). Reassuring himself that he really is not yet old, Peter equivocates about his failures, “He had been sent down from Oxford—true. He had been a Socialist, in some sense a failure—true” (50). A failure “in some sense,” he admits to but not really a total failure, not yet.

Others were not so generous in their judgments of him. “‘Yes; Peter Walsh has come back,’ said Lady Bruton. . . . He had come back battered, unsuccessful, to their secure shores. But to help him, they reflected, was impossible; there was some flaw in his character” (107). At Clarissa’s house at eleven o’clock in the morning, Peter Walsh worried particularly about what Clarissa thought of him. “Daisy would look ordinary beside Clarissa. And she would think me a failure, which I am in their sense. . . . Oh yes, he had no doubt about that; he was a failure, compared with all this . . . he was a failure!” (43). His indecision whether to tell Clarissa about Daisy gave way and, as usual, Peter told Clarissa everything and then suddenly, he cried. Completely unaware of Clarissa’s reaction to his visit, Peter left abruptly when Elizabeth, Clarissa’s daughter, arrived. After leaving her house he was “overcome with shame suddenly at having been a fool; wept; been emotional; told her everything, as usual, as usual. . . . Peter Walsh said to himself; feeling hollowed out, utterly empty within. Clarissa refused me, he thought. He stood there thinking, Clarissa refused me” (49). For Peter, Clarissa’s refusal of his marriage proposal years earlier was the failure in his life against which all other things

were measured. All women were measured against her; all failures were measured against this one refusal. This is a complete reversal of the expected gender narrative in which the failure to marry is the woman's tragedy, never the man's. Because of this gender role reversal and Peter's characterization as emotional, a failure, and unsure of himself, he is a fluid character.

This fluidity is apparent as Peter contemplates his attractiveness to women. "It was this that made him attractive to women who liked the sense that he was not altogether manly" (156). Peter's manliness is ironically represented by his intrusively phallic penknife, which he keeps pulling out of his pants and playing with.

She [Clarissa] made to hide her dress, like a virgin protecting chastity respecting privacy. . . . Putting his hand into his pocket, he took out a large pocket-knife and half opened the blade. . . . He had his knife out. That's so like him she thought. . . . "And what's all this?" he said, tilting his pen-knife towards her green dress. . . .shutting the knife with a snap. . . .And she opened her scissors. (40- 41)

Clarissa must have been aware of the potency of the knife, for as Kenneth Moon notes, [Clarissa] "who is conscious of Peter tilting his penknife towards it [her dress]; who opens her scissors only when the erect knife-blade is withdrawn" (Moon 150). Sexual imagery is used to represent both characters; his is aggressive, hers carefully protective.

While he was still talking to Clarissa, Peter again "took the knife out quite openly . . . and clenched his fist upon it. . . .What an extraordinary habit that was, Clarissa thought; always playing with a knife" (Woolf 44). Finally, in utter frustration, Clarissa thinks, "For Heaven's sake, leave your knife alone! she cried to herself in irrepressible

irritation . . . [while he is] running his finger along the blade of his knife” (46) Still, Peter continues his restless fingering of the knife, a symbol of his power and danger still, even as a failure. After he leaves Clarissa’s, Peter is again described as “fingering his pocket knife” (52) as he follows a young black woman while fantasizing a sexual encounter that never materializes. Later, remembering Peter’s visit that morning, Clarissa pictures the knife “thinking of Peter sitting there in his little bow tie; with that knife, opening it, shutting it” (119).

The frequency of the allusions to the knife during the drawing room scene could signify Peter’s position as a vigorous phallic male who although rejected remains potentially available even though Clarissa believed “it was now over” (47). His actions with the knife are performative, usually with an audience and slightly threatening, after all it is a large knife, but also masturbatory—he “fingers it,” “clenched his fist upon it,” was “always playing,” with it and “running his finger along” it. Most of the allusions to the pocket-knife refer back to Clarissa whose response is castrating, she holds her scissors ready. When Peter Walsh arrived at Clarissa’s party later that evening, “He opened the big blade of his pocket-knife” (165). Finally, as Sally Seton and Peter wait for Clarissa to appear again, Peter again plays with the knife. “That was his old trick, opening a pocket-knife, thought Sally, always opening and shutting the knife when he got excited” (187). When Peter returned to his hotel that afternoon, one reference to the knife does not allude to Clarissa but rather to her potential replacement, Daisy. “He emptied his pockets. Out came with his pocket-knife a snapshot of Daisy on the verandah; Daisy all in white, with a fox terrier on her knee; very charming, very dark; the best he had ever seen of her. . . . And the dark, adorably pretty girl on the verandah

exclaimed (he could hear her). Of course, of course she would give him everything! she cried (she had no sense of discretion) everything he wanted! . . . And she was only twenty-four” (157). Although Peter feared that Daisy, at twenty-four, would seem ordinary next to Clarissa, Daisy becomes Clarissa’s substitute. The knife, now closed, is emptied from Peter’s pocket; he doesn’t handle it. The knife, which he touches when he is excited, is not touched at the sight of Daisy’s picture.

Why didn’t Clarissa marry Peter Walsh? She didn’t marry him because he wanted too much from her. As Peter desperately pursued Clarissa, she was becoming enamored with Sally.

Then came the most exquisite moment in her whole life . . . Sally stopped; picked a flower; kissed her on the lips. The whole world might have been turned upside down! The others disappeared; there she was alone with Sally. And she felt she had been given a present, wrapped up, and told just to keep it, not to look at it—a diamond, something infinitely precious, wrapped up, which, as they walked . . . she uncovered, or the radiance burnt through, the revelation, the religious feeling! . . .

“Star-gazing?” said Peter.

It was like running one’s face against a granite wall in the darkness!

It was shocking; it was horrible!

Not for herself. She felt only how Sally was being mauled already, maltreated; she felt his hostility; his jealousy; his determination to break into their companionship. . . .

“Oh this horror!” she said to herself, as if she had known all along

that something would interrupt, would embitter her moment of happiness.

(Woolf 35-36)

Clarissa's response to Sally's kiss is not ambiguous. "The whole world might have been turned upside down!" She sees Peter as an intruder whose unwanted jealousy is horrifying. Clarissa describes Sally as "all light," "glowing," and adds, "But nothing is so strange when one is in love (and what was this except being in love?)" (35). Although she acknowledges her emotions, Clarissa does not follow this thought to its logical conclusion. She never goes beyond emotions to physical reactions to this physical touch. As Kenneth Moon notes "the full significance of the question escapes her" (Moon 151). Believing that "something was bound to part them" (Woolf 34), Clarissa avoids considering what her feelings for Sally might indicate about her.

