

A Queer Orientation: The Sexual Geographies of Modernism 1913-1939.

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Dedication.

For Katie, my favourite scream.

Acknowledgements.

Etymologically, the word ‘thank’ shares its roots with the Indo-European ‘tong-’, to ‘think’ and ‘feel’. When we give thanks today, we may consider the actions or words of others, but I find that tracing this root is generative—it allows me to consider who has helped me think through this thesis, as much as who has helped me feel my way.

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Second, I must thank my family: my mum, dad, nan, grandad and brother. Without their generosity, their time, their words and their actions, I would not be who I am. Truly, thought and feeling are inseparable when it comes to family. Included within this thesis is every hour spent helping me with my homework, every assurance that I was able to achieve, every trip to the Natural History Museum (even though you got us banned for life, mum), every hope that Conor and I would be able to dream without limits and every concession you made so that we could thrive. This thesis is as much your belief as it is my writing.

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Fourth, I must thank Richard. No, this is not a dedication, but it is an acknowledgement. And what—after all—could be more socialist than that? You have (as any Leo would) asked me to dedicate something to you, but I know, should the time come, you will deny me the opportunity (just as you would turn down an award from the state). And this is because you are utterly selfless, compassionate and kind. The world, for you, is communal and that is the gift you have most readily offered me. It is you who has allowed me to think and feel clearly, who has been my greatest champion and who has most heartily encouraged my seemingly endless talk about astrology and rootless love for Julia Roberts. Really, thank you so much for listening to me talk about Julia Roberts.

Abstract.

Historicising the geography of sexuality within the milieu of literary modernism, the subject of this thesis is the relationship between queerness, space and place as mediated by modernist texts. Focusing on the work of E. M. Forster, H.D., Katharine Burdekin and Christopher Isherwood, the thesis aims to examine the impact that the taxonomizing of sexual orientations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has on the textual geographies of modernist literature. Though the relationship between modernism, space and place has been well mined by critics, scholarship has yet to produce a sustained inquiry into the imbrication of queer subjectivity and modernist geographies. The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to make an interjection that offers a queer reading of the modernist relationship with space and place. After beginning with a theoretical unpacking of the generative term 'sexual orientation', Chapter One engages with the queer inheritance of the Oscar Wilde trial and its shaping effect on Forster's *Maurice* (1971), widely recognised as one of the first homosexual novels. Following this, Chapter Two turns inwards to examine the relationship between psychoanalysis and the queer subject in H.D.'s short stories 'Kora and Ka' (1934) and 'Mira-Mare' (1934), works which straddle the analysis that the poet undertook with Sigmund Freud in 1933. Akin to this, Chapter Three examines the relationship between Burdekin and Havelock Ellis, positioning that the novels *Proud Man* (1934) and *Swastika Night* (1937) fold together sexuality and space through eugenic thinking. Finally, Chapter Four traces the ends of queer modernist geographies in Isherwood's early novels *All the Conspirators* (1928), *Mr Norris Changes Trains* (1935) and *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939). Tempering the discourse of sexology and psychoanalysis with a critical theory approach, these chapters offer an account of the rich and diverse ways that the pluralistic categorisation of queerness shapes textual geographies in the 1913-1939 period.

Contents.

1. Contents | 5
2. Introduction | 7-45
3. Homeosexuality: E. M. Forster and the House | 47-84
4. Libidinal Currents: H.D. and the Sea | 85-131
5. Public Bodies: Katharine Burdekin and Utopia | 131-171
6. Kept at Bay: Christopher Isherwood and the Island | 172-211
7. New Horizons: The Ends of Queer Modernist Geographies | 212-228
8. Bibliography | 229-257

what are you doing now / where did you eat your / lunch and were there / lots of anchovies it / is difficult to think / of you without me in

— Frank O'Hara, 'Morning' (1952)

And these nights were being acted out under a foreign sky, with no one to watch, no penalties attached—it was this last fact which was our undoing, for nothing is more unbearable, once one has it, than freedom. I suppose this was why I asked her to marry me: to give myself something to be moored to. Perhaps this was why, in Spain, she decided that she wanted to marry me. But people can't, unhappily, invent their mooring posts.

— James Baldwin, *Giovanni's Room* (1956)

In place of hermeneutics we need an erotics of art.

— Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation* (1966)

Wait, they don't love you like I love you / Maps.

— The Yeah Yeah Yeahs, *Fever to Tell* (2003)

So here's the part where you make a choice: What if you could have that power now? In every generation, one slayer is born because a bunch of men who died thousands of years ago made up that rule. They were powerful men. This woman is more powerful than all of them combined. So I say we change the rule. I say my power should be our power.

— Buffy Summers, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (2003)

I got this feeling in my body, in my body tonight / And when we leavin' my body is your party tonight.

— Kim Petras, *Clarity* (2019)

Introduction.

I shall at this point introduce two technical terms. Let us call the person from whom sexual attraction proceeds the sexual object and the act towards which the instinct tends the sexual aim. Scientifically sifted observation, then, shows that numerous deviations occur in respect of both of these—the sexual object and the sexual aim.¹

— Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905).

What does it mean for sexuality to be lived as oriented? What difference does it make what or who we are oriented toward in the very direction of our desire? If orientation is a matter of how we reside in space, then sexual orientation might also be a matter of residence, of how we inhabit spaces, and who or what we inhabit spaces with.²

— Sara Ahmed, 'Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology' (2006).

For if Chloe likes Olivia and Mary Carmichael knows how to express it she will light a torch in that vast chamber where nobody has yet been. It is all half lights and profound shadows like those serpentine caves where one goes with a candle peering up and down, not knowing where one is stepping.³

— Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (1929).

Queerness runs like a bright purple vein across the skin of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*. On first reading one may overlook this vein, curled as it is around the body of the text. Yet on revisiting Woolf's slim volume the vein becomes unmissable: as distinctive as a birthmark, as necessary as an eye. Woolf's queer vein carries lifeblood that helps expose the pressure points of women's writing as a means of unsettling the easy confluence of text and gender. So too does this tubing connect outwards, criss-crossing with the arteries and capillaries of other texts: the lesbian kiss of *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), the transgender narrative of *Orlando: A Biography* (1928), the homosexual longing of *The Waves* (1931). It is in *A Room of One's Own*, however, that Woolf takes up a scalpel and cuts through to the heart of the issues with which this thesis is concerned.

¹ Sigmund Freud, 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Vintage 2001), VII (2001), pp. 125-230 (pp. 135-136).

² Sara Ahmed, 'Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 12.4 (2006), 543-574 (p. 543).

³ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 81.

Pulling *Life's Adventure* by the fictitious Mary Carmichael from the stacks, the narrator of *A Room of One's Own* skims the pages of a wholly modern novel, published, we are told, 'in this very month'. Here, Woolf's queer vein bulges with a sudden rush of blood:

Then I may tell you that the very next words I read were these—'Chloe liked Olivia...'
Do not start. Do not blush. Let us admit in the privacy of our own society that these things sometimes happen. Sometimes women do like women.⁴

In discussing the relationship between Chloe and Olivia, Woolf foregrounds an intimate set of relations that exist between sexuality, geography and modernity. Let us imagine that, much like Clarissa Dalloway and Sally Seton, Chloe's liking of Olivia is suffused with something more than friendship. Let us imagine, as Woolf's rhetorical devices and elliptical pause allow, that threaded through this liking is a desire to go beyond letter writing and tea drinking, that Chloe would like to touch Olivia, to feel the swelling of her skin beneath her palms, to trace the veins that run along her wrist and follow their passage under her sleeves. If we allow ourselves to imagine this liking as a kind of desire, Woolf claims that we find ourselves in a 'vast chamber where nobody has yet been'. Our urge to understand the sexual tension between two young women has led us to a new space. Queer desire, Woolf suggests, offers not just new modes of seeing, but new spaces of existence and new ways of inhabiting the world.

Following such suggestion, this thesis takes as its subject the set of relations that exists between sexuality, geography and modernity. Specifically, this thesis is concerned with how the genesis of modern sexual orientations affects modernist understandings of space and place. As has been discussed at length by critics, the proliferation of discourses that categorise and produce sexual identities are critical to the emergence of modernism, with Joseph Allen Boone declaring over two decades ago: 'It is no news that...sexuality has played

⁴ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 81.

an important role in shaping the reputation and reception of modern fiction'.⁵ Given modernism's intimate relationship with the genesis of new sexual taxonomies, how do these orientations serve to orient modernist texts? How do transforming notions of desire shape the way in which characters move through spaces? How does modernism code places as queer?

To answer these questions, this thesis takes as its subject four writers: E. M. Forster, H.D., Katharine Burdekin and Christopher Isherwood. Like Woolf, each of these writers engaged in intimate relationships that flirt with or embody queer desire.⁶ Nonetheless, though these relationships offer vital critical scaffolding, this is not a biographic study. It is not the job of this thesis to cast open the closet door or to look for the stains on the bedsheets, but to examine the way in which modernist authors model queer subjectivity in their writing and, in turn, analyse how such subjectivity shapes the geographies of their texts. To this end, I begin by outlining the rich, generative scholarly history that frames this thesis as a means of exploring the potential intersections of sexuality, geography and modernity.

Starting Points: Scholarship and Queer Modernist Geography.

In approaching queer modernist geographies, this thesis weaves together two critical threads in modernist studies as a means of extending the scholarly tapestry. The first of these is a well-established standpoint, a yarn that runs through a large body of scholarship: the relationship between modernism, space and place. Following Fredric Jameson's concept of cognitive mapping and the ushering in of the spatial turn in literary studies, Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz note in their field-defining essay that the watchword for 'New

⁵ Joseph Allen Boone, *Libidinal Currents: Sexuality and the Shaping of Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 3.

⁶ See Karyn Z. Sproles, *Desiring Women: The Partnership of Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 3-17.

Modernist Studies' is expansion.⁷ This sense of expansion has taken many forms: a temporal lengthening that examines the genealogy of modernity, modernist latecomers, and modernism's contemporary legacies; a cultural deepening that bridges the artificial divide between 'high' and 'low' taste through discussion of the middlebrow and mass culture; and a spatial broadening that interrogates the geohistorically mobile nature of modernity.⁸ It is the last of these expansions that this thesis is concerned with. Concretised by Andrew Thacker in *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism* (2003) and exploded once again by Susan Stanford Friedman in the scintillating *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity Across Time* (2015), modernist geographies remain at the heart of the critical debate over a decade after the publication of Mao and Walkowitz' essay.

During the interval between Thacker and Stanford Friedman, critical interest in the relationship between modernism and geography has taken many approaches. Feminist analysis has traced the gendered contours of public and private life; postcolonial intervention has pressured scholars to reckon with the centrality of colonialism and its shaping of modernity; ecocriticism has begun to interrogate the modernist engagement with the

⁷ Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, 'The New Modernist Studies', *PMLA*, 123.3 (2008), 737-748 (p. 737).

⁸ The lengthy genealogy of modernism has been traced in Michael Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine 1908-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). The legacy of modernism has been interrogated through a variety of frames, most notably late modernism and metamodernism. For late modernism, see Tyrus Miller, *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) and the articles attached to David James, 'Modernist Affects and Contemporary Literature', *Modernism/modernity Print Plus*, 3.4 (2018) <<https://modernismmodernity.org/forums/modernisms-contemporary-affects>> [accessed 6 March 2019]. For metamodernism, see David James, *Modernist Futures: Innovation and Inheritance in The Contemporary Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and David James and Urmila Seshagiri, 'Metamodernism: Narratives of Continuity and Revolution', *PMLA*, 129.1 (2014), 87-100. Recent examination of modernism and the middlebrow has been invigorated by Lise Jaillant in Lise Jaillant, *Modernism, Middlebrow and the Literary Canon: The Modern Library Series, 1917-1955* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014) and Lise Jaillant, *Cheap Modernism: Expanding Markets, Publishers' Series and the Avant-Garde* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), while Bartholomew Brinkman and James O'Sullivan have analysed the relationship between modernism and mass culture in Bartholomew Brinkman, *Poetic Modernism in the Culture of Mass Print* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2017) and James O'Sullivan, 'Modernist Intermediality: The False Dichotomy between High Modernism and Mass Culture', *English Studies*, 98.3 (2017), 283-309.

environment; and the digital humanities has produced new methodologies that allow for alternate visualisations of modernist geographies.⁹ Drawing on these disparate modes of analysis, modernist studies has examined a multiplicity of spaces, from Walkowitz, Stanford Friedman and Jessica Berman's discussion of the cosmopolitan, the planetary, and the transnational to Thomas S. Davis and Nathan K. Hensley's considerations of scale, size, and form to Thacker's intimate discussion of the vestibular space of the bookshop.¹⁰ Scholarship has both panned out to examine the rich, interwoven map of modernist geographies and taken a magnifying glass to interrogate the smallest of cartographic contours.

Unthreading the warp and weft of scholarship regarding modernism, space and place, we find a yarn missing however: the wool of queer modernist studies. Simply put, scholarship has yet to produce a sustained critical inquiry into the relationship between queer identity and modernist geographies. Indeed, it is telling that *Geographies of Modernism: Literatures, Cultures, Spaces* (2005) is without a chapter dedicated to modernist sexualities. It is high time for such an analysis. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to make an interjection that offers a queer reading of the modernist relationship with space and place. In doing so, I hope

⁹ For feminist modernist geographies, see Deborah L. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) and Anna Snaith, *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). For postcolonial modernist geographies, see Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/Time Borders of Modernist Studies', *Modernism/modernity*, 13.3 (2006), 425-443 and Richard Begam and Michael Moses, 'Introduction', in *Modernism and Colonialism: British and Irish Literature, 1899-1939*, ed. by Richard Begam and Michael Moses, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 1-18. For ecocritical modernist geographies, see Ted Howell, 'An Imperialist Inherits the Earth: Howards End in the Anthropocene', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 77.4 (2016), 547-572. For the intersection of the digital humanities and modernist geography, see Gabriel Anderson Hankins, 'Visualizing Modernist Magazines with Geographic Information Systems (GIS): New Approaches in the Spatial Humanities', *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 5.1 (2014), 69-93.

¹⁰ For the cosmopolitan, transnational and planetary see Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), Jessica Berman, *Modernist Commitments: Ethics, Politics and Transnational Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011) and Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity Across Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015). For size, form and scale see Thomas S. Davis and Nathan K. Hensley, "Scale and Form; or, What was Global Modernism?", *Modernism/modernity Print Plus*, 2.4 (2018) <<https://modernismmodernity.org/forums/scale-and-form>> [accessed 6 March 2019]. For the intimate space of the bookshop, see Andrew Thacker, "'A True Magic Chamber": The Public Face of the Modernist Bookshop', *Modernist Cultures*, 11.3 (2016), 429-451.

to extend discussions of modernist geographies while expanding the critical conversation around the implications queer theory has for modernist studies.

Akin to modernist geographies, the discussion of modernist sexualities has a rich critical history that stems to the 1980s. Sparked by the broader theoretical insights of queer and women's studies then further energised by the intervention of feminist, gay and lesbian scholarship, the study of modernist sexuality has been as disparate as the analysis of modernism, space and place. Crowned by the publication of *Modernist Sexualities* (2000), critique has employed a range of lenses: sexual dissidence, Sapphic modernism, lesbian modernism, trans modernism, primitivist modernism, camp modernism, and more.¹¹ As Benjamin Kahan notes, the welding together of queer and modernist seeks to encapsulate 'the tremendous upheaval and reorganization of sexual categories and the sexual grammars which compose the language of modernism in all its queerness'.¹² Employed as an umbrella term, queer draws on and overlays the various lenses that have led to the possibility of a queer modernist studies.

