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GUEST EDITOR NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Journal for the Liberal Arts and Science is pleased to have Dr. Brady Schillace as our guest editor for this special issue focusing on literary criticism and other aspects of English studies. An interdisciplinary, medical-humanist scholar, Dr. Schillace writes about cultural production, history of science, and intersections of medicine and literature. She is Research Associate and guest curator at the Dittrick Museum of Medical History and Managing Editor of Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry (an international journal of cross-cultural health research). Dr. Schillace was the keynote speaker for the annual meeting of the Archivists and Librarians in the History of Health Sciences 2013, and is the recent recipient of the Chawton House Library Fellowship (for study of 18th century women writers) and the Wood Institute travel grant from the Philadelphia College of Physicians.

I am very pleased to be serving as a guest editor for the *Journal of Liberal Arts and Sciences*, as it was also my earliest venue for publication. I admire the journal's scope, which is described as eclectic, ranging from practical to theoretical, pedagogical to literary. This present special issue focuses on English Studies, broadly conceived. While this collection includes literary criticism, the articles also investigate related issues of history and culture, from the lives of writers themselves, to historical pedagogy and a rhetorical examination of sexuality, regulation and the law. Arranged thematically rather than chronologically, these articles explore the complexities of gender, of power, of authority and of literature from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

Dr. Irene Moody Rieger's "The Way of the Needles or the Way of the Pins: The Hebetic in "Little Red Riding Hood" and Marguerite Duras's *The Lover*" examines the vulnerable time in a woman's life as she crosses from childhood to adolescence. Rieger investigates re-tellings of "Little Red Riding Hood" and

Marguerite Duras's *The Lover* in order to parse this curious time of freedom and danger, demonstrating both the common nature of a young woman's experience representing the curious and particularly female journey from childhood to freedom to family.

My own contribution, "Contradiction and Negation: Subversions of Pedagogical Control in *Jane Eyre*," also examines the movement from female childhood to adulthood, but through a rhetorical examination of the pedagogical principles of Charlotte Bronte's novel. In order to avoid being consigned to a role that was evocative of both patient and perpetual pupil (roles of powerlessness and/or dependence) women must develop and maintain defensive "organization" strategies whereby they could arrange and articulate their own mental space. As I explain, Jane, as a woman who knows her mind and can speak it, does so not primarily as a woman against men, but as a woman against women, against The Woman, the figure which either haunts the British hearth like a witch or tends it like a mother.

Dr. Danielle Nielsen's work also addresses issues of gender, though from a different perspective. "Without Allies: Adela Quested as Failed New Woman in E.M. Forster's A Passage to India" examines Forster's text and its treatment of colonial women. Nielsen argues that the novel reveals colonialism's danger to women's rights. Though the novel was written "outside of the recognized dates for the New Woman movement," Adela's inability to reform the colony situates her between the New Woman movement and a Modernist aesthetic that highlights failure. As Forster portrays them, the British women in *A Passage to India* exemplify a perceived need to maintain colonial hierarchies between British and Indian subjects. This ideological disparity prevented Anglo-Indian women from pursuing the same types of freedom women, especially New Women, strove for in Britain at the *fin-de-siècle*.

In a shift away from specific issues of women's rights, Dr. Kenneth McGraw instead focuses on the sexual politics undergirding the indictment of suspected homosexuals in "'An Indecent Posture': Evasive Discourse and Sexual Regulation in Eighteenth-Century London."

McGraw examines how the use of language—the discourse of sex—became a matter of how culture and its institutions identified and punished deviance. And yet, in the actual legal

texts, the physical act is rarely discussed, but instead evasively described as a matter of bodily position. As McGraw argues, the very legal institution that sought to silence what was perceived to be some men's deviant behavior also silences their "assumed societal prevalence" through the publication of their crimes and their highly public punishment.

Dr. Jamie McDaniel's "What You Really Get When You Try to Sell Things": (Mis)Recognition and (In)Tangibility in Jean Rhys's *Good Morning, Midnight* turns our attention to issues of social recognition and women's lack of access to the identity-bestowing characteristics of property. The main character, Sasha, is a ghost-writer, a position that reflects how Sasha's identity is based in other people's property—and how she begins to define herself by that property. A little like Jane of *Jane Eyre*, Sasha is not permitted to tell her own story, but acts only as a "writing machine" telling the stories of other. By focusing on processes of misrecognition, McDaniel argue that Sasha's attitude indicates a pessimistic and even misanthropic view of property's ability to ground women's identity formation.

Dr. Matt Hlinak's "Italo Calvino's Literary Terrorism in *If on a winter's night a traveler*" moves us away from gender questions, but instead focuses on the complex relationships of power and authority. Beginning with a description of terrorism in which "terrorists sow chaos with the aim of imposing their own rigid order," Hlinak examines Italo Calvino's *If on a winter's night a traveler* (1979), an experimental novel that seems to both abdicate and assert authorial authority. Calvino has been characterized as an "anarchist" ceding his authority in order to bring down the social order, but also, Hlinak asserts, as a literary dictator, wielding authority. Like the terrorist, Calvino is simultaneously "an agent of chaos and order in their most extreme forms."

Finally, Dr. Vanessa Fernandez Greene's "Bringing the Public Home: Norah Lange and Victoria Ocampo" describes the means by which two women were able to insert themselves into the predominantly male literary scene of early twentieth-century Buenos Aires—primarily by subverting the traditional dichotomies of public and private space. By challenging their society's expectations for the role of women in the first half of twentieth-century Buenos Aires, both women carved out a space

for themselves within Argentine literature. Lange broadened the defining features of the Argentine avant-garde movement by expanding the confines of her social and creative spheres, while Ocampo used her personal space to shape the literary identity of her country at home and abroad. These last two pieces provide a more political nuance to our collection of literary examinations.

It has been my pleasure and privilege to work with these authors, and I am happy to present this special issue in homage to literature, pedagogy, and inter-disciplinarity.

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The Way of the Needles or the Way of the Pins: The Hebetic in "Little Red Riding Hood" and Marguerite Duras's *The Lover*

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The time in a young girl's life between reaching puberty and preparing to begin her own family, including her first sexual experience, is a particularly vulnerable time, and yet, perhaps the time in which she experiences the most freedom she will ever know. In her essay La Venue à l'écriture, Hélène Cixous uses the story of Little Red Riding Hood to depict this time period, these "three brief detours" as a woman's first, and often last, experience of freedom before she is swallowed up into what Yvonne Verdier calls her "feminine destiny." According to Cixous, in order to experience freedom and femininity—in other words, to evade the patriarchy later in life—she must look back to this time as a resource and a reminder of her previous self: what Clarissa Pinkola Estés calls her "wild woman." In their article, "Perrault's 'Little Red Riding Hood': Victim of the Revisers," Carole and D. T. Hanks Jr. assert that post-Perrault retellings of the folktale have taken an approach which "emasculates a powerful story, one which unrevised is a metaphor for the maturing process" (68), but I will argue that many of these numerous retellings and "pre"-tellings are representations of female adolescence containing elements which contribute to a fuller picture of the ambiguous nature and the particular freedom and vulnerability of this phase. The Lover by Marguerite Duras is another story about that period in a young girl's life from puberty through the first sexual experience. By examining it, I will show the common nature of a young woman's experience of that time as depicted in literature. I will also explore the nature of the language used to describe this particularly feminine phase. Through these analyses, I hope to demonstrate a theme of the language of dress permeating

stories of female puberty. Specifically, I will focus on the way in which women of various generations are complicit in "dressing" the pubertal girl for her initiation into sexual maturity without making her aware of the consequences.

Introduction

The time in a young girl's life between reaching puberty and preparing to begin her own family, including her first sexual experience, is a particularly vulnerable time for a young woman, and yet, perhaps the time in which she experiences the most freedom she will ever know in her life. In her essay *La Venue à l'écriture*, Hélène Cixous uses the story of Little Red Riding Hood to depict this time period, these "three brief detours" as a woman's first, and often last, experience of freedom before she is swallowed up into what Yvonne Verdier calls her "feminine destiny." According to Cixous, in order to experience freedom and femininity—in other words, to evade the patriarchy later in life—she must look back to this time as a resource and a reminder of her previous self: what Clarissa Pinkola Estés calls her "wild woman" in *Women Who Run with the Wolves*. In their article, "Perrault's 'Little Red Riding Hood': Victim of the Revisers," Carole and D. T. Hanks Jr. assert that post-Perrault retellings of the folktale have taken an approach which "emasculates a powerful story, one which unrevised is a metaphor for the maturing process" (68), but I will argue that many of these numerous retellings and "pre"-tellings are representations of female adolescence containing elements which contribute to a fuller picture of the ambiguous nature and the particular freedom and vulnerability of this phase. *The Lover* by Marguerite Duras is another story about that period in a young girl's life from puberty through the first sexual experience. By examining it, I will show the common nature of a young woman's experience of that time as depicted in literature. I will also explore the nature of the language used to describe this particularly feminine phase. I am interested not merely in the two versions recorded by Charles Perrault and the brothers Grimm, but also in earlier oral versions of the tale, as well as *The Lover*, which share common themes with Little Red Riding Hood as two versions of similar stories of a girl's journey from

childhood to freedom to family. Through these analyses, I hope to demonstrate a theme of the language of dress permeating stories of female puberty. Specifically, I will focus on the way in which women of various generations are complicit in "dressing" the pubertal girl for her initiation into sexual maturity without making her aware of the consequences.

Three Little Detours

> But for you, the tales announce a destiny of restriction and oblivion; the brevity, the lightness of a life that steps out of mother's house only to make three little detours that lead you back dazed to the house of your grandmother, for whom you'll amount to no more than a mouthful. For you . . . experience reveals it, history promises you this minute alimentary journey that brings you back quickly indeed to the mouth of the jealous Wolf, your ever insatiable grandmother, as if the law ordained that the mother should be constrained to sacrifice her daughter, to expiate the audacity of having relished the good things in life in the form of her pretty red offspring. (14)

It is that brief journey from mother to grandmother, those "three little detours," that lead to the eventual swallowing up of Little Red Riding Hood. As Cixous has reiterated, Little Red Riding Hood is a tale that particularly concerns that brief, dangerous moment of liberty in a young girl's life between puberty and the preparations to begin her own family. The unusual liberty (in a woman's life) of this journey is demonstrated in Feona Attwood's "Who's Afraid of Little Red Riding Hood?" Attwood notes that among traditional heroines, Little Red Riding Hood is unusual "in taking a journey at all. This narrative position is usually assigned to 'the hero, the mythical subject'" (99-100). The first major commonality of the two stories, the one that draws them together in the mind of the reader, is the fact that the young girls appear to have so much agency. Each of them begins by making a journey, though, as we shall see, that journey is brief.

First of all, the heroine Little Red Riding Hood has recently acquired the beginnings of a woman's body, but has still to

acquire a woman's adult perspective; in other words, she is an adolescent. She is "innocent," naïve, a maiden. Says Bruno Bettelheim in his *The Uses of Enchantment*, Little Red is "the school-age girl" and "the untroubled pubertal child" (170). In his "The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood," Jack Zipes contends, "Clearly, the folk tale was not just a warning tale, but also a celebration of a young girl's *coming of age*" (7, emphasis added). The major sign of this stage in the girl's development is the red riding hood that provides her a name. Although in the tradition of the tale, the red hat did not come into the story until Charles Perrault's 1627 retelling "*Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*," the red may signify a quality which was already in the story before Perrault revised and sanitized the folktale for a bourgeois and aristocratic reading public.

The red of the girl's hat is the color of blood, the color of menstruation, and according to a 1923 interpretation by Pierre Saintyves, the red hood of Red Riding Hood derives from the headdress of roses worn by the May Queen in provincial traditions (76). Yvonne Verdier, in her article, "Little Red Riding Hood in Oral Tradition," dismisses the bulk of Saintyves' analysis because of Perrault's late addition of the detail of the crimson cape. However, Verdier admits, "We could then accord to Saintyves the credit for relating the motif of the read [sic] headgear to the crown of roses worn by girls in the month of May, making of Little Red Riding Hood a girl dedicated to the month of May, in the last analysis a pubescent girl, since May is the month dedicated to female puberty" (108). Verdier derives this association of May with female puberty from her own observation of May ceremonies in the provincial French region of the Châtillonnais (121). In later versions of the tale, the detail of the heroine's pubescence is more directly articulated. In Angela Carter's retelling "The Company of Wolves," for example, the red hood becomes a shawl, which, on the day of her journey, "has the ominous if brilliant look of blood on snow. Her breasts have just begun to swell; . . . her cheeks are an emblematic scarlet and white and she has just started her woman's bleeding, the clock inside her that will strike, henceforward, once a month" (113). Here the red details of the heroine's garments relate directly to her internal "clock," and the blood of her menstruation. Later, when she discards her shawl, Carter describes it as "the

colour of poppies, the colour of sacrifices, the colour of her menses" (17). Thus Little Red Riding Hood sets out, clothed in the emblem of her body's sexual ripening.

Little Red Riding Hood's first detour, I would propose, between her mother's house and her grandmother's is either the Way of the Pins or the Way of the Needles. These two paths are absent from both the Perrault and the Grimm versions of the tale, but some variation thereof is evident in most other versions, written or oral, according to Verdier. On her way to her grandmother's, the wolf stops Red Riding Hood to ask where she's going. After she explains, he offers her the choice of two paths, either that of the Pins or the Needles. According to Paul Delarue, a student of the oral traditions of Little Red Riding Hood, "this question of the wolf on the choice of roads is so general that folk story-tellers . . . have introduced it into versions which owe everything else to Perrault" (19). Verdier, also a student of the oral traditions of Little Red Riding Hood, explains that in various versions of the story, the girl takes either the Way of the Pins or the Needles, the wolf taking whichever path Red Riding Hood does not choose, in order to reach the grandmother's house before the girl does (105). (The wolf does not stop to eat Red Riding Hood there in the woods because he is afraid woodcutters might hear him and because he hopes to devour both the girl and her grandmother.) Instances of the girl choosing the Way of the Pins seem only slightly to outnumber versions in which she chooses the Needles, according to Verdier (105). Perhaps each path seems equally contained to today's reader—both pins and needles are tools of sewing, traditionally a woman's task. However, sewing and dressmaking were also outlets for creativity, especially in a time and place in which there were so few such outlets for young women.

Still, pins and needles can both be dangerous, "prickly" objects. We remember Sleeping Beauty slept for one hundred years after picking her finger on a spindle at age sixteen, high in a phallic tower of her own castle, and could only be awakened by her future husband, leaving no time between her initiation into needlecraft and her absorption into the patriarchal system. Unlike Little Red Riding Hood, Sleeping Beauty is no peasant-girl; she is a princess whose guardians have gone to great length to protect the child from the perils of adolescent penetration.

Thus the Way of the Pins and the Way of the Needles may serve to illustrate the perils that lie in wait on an adolescent girl's brief pathway. Either road she chooses offers objects of painful penetration, be they pins or needles. The idea of "walking on pins and needles" might be seen to illustrate the care that must be taken during this period in a child's life: She must tread carefully in order to make it to her grandmother's house at all. Obstacles to her sexual purity lie scattered on either path she chooses, even aside from the danger posed by the wolf. However, Little Red Riding Hood, once she has made her decision, does travel the path alone, sans the wolf; she still retains the freedom that comes with solitude, being alone with one's own thoughts. The wolf is not yet altering the way she thinks about herself, and thus she retains a modicum of the adolescent freedom that is always an element in the story. Jack Zipes attests that an integral part of the story is that in every version in which she is saved by something other than her own cunning, the adult savior-figures "all scolded her for being too carefree" (1)—this lack of "care" seems Red's great sin. Sleeping Beauty could not be protected by her parents' manipulations, in spite of declarations that all spinning wheels in the kingdom should be destroyed.

Yvonne Verdier presents an interesting interpretation of what I am calling Little Red Riding Hood's first detour. While studying oral versions in villages in the *Châtillonnais*, she learned that as recently as the early twentieth century, young girls of those villages would undertake a kind of apprenticeship with a seamstress in the winter of their fifteenth year. According to Verdier, this apprenticeship "had less to do with learning to 'work,' to serve or to use needles, than with refining herself, with polishing herself and learning to adorn herself, to dress up. The seamstress expressed this by saying of her young apprentices: 'They have been gathering pins'" (106). Verdier continues:

> When they reached age fifteen, both the winter with the seamstress and the ceremonial entry into the age group consecrated to St. Catherine signified their arrival at *maidenhood* (*la vie de jeune fille*), that is, permission to go dancing and to have sweethearts, of which the pin seemed to be the symbol. It was by offering them dozens of pins that

> boys formerly paid court to girls; it was by throwing pins into fountains that girls assured themselves a sweetheart. Finally, it is the biological phenomenon itself, menstruation, making the girl into a '*jeune fille*,' with which the pin is associated. The properties of pins (they attach and are thus instruments of amorous attachment, but they prick and are then weapons of defense against too enterprising boys) are in accord with those attributed to menstrual blood, an ingredient in love potions but also an obstacle to any sexual relation. In this context the pubescent girl could be defined as the carrier of pins. As for the needle, threaded through its eye, in the folklore of seamstresses it refers to an emphatically sexual symbolism . . . (106)

Thus Verdier's theories emphasize the view of Little Red Riding Hood as a figure of pubescence, underscoring the ceremonial and formal nature of the teenager's crossing from *fillette* to *jeune fille*. However, Verdier's description also supports a close association of puberty with the making of clothes and dressing. Dress then, such as Red Riding Hood's red cloak, is of primary importance to the girl in this precarious phase of her life, vital to her education if she is to become an adult. In fact, the apprenticeship of the seamstress and the symbolism of the pins and needles are of such importance, according to Verdier, that Red Riding Hood's choice between the Way of the Pins and the Way of the Needles, "far from being absurd" as the bourgeois Perrault might have thought it, constitutes "a language, a sartorial language of pins and needles that can be understood when replaced in the ethnographic context from which these versions come: the peasant society of the late nineteenth century" (105). The language of the tools of dressmaking, then, becomes inextricably interwoven with the language of the particular phase in a young girl's life. The language of dress is a language particularly *à propos* for a specific age group of young women. For a brief time, they express themselves, and are understood to express themselves, in the language of dress. In light of Verdier's narrative, it seems even the boys who courted them and the "seamstresses" who trained them used this language of dress to communicate with the young women. We may thus understand examples of the enmeshing of language

and dress in Little Red Riding Hood to denote a particular, brief phrase in a young woman's life, one in which the creativity of her dress combines with the containment of her period of apprenticeship.

In the written traditions of the story, the child's name and clothing are always synonymous, whether she is *Le Petit chaperon rouge* or "Little Red Cap."[1] Thus the first means of identification for the little girl in both Cixous's and Charles Perrault's stories is her attractive appearance, especially in her youth (she is always "little"), and her clothing is always already "interwoven" with the language of her identity. The child's name is not only the entanglement between clothing and identity, but the closest connection between *jeune fille* and language. The words that denote the girl, the name to which she must respond, are the words that denote her clothing. The language of her identity is the language of dress, and this "language," then, is perhaps the first she uses, or is permitted to use in the seen-and-not-heard realm of the adolescent girl, and a truly feminine language. Lynn Spradlin considers this adolescent "silencing" in a section of her article "On Taking Black Girls Seriously." However, this particular section, "On Being Seen and Not Heard: Creating Adolescent Female Silence" contains no reference to racial distinctions (117). Says Spradlin, "The pervasive powerless silence among female students [i.e. Bettelheim's "school-age" Little Red Caps], accompanied by their attempts to meet societal demands for female attractiveness and sexiness, shapes a subordinate profile that disavows . . . full appreciation of the self" (118). The language of dress, then, becomes particularly advantageous to the otherwise silenced adolescent female. The first detour is the apprenticeship by which the

[1] Even when Little Red Riding Hood is given a "Christian" name, it is generally more of a symbol denoting a stereotype or common state of being, rather than a name reflecting her individuality. In Marie E. G. M. Théaulon de Lambert's 1818 opera "*Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*," for example, she is called "Rose d'Amour" (Zipes 20), another symbol of her latent sexuality (as in Jean de Munde's *Roman de la rose*), and perhaps of her genitalia (cf. William Blake's poem "The Sick Rose") and one which identifies her only as a member of a type, that of the virtuous maiden. In Mrs. Childe-Permnerton's 1882 version, *All my Doing; or, Red Riding-Hood over again*, the naughty and "heedless young woman" is called "Pussy" (Zipes 30). It might be added that the "suitors" of each version have "regular" Christian names, Roger and Herbert, respectively (20, 30).

adolescent learns the language of the *jeune fille*, the language of maidenhood, which is also the language of clothing.

Aside from its service as both heroine's name and item of clothing, the "Little Red Riding Hood" also serves as title of the story. As Paul Delarue explains in "The Story of the Grandmother," it was not uncommon to use items of the heroine's clothing to denote a tale in its entirety, especially when the tale was recorded in writing (18). Thus the language of an adolescent's clothing often becomes code not only for the girl, but for the narrative of her pubertal life. Delarue explains that aside from Little Red Riding Hood, "many other tales have also a particular version that is called 'Red Bonnet,' as other tales have titles which evoke a headdress, a piece of clothing, or colored footwear: 'The White Bonnet,' 'The Green Hat,' 'The White Coat,' 'The Green Garter,' 'The Red Shoes'" (18). Delarue contends, "all these titles inspired by a detail of the heroine's clothing in a particular version have a character that is accessory and accidental in the story" (18). Delarue's argument is that Perrault has perverted the story in providing the girl with a red cap, because this places the emphasis on the girl instead of her grandmother. But even while making this argument, Delarue uses the term "heroine" to describe Little Red Riding Hood, not her grandmother. And thus, while it is certainly possible to focus one's attention on the grandmother, the mother, or the wolf (There is no Huntsman in Perrault.), the little girl is still the protagonist of the story. It is she who undertakes a journey from her mother's house into the forest. Thus the language of dress is not only the language of the adolescent, but the language of her quest as well, the language of the story of her pubertal life, the period before she is reified in the roles of wife and mother.

Appareled in what we have already understood to be the symbol of her menstruation and therefore of her ripeness for sexual relations and reproduction, Little Red Riding Hood seems an easy target for wolves. Says *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols*, red is the color of

> traffic lights, the red light barring entry to film or broadcasting studios, as well as being the red lamp which used to mark the entry to French licensed brothels. This last might appear contradictory since, instead of forbidding access, it invited it.

> This is not, however, the case, considering that the invitation was to transgress the most powerful taboo of the period, the taboo on sexual drive, libido and the sexual instincts. (792)

Why do the mother and grandmother allow Little Red Riding Hood to dress so? Certainly, they are better acquainted with the meaning of the red cloak than Little Red is herself. The mother's complicity is especially evident in her allowing the daughter to dress as she pleases. The grandmother, however, *made* the garment. Finally, Little Red Riding Hood is drawn to the hood because "it became her so well," and chooses to wear it all the time, until she comes to be known by that name (Perrault 5). Three generations of women contribute to Little Red Riding Hood's garb/name, her grandmother in making it, her mother in allowing her to wear it and in calling her by that name, and the girl herself who, according to the Brothers Grimm, "insisted on always wearing it" (9). Attire so becoming must certainly have "suited" the girl, that is, it must have seemed "suitable" for her age. No one forces her to dress herself in that way, and yet, no one explains the meaning of this attire to her; the girl simply knows it becomes her and she is attracted to it for reasons she does not understand, reasons which are probably more instinctual than verbal as yet. She understands that the time is right for her to don the red cloak expressing the beginnings of her sexual maturity without knowing why this is the case; she understands it on the level of her basic desire to wear red, the language of the signification of clothing. Her mother and grandmother might be able to verbalize what is meant by this hood; Red Riding Hood, as yet, cannot, but her attraction to it is real and not arbitrary.

Why does the adolescent find the red cloak so irresistible? In *Women Who Run With the Wolves: Myths and Stories of the Wild Woman Archetype*, Clarissa Pinkola Estés explains, "In archetypal symbolism, clothing represents *persona*, the first view the public gains of us. Persona is a kind of camouflage which lets others know only what we wish them to know about us, and nothing more" (95). Estés's identification of clothing with persona, then, underscores the interweaving of Little Red Riding Hood's identity with her clothing and with the language that describes her, the language with which she describes herself.

For what is a name but "the first view the public gains of us"? However, Estés continues her definition of clothing as persona: "there is an older meaning to *persona* . . . not simply a mask to hide behind, but rather a presence which eclipses the mundane personality. In this sense, persona or mask is a signal of rank, virtue, character, and authority. The persona is the outward significator, the outward display of mastery" (95). The reader finds each of the attributes signified by Estés' "older meaning to *persona*" in Red Riding Hood's cloak. As a signal of rank, it displays the adolescent's age: we have already discussed the ways in which the red signifies her sexual maturity. The cloak signals her virtue in displaying her age: she has reached the age of Verdier's "maidenhood." The hood signals her character in that it is a gift of love from her grandmother; the girl is worthy of gifts of loving affection. Perhaps "authority" is the most important quality the red riding hood "signals." Here is a girl who, during this brief stage, this first of "three little detours," has a certain control, albeit limited, of her own destiny. She has the authority to choose the road of the pins or the needles. She may still walk in solitude, if she chooses to, and she may dress herself as she pleases. According to Zipes, "to wear a red *chaperon* signaled that she was individualistic and perhaps non-conformist" (54). Finally, though still partially under the care of her parents, she is also, according to Verdier, under to the tutelage of the seamstress. Her strongest scrap of authority, however, lies in the fact that she is old enough to be courted by other boys, and to decide how she will react to these proposals and propositions, and this readiness is signaled by her red cloak. This is perhaps the most authority she will have during the course of her life, this authority of the three detours, and it is an authority both symbolized and embodied by the red cloak, for much of her power lies in the garment itself.

As Cixous's notion of the "three detours" is common, we see the same relationships between adolescent girl and her clothing in Marguerite Duras's novel "The Lover." The speaker in *The Lover* has no name. Because the text (subtitled "A Novel") is considered to be, at least in part, autobiographical, some critics, for example Robert L. Mazola in "Coming to Terms: Image and Masquerade in Marguerite Duras's *L'Amant*," choose to refer to its speaker as "Marguerite," but such an act, such reification of

the unnamed even for the purpose of analysis, seems presumptuous to me (142). The speaker goes unnamed in the text, unlike her mother who is "Marie Legrand from Roubaix" (46), her younger brother Paulo, her best friend Hélène Lagonnelle. *The Lover* opens with the speaker's description of herself, and of others describing her face, emphasizing the association of identity with appearance. The image of a fifteen-year-old child on a journey is the first the reader sees, and the author develops this scene, repeating it and elaborating on it through the first portion of the book. The idea of dress as a language, then, becomes even more important to a nameless speaker, especially given that the text is so image-ridden, and clothing is one of few means available to a poor adolescent of changing one's physical appearance. Marianne Hirsch suggests a reason for the importance of images in *L'Amant* in her article "Resisting Images: Rereading Adolescents": "The novel [*The Lover*]—so the story is told—originated with a box of old photographs that Duras's son tried to get published. When the publisher asked that his mother add some captions to the photos, Duras wrote *The Lover* and ended up publishing it with Minuit, but without the pictures" (255). Thus the story in Duras's text is compelled by the absent image—imagery becomes not only particularly vital to the identity of the characters, but also, much as in Little Red Riding Hood, the veritable language of the story, the force that propels the plot.

The clothing the speaker chooses *means* something. As in Little Red Riding Hood, for example, the adolescent's dress is the first sign of the speaker's availability to male lovers. Like Little Red, innate in the speaker's identity is her peculiar costume: pinkish-brown man's fedora, ill-fitting second-hand dress, man's belt, no stockings, gold lamé evening shoes. Like Little Red's *chaperon rouge*, the speaker's peculiar clothing signals what Zipes calls a "non-conformist streak" (56). The speaker chooses her clothing herself; perhaps it is the first time she has done so. She explains the process of selecting her garments using the example of her pinkish-brown man's fedora:

> What must have happened is: I try it on just for fun, look at myself in the shopkeeper's glass, and see there, beneath the man's hat, the thin awkward shape, the inadequacy of

> childhood, has turned into something else. Has ceased to be a harsh, inescapable imposition of nature. Has become, on the contrary, a provoking choice of nature, a choice of the mind. Suddenly it's deliberate. Suddenly I see myself as another, as another would be seen, outside of myself, *available to all*, available to all eyes, in circulation for cities, journeys, desire. I take the hat, and am never parted from it. Having got it, this hat that all by itself *makes me whole*, I wear it all the time. (13, emphasis mine)

The speaker uses her clothing to connect childhood and maturity, to make something solid and tangible from this limen, instead of remaining a chaotic combination of features in various stages of maturity and immaturity. The clothing she chooses becomes a specific symbol of this time in her life, just as Red Riding Hood's cap or cloak signals her maturity and availability. And like Little Red's riding hood, the hat becomes, both for the speaker and for those who observe her, enmeshed with her identity, and the speaker wills it so. The chapeau "all by itself makes me whole"; it is inextricable from her identity, so she must "wear it all the time," just as Little Red Riding Hood always wears her cloak. Similarly, the speaker's first adult pair of shoes becomes wrapped up in her identity: "I insist on wearing them. I don't like myself in any others, and to this day I still like myself in them" (12). In this text, the speaker has no name; she is simply a series of relations to other people: daughter, sister, white colonist (foreigner), beloved. The speaker's dress is a kind of language; it has meaning. She describes the views others take of her clothing: "Don't tell me that hat's innocent, or the lipstick, it all means something, it's not innocent, it means something, it's to attract attention, money" (88).

The oft-repeated scene in which the speaker describes her clothing is that of a literal journey across the Mekong River from Sadec to Vinh Long, which we might compare to Little Red Riding Hood's journey into the woods. The speaker's figurative journey, however, like Little Red's, is the one to adulthood, and at the end of it, the speaker will have taken her three little detours. In this first detour, in which the child learns to dress herself, the speaker is "wearing a dress of real silk, but it's threadbare, almost transparent. It used to belong to my mother.