As Clarissa considers her life, she freely admits her emotions to herself:

"[S]he could not resist sometimes yielding to the charm of a woman, not a girl, of a woman confessing, as to her they often did, some scrape, some folly. And whether it was pity, or their beauty, or that she was older, or some accident—like a faint scent, or a violin next door . . . she did undoubtedly then feel what men felt" (Woolf 31-32).

Clarissa acknowledges to feeling "what men felt" toward other women without going further. "But this question of love (she thought, putting her coat away), this falling in love with women. Take Sally Seaton; her relation in the old days with Sally Seaton. Had not that, after all, been love?" (Woolf 32). Clarissa admits to being in love with another woman and remembers the kiss as "the most exquisite moment in her whole life" but never moves beyond her emotions to her sexuality. Clarissa refused Peter's marriage

proposal because she was in love with Sally Seton. She married Richard Dalloway because he would not demand as much of her as Peter. Clarissa Dalloway's sexual attraction to women marks her as a fluid character.

The Well of Loneliness — 1928

Even during a time when barriers restricting gender and sexuality were being lifted, this novel was condemned as shocking. Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* appeared briefly in bookstores in Great Britain on July 27, 1928 (Doan 1) only to be challenged and labeled an "intolerable outrage" (Douglas 36) in an editorial by James Douglas in the *Sunday Express*. By December of the same year, British courts ruled that *The Well of Loneliness* was obscene and copies of it were removed from bookstores and destroyed, guaranteeing its place in literary history. Both Virginia Woolf and E.M. Forster had been willing to testify in court on behalf of the novel's artistic value (Rule 80). Still available in France and the United States, where a similar challenge ultimately failed, and in other countries, *The Well of Loneliness*' "readership was immense" (Doan 6); its circulation increased perhaps by Douglas' challenge. The infamous novel was not legally available again in England until the "late forties" (Doan 14). The material deemed offensive in *The Well of Loneliness* did not include descriptions of lurid sexual encounters or obscene language; rather, this novel openly raised the question of lesbian sexuality insistently making a case for lesbians' right to existence, a right to their sexual identity without censure or interference.

The gender identity that Hall claims for her protagonist is decidedly masculine, while her sexual identity is that of an invert, a term Havelock Ellis and other sexologists assigned to homosexuals. Although the novel depicts a couple that consists of a masculine war hero, Stephen Gordon, whose feminine mate, Mary Llewellyn, works in support of Stephen's writing career, the couple is neither polar nor binary as they may appear at first glance; both characters are fluid, relative and mutable. Stephen Gordon, as

a female who claims male prerogatives including a female mate, male clothing⁸¹ and an active role in the war exhibits gender fluidity by her refusal of a traditional gender assignment.⁸² Furthermore, her clear and repeated expressions of erotic desire for Angela Crossby and Mary Llewellyn mark her as homosexual, another way in which Stephen is fluid, sexually. She openly refuses the heterosexuality traditionally assigned to her. Although they differ in their gender choices, as a couple Stephen and Mary, as two women, are not a traditional heterosexual couple and are clearly sexually fluid.

Stephen Gordon's choice of masculine clothing and cropped hair, gender choices, are read as markers of sexual difference in the novel. Steven's sexuality has become conflated with her gender, both of which have been subsumed by her clothing choices. Garber believes that clothing is read as sexuality in this book: "Probably the most famous—and paradigmatic—primal scene of reading is the one in Radclyffe Hall's *Well of Loneliness* (1928), in which the physical and especially the *sartorial* stigmata of 'inversion' were available to be read—in which, that is to say, *clothing* seems to be a determinant signifier of sexuality" (Garber, *VI* 135). Stephen's short haircut and her purchase of suits and neckties from a tailor mark her as a lesbian before she proclaims her love for another woman. For Krafft-Ebing "any gender-crossing or aspiration to male privilege was probably a symptom of lesbianism" (Newton 96). Both Krafft-Ebing and Ellis equate masculinity and cross-dressing with lesbianism. Aware of Krafft-Ebing and

⁸¹ "For medical and political authorities, however, a woman dressed in a man's clothes (a non-coincidence between inside and outside) is what is disturbing" (Garber, *VI* 135).

⁸² "As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has noted, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* 'made dress analogous to gender. Only the abnormal woman would challenge conventional gender distinctions—and by her dress you would know her'" (Garber, *VI* 135).

Ellis' scientific positions,⁸³ Hall employs masculinity to create a visible lesbian identity and claim a physical location for her character. Hall also draws on gender tropes of masculinity as a strategy to eroticize female homosexuality.

Nineteenth century gender constructs envisioned women as lacking sexual passion allowing affectionate female friendships to flourish without suspicion while leaving no space for imagining passionate female homosexuality. George Chauncey claimed, "The major current in Victorian sexual ideology declared that women were passionless and asexual, the passive objects of male sexual desire"⁸⁴ (qtd. in Newton 92). Although many modernist authors were actively challenging these gender polarities, Hall chose to manipulate conventional stereotypes of male sexuality to draw her female protagonist. Hall's use of a masculine woman created a space for passionate female sexuality. By attaching male sexuality/gender to Stephen, Hall created an erotic lesbian identity. Newton believes this strategy works in two ways: "Hall's creation, Stephen Gordon, is a double symbol, standing for the New Woman's painful position between traditional political and social categories and for the lesbian struggle to define and assert an identity" (Newton 98). Stephen is both a woman writer making her way in her profession and a passionate lesbian struggling to find a place for herself in a rejecting society. Because there were "only male [sexual] discourses," (100) Hall chose for Stephen to perform and dress the part enabling her to claim male ground as her own. "To become avowedly sexual, the New Woman had to enter the male world, either as a heterosexual on male terms (like Emma Goldman and eventually the flapper) or as a

⁸³ Havelock Ellis wrote a commentary inserted at Hall's request as a preface to the novel. Richard von Krafft-Ebing is the expert on inversion. Stephen's father had written notes in the margins of his book.

⁸⁴ George Chauncey, Jr. "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conceptualization of Female Deviance," *Salmagundi*, nos. 58/59 (Fall 1982/Winter 1983) 117.

lesbian in male body drag (the mannish lesbian/congenital invert)” (100). Hall’s choice to portray her character as a congenital invert has met with considerable criticism; however, by adopting the position of biological determinism, she positions herself to argue for legitimacy based upon science. Michel Foucault notes “homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or ‘naturalness’ be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified” (Foucault, *HoS* 101). By using the language of the sexologists, Hall claimed carefully selected scientific support for a sexuality that would certainly be opposed on moral grounds.