¹¹ For sexual dissidence, see Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). For Sapphic modernism, see Shari Benstock, 'Expatriate Sapphic Modernism', in *Rereading Modernism: New Directions in Feminist Criticism*, ed. by Lisa Rado (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 97-122 and Sashi Nair, *Secrecy and Sapphic Modernism: Reading Romans à Clef Between the Wars* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). For lesbian modernism, see Gay Wachman, *Lesbian Empire: Radical Crosswriting in the Twenties* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001) and Joanne Winning 'Lesbian modernism: writing in and beyond the closet', in *The Cambridge Companion to Gay and Lesbian Writing*, ed. by Hugh Steven (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 50-64. For trans(gender) modernism, see Pamela L. Caughie, 'The Temporality of Modernist Life Writing in the Era of Transsexualism: Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* and Einar Wegener's *Man Into Woman*', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 59.3 (2013), 501-525 and Emma Heaney, *The New Woman Literary Modernism, Queer Theory, and the Trans Feminine Allegory* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017). For primitivist modernist sexuality see Robin Hackett, *Sapphic Primitivism: Productions of Race, Class, and Sexuality in Key Works of Modern Fiction* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004) and Elisa F. Glick, 'Harlem's Queer Dandy: African-American Modernism and the Artifice of Blackness', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 49.3 (2003), 414-442. For camp modernism see Marsha Bryant and Douglas Mao, 'Camp Modernism Introduction', *Modernism/modernity*, 23.1 (2016), 1-4.

¹² Benjamin Kahan, 'Queer Modernism', in *A Handbook of Modernism Studies*, ed. Jean-Michel Rabaté (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), pp. 347-362 (p. 348).

Scholars, then, have mined modernist texts for representations and evocations of gender anxiety and sexual desire, on the one hand, and the multivalent pressures of geography, on the other. This thesis acts as an interlocutor between these critical standpoints, asking what queer modernist geographies might look like. Historicising the geography of sexuality within the literary milieu of modernism, the thesis generates new understandings of the dialogic relationship between sexuality and space as mediated by modernist texts. In doing so, however, I do not seek to relegate the relationship between sexuality, geography and modernity to a mathematical abstraction: modernity + sexuality = orientation, for instance. Rather, this thesis asks how the transformation of sexual categories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries motivates new understandings about the relationship between sexuality and space that complexify our understanding of queer geographies.

It is important to briefly pause here and consider the word 'modernism'. Of late, the very meaning of modernism has become a hotly contested topic of debate, even (or perhaps especially) within the parameters of modernist studies, with critics arguing for a more elastic use of the term. As Stanford Friedman puts it: 'What is modernity? What is or was modernism? Why is the energetic, expanding, multidisciplinary field of modernist studies so filled with contestation over the very ground of study?'¹³ Indeed, Heather Love has expanded on this notion by asking 'Is queer modernism simply another name for modernism?... what, after all, does the queer in queer modernism refer to?'¹⁴ Thinking through the interrelation of sexuality, geography and modernity, however, I use the terms 'modernism' and 'modernist' in a specific way. Discussing the advent of sexual orientation, I locate modernism through the body and its reconceptualisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rather than reduce queerness to a biological essential however, this is to say that (in bringing together 'queer' and 'modernist') I am interested in how modern conceptions of the body

¹³ Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms*, p. 19.

¹⁴ Heather Love, 'Introduction: Modernism at Night', *PMLA*, 124.3 (2009), 744-748, pp. 744-745.

create new categories of queerness (categories that are expanded on later in this introduction). Working with the body is not the same as reducing queerness to a series of constructivist positions. Instead, I examine how the construction of the body affects its ability to move through, inhabit and navigate space. In short, I analyse how the construction of the body queers its relationship space. In this way, I avoid expanding modernism into a shapeless, formless or baggy term by mining the relationship between sexuality and space as it occurred within a specific historical framework.

In light of this, it is pertinent to note that a single tapestry cannot be understood in isolation. Rather, a tapestry is always connected outwards, related to what it is hung next to in a museum or written about in a guidebook. So too does this thesis engage with a greater intellectual framework. Dyed into the wool of the queer modernist tapestry are broader critical structures, namely queer theory and scholarship of space and place. Thinking through the wider implication of the 'space-sex couplet' for geographers and historians, Matt Houlbrook has identified 'the ways in which spatiality, sociality, and historicity are implicated together' and thus afford a kind of analysis that has led to 'the foundations of a historical geography of sexuality, an investigation into the ways in which space constitutes—and is constituted by—sexual practices and categories'.¹⁵ Following Houlbrook's analysis, and drawing on such a framework, this thesis offers an analysis of how the development of sexual orientation informs modernist writing and shapes the spaces of modernist literature. As such, I now move to an exploration of the broader theoretical structure of this thesis as a means of unpacking the relationship between sexuality, geography and modernity, exploring what I mean by sexual orientation and its effect on modernist literature.

¹⁵ Matt Houlbrook, 'Toward a Historical Geography of Sexuality', *Journal of Urban History*, 27.4 (2001), 497-504 (p. 497-8).

Orientations: Theorising the Sexual and Spatial Contours of Literary Modernism.

In her theorisation of sexuality and gender identity at the turn of the century, Heike Bauer taps into wider questions regarding the relationship between queer theory and historiography in order to ask: 'How can we understand the meanings of sexual concepts at the point of their inception?'¹⁶ To navigate these questions, Bauer draws on Jack Halberstam's assertion that 'the challenge for new queer history has been, and remains, to produce methodologies sensitive to historical change but influenced by current theoretical preoccupations'.¹⁷ Responsive to these arguments, this thesis takes the notion of sexual orientation as a conceptual starting point that bridges queer and geographic readings in order to offer an analysis of modernism that traces the spatial contours of its sexual history. Arising in 1931, the term sexual orientation initially referred to '(the process of) orientation with respect to a sexual goal, potential mate, partner'.¹⁸ In this thesis, I broaden the scope of the term to account for the rich theoretical, critical and scientific history that underpins it. Stemming from the development of new sexual taxonomies that arose during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the notion of sexual orientation is laden with the discourses of psychoanalysis and sexology. Unpacking the fullness of the term, I employ sexual orientation as a means of exploring the spatial ramifications of sexual dissidence and gender anxiety.

The proliferation of sexual taxonomies at the turn of century has received widespread critical attention since the publication of Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* (1976) and its questioning of the repressive hypothesis. As Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow summarise,

¹⁶ Heike Bauer, 'Theorizing Female Inversion: Sexology, Discipline, and Gender at the Fin de Siècle', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 18.1 (2009), 84-102, (p. 85).

¹⁷ Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 46. Throughout this thesis, I refer to Halberstam by their chosen name Jack and the pronouns they/them. To avoid any queries, Halberstam is cross-referenced in the bibliography.

¹⁸ 'sexual orientation', in *The Oxford English Dictionary* [online] <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/261213?redirectedFrom=sexual+orientation>> [accessed 18 February 2019].

'Stated broadly, the repressive hypothesis holds that through European history we have moved from a period of relative openness about our bodies and our speech to an ever-increasing repression and hypocrisy'.¹⁹ Beginning with the seventeenth century, Foucault sketches a chronological framework that argues the rise of capitalism and development of the bourgeoisie position unproductive activity as oppositional to the labour required for work. Included in this unproductive activity are sexual acts that do not propagate the capitalist need for reproduction, leading to a system in which non-reproductive sex was not simply prohibited, but repressed. Interrogating this hypothesis, Foucault contends that such attempts to repress sexual acts did not simply lead to silence, however, but sparked an antithetical effect by creating outlets of confession.

Within the late nineteenth century, Foucault argues that this confession became constituted in scientific terms, noting a number of outlets:

There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and "psychic hermaphroditism" made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of "perversity"; but it also made possible the formation of a "reverse" discourse: homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or "naturalness" be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified.²⁰

Of particular importance here is the birth of psychoanalysis and sexology, each of which aimed to study, critique and categorise human sexual behaviour. Scholars have contended that these practices transformed understandings of sex by positioning it as an object of knowledge and raising it to the level of discourse, thereby generating modern notions of sexuality. Following Foucault's contention that whereas 'the sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species', David M. Halperin summarises that 'unlike

¹⁹ Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 128.

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 101.

sex, sexuality is a cultural production: it represents the appropriation of the human body and of its physiological capacities by an ideological discourse. Sexuality is not a somatic fact; it is a cultural effect'.²¹ In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf anticipates the argumentative gesture of Foucault and Halperin by foregrounding the figures of Chloe and Olivia: "Chloe liked Olivia," I read. And then it struck me how immense a change was there. Chloe liked Olivia perhaps for the first time in literature. Cleopatra did not like Octavia'.²² With sex no longer regarded as an isolated act, sexuality metamorphosed at the turn of the century, becoming a mode of identity that modernist authors such as Woolf would feel themselves the first to grapple with. Underpinning the construction of modern sexual taxonomies is the idea that one is sexually orientated. As Sigmund Freud notes in the opening of *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), a modern understanding must move away from an erroneous vision of sex as purely a biological instinct concerned with reproduction. In place of this view, Freud introduces a distinction between object and aim that positions sexuality as a directional line:

I shall at this point introduce two technical terms. Let us call the person from whom sexual attraction proceeds the sexual object and the act towards which the instinct tends the sexual aim. Scientifically sifted observation, then, shows that numerous deviations occur in respect of both of these—the sexual object and the sexual aim.

In this model, to be sexually attracted is to be a sexual object, oriented towards a sexual aim, with desire acting as a kind of compass. Revising this understanding in *Instincts and their Vicissitudes* (1915), Freud establishes a clearer relationship between subject, object and aim in which the sexual subject acts out their aim on the sexual object, propelled forward by the intensity of their instinct.²³ Framing sexuality in this manner, Freud establishes a distinctly

²¹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p. 43. David M. Halperin, 'Is There a History of Sexuality?', *History and Theory* 28.3 (1989), 257-274 (p. 257).

²² Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 81.

²³ Sigmund Freud, 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Vintage 2001), XIV (2001), pp. 109-140. What is crucial about this chronology (and the changes that Freud made to his model) is the fact that, for Freud, sexual attraction has always been spatially constructed. Whether the person experiencing sexual attraction is positioned as a sexual object (as in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*) or a sexual subject (as in *Instincts and their Vicissitudes*), this attraction is viewed as an aim, a goal, or a directional line.

spatial relationship between subjectivity and desire. Indeed, the move from understanding the sexual being as an object to understanding the sexual being as a subject illuminates how the very construction of sexuality becomes predicated on the orientation one has to the world.

Of course, Foucault has been critiqued for an ahistorical approach that focuses on sexual behaviour at the expense of gender.²⁴ Categories such as 'Sapphic' and 'lesbian', for instance, pivot around both gender and sexuality, underscoring why feminist criticism has been as vital as gay and lesbian scholarship to the formation of queer modernist studies, as well as why feminist critique plays such a vital role in this thesis.²⁵ Importantly, however, the Freudian model of sexuality affirms that human desire is not simply concerned with reproduction, rather sexual impulses may direct the subject towards an object that cannot reproduce. As Freud notes, 'the object is not necessarily something extraneous: it may equally well be a part of the subject's own body'.²⁶ Such recognition offers a diverse approach, allowing Freud and his contemporaries to catalogue multiple identities predicated on sexual deviance and gender anxiety: inversion, male homosexuality, female homosexuality, lesbianism, bisexuality, hermaphroditism and eonism, to name but a few. Recognising this multiplicity of identities allows for a more capacious critique of queerness that incorporates the interstitial relationship between gender identity and sexual behaviour. Exemplifying this relationship is sexologist Havelock Ellis' description of female inversion:

The chief characteristic of the sexually inverted woman is a certain degree of masculinity...There is...a very pronounced tendency among sexually inverted women to adopt male attire when practicable...The brusque, energetic movements, the

²⁴ See Carolyn J. Dean, 'The Productive Hypothesis: Foucault, Gender, and the History of Sexuality', *History and Theory*, 33.3 (1994), 271-296.

²⁵ See Penny Tinkler, 'Sapphic Smokers and English Modernities', in *Sapphic Modernities: Sexuality, Women and National Culture*, ed. by Laura Doan and Jane Garrity (London: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 75-90 and Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman', *Signs*, 9.4 (1984), 557-575.

²⁶ Freud, 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes', p. 122.

attitude of the arms, the direct speech, the inflexions of the voice, the masculine straightforwardness and sense of honour.²⁷

In Ellis' terms, for the female invert to be attracted to another woman is to be oriented away from femininity. In turn, this orientation generates other attributes that are framed in spatial language: energetic movement, direct speech, masculine straightforwardness. In their analysis of sexualised and gendered behaviour, sexology and psychoanalysis develop normative models that frame desire and embodiment within spatial terms, raising questions of movement, mobility, navigation, encounter and locale. Accounting for this rich theoretical history, my use of sexual orientation yokes together sexual deviance and gender anxiety as a means of analysing the multivalent relationship between geography and queerness in the modernist era.

Throughout her work on queer phenomenology, Sara Ahmed expands on the relationship between spatial and sexual orientation. Focusing on the overlap between subjectivity, sexuality and spatiality, Ahmed argues 'If orientation is a matter of how we reside in space, then sexual orientation might also be a matter of residence; of how we inhabit spaces as well as "who" or "what" we inhabit spaces with'.²⁸ This understanding of orientation as a phenomenological condition affirms the interplay between the spatial and sexual. For Ahmed, the constitution of the sexual subject does not simply offer a new understanding of sexual behaviour as sexuality, but affects how the sexual subject moves, which objects they can move towards and how these movements require them to inhabit space differently. Bolstering this, Ahmed's argument sutures a queer critique of sexuality with a feminist analysis of gender: 'So if gender shapes what we "do do", then it shapes what we can do. Gender could thus be described as a bodily orientation, a way in which bodies get directed by their actions over time'.²⁹ Gender, like sexuality, orients the body, shaping the way that

²⁷ Havelock Ellis, 'Sexual Inversion in Women', *Alienist and Neurologist*, 16 (1895), 144-58 (p. 153).

²⁸ Ahmed, 'Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology', p. 543.

²⁹ Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 60.

the body inhabits space and, in turn, the way it interacts with, takes up, and moves through space.

Ultimately, Ahmed's reading of queer phenomenology presents orientation as embodied. Turning to the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, one can expand upon this. Within the first part of *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), Merleau-Ponty contends that there is no ontological distinction between the experiencing subject and the body. For Merleau-Ponty, 'the body is our general medium for having a world', an argument that feminist critics such as Iris Marion Young have explicitly de-essentialised by outlining that 'the lived body is a unified idea of a physical body acting and experiencing in a specific socio-cultural context; it is body-in-situation'.³⁰ For Linda Martín Alcoff, this is because 'perception represents sedimented contextual knowledges', with Nikki Sullivan positioning that such 'tacit body-knowledges...[are] always already imbued with historically and culturally contingent values, idea(l)s and practices, to which the subject has tacitly consented in and through his or her very becoming'.³¹ Given this, the shaping of the body through the development of sexual taxonomies that appeared during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is critical. If the body mediates our spatial engagement with the world and the body is shaped, positioned and oriented by the development of new sexual categories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries then this shaping, positioning and orienting has spatial, as well as sexual, ramifications that fold together the geographic and the erotic. Lacing together sexual behaviour and gender identity while raising phenomenological questions of experience and embodiment, the concept of orientation therefore imbricates the spatial with the sexual.

³⁰ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 169. Iris Marion Young, *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 16.

³¹ Linda Martín Alcoff, 'Towards a Phenomenology of Racial Embodiment', *Radical Philosophy*, 95 (1999), 15-26, (p. 18). Nikki Sullivan, 'Integrity, Mayhem, and the Question of Self-Demand Amputation', *Continuum*, 19.3 (2005), 325-333 (p. 331).