One day she decided the color was too light for her and she gave it to me. It's a sleeveless dress with a very low neck. It's the sepia color real silk takes on with wear. It's a dress I remember. I think it suits me" (11). The dress seems in some ways to be an extension of the girl: it is transparent, light brown silk, invoking the color and texture of skin, and also the photographs in which the image is captured. (One wonders, is the dress really sepia-colored, or is this a trick of a memory accustomed to the reminders of photographs?) The transparency of the dress and the low neckline work to reveal the speaker's developing figure; a low-cut dress would display her adolescent body, "thin, undersized almost, childish breasts still" (20). Thus as Little Red Riding Hood displays the fact that she has begun to menstruate in her red cloak, so the speaker of *L'Amant* displays her still-developing body in the clothes she chooses. The speaker cinches the dress with "a leather belt . . . perhaps a belt belonging to one of my brothers" (11). The belt, in tightening the dress, further makes the gown an extension of the speaker's skin, as it makes the dress sit closer to it, but it also emphasizes the young age at which the speaker begins to take over to roles her mother has erstwhile fulfilled. The boy's belt reflects the still boyish nature of the childish body, and the fact that she is somewhere between a child and a woman, still somewhat androgynous in her immaturity.

Shoes make up an integral part of the clothing-persona. Estés explains, "Shoes can tell something about what we are like, sometimes even who we are aspiring to be, the persona we are trying out" (222). Here, the language of clothing is especially apparent: shoes "tell" about the person who wears them. The speaker in *The Lover* envisions her fifteen-year-old self in her first pair of grown-up shoes, the signifiers of the end of her childhood:

> This particular day I must be wearing the famous pair of gold lamé high heels. I can't see any others I could have been wearing, so I'm wearing them. Bargains, final reductions bought for me by my mother. I'm wearing these gold lamé shoes to school. Going to school in shoes decorated with little *diamanté* flowers. I insist on wearing them. I don't like myself in any others, and to this day I still like myself in

> them. These high heels are the first in my life, they're beautiful, they've eclipsed all shoes that went before, the flat ones, for playing and running about, made of white canvas. (12)

The shoes are "famous" in the speaker's mind; even as an adult they are the only pair of shoes she can imagine herself wearing, and she implies that she has kept them, though they must be worn-out if she actually wore them to school every day as a teenager. The white canvas shoes are androgynous, signifying the *tabula rasa*, the blank slate of her youth yet to be painted or written on. The gold lamé shoes, by contrast, show her desire to be an adult. The speaker feels she becomes beautiful when she wears them. She is beginning to have the body of an adult and certainly has the desires of an adult, but still must go to school like a child, and not to parties to which it would be appropriate to wear "evening shoes." Dancing shoes imply a carefree attitude; one does not dance to a dirge, and yet the speaker, though young, is far from free of "cares." Her body might not have developed enough yet to "fill out" her mother's dress, but her feet have probably grown with her height, so that these shoes fit her. Evening shoes are not for "playing and running about," occupations the adolescent no longer enjoys. And yet, she cannot go dancing in them either. If she is to wear them at all, she must wear them to the regular destinations of the adolescent girl, to school, and so she does. She considers the women who hide away more dresses than they can hope to wear, saving them for trips to France; she does not save her fancy shoes or her adolescent body in this way. She will satisfy her developing libido, she will not wait for a marriage in France. After all, she was born in Indochina. She does not have the experience of a previous life in France to provoke her to save herself, her clothing, for some distant day, for the end of her fairytale.
The shoes are the symbol of herself as she would like to be, and as she knows how to make people see her. Perhaps the gold signifies the wealth she hopes to obtain for her family, her destiny as breadwinner. They allow her to see herself as wealthy, sophisticated, or see that possibility in her future. In this, they are a part of her persona, as Estés defines it. The diamanté flowers on her shoes signify both the freshness of her

youth and the harshness of false diamonds. The freshness and innocence of flowers are eclipsed by the harsh angles of the little stones, the harsh reality of the adolescent's life, the contradictory mix of the softness, the fear in her nature, the desire to be loved, and the hard, cold desire for money to support her family.

The hat is the "crown" of her outfit, however. Says the speaker, "It's not the shoes, though, that make the girl look so strangely, so weirdly dressed. No, it's the fact that she's wearing a man's flat-brimmed hat, a brownish-pink fedora with a broad black ribbon. The crucial ambiguity of the image lies in the hat" (12). Like the boy's belt, the man's hat heightens the androgynous quality of the outfit. And yet, the hat is pink, a feminine color, adding to the ambiguity the speaker mentions. Pink represents the beginnings of her sexuality. Pink is also the rose-color of the speaker's youth, the pink of baby girls, the light that is a trace of her childhood through which the adolescent still continues to see the world, while in this liminal phase. Says the speaker, "The hat makes the whole scene pink. It's the only color" (21). Perhaps Red Riding Hood too sees "*la vie en rose*" through the weave of her red hood. Neither Red nor the speaker sees the harsh and necessary end of her journey, the absorption into the patriarchy; instead they gaze at the world through the pink light of dawn, of beginnings, of tender emotions, of the fairy tale possibility of fulfillment through the love of a man in the absence of a father.

The wide black ribbon of the fedora suggests a kind of mourning for a childhood, the innocent times spent playing with her favorite brother. For the speaker, the importance of this odd ensemble is its "crucial ambiguity": her shoes "contradict the hat, as the hat contradicts the puny body, so they're right for me. I wear them all the time too, go overywhere [sic] in these shoes, this hat, out of doors, in all weathers, on every occasion. And to town" (13). The outfit reflects the girl's acceptance of the contradictions requisite in the phase of her adolescence. Her shoes are too old for her; her long, hanging braids[2], too young. Her body is puny; she has been menstruating for three years and

[2] " I too have a couple of long braids hanging down in front like those women in the films I've never seen, but mine are the braids of a child. Ever since I've had the hat, I've stopped putting my hair up so that I can wear it. For some time I've scraped my hair back to try to make it flat, so that people can't see it" (15-16).

has the desires of an adult. She is under her mother's rule, but her mother is beginning to lose her mind, and the speaker feels a responsibility to take care of her family, especially since her brothers have failed to do so. This is also evident in the clothes, as "The link with poverty is also there in the man's hat" (24). The girl's clothes are hand-me-downs and markdowns of markdowns. Her mother needs her to do something about their poverty; there is no acceptable occupation for a girl of her age. Her brothers have failed to find means of supporting the family, and so her clothing has masculine influences, the hat and belt, reflecting the responsibility she feels to take over where her brothers have failed. This is the "crucial ambiguity" of her dress, the combination of child and adult, of male and female, in the clothing the speaker has chosen on the Path of the Pins or the Needles.

The red lipstick the speaker wears seems the only red of her outfit, aside from the pink of her hat. And yet this red lipstick stands in for all the things signified by the red cloak. It comes from an adult, even if stolen from one, and it is intended to alert the voyeur to the sexual maturity as well as the innocence of the wearer; the speaker describes it as "dark red, cherry" (16). The adult speaker doesn't remember where her child-self got her lipstick, and this seems to add to its timeless symbolism; there is no need for the speaker to go into a long explanation of what it means to "paint" oneself, to be wearing makeup "already" (16), and especially to use the color red.

The red lipstick implies another contradiction of the speaker's dress: that of poverty. The child's shoes are gold, signifying money. They are of the type worn by the leisure class, made for dancing and evening parties of the sort the speaker's family does not attend. However, the speaker is neither rich nor carefree, and her clothing is contrived for several purposes. The child suffers a very grown-up anxiety about money. The speaker explains:

> The link with poverty is there in the man's hat too, for money has got to be brought in, got to be brought in somehow. All around her are wildernesses, wastes. The sons are wildernesses, they'll never do anything. The salt land's a wilderness too, the money's lost for good, it's all over. The

> only thing left is this girl, she's growing up, perhaps one day she'll find out how to bring in some money. That's why, though she doesn't know it, that's why the mother lets the girl go out dressed like a child prostitute. And that's why the child already knows how to divert the interest people take in her to the interest she takes in money. That makes her mother smile. (24)

Thus, there is a sense in which the mother encourages her daughter to dress this way, not because it's a "show of imagination" (24) displaying her creativity, but because she knows of the possibilities of clothing oneself in such signifiers, even if the daughter, on a certain level, does not.

What can we say of the mother's role in the loss of her daughter's sexual innocence? Only that she sent her off into the woods, or in this case, on the ferry from Sadec to Vinh Long. Only that she allowed her to dress this way, bought her the clothes, and neglected to put a stop to it. And perhaps the mother did these things, made these purchases, in a state of semi-madness. For it is when she "emerges, comes out of her despair," that the mother "sees the man's hat and the gold lamé shoes. Not bad, she says, they quite suit you, make a change" (23). The mother compliments her daughter in her "emergent" state, but she bought the clothes in the other, the one she doesn't remember, for the speaker tells us the mother "doesn't ask if it's she who bought them, she knows she did," not because she remembers, but because, "She knows she's capable of it, that sometimes, those times I've mentioned, you can get anything you like out of her, she can't refuse us anything" (23-4). The daughter assures the poverty-fearing mother that her new clothes weren't expensive, and has to remind her mother where she bought them. The speaker explains that the fear of impending poverty is the reason "why, though she doesn't know it, that's why the mother lets the girl go out dressed like a child prostitute" (24). Who is the "she" in that statement? It is no accident that the reader must work to decipher this sentence, as Barbara Wiedemann explains in her article "The Search for an Authentic Voice: Hélène Cixous and Marguerite Duras." Weidemann asserts Duras "demands participation of the reader" when "the antecedents for the pronouns that replace the names

are ambiguous. Thus the reader is forced to create meaning as he or she reads" (5). According to Weidemann, this is just one of Duras's techniques that "foster creativity and participation instead of allowing for possession of the work" (5). The ambiguity, then, is purposeful. The "she" who doesn't know "why the mother lets the girl go out dressed like a child prostitute" could certainly be mother or daughter (24). But I would propose that, in addition, "she" could apply to the "mad" or "depressed" version of the mother, who doesn't remember her actions once she's emerged from her "mad" state. "The mother" of the sentence could equally be the "mad" or "sane" figure, or some combination thereof. On whom do we place the blame? On a complicated combination of the three. Is there any harm in just *dressing* in accordance with one's quasi-childish caprices, if it *happens* to attract a certain kind of attention?

As three figures share the responsibility for the speaker's wardrobe in *L'Amant*: the speaker and the "mad" and "sane" mothers, three figures collaborate to send Little Red Riding Hood along the Way of the Pins or the Needles dressed in her becoming red cloak. However, lumping together the mother and grandmother figures, Bettelheim asserts the older female is partially to blame for Red Riding Hood's encounter with the wolf because she allows her to dress this way: "Whether it is Mother or Grandmother—this mother once removed—it is fatal for the young girl if this older woman abdicates her own attractiveness to males and transfers it to the daughter by giving her a too attractive red cloak" (173). Thus, perhaps, the mother and grandmother are partially to blame. And yet, I disagree with Bettelheim's assertion that the name "Little Red Cap" "suggests that not only is the red cap little, but also the girl. She is too little, not for wearing the cap, but for managing what this red cap symbolizes, and what her wearing it invites" (173). Physically, the adolescent is desirous of the sexual act. Emotionally, however, this is not yet the case, and thus I agree with Bettelheim when he insists, "The red velvet cap given by Grandmother to Little Red Cap thus can be viewed as a symbol of premature transfer of sexual attractiveness" (173).

We see this idea of "premature transfer of sexual attractiveness" through items of clothing in *The Lover*. The threadbare, translucent dress the speaker wears is a hand-me-

down from the mother, who finds the color "too light" for her. Such an attractive color, even a shade of brown, is no longer a color she chooses to wear. She has been married twice; she is done with symbols of "sexual attractiveness." The speaker notes that as the mother gives her approval of the daughter's wardrobe, she is "sober as a widow, dressed in dark colors like an unfrocked nun" (24). Thus the daughter's taking on of attractive clothing coincides with the mother's shirking of it. Nearly every time the speaker mentions her clothing, she notes that it was her mother who bought the items for her, allowed her to wear them. It is obvious that the girl looks to her mother for guidance in matters of making herself attractive, for she remembers that day on the ferry, "I'm not wearing perfume. My mother makes do with Palmolive and eau de Cologne" (16). The make-up she wears, too, comes in part from her mother; the speaker uses her mother's powder to blot the cream with which she has tried to camouflage her freckles. Her mother, however, wears the powder "to go to government receptions," formal occasions, not quotidian boat trips. Thus, in taking the mother's powder, the daughter changes its meaning from a symbol of adult "flirtations," the kind that takes place at formal occasions in accordance with more or less formally prescribed rules, to a more youthful one, the kind that may happen by chance, at any time, on a journey across the Mekong, for example, or across the woods to your granny's house.

Puberty, we have seen, is a time of contradictions for young girls, part women, part children, in which the greatest contradiction seems their apparent freedom and surprising containment. The adolescent, in the words of Cixous, has only "three little detours" on her brief journey to grandma's, in which to discover and express herself unfettered. The girl sees an unlimited future, an unending horizon, and sees it through rose-colored glasses, but she is not allowed to experience this bright unknown. Instead, she is swallowed up into the duties of her grandmother, which will rob her of all her feminine creativity. The first detour, I have argued, is the Way of the Pins or the Way of the Needles, in which the young girl learns to express herself through her clothing. Though this "language of clothing" is particularly appropriate for young girls, and though they enjoy expressing their creativity through this outlet of dress, they fail to

see the reason for this roundabout necessity, this need to adopt another "language." Teenage girls are silenced, forbidden from using regular, verbal language to express themselves to their elders and peers, and thus are forced into this other language, seemingly feminine, an effect of patriarchal strictures. At this age, a girl is no more than a "skirt," having little more agency than the clothes on her back. Her need for an innately feminine language in which to express herself is reminiscent of a kind of *écriture feminine*, a form for which many of her narratives strive. This love of clothing is the effect of a kind of apprenticeship under which young girls learn about dressing themselves and older women allow them to do so; in other words, it implies the complicity of those who allow them the clothing and pretend that the futures of their daughters and granddaughters will be brighter, freer, and more feminine, than their own wolfish futures, though at some points these older women may act out of jealousy toward their attractive, youthful, feminine offspring.

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Contradiction and Negation: Subversions of Pedagogical Control in *Jane Eyre*

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"Fetters of Gold are still Fetters, and the softest Lining can never make 'em so easy as Liberty."
—Judith Drake, An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex

"I have spoken my mind, and can go anywhere now."
—Charlotte Bronte, Jane Eyre

Jane Eyre, considered variously as a novel of education, feminist prerogative and Gothic subversion, seems strangely split between educational imperatives. Written after the 18th century explosion of conduct manuals and in a period of burgeoning psychological thought, the novel "actively encodes the language and preoccupations" of the mid-nineteenth-century (Shuttleworth 2). The control of the mind was, however, predicated upon control of the body—and control of the body upon means of surveillance (3). These practices were meant to be both internal and external, but "self" control was increasingly the province of men, while the need for external (or "other-centered") control continued to be recommended for women. Thus, the seventeenth-century "fetters" of mind assailed by female educationalists Judith Drake and Mary Astell still had currency.[1] In order to avoid being consigned to a role that was evocative of both patient and perpetual pupil (roles of powerlessness and/or dependence) women must develop and maintain defensive "organization" strategies whereby they could arrange and articulate their own mental space. In the early

[1] Judith Drake, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex. In a letter to a lady. Written by a lady* (1696) and Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694) were polemical works supporting women's education.

eighteenth century, such texts took their cue from polemics as well as conduct material—from Wolstonecraft's *Vindication* as much as her *Maria.* In the nineteenth century, however, medical science was as deeply involved in this process as was pedagogical theory and practice, and as Sally Shuttleworth points out, "the growing body of literature on the powers of self-control was complemented by the rise of gynaecological science which emphasized the uncontrollable processes of the uterine economy" (4).

Brontë's fiction is interesting to our study of female defensive education in part because she (through her characters) engages with this rhetoric; Jane Eyre uses it as rebellion and defense against 1) the pedagogical system of her childhood, 2) the various figures of male authority who seek to "control" or "organize" her and 3) even against other women. Shuttleworth's text was the first to examine Brontë's use of contemporary psychological and physiological discourse, and she does so to explore "the diverse ways in which…conflicting models of selfhood, of mental control and physiological instability, are played out in Brontë's fiction, heightening and intensifying the erotic struggle for control" (4). Yet, Brontë's appropriation of this discourse, nestled as it is in the experiences of the narrator/character of Jane Eyre, offer us a vision *not* of an author "paralyzed by her sense of social impossibility" (Shuttleworth 6), but of an author acutely aware both of the male desire for *control* of the female mind, and of the ways to *circumvent* that control. In the following essay, I will examine Brontë's use of contradiction and negation not just to "tell her story" but to "untell" it—to remove it from the mouths of Jane's male interlocutors. Neither parroting nor placating, *Jane Eyre* represents a new articulation of possibility: she has "spoken her mind," and thus, can now "go anywhere."

Early Pedagogy: Defining the need for female "constraint"

The perceived necessity for controlling errant women was by no means a new concept in the nineteenth, or even the seventeenth or eighteenth, century. However, the concept of control had been secularized and systematized after the Reformation, and the logical locus for this discourse became the educational treatise. The debate over what women were capable

of (both in the intellectual and physical sense) was being joined even before Locke published *Some Thoughts on Education* in 1693.[2] The debate continued into the eighteenth century with Francois Fénelon's *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*, published in France in 1687, but translated and reprinted in England in several editions—the last of which came out in 1753. Still considered by some to be one of the "most significant theoretical and institutional achievements" of the seventeenth century, [3] *Instructions* offered a complete program of study for producing industrious and dutiful wives—as opposed to court ladies or wit-scholars. In the treatise, Fénelon emphatically links women's inability to learn to their position as "weak" females, explaining that learning would make them "ridiculous" (2):

> [It is] not their Business either to govern the Sate, or the make War, or to sit in Courts of Judicature, or to read Philosophical Lectures, or to enter into the Ministry of Things Sacred, so there is not great need for them to be instructed [in the sciences or mechanical arts] (3).

Instead, it is their duty to become better wives and mothers, which can only be accomplished by constraining their natural tendencies to be "vain" and "fickle," and by conquering their "roving imagination" (9-11). Fénelon's tactic for instituting this restraint is through habit and making behavior mechanical: "this manner of influencing Children…hath insensible Consequences towards facilitation afterwards their Education"—an education in submission (13).[4] It is important to note that habituation appears

[2] Richard Brathwaite published *The English Gentlewoman* in 1631 to advocate proper behavior for women; Bathsua Makin published *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* in 1673 as a historical defense for promoting women's education, George Savile wrote *Advice to a Daughter* in 1688 in order to imprint his desires on the female mind before it was "quite form'd" of its own accord, and Mary Astell published *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* in 1694 (a year after Locke) to argue in defense of women's education and ability to reason.
[3] Carolyn C. Lougee, "Noblesse, Domesticity, and Social Reform: The Education of Girls by Fénelon and Saint-Cyr." *History of Education Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1974), 87.
[4] Richard Barney, *Plots of Enlightenment*, also treats this passage, stating that "habituation has the advantage of the prelinguistic" for Fénelon in "facilitating young girls' instruction, since it can teach them good behavior even before they know the words to describe it" (51).

repeatedly in pedagogical tracts throughout the early and mid-eighteenth century (Barney 52), but because of women's "inconstant" nature, they—much more that men and even more than children—were in greater need of habit's constraint.

Yet women were not to be controlled by habit alone; that would be relying too heavily on the internal control only men were though to possess. Women must also submit to external control, which included everything from surveillance (also advocated by Fénelon) to physical containment and enforced ignorance. Women writers from the seventeenth century—Mary Astell, Judith Drake and others—to the eighteenth century (Mary Wollstonecraft) sought to answer these strictures. Astell's *Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1697) called women to self-educate, and Judith Drake's *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* [sic] (1721) compares the "soft" means of insinuating women into obedience to "fetters of gold" (22)—not unlike the "mind-forged manacles" Blake would attach some fifty years later. Unfortunately, by Wollstonecraft's time, Astell and Drake had been largely forgotten, and Wollstonecraft herself fell out of favor shortly after her death. *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was initially well received, but the publishing of Godwin's unintentionally damaging memoir in 1798 had the effect of making her name one of derision, "brandish[ed] at feminists as evidence of the horrific consequences of female emancipation" (Janes 297). Wollstonecraft's bold statements also drew fire, such as Richard Polwhele's poem *The Unsex'd Females* in 1798, and later educationalists—like James Mill—continued to assert the need for male control of women. In Mill's 1820 "Essay on Government," he states:

> One thing is pretty clear, that all those individuals whose interests are indisputably included in those of other individuals, may be struck off without inconvenience. In this light may be viewed all children, up to a certain age, whose interests are involved in those of their parents. *In this light, also, women may be regarded, the interest of almost all of whom is involved either in that of their fathers or in that of their husbands* [my italics] (Mill qtd. in Ball §7).

Such statements suggested a return to less expansive educational opportunities for women, even though (or perhaps because) the image of woman was undergoing a metamorphosis in the early nineteenth century.

Evinced by trends in women's magazines and by the nostalgic voice of Sarah Stickney Ellis's *Home* and *Women of England,* women had become emblematic as the moral center of England. As Joan Burston points out in her study on Victorian womanhood, after 1825, women's publications abandoned all content on political affairs, etc., and instead filled their pages with moral tales and advice on etiquette (34). Similarly, Ellis's publications were exhortations calling women to remain at the home and hearth where they belonged as the spiritual half (and refuge) of mankind. Ellis follows the rationale once used by Fénelon to make her claims, stating that "[i]t is therefore solely to the cultivation of *habits* that I have confined my attention—to the minor morals of domestic life" [my italics] (Ellis 6). Men could not help but be worldly; women in England, however, could afford and indeed had an obligation to "rise above such contamination" (Burston 34). It was determined, therefore that "only through ignorance (referred to as innocence)…could women truly be preserved from the danger of vice, for to have knowledge that something existed was to savour its quality, as Adam and Eve had learned in the garden of Eden" (34).

Control was affected by inculcating habits (what seventeenth century writers called the "Tyrant Custom") in women before they were old enough to reason or to choose, and by limiting their knowledge, their scope and their field of vision.[5] Education was therefore a necessarily constraining activity, meant not to open vistas but to close them from view and teach women to relish the small world to which they were assigned. As Foucault observes, the "exercise of discipline presupposed a mechanism that coerces by means of observation" (170); in addition to the constraints of a limited and limit*ing* education—the duty of which is to observe and control the *mind*—women's *bodies* must also

[5] Astell considers the "Tyrant Custom" responsible for insufficient education of women, "dispos[ing] them to Inconstancy" (69-70). Bathsua Makin and Judith Drake, as well as Lady Mary Chudleigh make similar references, often referring to both 1) the customary habit of education women (customary) and 2) the habits (customs) themselves.

be observable. To make them so, women's bodies must be kept in a constrained and observable space, as well as trustworthy guides to watch over them and to deliver them (mentally and bodily) from the hands of the father to the hands of the husband. They could not possibly make the journey on their own, for women existed in the paradox of being necessarily pure and yet necessarily given over to error—only "with the outside help from religion and from men who cared for them could women develop self-control" (Burston 72).

Darwin's evolutionary theory gave educationalists the "proof" necessary to claim it was nature and not social constraint that made women as they are, and the blurring line between sanity and insanity (attached as it often was to the uterine economy through hysteria) lent additional support. A woman at odds with the ideal could be easily classified as insane, and the fear of this fate demonstrated itself in fact as well as fiction. Since insanity came to be viewed not as "a fixed physiological state," but as a "temporary overwhelming of normal control…, all individuals (but particularly women) lived under the constant threat of mental derangement" (Shuttleworth 35). As such, pedagogy and medicine offered continual support each other—especially since, as Poovey points out, the medical model of reproduction was continually invoked as a reason for the necessary control of women (11). Men (husband, father or physician) must point out the correct path for their lives, and even to account for and describe their physical bodies.

Victorian Medicine-Men: The female economy defining the female mind

As Lorna Duffin remarks in her study "Prisoners of Progress: Woman and Evolution," the "mental and moral deficiencies [of women] might be remedied but physical differences were not so easily dismissed" (60). Throughout Victorian period, the medical community offered up experience in support of physical difference. John Conolly, who published a *Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine* in 1833, attempted to define and explain hysteria. He disavows that hysteria is caused directly by the uterus, but remains convinced that "the predominance of the uterine system" is still a great factor (Conolly 185). He also makes clear that the "malady chiefly affects women," or that if it

affects men, it is because their nervous system has been "debilitated" to a degree which places them on par with women (186). Thomas Laycock, writing in 1840, was rather less magnanimous; in his *Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women*, he makes a point of establishing the inherent disabilities of the female economy:

> When we reflect upon […] the multiplicity of agencies by which the nervous system may be influenced, and the natural susceptibility of that of women… and upon the equally extensive relations of these [reproductive] organs to the general scheme of vital development, there is little room left for surprise at the infinite variety of evanescent forms, which, when occurring more particularly in women, the diseases of the nervous system assume (Laycock 189).

More specifically, Laycock connects hysteria to modes of education; the "anxiety to render a young lady accomplished, at all hazards, has originated a system of forced mental training, which greatly increases the irritability of the brain" (189). a girl sent off to be educated returns "a hysterical, wayward, capricious girl; imbecile in mind, habits and pursuits; prone to hysterical paroxysms upon any unusual mental excitement" (189). John Millingen (another physician) also sees women as the more susceptible sex, and even tries to reconcile the contradiction of a woman's spiritual nature and propensity to err in his *The Passions; or Mind and Matter* (1848). He states that "Woman, with her exalted spiritualism, is more forcibly under the control of matter…[S]he is less under the influence of the brain than the uterine system" (169). He also addresses the issue of continual control, for the "concentration of her feelings" are like "a smouldering fire," when she is no longer "trammeled by conventional propriety" (169). He offers up insanity as proof of this fact, but recognizes both the necessity for control in society, and the dangers of it. The frailty of women necessitated delicate treatment—she is too much a body, too much the slave of matter.

In the later Victorian period, these pronouncements grew more vehement. Burston's study demonstrates that, during the 1870s, those who opposed education (particularly higher—and

hence freer—education) for women began to use more of the medical and reproductive arguments:

> Puritanical barriers with regard to sex broke down because the times demanded conclusive action: by 1870 women were already attending courses in London and Cambridge (albeit not officially as members of the universities), a few had even become doctors, and many others were being prepared to compete with boys for the university local examinations (84).

Medical accounts in the 1870s and after were more direct about the damaging effects of mental freedom and education for women than their predecessors. Henry Maudsley's 1874 "Sex in Mind and Education" attacked what he called "brain-forcing" (first discussed in Herbert Spencer's *Education, Intellectual, Moral and Physical* in 1859) and stated that women "cannot rebel successfully against the tyranny of their organization" (380). Medical arguments attempting to connect a woman's mental health with her uterine economy did so with the intent of controlling the formation of the woman herself; women must be forcefully "organized" both mentally and physically in order to achieve the Victorian Ideal. As a consequence, their "reading had to be prescribed so as to protect their virtue," and they must be kept out of Universities or other realms of less limited education, lest they "be tempted to follow any examples of vice they found in pagan literature or any atheistic ideas they found in science" (Burston 114). If women were to achieve greater mental freedom—particularly the freedom to arrange and organize their own minds—they must either turn their back on the ideal entirely, which would invite dangerous social censure and stigma, or be able to argue coherently against (and within) the prevailing medical and scientific discourse.

As can be imagined, this left women—women authors particularly—with few words to speak on their own behalf. Lyn Pykett describes this situation in her article "Women Writing Women." The representations of women provided *by* women were no less shaped by the "unstable, contradictory and 'uneven' conceptualizations of feminine gender and female sexuality which proliferated in the male-controlled domains of the law,

social analysis, medicine, science and the emerging field of psychoanalysis" (79). Where were women to turn for better models? Where were they to articulate their own ability to choose, to reason and to organize their own mental spaces? My argument is that a subversive pedagogical model can be discovered through the very contradictions Pykett describes—that women writers, bound as they were by male discourse—could only represent an opposing framework by perpetual contradiction. For this reason, the model that emerges from *Jane Eyre* is more positively feministic than might be immediately apparent.

The Rhetoric of Pedagogical Control in Jane Eyre

Charlotte Brontë in no way palliates the problems women face, even in her attempt to create a female protagonist with some share of personal freedom or power. The rhetoric of control enters into the narrative from the beginning, and rarely does the reader lose sight of it. I will be addressing several key features of this rhetoric (touched on in previous sections) as I examine the text: surveillance, physical containment, "path direction" and character formation. The first two are self-explanatory. The third term, *path direction* here means the pre-chosen work of women as prescribed by educationalists, moralists, and medical men: in general, the movement from daughter to wife and mother, a path of perpetual subordination chosen for a passive female actor. *Character formation* is used here to address the male modeling of women through "telling" them their character or their story. It is a process, rather like Fénelon's habituation, that recasts women as the ideal through perpetual interpretation of their identity according to that ideal. It also related to the statement by James Mill, that a woman can have no public interests outside her father or husband.

Some of the first scenes of surveillance in the text occur in the presence of Mr. Brocklehurst, Lowood School's headmaster. He "examined" Jane "with the two inquisitive-looking grey eyes" at the home of her aunt, Mrs. Reed (26). In the same interview, after being accused of lying, Jane "saw" herself "transformed under Mr. Brocklehurst's eye into an artful noxious child" (28). The consequence of this "transformation" is Jane's temporary disgrace at Lowood, where she is subject to yet another, more

terrible, scrutiny. Mr. Brocklehurst has her stand upon a 'pedestal of infamy" before all her classmates and announces that she is a liar (57). This first kind of surveillance is open and Jane is well aware of it—it is the panoptic gaze turned upon the individual. However, the forms of watching become more secretive later in the novel; Jane is watched by Rochester: "the next day I observed you—myself unseen—for half an hour" (267), and she is watched by St. John as he sizes her up for a future occupation as missionary wife: "I have watched you ever since we first met: I have made you my study for ten months" (343). As Shuttleworth remarks, in Brontë's fiction, "[s]urveillance and interpretative penetration are not represented…as innocent activities" (17). Everyone, it seems, has a role for Jane to play; their constant vigilance is imperative, formative and powerful. It is through this "penetrating" and intrusive gaze that they mean to shape her character and her future.