Hall’s position, grounded in science, is further fortified by nationalism. By writing *The Well of Loneliness* as a war novel, Hall links Stephen’s masculine identity to an admirable desire to serve her country. Hall ties her narrative to the sense of blurred boundaries during and after World War I; this connection facilitates a focus on gender and sexual fluidity to describe lesbian identities. Susan Kent notes the use of gendered language to express the obscuring of borders:

Between 1914 and 1918 and again during the interwar period, the anxieties produced by the Great War were often articulated through an idiom of gendered and sexualized language that stressed the blurring of boundaries between men and women, warrior and civilian, heterosexuality and homosexuality (Kent 226).

In Hall’s narrative, Steven’s chivalry is shared by other inverts, women who during times of peace endure “that terrible silent bombardment from the batteries of God’s good people” (Hall 271) and who now eagerly surface willing to serve the cause of England and “rallied to the call of their country superbly” (271). These women are not stigmatized

in wartime, but rather valued for their service. Kent inventories Stephen's transgressions into male territory:

The figure of Steven Gordon, an anatomical female whose every thought, physical attribute, sensation, action, impulse—her very appellation, in fact—are coded as male, stands as a quintessential model of the blurring of gender and sexual lines that haunted postwar society. We see this blurring of categories and fluidity of identities in Hall's depiction of Stephen and other homosexuals in the language of shell shock. (Kent 227)

Hall claims the male subject position as her archetype; the WWI shell-shocked soldier becomes the model for her female invert. Like her counterpart the male soldier, Stephen has also been emotionally traumatized. Unable to fully integrate her experiences into her vision of her self, Steven is threatened with fragmentation of her identity; she must find a position where she can feel unified. Kent proposes that the shell-shocked soldier offers Stephen a symbol that best suits her position in society:

The wounded male subject, the shell-shocked, traumatized victim of wartime horrors, offered Hall a model of masculinity that best represented her struggles her pain, her pleasures, and, above all, her courage and integrity in claiming for herself and all other inverts a tolerated place in society. (Kent 229)

Stephen's courage under fire substantiates her claim of masculinity. Intentionally positioned opposite wounded and shell-shocked men, Stephen's heroic behavior on the battlefield sets up a favorable comparison with the male soldiers. Hall evokes these narratives of trauma coupled with the patriotism of England at war to draw a

psychological parallel to Stephen's emotion trauma as an invert. Medd agrees that Hall's intent was to apply the narrative of trauma to inversion:

Stephen's alignment with shell-shocked soldiers . . . exploits structures of traumatic narrative as a means of justifying Stephen's difference while reinforcing her moral character. Appropriating shell shock as an objective correlative to inversion . . . encourages the reader to interpret Stephen's personal history as a series of traumas analogous to the neuroses-producing conditions of war .

(Medd 245).

As England fought for her very right to exist during WWI, so, Stephen argues, she and others like her have their right to exist as well. Wounded while serving in the French Army Ambulance Corps when her "face was struck by a splinter of shell" (Hall 293), Stephen is awarded the Croix de Guerre. Her scar is the visible sign of her bravery and honor. Metaphorically, Stephen's war wound represents her homosexuality; it serves as a visible sign of her hidden trauma to complete her visible sexuality that is readable because of her masculine appearance.

Because the sexologists of the twenties placed so much emphasis on masculinity as a symptom of female inversion, they had difficulty explaining feminine lesbians. Krafft-Ebing and Ellis each settled on his own "scale of inversion" (Newton 96) with "actively inverted women" (96) described as clearly masculine women who display obvious signs of gender reversal while more feminine inverts were not diagnosed as congenitally effected. Havelock Ellis described feminine inverts as "plain or ill-made . . . women whom the average man would pass by . . . they seem to possess a genuine, though not precisely sexual, preference for women over men" (qtd. in Newton 97).

Based on their categories, these sexologists would label Mary Llewellyn a feminine invert. Based upon the sexual preferences she expresses in the novel, she is a lesbian. Both Mary and Angela Crossby, neither a masculine woman, become sexually involved with Stephen. In each case, the feminine woman initiated the affair. Stephen, the masculine woman, was the object of their discerning, active feminine gaze. Clare Hemmings believes the heterosexual refusal of an active female narrative creates problems for the lesbian narrative: “That the female figure is relentlessly placed within (hetero)sexual narrative as the passive, feminine object of the active male gaze is precisely why lesbian narrative, in which woman is neither passive, nor mere object of this gaze, is so difficult to delineate” (Hemmings 181).

Explaining the sexual desire of feminine inverts who were not considered victims of congenital gender inversion posed a dilemma for sexology. As Clare Hemmings quite astutely observes, “If the properly gendered feminine invert desires masculinity, why is her desire not restricted to men?” (182). Ellis proposed that feminine inverts were “passive”—they were chosen objects; “innocent” (182)—they were sexually naïve about the ways of the world, and they were open to being rehabilitated. This explanation does not answer the question. “[I]nstead of resolving the problem the feminine invert poses, Ellis raises the possibility that *all* heterosexuality-bound women have the capacity to commit the same narrative ‘error’” (182-183). In his attempt to defend his heterosexist bias and because of his insistence on female passivity and active masculine sexuality, Ellis created a quandary. “Remarkably enough, Ellis manages to position femininity itself as susceptible to seduction by *any* masculine gaze” (183). Within Ellis’ guidelines, any naïve female could be expected to respond to the active gaze of a masculine invert. Ellis

does not allow for the female invert's refusal of a masculine male gaze, nor does it consider the possibility that the female gaze might not be passive. Both of these alternatives are evident in *The Well of Loneliness*. Not only does Mary choose Stephen over Martin Hallam, but she is not the passive femme that sexology would have her be.

[T]he femme is a thorn in the side of a heterosexual/homosexual opposition because she is central to the confirmation of gendered and sexualized gaze, yet her refusal of the gaze throws the sexuality of both the masculine subject and the feminine object into question. . . .the repeated consignment of the feminine to the status of object belies its power to undo the prioritization of the masculine on which narratives of desire rely. (184)

There's something about Mary that doesn't quite fit the passive feminine model. Perhaps, it is when she tells Stephen, "All my life I've been waiting for something . . . I've been waiting for you, and it's seemed such a dreadful long time, Stephen" (Hall 294). Mary makes her desire for Stephen quite clear. "I've always been waiting for you; and after the war you'll send me away. . . . Let me come with you—don't send me away, I want to be near you" (294). It was Mary too who initiated their sexual relationship. "Mary can and does return the masculine gaze, and in doing so refuses her position as mere object or foil for masculine narrative" (Hemmings 182). At Orotava, Mary finally seduces Stephen.

Mary Llewellyn exhibits sexual fluidity in her lesbian relationship with Stephen Gordon and gender fluidity by her refusal of the passivity expected of her as a female. The lesbian pairing of Stephen and Mary is not a replication of a heterosexual polar binary beyond their clothing. At the end of the novel in a secret act of self-sacrifice, Stephen fakes a love affair with Valérie Seymour chasing a distraught Mary into the

waiting arms of Martin Hallam. Even this ending can be read fluidly. Hemmings reminds us “there is no evidence for her presumed heterosexuality outside a masculine viewpoint. . . . We have no way of knowing which way Mary went” (194). If she did go with Martin, we do know that he was not her first choice.