It would be amiss to claim that these questions are merely theoretical posturing or restricted to the body itself. Rather, for Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja, questions of embodiment affect the very construction of space. Within the introduction to *The Production of Space* (1974), Lefebvre offers three categories of analysis that underpin his thinking: representations of space, representational spaces and spatial practice. Representations of space (or conceived space) refers to the conceptualisation of space through symbols, codes, categories, jargon and abstractions. Here, we might think of maps, models and other diagrammatic objects that serve to calculate and regulate space. Codifying our epistemic engagement with space, representations of space are shot through with ideology, power, discourse and knowledge. As Lefebvre outlines, such representations are intimately 'tied to relations of production and to the "order" which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to "frontal" relations'.³² Following this, representational spaces (or lived space) are concerned with everyday experience. We live in, through and with these spaces. For Lefebvre, representational spaces have 'an affective kernel or center: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house...the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations...qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational'.³³ Finally, spatial practice (or perceived space) structures lived reality. As Lefebvre maintains, spatial practice is concerned with 'production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation'.³⁴ There is a systematised usefulness embedded in this and spatial practice is therefore concerned with routes and networks, patterns and negotiations.

Critically, Lefebvre stresses the importance of the body in his spatial model:

Space - *my space* - is not the context of which I constitute the "textuality": instead, it is first of all *my body*, and then it is my body's counterpart or "other", its mirror-

³² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 33.

³³ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 42.

³⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 33

image or shadow: it is the shifting intersection between that which touches, penetrates, threatens or benefits my body on the one hand, and all other bodies on the other.³⁵

For Kirsten Simonsen, such a claim shows that the presence 'of the body in all three dimensions of spatiality renders possible an understanding of the body as a mediator of the relationship between the different dimensions'.³⁶ This approach illuminates how space is a social product constructed by and through the body, thus making the social production of space contingent on historically specific modes of understanding the body.³⁷ In short: the mediation of space through the body is itself predicated on the mediation of the body through discourse, tethering the production of space to the taxonomizing of the body.

Through his critique of subjectivity and space, Soja neatly summarises this mediation. Particularly useful here is the term Thirdspace, a concept that connects together the vital positionalities of Lefebvre's work. Developing a trialectic approach as a means of delineating the dialogic relationship between real and imagined space, Soja takes Lefebvrian spatial practice as Firstspace, that which is materialized, socially produced and empirical: 'directly sensible and open, within limits, to accurate measurement and description'.³⁸ Extending this, Soja approximates Lefebvre's representations of space through the concept of Secondspace, mental spaces that are 'the representations of power and ideology, of control and surveillance'. Fettering these concepts together, Thirdspace is '*lived*' space that 'overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects' by merging 'the real and the imagined, things and thought on equal terms'.³⁹ At the heart of Thirdspace lie questions of embodiment and corporeality. As Susan Smith argues, Thirdspace 'forces us to accept the complexity, ambiguity and multi-dimensionality of identity and captures the way that class, gender and

³⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 184.

³⁶ Kirsten Simonsen, 'Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time: The Contribution from Henri Lefebvre', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 87.1 (2005), 1-14 (p. 7).

³⁷ Rob Shields discusses the importance of Lefebvre for feminist thinkers in Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 4.

³⁸ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace* (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1996), p. 66.

³⁹ Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 68.

“race”, cross-cut and intersect in different...places’.⁴⁰ Considering this, a vital relationship exists between how the body is taxonomized through gender and sexuality throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how space comes to be socially produced by these gendered and sexualised bodies in modernist literature.

Indeed, modernist literature is peppered with mediations of body, gender, sexuality and space. Exemplifying this mediation, as the narrator passes across university grounds in *A Room of One’s Own*, Woolf notes:

It was thus that I found myself walking with extreme rapidity across a grass plot. Instantly a man's figure rose to intercept me. Nor did I at first understand that the gesticulations of a curious-looking object, in a cut-away coat and evening shirt, were aimed at me. His face expressed horror and indignation. Instinct rather than reason came to my help; he was a Beadle; I was a woman. This was the turf; there was the path. Only the Fellows and Scholars are allowed here; the gravel is the place for me.⁴¹

This is, of course, a behavioural code that predates the twentieth century, and yet Woolf’s text explores the radical possibilities of transgressing such a code by asking what it means to be a modern woman challenging sedimented patriarchal values.⁴² In this fashion, Woolf elucidates how transformations to sex and gender norms in the early twentieth century invite new modes of embodiment and new methods of inhabiting space. And, indeed, this claim is further ballasted by Woolf’s exploration of Chloe and Olivia. Should Mary Carmichael write about the couple, Woolf argues that we arrive at a chamber that ‘is all half lights and profound shadows like those serpentine caves where one goes with a candle peering up and down, not knowing where one is stepping’.⁴³ Like the feet on the grass, the steps in the cave represent the radical possibilities literature has for enlivening the relationship between

⁴⁰ Susan J. Smith, 'Society-space', in *Geographies*, ed. by Paul Cloke, Philip Crang and Mark Goodwin, (London: Routledge, 2013) pp. 18-33, (p. 30).

⁴¹ Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own*, p. 8.

⁴² A longer history of the spatial politics of Oxford, for instance, is captured in Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities, 1870-1939* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁴³ Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own*, p. 84.

sexuality, geography and modernity by creating textual spaces that capture the mediation of body and place.

Looking up from our own feet and returning to the scholarly tapestry, we notice there are smaller threads stitched into the fabric. These stitches call our attention. They add shade, tone and texture. Without the stitches, the tapestry loses its detail and its meaning. Having traced the theoretical and intellectual genesis of this project, I now zoom in to examine these stitches and unpack some of the central terminology that I employ. Namely, I explore three terms that underpin this thesis: queer, desire, and affect.

Signposts: Queer, Desire, Affect.

If we account for the broad span of literary criticism, historiographic analysis and critical theory, then the terms queer, desire, and affect are still largely up for grabs. Vital work in Medieval and Early Modern studies, for instance, has helped to expose the essential ruptures of queer historicism.⁴⁴ As Susan McCabe notes: 'While critics of earlier periods continue to grapple with the social history of homoerotic desire, the language of historicism...is often at odds with queer theory in tracking and articulating the existence of nonnormative sexuality'.⁴⁵ Similarly, Valerie Traub has underscored the 'capacity of queer to denaturalize sexual logics and expand the object of study through untoward combinations and juxtapositions' including the 'recognition of the roles that affect, desire, and identification play in the work of historical reconstruction'.⁴⁶ In light of this, I drill down into my own use of the terms queer, desire, and affect as a means of framing their inclusion in this thesis.

⁴⁴ See Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?: Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Carla Freccero 'Queer Times', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 106.3 (2007), 485-494; Jeffrey Weeks, 'Queer(y)ing the "Modern Homosexual"', *Journal of British Studies*, 51.3 (2012), 523-539; and Melissa E. Sanchez, "'Use Me But as Your Spaniel": Feminism, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Sexualities', *PMLA*, 127.3 (2012), 493-511.

⁴⁵ Susan McCabe, 'To Be and to Have: The Rise of Queer Historicism', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 11.1 (2005), 119-134 (p. 119).

⁴⁶ Valerie Traub, 'The New Unhistoricism in Queer Studies', *PMLA*, 128.1 (2013), 21-39 (p. 27).

First, what do I mean by queer? Locating the use of the term queer in a longer academic history, April S. Callis notes 'rather than rolling out the "alphabet soup" of g(ay) l(esbian) b(isexual) t(ransexual) t(ransgendered) i(ntersexed) a(sexual), *queer* allowed a pithy shorthand'.⁴⁷ This is certainly true. Nonetheless, as a critical lens, a queer approach has more pertinent applications for this thesis. As Jürgen Habermas argues, 'modernity lives on the experience of rebelling against all that is normative'.⁴⁸ And yet modernity is also sustained by conceptualising, categorising and delineating the normative. Indeed, without a normative standard there can be nothing to rebel against. As H. G. Cocks asserts 'what was truly different about modern sexuality...was not its delineation of types—this had been done before on a lesser scale—but the fact that it was surrounded by an array of scientific and sociological disciplines that generated pervasive ideas about what were the normal attributes of individuality, psychology, and sexual behaviour'.⁴⁹ In regards to modernism, sexuality and gender identity there exists a triumvirate of institutionalised frameworks that are vital to understanding the production of such normativity: sexology, psychoanalysis and watershed legal trials, such as those brought against Oscar Wilde and Radclyffe Hall.⁵⁰ Together, this triumvirate ossify normativity and concomitantly produce queerness as an outsider concept. In its exploration of queer modernist geographies, this thesis repeatedly draws on this triumvirate as a means of interrogating the construction and operation of normativity that queerness rebels against. Chapter One engages with the queer inheritance of the Wilde trial and its shaping effect on Forster's *Maurice* (1971), Chapter Two traces the

⁴⁷ April S. Callis, 'Playing with Butler and Foucault: Bisexuality and Queer Theory', *Journal of Bisexuality*, 9.3-4 (2009), 213-233 (p. 214).

⁴⁸ Jürgen Habermas and Seyla Ben-Habib, 'Modernity versus Postmodernity', *New German Critique*, 22 (1981), 3-14, (p. 5).

⁴⁹ H. G. Cocks, 'Modernity and the Self in the History of Sexuality', *The Historical Journal*, 49.4 (2006), 1211-1227 (p. 1213).

⁵⁰ See Benjamin Kahan, 'What is Sexual Modernity?', *Modernism/modernity Print Plus*, 1.3 (2016) <<https://modernismmodernity.org/forums/what-sexual-modernity>> [accessed 4 June 2017] and Anna Katharina Schaffner, *Modernism and Perversion: Sexual Deviance in Sexology and Literature, 1850-1930* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

impact of Freudian psychoanalysis on the landscapes of H.D.'s short stories and Chapter Three situates Burdekin in dialogue with the sexology of Havelock Ellis.

In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf touches on the power of such normativity through invoking the figure of Sir Chartres Biron, the Chief Magistrate who presided over the obscenity trial of *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) and ordered its destruction: 'Are there no men present? Do you promise me that behind that red curtain over there the figure of Sir Chartres Biron is not concealed? We are all women, you assure me?'⁵¹ These stacked questions invite a sense of frantic appeal that underscores the danger of writing about desire between two women. Woolf knew all too well of the risk involved, having been called as a potential witness to *The Well of Loneliness* trial. In all its forms, queerness came with a potential cost: arrests, trials, public and private shame, fines, imprisonment, book burnings, exile.

Overall, then, I employ the term queer to refer *en masse* to those who are rendered other by the construction of normative ideals; those subjects who do not fit with the script of sexualised and gendered normativity. Importantly, however, my use of queer does not seek to congeal these dissident identities. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick maintains, queer 'can refer to: the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically'.⁵² In focusing on the multiple gendered and sexualised identities captured by the term sexual orientation, it follows that my use of queer is deliberately slippery. Throughout this thesis I lean in to discrete categories of identity (homosexuality in Chapter One and Chapter Four, bisexuality in Chapter Two, hermaphroditism in Chapter Three) to assess how the construction of such taxonomies impacts upon modernist literature. In doing so, I aim to trace the wider

⁵¹ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 81.

⁵² Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 8.

relationship between modernity, geography and queerness. As a term, queer therefore allows for productive connections to be drawn between different subjectivities, affording a broader understanding of how the construction of different sexual orientations affects the geographies of modernist texts. Thus, my use of queer is unifying but not uniform, allowing for collectivity whilst resisting homogeneity. Whilst I trace the thinking that underpins the construction of sexual orientations and feel out the sinews that run between sexual identities, I recognise the tacit differences between such categories of identity.

Second, what do I mean by desire? In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004), Ahmed concerns the reader with how emotions function, rather than what emotions are. This critical interest is perhaps best summarised by the pithy inquiry: ‘What do emotions do?’⁵³ Examining the importance of desire within the relationship between sexuality and space, it is equally useful to question how desire acts, rather than ask what desire is. This is because—in spite of multiple, overlapping and dissident theoretical understandings—a thread can be drawn through the psychoanalytic legacy of desire that affords a comprehension of how sexuality becomes spatialised. Beginning with Freud, I chart this psychoanalytic legacy as a means of answering the question ‘What does desire do?’ and elucidating how desire functions throughout this thesis.

As Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis posit, the Freudian conception of desire is vast, complex and murky. Unthreading the terminology Freud attaches to desire as a means of tracing its theoretical contours, Laplanche and Pontalis elucidate that Freud does not equate desire with need, but with ‘the hallucinatory reproduction of the perceptions which have become the signs of...satisfaction’. In turn Laplanche and Pontalis contend that Freudian desire is a kind of search for an object in the real world that is ‘entirely governed by this relationship with signs’, the ‘organisation of these signs’ constituting ‘phantasy—the

⁵³ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 4.

correlate of desire'.⁵⁴ This rather opaque description of desire is perhaps best understood through Freud's conception of the Oedipus Complex. Offering a reading of the Oedipus myth as part of *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), Freud asserts that during the phallic stage of psychosexual development 'a child's sexual wishes....awaken', contending that 'a girl's first affection is for her father and a boy's first childish desires are for his mother'.⁵⁵ Unable to continue harbouring their desire for the opposite-sex parent however, the child eventually begins to instead identify with the same-sex parent. Developing the themes that underpin this idea in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud asserts that 'there are thus good reasons why a child sucking at his mother's breast has become the prototype of every relation of love. The finding of an object is in fact a refinding of it'.⁵⁶ In this fashion, desire becomes displaced from the mother onto another subject, positioning the mother as a sign, a symbol of care that desire pushes the subject to find again in reality.

Catherine Belsey has refined this understanding of Freudian desire by arguing that the search for signs should not be regarded as a naturalised process. Rather:

Sexuality does not exist in a pure state prior to the meanings and fantasies with which it is invested by the caring adults. There is no erotic life outside what is learned, no infantile instinctual sexuality untrammelled by meaning, no body independent of mind, and no lost golden world outside "civilization" or culture.⁵⁷

Belsey's recapitulation of desire within civilising processes is key, serving to illuminate the manner in which desire becomes culturally produced. In this regard, we might question how the birth of pervasive modern sexual orientations shapes the permissive ways in which bodies move towards and away from children and thus, in a Freudian context, shapes the

⁵⁴ Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac Books, 1988), p. 482.

⁵⁵ Sigmund Freud, 'The Interpretation of Dreams', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Vintage 2001), IV (2000), pp. 339-622 (p. 257).

⁵⁶ Freud, 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality', p. 222.

⁵⁷ Catherine Belsey, 'Desire in theory: Freud, Lacan, Derrida', in *Textual Practice: Volume 7, Issue 3: Special Issue: Desire*, ed. by Terence Hawkes (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 6-32 (p. 14).

very search for desire. Turning again to the Oedipus Complex and Freud's repeated assertion of sexual difference, one can see this cultural shaping of desire. For Freud, though the Oedipus Complex is universal, it manifests in essentially different manners for boys and girls. Whereas for the male child Oedipal desire leads to a fear of castration from the father, in the female child it conversely affects penis envy. Such difference, for Freud, is predicated on innate anatomical disparities: the presence of a penis spurs on desire for the mother, the absence of a penis affects desire for the father. In this fashion, the Freudian comprehension of desire becomes shaped by an overdetermined sense of variance in boys and girls that orients each to different parents. Indeed, for Freud, if the child is not originally oriented towards the opposite-sex parents, then pathological conditions can occur. In all, if Freudian desire is a search, this search that can take many paths. Thinking through Belsey, it is evident that the manifold ways in which these paths are beaten elucidates the relationship between orientation and desire, with orientation influencing the direction in which desire flows.

Remodelling the Freudian understanding of desire, Jacques Lacan introduces the concept of *manque* or lack. For Lacan, sexuality is bound to desire in that 'the nodal point by which the pulsation of the unconscious is linked to sexual reality...is called desire'.⁵⁸ Like Freud, Lacan distinguishes between desire and need, positioning that 'desire is neither the appetite for satisfaction nor the demand for love, but the difference that results from the subtraction of the first from the second, the very phenomenon of their splitting'.⁵⁹ For Lacan, desire arises when demand pushes beyond simply what is needed: 'Desire begins to take shape in the margin in which demand rips away from need'.⁶⁰ In this way, Lacan positions the subject as constantly desiring and looking for something more than what they require. For Lacan, this something is the *objet petit a*, an unobtainable object of desire: 'the object of desire is the

⁵⁸ Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. by Alan Sheridan, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 154.