Sister to surveillance, physical containment also begins early in the novel. It is particularly apparent in the scene of the *red chamber* where Jane is forcibly dragged by Bessie and Miss Abbot (who threaten to tie her with garters). This "preparation for bonds, and the additional ignominy of it inferred, took a little of the excitement" out of Jane (9), and this is precisely the point of containment. The passionate woman is not to be tolerated; she is an aberration, and emotional restraint may be considered "the test of sanity for women" in Victorian Brtiain (50). Interestingly (and hauntingly), when women fail to restrain their emotions, it is their *bodies* which become contained. The novel's Bertha Mason, "madwoman in attic," is the all-too-obvious emblem of this form of corrective. In fact, Thornfield Hall (home of Rochester and prison to Bertha) is one of the novel's primary scenes of physical containment.

Jane herself is never forcibly confined at Thornfield, though such containment is continually threatened. Rochester is loathe to let her leave for Gateshead when Mrs. Reed lies dying, and Jane wonders "How long will he stand with his back against that door?" (192). Similarly, when the secret of Bertha Mason-Rochester is finally revealed, it is with difficulty that Jane escapes. After refusing to go to France with him as his mistress, Rochester seizes her arm and waist, and his language becomes that of violence: "I could bend her with my forefinger and thumb"

(271). When he relaxes his grasp, the pressure of containment does not truly abate—Jane feels it in his eyes and face, and returns only to once more "evade" his embrace (272). The reader is left to understand that, had Jane not left in the middle of night, she may not have left at all.

There is another kind of containment in the novel, however, and that is the containment of purpose, of path direction. Rochester's containment of Jane is only partly physical; it is also emotional and tied directly to his visions of and plans for her future. Rochester chooses Jane, first for his (false) wife and second as his mistress. In both of these futures, however, Jane becomes a doll and a dependent on his wealth, even as is Adèle (his young ward). Jane expresses exasperation and shame as Rochester further indebts her to him: "the more he bought me, the more my cheeks burned with a sense of annoyance and degradation" (229). She calls herself a "kept" woman, and feels the sting of his allusion to a Turkish harem (229). In fact, after the discovery of his wife, she compares herself to Rochester's other "kept" women, including Celine (Adèle's mother).

Jane's second "suitor," her cousin St. John, has a similarly dependent and confining path chosen for Jane—though admittedly, a more socially acceptable one. Appearing in the second half of the novel, when Jane has changed the confinement of Thornfield for the home of the Rivers siblings and later the schoolhouse cottage of Morton. Here the confinement is never physical, yet it is just as constraining. In fact, it is *more* limiting to her faculties, and the life Jane tries to lead as schoolmistress steadily contracts her sphere of intellectual growth. Additionally, the proposed "path" marked out for her by St. John is equally stifling: "I daily wished more to please [St. John]: but to do so, I felt daily more and more that I must disown half my nature, stifle half my faculties, wrest my tastes from their original bent" (339). She declares it to be impossible to meet his standards or live by his rules (340), but unlike Rochester, St. John seems always in the right to Jane, and so holds her in thrall. He is her teacher (even as she herself is a teacher) and wants to be her spiritual guide, her shepherd—exactly what she, in the view of Victorian society, needs. As a veritable mouthpiece of this sentiment, St. John is not shy of expounding his right to direct her through both the rhetoric of religion and of nature:

> God and nature intended you for a missionary's wife. It is not personal, but mental endowments they have given you: you are formed for labour, not for love. A missionary's wife you must—shall be. You shall be mine: I claim you—not for my pleasure, but for my Sovereign's service (343).

A terrifying marriage proposal, St. John's statements are the product of pedagogical principles based on a doctrine of woman's passive nature, intended and formed for man's use, and her need for stern directive. He continues to fight against her disinclination, not as "a lover beholding his mistress; but it was that of a pastor recalling his wandering sheep—or better, of a guardian angel watching the soul for which he is responsible" (356). This is the language of pedagogy, medicine, and conduct manuals; women are the province of men, and men are responsible for them. Shuttleworth's claim that, "[t]o arrive at self-understanding" the Victorian patient "must place his or herself entirely in the hands of the physician" (45) is even more disturbing when applied to women. For them, the caretaker need not be a medical man, so long as he was a *man*.

St. John also "tells" Jane her story, and his attempts at writing or molding her character seem more clearly an organization of her mental spaces. Once St. John proposes the village school for Jane's future work, he explains that she "will not stay at Morton long," for he is certain Jane "cannot long be content to pass [her] leisure in solitude, and to devote [her] working hours to a monotonous labour wholly void of stimulous" (303). While this statement may have truth in it, it becomes evident that St. John is reading his own character into Jane. His explanation of why Jane cannot be content is linked inextricably to why *he* cannot be, "buried in morass…paralysed—made useless" (303). His organization of her time when she *does* leave the school also reflects his personal desires. He tells her to "give up learning German, and learn Hindostanee," and when she does so, Jane finds "[b]y degrees, he acquired a certain influence over me that took away my *liberty of mind*" [my italics] (339). St. John continues to bend her mind and restrain her natural thoughts and feelings, until finally, when he proposes marriage, he feels it necessary to "speak for [her heart]" (342).

His vision of her character, "formed for labour," is part of his vision for its formation: "I can set you your task from hour to hour; stand by you always; help you from moment to moment" (343). Jane attempts to undeceive him, to "make [him] see how much my mind is at this moment a rayless dungeon," but St. John's only response is to say "I have an answer for you—hear it" (343). Because St. John's request has no social stigma attached, and because his character seems so much above Jane's (she does not at first see him as an equal), she is nearly persuaded. Her salvation in this instance is a hard-fought battle to re-organize her own mind and regain her sense of selfhood. She "meditates" on the facts, and understands that if she leaves with St. John as his wife, she will "abandon" half herself. She resolves then, upon this one point: she will not consent to be his, for "such a martyrdom would be monstrous" (345). Jane's character ever recedes from the ideals it is meant (in the eyes of others) to fit.

St. John does not conquer Jane, however; the patriarchal insistence that women have no reason and no interests, that their character can be inculcated and controlled from outside forces, breaks down in the fiction of *Jane Eyre*. St. John has made serious miscalculations in his estimation of Jane's character; he has, in fact, created an imaginary character for her. While society may applaud his upright marriage proposal, the "Jane" he courts is as false as the mistress Rochester wishes her to be. It is, in fact, Jane's knowledge of herself—her understanding of her "own mind"— that makes her capable of seeing and reproving these errors.

St. John, like Rochester, Brocklehurst, and the Reeds before him, becomes "an equal—one with whom I might argue—one whom, if I saw good, I might resist" (346). Like them, he has been usurping Jane's narrative and trying to tell her story, and the text (as Mary Poovey remarks) "turns out to be precisely what is at stake" (Poovy 139). Rochester's "most serious transgression has been to usurp Jane's control over what is, after all, primarily her story" (139), but most of the authority figures in the text are equally guilty in desiring to make Jane "dependent—seen and not heard, as women (particularly governesses) should be" (140). Jane, as a woman who knows her mind and can speak it, does so not primarily as a woman

against men, but as a woman against women, against The Woman, the figure which either haunts the British hearth like a witch or tends it like a mother.

Between Woman, Wife and Witch: Jane's character Jane's Way

When Rochester has his first tête-à-tête with Jane, he calls her a fairy and a witch, responsible for making his horse fall. He then proceeds to give her a motive for being out so late: "you were waiting for your people…for the men in green: it was a proper moonlight evening for them. Did I break one of your rings, that you spread that damned ice on the causeway?" (104). The first character he gives her, then, is that of supernatural woman. The second is more conventional: "you have the air of a little nonnette; quaint, quiet, grave, and simple" (112); the nun figure is representative of the spiritual woman, though, attached as she is to the Catholic faith, she too has elements of the supernatural about her. Rochester continues to flesh out Jane's character for himself as the text progresses, and though we are given to believe Rochester is often uncannily correct, he makes many errors. For instance, he describes Jane thus:

> It is not your forte to tell of yourself, but to listen while others talk of themselves; [others] will feel, too, that you listen with no malevolent scorn of their indiscretion, but with a kind of innate sympathy; not the less comforting and encouraging because it is very unobtrusive in its manifestations (116).

Jane asks how he could know this, and Rochester responds by saying he knows it so well that he may "proceed as freely as if I were writing my thoughts in a diary" (116). And he is writing his thoughts on Jane, and seeing in her the spiritual comforter Victorian women are supposed to be, modest and with no thought of herself. Yet, Jane *does* speak of herself—to the characters in the text and to the reader. These are *Jane's* words and this is *Jane's* narrative; this and the earlier episodes of Jane's passionate nature disprove much of what Rochester has just claimed for her. Rochester's appropriation of Jane's narrative continues, however, and is perhaps most evident in the

gypsy scene.[6] Disguised as a gypsy and a woman, Rochester begins telling Jane's story and reading the phrenology of her brow. Much of what he tells in this scene is true of Jane, but the fact remains that he has taken on the mantle of sage and is telling Jane's history, story and character without allowing her to intervene or tell it herself. This practice continues even after the disguise is off—and in fact it becomes more ominous when Rochester's final disguise—that of bachelor—is forcibly removed. When he seeks to convince Jane to become what is, in effect, his mistress, he states: "Now for the hitch in Jane's character…The reel of silk has run smoothly enough so far; but I knew there would some a knot and a puzzle: here it is" (258). He enjoins her to listen to reason (*his* reason), and tries telling her fortune again: "you shall yet be my wife…You shall yet be Mrs. Rochester—both virtually and nominally. I shall keep only to you so long as you and I live. You shall go to a place I have in the south of France" (259). And there, under his surveillance, guard, and within the story he has told of her, she "shall live a happy, guarded, and most innocent life" (259).

Rochester ultimately fails to make her a whore (or a witch)—and St. John fails to make her a wife. But what (besides mere suspension of disbelief) allows Jane to escape these fates? In what remains, I will demonstrate the subversive method employed which allows Jane to evade surveillance, containment, direction, and mental organization by others—and what allows Brontë to comment on the pedagogical practice questioned by earlier female educationalists. Jane neither flouts social norms, nor embraces a masculinist stance. As a woman (and, however odd she may be, Jane continually identifies herself as one with a "woman's heart"), she cannot do as she likes, say what she likes, or move where she likes without the approbation of others. Yet, regardless of her powerless position, Jane is given remarkable agency in the text. This power to rebel against pedagogical control emanates from Jane's position as a contradiction, and her most powerful words and actions are almost always negations.

[6] It is about this scene that Poovey makes the remark quoted earlier about Rochester's usurpation of Jane's text.

The Power of the Negative: Subversion through Contradiction

Shuttleworth asserts that Brontë, as a "woman, with few social prospects, and outside any socially supportive intellectual milieu" is placed in such a way that "her very marginality serves to heighten and expose the contradictory formulations of contemporary culture" (6). In Shuttleworth's estimation, Brontë's subscription to these formulations (of self-help, or inborn talent) later cause her to be "paralysed by her sense of social impossibility, and by cultural and medical constructions of female instability and powerlessness" (6). She contends that the "resulting fiction draws its imaginative energy from the ways in which it wrestles with cultural contradiction, operating always within the terms of Victorian thought," but yet giving rise "to new ways of expressing and conceptualizing the embodied self" (6) Poovey also remarks (indirectly) on the contradictions inherent in Brontë's situation; as a governess, she is the apex of "two of the most important Victorian representations of woman: the figure who epitomizes the domestic ideal, and the figure who threatens to destroy it" (127).[7] That Jane Eyre is a governess is therefore significant, but it is also important to note that the text contains other contradictory kinds of women—Bertha, the madwoman in the attic and Celine, Adèle's unnatural mother. Pykett explains that, like the governess figure, the disruptive, unruly and hysterical woman was also a contradiction, as was the woman who "refuses maternity or rejects her children" (81). These women existed in opposition to the ideal woman of "instinctive maternal feeling and passionlessness" and were also part of medical treatises, "productive of both a discourse and practice of surveillance and control" (81). Rather than seeing the text's splintering[8] contradictions as an unconscious wrestling, which

[7] Poovey explains that the governess was like the middle-class mother "in the work she performed" but like a working-class woman "in the wages she received." Thus, "the very figure who theoretically should have defended the naturalness of separate spheres threatened to collapse the difference between them" (127).

[8] Poovey also addressed the "splintering," and even calls *Jane Eyre* a "hysterical" text. But she sees Brontë's use of hysterical formulation as a strategy for expressing rage: "Because there was no permissible plot in the nineteenth century for a woman's anger, whenever Brontë explores this form of self-

gives rise to new but equally unconscious ways of expressing the embodied self, we can examine the characters and scenes of *Jane Eyre* as intentionally adapting—often through contradiction and negation—prevalent scientific and pedagogical discourse.

Existing as a contradiction has a number of benefits in *Jane Eyre*, not the least of which is avoiding the typical feminine faults. A woman of the ideal mold is also, as non-fiction tracts of the period describe, a woman inconstant, unstable, weak, fallible, silly, vain and unable to reason. The ideal women in the text certainly are; Mrs. Reed is the unreasonable and over-protective mother (while being an unreasonably cruel aunt). Eliza is self-sacrificing and spiritual, but cold, passionless, and judgmental. Georgiana is foolish, vapid, silly, dependent, and weak. Miss Ingram is haughty, uninspired, and vain. Jane, on the other hand, lives in a "little world" that "held a contrary opinion" (26) at Gateshead, and begins her first acquaintance at Lowood by being "contrary to her nature" (41). She has a face where "one trait contradicted another" (171), and she seems ever to begin her own ideas with the preface "on the contrary."[9] Similarly, Jane is exhibited in opposition to Celine and Bertha, even though she is identified with them.[10] Jane, unlike these women, operates from within the pedagogical system and within the discourse, rather than from outside it Like the "ideal" and uninspiring women of the text, these deviant women serve as foils for Jane's better traits and as justification for her atypically defensive behavior. For a woman to be taken seriously, she must endeavor *not* to prove there is no reason for restraint, but that she is capable of exercising that restraint herself. Jane must avoid the pitfall of becoming "kept" financially like Celine, or "contained" physically like Bertha, and the only way to achieve this is by organizing her mind to mirror masculine ideals, yet with the freedom of choice.

Rochester recognizes these traits in Jane from the beginning. He first believes her restrained nature to be the

assertion the text splinters hysterically, provoked by and provoking images of dependence and frustration" (141).

[9] Jane uses the expression on pgs. 26, 41, 84, 102, 122, 131, 138, 172, 176, 242, 307, 333, 334, 371 in the 3rd Norton Critical Edition

[10] To Celine through the metaphorical phrase: "I strangled a new-born agony—a deformed thing which I could not persuade myself to own and rear" (208) and to Bertha through Jane's betrothal to Rochester and through the scene where Bertha wears Jane's wedding veil (242).

"Lowood constraint" still "controlling [her] features" and "restricting [her] limbs" (118). Later, however, when he reads her forehead, he declares that "Reason sits firm and holds the reins, and she will not let the feelings burst away and hurry her to wild chasms" (171). Yet, Jane also has the power to restrain others—she keeps Rochester at a distance throughout the month of their engagement, and when she finally refuses to go with him, he recognizes her firmness and his inability to break its hold, even over himself. This power comes as often through her silence as her words—her refusal to speak is sometimes more indicative of her independence.

The tactic of silence and of the negative begins at Gateshead in the first chapter. Jane recognizes that she cannot answer Brocklehurst's question to his satisfaction and so remains silent (26). She uses this same trait on Rochester, thinking to herself that "if he expects me to talk for the mere sake of talking and showing off, he will find he has addressed the wrong person" (114). When she does speak, it is to negate what he has just said: "I *don't* think, sir, you have the right to command me merely because you are older than I" [my italics] (114). Despite the fact that a negative is meant to disavow, Brontë reveals much of Jane's character through their use. The gypsy scene is ample evidence of this parlay:

> "Why don't you tremble?" [gypsy]
> "I'm not cold." [Jane]
> "Why don't you turn pale?"
> "I am not sick."
> "Why don't you consult my art?"
> "I'm not silly" (167).

Even as a bride-to-be, Jane continues to define herself in this manner: "I *am not* an angel" [my italics] (221), "I *had no intention* of dying with him" [my italics] (233). And lastly, as a bride-*not*-to-be, she states emphatically "I will *not* be yours" (269).

Jane's character is revealed in this way to St. John as well, though he often chooses not to see it, and even to contradict her. She tells him she is "not fit" for service, that she "does not understand a missionary life," that she does not "feel" the powers for the undertaking (343). She continues by explaining "I am

sensible of no light kindling—no life quickening—no voice counseling or cheering" (343), "I cannot marry you and become part of you" (347). When once she effects this separation (and St. John's disillusionment), she gains more purpose and power. She has refused him; she continues by refusing the mission he has set her: "[t]here is no dishonour; no breach of promise; no desertion in the case. I am not under the slightest obligation to go to India" (352). St. John accuses her of retained feelings for Rochester and, again, Jane's affirmative is a kind of negative, an absence: "I confessed it by silence" (353). Jane ends her relations with John (after a near relapse) with the following: "*My* powers were in play, and in force…I desired him to leave me: I must, and would be alone. He obeyed at once. Where there is energy to command well enough, obedience never fails" (358). Here is the only true reversion in the text; here Jane is not negating a rhetoric of power or control, but actively invoking it. It is hers to command and the man must obey—yet, her command is only to be left alone. She returns to the safety of her chamber—the closet of repose intended for women's succor. Even when directly using the rhetoric of control, the female character must not overstep the boundaries. She must remain in the system in order to use it for her benefit.

By using these strategies of contradiction and negation, Brontë gives Jane space to think. When once this freedom is attained, Jane has "a brain active enough to ferret out the means" for achieving her goals: "I then ordered my brain to find a response…It worked and worked faster" (73). Her periods of mentally "arraigning" herself, of rearranging her thoughts with Reason (gendered female), are the evidence of a mind capable of controlling and even "sentencing" itself (136-7). As she explains it: "I will hold to the principles received by me when I was sane, and not mad—as I am now…Preconceived opinions, foregone determinations, are all I have at this hour to stand by: there I plant my foot" (269-70). And with this determination, Jane has both sided *with* the pedagogical rhetoric seeking to control her, and *against* the false descriptions of her frailty that make the control necessary. She remarks early that "women feel just as men feel…they suffer from too rigid a restraint" and that it is "thoughtless to condemn them…if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex" (93).

She proves herself in need of restraints in the passage above, but also proves herself fully capable of applying them herself. The corollary should be that, in proving it, she has earned the right to reach for more than "custom" has set out for her.

Of course, now we truly arrive at the luxuries of fiction. Brontë's Jane does attain independence. She inherits a large sum from an unknown uncle, and—due to Rochester's injury and Bertha's death—marries a man she considers her equal and who cannot well do without her. It has been held that the emasculating of Rochester is the only thing which allows Jane's final ascendancy to "his right hand" (384), and this may be so. Yet, Jane's true accomplishment is less her new status than her ability to avoid the one originally marked out for her. The ultimate goal is to organize one's own mind, to choose one's own character, aims, motives and future. When this is not possible, the goal becomes avoidance of the transcribing control of others. What Brontë has managed in *Jane Eyre* is to demonstrate how this avoidance can be performed, a model of subversion that, even without Jane's promotion to gentleman's wife, is a success.

Throughout this study, I have not endeavored to make direct correlations between *Jane Eyre* and Charlotte Brontë's life—that has been done in other work past and present, not the least of which is Elizabeth Gaskell's *Life.* Yet, I do believe that the expression of mental organization exhibited in the text was related to Brontë's life, especially during her years at the Roe Head School and as a governess. Her journals record her fear of spending too much time in the imaginary world of *Angria*, and her desire to discipline her mind and bring it to bear on the work before her. Christine Alexander, in the introduction to the *Juvenilia* remarks that "Brontë's conscience was far too fastidious to allow such self-indulgence" (Alexander 397). She writes "Farewell to Angria" in 1839, as instance of her own will and ability to "sentence" and "order" her mind. She does not write her life story as Jane Eyre does, but she is concerned with her reception and the reception of her sisters—which is why she writes the new introduction to *Wuthering Heights*, disclosing the identities of Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell. Additionally, she would have been sensible to the effects of faulty or ungenerous

representation; James Diedrick[11] has traced connections between *Jane Eyre* and *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Writing fifty-five years after Wollstonecraft, Brontë would have been privy to the damage wrought on her reputation by Godwin's ill-advised memoir, where she was relegated to the role of both fallen woman *and* of "intuitive feminine compliment to the Man of Reason [Godwin]" (Shattock 14). In a sense, then, though *Jane Eyre* is not autobiographical in the strict sense, it may offer us insight into Charlotte Brontë's mental organization as *she* envisioned it: a usefully contradictory and independent space, competent and able to direct and manage itself… And moreover, to communicate the arrangement through the very pedagogical discourse seeking to contain her: speaking her mind.

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Without Allies: Adela Quested as Failed New Woman in E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India*

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This essay examines E.M. Forster's final novel A Passage to India and the Victorian expectations that prevented Adela Quested from participating in a cultural revolution that would provide both women and Indians with greater freedom. I argue that, at its heart, the novel is an anti-colonial critique that situates British and Anglo-Indian women at the center of the colony and in control of the behavior of men and women, Indian and British. As Forster portrays them, the British women in A Passage to India exemplify a perceived need to maintain colonial hierarchies between British and Indian subjects. This ideological disparity prevented Anglo-Indian women from pursuing the same types of freedom women, especially New Women, strove for in Britain at the fin-de-siècle. The hierarchical subversion – whether based on race, religion, or gender – so endangered Britain's imperial project that a widespread women's movement foundered in India in both reality and the novel. Forster illustrates this subversion through Adela's inability to change the colony, and portrays failure, a mainstay of Modernist literature, through the characters' inability to connect with others, the colony's refusal to embrace change, and outdated Victorian values' inertia. The visceral response to Adela's revolutionary efforts in India demonstrates the opposition to change that Forster perceived as an inherently negative quality of the Anglo-Indian community. The more that Adela attempts to challenge Anglo-Indian ideologies, the more the Britons, particularly the women, shun her.

Introduction

Even though E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) includes a strong female protagonist, the novel is not often read as a feminist, anti-colonial critique. In contemporary literary scholarship, few scholars have examined Adela and the memsahibs (British women in the colony) as possible sources of anti-colonial sentiment, media for a colonial revolution, or foundations for continued colonialism. Adela, though a primary character in the first two parts of the novel, often receives critical attention only for the incident at the Marabar Caves.[1] Much is lost, however, when critics ignore the Anglo-Indian women's revolutionary potential and their role in maintaining colonial hierarchies.[2] Adela's key characteristics – her newcomer status in the colony, her sympathies with modern England, and her practice of greater social freedoms – illustrate her hesitancy to adopt the expected Anglo-Indian attitude (one that encouraged Britons to ignore the "real India" and colonized subjects). Though Quested's experiences at the Marabar Caves demonstrate that to survive in India a Briton must eschew the 'real India," Adela's potential to disrupt the colony is evident in the novel's first two parts.

The British women in *A Passage to India* exemplify a perceived need to maintain colonial hierarchies between British and Indian subjects, the heart of Forster's colonial critique. This ideological disparity prevented Anglo-Indian women from pursuing the same types of freedom women, especially New Women, strove for in Britain at the *fin-de-siècle*. The hierarchical subversion – whether based on race, religion, or gender – so

[1] For examples of an anti-colonial argument see Hunt Hawkins' "Forster's Critique of Imperialism in 'A Passage to India'" (1983), readings of Adela as either sexually repressed or as a rape victim include Brenda Silver's "Periphrasis, Power and Rape in *A Passage to India*" (1988), Nancy Paxton's chapter on *A Passage to India* in *Writing Under the Raj*, Keith Hollingsworth's "*A Passage to India:* The Echoes of the Marabar Caves" (1962), Bonnie Blumenthal Finkelstein's, *Forster's Women: Eternal Differences* (1975), and Barbara Rosencrane *Forster's Narrative Vision* (1982).

[2] See Mills' *Gender and Colonial Space* (2005) and Nandy's *The Intimate Enemy* (1988) for their discussions on the role that British women played in the Indian sub-continent.

endangered Britain's imperial project that a widespread women's movement foundered in India in both reality and the novel. Forster illustrates this subversion through Adela's inability to change the colony, and portrays failure, a mainstay of Modernist literature, through the characters' inability to connect with others, the colony's refusal to embrace change, and outdated Victorian values' inertia. Adela's failure represents the novel's ultimate anti-colonial argument: colonialism contributes to an unproductive stasis within a modern world predicated on change.

A Passage to India demonstrates that Adela and women like her could not exist in colonial India.[3] The novel reveals colonialism's danger to women's rights and illustrates that even during modern, High Imperialism, the colonies still maintained Victorian values. Thus, even though the novel was written outside of the recognized dates for the New Woman movement, the colonists' Victorian attitudes designate Adela a New, rather than a modern, woman as she would have been named in Britain. Adela's inability to reform the colony situates the novel between the later stages of the New Woman movement and a Modernist aesthetic that highlights failure. The visceral response to Adela's revolutionary efforts in India demonstrates the opposition to change that Forster perceived as an inherently negative quality of the Anglo-Indian community. The more that Adela attempts to challenge Anglo-Indian ideologies, the more the Britons, particularly the women, shun her.

Adela, the New Woman, and the Empire

Sarah Grand coined the phrase "New Woman" in a three-part literary exchange with Ouida in 1894 in the *North American Review*.[4] Like many other people living in Victorian Britain, New

[3] It is important to note that the conclusion of the New Woman movement rests mainly on the fact that many goals of the movement had been achieved by the 1920s. Adela represents a New Woman in the colony for the precise reason that these goals *had not been* recognized.

[4] On the New Woman figure, see Ann Ardis's *New Women, New Novel* (1990), Ann Heilman's *New Woman Strategies: Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, and Mona Caird* (2004), Sally Ledger's *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the* fin de siècle (1997), Teresa Mangum's *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant: Sarah Grand and the New Woman Novel* (1998), Patricia Murphy's *Time is of the Essence: Temporality, Gender, and the New Woman* (2001), Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis's edited collection *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact:* fin-de-

Women ideologies ranged from pro-imperial to anti-colonial. In *The New Woman and the Empire*, for instance, Iveta Jusová explains that Darwin's theories concerning natural selection, Francis Galton's work in eugenics, and related ideas about the inferiority of the colonial subject permeated Grand's literature (10). In *Imperial Leather,* Anne McClintock argues that while much of author Olive Schreiner's prose was overtly anti-imperial, and she herself was "[a]t odds with her imperial world," nevertheless "she could fall on occasion into the most familiar racial stereotypes" (259). Nancy Paxton notes that "Flora Annie Steel's *Voices in the Night* (1900) and Victoria Cross's *Life of My Heart* (1905) both represent New Women who marry Indian men" who live in the colony putting them at odds with the traditional expectations of Victorian women who moved to India (194). Paxton suggests that the British New Woman made novels such as *Voices in the Night* and *Life of My Heart* possible (195). Indeed, many New Woman authors equated the domination of colonial subjects with the oppression of women. Yet, for Sarah Grand and other pro-imperialists the immigration of colonial subjects was detrimental to the English nation-state, and the property and legal rights of women were incomparable to the rights of the colonized.

Adela reflects the decidedly complicated New Woman spectrum, for she embraces colonialism when she travels to India with the intent to marry Ronny, yet while in India she challenges the subjugation of Indians.[5] Historically, maintaining the colony puts late-Victorian feminist values like universal suffrage, the freedom of career and education, and property rights at risk: legislative efforts concentrated on colonial rule, and colonists grew concerned with women's freedom in India, a

siècle *feminisms* (2001), and LeeAnne Richardson's *The New Woman and Colonial Adventure Fiction* (2006). In *Writing Under the Raj*, Nancy Paxton refers to Adela Quested as a New Woman character; Paxton's focus is chiefly psychosexual, whereas mine is chiefly political.

[5] Though I read Adela's attempts to willingly interact with the colony as positive and anti-colonial, others, like Maria M. Davidis in "Forster's Imperial Romance: Chivalry, Motherhood, and Questing in 'A Passage to India" argue that Adela's desire to "see" the land participates in the same type of colonizing behavior, what might be termed the "God of all I see" attitude, common to male travelers (259-260). For a discussion of this trope, see Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (1992).

freedom also associated with the freedom of the colonized. Adela represents the anti-colonial feminist, and her failure critiques Britain's colonial project writ large.

In the novel, the narrator notes Adela received a good education and maintained a career, fiscal stability, and independence; this freedom makes her similar to successful women of the 1920s or those who were imagined to be successful like Virginia Woolf's idealized female author with a room of her own and 500 pounds of a year. As soon as Adela travels to the colony, however, her ideals threaten the Chandrapore memsahibs, and more universally, colonial stability. When she realizes she must leave India after Dr. Aziz's trial, for she knows her engagement to Ronny Heaslop has failed, she tells Fielding[6]: "I am not astray in England. I fit in there—no, don't think I shall do harm in England. When I am forced back there, I shall settle down to some career. I have sufficient money left to start myself, and heaps of friends of my own type. I shall be quite all right" (Forster 291). Adela's "passage to India" ends differently than predicted. In the opening scenes, Adela is eager to "see the *real* India" and wants to meet "only those Indians whom you [the Anglo-Indians] come across socially" (Forster 22, 26, emphasis Forster's). By the end of the "Caves" section, however, she believes that she has harmed others and feels excluded. Even though she feels this way, Adela's comments convey the strength and self-assurance that she has about her return to Britain. As a modern British woman, she has can "settle down" without marrying. Additionally, Adela seems certain these rights that are absent in India will be upheld when she returns to Britain. Though she attempts to access these opportunities in the colony, she is unable to help the other Anglo-Indian women embrace what she considers unalienable rights. Because Adela enjoyed these freedoms in Britain, she expects to experience them in India. When she cannot, as she realizes in the Marabar Caves, her identity fractures. At this

[6] In the second section of the novel, "Caves," Adela and Mrs. Moore visit the Marabar Caves. During their visit, Adela and Aziz explore the caves together, a time during which Adela suffers from an attack. Aziz is charged with assault, arrested, and put on trial for the supposed sexual assault that leaves Adela physically and mentally ill. Adela leaves shortly after the trial.

point, her revolutionary or New Woman agenda fails, and she returns to Britain.