Representations of sexual and gender identities in *The Well of Loneliness* show the extent of the shift in identity categories that have been absorbed into the culture in a brief time period. All of the novels in this chapter portray characters with fluid racial, sexual and/or gender identities. Each book, in its own way, expresses the paradigm shift from the polar, binary and discrete identity constructs of Victorian England to multiple, fluid and relative identity constructs. The personal impact of World War I is evident in two of the novels. The changes wrought by modernism are evident in all.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

When read in opposition to one another, American and British novels of the 1920s challenge and clarify each other. The novels from both countries clearly display the shift of identity categories of race, gender and sexuality from binary, polar, and discrete to multiple, fluid, and relative proposed in this dissertation. Coincidences in pairs of English and American novels suggest comparisons that allow further examination of the conditions described by vectors of race/gender/sexuality. For instance, in both *The Sun Also Rises* and in *The Well of Loneliness* there are mirror scenes involving the main characters. In these scenes, gender and sexuality issues overlap with physical anatomy. In *Passing* and in *Mrs. Dalloway*, there are dramatic and fatal falls from windows. One is propelled by gender while the other is precipitated by race and sexuality. Western tourists visit bullfights in *The Sun Also Rises* and ancient caves in *A Passage to India*. These texts explore whiteness and the positioning of the racial other in these scenes. Finally, two heroes have lost the love of their lives, Gatsby in *The Great Gatsby* and Peter Walsh in *Mrs. Dalloway*. When the British and American texts of the twenties are examined closely, many of them evidence broken marriage plots. Marriages and engagements in *The Sun Also Rises*, *A Passage to India*, and *The Well of Loneliness* suffer similar fates to those in *The Great Gatsby* and *Mrs. Dalloway*. In the fiction of the twenties in England and the United States, identity is fluid and the novels share concerns about the interactions of identity components.

In parallel scenes, in *The Sun Also Rises* and *The Well of Loneliness*, Jake Barnes and Stephen Gordon confront their inadequate naked bodies in mirrors. After an unsettling night on the town with Brett, Jake undresses in front of a mirror, contemplating

his unnamed war wound, which has deprived him of his masculinity, while Stephen stares at her despised body in a mirror at Morton after months of “unappeased love for Angela Crossby” (Hall 186). In both scenes, the actual physical lack remains unspecified. Both Jake and Stephen feel the pain of unfulfilled desire, a desire that can never be fulfilled because each body suffers an unrecoverable absence. Jake has lost his penis. At first, he reflects, “Of all the ways to be wounded. I suppose it was funny” (Hemingway 30). Stephen’s body is hard and masculine rather than soft and feminine, the body she desires: “she hated her body with its muscular shoulders, its small compact breasts, and its slender flanks of an athlete” (Hall 187). Stephen’s body, like her identity is caught in a place between male and female and is not acceptably either. Teresa DeLauretis explains Stephen’s position as “bodily dispossession, the fantasy of an unlovely/unlovable body” (114). Stephen’s body is neither a phallic male body nor a recognizably female body by Victorian standards of female beauty, like her mother’s or Angela Crossby’s bodies. DeLauretis concludes “Because it is not feminine, this body is inadequate as the object of desire, to be desired by the other, and thus inadequate to signify the female subject’s desire in its feminine mode; however, because it is masculine but not male, it is also inadequate to signify or bear the subject’s desire in the masculine mode” (114). It seems that Stephen is not physically equipped to be sexually satisfied. Sexually and narcissistically, Stephen desires a feminine body of her own.

Like Stephen, Jake is caught in a place between male and female. Jake has a male body but is missing the body part he needs to perform as a male. After some thought that evening, Jake concluded, “Well, it was a rotten way to be wounded” (Hemingway 31). He remembered the Italian colonel, who gave the speech about his sacrifice,

“You . . . have given more than your life” (31). Then he thought of Brett, “I suppose she only wanted what she couldn’t have” (31). For Jake, anatomy, gender and sexuality are conflated and represented by his loss. Both Jake and Stephen are unable to negotiate a space where desire and anatomy meet gender and sexuality successfully. Both authors use the mirror as a device to reflect upon identity. Jake looks at himself and he sees what is missing. Stephen looks at herself and hates her body. For both Jake and Stephen, love and satisfaction of sexual desire are at odds with the physical identity each sees in the mirror. These identity positions are established early in both narratives; they suggest identity problems to be confronted by the characters. By the end of *The Sun Also Rises*, Brett has rejected Pedro Romero and called Jake to rescue her in Madrid. And although Stephen has achieved sexual satisfaction and happiness with Mary, at the end of the novel, Stephen sacrifices herself sending her lover, Mary, to Martin Hallam. The endings of both narratives remain, as the characters are, fluid, relative, and unresolved.

In two other novels, two characters fall from windows to their deaths. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Septimus Smith, the shell-shocked veteran jumps out a window and dies impaled on the iron fence below; while in *Passing*, Clare Kendry falls through an open window six floors to her death. Neither Clare nor Septimus wanted to die. Septimus was driven out of the window by the relentless pressure of Dr. Holmes whose bullying mismanagement allowed him no other escape and by Sir William Bradshaw whose two-minute diagnosis and whose therapeutic rest cure forced his desperate decision. Septimus was pushed out that window by outdated gender rules that marked him a coward for returning from the war a broken man, and for being haunted by his memories of his dead friend Evans.

The doctors' attitudes are hardly surprising given the position of science generally relative to change. As Kuhn proposes in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, "Normal Science," (10) which he asserts supports the current scientific paradigm, has institutional support that is difficult to challenge (11). Challenges seldom arise from within the scientific community and the scientific community resists challenges from outside its institutional ranks when they do arise. We see this resistance to change reflected in the medical practice of both Dr. Holmes and Sir William Bradshaw. Ironically, the science of healing is caught up in polar gender identity role enforcement. Dr. Holmes denounces Septimus as a coward based on rigid Victorian gender code restrictions of male behavior. Sir William's callous diagnosis triggered the desperate behavior his treatments were supposed to prevent. Woolf portrays this institutional resistance to change through these nerve doctors who drive a sensitive man to his death even though he doesn't want to die. Holmes practically pushes Septimus out the window.