⁵⁹ Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. by Bruce Fink (London: W. W. Norton, 2007), p. 580.

⁶⁰ Lacan, *Écrits*, p. 689.

cause of the desire, and this object that is the cause of desire is the object of the drive...It is not that desire clings to the object of the drive—desire moves around it'.⁶¹ In this fashion, the object of desire is repeatedly circumvented and thus never fulfilled. Desire for Lacan therefore becomes related to a sense of absence, to a sense of not having, to a sense of lack. Indeed, to fully understand the entire Lacanian model of desire, one must comprehend its utter dependency on the notion of lack. For Lacan 'desire is a relation of being to lack. This lack is the lack of being properly speaking. It isn't the lack of this or that, but lack of being whereby the being exists'.⁶² As Slavoj Žižek maintains, 'desire's *raison d'être*...is not to realize its goal, to find full satisfaction, but to reproduce itself as desire'.⁶³ This idea is particularly important throughout Chapter One, which argues that desire (in constantly asking for more) pushes Maurice and his lovers not just towards one another, but beyond the confines of the closet and into the light of day.

Feminist critique of psychoanalysis has complicated and rebutted this vision of desire as stemming from lack, in particular the manner in which lack is attributed to the female body. Identifying this problem, Simone de Beauvoir contends 'Sexually, man is subject; men are thus normally separated by the desire that drives them toward an object different from themselves; but woman is an absolute object of desire'.⁶⁴ Thinking through the revolutionary potential of desire, Hélène Cixous builds on this and contends that 'Women must write through their bodies, they must invent the impregnable language that will wreck partitions, classes, and rhetorics, regulations and codes'.⁶⁵ Unpicking the stitching of Freud and Lacan's arguments, Cixous positions that 'in the end woman, in man's desire, stands in the place of

⁶¹ Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, p. 243.

⁶² Jacques Lacan, 'Desire, life and death', in *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: Book 2: The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis 1954-1955*, trans. by Sylvana Tomaselli, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 221-234 (p. 223).

⁶³ Slavoj Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies* (London: Verso, 1997), p. 39.

⁶⁴ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier (New York: Vintage, 2010), p. 410.

⁶⁵ Hélène Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', trans. by Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, *Signs*, 1.4 (1976), 875-893 (p. 886).

not knowing' as psychoanalytic theories have repeatedly positioned women 'outside language, the place of the Law, exclud[ing her] from any possible relationship with culture and the cultural order'.⁶⁶ Retaliating against this relegation of women, Cixous maintains that women 'have to start by resisting the movement of re-appropriation that rules the whole economy, by being party no longer to the masculine return, but by proposing instead a desire no longer caught up in the death struggle'.⁶⁷ In doing so, Cixous situates desire as a forms of resistance, a disruption to epistemological frameworks that have sought to position women as symbolic lack. In particular, this reading of desire is important throughout Chapter Two, which explores H.D.'s remodelling of Freudian psychoanalysis and his restrictive views of bisexuality.

In spite of these critical disputes however, a tacit connection undercuts these theorisations of desire: mobility. Whether desire stems from a search for what is lost, from a move towards what one lacks, from a disruptive flow that resists rigid identification or from a yearning to connect, to create and to produce, desire is framed as essentially mobile. At the same time, as Žižek highlights, desire is ceaseless, never finishing its journey. Desire repeatedly asks for more. In this way, desire is both the movement through space towards an object and the creation of further space, the search for new objects. Desire, then, becomes paramount to the interweaving of sexuality and space. In tracing the genesis of modern sexual orientations, analysing the psychoanalytic legacy of desire allows one to track how the oriented subject moves. Put simply, desire is repeatedly inscribed as the impulse for the subject and object to become closer. In tandem with this, the very construction of sexual orientations through psychoanalytic practice has ramifications for how desire is represented, the direction of its flow and the way in which the desiring subject is permitted to travel. Considering the

⁶⁶ Hélène Cixous, 'Castration or Decapitation?', trans by. Annette Kuhn, *Signs*, 7.1 (1981), 41-55 (pp. 46-49).

⁶⁷ Hélène Cixous, 'Castration or Decapitation?', p. 50.

function of desire opens our geographical reading of modernist literature by positioning the oriented subject as an essentially mobile one.

Thinking through the mobility of desire in *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf notes the potential damage wrought by its perpetual motion:

They are driven by instincts which are not within their control. They too, the patriarchs, the professors, had endless difficulties...True, they had money and power, but only at the cost of harbouring in their breasts an eagle, a vulture, forever tearing the liver out and plucking at the lungs - the instinct for possession, the rage for acquisition which drives them to desire other people's fields and goods perpetually; to make frontiers and flags; battleships and poison gas; to offer up their own lives and their children's lives.⁶⁸

Like the insatiable eagle who returns each day to feed off Prometheus' organs, desire pushes ever onwards. Utilising this myth, Woolf folds together the spatial and the sexual by asserting patriarchal desire harbours a particular violence that leads to empire, colonialism and war. Woolf frames masculine desire as pushing beyond need, as essentially greedy and all-encompassing, gobbling up new spaces as it marches onwards, never quite satisfied. This idea is especially important throughout Chapter Three, which argues that Burdekin puts forward a similar line of argument throughout *Proud Man* (1934) and *Swastika Night* (1937). Of course, desire may take other forms. It is desire that draws together Sally and Clarissa, for instance, and this same desire that Clarissa so admires: 'She had the simplest egotism, the most open desire to be thought first always, and Clarissa loved her for being still like that'.⁶⁹ Bound by their affection and intimacy, Sally returns to Clarissa physically as Clarissa returns to their kiss in the folds of her *susurrus* mind, each propelled by their desire for one another. In this thesis, then, when I employ the term desire, I am engaging a mobile force that pushes subjects onwards and draws them closer to one another.

⁶⁸ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ Virginia Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 188.

Third, what do I mean by affect? Stripped down, affect is the embodied, impersonal response of one subject to another.⁷⁰ Affect theory has been a useful tool for feminist and queer approaches to geography as it invites new considerations of how bodies interact and identify with each other.⁷¹ Affect is vital when considering sexual orientation as sexuality is not simply concerned with desire. Rather, as Sedgwick notes, we experience a range of affects when faced with the prospect of a lover.⁷² The presence of these multiple affects is crucial. As Nigel Thrift contends, through affect 'what we are able to see is that the space of embodiment is expanded...emotions, which are a vital element of the body's apprehension of the world'.⁷³ Following this, if affect is essential to how we parse our surrounds, then the affects spurred on by an object of desire are important to sexual orientation. This is to say that affect expands our conception of orientation. And this is not simply a question of who the subject is oriented towards, but who they are oriented away from. In thinking about the way in which affect causes the world to come into view, we might consider how affects function as a kind of pivot. Certain affects elicited by a potential object of desire may pull the subject towards them, while others may push the subject away. Joy, excitement and intrigue have a distinct draw, a magnetic pull towards those we are interested in. Fear, shame and disgust offer another perspective entirely, a repulsion that pushes us away from those we have no interest in ourselves. Importantly, however, the examination of such affects is not reducible to a simple question of how an individual subject is feeling but, as Deborah Thien positions in her

⁷⁰ For a broader discussion of affect, see Patricia Ticineto Clough, 'Introduction', in *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, ed. by Patricia Ticineto Clough and Jean Halley (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 1-33 and Nigel Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 171-198.

⁷¹ See Jason Lim, 'Queer Critique and the Politics of Affect', in *Geographies of Sexualities: Theory, Practices and Politics*, ed. by Gavin Brown, Jason Lim and Kath Browne (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 55-67 and Kristyn Gorton, 'Theorizing Emotion and Affect: Feminist Engagements', *Feminist Theory*, 8.3 (2007), 333-348.

⁷² Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 36.

⁷³ Nigel Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory*, pp. 186-187. This is reflected by Rita Felski and Susan Fraiman in their consideration of mood which, though not the same as affect, has been repeatedly linked to affect theory. See Rita Felski and Susan Fraiman, 'Introduction', *New Literary History*, 43.3 (2012), v-xii (p. vi).

survey of affect and geography, 'placing emotion in the context of our always intersubjective relations offers more promise for politically relevant, emphatically human' analysis that is predicated on 'the motion of emotion'.⁷⁴ Much as it is important to trace the spatialization of desire, unpacking the manner in which the desiring subject is constructed as a feeling subject is central to understanding the interplay of sexual and spatial orientations.

To understand the place of affect in constructing modern sexual orientations, it is vital to first examine the manner in which psychoanalysis and sexology employ affect and, in turn, how such discourse orients the sexual subject. Just as Bauer has argued that we should lean in to concepts like inversion to understand them within their historical contexts, so too must we do this with the depiction of affect. Here, it is crucial to note that though many contemporary scholars draw a dividing line between affect, feeling and emotion, these concepts are largely collapsed by sexology and psychoanalysis—interwoven, rather than parcelled out from one another.⁷⁵ As Kate Fisher and Jana Funke have shown, the cross-disciplinary nature of sexology lends itself to affective discourse by drawing on the work of 'historians, anthropologists, theologians, classicists, sociologists, philosophers, and literary writers, among others', an analysis that expands the scope of sexual science as a means of offering 'richly contextualised understandings of sexuality'.⁷⁶ Predated by the evolutionary theory contained in Charles Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), the place of affect in sexology foreshadows the comingling of the physical, psychic and emotional as presented not only in Freud, but in the work of later thinkers such as Silvan

⁷⁴ Deborah Thien, 'After or Beyond Feeling? A Consideration of Affect and Emotion in Geography', *Area*, 37.4 (2005), 450-454 (pp. 450-451).

⁷⁵ Eric Shouse, 'Feeling, Emotion, Affect', *M/C Journal*, 8.6 (2005) <<http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0512/03-shouse.php>> [accessed 2 June 2017].

⁷⁶ Kate Fisher and Jana Funke, 'Sexual Science Beyond the Medical', *The Lancet*, 387.10021 (2016), 840-841 (p. 841).

Tomkins, whose influential theories of affect have come to shape interdisciplinary critical dialogues.⁷⁷

Early sexological texts are drenched in affect. Titles such as Albert Moll's *Die Conträre Sexualempfindung* (The Contrary Sexual Feeling) (1891) frame the sexually deviant subject as an emotive body, while medical professionals continually couched perversion in the language of feeling. To this end, William Reid describes the sexual symptoms of moral insanity as 'a morbid perversion of the natural feelings, affections, inclinations, temper, habits, and moral dispositions, without any noticeable lesion of the intellect, or knowing and reasoning faculties, and particularly without maniacal hallucinations'.⁷⁸ Akin to this, Havelock Ellis positions that 'the only intelligible explanation' for exhibitionism and flagellation are 'mild shock', 'injured modesty', 'delicious shame' and other 'corresponding emotions', while physician Charles Féré thought of masochistic tendencies as 'an affection of emotivity consisting in the research for painful manoeuvres practised upon them by members of the other sex'.⁷⁹ Others—such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Magnus Hirschfeld and Iwan Bloch—made similar volleys when describing sexual pathologies.⁸⁰

Following this sexological imbrication of body and affect, Freudian psychoanalysis presents a complex, layered relationship with emotion, feeling and affect. Though scholarship has

⁷⁷ For a longer discussion of Silvan Tomkins and the construction of affect, see Donald L. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), pp. 56-67 and Clare Hemmings, 'Invoking Affect: Cultural Theory and the Ontological Turn', *Cultural Studies*, 19.5 (2005), 548-567.

⁷⁸ William Reid, *Elements of the Practice of Medicine: Designed as a Textbook for the Use of Students* (Edinburgh: James Walker, 1839), p. 487.

⁷⁹ Havelock Ellis, 'Erotic Symbolism', *Alienist and Neurologist*, 27 (1906), 305-327 (p. 305). Charles Féré, *The Pathology of Emotions: Physiological and Clinical Studies*, trans. by Robert Park (London: The University Press, 1899), p. 400.

⁸⁰ Richard von Krafft-Ebing portrays masochists as 'colored by lustful feeling' in Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study*, trans. by Harry E. Wedeck (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 127. George L. Mosse highlights that Iwan Bloch believed masturbation to lead to loneliness and shyness in George L. Mosse, 'Nationalism and Respectability: Normal and Abnormal Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17 (1982), 221-246 (p. 227). Emma Heaney outlines the affective contours of Magnus Hirschfeld's transvestite case studies in Emma Heaney, "'I am not a friend to men': Embodiment and Desire in Magnus Hirschfeld's Transvestites Case Studies', *Journal of Lesbian Studies* (2018), 22.2, 136-152.

often situated psychoanalysis at odds with affect, a burgeoning number of cultural geographers, critical theorists and literary critics have continued to show that affect 'is a term with a distinctly psychological pedigree'.⁸¹ Thinking through the highly affective concept of the fold as permitting 'one to see the inside as merely the other side of the outside or surface', José Esteban Muñoz contends 'we can tentatively locate a resonant cord' between affect and psychoanalysis. For Muñoz, the psychoanalytic perspective, much like the fold, unveils 'the dynamic relationship between interior and exterior, surface and depth, inside and outside, essence and appearance', allowing one to 'cautiously argue that we need not think of affect and psychoanalysis as simple opposites'.⁸² Anticipating Muñoz, Mark Solms and Edward Nersessian trace the impetus behind the theoretical chasm between affect and psychoanalysis by arguing that 'Freud's affect theory is poorly understood and frequently misrepresented. This is attributable largely to the fact that he never published a definitive, comprehensive statement of this theory'.⁸³ We may also attribute this dissonance to Freud's own misgivings about affective discourse, claiming in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) that 'it is not easy to deal scientifically with feelings' and that one can merely 'attempt to describe their physiological signs'.⁸⁴ Yet, for all his protests, Freud repeatedly returns to the place of emotion: the fear of castration in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, the shame attached to the self in *Studies in Hysteria* (1895), the joy of humour in *The Joke and its Relation to the Unconscious* (1905). In particular, Freud returns to affective discourse in his discussion of the sexual subject. To therefore fully comprehend

⁸¹ Deborah Thien, 'After or beyond Feeling?', p. 451.

⁸² José Esteban Muñoz, 'From Surface to Depth, Between Psychoanalysis and Affect', *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* (2009), 19.2, 123-129, (p. 124).

⁸³ Mark Solms and Edward Nersessian, 'Freud's Theory of Affect: Questions for Neuroscience', *Neuropsychanalysis*, 1.1 (1999), 5-14 (p. 5).

⁸⁴ Sigmund Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols, (London: Vintage 2001), XXI (2001), pp. 59-148 (p. 65).

the spatial contours of the modern sexual orientation, one must trace such Freudian engagement with affect.

In their summation of Freud and affect, Solms and Nersessian contend that 'Felt emotions are the conscious perceptions of an internal process...If the process is triggered by an external event, the felt emotion is a perception of the *subjective response* to that event'.⁸⁵

At the heart of this understanding is the notion that affects do not register the world objectively, but are relative to the subject. As Robbie McLaughlan notes, 'Freud places affect within a phenomenological economy'.⁸⁶ Perhaps this is best outlined by Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams*:

The psychical apparatus, which is turned towards the external world with its sense-organ of the *Pcpt.* [perceptual] systems, is itself the external world in relation to the sense-organ of the *Cs.* [conscious system]...Excitatory material flows in to the *Cs.* sense-organ from two directions: from the *Pcpt.* system, whose excitation, determined by qualities, is probably submitted to a fresh revision before it becomes a conscious sensation, and from the interior of the apparatus itself, whose quantitative processes are felt qualitatively in the pleasure-unpleasure series when, subject to certain modifications, they make their way to consciousness.⁸⁷

For Freud, then, whether excitatory material flows from the perceptual systems or from the internal of the conscious system, it is transformed through qualitative processes of revision or modification. Remarking on this relationship, Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg argue that 'affect and cognition are never fully separable—if for no other reason than that thought itself is a body, embodied'.⁸⁸ In this regard, one can trace a link between the Freudian notion of affect and modern conceptions of affect as what Thrift refers to as 'a vital part of the body's apprehension of the world'. If, as Freud declares, the world is experienced

⁸⁵ Solms and Nersessian, 'Freud's Theory of Affect: Questions for Neuroscience', p. 6.