Moreover, Adela conveys the Anglo-Indians' insistence to remove her. Rather than return to England on her own terms, she is "forced back there." Because she refers to no familial obligations, those who "force" her are the Anglo-Indian colonists whom she has "harmed," and more importantly, who find her threatening. When Adela leaves Chandrapore, she becomes the New Woman who cannot attain her goals because the colonial culture prohibits success.[7] In these particular circumstances, Adela's failure is a result of the racial and gendered hierarchy of colonial life and the Anglo-Indians' desire to maintain control.

The tension between Adela's actions and others' expectations are clear from the beginning, especially as she tries to revolutionize colonial relationships. Put another way, Adela's modern lifestyle quickly disrupts colonists' rigid Victorian values concerning gender and race. In addition to her education and fiscal independence, Adela smokes with Indian men without a chaperone.[8] This perceived equality is a New Woman characteristic, and smoking with Aziz and Godbole becomes one of Adela's most contentious acts. When Ronny finds Adela with the Indian men, his reaction demonstrates that the rules of social propriety in England are not the same as those in India, nor, according to Ronny, should the rules in India change. Ronny confronts Fielding:

[7] New Women failed to survive as emancipated women in a variety of ways: Schreiner's Lyndall dies after giving birth to an illegitimate child, Grant Allen's protagonist Herminia Barton in *The Woman who Did* (1895) commits suicide, in Mary Cholmondeley's (1899) *Red Pottage* Hester Gresley's novel is burned by her brother, and in Mona Caird's *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) Hadria sacrifices both her family and her music career.

[8] In "The 'New Woman' as Prometheus: Women Artists Depict Women Smoking," Delores Mitchell explains that for many Victorians, representations of women smoking were not only "new," but also deviant (3). Traditionally, cigarettes, cigars, and pipes were read as symbols of masculine power, but as more New Women adopted the habit, smoking became popular outside of the "fallen" women's categories of actresses and prostitutes. By the mid-1920s, it was not uncommon for women to be seen smoking.

> 'I say old man, do excuse me, but I think perhaps you oughtn't to have left Miss Quested alone.'
> 'I'm sorry, what's up?' replied Fielding, also trying to be genial.
> 'Well…I'm the sun-dried bureaucrat, no doubt; still, I don't like to see an English girl left smoking with two Indians.'
> 'She stopped, as she smokes, by her own wish, old man.'
> 'Yes, that's all right in England. (Forster 82-83)

In this exchange, both men feel Adela does as she pleases, for Fielding explains to Ronny "She stopped, as she smokes, *by her own wish*." Fielding sees no problem when Adela socializes alone with Indian men. Ronny, however, makes it clear that England and India are not comparable. Because Adela is provided the freedom to "stop" in England, the narrative alerts readers to the colony's temporal stasis in relation to women's rights.

Ronny further emphasizes the difference between India and Britain. When he identifies himself as "sun-dried," it shows that he has been in the colony long enough to embody the Anglo-Indian lifestyle and understand the expected relationships between men and women, Britons and Indians. By contrasting Britain and the colony, Ronny demonstrates knowledge of modern social conventions and the sense that Adela's choices will trouble the rest of the colonial community. Ronny resists change and knows that other Anglo-Indians will support him. In Britain, Adela's social freedoms would not be noticed; in India, however, for a solitary woman to maintain the company of two Indian men suggests impropriety on the woman's part and demonstrates her lack of concern for colonial values. Adela's unwillingness to follow the colonial expectations demonstrates her desire to live her own life even in a foreign environment.

Furthermore, as one who maintains a higher social position than Adela because of his gender and colonial service, Ronny reacts negatively to Adela's enactment of social freedom. His negativity aligns her with other New Women characters scorned by those upholding social conventions. Ronny's comments indicate that Adela's smoking does not bother him, for he never complains about that, but rather, that she smokes *alone* with two *Indians*. The discussion between Fielding and Ronny highlights

Adela's ethnicity, gender, marriage status, and age when Ronny refers to her as an "English girl." For Ronny, Adela is white, English, and young and does not have the right to participate in these activities; she is too naïve to appropriately judge the situation.

In this encounter with Fielding, Ronny shows uneasiness with Adela's actions, and his "anxieties in encountering subject people [Godbole and Aziz] determine the modernist themes of alienation and exile, and the mechanism that makes such a transfer possible is a notion of sexuality conceived of in terms of race and gender" (Bailey 326). Adela's New Woman actions collide with Ronny's own feelings of discontent and loss of control. Though he plays upon his time in the colony and declares himself a "sun-dried bureaucrat," Forster's portrayal of Ronny also connects him to the modernist theme of failure. Ronny, as a leading official in Chandrapore, fails to control his mother and Adela, both of whom insist on seeing and doing what they wish, and he fails to control Godbole and Aziz when they socialize with the English women. At numerous points during the novel, including in the smoking scene, the narrative shows that this inability to control women and Indians frustrates Ronny. The seemingly uncontrollable woman is a familiar trope in New Woman literature, whether it is Lyndall in Schreiner's *Story*, Herminia Barton in Grant Allen's *The Woman who Did* (1895), Ann Stanley in H.G. Wells's *Ann Veronica* (1909) or any number of George Egerton's protagonists in her short stories. Like these New Women, Adela and Mrs. Moore, Ronny Heaslop's challenging mother, challenge their family members' and society's expectations, leading them to be ridiculed, shunned, and ultimately punished for their desire to challenge *fin-de-siècle* patriarchy. In their punishment, their attempts at colonial revolution die as well.

Adela's New Woman characteristics are the primary actions Ronny cannot control. Her attitude that allows her to "stop as she pleases," shows that she neither cares about the Anglo-Indians' opinions of her nor feels uncomfortable with the two men. When Adela challenges the colonial conventions and both she and Fielding are scolded, *A Passage to India* shows that not only do few contest the implicitly guarded expectations, but also that there are even fewer willing to overlook any attempt to allow the

colony to evolve. Adela's general attitudes toward men's and women's interactions are not popular in the colony, and her cavalier actions disarm Anglo-Indian bureaucrats like Ronny.

Adela expects the memsahibs to participate in the revolution, and when they do not, she voices her disappointment. Adela's disapproval and her consequent actions echo the didactic tone of many New Woman characters. While at the memsahibs' bridge party, a gathering of upper-class Indians and British colonists, she tells Fielding: "This party to-day makes me so angry and miserable. I think my countrymen out here must be mad. Fancy inviting guests and not treating them properly!" (Forster 47). Adela's comments relate her concern for the treatment of Indians, for she does not see any difference between a party with only British guests and a racially diverse gathering, a point-of-view which further reinforces her New Woman attitudes. Moreover, she infers British manners are an inherent part of one's personality. Her comment concerning Britons who would "invit[e] guests and not [treat] them properly," demonstrates that most people consider proper manners a necessity. Because the colonists treat the Indians with such disrespect, Adela concludes the other Anglo-Indians must be "mad," or mentally defective, because they do not act as their Britishness compels them. Adela argues that guests should be treated with respect and welcomed by the hostess instead of ignored, spoken of as "migratory birds," or shunned (Forster 42). She grounds her criticism of the bridge party in unequal treatment on the basis of race and gender. Every interaction that Adela has with Indians before the incident at the Marabar Caves demonstrates her desire to treat Indians with respect and reveals her reluctance to privilege Britishness over Indianness.

Adela's complaints about the Britons' treatment of Indians illustrate her unwillingness to fall victim to the memsahib's oppressive values, and after the bridge party, she promises herself she "should never get like that" (Forster 49). Resistance and a revolutionary spirit are important characteristics of the New Woman, for New Women characters were rarely portrayed as passive individuals. During the bridge party, the narrator explains that even though Adela "was young herself; all the same she knew that she had come up against something that was both insidious and tough, and against which she needed allies. She

must gather around her at Chandrapore a few people who felt as she did" (Forster 49). Adela sees her youth as something that can be impinged upon by the Anglo-Indians. To guard herself from such changes, Adela attempts to revolutionize the colony by acting in ways she feels are appropriate and looks to find others who would agree with her. If Adela did not wish to change the atmosphere, she would not see her situation as "up against something that was both insidious and tough, and against which she needed allies." The conditions she meets in Chandrapore are not isolated, nor will they be easily remedied. The connotations of "insidious" (evil or menacing) and "tough" (strong, sturdy, and unwilling to bend) lead the reader to believe, alongside Adela, the colonial condition is dangerous and well entrenched. Her thoughts reflect action – the undertaking of a social revolution – against colonial policies. Allies are not needed to maintain the status quo; rather, they are needed to fight. When she looks for fellow Britons who "felt as she did," Adela becomes a revolutionary who brings New Woman ideals of equality and respect to the sub-continent. Thus, like the New Woman who fought for equality in Britain, Adela fights for the equality of Indians and women but ultimately fails.

Recalling Tradition: The Indian Uprising of 1857, Victorian mores, and colonial failure

To find Adela's New Woman characteristics discussed in such negative terms and presented as if they are anachronistic is atypical of modern British literature. Though Britain's social standards were considered modern in the 1920s with the advent of women's suffrage, better property and divorce protection, and more women in the workforce, Forster's narrative suggests that the colonists' attitudes are more similar to those that Victorians who developed British stations in India held than those of modern Britons. In *A Passage to India*, early twentieth-century colonial India and an ill-timed New Woman provided an appropriate space to illustrate that neither women nor Indians experienced a socio-colonial revolution. The racial and gender equality sought in this revolution threatened Britain's control. In Adela's failure to befriend Indians and Anglo-Indians alike, Forster teaches readers that if the colony continues to uphold Victorian notions of gender, race, and class hierarchies both

Britain and the colony will fail, just as the attempted friendships between Adela and Aziz and Fielding and Aziz falter.

In essence, Forster's misplaced New Woman illuminates the limitations of colonial control. For example, though Mrs. Turton and Mrs. Burton have spent nearly twenty years in the colony, and thus may not have or participated in the New Woman movement, even youthful civil servants, like Ronny or Ms. Derek, who did experience late-Victorian feminism, perpetuated Victorian values. Colonial history and Britain's desire to maintain control explain Adela's failure and help readers realize why *A Passage to India* indicates that no one, not Adela, nor Fielding, nor Aziz, will succeed in disrupting colonial social expectations. Three interrelated historical phenomena explain the failure to revolutionize colonial relationships: the 1857 Indian Uprising, the influx of British women into the colonies, and the treatment of women in the colonial hierarchy. In short, Anglo-Indian women significantly affected the quality of British-Indian relationships.

Despite the nearly seventy years between the Indian Mutiny and *A Passage to India*'s publication, readers maintained familiarity with the Uprisings as historians, novelists, and news reporters in both India and Britain repeatedly returned to the events. Gautam Gupta, in *1857, The Uprising*, explains the number of publications about the Uprising in the years following the events is "legion." Peter Taylor's book *What Really Happened During the Mutiny* lists 875 English-language primary texts and S. B. Chaudhuri's study *English Historical Writings on the Mutiny* includes another seventy-eight Indian language works about the Uprising (Gupta n.p.). With so many cultural and historical reminders of the Uprising, many of those, British and Indian alike, who lived in the colony worked to sustain post-Uprising attitudes. The Uprising taught Britons the importance of maintaining not only a content Indian populace, but also one that was subdued and unlikely to work for reform, changes that a New Woman movement would encourage.

Both Indians and Britons strove to maintain a politically, socially, and religiously conservative colony, for

> One unexpected result of the crushing of the mutiny was the strengthening of conservatism within the sub-continent. Orthodox Hinduism was revived. Before 1857 reformist

> elements had been in the ascendant, but subsequent reaction tended to exalt the more obscure and traditionalist qualities of Hinduism as a protection against the inroads of British ideas and influence. (Judd 76)

The Indians' desire to rebuke "British ideas and influence" served as a secondary deterrent to social revolution. Indians wanted to ensure that the British did not influence their way of life including the segregation of women—placing them in "purdah" or in rooms separate from men—and a strict caste system. The British learned that if they did not challenge the myriad Indian cultures—working in the colony on an economical rather than cultural basis—they could keep outright resistance relatively low. Hence, Adela's attempts to revolutionize relationships between Indians and Britons would necessarily upset the conservative balance Indians used to ward off cultural colonization and Britons used to maintain peace in the colony. Adela's New Woman actions affected not just the Britons' control. For many Indians who wished to maintain purdah and the caste system, a revolution like the New Woman movement that sought to equalize gendered and racial relationships could also prove dangerous to the Indians' conservatism.

Britons maintained similar conservative gestures as well, and even through the 1920s, their reluctance to evolve was evident, for as David Medalie explains, "when [Forster] resumed the writing of *A Passage to India*, he was presenting a situation which he now saw as irredeemable, beyond the reach of reform (and thus of satire); a political impasse" (160). For instance, Adela's New Woman characteristics are enhanced and reaffirmed by the stereotypical Victorian ideals on which Forster draws: rigid gender, class, and race hierarchies, a separate public and private sphere, and a sense of propriety that sees English men as helpers and English women as subservient subjects, stereotypes that New Women resisted. At the *fin de siècle*, these ideals differentiated the New Woman agenda from Victorian and colonial traditions. Even though Forster's anti-colonial message is clear—and his presentation of colonial life serves to accentuate the dangers of colonialism to the British as well as the Indians—his basis for presenting India in this way retains historical merit. In addition to the Indians' conservative

drive to protect their own culture from the colonizing Britons, in the years following the 1857 Uprising "India became more British as a result of the mutiny, not less so. The numbers of British officials and non-officials increased markedly, and many more memsahibs arrived to bring up their families at their husband's side" (Judd 76). As Britons regained control of India, they exported more of home to India—people, supplies, and ideologies.

Rather than encourage gender and racial equality, the emigration of British women discouraged it even though the women left a politically and socially evolving Britain that was moving into the New Woman movement. Most women did not bring revolutionary ideas to the colony; they did not attempt to gain power or equality for either themselves or the Indian people.[9] *A Passage to India* and other primary sources describe the perceived levels of protection that British women required and the attitudes British women held toward the Indian people. When women and children moved to the colony, fewer interracial marriages and relationships occurred between white soldiers and Indian women, and Britons became (even) more exclusive and segregationist to protect women and children from what many women believed to be the "savage" Indian men.

Forster reminds readers of these fears in the scenes after Adela's attack. After Aziz is arrested, the Anglo-Indian community gathers at the club. With feelings reminiscent of the Uprising, "The club was fuller than usual, and several parents had brought their children into the rooms reserved for adults, which gave the air of the Residency of Lucknow" (Forster 200). Forster need not gloss the Residency allusion, for contemporary readers would associate it with the Uprising. In addition to the women and children huddled together for protection, readers are reminded of the importance of maintaining all aspects of that

[9] While the fictional portrayals of Anglo-Indian women are not particularly positive, some British women worked with Indian women to end child-marriage, purdah, and sutee (widow-burning), as well as to increase the educational and career opportunities for Indian women. Some, including Annie Besant, participated in Indian nationalist and decolonization efforts. Other notable Western women include Mira Behn, Margaret Cousins, Margaret Noble, and Americans Agnes Smedley and Evelyn Trent.

hierarchy—classed, gendered, and raced. The narrator explains that

> One young mother—a brainless but most beautiful girl—sat on a low ottoman in the smoking-room 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)

The reaction to Adela's incident at the caves recalls both the Uprising and the Victorian mores that prevented a colonial New Woman revolution. By comparing the club to the Residency, Forster brings to mind a battle that many Britons considered to be horrific, with British women and children under siege. Additionally, the narrated thoughts show that the men feel they must protect the women and children. Even the railway official's wife, generally unwelcome, symbolizes "all that is worth fighting and dying for," because she represents the femininity, innocence, and motherhood that Forster asserts Victorian Britons privileged. Moreover, this woman, a mother, wife, and innocent bystander, replaces Adela. As a revolutionary, Adela is shunned yet still active in her own right; she willingly went to explore the caves alone with Aziz. Adela's physical and symbolic absence in the scene that most clearly embodies the colonial viewpoint represents her failure as a New Woman and an agent of change because even the other Anglo-Indians are unwilling to acknowledge her colonial presence.

Adela's incident represents the Anglo-Indians' "anxieties in encountering subject people," and the dangers and complications that the "subject people" represent to colonial stability (Bailey 326). In the Marabar Caves, Adela "encountered" India's ancient history, one that even Aziz could not explain, and she realized that she did not want to marry Ronny through her discussions with Aziz about his own wife. Her actions (going alone with Aziz to the caves) and her reaction (the hallucination) destabilize the colony through protests at Aziz's trial and Adela's own illness. Everything the Anglo-Indians fear, hierarchical

instability, Adela causes through her attempts at civility and equality.

Forster's blond mother and the reference to "niggers attacking" not only remind readers of the Uprising, but they also represent a significant concern of British colonists: the relationship between women and Indians and the need to maintain control of both groups. In short, Forster illustrated the impossibility of change through the idea that revolution challenged too many aspects of colonial life, whether it was race, gender, or religion. The Britons' reluctance to endorse social reforms stems from the fact that the colonial hierarchy required severe regulations to maintain control. Instead of relying solely on class and gender to devise hierarchies, as was frequently done in Britain, colonists were also required to take into account race, caste, and religion. During the New Woman movement in England, reforms were challenged for disrupting the gendered status quo, but in the colonies, both race and gender motivated reforms, and both played a large role in the cultural hegemony that enabled British rule. Because Britons relied on a "sense of national and racial superiority based on Britain's imperial status" which "was an organizing principle of Victorian culture," they were required to maintain that superiority to promote and preserve their imperial designs (Burton 137). Thus, colonists could not endorse reforms.

Reforms were also prevented by British women's presence in India. As Forster intimates through the use of the mother in the club,

> The presence and protection of European women were repeatedly invoked to clarify racial lines. Their presence coincided with perceived threats to European prestige, increased racial conflict, covert challenges to the colonial order, outright expressions of nationalist resistance, and internal dissension among whites themselves. (Stoler 352)

By painting the Chandrapore memsahibs as weak and defenseless, the men assign power (albeit a nefarious one) to Indian men, revoking any control Anglo-Indian women might hold. If Anglo-Indians' wives sought control in the colony, the potential for uprisings from the colonized would be greater, for if

one oppressed group – women – sought greater freedom, other oppressed groups – the colonized – might also seek it. Furthermore, Stoler suggests that the arrival of British women and "expressions of nationalist resistance" occurred at roughly the same time. Not only did women provide the British men with sufficient cultural capital to maintain racial distinctions and hierarchies, for the women had to be "protected from the Indian men," but the colonists, at least as Forster portrays them, believed that social reforms made possible by Anglo-Indian women would only feed national resistance movements. In *A Passage to India* colonizers in Chandrapore understand social reform only as a danger to British power.

As more women moved to the colony after the Uprising, and according to Judd, the colony became more "British," Britons expected one another to uphold Victorian values. Memsahibs, as the cultural protectors, protested most stringently when their fellow Britons challenged these circumstances; in the novel, Fielding's own experiences teach him "it is possible to keep in with Indians and Englishmen, but that he who would also keep in with Englishwomen must drop the Indians" (Forster 65-66). Mrinalini Sinha explains Anglo-Indian women believed Indian men were "unmanly" because of their treatment of their wives and mothers, and that these men "held 'barbaric views about the female sex" (100). Moreover, according to the Anglo-Indian newspaper *Englishman*, memsahibs would argue that "Hindoo women are degraded, they are totally devoid of all delicacy, their ideas and language are course and vulgar, their term of reproach and abuses are gross and disgusting in the extreme. Although they manifest much shyness and outward modesty there is little real virtue of the higher order among them" (qtd. in Sinha 100). The descriptions of Indian subjects by Anglo-Indians in the colony alongside Forster's observation that Englishwomen avoided Indians emphasize Victorian qualities cherished by the Anglo-Indians, especially definitions of masculinity and femininity. These ideologies women brought to the colony to make India "more British" are the same ones that many New Women argued against. What Sinha fails to observe, however, is that the same women who believed that Indian men were "unmanly" for encouraging women to remain in purdah or for marrying multiple wives, held an equally desultory view of the

women, holding their own "barbaric" views of women, describing them as "gross and disgusting in the extreme."

The memsahibs' values represent strongly held views of separate spheres, highly regulated gender roles, and a conviction of national and racial superiority. Forster's Mrs. Callendar, who before her marriage served as a nurse in a Native State, encapsulates these attitudes. She explains to Adela and Mrs. Moore that "the kindest thing one can do to a native is to let him die" and that rather than go to heaven, the deceased Indian "can go where he likes as long as he doesn't come near me. They give me the creeps" (Forster 25-26). Mrs. Callendar repeats the desultory view of Indians that Sinha describes and affirms Fielding's belief that one cannot befriend both British women and Indians. By circulating such attitudes, Anglo-Indian women perpetuated Victorian attitudes about maintaining order, suggesting because the Indians do not subscribe to Victorian values, they are not worth British sympathy, support, or respect.[10]

The Britons' ideologies drive racial and cultural prejudices in the colony, and Adela's New Woman ideals cannot overcome them. Forster exposes these prejudices and uses them to show that the Anglo-Indians, even with the urging of Adela, are not only resistant to, but also incapable of, change. For instance, early in the novel, the narrator exposes the social and racial prejudices of the memsahibs in the explanation that the "windows [of the playhouse] were barred, lest the servants should see their mem-sahibs acting" (Forster 22). This action promotes strict separation between the colonized and the colonizers, with the Anglo-Indians going to great lengths to prevent the servants from observing the women acting, reinforcing the separation of Anglo-Indian women and the colonized subject and hearkening more outdated Victorian values. To shield the women from the native's gaze allows

[10] Forster's novel is not the only modern British text to ascribe such negative characteristics to the memsahib population. In *Burmese Days* (1934) George Orwell presents the memsahib as a similarly closed-minded and segregationist figure who does not know how to interact with the Burmese people, speak their language, or recognize their religious and cultural beliefs. Like Mrs. Turton and Mrs. Burton at the bridge party, the women in *Burmese Days* see in the native population only incomprehensible non-British characteristics.

Britons to guarantee that Indians only observe Anglo-Indian women in spaces, like the home, where comportment can be keenly moderated.

The opening of the playhouse windows would serve two purposes in a colonial reformation: it would expose British women to the Indian subjects, and it would display British women outside the home, their designated sphere, two important aspects of the New Woman agenda. If either of these events occurred, it might enable Adela's revolution, for both the Anglo-Indians who supported the move and the Indians themselves would be inspired that change was possible. Thus, the reluctance of the Anglo-Indians to open the playhouse to the public, despite stifling heat within, reveals the insistence they have in maintaining propriety.[11]

Penny Brown uses the English middle-class home in India to define feminine domesticity. Brown explains that "the home [was] seen as a haven of peace, a source of stability, security, virtue and piety, held together by moral and emotional bonds" (qtd. in Blunt 424). In other words, women were expected to be "stable, secure, virtuous, and pious" and uphold those qualities in the home. The expected emotional and moral position of Anglo-Indian women fits securely within the Victorian separate spheres ideology that argued women were to maintain a home and teach their children, and often their husbands, morals. In Britons' minds, the memsahibs' acting would disrupt the respect that the servants showed because the role may not have required the "security, virtue and piety" women were expected to reflect.

Adela's Failure: The maintenance of racial and gendered hierarchies

In the colony, women are of a "superior" race but of an "inferior" gender. This power imbalance proves problematic for New Women like Adela who argue that women and men are equal. The memsahib's complicated position as white and female reflects the ways in which

[11] For a longer explanation about the relationship between New Women and acting see the introduction to *New Woman Plays* (1991) edited by Linda Fitzsimmons and Viv Gardner.

> the very categories of 'colonizer' and 'colonized' were secured through forms of sexual control that defined the domestic arrangements of Europeans and the cultural investments by which they identified themselves. Gender-specific sexual sanctions demarcated positions of power by re-fashioning middle-class conventions of respectability, which, in turn, prescribed the personal and public boundaries of race. (Stoler 345)

As Stoler argues, Victorian's sexual control over women, including "respectability," also allowed Britons to better control the Indians. The "necessary" protection of the blond, brainless mother and the barring of the playhouse windows enables the Forster's Britons to simultaneously control women's and Indians' bodies. In these two situations, to allow the freedom of one group necessitates the exposure of both. If sexual control disintegrated, women might gain the opportunity to arrest power from men. The New Woman's agenda—which in many ways spoke directly to systemic power—challenged sexual control. Stoler's recognition that the gendered hierarchy also supported that of race leads readers to believe that when gendered boundaries break so too do racial ones.

Because of the role women played in the colonial hierarchy, in which white women "were ambiguously complicit both as colonizers and colonized, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting" their actions were carefully scrutinized by British men, other memsahibs who "notice everything, until they're perfectly sure you're their sort," and Indians (McClintock 6, Forster 50). Though British men colonized British women daily, women dictated the actions of their female peers, just as Mrs. Turton and Mrs. Burton mind Adela's. When Adela's New Woman attitudes seize the attention of the Anglo-Indian women, women like Turton and Burton feel their only source of power threatened. To maintain control in their own space, they must divert potential activists. For Forster, only Adela's failure can assure the continuation of the detrimental colony, yet Forster considers India to be "irredeemable, beyond the reach of reform," and Adela's New Woman characteristics do nothing but alienate her from other women and potential revolutionaries. In other words, despite a willingness to engage in politically

unpopular actions, Adela will fail. Without her failure, Forster cannot show the impossibility of the colonial project.

Adela's willingness to challenge tradition leads the women to shun rather than welcome her, leaving her with few options for the allies she wished for at the bridge party. By disapproving of Adela, the memsahibs show the community that they are unwilling to participate in the revolution, thus protecting their own power. In fact, the women are so immune to the possibility that outsiders may affect the colony they do not consider their responsibility to assist new British women until after Adela's attack at the Marabar Caves. After the incident, Mrs. Turton thinks: "why had they not all been kinder to the stranger, more patient, given her not only hospitality but their hearts?….If she wasn't one of them, they ought to have made her one, and they could never do that now, she had passed beyond their invitation" (Forster 199). Though the memsahibs were never friendly to Adela, they feel guilty about not helping her become "one of them," or ensuring that she understood the hierarchy, only because she has disrupted their lives. After her incident, they feel that if they had helped her understand their values, the colonial community would not have suffered. Mrs. Turton speaks for the establishment; the narrative's use of "they" and "their" reaffirms the homogeneity of the colonizers, making them seem like an unbreakable bloc. This desire to make Adela "one of them" demonstrates their need for homogeneity and secure hierarchies in the colony. Revolutions start when heterogeneity is present, such as when Adela realizes that she must "push" against the beliefs of those in Chandrapore to feel at home in the colony. If everyone in power feels the same about colonialism, social reforms within the Anglo-Indian community cannot happen, for no one will start them. But, if someone's ideologies are different, and if she can gain support for her changes, she will threaten the colonial hierarchy and destabilize the colony. The heterogeneity of the New Woman movement necessarily endangers the colony.

Though often presented as a Modernist text, E.M. Forster's anti-colonial novel *A Passage to India* also engages with the *fin de siècle* trope of the New Woman. Rather than dismiss Forster's characterization of Adela Quested as ill-timed and misplaced, or simply calling her a "modern woman" trying to

survive in the colony, this essay explores the ways in which Anglo-Indian colonial traditions prevented social revolutions, stifling women and hindering colonial reform (even when other colonies like Australia, South Africa, and Canada enabled New Women to prosper). Forster's representation of the Anglo-Indians and their treatment of Adela illustrates that deep-seated race, class, and gender hierarchies prove difficult to change when those hierarchies ensure colonial continuity. Both anti-colonialism and feminism sought to free subject populations from domination and oppression. Adela Quested's character, an embodiment of both movements, ultimately fails, yet in that failure is a greater message of the limits of British colonial prominence.

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"An Indecent Posture": Evasive Discourse and Sexual Regulation in Eighteenth-Century London

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William Huggins was indicted for Assaulting Richard Hemmings, and Thomas Jones, upon the Exchange, the 9th of Sept. last; the Prosecutors declar'd, that walking upon Change, with design to detect such wicked Persons; they were sate upon one of the Benches, and the Prisoner came to them severally, and offer'd to put his hand into their Breeches, pulling out his Nakedness at the same time; upon which they apprehended him, and he said, at that time, that he had hear'd there were such sort of Persons in the World, and he had a mind to try. He had Counsel of his side, and call'd several to his Reputation, who all said he was a very honest Man, as to his course of Life; otherwise, that he was employ'd as a Porter: He said, that he had been carrying 6 Pound of Coffee into Leaden-Hall-street: that he had been married about a Year to a young Wife, who was big with Child; and that he always seem'd very fond of her: He deny'd the Fact, and said he never used any such Practices; but none of the Evidence speaking as to what he was indicted for, the Matter was then left to the Jury.

Michel Foucault observes in the *History of Sexuality* that, "sodomy was a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridical subject of them" (43). To call sodomy a "category of forbidden acts" is to assert that the term sodomy was not only about penetrative sex between men, but was also connected to other "forbidden acts." As Margaret Hunt has shown, sodomy was also used to describe "such disparate activities as bestiality, heterosexual anal intercourse, both priestly celibacy and clerical concubine-keeping, an adult man's

sexual abuse of a young girl, sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews, masturbation, coitus interruptus, birth control, pederasty, and luxurious consumption" (360). Consequently, the term sodomy was used to describe a whole host of acts that were considered perverse and illicit including sex between men. While the word itself connoted many other forms of deviancy, by the eighteenth century, sodomy was often linked specifically to penetrative sex between men. Once this was adopted, the specific meaning of sodomy became a matter of discourse. It became a matter of how culture and its institutions (such as the church and the legal system) talked "about" sodomy. The physical act of sodomy is rarely discussed in any detail. Other than a few instances in the legal narratives and even rarer instances in novels,[1] sodomy, whether attempted or otherwise, is often evasively described as a matter of bodily position and not anal penetration. Furthermore, it was extremely difficult to prove in court that sodomy had actually occurred.[2] Couple these factors with a textual apparatus dependent on dashes to expunge names and deeds from the historical record, and a common phrasing ("the sin not to be named") to identify the crime, and we see a culture intent on labeling and condemning sodomy by not naming it, a system intent on talking about sodomy without actually talking about it.