Clare Kendry was pushed too. Physically, Irene Redfield discretely nudged Clare off balance to initiate her fall from that sixth floor window. Although to the onlookers, to the reader, even to Irene herself, the telling, and even the witnessing of that fall was confused enough to muddle the facts. Distracted by Bellew's racist intrusion and Clare's smiling defiance, no one noticed Irene's hand on Clare's arm just before the fall. Irene, who couldn't acknowledge her growing sexual attraction to Clare, had displaced her desire for Clare into her invention of an affair between Clare and Brian. The motive for Irene's premeditated murder of Clare Kendry was safety. Irene had opened the window moments before Clare plunged to her death. She was aware that her own passing was surely compromised after a chance encounter with Bellew and yet she failed to warn

Clare that he might be suspicious that Clare too was passing. Before that evening, Irene had even considered the alternatives, if Clare were free or, if Clare should die. Clare's death would be best for Irene.

Clare's death destroyed Irene's unsafe and impossible sexual desire and the fantasy of Clare and Brian's affair. By killing Clare, Irene has become complicit in her own oppression, both racial and sexual. Bellew's discovery of Clare's passing combined with Irene's choice to value safety above all else combined to seal Clare's fate. Racism and homophobia killed Clare Kendry. Both fluid, modern characters, Clare Kendry and Septimus Smith were killed by ghosts of the past.

In *The Sun Also Rises*, Jake and his fellow expatriates travel from Paris into Spain while in *A Passage to India*, Dr. Aziz guides Adela and Mrs. Moore through the ancient Marabar Caves in India. As unconscious representatives of colonial whiteness, through ignorance and the habit of power, these tourists recreate the hierarchal colonial power structures even when acting with the best intentions.

Jake travels with his friends to Pamplona for the bullfights where they stay at Montoya's, the hotel for true aficionados. With an understanding of the local culture, a knowledge, and appreciation of bullfighting gained over several years, Jake is proud of his *afición*, his passion for bull fighting and his friendship with Juanito Montoya. Of Montoya, Jake says, "For one who had *afición* he could forgive anything. At once he forgave me all my friends. Without his ever saying anything they were simply a little something shameful between us, like the spilling open of the horses in the bull-fighting" (Hemingway 132). Jake's friends do behave shamefully, as badly as the British and American tourists that they criticize. "Rather than showing respect for the culture they

are in, they abuse it for their own pleasure” (Traber 178). Brett seduces the young bullfighter, Pedro Romero, defying local custom. By being persuaded to introduce her to Pedro, Jake becomes a party to Brett’s defiance, losing Montoya’s respect and his friendship. Mike’s jealousy of Brett’s interest in Pedro is a cruder form of disrespect: “‘Tell him that bulls have no balls,’ Mike shouted”(Hemingway 175). Jake refuses to translate Mike’s drunken insulting remarks intended for the polite bullfighter who remains naively unaware of the sexual tension between the men at the table competing for Brett’s attention. Cohn, with his foolish bravado and wounded pride, also shows contempt for custom by breaking into Pedro’s room and beating him up on the night before the bullfight. Brett, given the ear of the bull, Bocanegra, by Romero after he killed it and was honored by the crowd with it, “wrapped it in a handkerchief . . . and left both the ear and the handkerchief . . . shoved far back in the drawer of the bed table . . . in the Hotel Montoya” (199). Like some forgotten cheap souvenir, Brett leaves the bull’s ear behind, another custom disregarded, discarded. Hemingway demonstrates “the expatriates’ failure to cut themselves completely off from past narratives by showing how easily one falls back into old practices”(Traber 179). Although disdainful of tourists, they too behave crassly and fall into the habits of colonialism, habits of wealth and thoughtless power acquired through the invisible power of whiteness.

In *A Passage to India* Adela Quested wants to see “the real India” (Forster 25) and to meet Indians and Mrs. Moore is open to experiencing other cultures in a way that most of the English women at the Club are not. The Anglo-Indians ridicule the thought of mixing with the natives. When he meets Mrs. Moore and Adela at Fielding’s house, Aziz is charmed by their interest in his country. After Mrs. Moore asks Aziz to explain Indian

etiquette, Adela explains their confusion over an invitation to visit a local Indian family who never sent their carriage as promised. Fielding suspects this is a mystery that should not be cleared up. Aziz guesses quite correctly that the Indian family “grew ashamed of their house” (72) and then without thinking, he invites them to visit him.

Misunderstanding the insincerity of Aziz’s offer made in the emotion of the moment, the women accept. Caught in the same trap as the couple being discussed earlier, Aziz tries to steer the conversation elsewhere. Embarrassed by its poverty and filth, Aziz realizes that he cannot entertain at his home. Motivated by pride in his country, Aziz enthusiastically suggests a trip to the Marabar Caves, again quite insincerely. Mrs. Moore and Adela naively accept fully expecting the trip to take place. The women have no perception of the cost and trouble of this expedition for Aziz, which takes place only because Aziz has foolishly offered his hospitality to women who do not know the customs of the country enough to politely refuse. Abandoned to care for the English ladies alone, Aziz hovers and charms. Neither woman wonders about the appearance of an elephant at the end of the train ride to carry them to the caves or the entourage of servants and the variety of food provided for them. After all of this trouble to please his English guests, Aziz is arrested on his return and falsely accused of raping Adela. Like the most of the expatriates in Pamplona, Mrs. Moore and Adela are ignorant of the customs and limitations of the people they wish to visit and the country they want to see. Neither woman is closed-minded like the women in the British compound. Despite their good intentions, they have grown accustomed to the prerogatives of colonial power and the hierarchy of whiteness. Never having to question the cost of arrangements or to make the travel preparations reveals a level of economic privilege beyond that of Dr. Aziz who was

pleased to offer his hospitality to his guests, Europeans who showed a genuine interest in India. Both *A Passage to India* and *The Sun Also Rises* reveal the hierarchy of race at work under the guise of tourist excursions.

In *The Great Gatsby*, Gatsby hopes to win back Daisy, his lost love. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Peter Walsh has also lost the woman he wanted to marry, Clarissa Dalloway. With his wealth and his offer of romance, Gatsby seems to offer a challenge to Tom Buchanan's infidelity and old money, but in the end it seems that Daisy never really intended to do anything at all. Daisy appears willing to tolerate Tom's behavior. Myrtle Wilson offers another challenge to the picture of a happy marriage as a woman's life quest. Meanwhile, perhaps Peter didn't lose Clarissa to Richard Dalloway as much as to Sally Seton. The fiction of the twenties suggests that marriage is no longer the trajectory of a woman's life; it provides evidence with broken marriage plots. In *The Sun Also Rises*, Lady Brett Ashley is divorced after an unhappy marriage with a member of the British nobility. Currently her engagement to Mike Campbell seems equally disastrous, given her affairs with Robert Cohn and Pedro Romero and her love for Jake. In *A Passage to India*, Adela Quested is hesitant to commit to marriage rather than focused upon it and in the end she never does marry Ronny Heaslop. Cyril Fielding also hesitates to marry and seems far more attracted to Aziz than to any woman. In *The Well of Loneliness*, marriage fares no better. Angela Crossby's willingness to cheat on her husband with a male lover and encourage an ardent relationship with another woman is certainly telling. The most emotional marriage in the novel appears to be the unacknowledged lesbian union between Stephen Gordon and Mary Llewellyn. These

novels seem to indicate that marriage has become less of a necessity for women in the twentieth century.