⁸⁶ Robbie McLaughlan, 'The Trauma of Form: Death Drive as Affect in *À la recherche du temps perdu*', in *Modernism and Affect*, ed. by Julie Taylor (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 39-55, (p. 40).

⁸⁷ Freud, 'The Interpretation of Dreams', pp. 615-616.

⁸⁸ Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg, 'An Inventory of Shimmers', in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. by Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 1-28 (pp. 2-3).

through the modulations of affects, then affect is at the heart of how we perceive of our surrounds.

For Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, this bodily reading of affect is essential. Discussing affect in the opening to *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980), Brian Massumi describes the ‘corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another’, while Jack Katz extends this reading by observing ‘the doing of emotions is a process of breaking bodily boundaries, of tears spilling out, rage burning up, and as laughter bursts out, the emphatic involvement of guts as a designated source of the utterance’.⁸⁹ For Divya Praful Tolia-Kelly, this is exacerbated by the embodiment of affect as ‘various bodies through their racialized, gendered and sexualized markedness, magnetize various capacities for being affected’.⁹⁰ If, as Ahmed shows, sexual orientation is deeply embodied, then the body’s capacity to be affected is central to the overlay of geographic and erotic orientations. But what is the function of this affective discourse? As Ahmed has asked of emotion and I have asked of desire: what does affect do?

In her extended discussion of Hirschfeld, Bauer offers an answer to these questions. For Bauer, the emotive discourse of sexology is important insofar as it affords a sense of recognition between subjects that moves towards affective collectivity. Detailing this, Bauer positions that:

Medico-legal intrusions influenced subjects’ development of a sense of self and brought it in relation to others via categories of sexual pleasure and desire and that such allegiances were forged out of imaginative, material, and affective encounters across time as well as the experiences of living in specific places and spaces.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Brian Massumi, ‘Notes on the Translation and Acknowledgements’, in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, trans. by Brian Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004), pp. xvii-xx (p. xvii). Jack Katz, *How Emotions Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 322.

⁹⁰ Divya Tolia-Kelly, ‘Affect—An Ethnocentric Encounter? Exploring the “Universalist” Imperative of Emotional/Affectual Geographies’, *Area*, 38 (2006), 213–17 (p. 215).

⁹¹ Heike Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2017), p. 6.

Through this argument, Bauer underscores how affect allows orientation to extend beyond relations between the subject and object of desire. In particular, Bauer illuminates the manner in which the construction of taxonomies and diagnostic categories used to explain sexual behaviour afford a sense of deeply affective kinship between queer subjects.⁹² To explicate this, Bauer draws on 'Hirschfeld's account of the reception of the death of arguably the most iconic modern homosexual', Wilde, a death that 'indicates how the persecution of this famous figure affected both Hirschfeld and queer everyday life in the early twentieth century'.⁹³ Through her fastidious reading of the Hirschfeld archive, Bauer argues that the moment of Wilde's death indicates 'some of the emotional threads that held together queer lives collectively and across national borders at that point in time when sexology and related cultural, social, and political debates shaped modern sexuality'.⁹⁴ Put simply, the construction of sexual orientations offers moments of opportunity for queer subjects to recognise themselves in relation to one another. Vitaly, this recognition extends further than the scope of sexual encounters. Affect, then, opens up our reading of queer orientations beyond the erotic encounter, affording a comprehension of how queer subjects are pulled towards one another and bound together into collective emotional landscapes that shape the experiences of material places. Returning to Thien's assertion that affects have ramifications for intersubjective relations, one can see how the sexological and psychoanalytic categorisation of new taxonomies allows for broader affective resonance between these subjects. In this thesis, the affective legacy of sexuality is particularly important to Chapter One and Chapter Four, which explore the impact of Wilde on Forster and Forster on Isherwood.

⁹² Further criticism of the relationship between modernity, affect and kinship is offered in David L. Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 190-195.

⁹³ Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives*, p. 52.

⁹⁴ Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives*, p. 56.

In all, if desire functions to move oriented subjects towards one another, affect has broader implications that expand our comprehension of how orientations become spatialised. Principally, affects act as a magnet, drawing and repulsing subjects towards and away from one another. In turn, this positioning of bodies creates spatial hierarchies that (de)centre subjects in uneven manners. For those at the parameters, these affects offer a moment of recognition, a kinship bred in the margins that magnetises bodies together. When reading the spatial dimensions of queer modernity, affect is therefore useful in understanding how sexual orientations are able to function beyond the erotic, affording a comprehension of how queer subjects are still drawn into dialogue even if they do not desire one another, a recognition that forges new geographical possibilities. As Halberstam asserts that we might think of sexuality within an 'ecological kind of framework, understanding that changes in one environment inevitably impact changes in other environments', we might see how affect has the potential to transform our place in such a framework. Ultimately, affect does not just influence how the world comes into view, rather it measures the very shape of the world through modifying our positionalities within it by pulling certain subjects to the centre and pushing others to the margins.⁹⁵

In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf scrutinises both the construction and power of affect through the imagined 'Professor von X engaged in writing his monumental work entitled *The Mental, Moral, and Physical Inferiority of the Female Sex*'.⁹⁶ Suddenly returning from her drifting thoughts, the narrator of Woolf's text finds herself scrawling a picture of the ruddy faced professor:

A very elementary exercise in psychology, not to be dignified by the name of psychoanalysis, showed me, on looking at my notebook, that the sketch of the angry professor had been made in anger. Anger had snatched my pencil while I dreamt. But what was anger doing there? Interest, confusion, amusement, boredom—all these emotions I could trace and name as they succeeded each other throughout

⁹⁵ J. Jack Halberstam, *Gaga Feminism: Sex, Gender, and the End of Normal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), p. 81.

⁹⁶ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 32

the morning. Had anger, the black snake, been lurking among them? Yes, said the sketch, anger had. It referred me unmistakably to the one book, to the one phrase, which had roused the demon; it was the professor's statement about the mental, moral and physical inferiority of women. My heart had leapt. My cheeks had burnt. I had flushed with anger.⁹⁷

Primarily, the figure of the professor (and, in particular, the prepositional 'von') evokes the names of European sexologists such as Krafft-Ebing and Ellis. This figure, jabbing 'his pen on the paper as if he were killing some noxious insect', allows Woolf to unpick the gendered power of psychoanalysis and sexology, paying particular attention to the manner in which women are constructed by such discourses.⁹⁸ Through *The Mental, Moral, and Physical Inferiority of the Female Sex*, the professor positions women as essentially weak, lacking and inferior by shaping the surface of the female body. And yet Woolf does not simply dismiss such positioning as flawed and therefore immaterial. Rather, she highlights the power of this discourse. In shaping the body, psychoanalysis and sexology have the power to affect the subject. Professor von X sparks a range of affects: the shock of a heart leaping, the shame of cheeks burning, the rage of flushing. In a typical flourish, Woolf utilises these affects to appeal to the reader, recapitulating affective power by netting women together, creating a sense of marginalised kinship that rallies against the professor and his text. In this thesis, then, when I utilise the term affect, I am talking of the way in which bodies have the potential to be affected by those around them and, subsequently, the manner in which this affectation magnetises or repulses bodies from one another, allowing for moments of intimate recognition and identification.

Mappings: The Structure of this Thesis.

⁹⁷ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 33

⁹⁸ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, p. 33

The tapestry has been examined; the interwoven theoretical and intellectual contours of this thesis have been outlined; my utilisation of terminology has been explained. Now, what remains is to demarcate the structure of the thesis as a whole. Following this introduction, Chapter One locates Forster's *Maurice* between Victorian and modern sensibilities by tracing the influence of Forster's homosexual forebears on the text. Born in 1879, Forster would become part of the first generation of men who came of age after the passing of Section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885. Commonly known as the Labouchere Amendment, Section 11 criminalised gross indecency in the United Kingdom. In 1895, Wilde was trialled under Section 11 and sentenced to two years hard labour, the maximum sentence that the judge could allocate. I contend that *Maurice* grapples with this inheritance, existing in dialogue with Wilde and primarily permeated with a need for privacy that shapes the geographies of the text, restricting the protagonists' movements and confining their intimacy to the private space of the home. Nonetheless, centralising and interrogating the often omitted epilogue, I argue that this privacy is unsustainable, leading Forster to turn to the greenwood as a means of constructing a new vision of homosexuality that draws on the relationship of Edward Carpenter and George Merrill in order to create an imaginative space where desire between men can flourish. The case for Forster's inclusion in this thesis is a simple one. Often presented as the 'first modern homosexual novel', *Maurice* is a touchstone of queer modernism.⁹⁹ Emerging out of a late Victorian moment—complete with the hangover of shame and the debt of Wilde's trial—and written in secret (before its late publication in 1971) the novel spans the development of 'homosexual' as a term and directly grapples with the taxonomizing of sexual orientation. In particular, this can be seen by the textual genesis of the novel, with Forster's addition of a Terminal Note and the novel's

⁹⁹ R. S. Fone, *A Road to Stonewall: Male Homosexuality and Homophobia in English and American Literature, 1750–1969* (New York: Twayne, 1995), p. 175. Even if there are cases to be made for other, earlier homosexual novels such as Andre Gide's *The Immoralist* (1902) or Marcel Proust's serialised *In Search of Lost Time* (1913–27), *Maurice* undoubtedly holds a vital place in the history of homosexual (and, more widely, queer) literature.

epilogue. Due to this, Forster and *Maurice* offer a fitting opening, a starting point which allows this thesis to trace the roots of the relationship between queerness and modernity, as well as this relationship's spatial legacy.

Following this, Chapter Two turns inwards to examine the relationship between psychoanalysis and the landscape of the mind in H.D.'s short stories 'Kora and Ka' (1934) and 'Mira-Mare' (1934). Written in 1930 and published in 1934, these stories straddle the analysis H.D. undertook with Freud in 1933, sessions that would become a significant intertext throughout her later writing. Reading the sea in 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' in dialogue with Freud's concept of 'oceanic feeling', I position that the landscape of H.D.'s short stories spatialises the analytic method by presenting mental life as a geographic ecosystem that can be explored through psychoanalysis. Drawing on the long history of feminist critique, however, I maintain that H.D. does not simply regurgitate Freudian thinking, but remodels it to create a more capacious psychic model that radically redraws the geographic boundaries of her psychic landscape by championing bisexuality as a means of recouping the feminine. When examining the calcification of sexual orientation through psychoanalysis, there is perhaps no better case study than H.D. and Freud. As Ariela Freedman asserts, 'H.D.'s encounter with Freud is literature's encounter with psychoanalysis', a poetic reworking of analysis and its identification of sexual pathologies.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, this encounter marked H.D. for life and helped to shape the poet's approach to her literary identity. As Forster's difficult relationship with his own sexuality led to the long publication history of *Maurice*, H.D. and Freud's enigmatic frisson would stretch from her early engagement with his theory to the composition of memoir *Tribute to Freud* (1956),

¹⁰⁰ Ariela Freedman, *Death, Men, and Modernism: Trauma and Narrative in British Fiction from Hardy to Woolf* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 103.

published half a decade before H.D.'s death in Zürich, that metropole marker of convalescence and psychoanalysis.

Considering the utopian impulse of modernism, the third chapter of this thesis pans out from the individual subject to interrogate the innate relationship between eugenic ideology and sexual subjectivity by tracing the impact of sexology on Burdekin's experimental science fiction novels *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night*. Akin to H.D. and Freud, Burdekin was in correspondence with Havelock Ellis, with critics positioning the sexologist as a core influence on her writing. Extending critique of the relationship between Burdekin and Ellis, this thesis interrogates the impact of Ellis' eugenic ideology on the geographies of *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night*. Arguing that eugenic thinking folds together sexuality and space by positioning the nation as a collective body that is strengthened by its ability to reproduce, I maintain that there is a distinctly eugenic undercurrent to the utopian politics of *Proud Man*, a novel concerned with a 'perfect' futuristic human race. Curiously, however, this undercurrent is turned on its head in *Swastika Night*, which frames eugenic ideology as a dystopian nightmare. Situating Burdekin in dialogue with her contemporaries, Chapter Three contends that the rise of Nazi racial hygiene sparked a change in public sympathies for eugenics, affecting the landscape of Burdekin's fiction and the position of queer characters included within. As with H.D. and Freud, Burdekin's inclusion in this thesis presents one of modernism's most intriguing encounters with (pseudo)scientific discourse, her literature wrapping itself around and testing the limitations of Ellis' thinking. And though Burdekin left less of a material trace than H.D. (one of the few remaining letters she sent is marked [Redacted]), her relationship with Ellis is no less fascinating.¹⁰¹ Indeed, it is partially because of Burdekin's slender lineage (both archival and critical) that she finds a home in this thesis,

¹⁰¹ New Haven, The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library (hereafter 'BRBML'), Yale Collection of American Literature, H.D. Papers, Letter from Murray Constantine to H.D. [No Date], Box 9, Folder 298.

with Chapter Three functioning, in part, to support recovery of her curious polyphonic writing.

Offering a capstone to this thesis, Chapter Four traces the ends of queer modernist geographies in Isherwood's early novels. As I situate Forster between the Victorian and the modern, I position Isherwood's early writing between high modernism and a later politicised Thirties aesthetic. Tracking the space of the island in *All the Conspirators* (1928), *Mr Norris Changes Trains* (1935) and *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939), this chapter charts the integral collapse of queer modernism by arguing that the rise of right-wing politics and the outbreak of the Second World War required new interrelations of sexuality, geography and modernity that drew writers like Isherwood away from the coded desire of high modernism and towards a necessarily more political style. On first glance, Isherwood is perhaps the strangest inclusion in this thesis. Certainly, Isherwood has often been framed as decidedly un-modernist, positioned in reaction to modernism and as a marker of the Thirties literature that prompted a turn away from the high modernist aesthetic of the generation before. Nevertheless, Isherwood's inclusion in this thesis does not attempt to reperiodise his work entirely, rather (like my analysis of Forster and the late nineteenth century) my focus on Isherwood carefully tracks the legacy of modernism throughout his work as a means of gesturing towards the end of the relationship between queerness and modernity, as well as this relationship's spatial legacy. Without a doubt, it is poignant that Forster would leave Isherwood with the manuscript draft of *Maurice* and that the younger writer would play such an important role in its publication. In many regards, this handing over of *Maurice* marks a passing of the baton and a tying up of the parcel, a stamp of one thing ending and another being born in its place.

Summarising the central arguments of this thesis, the conclusion offers further reflection on the outbreak of the Second World War and the transformative power it held for queer modernist geographies. Thinking through Jacques Rancière's notion of the rupture moment

and drawing on broader scholarly arguments concerning modernism and the Second World War, I maintain that the outbreak of fighting in 1939 fundamentally reformed the core tenets of this thesis. A rupture moment such as the Second World War therefore offers a necessary end point beyond which only a different form of analysis could reach.

Homeosexuality: E. M. Forster and the House.

Only connect! That was the whole of her sermon. Only connect the prose and the passion, and both will be exalted, and human love will be seen at its height. Live in fragments no longer.

— E. M. Forster, *Howards End* (1910)¹⁰²

“Maurice! Maurice! you've actually come. You're here. This place'll never seem the same again, I shall love it at last”.

— E. M. Forster, *Maurice* (1971)¹⁰³

The gay closet is not a feature only of the lives of gay people. But for many gay people it is still the fundamental feature of social life; and there can be few gay people, however courageous and forthright by habit, however fortunate in the support of their immediate communities, in whose lives the closet is not still a shaping presence.

— Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990)¹⁰⁴

We are in a library, searching. Having reached the stacks and checked the numbers, we trace our fingers down the spines past Dickinson and Dostoevsky, Faulkner and Fitzgerald until we come to E. M. Forster. His novels sit together on the high shelf, yet one sticks out like a wounded thumb, as if it were dog-eared or damson next to its pristine siblings in their black jackets. There is no difference in the novel's binding however; it is the title that sets it apart: *Maurice*. A simple glance at Forster's other novels belies a preoccupation with place-making, be it the structures of *A Room with a View* (1908) and *Howards End* (1910), the voyages of *The Longest Journey* (1907) and *A Passage to India* (1924), or the tentative movement of *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905). In this way *Maurice* sits at odds with its counterparts on the bookshelf, a title that does not evoke a sense of space. Of course, to claim *Maurice* is any less concerned with the contours of geography than its siblings would be reductive, yet I believe that leaning into such a surface reading of the text is useful as it affects a pertinent critical suspicion. Aroused by such suspicion, this chapter begins by drawing attention to

¹⁰² E. M. Forster, *Howards End* (London: Vintage, 1989), p. 195.

¹⁰³ E. M. Forster, *Maurice* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 76.

¹⁰⁴ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), p. 68.

Forster's 'gay novel', as it is colloquially known, to ask what *Maurice's* difference can tell us about the relationship between sexuality and space in Forster's work.

In his broad reading of Forsterian geography, Andrew Thacker positions that Margaret Schlegel's outburst at the close of *Howards End* invites us to consider 'what exactly is to be connected, and more significantly, what is the manner of the connections exemplified in Forster's engagement with modernity?'¹⁰⁵ Critics have offered many answers to this inquiry. While Thacker contends that the movement of the modern motorcar exacerbates class divisions in *Howards End*, Jane Goldman maintains that women in Forster's work are caught up in representational spaces that reflect and dissect their femininity, and Daniel Ryan Morse considers the ethics of distance in *A Passage to India*.¹⁰⁶ Abridging these multiple viewpoints, Gail Fincham summarises that the experience of Forsterian space is a 'simultaneously geographical, cultural and psychological' practice.¹⁰⁷ This contention embodies the common contemporary argument that Forster's fiction stages the social production of space, realising the Lefebvrian statement 'space is a social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure'.¹⁰⁸ If this is the case, then the lived experience of homosexuality is as important a pressure point on the social morphology of space as class, gender, race or empire. Moreover, if, as Foucault suggests, sexuality is a marker of the modern, then the connections between men in Forster's texts can tell us about his engagement with modernity.¹⁰⁹ It is therefore the task of this

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Thacker, *Moving Through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 46.

¹⁰⁶ See Andrew Thacker, 'E. M. Forster and the Motor Car', *Literature & History*, 9.2 (2000), 37-52; Jane Goldman, 'Forster and Women', in *The Cambridge Companion to E. M. Forster*, ed. by David Bradshaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 120-137; Daniel Ryan Morse, 'Only Connecting?: E. M. Forster, Empire Broadcasting and the Ethics of Distance', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 34.3 (2011), 87-105.

¹⁰⁷ Gail Fincham, 'Space and Place in the Novels of E. M. Forster', in *Literary Landscapes from Modernism to Postcolonialism*, ed. by Attie De Lange, Gail Fincham, Jeremy Hawthorn and Jakob Lothe (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 38-57 (p. 38).

¹⁰⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁹ See Kahan, 'What is Sexual Modernity?'

chapter to offer a queer answer to Thacker's question by analysing how sexuality mediates the relationship between geography and modernity for Forster.

Considering the repeated critical attention that Forsterian geography has attracted, there remains a relative paucity of scholarship examining the relationship between sexuality and space in his work. This critical lacuna can be traced to the uneven relationship *Maurice* has with its siblings. Published some forty-seven years after its predecessor *A Passage to India* and after Forster's death in 1970, *Maurice* is glaringly absent from such foundational critiques of Forster as Lionel Trilling's *E. M. Forster* (1943) and Wilfred Stone's *The Cave and the Mountain* (1966). These early works' inability to grapple with *Maurice* is coupled with a seemingly deliberate evasive inattentiveness to Forster's own sexuality. Indeed, alongside P. N. Furbank's biography *E. M. Forster: A Life* (1977), the publication of *Maurice* was a necessary catalyst to the critical confirmation and subsequent analysis of Forster as a homosexual writer.¹¹⁰ Even in these early critiques however, scholars maintained that critical focus on Forster's homosexuality weakened debate surrounding the novel.¹¹¹ Echoing and extending this critical lineage, the recent discovery of Forster's 'sex diary' has reignited debates surrounding the place of sexuality in his work, with Wendy Moffat's comprehensive biographic study *E. M. Forster: A New Life* (2010) answering Isherwood's call to 'start with the fact' that Forster was homosexual.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Though articles—such as Jeffrey Meyers, "'Vacant Heart and Hand and Eye": The Homosexual Theme in *A Room with a View*', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 13.3 (1970), 181-192 and Frederick P. W. McDowell, 'E. M. Forster and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson', *Studies in the Novel*, 5.4 (1973), 441-456—were discussing Forster and homosexuality from the early 1970s, Furbank's biography sparked a flurry of critical interest towards the end of the decade. See Frederick P. W. McDowell, "'Fresh Woods, and Pastures New": Forster Criticism and Scholarship since 1975', in *E. M. Forster: Centenary Revaluations*, ed. by Judith Scherer Herz and Robert K. Martin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982), pp. 311-329.

¹¹¹ Robert K. Martin, 'Edward Carpenter and the Double Structure of *Maurice*', *Journal of Homosexuality*, 8.3-4 (1983), 35-46 (p. 35).

¹¹² Wendy Moffat, *E. M. Forster: A New Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 3.

This is not to claim that there has been a general paucity of scholarship pertaining to Forster and sexuality. The opposite is true. Since the publication of *Maurice*, scholarship has sought to explore the myriad implications homosexuality had not just on Forster's novels, but his life, letters and politics, with such critique crowned by the publication of *Queer Forster* (1997).¹¹³ Yet this queer reappraisal has seldom extended to the discussion of Forsterian geography. When criticism has ventured to trace the relationship between Forster, sexuality and space, it has generally pertained to the relationship between homosexuality and nationality in his work. Principally, scholars have maintained that the Forsterian greenwood is a symbolic space that codes the failings of England through homosexuality.¹¹⁴ Following this, Sara Suleri's *The Rhetoric of English India* (1992) marked a shift in focus, with the study of Englishness giving way to a repeated return to the troubling relationship between intimacy and empire within the bounds of Forsterian geography. Chiefly, scholarship has assessed the Forsterian relationship between homosexuality and colonialism; his persistent and prolific eroticisation of Indian and African men; and Forster's own involvement with Syed Ross Masood and Mohammed El Adl.¹¹⁵ Reflecting these scholarly divisions, *Queer Forster* largely

¹¹³ For the relationship between homosexuality and Forster's life(writing) see Max Saunders, 'Forster's Life and Life-Writing', in *The Cambridge Companion to E. M. Forster*, ed. by David Bradshaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 8-21 and George Piggford, 'Camp Sites: Forster and the Biographies of Queer Bloomsbury', in *Queer Bloomsbury*, ed. by Brenda Helt and Madelyn Detloff (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 64-88. For homosexuality in Forster's letters see Mary Lago and P.N. Furbank, *Selected Letters of E. M. Forster* (Boston: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983); Peter Jeffreys, *The Forster-Cavafy Letters: Friends at a Slight Angle* (New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2009); and Richard E. Zeikowitz, *Letters between Forster and Isherwood on Homosexuality and Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). For the impact of homosexuality on Forster's politics, see Lauren M. E. Goodlad, 'Where Liberals Fear to Tread: E. M. Forster's Queer Internationalism and the Ethics of Care', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 39.3 (2006), 307-336 and Wilfred Stone, 'E. M. Forster's Subversive Individualism', in *E. M. Forster: Centenary Revaluations*, ed. by Judith Scherer Herz and Robert K. Martin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982), pp. 15-36.

¹¹⁴ See Stuart Christie, *Worlding Forster: The Passage from Pastoral* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 14-16; Ira Bruce Nadel, 'Moments in the Greenwood: *Maurice* in Context', in *E. M. Forster: Centenary Revaluations*, ed. by Judith Scherer Herz and Robert K. Martin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982), pp. 177 – 190; and Anne Hartree, "'A passion that few English minds have admitted": Homosexuality and Englishness in E. M. Forster's *Maurice*', *Paragraph*, 19.2 (1996), 127-138.

¹¹⁵ For the imbrication of homosexuality and colonialism, see Richard Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 2008) and Christopher Lane, *The Ruling Passion: British Colonial Allegory and the Paradox of Homosexual Desire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995). For the exotification and eroticisation of Indian and African men see Jesse Matz, 'Masculinity Amalgamated:

carves up Forster's work into a series of national(ised) locales, offering discussion of Forster and England, Forster and India, Forster and the Colonial. Though vital, such criticism treats sexuality as an analytical tool to dig deeper into the relationship between Forster and nationalism while stopping short of analysing the way in which sexuality affects the spaces of his fiction. In this way, such arguments stop short of unpacking the broader relationship between sexuality and space. It is not the job of this chapter to argue against these thorough critiques. I make no apologies for Forster's colonial eroticism, nor do I align myself with critics who have argued that his liberal writings present progressive critiques of empire.¹¹⁶ Rather, following Isherwood's invocation and starting with the fact that Forster was a homosexual, I zoom out from Forster's nationalism. In doing so, this chapter centralises Forster's homosexuality to assess the impact it has on the geographies of his literature and offer a wider understanding of the relationship between sexuality and space in his work.

Taking *Maurice* as its locus, this chapter begins by situating Forster within a longer history of homosexuality and modernity in order to contend that it is the house (and not the nation) that typifies the spatialization of homosexuality throughout his 'gay novel'. Thinking through Gaston Bachelard's contention that 'on whatever theoretical horizon we examine it, the house image would appear to have become the topography of our intimate being', I argue that *Maurice* presents a narrative search for home that is rooted in the material conditions of homosexuality within the early twentieth century.¹¹⁷ By offering relative privacy from the

Colonialism, Homosexuality, and Forster's Kipling', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 30.3 (2007), 31-51 and Amardeep Singh, 'Reorienting Forster: Intimacy and Islamic Space', *Criticism*, 49.1 (2007), 35-54. For an examination of Forster's personal relationships with Syed Ross Masood and Mohammed El Adl see Quentin Bailey, 'Heroes and Homosexuals: Education and Empire in E. M. Forster', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 48.3 (2002), 324-347 and Donald Watt, 'Mohammed el Adl and *A Passage to India*', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 10.2 (1983), 311-326.

¹¹⁶ See Elaine Freedgood, 'E. M. Forster's Queer Nation: Taking the Closet to the Colony in *A Passage to India*', *Genders*, 23 (1996), 123-144.

¹¹⁷ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. by Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. xxxii. A note on terminology. As Matt Cook makes clear throughout *Queer Domesticities: Homosexuality and Home Life in Twentieth-Century London* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 'home' is a slippery term. Recognising this, the chapter employs both 'home' and 'house' or 'household', but these terms are not used interchangeably. When I employ 'home', I am referring to

outside world, the house allows the homosexual protagonists of the novel to become intimate beings without fear of persecution. In turn, it is the passageways and partitions of the many houses found littered throughout *Maurice* that come to reflect the way in which characters experience intimacy.

Troubling Bachelard however, this chapter maintains that the Forsterian search for home is ultimately a failure. Drawing on Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet*, I position that the house becomes a series of interlocking closets that do not simply provide shelter but fix and frustrate homosexual desire—rendering it static and ultimately impossible. For Sedgwick:

The gay closet is not a feature only of the lives of gay people. But for many gay people it is still the fundamental feature of social life; and there can be few gay people, however courageous and forthright by habit, however fortunate in the support of their immediate communities, in whose lives the closet is not still a shaping presence.

Critiquing Bachelard, Rachel Bowlby offers an understanding of such difficulties by upending the romanticising of the home and contending 'in psychoanalysis the home is no place of harmony' as the house 'is irredeemably driven by the presence of ghosts, it's comforting appearance of womblike unity doubled from the start by intruding forces...untimely and dislocated hauntings of other times and places and other presences'.¹¹⁸ This chapter agrees with Bowlby, asserting that the experience of homosexual intimacy in *Maurice* is not simply romantic, but troubling, fraught and frantic. Nonetheless, I argue that what remains useful is the way in which Bachelard teases out the reciprocity between house and body. Considering this, I posit that for Forster the house is a representative space that reflects the desires of Maurice and his lovers, while encompassing the tensions of homosexual affection in the early twentieth century. Reading the house as a series of closets offers an

a sense of homeliness and dwelling, a place where one feels a sense of belonging. Contrastingly, when I refer to 'house' or 'household', I am referring to a material structure, be it the large house of Penge or the smaller boathouse which sits on the Penge estate.

¹¹⁸ Rachel Bowlby, 'Domestication', in *Feminism Beside Itself*, ed. by Diane Elam and Robyn Wiegman, (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 71-92 (p. 77).

understanding of how sexuality shapes space for Forster; his characters are ultimately able to desire one another, but only in specific contexts.

Following this, the chapter concludes by taking a reparative approach to *Maurice* in order to assess what the failure of the household can tell us about the broader implications of homosexuality in Forster's work. Since the beginning of the decade—thanks, in no small part, to Halberstam's *The Queer Art of Failure* (2011)—queer theory has attempted to recoup failure, presenting breakdown and collapse as a necessary part of the queer experience while simultaneously arguing that such failure can be seen as productive, rather than merely as an endpoint. This (re)appropriation of failure proceeds from Sedgwick's attempt to establish an alternative literary methodology, the practise of reparative reading: 'The desire of a reparative impulse...is additive and accretive. Its fear...is that the culture surrounding it is inadequate or inimical to its nurture; it wants to assemble and confer plenitude on an object'.¹¹⁹ It is exactly such an additive and accretive lens that I use to examine Forsterian failure, seeing the demise of the household not as a stopper, but an opening. In turn, by working through the failure of *Maurice*, I argue that the house embodies the multiple sexual tensions of the novel's textual geography, allowing for a broader reading of sexuality and space.

In all, this chapter seeks to offer new questions. Whereas critical discussion has previously attended to the function of homosexuality by asking what relationships between men can tell us about nationalism or colonialism, turning to the house I seek to examine how the mediation of sexuality, geography and modernity underpins Forster's 'gay novel'. Reading *Maurice* in light of these critiques, this chapter extends discussion by arguing that the household has queer ramifications for Forster. In doing so, I am not interested in presenting

¹¹⁹ Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, p. 149.

homosexuality as an analytical tool, but in centralising and examining its location in the novel: Why is homosexuality repeatedly bound up with the household in *Maurice* and how does this expand our understanding of the Forsterian landscape?

Cornerstones: A Homosexual Foundation.

Coming of age at the turn of the century, homosexual heritage was sparse for Forster. In contemporary culture, the most widely available depictions of same-sex desire were proliferated by the press, who represented homosexuality as a scandalous and salacious public ill to be stamped out where possible.¹²⁰ Particularly lacking were models of homosexual partnerships and their attendant lifestyles: affection, romance, domesticities. In writing *Maurice* Forster sought to remedy this lacuna, believing 'a happy ending was imperative' to prove that homosexual love was possible.¹²¹ Yet even earlier there are traces of the young Forster attempting to bandage this historical wound by recording a makeshift homosexual canon as he prepared early sketches of *A Room with a View*. Just as the protagonists of *Maurice* look to classical texts to identify and clarify their own desires, Forster collected a list of suspected homosexual forefathers in his notebook, lesser known names jostling with artists such as Whitman, Michelangelo and Shakespeare.¹²² This secretive handwritten list would grow into a living homosexual coterie that Forster developed throughout his lifetime: his partner Bob Buckingham, J. R. Ackerley, Lytton Strachey, Goldie Lowes Dickinson and a host of other friends all immensely important to his growth as a writer, a homosexual, and a homosexual writer. Nonetheless, still to meet many of these friends as he began *A Room with a View* in his late twenties, there were two primary role

¹²⁰ See Matt Cook, "'A New City of Friends': London and Homosexuality in the 1890s", *History Workshop Journal*, 56.1 (2003), 33–58; Harry Cocks, *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the 19th Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 77-114; and Graham Robb, *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the 19th Century* (London: Picador, 2004), pp. 1-16.