This discursive predicament reveals something more than simply the ways sodomy did or did not denote homosexual intercourse in the early portions of the long eighteenth century. It indicates a cultural paradox surrounding and defined by the sodomite that "emerged" in early eighteenth-century narratives. In order to locate, prosecute, and punish the assumed sodomite, various cultural institutions were forced to give a prominent, although pejorative, discursive space to the men on trial. The

[1] The most famous scene comes from John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*.

[2] Because the presence of ejaculate was necessary to condemn a man for committing sodomy, there are cases of surgeons being called for the prosecution in order to corroborate the presence of semen on clothing. While this is a rare occurrence, the participants of the trial were definitely aware that the authoritative language of a surgeon could be enough to punish the accused for sodomy and not attempted sodomy. The former being a capital crime usually entailed a trip to the gallows.

legal institution sought to simultaneously silence the sodomite and his assumed societal prevalence through the publication of his crimes and his highly public punishment.[3] However, this desire to silence, expunge, and eradicate the sodomite inadvertently sparked a proliferation of publication in various genres about the sodomite, his activities, and the consequences of "knowing" men who commit this "detestable sin." The underlying issue for many legal proceedings is how the prosecution and the defense should "know" a sodomite and his crimes without actually "knowing." Oftentimes, close proximity was tantamount to culpability in a sodomitical act. Hence, the witness for the prosecution, the governing body, and the witnesses for the defense all needed a physical and rhetorical distance in order to prosecute or defend the accused. The prosecution and the defense both employed strategic and evasive rhetoric in order to distance themselves from the man on trial while simultaneously condemning his actions as an "assault" or defending him as a productive member of pre-industrialized London.[4]

There are numerous explanations for the evasive rhetoric used in accounts of sex between men. The key reason is that all of the accounts uncovered were written by someone other than the accused. As Rictor Norton suggests, "if it were not for gossip and rumour, we would know little about most homosexuals until quite recent times" (20). These are not the words of a sodomite, but are instead the words of an individual speaking from the

[3] Punishments for sodomy and attempted sodomy varied. The most common punishments for attempted sodomy were a two-hour stay at the pillory, a fine based on income and a jail sentence of a year or more. If convicted of committing sodomy, the accused would be hanged. There are also instances of transportation. Also, depending on the severity of the crime, some men were sentenced to multiple trips to the pillory in different areas of London.

[4] I think it is important to focus our attention on the vagueness, the "talking around" of sodomy as an effort to police both homosexuality and heterosexuality in the ways Foucault has mentioned. However, because of the problems inherent in studying the sodomitical subculture of the enlightenment—namely the positions of the author/narrator of sodomitical texts—we are left with little recourse in how we study sodomy in the period. We can look to the cultural formations and reactions to the sodomitical "underworld" or look specifically at this rhetorical vagueness and the discourse on sodomy to further elucidate how speech acts were employed by the state to further regulate sexuality.

privileged position of spectator, from the "objective" position of "news" reporter and, of course, from the position of an individual governed by all the permeating cultural (pre)conceptions of sex between men.[5] Because we lack trustworthy first-person accounts of sodomy we are left with second and third hand renditions that speak as much to cultural homophobia as they do to homosexual identity.[6] These accounts reflect not only the cultural loathing accorded sex between men, but also the place sodomites occupied in the consciousness of a culture not only concerned with sodomy, but with other forms of sexually "deviant" behavior. This place is not, as some assume, dominated solely by prohibitive rhetoric. Instead, embedded in the condemnatory legal rhetoric is a discourse of interest in which institutional dogma and imprecise language demonstrate that while sex between men was silenced it was also accorded a discursive space predicated on fascination as well as fear. The trial accounts are an important marker of this discursive space. The importance lies in the ways trial accounts construct a discourse on sodomy; a language that consistently suggests that the sodomitical act is not only sexually "deviant," but socially degenerative. Sodomitical "assaults" and the "honest" husband/father are consistently juxtaposed in order to define the sodomite through his body (assault) or through his character (honest). There are many narrative accounts that demonstrate

[5] Kristina Straub, in her book *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology*, observes that, "the structure of the gaze empowers the spectator over the spectacle is a historical construction, probably just emerging in the eighteenth century (5). She further notes that, "while gender certainly becomes a crucial determinant in this relationship in the eighteenth century, class, race, and ethnicity fuse together with gender in the hegemonic workings of the gaze" (5). While I am not centrally concerned with the gaze, these observations help to demonstrate that the authors recounting the sodomy trials were spectators most likely as disgusted, horrified, excited and judgmental of sodomitical activity as was most of eighteenth-century British society.

[6] There are a few narrative accounts that position themselves as "true" first person accounts of sodomy and homosexual relations. The story of Leondert Hussenlosch is one of these texts. Also, Rictor Norton argues that *Love-Letters Between a certain late Nobleman And the famous Beau Wilson* is the most authentic textual evidence of homosexuality even though, "there is argument over whether it records genuine homosexual experience or simply demonstrates the perception (or construction) of homosexuals" (Norton 51).

this contradiction, and position the discourse on sodomy as one that consistently evades sex between men in lieu of a discourse on social responsibility.

The news account with which I began this essay is a brief but very relevant example of the evasive rhetoric used in discussions of sex between men. It is particularly relevant because of two distinct diction choices. Similarly to the sodomy trials and other publications concerned with sex between men, the news account begins with terming Huggins' actions as an "assault." To use the word "assault" as a description of Huggins's actions is, in some ways, to misuse the word itself. The word "assault" describes a physical attack on another's body or a linguistic attack on another's character, position, and morality with harmful intent. It is reported that Huggins "offer'd to put his hand into their [Richard Hemmings and Thomas Jones] Breeches, pulling out his Nakedness at the same time; upon which they apprehended him." To call Huggins's actions an "assault" suggests that Hemmings and Jones (who were there with a "design to detect such wicked Persons") and the legal system generally assume that Huggins was intending to commit sodomy with the men because of his aggressive exhibitionism. However, there is technically no sodomy in this report. In this instance, as in many others, it is not the actual act of sodomy, but the assumption that sodomy and violence were the intended outcome that activates legal intervention. Not only is the sodomitical scene absent, in this instance it never even takes place. Hence, the word "assault" is not necessarily connected to actual sodomy but is instead connected to either intended sodomy or, most likely, Huggins's desire to reveal his "nakedness" publicly to other men. The question then becomes exactly what or who was Huggins assaulting? First and foremost, to term Huggins's actions as an "assault" is to invariably connect his actions to systematic violence. In other words, when Huggins exposes himself to Hemmings and Jones and offers to put his hand into their breeches he must be assaulting both men in some way. The specifics of Huggins' assault and what he was assaulting are not found in the actual, physical act of revealing his "nakedness" to the other men or in his own words at the trial. Instead, the victim of Huggins' "assault" only becomes visible through the rhetoric of both the

witnesses and the prosecution. This suggests that both witnesses for the prosecution and the defense are bound to a certain set of rhetorical strategies. While the "deviant" individual is on trial for illegal sexual congress, the witnesses use strategies to circumvent the question of whether the event actually took place, and thus turn the focus of the narrative from one of illegal sexual congress to one of urban relevance. Character witnesses consistently focus on what the accused has produced while the prosecution often focuses on what the accused has wasted (money, time, semen, etc.).

When looking at this news account it is obvious that the actual prosecution against Huggins is absent.[7] The news brief is divided in half, the first dealing with his actions and the second dealing with his trial. However, we do not actually "see" or read the account of his prosecution; instead we only "hear" the witnesses called to his defense. The prosecution against Huggins focuses on his "assault" against Hemmings and Jones as one that threatens heterosexual order. We are told that Huggins had "Counsel of his side" and that he:

> call'd several to his reputation, who all said he was a very honest Man, as to his course of Life; otherwise, that he was employ'd as a Porter: He said, that he had been carrying 6 Pound of Coffee into Leaden-Hall-street: that he had been married about a Year to a young Wife, who was big with Child; and that he always seem'd very fond of her.

The witness first asserts that Huggins "was a very honest man." Huggins must appear as both trustworthy at the moment of prosecution, and possessing a trustworthy character. This character witness, as in other trials, begins his character portrait with the accused sodomites' overall character. Huggins has been honest his entire life and, hence, must continue to be honest even at this most trying time. Furthermore, the word "honest" has deep associations with legal rhetoric. To be described as honest does not simply mean that Huggins is telling the truth; it further signifies that he is law-abiding and is not a

[7] This is typical of the narrative renditions of the legal proceedings. At times, however, the actual legal proceedings are included in later publications.

threat to the state. The witness also discusses Huggins' current positions in London as a man of industry who is devoted to his family and, therefore, to the well-being of the metropole. Huggins was employed as a Porter and carried coffee into the market. Furthermore, and just as importantly, he was married to a young wife of whom he was "very fond" and who was already with child. To reveal that Huggins was not only married and that his wife was pregnant, but to also say that she was a "young wife" is to assert that both Huggins and his wife are a fertile couple participating in the necessary heterosexual production of a family. Moreover, to mention her age is to suggest the possibility of more children in the future. This is further solidified by the witnesses' observation that Huggins is fond of his wife. Inherent in the character witnesses' observations is that Huggins is doing everything required of a man in eighteenth-century culture and, furthermore, that he likes doing it. For the character witness, Huggins is an active and productive member of London society; his actions should therefore be forgiven because of his productive position in culture or because the alleged actions never transpired since Huggins' is an honest man. The witness defends Huggins with a particular rhetorical strategy. Most likely aware that Huggins would be found guilty no matter what the circumstance, the witness makes clear that Huggins and his family are productive and necessary members of the urban labor market. While the prosecution relies on an assumed act of sodomy that never took place, the witness for Huggins relies on repudiating this sexual tendency, and demonstrating that Huggins was an unlikely sodomite because of his position(s)/posture(s) in the metropole and his law-abiding character. Unfortunately, for Huggins and most other prosecuted sodomites of the period, the language of social usefulness did not save them from punishment, though it did save them from execution. Huggins would suffer the same penalty as most accused sodomites. He would stand for a day at the pillory, would pay a fine based on his income and would be imprisoned. Once these punishments were exacted he could return to his work and his family to continue as a "productive" member of British society.

Although different than his first trial, the second trial against Huggins and William Holiwell (1730) further demonstrates the

effects of certain rhetorical choices.[8] While this trial shows that there were cases in which two men participated in consensual homosexual activity, the language used to describe, prosecute, and defend the sodomites are all consistent with characteristic discursive patterns describing sodomitical rape, pederasty and, of course, assault. Short and discreet, most trial accounts employ this discursive pattern while they report on the prosecution of the case. Consistent with rhetorical patterns in other legal narratives, a choice in diction marks sodomy as an "assault." In the case against Holiwell and Huggins, like so many other accounts, the charges are first explained: "William Holiwell, was Indicted for a Misdemeanor, in assaulting William Huggins, with an Intent to commit the detestable Sin of Buggery; and William Huggins, for a Misdemeanor, in consenting and submitting to the same" (394). These men are not being prosecuted for committing sodomy, but are instead being prosecuted for intending to commit the "detestable Sin."[9] Furthermore, the key witness for the prosecution is as unreliable as the language used to describe the act. John Rowder, the first witness in the case, in an attempt to detail the act actually confuses the situation:

> I look'd thro' the Light of the Newel Stairs, and discover'd the Prisoners in a very indecent Posture. I was then about 30 or 40 Steps from them. I made haste and surprized them. Huggins was stooping very low, so that I could not see his Head, his Breeches were down, his Shirt was turned upon

[8] Prosecution for submitting to sodomy is not wholly uncommon in the trial accounts. In these cases, the accused is guilty of associating with the act itself and thus guilty of being too close to sodomy.

[9] Prosecution for the intent to commit criminal activity is not uncommon for the legal system of the early eighteenth century. Cases of intended rape, murder and theft are often prosecuted with corporal punishment being the end result. While much of the legal rhetoric concerning rape remained unchanged in the eighteenth century, the laws did develop. As Antony Simpson notes, "Varying interpretations of general legal standards greatly affecting the outcomes of rape prosecutions were applied in the period. These concerned the competency of witnesses, the level of force applied and resistance offered, *and the precise intent of the aggressor* (my italics)" (181).

> his Back, and his Backside was bare. Holiwell was standing close by, with his fore Parts to the others Posteriors, and his Body was in Motion; but I could not see his fore Parts, because his Back was towards me. (394)

This invisibility (except in a rare number of cases) is consistent with other trials in which the act is rarely "seen" by judge, jury, or witnesses. Rowder was thirty to forty steps away, could not see Huggins' head, and he could not see Holiwell's "fore Parts" because Holiwell's back was towards Rowder. For Rowder, it is not important to see the actual act of sodomy, it is merely enough to see the two men in an "indecent Posture." One of the possible reasons for this prosecution is explained by Netta Murray Goldsmith in her study *The Worst of Crimes*. As she observes:

> If it was by no means certain that a man caught engaging in homosexual practices would be arrested, it was equally uncertain what would happen to him in a court of law, should he be so unfortunate as to find himself in one. In that event, ironically enough, his best chance of regaining his freedom was if he was put on trial for the capital offence of sodomy. The immediate reason for this was that there were strict rules of evidence that must be met before a defendant could be convicted, whereby it must be shown that both penetration and emission had taken place. Such proof was difficult to provide, especially as hardly any of the participants in a homosexual act had been examined by a doctor. (34)

Like the case against Holiwell and Huggins, most prosecutions were for "the intent to commit sodomy" and not for sodomy itself because the actual act of sodomy was notoriously difficult to prove. While a guilty verdict for this charge was not the death penalty, it was easier to prosecute suspected sodomites because the necessary physical evidence was not required. Furthermore, prosecuting a suspected sodomite for the misdemeanor "attempted sodomy" affords the legal system an

opportunity to publish sodomy.[10] McFarlane notes the significance of this "publication." In his discussion of the trial against Captain Edward Rigby (1698), McFarlane observes that:

> To be "published" to the world is what happens to Rigby in the *Account*. The various machinery of power—here the court of law and the press—combine to condemn Rigby precisely by making a spectacle out of him, recreating in a brief narrative both the enormity of his crime and the swift and magnificent workings of justice. *An Account of the* PROCEEDINGS *Against* CAPT. EDWARD RIGBY, "Printed by Order of the Court," puts the criminal and his punishment on display and thus functions as a more widely circulating, longer-lasting, verbal counterpart to the sentence to stand in the pillory. (150)

While the accused and condemned sodomite can return to his family and profession following the term of his sentence, the verbal display of the sentence was certainly a longer-lasting injunction against his past actions.[11] However, the durability of the verbal display derives not only from the punishment, but also from the proceedings. The verbal display not only marked the

[10] For more on the history of sodomy laws see, Wayne C. Bartee and Alice Fleetwood Bartee, *Litigating Morality: American Legal Thought and its English Roots*. They discuss sodomy's transition from a religious crime to a secular one in which, by the early eighteenth century, there was no "benefit of clergy" (34). While rare, reprieves did occur.

[11] Randolph Trumbach, in *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, demonstrates through three case studies "that gossip about a man's actual sexual misbehavior could circulate in a neighborhood for some time until some conflict made the gossip a convenient weapon against a neighbor" (51). In his brief discussion of sodomy, he asserts that "male reputation after 1730 came to depend on the ability to prove at any stage of life that one was exclusively attracted to women" (55). To be indicted for the intent to commit sodomy would have life-long consequences for the accused in terms of gainful employment, lodging and intimate relationships. Furthermore, in another of Trumbach's investigations, "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London," he argues that "The law both reflected the culture and helped to shape it" (90). In terms of the accused sodomite, Trumbach notes, "for a man to be labeled a sodomite had a much more devastating and pervasive effect on his life than for a woman to become a prostitute" (89).

man as a recognizable sodomite who was punished for his crimes, but also circulated the entire proceeding for public consumption. While this "publication" likely titillated and excited an audience fascinated by "deviant" sexuality and pornography, it also publicized the other participants and, more importantly, made public the perceived danger sodomy posed to sexual order. Thus, the publishing of the name and the act here enshrines the rhetorical framing of sodomy as an "unspoken" crime while simultaneously articulating it.

As Goldsmith further contends, prosecuting for attempted sodomy was the only way a suspected sodomite could be punished if the necessary physical evidence was unavailable. While this "talking around" is present for pragmatic reasons—to more easily prosecute a suspected sodomite—it also reinforced how sodomy was "seen." Sex between men was rarely witnessed completely; instead, it was witnessed through a slit partition, a keyhole or from 30-40 steps away. While Rowder did not see the men's faces or their genitalia, he concluded that the men were in an "indecent posture." Hence, the act of sodomy itself is not only evaded from the beginning when the charges are filed, it is also evaded by the witness himself. The witness is only involved in the proceeding to explain what this "indecent posture" might look like. The court prosecutes and condemns men not for sodomy, but instead for the "posture" of sodomy. These men are ostensibly on trial for the placement of their bodies and not for committing the "detestable" act of sodomy. We further see this in the rest of Rowder's testimony and the character witnesses called to defend Holiwell and Huggins.

Rowder claims to have not seen some key elements of the act. However, both men attempted to escape when they realized Rowder was spying on them. This is a likely reason both men were detained and subsequently prosecuted. To run from the scene itself, or for Huggins to get up and "[put] up his Breeches" was to signal guilt. At the end of his testimony Rowder claims that "Holliwell's Shirt was examin'd, and there appear'd plain Tokens of Emission" (394). To couple the word "examin'd" with the word "appear'd" is to assert that the "token of emission" may, in fact, not be a "token of emission" at all. The claim itself is a confusing one in which the medical rigor implied by "examin'd" suggests that the shirt was inspected by someone who knew

what they were looking for. To also include the word "appear'd" confuses this examination because Rowder is not sure if it was a "token of emission" or some other material on the shirt. Hence, the act of sodomy itself is not fully visualized, and the necessary evidence is questionable. The continued use of the word "assault" and the rhetoric of the character witnesses further demonstrate that sodomy was as much about evading the topic as it was about proving it occurred.

The word "assault," as in the news account, is once again used to describe the actions of Holiwell and Huggins. This is obviously not an "assault." Holiwell is not raping Huggins; the alleged event appears to be one of consensual, homosexual activity. Hence, the word "assault" does not apply in the ways the word was understood in the period. It does not signify a violent act committed against another's body, but instead an act that assaults something other than the passive receiver's body. The "assault" was not about Holiwell "assaulting" Huggins in a sexual way, but was instead concerned with the intended act's assault on certain normalizing aspects of heterosexual ideology. We see this specifically in the way the character witnesses defend Huggins.[12] We are told that Huggins:

> Call'd a great many of his Neighbours to his Reputation. They gave him the Character of an Industrious Man in his Business (which was that of a Waterman) a loving Husband to his Wife, a tender Father to his Children, an honest Man in his Dealings, and a Religious Man, who kept to his Church constantly on Sundays, and one of the last Men that they should have suspected of such Practices. That they should more easily have credited his Familiarity with Women, he commonly chusing their Company more than that of Men. (394-395)

Huggins is defended as a productive man in various areas such as the labor market and the family. We are told that he is an

[12] Oddly enough, Holiwell did not have any character witnesses. The reasons for this could be many, but it is likely that he either had none or, more likely, the witnesses he would call would not be able to defend him in the necessary ways because they had prior knowledge of his sexual preference.

"Industrious Man in his Business."[13] It is possible that Huggins was directly connected to the production of crops necessary to feed an expanding population. To assert that he is "Industrious" is to allude to this occupation. Many of the labor options available to a Waterman were integral to the irrigation of arable land and the feeding of a nation. Paradoxically, in the case of Huggins, he is not only productive in his marriage but also in his occupation. Furthermore, he is a "tender husband to his Wife, a tender Father to his Children." This trial takes place after Huggins's wife has given birth and we are to understand that they have had multiple children. Thus, Huggins is a productive man in the family because he and his wife are producing multiple children. Moreover, he is an honest man, attends church on Sundays, and, perhaps most importantly, "commonly chuses their [women's] company more than that of men." Like the news account which briefly detailed another of Huggins's "assaults," this trial makes clear that Huggins's character as a man of business, a husband, and a father is similarly on trial.

The trial against William Brown (1726) for sodomitical practices further demonstrates that "intended" sodomy, as understood by the court, was actually an assault on various heteronormative institutions and threatened sexual order. As was the case in the trial against Huggins, men were in place with "designes" of capturing sodomites. In this trial Thomas Willis and Stevenson asked Thomas Newton (victim) to accompany them to an alehouse in Moore-Fields where Newton would entrap a sodomite.[14] William Brown was the man entrapped,

[13] In this period, a Waterman could connote a number of different occupations. He could have been a ferryman who provided transportation, a sailor involved in the expanding trade economy of the metropole, or, more likely, a man employed in the distribution of water. This last occupation could include being a fireman, a man employed in the pumping and carrying of water, or a person involved in the irrigation of meadows necessary to productive agriculture. Whatever the exact occupation Huggins held, all of these occupations are integral to a properly functioning metropole—especially the latter.

[14] There were a number of men who infiltrated known gay cruising grounds or "haunts" as they were known. The most active were Willis, Stevenson, and Joseph Sellers. These men normally entrapped sodomites at the bogs of Moore-Fields on the East end of London. Moore-Fields was known as a cruising ground as well as a district of prostitution. While we are uncertain if they were spies for the SRM or just moral reformers, there is evidence that Willis and Stevenson did, at times, work for the SRM. Also, Chrarles Hitchin was a spy for the SRM and

accused, and punished as a result of this "design." As in the account of the case against Huggins, the initial paragraph claims that "William Brown, was indicted for a Misdemeanor, in assaulting Thomas Newton, with an intent to commit Sodomy with him" (210). In the brief narrative detailing the plan to capture a sodomite, Newton testifies that, "There's a Walk in the Upper-Moorfields, by the side of the Wall that parts the Upper-field from the Middle-field. I knew that this Walk was frequented by Sodomites, and was not Stranger to the Methods they used in picking one another up" (211). After Brown steps up next to Newton by the wall "as if he was going to make Water" he "sidles nearer, and nearer to where I [Newton] stood, 'till as last he comes close to me.—'*Tis a very fine Night*, says he. *Aye,* says I, *and so it is*. Then he takes me by the Hand, and after squeezing and playing with it a little (to which I shewed no dislike) he conveys it to his Breeches, and puts—into it. I took fast hold, and call'd out to Willis and Stevenson" (211). Again, similarly to the news account of Huggins's "assault" there is no sodomy committed in the narrative of events; it is instead the position of the bodies that elicits what the court construes as a "sodomitical attempt." In this case, Brown's genitalia is not exposed but fondled by Newton. We could understand this as an assault if Brown physically forced Newton to fondle him; however, Newton says that he "shewed no dislike" for Brown's forwardness. Brown's assumed forward action is equated to "attempted sodomy" and thus an assault. The close proximity of two male bodies is the central issue. Because Huggins exposed himself to Hemmings and Jones he was indicted for the same reason as was Brown—namely, that a man exposing and/or fondling another man is tantamount to an assault on heterosexual ideology. Hence, by exposing himself Huggins is not only offering the men a sodomitical interlude, he is also inverting the rules of sexual engagement.

Following Newton's testimony in which he concludes that "I had seen the Prisoner before, at the House of Thomas Wright,

used his position to extort money from bawdy houses and molly houses. He also had a complicated relationship with Jonathan Wild who was hanged in 1725. Hitchin was also brought up on charges of attempted sodomy. For more on these spies see the trials against William Griffin, William Brown, Thomas Wright, and Martin Mackintosh.

who was hang'd for Sodomy,"[15] Willis recalls a telling comment by Brown: "We asked the Prisoner why he took such indecent Liberties with Newton, and he was not ashamed to answer, I did it because I thought I knew him, and I think there is no Crime in making what use I please of my own Body" (211). It is obvious that Brown does not say this in his own defense. His own words offer a weak defense in which he simply states, "As I was going a-cross the Fields I stood up to make Water, and with no other Design, at which Time Newton coming along, took hold of me, and then call'd out to the two informing Constables." Brown's own defense, in his own words, is simply "I didn't do it." There is no hint of the liberatory rhetoric so aggressively stressed in Willis's testimony. Of course, Willis could simply be fabricating the comment to demonstrate Brown's aggressive sodomitical tendencies or, just as likely, Brown would realize the situation he is in and understand that this type of rhetoric would only compound his problem.[16] Either way, the liberatory rhetoric is present at the linguistic level. It is apparent from the slew of other trials that men's bodies are, in fact, not theirs to do with as they please. When it comes to the sodomy trials, the position of the men's bodies constitutes an "assault" against sexual order. This is likely the reason why familiarity was necessary to sexual explicitness. However, this familiarity was risky because many of the informants and spies for various reforming societies integrated themselves into this subculture for the express purpose of capturing and/or describing the deviant.[17] Newton, Willis and Stevenson were only a few participants in this type of

[15] Thomas Wright was charged for committing buggery with Thomas Newton (the same man from Brown's trial) in April 1726. Because of Newton's and Sellers' testimony, Wright was found guilty and hanged at Tyburn on May 9, 1726.

[16] While it was extremely difficult for the courts to prove sodomy, it was similarly difficult for the men accused of attempted sodomy to prove their innocence. Furthermore, with the rash of prosecutions, punishments and publications on sodomy during this period, it is likely that he was intimate with both the difficulties in proving his innocence and the dangers of rigorously defending himself.

[17] Other than the numerous trial accounts in which a spy was employed to entrap sodomites, Ned Ward's account of the *Molly Club* is an example of sodomitical surveillance. In Ward's text, the anonymous narrator constructs both a physical and rhetorical distance from the mollies while he simultaneously observes their behavior.

entrapment. Familiarity was not a matter of "knowing" another sodomite, but instead of "knowing about" his attendance at various meeting places and cruising grounds. For Brown to say, through the voice and testimony of Willis that "I did it because I thought I knew him" is to compound the matter of guilt. This association demonstrates that Brown had frequented areas known to harbor and/or cater to men with sodomitical predilections. Brown is certainly aware that it was nearly impossible to be acquitted of attempted sodomy and is likely even more aware that through Willis's testimony his guilt had already been decided. His proximity to Newton's body and the sodomitical subculture itself would serve to demonstrate that sodomy is not a random, singular event but a recurring "problem." In other words, Brown has a history of "sodomitical" tendencies (whether that is exhibitionism or something more explicit) and his sodomy is therefore "chronic." Hence, Willis's testimony asserts that Brown is not only "familiar" with Newton's body, but that he is also "familiar" with the sodomitical subculture. Brown would no doubt have realized that his chances for acquittal were very small, which may explain his half-hearted defense. Also, the second part of Willis's testimony further solidifies Brown's aggressive sodomitical tendencies. To say that Brown believes he can make whatever use of his body he pleases is to claim an agency that did not exist. Men involved in sodomitical practices did not "own" their bodies, and this is clearly evident through the character witnesses called to defend their usefulness as productive men in society.

The character witnesses called to Brown's defense are similar to those called in most of the sodomy trials in the early eighteenth century. In Brown's case "Several of both Sexes appeared to his Reputation. They deposed that he had been married 12 or 13 years; that he bore the Character of an honest sober Man, a kind Husband, and one who loved the Conversation of Women better than that of his own sex" (211). In identical fashion, the character witnesses deposed in Brown's case defend his character just as they did in the case against Huggins. Both men and women note that he was an "honest sober man" suggesting that he has been and will continue to be a law-abiding citizen who poses no threat to the state. While his defense was rather brief, it was, according to the character

witnesses, an honest account of that evening. Moreover, they assert that he is a "kind husband," that he "had been married 12 or 13 years" and that he "loved the Conversation of Women better than that of his own sex." Brown, according to the witnesses, is a heterosexual man performing the necessary masculine duties on which eighteenth-century culture depends. His assault, while ostensibly against Newton's body, is more particularly an assault against assumed masculine responsibilities. Again, just as in the case against Huggins, the character witnesses' portrait is consistently based on observations that link homosexuality to an inversion of social responsibility. To continuously assert that Brown, Huggins, and many others are productive members of society is to assert that the legal system believes them otherwise. For the character witnesses, the accused sodomites' sexual preference is absolutely on trial, however, it is less a matter of whether the accused committed the sexual crime and more a matter of whether the crime indicated sodomitical, and thus threatening sexual tendencies. By consistently claiming that these men are loving husbands and fathers, productive men in the labor market, and honest men witness accounts efface the charge of sodomy by emphasizing the accused's productive social positions. For the character witnesses of these trials, it is important to solidify the defendant's heterosexual character instead of simply saying that he did not commit the act.

Condemned and exposed by the judicial apparatus while defended by the laboring class, the sodomite was not celebrated like the seventeenth-century libertine. Instead, the eighteenth-century sodomite occupies the sexual middle-ground between man and woman, between the effects of male-male and male-female sexual congress, between heterosexual and homosexual and between the known and unknown. His character is damned by the same people who defend him and punished by the same apparatus that fifty years earlier celebrated the "vice of the upperclass" (Harvey 136). Ultimately, the image of the sodomite in the sodomy trials suffers from a paradoxical displacement via the rhetoric employed to both prosecute and defend him. Sodomy was a vague category, the rhetoric used to punish the sodomite was evasive, the language of the character witnesses was dependent on the vagueness of the prosecution, and the

sodomite could not employ his own language in defense. All of this points to the categorical confusion of sodomy and the sodomite in the consciousness of a culture that so readily condemned him. The rhetorical "vagueness" surrounding the eighteenth-century sodomite is indicative of an attempt to organize and define not only this "third-sex," but general conceptions of masculinity and femininity. What it meant to be an eighteenth-century man or woman were in flux as were those who deviated from the assumed gender roles. The language used in the sodomy trials demonstrates that the discourse on sexual deviancy and, specifically, sodomy was at best an imprecise apparatus.