Although England and the United States have different cultures, histories and literatures, both countries moved into the modernist period subject to many of the same external influences and sharing many cultural connections. As the literatures of these countries reacted to these external pressures and the growing pressure of anomalous characters within their own literary texts, both experienced parallel paradigm shifts. After World War I, identity categories of race, gender and sexuality which only a few short decades earlier could have been easily identified as binary, polar and discrete had melted into each other creating such a dramatic shift that several notable figures attempted to date the break in the culture, choosing dates from 1910 to 1922. Gender shifts were so noticeable that they sometimes seemed to be gender reversals in novels causing critics to quip, “men cry and women swear” (Martin 56). Flappers cut their hair short, smoked, drank and slept with whomever they chose. Black women passed for white. Women desired women; men desired men; everyone desired each other simultaneously.

A modern identity revolution had taken place. That identity revolution conformed to the criteria described for scientific paradigm shifts by Thomas Kuhn in his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. The cultural identity paradigm of race, gender and sexuality had been challenged by the repeated appearance of queer characters in texts prior to the shift. These queer characters crossed identity boundaries. They crossed racial boundaries by passing as white when legally defined as black. They challenged boundaries of gender by cross-dressing and passing as the opposite sex, or for women by

usurping male privilege. They challenged sexual boundaries by being homosexual or sexually ambiguous. As anomalies, these characters continued to appear in the literature of the late nineteenth century in both the United States and England forcing the cultural paradigm into an acute crisis. Ultimately, external social and political forces completed the process with World War I being the final blow to the old order.

In British and American literature of the 1920s, the shift from polar, binary and discrete identity categories to fluid, multiple and relative categories of race, gender and sexuality had occurred. This shift conformed to the same pattern described by Thomas Kuhn. It parallels a similar shift in science and a larger cultural shift. All of these shifts reflect the looping effect of information through culture that is unchecked by national borders or demarcations of specific academic disciplines and has come to be called modernism.

Bibliography

- Achebe, Chinua. "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness." Heart of Darkness. By Joseph Conrad. Ed. Robert Kimbrough. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1988. 251-261.
- Aldridge, John W. "Afterthoughts on the Twenties and The Sun Also Rises." New Essays on The Sun Also Rises. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1987. 109-129.
- Ammons, Elizabeth. "Edith Wharton's Hard-Working Lily: The House of Mirth and the Marriage Market." The House of Mirth. By Edith Wharton. Ed. Elizabeth Ammons. New York: Norton, 1990. 345-357.
- . "Winona, Bakhtin, and Hopkins in the Twenty-First Century." Afterward. The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins. Ed. John Cullen Gruesser. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996. 211-219.
- Arata, Steven D. "The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization." Dracula. By Bram Stoker. Eds. Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1997. 462-469.
- Atwood, Margaret. Negotiating with the Dead. A Writer on Writing. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.
- Auerbach, Nina. Our Vampires, Ourselves. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1995.
- Baker, Lee D. From Savage To Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1866—1954. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. The Dialogic Imagination. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: U of Texas P, 1998.
- . Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics. Theory and History of Literature. Ed. and Trans. Caryl Emerson. Vol. 8. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1984.
- Barker-Benfield, G.K. The Horrors of the Half Known Life: Male Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in 19th Century America. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Berman, Ronald. The Great Gatsby and Modern Times. Chicago: U of Chicago P., 1996.
- . "The Great Gatsby and the Twenties." The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald. Ed. Ruth Prigozy. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 79-94.
- Bristow, Joseph. Effeminate England: Homoerotic Writing after 1885. New York:

- Columbia UP, 1995.
- Brown, Lois Lamphere. "'To Allow No Tragic End': Defensive Postures in Contending Forces." The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins. Ed. John Cullen Gruesser. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996. 50-70.
- Butler, Judith. Bodies That Matter. On the Discursive Limits of "Sex". New York: Routledge, 1993.
- . Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Cantor, Norman F. with Mindy Cantor. The American Century. Varieties of Culture in Modern Times. New York: Harper, 1997.
- Carby, Hazel V. Reconstructing Womanhood. The Emergence of the Afro-American Novelist. New York: Oxford UP, 1987.
- Carr, Brian. "Paranoid Interpretation, Desire's Nonobject, and Nella Larson's Passing." PMLA 119.2 (3/2004): 282-295.
- Carpenter, Edward. Intermediate Sex. A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women. London: Allen, 1912.
- . Man and Woman. A Study of Secondary and Tertiary Sexual Characteristics. Boston: Houghton, 1929.
- Caughie, Pamela. Passing and Pedagogy. The Dynamics of Responsibility. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1999.
- Chametzky, Jules. "Edna and the 'Woman Question.'" Kate Chopin. The Awakening. Ed. Margo Culley. New York: Norton, 1994. 221-222.
- Chesnutt, Charles. The House Behind the Cedars. New York: Penguin, 1993.
- Chopin, Kate. The Awakening. Ed. Margo Culley. New York: Norton, 1994.
- Cohen, Ed. Talk on the Wilde Side. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Comley, Nancy R. and Robert Scholes. Hemingway's Genders: Rereading the Hemingway Text. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994.
- Conrad, Joseph. Heart of Darkness. Ed. Robert Kimbrough. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1988.
- Craft, Christopher. "'Kiss Me with Those Red Lips': Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's Dracula." Dracula. By Bram Stoker. Eds. Nina Auerbach and David J.

- Skal. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1997. 444-459.
- Crichton, Judy. America 1900. New York: Holt, 1998.
- Cutter, Martha J. "Sliding Significations: Passing as a Narrative and textual Strategy in Nella Larson's Fiction." Passing and The Fictions of Identity. Ed. Elaine K. Ginsberg. Durham: Duke UP, 1996. 75-100.
- Das, G.K. "A Passage To India: A Scio-historical Study." A Passage To India. Essays in Interpretation. Ed. John Beer. Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1986. 1-15.
- Davidis, Maria M. "Forster's Imperial Romance: Chivalry, Motherhood, and Questing in A Passage to India." Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations E.M.Forster's A Passage To India. Ed. Harold Bloom. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004. 185-207.
- Davidson, Arnold E. and Cathy N. "Decoding The Hemingway Hero in The Sun Also Rises." New Essays on The Sun Also Rises. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987. 83-107.
- De Lauretis, Teresa. "Perverse Desire: The Lure of the Mannish Lesbian." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 109-125.
- D'Emilio, John and Estelle B. Freedman. Intimate Matters. A History of Sexuality in America. New York: Harper, 1988.
- Dijkstra, Bram. "[Dracula's Backlash]." Dracula. By Bram Stoker. Eds. Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1997. 460-461.
- Doan, Laura and Jay Prosser. "Introduction: Critical Perspectives Past and Present." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001.1-31.
- Donaldson, Scott. "Hemingway's Morality of Compensation." Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 81-98.
- Douglas, James. "A Book That Must Be Suppressed." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 36-38.
- Doyle, Arthur Conan. Sherlock Holmes: The Major Stories with Contemporary Critical Essays. Ed. John A. Hodgson. Boston: St. Martin's, 1994.
- DuBois, W.E.B. The Souls of Black Folk. New York: Bantam, 1989.
- Edwards, Lee R. "Sexuality, Maternity and Selfhood." The Awakening. By Kate Chopin. Ed. Margo Culley. New York: Norton, 1994. 282-285.