¹²¹ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 220.

¹²² See Moffat, *E. M. Forster*, p. 94.

models for Forster: Wilde and Carpenter.¹²³ And as Forster began *Maurice* five years after the publication of *A Room With A View* in 1913, each of these men would come to act as a kind of binding, gluing together the pages of his novel as they inform the construction of its homosexual characters and their movements.

Forster was a sixteen year old approaching adulthood when Wilde was trialled for indecency in 1895, with rumours of the Irish poet's sexual practices made a public spectacle. As Michael S. Foldy and Ed Cohen have shown, the British press underpinned this spectacle by presenting homosexuals as nefarious streetwalkers and a menace to public safety.¹²⁴

Ballasting this understanding, in her thorough reading of the impact Wilde had, Heike Bauer summarises the pervasive legacy of his trials:

Wilde's trial, and the wealth of public attention it received have been critically well documented. Considered a formative moment in modern homosexual culture when knowledge about sex between men was popularized, producing a stereotypical image of the (male) homosexual that would retain its cultural currency well into the twentieth century, scholars have examined in detail the events and their impact on homosexual culture.¹²⁵

Importantly, for Bauer, Wilde had an affective legacy, his trial leaving behind a debt of shame that held a vicelike grip over homosexual men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Bauer notes, Wilde stages 'the pernicious ways in which norms lodge themselves into the unconscious and thus continue to exercise their hold'.¹²⁶ Neither Forster nor *Maurice* were free from these pernicious ideas, and the spectre of the Wilde trial echoes

¹²³ It is worth mentioning that Forster also had a meeting with Henry James, who he considered an old master, but that the meeting was a disaster, souring the relationship. See Scott F. Stoddart, 'The "Muddle" of Step-Parenting: Reconstructing Domestic Harmony in James and Forster', in *Family Matters in the British and American Novel*, ed. by Andrea O'Reilly Herrera and Elizabeth Mahn Nollen (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1997), pp. 115-148 (p. 115).

¹²⁴ See Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Towards a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 126-173 and Michael S. Foldy, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde: Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 48-66.

¹²⁵ Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives*, p. 52.

¹²⁶ Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives*, p. 55.

throughout *Maurice*, with Wilde's name becoming a shorthand code for the restrictions placed upon the homosexual protagonist.

Emblematic of the shameful legacy of homosexuality, the (in)ability to express homosexual desire runs throughout *Maurice*. Importantly, the term 'homosexual' is used just twice in the novel, both instances uttered by Lasker Jones, a German hypnotherapist Maurice seeks out for treatment. Having conceived *Maurice* in 1913, it is perhaps unsurprising that Forster couches sexual scenes in euphemistic expressions such as 'sharing'.¹²⁷ Indeed the term 'homosexuality' was only introduced to England in 1892, translated from Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, a work Forster alludes to as he informs the reader that family practitioner Dr Barry had read 'no scientific works on Maurice's subject. None had existed when he walked the hospitals, and any published since were in German'.¹²⁸ Outside of sexology, the use of 'homosexual' took time to become fashionable as a cultural signifier, with Gregory Woods charting queer men's uneasy search for a communal terminology in the late nineteenth century—phrases as various as Uranians, Similisexuality and Homogenic all considered and dropped.¹²⁹ As a mode of self-identification 'homosexuality' appears unavailable to Maurice and his lovers Clive Durham and Alec Scudder, affecting a linguistic groping towards the expression of same-sex desire (be it social, sexual or romantic) within the text. The first instance of this occurs when Clive attempts to announce his love for Maurice after their vacation: "I knew you read the *Symposium* in the vac," he said in a low voice. Maurice felt uneasy. "Then you understand—without me saying more—" "How do you mean?" Durham could not wait'.¹³⁰ As a keen classicist, allusion to Platonic sexuality allows

¹²⁷ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 216.

¹²⁸ 'homosexuality', in *The Oxford English Dictionary* [online] <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88111?redirectedFrom=homosexuality>> [accessed 27 February 2019]. Forster, *Maurice*, p. 140.

¹²⁹ Gregory Woods, *Homintern: How Gay Culture Liberated the Modern World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 3.

¹³⁰ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 48.

Clive to express his love for Maurice. Yet even these references to classical representations of same-sex desire are censored, the dons at Cambridge instructing the boys to 'Omit: a reference to the unspeakable vice of the Greeks'.¹³¹ The expressibility of homosexuality becomes a site of contention and shame, endangered by revision and removal.

Crucially, this queer shame becomes intimately attached to the figure of Wilde, with Maurice first invoking the poet's name when attempting to find a cure for his homosexuality. Slowly coming to reckon with his desire for other men, Maurice seeks out Dr Barry. Though the move towards Dr Barry presents Maurice's attempt to negotiate his sexual identity in medical terms, he finds himself claiming:

"I'm an unspeakable of the Oscar Wilde sort."...he sat motionless, having appealed to Caesar. At last judgement came...It was "Rubbish, rubbish!" He had expected many things, but not this; for if his words were rubbish his life was a dream.¹³²

Critically, though he has begun to confront his feelings, the novel does not yet brand Maurice a homosexual. Rather, his sexual identity is gestured to metonymically through Wilde. In turn Maurice's sexual identity might be initially be thought of as Wildean, with the novel uneasily straddling the historical moment at which sexuality began to be taxonomized through medical terminology. Met with admonishment from Dr Barry however, Maurice is temporarily convinced to keep his sexuality a private matter. In this regard, the prosecution of Wilde paradoxically both engenders the unspeakable nature of homosexuality and provides Maurice with the limited opportunity to express his desires. Maurice brands his longings unspeakable as to declare his homosexuality would be to face social stigma and the threat of criminal prosecution, Forster echoing Lord Alfred Douglas' description of

¹³¹ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 42.

¹³² Forster, *Maurice*, p. 138.

homosexuality as 'the love that dare not speak its name'.¹³³ Correspondingly and conversely, Maurice's homosexuality is rendered unspeakable as he has no language through which to express his desire. Unable to comprehend his feelings, Maurice instead draws on the figure of Wilde in an attempt to articulate his desires. In this way, the very trial that makes homosexuality unspeakable provides an ironic frame of reference that is swiftly silenced once again.

With Wilde allowing Maurice to orient himself to the world, the poet does not simply hold a sexual grip on the novel; he holds a spatial one. Indeed, as Maurice ventures to express his sexual urges to Dr Barry, we find the protagonist 'motionless'. In this way *Maurice* follows Thomas Laqueur's assertion that desire 'is discursively created in order to be the locus of control', a control that extends its firm grip beyond Maurice's throat by creating a dead weight in his legs and policing his movements.¹³⁴ This is significant, elucidating the manner in which the expressibility of homosexuality in *Maurice* reaches beyond the verbal and into the spatial, with Wilde's sexual identity tethered to Maurice's own spatial orientation. This inability to move is repeated later in the novel when Maurice visits hypnotherapist Lasker Jones, who places the protagonist under a trance and asks him to jump a symbolic crack in the carpet, a gulf that critics have argued represents the difference between the sexes. Though 'Maurice immediately located a crack, and jumped, but he was not convinced of the necessity', a line that June Perry Levine argues represents that the 'chasm between beauty and femaleness is not the one Maurice must bridge'.¹³⁵ Once again, we find Maurice motionless, his sexual and spatial orientations bound together. As a reference then, Wilde

¹³³ Leslie J. Moran, 'Transcripts and Truth: Writing the Trials of Oscar Wilde', in *Oscar Wilde and Modern Culture: The Making of a Legend*, ed. by Joseph Bristow (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), pp. 234-258 (p. 244).

¹³⁴ Thomas Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone Books, 2003), p. 271.

¹³⁵ Forster, *Maurice*, p. x. June Perry Levine, 'The Tame in Pursuit of the Savage: The Posthumous Fiction of E. M. Forster', *PMLA*, 99.1 (1984), 72-88 (p. 76).

acts as a nodal point, suturing together the geographic and the erotic, illuminating how Maurice's sexual and spatial identities become folded together, with the shame of homosexuality initially rendering Maurice paralyzed.

Nonetheless, as Wilde offers a backdrop to *Maurice*, so too have critics noted the influence of Edward Carpenter, the socialist poet, writer and civil rights campaigner.¹³⁶ If Wilde represents restriction, silence and immobility, Carpenter is quite the opposite: a symbol of hope and liberation. Embracing his sexual identity, Carpenter believed that male-male couples could form a rural utopia away from the metropole masses, living a relatively open lifestyle with his partner and campaigning for civil rights from his country house at Millthorpe in Derbyshire. In this way, Carpenter came to represent a sense of possibility, a living forefather who proved that homosexual relationships were possible. Perhaps there is no pithier example of Carpenter's impact upon *Maurice* than an entry in Forster's diary summarising the significant events of 1913, the year he began writing the novel. It states: 'Edward Carpenter! Edward Carpenter! Edward Carpenter!'¹³⁷ Expanding upon this jubilation in his 1960 Terminal Note to *Maurice*, Forster acknowledged that the novel was 'the direct result of a visit to Carpenter at Millthorpe'.¹³⁸ This visit occurred in the form of a short holiday to Carpenter's farmhouse. Discussing this trip in the Terminal Note, Forster remembers:

It must have been on my second or third visit to the shrine that the spark was kindled and he and his comrade George Merrill combined to make a profound impression on me and to touch a creative spring. George Merrill also touched my backside—gently and just above the buttocks. I believe he touched most people's. The sensation was unusual and I still remember it, as I remember the position of a long vanished tooth. It was as much psychological as physical. It seemed to go straight through the small of my back into my ideas, without involving my thoughts. If it really did this, it would

¹³⁶ See Martin, 'Edward Carpenter and the Double Structure of *Maurice*'; Simon During, *Against Democracy: Literary Experience in the Era of Emancipations* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), pp. 105-122; and Ralph Pordzik, 'Closet Fantasies and the Future of Desire in E. M. Forster's "The Machine Stops"', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 53.1 (2010), 54-74.

¹³⁷ Moffat, *E. M. Forster*, p. 94.

¹³⁸ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 219.

have acted in strict accordance with Carpenter's yogified mysticism, and would prove that at that precise moment I had conceived.¹³⁹

Maurice was the product of this conception. Reflecting this, critics have linked Carpenter to the expression of desire, in particular noting that the cross-class relationship of Carpenter and Merrill forms the mould for Maurice's romance with Alec, the groundsman Maurice enters into a sustained relationship within the latter half of the novel.¹⁴⁰ Considering the link between Carpenter and *Maurice*, it is significant that Forster's memory of his visit to Millthorpe is not dominated by dialogue or discussion, but by a touch. Homing in on Merrill's touch, Forster centralises the body as the site of sexual experience through which homosexuality comes into view, reflecting Merleau-Ponty's contention that 'The body is our general medium for having a world'.¹⁴¹ In this regard, Merrill's touch functions as a liberating act that both spurs on the writing of *Maurice* and becomes refracted throughout its narrative. Perhaps most evidently, Merrill's touch is found folded into one of Maurice's early encounters with Clive, a moment of playful touching that leads the boys to find 'their love scene drew out, having the inestimable gain of a new language'.¹⁴² Though Maurice stutters and falters as he attempts to articulate his desire to medical practitioners, moments of physical affection with other men represent a fleeting liberation that leads to a new vocabulary.

Drawing attention to Merrill's fated touch and its ramifications for Forster, I contend that Carpenter is bound up with the novel's geography in much the same manner as Wilde,

¹³⁹ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 219.

¹⁴⁰ See Gregory W. Bredbeck, "'Queer Superstitions': Forster, Carpenter, and the Illusion of (Sexual) Identity', in *Queer Forster*, ed. by Robert K. Martin and George Piggford (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 29-58; James J. Miracky, 'Pursuing (a) Fantasy: E. M. Forster's Queering of Realism in *The Longest Journey*', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 26.2 (2003), 129-144; Levine, 'The Tame in Pursuit of the Savage', p. 73; and Jesse Wolfe, 'Case Study: Edward Carpenter's Radical Integrity and Its Influence on E. M. Forster', in *The Handbook to the Bloomsbury Group*, ed. by Derek Ryan and Stephen Ross (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 30-44.

¹⁴¹ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p. 169.

¹⁴² Forster, *Maurice*, p. 80.

stitching together the sexual and spatial. Explicating this, on recalling his visit to Carpenter, Forster refers to his Millthorpe house as a 'shrine', a place of mythic stature. Away from prying eyes, the privacy afforded by Carpenter's house becomes holy ground for Forster, a sanctuary that allows him to explore his sexuality. Whereas Wilde is coded through the unexpressed and the immobile, Carpenter is presented as a kind of personal pilgrimage, Forster's visit to Millthorpe a rite of passage. Due to this, the structure of the house becomes a site of safety, a place in which homosexual desire can flourish. Examples of this can be found littered throughout *Maurice*: Cambridge, Penge and the boathouse all allow Maurice to express affection for his lovers. In this way, Wilde and Carpenter become the homosexual cornerstones of *Maurice*. Wilde acts as an intensely loaded symbol: a shorthand for the criminality of homosexuality, a reference point for Maurice to identify with, and a spectral presence that haunts the text, frustrating Maurice's ability to openly discuss his sexuality. The sound and spectacle that frame the Wilde trial leave a vacuum in their wake, a gaping chasm that Maurice struggles to fill with his own voice. And this frustrated expressibility is not simply a linguistic concern for the novel; it is a spatial one. In contrast to Wilde is Carpenter, a shaping presence who comes to represent movement, freedom and openness, folding the geographic and the erotic together and once more reinforcing the intimate power play between the sexual and the spatial captured by the term orientation.

In all, though critics have productively read silence, expressibility and restriction as key to the narrative development of *Maurice*, throughout the novel Forster is not simply left longing for a linguistic frame for homosexuality.¹⁴³ Rather, so too does he seek out a spatial frame, with Maurice, Clive and Alec requiring a place that will allow them to act on their homosexual desire. Recognising this, the chapter now turns to an examination of the spaces that allow

¹⁴³ See Scott R. Nelson, 'Narrative Inversion: The Textual Construction of Homosexuality in E. M. Forster's Novels', *Style*, 26.2 (1992), 310-326 and Matthew Curr, 'Recuperating E. M. Forster's *Maurice*', *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly*, 62.1 (2001), 53-69.

the characters of *Maurice* to act out their desires, asserting that it is the house that embodies the relationship between sexuality and space in the text. In doing so, I maintain that the geography of *Maurice* is as fraught as the language the protagonists use to discuss their affection for one another. Though moments of physical affection offer Maurice the opportunity to comprehend his desire, they are acted out fleetingly, only permissible within certain spaces. Simply put, the sexual orientation (homosexuality) that underpins *Maurice* is bound to the spatial orientations of its characters. As Maurice fumbles for a language to describe himself and turns to the medical community to comprehend his desire, so too do the protagonists of the novel fumble for a space that will allow them to withdraw from public judgement and act on their desires.

Home Sweet Homo? *Maurice* and the House.

Writing *Maurice*, Forster recognised the spatial anxieties of his novel. Disclosing the text to his heterosexual friend Florence Barger, Forster worried that his homosexual fantasy might be 'a new and painful world, into which you will hardly have occasion to glance again!'¹⁴⁴ Articulating his apprehensions in this way, Forster draws our attention to the cartography of desire by maintaining that there are geographies shaped by homosexuality that exist beyond the heterosexual gaze, spaces that are restricted or coded much like the language that the protagonists of the novel use to express their affection. For Forster, this erotic geography is suffused with affect. The coded nature of homosexuality creates a landscape that is painful to navigate, reflecting the discomfort that Maurice feels as he attempts to articulate his homosexuality to the family doctor.