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"What You Really Get When You Try to Sell Things": (Mis)Recognition and (In)Tangibility in Jean Rhys's *Good Morning, Midnight*

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Ghostwriting, Property, and Narratives of Identity

Jean Rhys's 1939 novel *Good Morning, Midnight* problematizes the social recognition afforded to property ownership and women's lack of access to the identity-bestowing characteristics of property.[1] The novel tells the story of Sasha

[1] The 1920s and 1930s were a time of great strides in social justice and women's rights, especially property rights. For example, the 1925 Administration of Estates Act revised a British legal institution that had been the norm since the feudal system in medieval England: the common law principle of primogeniture, which was the custom of the firstborn son to inherit the entire estate of a family. In tracing the history of contemporary thought on property and social justice, Carol Rose discusses the origin and continuing development in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries of the governmental ability to appropriate property for official use—otherwise known as the "takings" issue. She writes, "This version of property did *not* envision property as a set of tradeable and ultimately interchangeable goods; instead, different kinds of property were associated with different kinds of roles" (59). The purpose of property under this understanding is to accord to each person who is subject to a national government that which is "proper" or "appropriate" to his or her personal identity. "And what is 'proper' or appropriate," Rose continues, "is that which is needed to keep good order in the commonwealth or body politic" (58). According to Rose, a person's property consequently fixes his or her identity within the nation, creating a kind of static relationship between the individual and the body politic (59). In this light, property ultimately defines a subject's individual identity (woman, for example) within a proper national identity (Britishness) and that subject's relationship to other national inhabitants. Propriety, then, is an overcoding of place or property with dominant cultural ideas concerning a particular person's or group's correct role and contribution to a national identity. In terms of identity, property can be used to dictate the marginalization of groups such as women from constructions of what it means to be a British woman—in other words, to dictate the impropriety of female identity.

Jensen[2] in a stream-of consciousness narrative that describes the psychological breakdown of the alcoholic Englishwoman as she obsesses over her past and remains fearful of her present. To help Sasha avoid drinking herself to death in an English flat, a friend allows her to borrow money to travel to Paris and escape her life in Britain. However, her prospects do not improve in France. In Paris, she takes on a series of odd jobs, one of which involves ghostwriting stories for a female benefactor. Unlike many other fictional depictions of women writers in twentieth-century British literature such as Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (1928), Margaret Drabble's *The Millstone* (1965), and A. S. Byatt's *Possession* (1990), Sasha's stories are not her own but rather the stories of others for others. This position reflects the way that she has come to base her identity in other people's property and to define herself by that property. She writes fairy tales for one of her employer using ideas that her employer develops from old myths and legends. Sasha, then, is not the creator and owner of narrative but rather the writing machine through which these stories are recycled and manufactured for personal consumption. Sasha says that, unlike herself, the woman who has hired her to write has such "a sense of property! She'd raise hell if a spot of wine fell on one of her Louis Quinze chairs. Authentic Louis Quinze, of course they were" (168). In summation, Sasha thinks of the experience, "Fairies, red roses, the sense of property" (168). In these instances, Sasha links the ability to create one's own narrative or, in this case, to hire someone to create a narrative to your specifications, with a higher socioeconomic class than the one to which she currently belongs. Sasha's employer has the luxury to have a ghostwriter create frivolous tales for her pleasure, but Sasha does not have

[2] In the years of *Good Morning, Midnight*'s composition prior to 1939, Rhys's experiences with property were negative and paralleled many of Sasha's experiences. According to biographer Carole Angier, Rhys's then husband John Lenglet stole large sums of money from her and was sent to prison for selling foreign currency on the black market (117). Angier describes several instances of possible plagiarism on the part of Lenglet. About the issue, she writes that Lenglet "was certainly prepared to hijack Jean's works in order to swell his reputation" as well as his pocketbook, though the issue remains one of debate among Rhys scholars (288). Not only did Lenglet steal Rhys's money, making her livelihood more difficult, but he also possibly appropriated her narrative, the creation of which contributed to her identity as a writer.

access to this power. She recounts this story to René, a man that she meets at a restaurant and develops feelings for, which would seem to indicate some kind of power to produce a narrative of her identity as a writer. However, René interrupts her story because he is familiar with Sasha's former employer and finishes her story with ornate drawings and details. Stealing away Sasha's role as narrator, he takes control of her identity narrative, and Sasha can seemingly do nothing about it. Why does Sasha so easily recognize and then adopt René's narrative, which she knows incorrectly constructs her identity?

By focusing on processes of misrecognition, I argue that Sasha's attitude indicates a pessimistic and even misanthropic view of property's ability to ground women's identity formation. Both the men and the women in this novel "misrecognize" their relationships to property and to the identity imparted through property ownership to show how economic or property transactions involving a woman from a lower-middle socioeconomic class will cause a loss of identity for that particular woman. Sasha realizes the relative instability of her identity, for example, after her husband leaves her with no money after the death of her child. However, rather than tactically[3] using property as a medium for defining herself, she becomes defined by property, particularly clothing and houses or rooms. Likewise, the main male characters incorrectly place Sasha within a particular genre of woman by misrecognizing her relationship to property. For Sasha, this genre relates to socioeconomic class—the "rich bitch." Sasha's experiences with property before encountering the men do not allow her to correct these mistakes. Instead of empowering Sasha to produce her own identity narrative, property literally "boxes" her in, as she becomes a captive of her room at the end of her story. To this end, the novel highlights the fact that Sasha's tactical deployment of property cannot overcome the strategic view held by the men in her life.

[3] Building off Michel de Certeau's work in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, I use the words "global" and "strategy" to indicate the totalizing impulses to create a metanarrative or "grand narrative" of male identity through property and the exclusion of women. I likewise use "local" and "tactic" to describe the female response that seeks to create individual, discrete narratives of identity for women through property.

Revalorizing Rhys

Good Morning, Midnight offers both a way to show how Rhys's earlier fiction influenced her most widely read novel *Wide Sargasso Sea* and an opportunity to contribute to current scholarship that seeks to revalorize Rhys's earlier work. Until recently, the majority of criticism written about Jean Rhys's work has centered on *Wide Sargasso Sea*, a "prequel" of sorts that reveals the history of Bertha Mason—the infamous "madwoman in the attic" from Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre*.[4] However, scholars have begun to criticize scholarship that tends to discuss *Wide Sargasso Sea* only. For example, Urmila Seshagiri argues that, "*Voyage in the Dark* [1934] has been overshadowed by Rhys's 1966 masterpiece, *Wide Sargasso Sea*," although, "it is the earlier novel that shows us a crucial transformation in the aesthetic priorities and political thrust of twentieth-century English fiction" (487).[5] This article follows Seshagiri's lead by suggesting how *Wide Sargasso Sea* owes much of its critical (if not commercial) success to Rhys's earlier novels and, especially, *Good Morning, Midnight*. Though Rhys published *Good Morning, Midnight* twenty-nine years prior to *Wide Sargasso Sea*, the plot and themes of the former resonate with the latter, particularly through the novels' depictions of property. Both novels offer a negative assessment of women's relationships to property, whether through the critique of primogeniture and property law in *Wide Sargasso Sea* or, as I will argue, through the indictment of how socioeconomic differences adversely affect women's abilities to tactically engage property in *Good Morning, Midnight*. Both Antoinette Cosway / Bertha Mason and Sasha Jensen find themselves as prisoners of property at the end, Bertha in Rochester's attic and Sasha in her hotel room. Their final attempts to escape from their situations are equally as dire. Bertha burns down Thornfield Hall, killing herself in the process. Sasha offers her body to a neighborhood worker who has propositioned her intermittently throughout the novel. Though Sasha does not kill herself, this final act operates as a kind of sexual self-sacrifice; she says that she lies "very still, with my

[4] For recent scholarship on *Wide Sargasso Sea*, see Emery, Mezei, Wickramagamage, Su, Carr, and Nesbitt.

[5] For recent scholarship on Rhys's earlier novels, see Czarnecki, Nardin, Zeikowitz, Britzolakis, Seshagiri, Port, and Linett.

arm over my eyes. As still as if I were dead…" (190). She has become that which she has dreaded throughout the novel: a passive object of pity without independence, economic or otherwise.

Scholars of Rhys's work have not adequately expressed the depth of disillusionment in her novels, particularly in terms of her characters' passivity and the relationship between that trait and property. Most scholars choose to read passivity as a result of Rhys's fragmented narrative technique or as a symptom of depression or trauma, all which, according to Thomas Staley, challenge "the entire fabric of social and moral order which governs so much of society" (1). Similarly, Kristin Czarnecki examines Sasha's behavior through the lens of Kristevan depression; Sasha's passivity, then, becomes a critique of learned helplessness from a society refusing full access to language and culture for women (63 – 64). Christina Britzolakis locates the author's fragmented narrative style within the history of Modernist urban spectacles and connects passivity to ethnicity because late "nineteenth-century European ethnographic discourses of the white Creole were built around the motifs of passivity, drifting and paralysis, as well as the degenerative perils of miscegenation" (462). For Britzolakis, Rhys's fragmented writing "actively dislocates the European genealogy of metropolitan modernity" while at the same time describing "the impossibility of inserting white Creole subjectivity into any narrative of national identity" (462). Maren Linett combines the two approaches to passivity by connecting powerlessness, trauma, and fragmentation. According to Linett, Rhys "worked with fragmented text in part because she desired to make trauma legible in the precarious, partial ways that can be done. Her fragmentary style is…strategic and mimetic rather than symptomatic" (439). All of these approaches share the idea that Rhys's novels remain essentially positive about society's ability to better itself and show how passivity serves as a tactical part of Rhys's critique of the traditionally masculine genealogy of modernity by working within dominant British traditions that defined women's roles as passive. These scholars contextualize passivity as a result of ongoing social oppression, and they argue that Rhys's novels attempt to engage and work against that oppression. However, I suggest that this scholarship does

not go far enough in its evaluation of passivity in Rhys's works. By examining the relationship between property and Sasha's passivity in *Good Morning, Midnight*, I show how this novel displays a fatalistic approach to representations of property. Through Sasha's lower-middle class perspective, property and its exchange already put women in this socioeconomic class in a disadvantaged position.[6] Instead of social criticism, Sasha's inability to work against that disadvantage indicates the novel's pessimistic approach to property's value for the construction of women's identity.

Real and Personal Property; Tangible and Intangible Property

The fields of law and economics recognize two main property types: "real property" of immovable estate such as houses and land and "personal property" of movable goods like jewelry and furniture. These primary designations, though, can be further defined according to the property's tangibility. British economists Robert F. Reilly and Robert P. Schweihs use the term "real estate" to designate tangible real property. They write that real estate "includes the surface of the land, any permanent fixtures or structures attached to the surface of the land, the area below the surface of the land (theoretically down to the core of the earth), and the space above the surface of the land (theoretically up to the atmosphere of the earth)" (15). Likewise, their definition of tangible personal property highlights the characteristics of movability and separation or detachment from any real estate (15). They emphasize the fact that tangible personal property "does not represent the same bundle of legal rights associated with ownership of real estate" (16). For example, statutes of limitations involving legal disagreements over real estate are often longer than with tangible personal property. Despite the differences, both tangible real property and tangible personal property share three features as defined by Reilly and Schweihs: "They are corporeal; they are visible; and they are tactile" (16).

[6] I would argue that scholars have focused almost exclusively on ethnic identity in Rhys's work due to her Caribbean heritage to the detriment of exploring the impact that her economic class has on her identity.

None of these characteristics applies to intangible real property and intangible personal property. The laws associated with intangible real property refers to "the rights to use, occupy, develop, exploit, cross over, cross under, encroach upon, buy, sell, and so on, the tangible real estate" and is usually represented through some kind of contract, such as a license or lease (Reilly and Schweihs 18). Though a contract is the tangible manifestation of intangible real property rights, the contract itself only represents these rights and does not suggest the corporeal, visible, or tactile nature associated with both kinds of tangible property.

Similarly, Reilly and Schweihs indicate three defining elements of this type of property. First, intangible personal property does "not have substantial physical form or substance (at least to the extent that the value of the subject property is not dependent upon its physical form or substance)" (18). In other words, unlike tangible property, intangible personal property is not corporeal, visible, or tactile and does not derive its value from physical characteristics. Second, intangible personal property is movable; therefore, it is not "physically attached to the land or to other real estate" (Reilly and Schweihs 18). Finally, as with intangible real property, "intangible personal property typically encompasses a specific bundle of legal rights, benefits, and interests" (18). Some may argue that intellectual property forms a third property category in addition to real and personal property. However, given the two primary designations, intellectual property falls within the category of personal property. This distinction is an important one to make given this article's focus on property as a catalyst for narrative creation and writing—a tactical means for women's identity making and the process of thinking through the history of property for women. In addition to intellectual property, stock certificates, bonds, promissory notes, and franchises are all common types of intangible personal property, and Jeffrey Cohen lists several other examples: patents, copyrights, trademarks, trade secrets, currency (coin money), and notes (paper money) (11). "All financial assets are intangible," according to Cohen, "although sometimes they, too, are securitized by physical assets. Cash and cash equivalents are not real property; cash needs no valuation, and by definition cash equivalents do not need much

of one" (11). Instead, the value of intangible personal property such as currency and notes "is intrinsic to the property rights of the intangible asset" that is represented by the money (Reilly and Schweihs 19). In other words, unlike tangible real or personal property, a quarter or a dollar bill has no intrinsic value by virtue of its physical nature. The value instead lies in the property right to exchange three quarters for a candy bar or five hundred dollars for a flight to Paris, for example. Both coin and paper money, then, represent a person's ability to obtain goods and services.

Fur Coats and Mille Notes

As many critics note, *Good Morning, Midnight's* narrative structure is unconventional; the novel contains nightmares, ellipses, flashbacks, and other narrative elements that are not always clearly indicated by the narrator Sasha. Though readers encounter Sasha's dream that contains the scene of her baby's birth and death in Part One, they do not learn the bulk of her back-story—how she came to the attempt to drink herself to death in the London room at the opening of the novel—until Part Three, late in the novel. This section is the only point in the novel where Sasha represents her relationship to property previous to her baby's death, a relationship that comes to rely upon Sasha's understanding—or, rather, misunderstanding—of tangible and intangible property and the rights associated with each type. It is this misrecognition that plagues Sasha in *Good Morning, Midnight*. As her story unfolds, the novel's framework develops around Sasha's changing attitudes towards property. Before the exit of her husband and the death of her child, Sasha demonstrates an understanding of the value of different kinds of property through her interactions with property and through her use of metaphor. However, because of her experiences with her husband Enno and the connection that Sasha draws between her lack of money and the death of her child, she comes to see all kinds of property, real and personal alike, as tangible. Sasha begins to believe that any transaction involving a woman of a lower socioeconomic class will cause loss for that woman—of property rights and of self-worth, for example. Even her sexual reputation becomes a kind of intangible personal property.

Sasha sees this feature of loss as a natural and proper aspect in any exchange of property.

At the beginning of Part Three of Rhys's novel, which portrays the chronological first events of Sasha's story through the use of flashback, Sasha demonstrates an approximate understanding of the relationship between tangible and intangible properties and the rights and values they inherently possess or represent. This understanding comes through her initial focus on money and its connection, at least for Sasha, to living in London. Near the beginning of Part Three, we learn that Sasha has left London to go with her eventual husband Enno. Reflecting on the current situation, Sasha describes London and her life in London in terms of tangible real and personal property, specifically using the metaphor of a room and the items it contains:

> Well, London. . . . It has a fine sound, but what was London to me? It was a little room, smelling stuffy, with my stockings hanging to dry in front of a gas-fire. Nothing in that room was ever clean; nothing was ever dirty, either. Things were always half-and-half. They changed one sheet at a time, so that the bed was never quite clean and never quite dirty. (113)

By condensing her experience in London into the "little room" she rented there, Sasha uses the inherent characteristics of tangible real property in order to depict her view of the city and her relationship to its inhabitants. London becomes an immovable and unchangeable piece of real estate that does not allow Sasha emotional or mental mobility or development. Sasha describes the room as "endless, inevitable and restful," highlighting the room's unchanging features. Due to her recognition of this lack of mobility, Sasha concludes, "In that room you couldn't think, you couldn't make plans" (113). At this point in the narrative, prior to her marriage and pregnancy, Sasha recognizes the effect of the London room. She sees herself as unable to improve herself, like the room that is never quite clean or dirty. Her desire to escape this sense of historical determinacy leads her to run away with Enno in the first place.

Sasha's use of metaphor through her comparison of London to a room further suggests her understanding of the value of property and foreshadows her inability after the death of her child to comprehend the metaphorical characteristics of different kinds of property, a point I will return to later. The use of metaphor in her description of the London room closely follows the relationship between money and intangible property rights. The value of the metaphor lies within its interpretation by Sasha and is not inherent to the physical form or expression that the metaphor takes on. Sasha demonstrates the specific importance of this relationship as this section unfolds. Sasha understands that London has not provided her a great life; immediately after the paragraph cited above, she thinks, "I've got away from all that, anyhow. Not to go back, not to go back…." (114). Later, Sasha connects her departure from London specifically with the possession of money, not out of love or a desire to marry Enno. She writes, "I haven't any money. He hasn't any either. We both thought the other had money. But people are doing crazy things all over the place. The war is over. No more war—never, never, never. Après la guerre, there'll be a good time everywhere…. And not to go back to London" (114). Sasha connects the possession of money with the right to travel and leave London, benefits of intangible personal property rights represented by the pound and not innate to its physical characteristics. Although she insists that "there'll be a good time everywhere," she equally insists on the importance of her trip from London to Paris. She equates London with poverty, which contrasts with her statement about economic success after the war. She equates Paris with prosperity, instead, suggesting that the value of personal property for her lies in its inherent characteristic of movability, represented through her right to travel and through its ability to be transferred from one person to another and from one country to another. She writes, "But when we get to Paris the good life will start again. Besides, we have money. Between us we have fifteen pounds" (115). Sasha has escaped the permanence associated with tangible real property through her move to Paris, which she sees as a new beginning to her story—the third one in a linear reading of the novel.

The novel also highlights Sasha's understanding of property rights through the juxtaposition of her views on money with

Enno's views on money. As she prepares to describe her wedding day, Sasha says, "All the same, I never thought we should really get married" (115). Along with Sasha's emphasis on Enno's lack of money in the previous passage, the novel suggests that Sasha is being disingenuous in her expression of feelings for Enno, instead using him as a way out of London,[7] though the same could be said of Enno's thoughts on Sasha. Sasha does not seem concerned about Enno's verbal aggression or his lack of emotion towards her, but rather she focuses on the condition of her tangible personal property after they elope: "I hadn't bargained for this. I didn't think it would be like this—shabby clothes, worn-out shoes, circles under your eyes, your hair getting straight and lanky, the way people look at you…I didn't think it would be like this" (121). They have little money, and at an earlier point, they have had to sell their clothing to continue their trip to Paris (118). Because they have exchanged their better clothing for money, Sasha's protestations condemning the state of her remaining clothing parallel her connection between the physical state of tangible personal property and its value. As the physical condition of her clothing deteriorates, Sasha realizes that the value consequently decreases. In other words, she is not being what Enno might call a hyperemotional "typical woman" in her complaints but rather recognizing that the condition—and, therefore, the value—of her clothing might hold the key to her further travels. Cynthia Port has commented that Sasha, unlike Rhys's other heroines in her earlier novels, finds herself in the "position as consumer rather than commodity" and that this position "seems potentially empowering" (207). Sasha's reference to "bargaining" in discussing the outcomes of her marriage suggests her expectation of a give-and-take relationship, a kind of *quid quo pro*, with Enno in the marriage partnership.

However, Enno does not have the same ability to recognize the value of property and the rights afforded through ownership. For example, in response to the two times that Sasha makes mention of the condition of her clothing, Enno does not understand her emotional reaction to it; he says, "Don't cry. If

[7] Sasha later says that she "fastened" herself to him "because [she] wanted to escape London" (130).

you cry I shall go mad" (120). For Enno, one dress is just like another, easily discarded or exchanged for "another dress as soon as [they] get to Paris" (120). Enno misrecognizes clothing as representative of intangible personal property rights—in short, as providing the ability to travel and get to Paris. He does not, however, connect the physical condition of the clothing with the value of the money they receive. This view results in a kind of deferment of the cost of monetary "credibility" for Enno. By removing the importance of physical condition to the value of tangible personal property and transferring the value of intangible personal property rights into clothing, Enno reduces the importance of money as the physical representation of those rights. He makes any other physical object just like money—a representative of intangible property rights—and confers intangible property rights onto tangible property, at least in his mind. Consequently, every type of property becomes, in a sense, a container of intangible property rights to Enno. Unlike Sasha's understanding of the use and exchange of property and its rights as a type of bargaining in which rights are simultaneously gained and lost, he sees the rights themselves as property, available to him without restriction or consequence through exchange.

Enno's deferment of the cost of property rights contrasts with Sasha's idea of property; this difference is highlighted in the two scenes where Sasha and Enno each borrow money. After arriving in Brussels on their way to France, Sasha remembers that an acquaintance named Mr. Lawson lives in the city and had told her to call on him if she ever came to Brussels. After a long talk in which Mr. Lawson does not recognize Sasha and treats her situation as if it was a "joke," he offers her a hundred francs. After receiving the money, she thinks, "I am standing there with the note in my hand, when he comes up to me and kisses me. I am hating him more than I have ever hated anyone in my life, yet I feel my mouth go soft under his, and my arms go limp. 'Good-bye,' he says in imitation American, and grins" (119). In this exchange, Sasha understands that she gives over a kind of control to Mr. Lawson in taking the money; after telling Enno about the money, she reflects, "(With a hundred francs they buy the unlimited right to scorn you. It's cheap.)" (120). In retrospect, Sasha comes to relate this loan from Mr. Lawson to

her sex. Her seeming loss of bodily control after having received the money foreshadows her descriptions of her bodiless, faceless clients and the nameless and formless hotel rooms she enters after she turns to prostitution when Enno leaves her for good at the end of this section (145).

In this conversation, the novel represents the exchange between men of property, both tangible and intangible, and rights related to that property, as a kind of automatic equivalency, with no sense of gain or loss. The sexual undertones and connection to her future street life in Sasha's description of her embrace with Mr. Lawson and the power she believes she has lost to him contrasts with the more casual exchange between Enno and the waiter he has befriended who has agreed to loan him money. Both Sasha and the waiter's wife accompany Enno and the waiter on their walk through town, and we learn that the money the waiter is lending Enno initially belonged to the wife: "All the time she was complaining in a thin voice that he never let her have any money for clothes, and that it was her money after all; he hadn't a sou when she married him" (122). Instead of a type of bargaining or a give-and-take partnership as Sasha has previously envisioned marriage, the waiter's wife is placed in a position of powerlessness and loss like Sasha when she borrows money from Mr. Lawson. After leaving the couple, Enno gives his opinion of the wife:

> Enno had taken a dislike to Gustave's wife. 'That to call itself a woman!' he said.
> 'But it was her money,' I said.
> 'Oh well,' Enno said, 'he makes very good use of it, doesn't he? He makes much better use of it than she would.' (122 - 23)

Neither the waiter nor Enno give or receive the kind of power loss that Sasha believes she has conceded to Mr. Lawson. There is never any mention of Enno's intention to repay this loan nor either of the other two loans that he later receives. The incongruence of this situation relates to the fact that Enno—an assuredly high credit risk—sees himself as a "better use" of money than the purchase of adequate clothing for the waiter's wife. Because there is no explicit discussion of repayment, he

does not comprehend the intangible property rights that the waiter now holds over him through the loan. On the one hand, Enno sees the money only in terms of the intangible property rights that the cash immediately gives to him and not what taking the cash now might cost him in the long term. On the other hand, the novel portrays the state of women as always at a loss in exchanges of property. Like Sasha's sense of loss with Mr. Lawson, the wife's property is lost to her husband's whims. Even when the wife tries to assert control of that money, Enno questions the wife's identity as a woman; she only "calls herself" a woman but does not act like a proper one from his perspective when it comes to her property.

The novel, then, criticizes what it sees as the formation of a type of propriety—among women, property rights, and loss—to which Sasha eventually succumbs despite her initial views on property. This formulation of propriety comes to a head when Enno walks out on Sasha after a sexual encounter. Sasha recalls Enno's words at this point, previous to his three-day disappearance: "'You don't know how to make love,' he said. That was about a month after we got to Paris. 'You're too passive, you're lazy, you bore me. I've had enough of this. Good-bye'" (128). Enno describes Sasha in terms of what she lacks: knowledge of physical intimacy, a sense of intentional activity, and any interest for men. This characterization prompts Sasha's first mention of the twenty francs that Enno gives her and the certainty of her pregnancy, which begins to put in place a parallel between the lack of her "proper" female traits (at least from Enno's perspective) and a "proper" method of obtaining and using money that is depicted in the scene between the waiter and his wife. Sasha more overtly begins to relate these "absences" in her femininity to her lack of sustainable property ownership when Enno returns three days later. Upon Enno's return, he tells Sasha to peel an orange for him. She is unable to respond to his request in the way she wants: "Peel it yourself," or "Go to hell" (128). Although Sasha has spoken out against Enno previously in the novel, she does not say these confrontational phrases because "the room, the street, the thing in myself" is "much too strong" (129). She relates her passivity—a characteristic that Enno has earlier charged her with—to the property around her. The structure of the sentence in this

example, with the three sets of nouns connected by commas, creates a parallelism that depicts her child, the "thing" in the third set, as another piece of property. This connection between her baby and tangible real property serves as the basis of her relationship with the newborn that I will discuss later in the article.

Instead of seeing tangible or intangible property as imbuing people with rights as she once did after her departure from London, Sasha sees all property as stripping away not just her rights but also her ability to speak. Enno then reveals what he has acquired during his three-day absence: "He brings out a mille note, a second mille note. I don't ask where he has got them. Why ask? Money circulates; it circulates—and how! Why, you wouldn't believe it sometimes" (129). This attitude constitutes a different point of view for Sasha than the one she has previously held in Part Three. For Sasha now, it is the possession and movement of the physical object of money that matters, not necessarily the rights the intangible property of money bestows or any "interest" he might owe to the person from whom he has borrowed the money. In other words, she begins misrecognizing property rights and the categorization of property in a way that reflects Enno's own misconception of property.

After Enno leaves Sasha for a final time, the novel depicts her quick emotional descent in which she begins to base her self-worth on the property she has or desires. She worries constantly about money after her family decides not to support her; she thinks, "Money for my hair, money for my teeth, money for shoes that won't deform my feet (it's not so easy now to walk around in cheap shoes with very high heels), money for good clothes, money, money" (144). The word "money" is repeated six times in this passage, and in the first four instances, Sasha connects the possession of money with some part of her body. Similar to Enno's list that describes what he thinks she lacks, Sasha's list of improvements implies that she views her body as lacking in appropriate characteristics, a problem that she thinks can be improved with money. The word "money" becomes a kind of mantra for Sasha, an attempt to convince herself of her ability to obtain self-worth through spending. Because she has begun selling her body on the street, she sees herself as a form

of tangible personal property whose value is dependent upon the upkeep of her clothes and her looks.

However, the repetition of the word "money" divorces the word itself from any real-life referent or resulting value of its exchange. As the sentence draws to a close, the references to her body disappear. These references are replaced by the simple utterance "money, money." Instead of money providing the right to obtain goods and services—in this case, to "improve" herself physically in her mind—money becomes the object of attention and desire itself, not necessarily the rights that it affords the person who possesses it. Consequently, she thinks, "That's always when there isn't any. Just when you need it there's no money. *No money*. It gets you down" (144). Sasha, then, places emphasis on obtaining the physical representation of intangible property rights without a focus on the property rights themselves. Instances of the physical body continue to disappear as the scene unfolds. Sasha describes a typical night with a client: "Eat. Drink. Walk. March. Back to the hotel" (144). The direct and simplistic imperative statements indicate a kind of unthinking and mindless process, one that occurs automatically, outside the awareness of the body. She continues her description later in the same paragraph, thinking, "Back to the hotel without a name in the street without a name. You press the button and the door opens. This is the Hotel Without-a-Name in the Street Without-a-Name, and the clients have no names, no faces. You go up the stairs. Always the same stairs, always the same room" (144 – 45). Every item in this passage is defined by absence, with a particular emphasis on property (the hotels and streets) and bodies (her clients). Within this context, most notably absent for Sasha is any mention of money, which has disappeared from her mind altogether, and her body, which she was originally overtly concerned with.

Rather than focusing on the physical condition of her body as a form of tangible personal property, she begins to see it as an equivalent to cash, much as Enno in his response to her worries about clothing earlier in the story. The room takes her ability to speak and think: "The room says: 'Quite like old times. Yes?...No?...Yes'" (145), a repetition of the first line of the novel. Even the mental will she had in the scene with Enno—where she wants to tell him to peel the orange himself—has been subsided

by the power of the personified property. By the end of the section, she wants money only to experience the physical process of giving it away; she writes, "Just the sensation of spending, that's the point," not what she gets in return (145). In other words, she begins to treat cash, a form of intangible personal property, as if it were tangible personal property dependent upon transfer and physical condition for its value. At this point, then, Sasha no longer sees property rights or her now absent marriage as a form of bargaining but rather as permanently affixed to a process of loss, and we see her beginning to attach her sense of self to any property that she comes into contact with.