- Elfenbein, Anna Shannon. "American Racial and Sexual Mythology." The Awakening. Ed. Margo Culley. By Kate Chopin. New York: Norton, 1994. 292-299.
- Ellis, Havelock and John Addington Symonds. Sexual Inversion. London: Wilson, 1897. Rpt. Ayer, 1994.
- Elliott, Ira. "Performance Art: Jake Barnes and "Masculine" Signification in The Sun Also Rises." Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 63-80.
- Fass, Paula S. The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's. Oxford: Oxford UP. 1979.
- Ferguson, Sallyann H. "Rena Walden: Chesnutt's Failed 'Future American.'" Critical Essays on Charles Chesnutt. Ed. Joseph R. McElrath Jr. New York: Hall, 1999.
- Fisher, Marvin and Michael Elliot. "Pudd'nhead Wilson: Half a Dog Is Worse than None." Pudd'nhead Wilson. By Mark Twain. Ed. Sidney Berger. New York: Norton, 1980. 304-315.
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott. The Great Gatsby. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003.
- Fletcher, Marie. "The Southern Woman in Fiction." The Awakening. By Kate Chopin. Ed. Margo Culley. New York: Norton, 1994. 193-195.
- Forster, E.M. A Passage To India. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1984.
- Foucault, Michel. The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Garber, Marjorie. Vested Interests. Cross Dressing and Cultural Anxiety. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- . Symptoms of Culture. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- . Vice Versa. Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life. New York: Simon, 1995.
- Garrett, George. "Fire and Freshness: A Matter of Style in The Great Gatsby." New Essays on The Great Gatsby Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985. 41-57.
- Garrett, Peter K. "Cries and Voices: Reading Jekyll and Hyde." Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde after One Hundred Years. Eds. William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch. Chicago: U

of Chicago P, 1988. 59-72.

Gibson, Donald B. Introduction. The House Behind the Cedars. By Charles Chesnutt. New York: Penguin, 1993. vii-xxiii.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. The Madwoman in the Attic. The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination. New Haven, Yale UP, 1984.

---. No Man's Land. The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century: The War of the Words. Vol. 1. New Haven : Yale UP, 1988.

---. No Man's Land. The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century: Sexchanges. Vol.2 New Haven: Yale UP, 1989.

Ginsberg, Elaine K., ed. Passing and The Fictions of Identity. Durham: Duke UP, 1996.

Glover, David. Vampires, Mummies and Liberals. Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction. Durham: Duke UP, 1996.

Grand, Sarah. The Heavenly Twins. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992.

Gubar, Susan. Racechanges. White Skin, Black Face in American Culture. New York: Oxford UP, 1997.

Hacking, Ian. The Social Construction of What? Cambridge, Harvard UP, 1999.

Hall, Radclyffe. The Well of Loneliness. New York: Anchor, 1990.

Hale, Grace Elizabeth. Making Whiteness. The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890 - 1940. New York: Pantheon, 1998.

Hemmings, Clare. "All My Life I've Been Waiting for Something . . .": Theorizing Femme Narrative in The Well of Loneliness." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 179-196.

Hennessy, Rosemary and Rajeswari Mohan. "The Speckled Band' : The Construction of Woman in a Popular Text of Empire." Sherlock Holmes: The Major Stories with Contemporary Critical Essays. By Arthur Conan Doyle. Ed. John A. Hodgson. Boston: St. Martin's, 1994. 389-401.

Hine, Darlene Clark and Kathleen Thompson. A Shining Thread of Hope. The History of Black Women in America. New York, Broadway, 1998.

Hobsbawm, Eric. The Age of Empire 1875-1914. New York: Vintage, 1987.

Hochschild, Adam. King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in

- Colonial Africa. Boston: Houghton, 1999.
- Hopkins, Pauline E. Contending Forces. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.
- . Winona: A Tale of Negro Life in the South and Southwest. 1902. The Magazine Novels of Pauline Hopkins. Ed. Hazel V. Carby. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.
- Ings, Katherine Nicholson. "Blackness and the Literary Imagination: Uncovering The Hidden Hand." Passing and the Fictions of Identity. Ed. Elaine K. Ginsberg. Durham: Duke UP, 1996.
- James, Lawrence. Raj. The Making and Unmaking of British India. New York: St. Martin's, 1997.
- Kaplan, Amy. The Social Construction of American Realism. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1988.
- Kassanoff, Jennie A. "Extinction, Taxidermy, Tableaux Vivants: Staging Race and Class in The House of Mirth." PMLA. 115 (2000): 60-74.
- Kent, Susan Kingsley. "The Well of Loneliness as War Novel." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 216-231.
- Kincaid, James R. Annoying the Victorians. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Knight, Stephen. "The Case of the Great Detective." Sherlock Holmes: The Major Stories with Contemporary Critical Essays. By Arthur Conan Doyle. Ed. John A. Hodgson. Boston: St. Martin's, 1994. 368-380.
- Koestenbaum, Wayne. Double Talk: The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: The U of Chicago P., 1996.
- Larson, Nella. Quicksand and Passing. Ed. Deborah McDowell. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1996.
- Ledger, Sally and Roger Luckhurst. The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History of 1880-1900. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- Lehan, Richard. The Great Gatsby: The Limits of Wonder. New York: Twayne, 1995.
- Levenson, Michael. "The Value of the Facts in Heart of Darkness." Heart of Darkness. By Joseph Conrad. Ed. Robert Kimbrough. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1988. 91-405.