This sense of connection among loss, self, and property becomes compounded by her pregnancy. After giving birth to her son, she relates her thoughts and feelings in the hospital: "Afterwards I couldn't sleep. I would sleep for an hour or two, and then wake up and think about money, money, money for my son; money, money…" (59). Again, Sasha begins to use the word "money" as a kind of mantra, focusing on the possession of the physical entity rather than any help that it might give to her or her son. Just the thought of money seems to make her at a loss for words; this sentence as well as many of the other sentences in this section that mentions money ends in ellipses. For example, she also says, "Money, money for my son, my beautiful son…" (59). Sasha twice connects a loss with her not having money. First, she questions the motivation of the staff at the hospital; she thinks, "But the thought that they will crush him because we have no money—that is torture" (59). She repeats her complaint about lack of sleep and connects the lack of money to her inability to produce breast milk for her son. She writes, "I can't sleep. My breasts dry up, my mouth is dry. I can't sleep. Money, money…" (59). In each of these instances, Sasha relates the absence of money with the loss of bodily function by connecting the possession of intangible personal property with the very tangible effects on her and her child's physical condition. In effect, she begins identifying herself—her physical and mental state—with the absence of money and equating an absence or loss of property with an absent or lost body and, consequently, identity.

After the birth and death of her son, Sasha continues this pattern of relating her physical or mental state to tangible and intangible property and defining her identity through this property, especially property that does not belong to her. For example, Sasha begins planning her life around the effect that property has on her; she writes, "The thing is to have a programme, not to leave anything to chance—no gaps" (15). Consequently, she writes, "At four o'clock next afternoon I am in a cinema on the Champs Elysées, according to programme. Laughing heartily in the right places" (16). In other words, Sasha creates the narrative of her life events in accordance to the strategy of the city plan rather than according to a kind of tactical "wandering" or an intentional path that she purposely makes.

In opposition to her escape from the effects of her London room and an oppressive family environment, tangible real property now serves to define her days and nights, her actions and inactions. Sasha realizes this effect that property has on her life:

> My life, which seems so simple and monotonous, is really a complicated affair of cafés where they like me and cafés where they don't, streets that are friendly, streets that aren't, rooms where I might be happy, rooms where I never shall be, looking-glasses I look nice in, looking-glasses I don't, dresses that will be lucky, dresses that won't, and so on. (46)

At first, the passage seems to describe the relationship between Sasha and property forged at the beginning of the novel; the property in the passage dictates her actions and makes her life a "complicated affair." Using the possessive pronoun "my" suggests Sasha's belief that property's influence is specific to her. However, this passage also seems to indicate a kind of slippage from an externalized construction of Sasha's identity to an internalized one, moving from references to large-scale, more general property (cafés and streets) to more specific kinds of property related to her body (glasses and dresses). In the references to cafes and streets, both structures are personified in terms of their friendliness towards and likeability of Sasha. Initially, she relates her inherent "goodness" or "badness" in terms that are outside her control; she cannot make the streets

or the cafés welcome her. The latter two references to looking-glasses and dresses do not use personification. The qualities of "being lucky" or "looking nice"—or the lack thereof—comes from within Sasha herself, though she bases these qualities on the property she encounters. Instead of the property representing her identity, the property defines the attitudes she holds about herself. The room, located in the middle of this passage, serves as a transitional space between the public attitudes about Sasha and the private attitudes she holds about herself. She never owns a room or house in the novel but instead relies upon rented rooms. Because of that reliance, the sense of public ownership of the room exists—she often mentions the history of the people who have inhabited the room before her, once calling them the "ghosts in my room"—though the rented room is her private space containing her personal property (56). Though there are rooms that she will never be happy in, she can only speculate about the possibility of rooms that can provide happiness to her. This note of despair ties together the public view of herself from the beginning of the passage and the private view of herself at the end, moving from outside on the street to inside a building. Additionally, her attempts to offer this relationship as specific to her identity break down. Although she protests that her life is not "simple and monotonous," the parallel structure of the sentences that comprise this passage indicates otherwise; the repetitive sentence structure connotes a kind of monotony to her life. In the end, this passage demonstrates how Sasha internalizes the property around her, whether or not she owns it, in an attempt to establish a discrete identity.

However, the novel problematizes this attempt to form a discrete identity through the construction of a life narrative that uses property as its basis in a key scene that reintroduces the idea of misrecognition. About midway through the novel, Sasha meets the young man René while having drinks at the Dôme in Paris. He begs Sasha to listen to his story. René says that he has approached Sasha because she speaks English and because she "won't betray" him (73). Though Sasha initially hesitates and questions his motives, she listens to his story. After hearing a tale of running away from home to join the French Foreign Legion from which René has recently escaped, Sasha presents the reader with two very different reactions, one

external and one internal. To René, Sasha says, "But, my dear friend, I don't know what you think I can do. People who are in trouble want someone with money to help them. Isn't it so? Well, I haven't got any money" (75). Sasha's amiable, matter-of-fact response to René's situation and her recognition of his "true" motives—we learn later that he does indeed want money for a counterfeit passport to London—suggests her ability to control her property as well as to manipulate outside views of her identity as it relates to property. However, Sasha's internal monologue immediately following her statement stands in stark contrast to her overt friendliness and demonstrates that this control is tenuous at best; she thinks

> I want to shout at him 'I haven't got any money, I tell you. I know what you're judging by. You're judging by my coat. You oughtn't to judge by my coat. You ought to judge by what I have on under my coat, by my handbag, by my expression, by anything you like. Not by this damned coat, which was a present—and the only reason I haven't sold it long ago is because I don't want to offend the person who gave it to me, and because if you knew what you really get when you try to sell things it would give you a shock, and because—' (75)]

Sasha's internal thoughts indicate both a lack of forcefulness and an absence of control. Though René does need money for the passport, his level of interest in Sasha goes beyond the monetary as we come to find out near the end of the novel. The short simple sentences at the beginning of the passage transform into one long rant as the intensity of the passage, and Sasha's anger, increases to the point where she cannot continue thinking, breaking off in mid-sentence. This incident ends with a kind of resolution by Sasha. She thinks, "Well, there you are—no use arguing. I can see he has it firmly fixed in his head that I'm a rich bitch and that if he goes on long enough I can be persuaded to part" (75). After all, Sasha believes, "Well, what harm can he do to me? He is out for money and I haven't got any. I am invulnerable" (76).

This passage links property with narrative formation, and particularly the formation of a narrative concerning Sasha's

identity. René begins the conversation by begging Sasha to listen to his story. Sasha believes that René's story of his time in the Foreign Legion is only a pretext for his motivation to try to swindle her out of money; she questions the veracity of his narrative. After hearing his story and his protests about its legitimacy, she thinks, "You imagine the carefully-pruned, shaped thing that is presented to you is truth. That is just what it isn't" (74). Because she is wary of his story and the possibility that he has used the story on other women to dupe them out of money, Sasha seems to believe that the creation of narrative can lead to the acquisition of property, a position that appears to counter her original focus on bargaining and exchange or give and take. Sasha has previously commented on the physical condition of the coat at the beginning of the novel: "And then this damned old fur coat slung on top of everything else…" (15). She has no delusions about the value of the jacket as a piece of tangible personal property. However, the fur coat is a gift from a friend; much of its value for Sasha lies in its symbolic value as a gift and not as an item of exchange or through its physical condition. Sasha, then, sees this tangible piece of property as having more sentimental than actual value. René does not recognize either of these aspects of the tangible personal property. He does not take notice of the physical condition of the jacket nor does he know about the sentimental value the coat holds for Sasha. Thus, the identity narrative that Sasha thinks René provides from his recognition of the jacket—that of a "rich bitch" in Sasha's language—is based on a false valuation of the property. Although Sasha recognizes this narrative as incorrect, she passively accepts its designation of her identity, which becomes ironic because we learn that René does actually care for Sasha at the end of the novel. As with Enno, where she begins viewing property in the way he views property, she also starts connecting property with the formation of an identity narrative. Though she suggests René's erroneous reading of her property, this statement does not reflect the forcefulness of her thoughts about his misrecognition. This type of inaction is just another in a long line that comes about when she begins thinking of property now, a problem based in her relationship with Enno and the death of her child. Because of her inaction, she cannot produce her own narrative through her association

with property but rather must rely on others to produce them for her. She assumes the role that has been constructed for her, much like she began viewing her body as a kind of property earlier in the novel. The men create Sasha's identity for her as they create a perceived life narrative for her physical property. By accepting these identity narratives, Sasha is provided with a false sense of security; as a "rich bitch," she becomes "invulnerable" to any threats.

The final moments of the book show how misrecognition of property value has completely defined Sasha. At the conclusion of her time with René, Sasha rejects his sexual advances even though she has developed feelings for him. Though she tells him to leave her hotel room and take the money he needs, she discovers after his departure that he has left the money, an indication that he has also developed an emotional attachment to Sasha. In short, Sasha misreads René and his intentions. In the context of the sexual situation in which they find themselves, she expects him to leave her penniless; from her perspective, it is the proper role of men to take money away from women. After he leaves, Sasha thinks, "The last performance of What's-her-name And Her Boys or It Was All Due To An Old Fur Coat" (184). This final moment with René mirrors the one sexual experience the novel describes with Enno earlier in the novel and leaves Sasha, in her mind, without the most basic identifying marker: a name. Consequently, she is left with no one or nothing to create for her a narrative of identity except for her neighbor, whom she ironically despises yet invites into her room. After inviting her neighbor to share her bed, Sasha says, "Yes—yes—yes…" (190). These final words of the novel, along with the ellipses, imply a nightly ritual of economic exchange where her body—personal property of the most intimate sort—is the currency of choice.

Good Morning, Midnight demonstrates that women cannot passively assume a "proper" recognition of their identity grounded in tangible and intangible property and must actively work, through narrative, to correct any misrecognition. Given Sasha's unfortunate end, the novel suggests that even this tactic is tenuous at best. However, *Good Morning, Midnight* shows the groundwork that Rhys laid for her approach to writing *Wide Sargasso Sea*, her next novel. *Wide Sargasso Sea* exposes

how readers assume a sense of propriety about Bertha through her depiction in *Jane Eyre*, namely that her proper place is in the attic and that her proper role is that of a madwoman, a representation of deterministic fate. Similarly, it is this sense of determinism that leads Sasha to think, "Well, there you are—no use arguing," when René misrecognizes her fur coat as a sign of her "rich bitch" identity (75). Unlike her representation of Sasha, though, Rhys creates an identity narrative for Bertha, the history of Antoinette Cosway described in *Wide Sargasso Sea*, and recovers a sense of historical contingency. The deliberate refusal to provide an unambiguous conclusion to the novel shapes the narrative of alternative history that Rhys offers through Antoinette. By linking Sasha's inability to create an identity narrative with the recovery of a sense of chronological indeterminacy through the creation of Bertha's identity narrative, readers can more fully understand Rhys's larger project that shows how literary fictions have a unique capacity to prompt critical reassessments of social mores and normative codes of propriety and gender identity construction that are often taken for granted.

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Italo Calvino's Literary Terrorism in *If on a winter's night a traveler*

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Terrorism represents extremes of both order and chaos; terrorists sow chaos with the aim of imposing their own rigid order. These extremes are on display in Italo Calvino's If on a winter's night a traveler (1979), an experimental novel that seems to both abdicate and assert authorial authority. Calvino has been characterized as an anarchist ceding his authority in order to bring down the social order, and also as a literary dictator, wielding his authority to dominate his characters and his readers. Like the terrorist, Calvino is simultaneously an agent of chaos and order in their most extreme forms.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu sees the goal of the terrorist to be "the demolition of the whole structure of society" (6). In this respect, terrorism can be viewed as the political personification of chaos. This view is supported by Al-Qaida's stated goal of disrupting the global economic and political systems by attacking the World Trade Center and Washington, DC, on September 11, 2011 (see Bamber). Others argue that Osama bin Laden and his sympathizers are "Islamofascists[1]," a neologism that suggests totalitarianism and the extremes of order. These opposing viewpoints can actually be reconciled by considering the terrorist as one who sows chaos with the aim of imposing his or her own rigid order. This duality is illustrated by the Taliban in Afghanistan, which has enforced its strict interpretation of Islamic law in areas it controls

[1] Whether "Islamofascism" is a useful descriptive term (see Hitchens) or mere propaganda (see Krugman) is outside the scope of this paper. Regardless of its merit, the term reflects a widely held perception about terrorism, which is appropriate to consider here.

while violently disrupting basic governance in areas outside of its control (see Dorronsoro; Synovitz).

Just as national security analysts struggle with the contradictory nature of terrorism, so too have literary scholars struggled to come to terms with Italo Calvino's *If on a winter's night a traveler* (1979), an experimental novel that seems to simultaneously abdicate and assert the authority of the author. The novel describes the efforts of a protagonist known only as "the Reader," a man who finds himself caught in a vast, international conspiracy designed to create "a literature of apocrypha, of false attributions, of imitations and counterfeits and pastiches" (159). The novel is a second-person account of the Reader's repeatedly unsuccessful attempts to read a book from start to finish.

In homage to the classic Middle Eastern folk-tale collection *One Thousand and One Nights*, the odd chapters in the novel tell the frame tale of the Reader, while the even chapters are the works the Reader is reading. The Reader can only succeed in reading the first chapter of each book he starts before being frustrated in some way. The book begins with the fantastically postmodern line, "You are about to begin reading Italo Calvino's new novel, *If on a winter's night a traveler*" (3). The Reader starts reading the novel only to find a printer's error prevents him from getting past the first chapter. He returns the book to the bookseller, who tells the Reader he was actually reading *Outside the town of Malbork*[2] by a Polish writer. Wanting to finish the book he started, the Reader buys the Polish novel, only to find it is a completely different story with another printer's error after the first chapter. He then meets up with Professor Uzzi-Tuzi, an expert in "Bothno-Ugaric" languages, who says *Malbork* is actually *Leaning from the steep slope* by a "Cimmerian" poet. Uzzi-Tuzi then translates orally from this work, which is of course not the same as any of the previous books the Reader has read, and it too is unfinished. Through increasingly outlandish

[2] I will use italics when discussing these works as fictitious novels and quotation marks when discussing the actual incipit chapters that appear in *If on a winter's night a traveler*. Thus, *Outside the town of Malbork* is the fictitious novel ascribed to fictitious Polish writer Tazio Bazakbal, while "Outside the town of Malbork" is the text occupying pages 34-41 of the English translation of *If on a winter's night a traveler.*

scenarios, the Reader starts to read ten different novels but always fails to get past the first chapter. This unusual method of storytelling has aroused considerable critical interest.

Scholars such as Madeline Sorapure and Inge Fink characterize Calvino as an anarchist ceding his authority in order to bring down the social order. Others such as Melissa Watts and Ian Rankin consider him a literary dictator, wielding his authority to dominate his characters and his readers. Despite the seeming contradiction, these views are not mutually exclusive. Like the terrorist, Calvino is simultaneously an agent of both chaos and order in their most extreme forms.

Calvino has said, "I do not consider any literary operation concluded until I have given it a sense and a structure that I can consider definitive" (quoted in McLaughlin x). Structure to Calvino often consists of "self-imposed rules" that defy normal literary conventions (Tinkler 64). Calvino applies a number of unusual rules in *If on a winter's night a traveler*. He turns the novel's actual reader into a character through the use of second-person narration. He plays the role of Scheherazade by interrupting a framing narrative with incipit novel chapters. Because he devises incipit novel chapters that reflect the action of the frame tale, "the novel to be read is superimposed on a possible novel to be lived" (Calvino 32). For example, the incipit chapters are full of mysterious organizations and secret agents, much like those behind the conspiracy preventing the Reader from reading a complete novel. In addition, Calvino constantly cuts off the narration of the incipit chapters so as to highlight the frustration, opening up possibilities that will never be explored. For example, the incipit chapter "Leaning from the steep slope" ends with the intriguing yet ultimately unexplained line, "I sensed at once that in the perfect order of the universe a breach had opened, an irreparable rent" (67). Calvino follows his own rulebook in repeating these unusual authorial practices throughout *If on a winter's night a traveler*.

Critics have struggled to determine the effect of these rules on the novel. To some, Calvino is abdicating his authorial authority, symbolically rejecting all forms of authority. To others, Calvino is in fact asserting his authority to a greater extent than other writers in order to establish dominion over his characters and his readers. These competing viewpoints embody chaos and

order, the twin aims of terrorism, both of which are represented in the extreme in the novel's frame tale and its incipit novel chapters.

A number of scholars contend that *If on a winter's night a traveler* is an assault on the idea of authorial authority. Madeline Sorapure sees Calvino as renouncing his position as "the silent, dictatorial author" in the novel, which results in "a demystification of authority" (703). Inge Fink considers the work "a narrative carnival designed to mock the existing order" (93). Rather than ruling his novel, Calvino is a "storytelling jester" (103). Melissa Watts notes that "stability in this novel is an impossibility" (709). Alan Tinkler describes Calvino's challenge to the arbitrariness of literary rules and perhaps the larger rules of the society that produce them as an acknowledgement of the "arbitrariness of existence" (64). By ceding his own authority, Calvino challenges the very notion of authority and invites his readers to do the same. This narrator of "What story down there awaits its end?" reflects this view by claiming, "I hate to feel possessed of an authority I consider petty" (244). This work clearly demonstrates a writer can be quite successful by flaunting normal literary conventions, which raises the question of what other conventions need flaunting.

Calvino himself supports this interpretation. In the novel, he chooses to celebrate what he attributes to the works of Austrian novelist Robert Musil as "soul, or irrationality, humanity, chaos" (quoted in Tinkler 63). Calvino further posits that "literature can function as a critical force or as a confirmation of things, both as they are and as they are known to be … it is the task of the reader to make it possible for reading to function as a critical force, and this can happen independently of the author's intention" (quoted in Salvatori 200). Calvino had seen firsthand the harms caused by extremes of authority in Mussolini's Italy (Tinkler 61). The novel uses the paranoid regimes of "Ataguitania" and "Ircania" to lampoon real-life dictatorships. But even democracies come under fire when Calvino lumps all governments together as "the prison society which stretches all over the planet" (215).

Thus, Calvino is doing more than just flaunting literary convention; he is challenging the social order. Drawing on Michel Foucalt's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975),

Sorapure considers the usual role of the author in literature as an institution "which desires absolute power and authority" (703). In fact, *author* and *authority* share an etymology: the Latin word, *auctor*, "enlarger, founder," literally "one who causes to grow" (Harper "Author" & "Authority"). The usual author, in Sorapure's view, is "[a]n all-seeing authority figure" who "observes and disciplines his prisoners [his readers]…without himself being observed because he is situated in a circular tower high above them" (704). Calvino, on the other hand, plops himself down beside the reader "in the midst of the text," thereby relinquishing his power (704). By doing so, he is inviting the reader to challenge power wherever it may be wielded.

While Calvino may have ceded his authority, the reader (or Reader) does not necessarily take it from him. Like the author, the reader of *If on a winter's night a traveler* is, in Sorapure's view, "in the midst of the text, forced to exist in fragmentation and disorder." The novel is full of "misreaders … characters with flawed, obviously misdirected approaches to reading," who are not worthy of the mantle of authority (705). Authority is even denied the Reader, who is "the sort of reader who is sensitive to such refinements," who is "quick to catch the author's intention," and from whom "nothing escapes" (Calvino 25). The Reader is repeatedly frustrated in his attempts to complete any of the novels. He desires, much like the literary critic, to "subsume [the novel's] disruptive and affecting elements into a neat, ordered whole and thus to neutralize them, bring them to rest, make them insignificant and forgettable" (Sorapure 707). The novel resists the "univocal, dogmatic perspectives" of critical analysis (Picchione 75). The Reader is of course unable to "discover any meaning" in these texts, much less to "impose any meaning or interpretation of his own choosing" (Watts 711). He is pulled from novel to novel and into increasingly far-fetched scenarios. All of the Reader's efforts to exert control drag him ever deeper into the chaos of this novel.

If on a winter's night a traveler therefore reflects not a transfer of power from author to reader, but an absence of power altogether: in other words, anarchy. In the novel, anarchy is represented by Ermes Marana. His name is an obvious allusion to the ancient Greek trickster god, Hermes. He is "this ghost of a thousand faces and faceless" who is the author of the grand

literary conspiracy that so frustrates the Reader (Calvino 159). He is "a serpent who injects his malice into the paradise of reading" (125). All the Reader knows of Marana is through Marana's letters; the character never actually appears in the novel. Yet Marana "is culpable for the labyrinth" in which the Reader finds himself trapped (Tinkler 83).

Marana is more than just a foil to the Reader's ambitions. He is chaos incarnate. Marana's letters describe the founding of the Organization of Apocryphal Power, an organization that "had a meaning only as long as my control kept it from falling under the sway of unreliable gurus" (119). The group soon splintered into the Wing of Shadow, devoted to "essential and absolute bad faith, the masterpiece of falsity as knowledge," and the Wing of Light, which sought "a cataclysm of truth" (130). Both sides saw Marana's apocrypha as the means to achieving their ends and both agreed that Marana was "the traitor to be eliminated" (119). What Marana creates turns upon not only itself, but also its creator. His circumstances are much like the paranoid protagonist of the incipit novel chapter "In a network of lines that intercept" who finds himself trapped in a kaleidoscopic "cage of mirrors" of his own construction (Calvino 168; Musarra 225). This novel demonstrates that chaos, once unleashed, cannot be controlled, even (or especially) by the one who has unleashed it.

Marana's mischief is directed at the very idea of authorship. He believes "the author of every book is a fictitious character whom the existent author invents to make him the author of fictions" (180). He challenges "the idea that behind each book there is someone who guarantees a truth in that world of ghosts and inventions by the mere fact of having invested in his own truth, of having identified himself with the construction of words." All of his bizarre efforts are designed to "defeat not authors but the function of the author[3]" (159). Marana succeeds brilliantly in casting doubt on the authorship of each of the ten novels, but he fails to convince the Reader that authorship does not matter. For example, *Leaning from the steep slope* is either written by a "Cimmerian" or a "Cimbrian," which matters because the Cimbric People's Republic swallowed up Cimmeria after World War II.

[3] Calvino may be alluding to Michel Foucalt's ideas about the "author function" here, although Marana's nonsensical philosophy is not the same as Foucalt's (see Foucalt 124-27).

The book is therefore either the last work of a dying civilization or an ideological screed meant to justify its death. If the nationality of the author must be known to interpret a text, then authorship must be a vital concept.

In a nod to "the literary tradition of the Orient," the narrator describes Marana's plan for defeating authorship:

> he will break off this translation at the moment of greatest suspense and will start translating another novel, inserting it into the first through some rudimentary expedient; for example, a character in the first novel opens a book and starts reading. The second will also break off to yield to a third, which will not proceed very far before opening into a fourth, and so on … (125, ellipses in original).

This is precisely the strategy employed by Calvino (Tinkler 83). Thus, Marana, "the subversive, crooked character…is also structured in Calvino's own image" (Sorapure 704). In a marvelously postmodern turn, Calvino creates an unusual structure for his novel and then has a character in the novel claim to have invented it. Calvino himself thus muddles the concept of authorship by ceding credit to his own character.

So taking Marana as a stand-in for Calvino, *If on a winter's night a traveler* becomes a call to chaos, for breaking down the authority of authorship and the greater forces of order that it represents. However, there is a flipside to this coin. Where Sorapure finds Calvino's insertion of himself into the novel to be a rejection of power, Watts considers the technique to be "an assertion of authorial power," which Calvino "wields like a sledgehammer" (711, 714). By repeatedly calling attention to himself, Calvino reminds his readers who is in charge. Ian Rankin agrees, declaring Calvino's goal "not to break down barriers but to re-establish his own supremacy" (129). With each jump from one unfinished novel to a ludicrous conspiracy story and back to another unfinished novel, Calvino's hand appears clearly on the tiller. He never fades into the background to allow his readers to lose themselves in the narrative.

The first pages of the novel are littered with instructions from the author: "Relax. Concentrate. Dispel every thought. Let the world around you fade. Best to close the door; the TV is always

on in the next room" (3). Calvino even demands the reader show the book he has written the respect it deserves (7-8). Watts feels "that our reading is in fact *dictated* by Italo Calvino" (711, emphasis in original). Rankin argues the novel "demands to be read a certain way, and this idea of 'demand' is central to Calvino's concern in the novel" (126). Geoffrey Green points out that "rather than allow for the inevitable distortion that accompanies reading, this author provides instructions for the reader so as to ensure the most favorable reading" (101). This is the rare work of fiction that includes an instruction manual.

But Calvino also backs off from his admonitions, conceding to the reader, "All right, you know best" (4). In Watts' view, however, such concessions are simply a reminder "of the author's control, that he can grant or withhold whenever he likes" (714). Similarly, by using comical situations throughout the novel, Calvino is "disarming through parody all of the reader's defenses…enabling him to maneuver our reading as he chooses" (713). Indeed, the bizarre devices employed here would be intolerable in a more "serious" novel. The comic nature of the work makes Calvino's playful approach seem appropriate, which obscures the fact that Calvino is playing with his readers as much as he is the narrative.

Calvino himself offers a defense of the view that he is asserting his authority here. Relying on Robert Musil's "awareness of the incompatibility of two opposite polarities," Calvino sees a place in literature for what Musil termed "exactitude—or at other times mathematics, pure spirit, or even the military mentality" (quoted in Tinkler 63). He believes that "all writers share this fundamental urge even when they represent the most chaotic of realities…the fact of *writing* implies an order" (quoted in Lucente 253, emphasis in original). This view is presented by Ludmilla, the "Other Reader," who states her preference for novels describing "a world where everything is precise, concrete, specific," in which "things are made in that certain fashion and not otherwise, even the most commonplace things that in real life seem indifferent to me" (30).

Sorapure describes the Reader's attempt to unravel the mystery of the incomplete texts as "his obsessive desire to bring disruptive elements into order and under control" (706). There is a longing for order and control expressed in the Reader's

preferred method of reading: "in books I like to read only what is written, and to connect the details with the whole, and to consider certain readings as definitive; and I like to keep one book distinct from the other, each for what it has that is different and new" (258-259). While this preference is no doubt influenced by previous events in the novel, the Reader's method reflects a normal human desire for order (see Maslow 377-80).

Critics often conflate the views of a novel's protagonist with those of the author. In the case of *If on a winter's night a traveler*, though, such an interpretation is unlikely. By inserting himself into the novel and referring to his protagonist in the second person, Calvino distances himself from the Reader. Indeed, the Reader and Ludmilla are on a quest for order, which results in a "Dantesque punishment for their desire for closure as well as their obvious disregard of Calvino's 'authority'" (Salvatori 187). In addition to foiling the Reader's efforts to take control of the narrative, he also foils the small-*r* reader's "free manipulation of this fiction" (Watts 714). Moreover, the reader's "identification with the protagonist" causes the reader to become "emotionally dependent on the one who determines his fate" (Fink 98). Calvino's use of disorder to confound both Reader and reader affirms his own authority and represents a unique form of order. For, "it is always I, Calvino, who is in control of the situation" (quoted in Fink 103). All the Reader can do is give himself up to Calvino's bizarre rules (Fink 101).

Order in its most extreme form is represented in the novel by Arkadian Porphyrich, the chief censor of the dictatorial government of Ircania. Porphyrich proclaims, "the police…the great unifying power in a world otherwise doomed to fall apart" (234-235). He describes a great global conspiracy of censorship, where "the police forces of different and even opposing regimes should recognize common interests on which to collaborate." The most extreme members of the conspiracy are "the countries where all books are systematically confiscated" (235). Porphyrich's discussion of the means of state repression may perhaps mirror Calvino's methods in the novel: "alternate indulgence with abuse, with a certain unpredictability in its caprices" (236). Like Calvino, Porphyrich uses chaos to enforce his order. Repressive regimes need fear of chaos to justify their repression. This is why the dictatorships in this novel have

entered into a secret treaty to exchange banned books; these willingly imported books threaten state control and therefore entitle the government to crack down on the populace.

Order is also represented in the incipit chapter, "What story down there awaits its end?" The narrator of this story chooses to "mentally erase" the world. He is compelled to erase because "[t]he world is so complicated, tangled, and overloaded that to see into it with any clarity you must prune and prune" (244). Sorapure describes this erasure as "the impossible attempt radically to simplify and thus gain control over one's life, to escape being in the midst by running to an ideal condition" (708). Of course Calvino is no kinder to the protagonists in the incipit chapters than he is to the Reader, though, so the narrator is ultimately unsuccessful in his goal of "a simplified world" (245). He erases the entire city and its inhabitants, as well as "the economic structures, which for too long a time have continued to enforce their outrageous claim to decide our lives" and even Nature itself, leaving only "a layer of the earth's crust…solid enough underfoot, and everywhere else, nothingness" (247). Just as he spies his beloved off in the distance, government agents, "men from Section D," intercede (248). The narrator is unable to erase them and finds that his actions have been in furtherance of Section D's plans all along. By attempting to impose his own order, the narrator discovers he is merely a pawn in a larger game. The order he has imposed serves Section D and the world's new interstellar masters, just as the Reader's attempts to impose order really serve Calvino. For if the Reader were to give up on his quest, Calvino would have no opportunity to play his narrative tricks. It is the Reader's determination to solve the mystery that allows Calvino to pull the rug out from under him again and again.

Through his unique narrative structure and his own set of unusual rules, Italo Calvino presents extremes of order and chaos in *If on a winter's night a traveler*. Scholars have presented equally persuasive arguments characterizing Calvino as either an anarchist ceding his authority to bring down the social order or as a literary dictator, wielding his authority to dominate his characters and his readers. Indeed, Calvino himself seems to offer conflicting accounts of his aims in this novel. The extremes of order and chaos "cohabitate the same space at the

same time; polarities are mutually present" (Tinkler 63). The truth resides not so much in the middle as in the ends: both interpretations are correct. In fact, they must be. As Porphyrich demonstrates, order needs chaos to justify itself, and as Marana demonstrates, chaos needs an order to disrupt. Calvino acts much like terrorists who wish to destroy the existing social order to build a new order reflecting their (and only their) politics. He is a bomb-throwing literary rabble-rouser intent on establishing a totalitarian state in his novel. Calvino is both Ermes Marana and Arkadian Porphyrich. In reading this novel, one cannot help but identify with the Reader, when he exclaims, "Damn! I lost it when they liberated me, I mean, arrested me" (215). Liberation and confinement feel surprisingly similar in this paradoxical work.