- Lewis, Roger. "Money, Love and Aspiration in The Great Gatsby." New Essays on The Great Gatsby Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985. 41-57.
- Luckhurst, Sally Ledger and Roger. The Fin de Siècle : A Reader in Cultural History c.1880-1900. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- Martin, Wendy. "Bret Ashley as New Woman in The Sun Also Rises." Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 47-62.
- Mason, Michael. The Making of Victorian Sexuality. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994.
- Massie, Robert K. Dreadnought. Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War. New York: Ballantine, 1991.
- McDowell, Deborah E. "The Changing Same" Black Women's Literature, Criticism and Theory. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1995.
- McNally, Raymond T. and Radu Florescu. In Search of Dracula: The History of Dracula and Vampires. Boston: Houghton, 1992.
- Medd, Jodie. "War Wounds: The Nation, Shell Shock, and Psychoanalysis in The Well of Loneliness." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 232-254.
- Miller, Andrew H. and James Eli Adams, eds. Sexualities in Victorian Britain Bloomington, Indiana UP, 1996.
- Miller, Karl. Doubles: Studies in Literary History. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985.
- Miller, Neil. Out of the Past. Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present. New York: Vintage, 1995.
- Moddelmog, Debra A. "Contradictory Bodies in The Sun Also Rises." Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 155-165.
- Moers, Ellen. Literary Women. New York: Oxford UP, 1977.
- Moon, Kenneth. "Where is Clarissa? Doris Kilman in Mrs. Dalloway." Major Literary Characters: Clarissa Dalloway. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House, 1990.147-157.
- Nabokov, Vladimir. Lectures on Literature. New York: Harcourt, 1980.
- Newton, Esther. "The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman."

- Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 89-108.
- North, Michael. Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.
- Pakenham, Thomas. The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent From 1876 to 1912. New York: Avon, 1991.
- Parkinson, Kathleen. F. Scott Fitzgerald: *The Great Gatsby*. London: Penguin, 1987.
- Parr, Susan Resneck. "The Idea of Order at West Egg." New Essays on *The Great Gatsby* Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985. 59-78.
- Parry, Benita. "Materiality and Mystification in A Passage to India." Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations E.M.Forster's *A Passage To India*. Ed. Harold Bloom. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004. 147-170.
- Pavlić, Edward M. Crossroads Modernism: Descent and Emergence in African-American Literary Culture. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2002.
- Poovey, Mary. Uneven Developments. The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1988.
- Porter, Cole. "Anything Goes." 1934. Anything Goes. Revival Edition. Miami: Warner Bros., 1988.
- Reynolds, Michael S. "The *Sun* in Its Time: Recovering the Historical Context." New Essays on *The Sun Also Rises*. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1987. 43-64.
- Roth, Phyllis A. "Suddenly Sexual Women in Bram Stoker's Dracula." Dracula. By Bram Stoker. Eds. Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1997. 411-420.
- Rule, Jane. "Radclyffe Hall." Palatable Poison. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 77-88.
- Russett, Cynthia Eagle. Sexual Science. The Victorian Construction of Womanhood. Cambridge, Harvard UP, 1989.
- Sanderson, Rena. "Women in Fitzgerald's fiction." The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald. Ed. Ruth Prigozy. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 143-163.
- Schaeffer, Talia. "'A Wilde Desire Took Me': The Homoerotic History of Dracula." Dracula. By Bram Stoker. Eds. Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1997. 470-482.

- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. Epistemology of the Closet. Berkley, U of California P, 1990.
- . Tendencies. Durham: Duke UP, 1993.
- . Sexual Anarchy. Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle. New York: Penguin, 1991.
- Showalter, Elaine. "Chopin and American Women Writers." The Awakening. By Kate Chopin. Ed. Margo Culley. New York: Norton, 1994.
- . "The Death of the Lady (novelist): Wharton's House of Mirth." The House of Mirth. By Edith Wharton. Ed. Elizabeth Ammons. New York: Norton, 1990. 357-372.
- . The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980. New York: Penguin, 1985.
- . A Literature of Their Own. British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977.
- . Sexual Anarchy. Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle. New York: Penguin, 1991.
- . Sister's Choice. Tradition and Change in American Women's Writing. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991.
- Sinfield, Alan. The Wilde Century. Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Movement. New York: Columbia UP, 1994.
- Snef, Carol A. Introduction. The Heavenly Twins. By Sarah Grand. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992.
- Somerville, Siobhan B. Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture. Durham: Duke UP, 2000.
- Southworth, E.D.E.N. The Hidden Hand. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.
- Squire, Susan, M. "Carnival and Funeral." Major Literary Characters: Clarissa Dalloway. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House, 1990. 171-182.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. New York: Bantam, 1981.
- Stewart, Garrett. "Lying as Dying in *Heart of Darkness*." Heart of Darkness. By Joseph Conrad. Ed. Robert Kimbrough. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1988. 358-374.
- Stoker, Bram. Dracula. Eds. Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1997.
- Thomas, Ronald R. "The Strange Voices in the Strange Case: Dr. Jekyll, Mr. Hyde, and the Voices of Modern Fiction." Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde after One Hundred

- Years. Eds. William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988. 73-106.
- Touval, Yonatan. "Colonial Queer Something." Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations E.M.Forster's *A Passage To India*. Ed. Harold Bloom. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004. 111-128.
- Traber, Daniel, A. "Whiteness and the Rejected Other in The Sun Also Rises." Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook*. Ed. Linda Wagner-Martin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 167-185.
- Twain, Mark. Pudd'nhead Wilson. Ed. Sidney Berger. New York: Norton, 1980.
- Veeder, William and Gordon Hirsch, eds. Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde after One Hundred Years. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.
- Veeder, William. "Children of the Night: Stevenson and Patriarchy." Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde after One Hundred Years. Eds. William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988. 107-160.
- Wagner-Martin, Linda, ed. Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises: A Casebook*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.
- . New Essays on *The Sun Also Rises*. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1987.
- Wald, Gayle. Crossing The Line. Racial Passing in Twentieth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture. Durham: Duke UP, 2000.
- Walls, Elizabeth Macleod. "An Aristotelian Reading of the Feminine Voice-as-Revolution in E.M.Forster's *A Passage To India*." Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations E.M.Forster's *A Passage To India*. Ed. Harold Bloom. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004. 171-184.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1989.
- Wharton, Edith. The House of Mirth. Ed. Elizabeth Ammons. New York: Norton, 1990.
- Wilde, Oscar. The Picture of Dorian Gray. Ed. Donald L. Lawler. New York: Norton Critical Ed., 1988.
- Wood, Barry. "Narrative Action and Structural Symmetry in Pudd'nhead Wilson." Mark Twain. Pudd'nhead Wilson. Ed. Sidney Berger. New York: Norton, 1980. 370-381.
- Yaeger, Patricia S. "Language and Female Emancipation." The Awakening. By Kate Chopin. Ed. Margo Culley. New York: Norton, 1994. 285-291.

Yarborough, Richard. Introduction Contending Forces. By Pauline E. Hopkins. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. xxvii-xlviii.

Zinn, Howard. A People's History of the United States. New York: Harper, 1995.