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Bringing the Public Home: Norah Lange and Victoria Ocampo

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Argentine writers Norah Lange and Victoria Ocampo inserted themselves into the predominantly male literary scene of early twentieth-century Buenos Aires by subverting the traditional dichotomies of public and private space. By bringing the public to their private domestic spaces, they were able to secure an enduring place for themselves in Argentine literature. Lange first made a name for herself as muse to the poets of Borges's ultraísta movement in the 1920s by hosting weekly parties for the group at her home. After writing three books of ultraísta poetry, she published several increasingly experimental avant-garde novels that challenged the image of the home as a safe refuge, thereby rejecting her male peers' tendency to view her as the embodiment of female docility and domesticity. Victoria Ocampo is the renowned founder and editor of Sur, one of the most influential and longest-running Argentine literary magazines of the twentieth century. Always seeking to promote intercultural communication, Ocampo hosted literary salons in her home and invited foreign intellectuals to be her guests. Additionally, many of her foreign counterparts considered Ocampo and the modernist homes she designed for herself to be emblematic of the innovation the Western world sought from the Americas as Europe's literary authority waned. By challenging their society's expectations for the role of women in the first half of twentieth-century Buenos Aires, both women carved out a space for themselves within Argentine literature. Lange broadened the defining features of the Argentine avant-garde movement by expanding the confines of her social and creative spheres, while Ocampo used her personal space to shape the literary identity of her country at home and abroad.

Introduction

During the first half of the twentieth century, Argentine writers Norah Lange and Victoria Ocampo inserted themselves into the predominantly male literary scene of Buenos Aires by subverting the traditional dichotomies of public and private space. In a society where both the streets and the literary scene were male realms, Lange and Ocampo brought the public to their private domestic spaces, thereby securing an enduring place for themselves in Argentine literature. Although the two writers never worked with each other, they used similar means to overcome the same constricting environment. What is more, the literary circles of Buenos Aires were small, so they had many friends and acquaintances in common, such as Jorge Luis Borges. Lange first made a name for herself as muse to the poets of Borges's *ultraísta* movement in the 1920s by hosting weekly parties for the group at her home.[1] After writing three books of *ultraísta* poetry, she published several increasingly experimental avant-garde novels that challenged the image of the home as a safe refuge. Around that time she was known as one of the most outrageous members of the avant-garde group, enlivening their banquets and hosting boisterous parties at her home with her partner, the poet Oliverio Girondo. Victoria Ocampo is the renowned founder and editor of *Sur*, one of the most influential and longest-running Argentine literary magazines of the twentieth century. In addition to contributing often to the publication, Borges served as a member of the board of directors for many years.[2] Always seeking to promote intercultural communication, Ocampo hosted literary salons in her home and invited foreign intellectuals to be her guests while in Argentina. Additionally, many of her foreign counterparts considered Ocampo and the modernist homes she designed for herself to be

[1] *Ultraísmo* originally started in Spain in 1918 as a reaction to modernism and its members included Jorge Luis Borges, who was living in Spain at the time. Upon returning to Buenos Aires, Borges then recruited friends to form an *ultraísta* group there, which included his cousin Guillermo Juan Borges, Guillermo de Torre (who married Borges's sister Norah Borges), Eduardo González Lanuza, and Norah Lange.

[2] Her literary and cultural contributions also include two multi-volume series of essays and memoirs: *Testimonios* and *Autobiografía*, respectively.

emblematic of the innovation the Western world sought from the Americas as Europe's literary authority waned.

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, being a writer in Argentina marked one as belonging to a group of male intellectuals who had been educated in the European tradition and who had time to engage in cerebral pursuits. David Viñas has described this group of men as "gentlemen-writers" for whom writing was an enjoyable pastime on par with smoking or fine dining (8).[3] In a similar vein, John King, in his study of Ocampo's magazine, *Sur,* describes Argentina's literary generation of 1880 as "a gentleman's club" (10).[4] Thus, until the beginning of the twentieth century, those men who were already in charge of the economic and political power of the country extended their hegemony over the literary field as well.

Though up to this point few women had participated in Argentine intellectual and artistic movements, by the early decades of the twentieth century changing social and cultural forces not in existence only decades earlier facilitated the dissemination of Lange's and Ocampo's work.[5] Francine Masiello, in her article "Texto, ley, transgresión," argues that the second decade of the twentieth century proved an especially fruitful period for a discussion of feminine identity, with the direct result of woman's ever-increasing presence in the public sphere. "Woman, in the 1920s, becomes an active subject and producer of her own discourse" (807).[6] Although Lange and Ocampo both faced resistance in their efforts to contribute to the public face of Argentine intellectual life, they found a way to bring the public to them, thus making a place for themselves in the literary scene by

[3] The exact phrase used by Viñas is "*gentlemen*-escritores."

[4] When Ocampo attempted to establish a similar intimacy amongst contemporary writers in the 1930s, King explains, "Her actions would always be greeted suspiciously,... for she was a woman in a man's world" (10).

[5] Two female literary precursors in Argentina were Alfonsina Storni and Delfina Bunge. Both writers helped pave the way for Lange's and Ocampo's contributions to literature. Famous for her provocative poetry as well as her unapologetic status as a single mother, Storni published several books of poetry before committing suicide in 1938. Bunge (who later married the writer Manuel Gálvez) published poetry in French as well as essays, stories, and elementary school readers. Like Ocampo, Bunge also published five volumes of her personal diary.

[6] "Además de ser objeto de estudio, la mujer, en la década de los veinte, se vuelve sujeto activo y productora de un discurso propio."

redefining their homes from intimate, private spaces to sites of literary and cultural exchange. Furthermore, Ocampo designed two of her modernist homes as reflections of her literary and cultural ideology, thus coming to represent the spirit of Argentine letters for her contemporaries abroad.

The male avant-gardes of Buenos Aires claimed for their own the public spaces of their city; they held frequent, infamous celebratory banquets that took place in cafés and restaurants and which drew attention in the city for the number of attendees and the rowdiness of the proceedings. Additionally, the coffeehouse was an important environ in the urban geography of the Buenos Aires intellectual, because it served as a frequent meeting place for *tertulias*, or intellectual discussions, where one just had to show up to participate. Alberto Hidalgo, a Peruvian poet residing in Buenos Aires, founded the *Revista Oral* in 1925, a "magazine" with editions consisting of a group meeting every Saturday in the café Royal Keller.[7] In the streets, Borges's *ultraísta* group created the short-lived *Prisma,* a "mural magazine," pasting the group's poetic ideology to the city's walls.[8] Each of these vanguard magazines was the manifestation of a small, private group appropriating public spaces for the purpose of asserting its art on those who may not have been inclined to read or hear it.

As a young woman, Norah Lange was not allowed to leave home after dark, and since the majority of the avant-garde events took place at night, many times in settings of dubious propriety, she was left out of the group's public outings. Nevertheless, Lange made herself a member of the group by having them over to her house on a weekly basis, ostensibly for

[7] In his biography on Jorge Luis Borges, Edwin Williamson describes these performances thus: "at the appointed hour he would rise to his feet and announce the new issue, say '*Revista Oral,* year one, number five' and, after declaiming his editorial, would orchestrate the recital of various articles, poems, and book reviews" (*Borges* 131).

[8] There were only two editions of *Prisma*. The first was published in December of 1921 and the second in April of 1922. Both issues featured woodcuts done by Borges's sister Norah. Although her name was not published on the magazine itself, Lange told Beatriz de Nóbile that she collaborated on some of the poems. "Guillermo Juan, González Lanuza and Jorge Luis himself posted the printed papers at night. I collaborated with some metaphoric poems. They did the rest" (*Palabras con Norah Lange* 11).

social gatherings with her sisters and friends. “My sisters and I didn’t go out at night. Our mother had imposed that norm and we respected it. The commentaries that arrived to our house on Saturdays about the parties the *martínfierristas* had served as a consolation” (Beatriz de Nóbile 13).[9] Since Norah and her four sisters were cousins of Borges, their mother permitted the weekly gatherings with their friends and his. Although the parties were intended to be primarily of a social nature, Norah took advantage of the regular contact with the avant-gardes to learn about their public goings-on, to show them her poetry, and to then become involved in their literary endeavors, such as the *Prisma* and *Martín Fierro* magazines.

The presence of her widowed mother was a key factor in the ambiance of these parties, since Berta Erfjord de Lange was watchful that the gatherings maintained a level of respectability she considered appropriate for her young daughters. María Ester de Miguel credits Berta Lange for knowing how to give her daughters the right combination of freedom and protection.

> Her teaching maintained precious limits between a certain rebellious and perhaps reactionary freedom and the suspicious formality of Puritanism. It actively made possible the social life of her daughters, but not as someone who shows them off in the market, but rather in the manner of someone who makes them circulate in a correct ambiance in which they wouldn’t be in danger (71-72).[10]

However, de Miguel’s language perpetuates the social expectations of Lange’s time, rather than challenges the notion that women can participate in public life without being bought and sold in the market or succumbing to unspoken “dangers” to

[9] "Mis hermanas y yo no salíamos de noche. Nuestra madre había impuesto esa norma y nosotras la respetábamos. Nos servían de consuelo los comentarios que los sábados llegaban a nuestra casa de las fiestas que hacían los martinfierristas." (The term “martinfierristas” refers to those ultraísta poets who published in the avant-garde literary magazine *Martín Fierro*.)

[10] "Su docencia mantenía límites preciosos entre cierta revoltosa y quizá contestataria libertad y la formalidad sospechosa de puritanismo. Posibilitó activamente la vida social de sus hijas, pero no como quien las luce en un mercado sino a la manera de quien las hace circular en un ámbito correcto en el cual no corrían peligros."

their virginity. Borges's biographer Williamson, on the other hand, implies that Berta was not strict enough to satisfy the more conservative members of upper-class society, including Borges's mother. "What with their Nordic features and their relatively modern outlook, the five Lange sisters, though Argentine born, remained exotic creatures, who were rather frowned upon as being too 'liberal' by the straitlaced ladies of Buenos Aires" (99). Nevertheless, Borges was still allowed to attend the parties at the Lange house on calle Tronador, in spite of his mother's hesitance, because he was a blood relative.

Although her mother was more open-minded than many bourgeois women in Buenos Aires, Lange still conformed to the norms of behavior set by her mother's standards until she left home, even if those norms did not suit her outgoing, rebellious nature. When Beatriz Sarlo describes in her survey of the Argentine vanguards, *Modernidad periférica*, how Lange and her sisters had to hear about their friends' parties the next day, she makes it seem as though the young women were privileged to even get second-hand knowledge of the events. "However, at least they were told about them. They lived the echoes of the parties and sometimes they would repeat the style of those celebrations transmitted to the respectable and private, literary and cultured, liberal but strict ambience of the Lange house" (73).[11] In reality, the toned-down female mimicry of the vanguard celebrations alluded to by Sarlo was really a reflection of their mother's influence, rather than an innately feminine manifestation of Norah and her sisters, as Sarlo seems to imply.

The strict social code of the Argentine oligarchy prohibited Victoria Ocampo from interacting with her male peers in the cafes where they met regularly, so she launched her home as an essential gathering place for both up-and-coming and established intellectuals. She started out as an avid admirer of art and literature, and her status as a member of the Argentine oligarchy facilitated connections to established writers at home and abroad. However, Ocampo was also interested in meeting those who were not yet central figures in the literary scene, so when she began to host literary salons in her home, she invited

[11] "Pero, por lo menos, se enteran, viven los ecos de las fiestas y a veces repiten el estilo de esas celebraciones trasladadas al ámbito respetable y privado, literario y culto, liberal pero estricto de la casa Lange."

both well-known and marginal writers. Rosalie Sitman describes the important role that Ocampo and other women of similar wealth and position held in the social hierarchy of Buenos Aires during the 1920s: "The women of society presided over the 'salons' to which writers looking to be consecrated aspired to be invited; Victoria Ocampo at this time is a recognized and prized hostess" (39).[12] Just as with the Lange gatherings on calle Tronador, one had to secure an invitation to participate in these renowned but private events. Such an invitation from Ocampo could secure validation for a newer writer in circles that still gave significant respect to the country's recognized canon.

Her power to recognize literary talent soon led to an even broader means of shaping her country's literary and intellectual movements when she founded and began editing Argentina's long-running literary magazine, *Sur.*[13] She had started it with the intention of promoting intercultural communication, not only on the page, but also to use it as a platform for cross-cultural interpersonal relations. "The activities promoting culture were not just limited to the written word. Parallel to the importation and publication of books, *Sur* also 'imported' illustrious visitors; organizing conferences, opinion polls, and debates" (Sitman 87).[14] Ocampo's magazine and publishing house hosted many events that brought foreign intellectuals to Argentina, at once expanding the Argentine knowledge of European arts and culture, while also drawing world attention to an often-ignored corner of the world. Many of the men from abroad that she brought to speak in her city were also invited to stay as guests.[15] Thus, by hosting prestigious foreign intellectuals and presiding

[12] "Las damas de la sociedad presidían los 'salones' a los que aspiraban ser invitados los artistas en busca de consagración; Victoria Ocampo en esta época es una reconocida y preciada anfitriona."

[13] "Some of the most significant names of contemporary literature were first published in Spanish in *Sur*: Sartre, Camus, Malraux, Caillois, and Graham Greene are only a few of a lengthy list" (John King, "Towards a Reading," 60).

[14] "Las actividades de promoción cultural no se limitaron únicamente al ámbito de las letras escritas. Paralelamente a la importación y la publicación de libros, *Sur* 'importaba' también ilustres visitantes, organizando conferencias, encuestas y debates."

[15] Visitors from abroad who could thank Ocampo for gathering the support to finance their trip included the German philosopher Count Hermann Keyserling, the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet, and the French writers Pierre Drieu la Rochelle and Roger Caillois.

over highly sought-after literary salons in her home, Ocampo established her domestic sphere as an essential component of an overarching intercultural agenda that positioned her at the center of the rapidly changing social and cultural scenes of the 1920s and 30s in Europe and the Americas.[16]

While Lange used her weekly gatherings to broaden her social circle and secure contact with her artistic peers, various critics suggest that those young men considered the Lange home to be a respite from the burden of performing for society and a place where they could be entirely free from the judgment of outsiders. Naturally, these reunions established a more intimate circle of participants compared to the public meetings that could easily swell in numbers, depending on who showed up. According to Williamson, this intimacy was of primary importance for Borges. "These Saturday parties would convert the house on calle Tronador into the inner sanctum of his literary group, a place reserved for the *ultraístas* as distinct from the various other factions that made up the Buenos Aires avant-garde" (126-27). Borges's poem, "Simplicity," published in *Fervor de Buenos Aires* and dedicated to Norah's sister Haydée, describes the sense of peace and acceptance that the Lange home provided for a young man recently returned from Europe and searching to establish an identity.

> The garden gate opens
> docilely as a page
> interrogated by a frequent devotion
> and inside the glance
> need not fix on objects
> now firmly in memory.
> I know each custom and soul

[16] Furthermore, during the Peronist regimes of the 1940s and 1950s, local and international thinkers and writers found in Ocampo's home a welcoming and supportive space free of intellectual repression, echoing the sense of refuge the avant-gardes had found in Lange's home two decades earlier. In the case of Ocampo, however, this sanctuary was maintained at her own personal risk. In 1953 government officials ransacked her home looking for evidence of her disloyalty to the regime, and Ocampo was incarcerated for nearly a month in a women's prison.

and that dialect of allusions
every human aggregation weaves.
I need not speak
nor lie about privileges;
well they know me hereabouts,
well they know my sorrows and weaknesses.
This is as high as one may reach,
what Heaven perhaps will grant us:
neither admiration nor victories
but merely to be admitted
as part of undeniable Reality
like stones and trees. (50)

There is a sense of comfort expressed in the familiarity with the people and place and the wellbeing that comes with unconditional acceptance. In the poem's opening, the garden gate demarcates the frontier between the public street and the private, all-female residence. Significantly, this movement between worlds is portrayed as docile, suggesting this to be an innate characteristic of woman's nature. Likewise, the garden setting roots the poet in a telluric space, uniting him with the stones and trees of the cultivated landscape, but it also alludes to a connection between the all-female domain and an earthy, feminine fertility.

Citing this same poem, Vicky Unruh suggests that Borges was not the only one searching to replace a sense of belonging missing within an increasingly unrecognizable Buenos Aires. For many of the men who were part of this group, the camaraderie and intimacy of the Lange home provided familiarity in a city whose physical makeup and population had rapidly metamorphosized into something unknown.

> Lange's home came to be known as the terrain of the group's collective origins, and as intimated in the Borges poem, a refuge from dislocation and loss of community in a city besieged by demographic change. At the same time, the group's male writers assigned to Lange, who declaimed poetry at their *tertulias*, the role of modern muse to inspire their artistic experiments. As a writer in the making herself, Lange paradoxically came to embody both the lost home

> sought by Buenos Aires vanguard writers in response to the upheavals of modernization and the modern, innovative aesthetic they sought in their writing. ("No Place Like Home" 73)

Unruh's language touches again upon an association of femininity with terrestrial characteristics: the Lange home was the "terrain" of the group's "origins", intimating a creation myth of mankind being born of the earth, with the domestic space, or "lost home," suggesting a nurturing, maternal reign. In a society where the home was considered a female domain, women, by association, were seen as anchors of domesticity. Thus, through the space her home afforded, Lange came to represent refuge and security for the group, in spite of the fact that she preferred the unpredictability and excitement of the street, to which she escaped at every opportunity. Ironically, then, these weekly meetings assumed contrasting significance for the participants. While her guests retreated from their public personae, Lange reveled in the boisterous and rebellious attitude the men flaunted in the street and longed to join their wild public parties.

Victoria Ocampo was able to enjoy more freedoms abroad, far from Argentina's restrictive society. However, like Lange, more interaction with her peers subjected her to others' interpretation of her role in the literary scene. In her many travels to Europe, she was often asked to assume the role of spokeswoman for her country and to reflect on her Argentine identity. In the first tome of her *Testimonios* series, Ocampo relates an anecdote in which a French artist asks her to explain: what is an Argentine? "I confess that I was taken aback. Although I do not remember in my entire life having come up with a quick answer, this time a miracle occurred and I answered immediately, resoundingly, 'I am'" (*Testimonios* I 98).[17] While Ocampo defined her nationality as based on an innovative, cosmopolitan ideology, some of her European male counterparts had a hard time seeing beyond the captivatingly passionate and attractive woman before them. The German Count Hermann Keyserling, a philosopher whose writing greatly impressed

[17] "Confieso que me quedé desconcertada. Aunque no recuerdo haber hallado en mi vida una respuesta rápida, esta vez se produjo el milagro y contesté en seguida, rotundamente 'Yo.'"

Ocampo, believed that the savage, uncivilized frontiers of the pampa and Patagonia accurately reflected the wildness inherent in the Argentine personality. Just as Borges considered Lange to embody an inherently feminine connection to the earth, Keyserling applied this "wildness" to Ocampo, misconstruing her epistolary enthusiasm for his work as evidence that she wanted to have a torrid affair with him.

Likewise, the description of Ocampo in 1917 by Spanish intellectual José Ortega y Gasset expresses clear sexist undertones: "So much more surprising, sudden, explosive was this discovery: Mona Lisa in the Pampa!"[18] Ortega denies that his description of Ocampo is inspired by an attraction to her physical beauty, but the verb series climaxing in another Spanish "discovery" of the New World alludes to historical conquest and domination, at a national and personal level. His "forecast of American history" elaborates his authority and role in shaping Argentine literature. "That night the discovery of the essential figure was a chapter in the history of Argentina, not in the history of my heart" (*La rama de Salzburgo* 115).[19] According to Ortega, it is his "discovery" of Ocampo that will shape the future of Argentine letters, as if the woman could not play an active role without his first conferring honor on her. While Borges was also initially fascinated with Lange's exotic Nordic heritage, he was able to distinguish between the woman and her literary merits. Keyserling, however, is unable to see beyond Ocampo's perceived exoticism, and his analysis of Argentine culture remained equally superficial. Ortega, on the other hand, eventually moved beyond his initial fascination of Ocampo the woman to come to recognize her literary abilities. He even suggested the name she ended up using for her magazine.

Norah Lange both derived inspiration from her male peers and strengthened her creative voice as she moved away from *ultraísta* poetry and into avant-garde prose. As Lange and her sisters found jobs downtown, their mother decided to first rent and then sell the family home on calle Tronador. In 1943, Lange married her long-time partner Oliverio Girondo, and the couple

[18] "Tanto más sorprendente, subitáneo, explosivo fue este descubrimiento: ¡Gioconda en la Pampa!"

[19] "Aquella noche el descubrimiento de la esencial figura fue un capítulo de la historia Argentina, no de la historia de mi corazón."

hosted gatherings in their home on calle Suipacha. However, the atmosphere at these parties was very different from the gatherings that had taken place under the watchful eye of her mother.

> She had become the reigning queen of literary bohemia, the cynosure of the fast set. At the parties the couple hosted at the house on calle Suipacha, Norah loved to do her star turn—halfway through the jollification, she would steal upstairs to her boudoir, change into a dazzling gown, and then make an appearance at the top of the staircase, her *bandoneón* (an Argentine accordion) at the ready, and with a toss of those famous red locks of hers, she would descend in all her majesty singing a tango at the top of her voice. (Williamson 228)

Away from her mother's house, Lange was also free to participate in her friends' public banquets and parties, and she became a central figure of the group, infamous for the outrageous speeches that displayed her talent for fluid, spontaneous discourse. "She would get up on a chair—when it was not the table itself—and deliver great, ranting orations, full of complicated conceits and rather labored humor" (Williamson 228). These speeches during the avant-garde banquets were considered an indispensable aspect of the evenings' events.[20]

Significantly, then, the end of the gatherings at calle Tronador marks the change from her writing poetry to prose. "Today I don't think my poetry exists. They were pure metaphors, as dictated by *ultraísmo*" (de Nóbile 25).[21] Although Lange herself later dismisses her *ultraísta* poetry, her foray into *ultraísmo* paved the way for her later, more innovative avant-garde prose. Tellingly, almost all of her novels transpire within the confining space of stifling bourgeois homes. With each subsequent novel, the domestic sphere is an ever more

[20] After the death of Girondo in 1967, Lange published *Estimados congéneres,* a collection of these speeches. It should be noted that by now Borges was no longer a part of Lange's group, their friendship having broken off when she became romantically linked with Girondo.

[21] "Hoy pienso que mi poesía no existe. Eran puras metáforas, tal como dictaba el ultraísmo."

confining space, with walls that limit the characters' ability to move beyond them, physically and emotionally. In her prologue to the first volume of Lange's *Obras Completas*, Silvia Molloy compares the houses of Lange's novels to those represented in Borges's poems: "A house charged with tensions and dark forces, at once familiar and strange: a house that, contrary to the Borgean house of *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, never becomes habitual" (22).[22] Just as Borges and Lange interpreted very differently the purpose of those weekly gatherings on calle Tronador, Molloy highlights the contrasting meanings the two writers ascribed to domestic spaces in their literature. While the home symbolized for Borges an intimate refuge from overwhelming changes, Lange's homes feel claustrophobic, provoking the urge to escape from them to the freedom of the street.

For Victoria Ocampo, designing a new home for herself was an opportunity to represent her literary and cultural ideology in physical form, a project that especially fascinated her European counterparts. If she embodied "the new Argentine" abroad, the two modernist homes she designed for herself impressed those visitors who, often at her invitation, ventured across the Atlantic to participate in the Buenos Aires cultural scene. Ocampo presented these domestic spaces as emblematic of the fresh American perspective. To her, modernism embodied a new perspective and a new era in which Argentina would take from Europe and North America that which applied to its own unique situation, and then re-shape these elements into something new and completely Argentine. "Modern architecture seemed to me one of the most revealing signs of our time. New materials, a new way of living: What expression would these two demands from abroad take? What form of beauty would they inspire?" (*Sur y Cía* 50).[23] Ocampo embraced the modernist school because its style, like her own country, was still in the process of formation.

[22] "Una casa cargada de tensiones y fuerzas oscuras, a la vez familiar y extraña: una casa que, al contrario de la casa borgeana de *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, nunca se vuelve hábito."

[23] "La arquitectura moderna me parecía uno de los signos más reveladores de nuestra época. Nuevos materiales, nueva manera de vivir: ¿qué expresión encontrarían esas dos exigencias llegadas de afuera? ¿Qué forma de belleza inspirarían?"

"Our knowledge, that of us Americans, the only one that can be definitive, is still vague. We are too close to ourselves; we can't see the forest for the trees. We are not yet conscious enough of the forces that reside within us, or rather they disturb us too much" (*Testimonios* II 312).[24] For Ocampo, her country's strength lay in its ability to interpret its cultural influences in such a way as to create a distinctive identity. Tellingly, perhaps in response to those from abroad who tried to define her culture, she claims Americans' self-knowledge is uniquely "definitive."

This focus on cultural interpretation became even more important as Ocampo came to realize that although she greatly admired the modernist architect Le Corbusier, the aesthetic application of the two differed greatly once the architect applied his theoretical principles to actual construction.

> Le Corbusier was the great master of the renewal movement in architecture, or better yet, its theorist. When, a year after his visit to Buenos Aires, I saw the houses he was constructing, my enthusiasm waned. I realized that I preferred his theories to his actualization of them as *inhabitable* houses, and therefore, something had to be lacking in theories whose application was deceptive, at least to me. [emphasis is author's own] (*Sur y Cía* 50)[25]

In the disconnect between Le Corbusier's theory and his practical application, Ocampo inserted her own interpretation of modernism, just as Norah Lange had moved far beyond the *ultraísta* emphasis on poetic metaphor to invent her own style of avant-garde prose. Significantly, Le Corbusier visited one of the houses Ocampo designed and expressed his approval of her rendition of his design principles.

[24] "Nuestro conocimiento, el de nosotros, americanos, el único que puede ser definitivo, es vago aún. Estamos demasiado cerca de nosotros mismos; el árbol nos impide ver el bosque. No estamos aún lo bastante conscientes de las fuerzas que moran en nosotros, o bien éstas nos turban demasiado."

[25] "Le Corbusier era el gran maestro del movimiento renovador en arquitectura, o mejor dicho, su teórico. Cuando, un año después de su visita a Buenos Aires, vi las casas que construía, disminuyó mi entusiasmo. Comprendí que prefería sus teorías a su realización como casas *habitables* y que, por consecuencia, alguna cosa debía fallar en teorías cuya aplicación era decepcionante (al menos para mí)."

After visiting Ocampo's modernist home on a tour through Latin America, the U.S. writer Waldo Frank pinned on her his hopes for an Argentina that would lead the world in a new creative direction. Echoing Keyserling's assessment of Argentina, Frank believed that the spirit of Latin America was telluric, and therefore could not be separated from the earthly elements of the continent. Like Keyserling, Frank saw this telluric spirit embodied in Ocampo and the home she designed. Greatly impressed with her design aesthetic, Frank believed that Ocampo's modern, pared-down home reflected the authentic, undeveloped Argentine landscape. Likewise, the home's owner and designer personified for him the creative potential latent in the country's intellectuals and artists, perpetuating the image of the country as still culturally unformed. Frank claimed that while men of an established society represented that culture's highest achievement, women embodied the creative potential of those cultures that had yet to fully form their identity.

In response to Frank's assessment of Ocampo's home and the Argentine culture, Carlos Alberto Erro, in his article in *Sur*, acknowledged that Ocampo's home did have cultural value, since a large portion of Argentine architecture merely mimicked European styles. Innovatively, Ocampo's design made use of the particular aspects of her surroundings, thus achieving a harmony between setting and construction rarely seen in homes in Buenos Aires of that period. "The modern style of this Argentine house reflects…a deep sense of the unity and harmony of the universe" (88).[26] While Erro seems to grudgingly acknowledge Ocampo's contributions to her country's culture, he nevertheless reveals a profound surprise and irritation that it should be a woman who has forged a new cultural identity for his country. "An Argentine woman has climbed very high in her profession of culture, and she has bested the men in the attempt to separate herself from the old inherited molds and to live in a world that fits her true spirit. It is a surprise."[27] However, this critic also appears

[26]"El estilo moderno de esta casa argentina refleja...un hondo sentido de la unidad y la armonía del universo."

[27]"Una mujer argentina ha subido muy alto en su profesión de cultura, y que se ha adelantado a los hombres en el intento de apartarse de los viejos moldes heredados y vivir en un mundo que se ajuste al verdadero acento de su espíritu. Es una sorpresa."

to be unsettled by the potential consequences if Ocampo's influence indeed indicates a new trend in cultural influence."It could also be the heralding of a creative impulse, in a profound sense, that sleeps, immobile still, in the race's maternal lap, and which will perhaps awaken soon and justify itself in the way of life of our people, in their works and intentions"(88).[28] The maternal, terrestrial associations applied to Lange by the avant-gardes return again here, embodied in a domestic space created by Ocampo. In claiming that the fertile creativity latent in the feminine "lap" continues to lie dormant, Erro reveals himself to be in denial about the current state of his society, which is already undergoing profound changes, as evidenced in Ocampo's place at the center of her culture's transformation. Since Ocampo published this article in her own magazine, one can assume that she agreed at least to a degree with Erro's assessment of the feminine role in Argentine society, though she would disagree with, or perhaps even delight in, the sense of disquiet he conveys.

Norah Lange and Victoria Ocampo challenged and often defied their society's expectations for the role of women in the first half of twentieth-century Buenos Aires and carved out a space for themselves within Argentine literature by subverting the traditional visions of the feminine and the domestic. Lange broadened the defining features of the Argentine avant-garde movement by expanding the confines of her social and creative spheres to make a place for herself in Argentine literature. Ocampo used her personal space to shape the literary identity of her country at home and abroad during the first half of the twentieth century. Together, these two women heralded a new image of the modern literary woman of Argentina.

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[28]"También puede ser el anuncio de un impulso creador, de un profundo sentido, que duerme, inmóvil aun, en el regazo maternal de la raza, y que acaso pronto despierte y dé razón de sí en el estilo de vida de nuestro pueblo, en sus obras y en sus designios."

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