Discussing the landscape of *Maurice*, critics have repeatedly returned to the greenwood as the site that most keenly represents desire in the novel. Principally, this focus is spurred on

¹⁴⁴ Moffat, *E. M. Forster*, pp. 112-115.

by three qualifications: the general influence of Carpenter on the text, the original epilogue to the novel, and Forster's fantastical assertion that this epilogue allows Maurice and Alec to continue 'roam[ing] the greenwood'.¹⁴⁵ As Carpenter established an alternate lifestyle in the countryside, the epilogue of *Maurice* seemingly presents the rural landscape as an escape from the moralism of society, allowing Clive and Alec to live as they choose:

Couched in a shed near their work—to sleep rough had proved safer—they shared in whispered review the events of the day before falling asleep. Kitty was included, and they decided to leave their present job to find work in a new district, in case she told the Police, or returned. In the glow of manhood "There we shall be safe" they thought. They were never to be that. But they were together for the moment, they had stayed disintegration and combined daily work with love; and who can hope for more?¹⁴⁶

Charting the development of the greenwood through Forster's early work, Elizabeth Wood Ellem compellingly contends that the author initially devised it as 'a place of spontaneous joy, of incredible happiness, where the fortunate learn the secrets of Nature'.¹⁴⁷ This reading deepens Forster's own presentation of the greenwood as a space that Maurice and Alec can roam freely. Having written the epilogue of the novel to give a spirited view of homosexual relationships, this roaming occurs within the text and within the dreamscape of the homosexual reader, a moment of extended reverie that can be returned to again and again. Offering a torsion to the homosexual canon that Forster collated privately, the greenwood is a fantasy that extends outwards, breaking new ground by envisioning a future for its homosexual protagonists.

Following this, critics have traced the greenwood's literary lineage into *Maurice's* interrogation of England. Unpacking the mediation of nationality and sexuality, Anne Hartree posits that:

¹⁴⁵ Forster, *Maurice*, 220.

¹⁴⁶ Christie, *Worlding Forster*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Wood Ellem, 'E. M. Forster's Greenwood', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 5.1 (1976), 89-98 (p. 89).

The ending of *Maurice* is...assertion and an escape, a move from enclosure to open space which attempts to rewrite Englishness by separating the idea of England from English society. The 'greenwood' which Maurice and Alec seek is at once a pastoral space of refuge and rest, the site of desire and the body in which social difference may be reconciled.¹⁴⁸

Ballasting Hartree's reading, Stuart Christie has claimed that 'under the broad sign of the "natural," Forster's "greenwood" balances the national (and implicitly homosexual) subject of English pastoral romance against the proliferating meanings of Englishness in an imperial world system'.¹⁴⁹ In this way, scholarship has identified the greenwood as a fantastical site, a place of sanctuary and a space of near-magic rule breaking that allows for radical revisions of the society that threatens to overwhelm Maurice. This radical revision feeds back into Maurice's own homosexuality. Though Sarah Cole argues, 'For Maurice, the very idea of lust is understood in terms of violence and punishment. Because his desires are legally, morally, and medically categorized as deviant, there is no way for him to internalize them outside of a cycle of terror', this is patently not the case when considering the epilogue.¹⁵⁰

Acknowledging that the epilogue of *Maurice* allows the protagonists to break from the cycle of terror, it is evident that the 'painful world' that Forster refers to in his letter to Barger is not the greenwood. As C. P. Snow argues in his review of *Maurice*, the romantic close shows that this:

Is a novel with a purpose, and the purpose is to proclaim that homosexual love, in its fullest sense, can be happy and enduring. Hence the ecstatic ending. It rings artistically quite wrong, as a wish-fulfilment: and yet anyone who reads it will hope, without any knowledge of the biography, that for the writer the wish ultimately came true.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Hartree, 'Homosexuality and Englishness in E. M. Forster's *Maurice*', p. 135.

¹⁴⁹ Christie, *Worlding Forster*, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Sarah Cole, *Modernism, Male Friendship, and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 64.

¹⁵¹ C. P. Snow, 'Open Windows', *Financial Times*, 7 October 1971, p. 12.

The affective qualities of the greenwood are not torment, pain or suffering, but joy, hope and longing. Neither do these affective qualities reflect the feelings Forster experienced as he wrote *Maurice*. At the end of 1913, Forster noted in his Locked Journal: 'Maurice born on Sept 13th. He tells the mood that created him. But will he ever be happy. He has become an independent existence—Greenwood feels the same....I woke with desolation and impotence weighing on me, and felt it grotesque to continue Maurice'.¹⁵² As it acts as an escape for Maurice and Alec, so too did the greenwood provide a shelter for Forster, a literary refuge from the materiality of his own situation. This independent existence extends to the textual construction of the novel: the greenwood features as an epilogue, tacked on to the end of *Maurice* and removed entirely in many editions.

Further to this, it is important to note that throughout *Maurice* it is not the greenwood in which the protagonists spend the majority of their time together. Discounting for a moment the independent existence of the epilogue, the novel presents just one abortive escape to the pastoral. Taking a motorcar and flagrantly ignoring the reprimands of a Cambridge don, Maurice and Clive flee to the countryside:

They became a cloud of dust, a stench, and a roar to the world, but the air they breathed was pure, and all the noise they heard was the long drawn cheer of the wind. They cared for no one, they were outside humanity, and death, had it come, would only have continued their pursuit of a retreating horizon.¹⁵³

Presenting a fantastic escape to the pastoral, this scene prefigures the epilogue through offering a world that cannot even be marred by death, a place of near-magical quality. Moreover, in absconding from Cambridge, Maurice and Clive enter into dialogue with another of Forster's novels, *The Longest Journey*. Inferred to be a closeted homosexual, the

¹⁵² As quoted in Oliver S. Buckton, *Secret Selves: Confession and Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Autobiography* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 217

¹⁵³ Forster, *Maurice*, pp. 64-65.

protagonist of *The Longest Journey* Rickie Elliot requires the love of a woman to keep 'Cambridge in its proper place', just as Clive wants 'a woman to secure him socially and diminish his lust and bear children'.¹⁵⁴ This figuration of Cambridge as a 'proper place' attributes a moral quality to the university through Rickie's heterosexual lust for Agnes Pembroke. To be proper—with all its connotations of etiquette, normalcy, convention and acceptance—a place must be codified through heterosexual desire. Escaping the academy and realising Rickie's desire to be intimate with another man, Maurice and Clive temporarily flout the idea that Cambridge is the proper place for them by taking refuge amongst the trees by the riverbank.

Nonetheless, this scene is short lived. As Maurice and Clive return, they face reprimand and expulsion from Cambridge due to their behaviour; the brief escape to the pastoral does not allow for sustained shelter from the eyes of society. In this manner, it is not the greenwood that comes to represent the relationship between sexuality and space in *Maurice*. As it is not a painful space, nor is the greenwood present for much of the text. Instead, I contend that *Maurice* is a novel overrun with houses: the family home of Penge, the cloistered rooms of Cambridge, the refuge of the boathouse, the hidden moments of studies, bedrooms and so on.¹⁵⁵ Having argued that the greenwood is a fleeting space of joy and a mythic wish-fulfilment, I maintain that it is the house (in all its various manifestations) that represents the social and material conditions of homosexual desire in the novel. It is the house where homosexual desire is expressed. It is the house that acts as the tinder which sparks Maurice's

¹⁵⁴ E. M. Forster, *The Longest Journey* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 66. Forster, *Maurice*, p. 159.

¹⁵⁵ Indeed, homes and houses are incredibly important spaces throughout Forster's novels. Critics of Forster have repeatedly returned to the household, especially regarding the place of the house in *Howards End*. Here, scholarship has positioned the spatial politics of the home as representing the established wealth of the Wilcox family, their fear of modernisation, and the scale of the novel as a whole. See Jon Hegglund, 'Defending the Realm: Domestic Space and Mass Cultural Contamination in *Howards End* and *An Englishman's Home*', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 40.4 (1997), 398-423 and Marcia Landy, 'Filmed Forster', in *The Cambridge Companion to E. M. Forster*, ed. by David Bradshaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 235-253 (p. 236).

romances with Clive and Alec. It is the house that reflects the relationship between sexuality and space throughout *Maurice*. Affirming this reading, as he prepares to leave university after having been sent down for his escape to the country, Maurice worries that his affair with Clive is over, understanding that 'their love belonged to [Cambridge], and particularly to their rooms, so that he could not conceive of their meeting anywhere else'.¹⁵⁶ For Maurice it is initially the rooms of Cambridge and not the greenwood, the domestic and not the pastoral, that represents his desire. Though it may not be the 'proper place' for them, Cambridge's rooms nonetheless ensconce the boys and allow them moments, however fleeting, in which to express their desire for one another.

Maurice's realisation that home is where his love belongs plays out in various forms throughout the rest of the novel. Understanding they are unable to publicly express their homosexuality after their fleeting escape to the pastoral, Maurice and Clive seek refuge in the private sphere. Attempting to find a space in which they can navigate their feelings for one another after they have left Cambridge, the lovers turn to the shelter of the household, concealing their desire and shutting it behind the closed doors. Fearful of public exposure, Maurice and Clive chiefly cloister themselves away within the intimate folds of the household and away from the eyes of their peers. In a Woolfian sense, the couple require a room of their own, an idea firmly expressed by Clive when the pair meet at his family home in Penge:

"Maurice! Maurice! you've actually come. You're here. This place'll never seem the same again, I shall love it at last. Except for meals we need never be in the other part of the house".

The retreat of Penge offers the boys an affable material structure in which to explore their sexuality in secret, the study adjoining the couple's bedrooms allowing them to meet at night, exchange kisses, and talk furtively about their feelings for one another. In doing so,

¹⁵⁶ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 69.

the study provides Maurice and Clive with ‘the first time they had experienced full tranquillity together’.¹⁵⁷ Unlike their escape to the pastoral, Penge reflects Cambridge by affording the couple a sense of privacy, allowing them a moment of true reprieve. Akin to Maurice and Clive, it is also the house in which Maurice and Alec first express their love for one another. Climbing through the window to Maurice’s bedroom at Penge after dark, Alec enters the Russet Room before spending the night with his lover. Later in the novel, Maurice and Alec’s meeting in the boathouse is born out of a similar need for privacy. Here, however, the house figures differently due to the intersection of sexuality and class. As a groundsman, Alec does not have easy access to the rooms of Penge, requesting a meeting in the boathouse as the ladder used to sneak into Maurice’s bedroom is taken away and the woods are too damp to lie down. Though made distinct from one another by the boundaries of class, the Russet Room and the boathouse each provide temporary shelter in the grounds of the Penge estate, shielding Maurice and his lovers from public judgement.

For Clive, the arrival of Maurice also transfigures Penge, allowing him to ‘love it at last’. In this regard Clive’s relationship with Maurice queers his vision of home, with love mapped onto the space of the house. In *The Poetics of Space* (1958), Bachelard offers an understanding of this transformation. Noting the magnetisation of poetical images and home, Bachelard maintains that the house acts as a space that parallels the ‘topography of our intimate being’.¹⁵⁸ In this fashion, Bachelard elucidates the manner in which the house is positioned not just as a material structure, but as a symbolic one. In arriving at Penge, Maurice does not take a sledgehammer to the walls to transform the physical space of the house but positions it as an affective structure that allows the boys to act on their desire for one another. So too does Maurice change Clive’s relationship to the house, the couple

¹⁵⁷ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 76.

¹⁵⁸ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. xxxvi.

inhabiting its rooms in new and exciting ways. Shoring this up, Victoria Rosner articulates 'the home offers a possible antidote or counterbalance to the dangers of the street; it extends a sheltering retreat from the shock and dissonance of urban life'.¹⁵⁹ Throughout *Maurice*, the house offers our understanding of the relationship between sexuality and space many frames: material and symbolic, desiring and affective, physical and psychological. As Bachelard contends, there is a reciprocity between the body and the house, with the desire of the homosexual protagonists bound to the space of Cambridge, Penge and the boathouse.

The ramifications of this reciprocity between house and body are not purely positive, however. When Maurice and Clive's relationship begins to break down later in the novel:

There was a knock at the wall that divided their rooms. "What is it?" he called; then, "Come in!" for Clive was now at the door. "Can I come into your bed?" "Come along," said Maurice, making room. "I'm cold and miserable generally. I can't sleep. I don't know why." Maurice did not misunderstand him. He knew and shared his opinions on this point. They lay side by side without touching. Presently Clive said, "It's no better here. I shall go."¹⁶⁰

Here, the rooms that once offered Maurice and Clive a kind of sanctuary from the outside world become a partition that breaks the lovers apart. In this way, the walls of Penge reflect the physical space that exists between the men as they lie together without touching. A similar occurrence can be found later in the text. After Clive falls ill, he finds that 'Each kindness [from Maurice] increased his suffering, until he asked the nurse to forbid Mr Hall to enter the room'.¹⁶¹ Once again, desire becomes folded into the material structure of the house. Clive's psychological interiority inhabits a reflexive relationship with the space around him, pain blocking Maurice from entering the room as dismissing him from Clive's thoughts.

¹⁵⁹ Victoria Rosner, *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 147.

¹⁶⁰ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 100.

¹⁶¹ Forster, *Maurice*, p.

In her reading of Bachelard, Rachel Bowlby offers a framework through which to understand this pain by arguing that Bachelard's home presents a 'version of strange or anxiety-provoking familiarity [that] is a far cry from the covertly menacing reversibility of Freud's analysis of the uncanny, the homely *heimlich* which is also, within the same word, the unhomely'.¹⁶² Considering the house in relation to desire through this frame, it is evident that the household is not simply a source of privacy and comfort, but a networks of rooms, passageways and blockages that have the ability to section the lovers from one another as much as they shield them from the world. As a space of joy, excitement and desire, the house allows the boys to come closer together as they weave their way through passages and parlours to find each other at night. Opposed to this, negative affects transform the house, with hatred, disaffection and pain rendering the household a grid of impasses and jams that break the lovers apart.¹⁶³ Investing in this Freudian reading of the uncanny home, we find Maurice haunted by poltergeists from his past after his relationship with Clive has dissolved: 'He stopped up in the room till dinner, fighting with ghosts he had loved'.¹⁶⁴ Returning to the space that had once presented him with such joy, Maurice finds his room haunted, upset and uncannily returned to him. Such a reading does not render Bachelard obsolete but elucidates and complexifies the usefulness of the house-body metaphor. The household offers more than just a simple symbol, becoming a structure that embodies the many affects elicited by homosexual desire: the closeness of lust, the yearning of privacy, the repulsion of anger, the barriers of hatred.

¹⁶² Bowlby, 'Domestication', p. 77.

¹⁶³ Elsewhere in Forster's fiction, the home is also presented as a force that eventually begins to suffocate its inhabitants. In *A Passage to India*, Adela's fiancé Ronny spends much of his time cajoling her into believing in the empire, attempting to dampen any interest in what lies beyond the bounds of the English club. In *A Room with A View*, Lucy views her fiancé as a 'drawing room... with no view', while Evie Wilcox in *Howards End* sees her indomitable father's face as having 'the effect of a blank wall. He had dwelt behind it, intact and happy, for fifty years'. See E. M. Forster, *A Room with A View* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 125 and Forster, *Howards End*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁴ Forster, *Maurice*, p.

Positioning the household as central to the relationship between sexuality and space in *Maurice*, a counter argument does present itself: Ultimately, however saturated the novel is by rooms, the protagonists do eventually flee from the house and into the greenwood. Why? To answer this, it is necessary to return to Carpenter and Forster's presentation of his Millthorpe home as a kind of shrine. This shrine, the house, inhabits a complicated position for Forster and Carpenter. It is the space of the house that allows Merrill to touch Forster away from prying eyes. It is the space of the house that allows Forster to enjoy Merrill's touch. It is the space of the house that becomes a sexual shrine, an elevated and near divine representation of the relationships between men. Yet Carpenter was suspicious of the house. As Michael Hatt traces in his reading of Carpenter and domesticity:

Carpenter's fundamental attitude to the domestic interior is easy to characterise: in *Towards Democracy*, he writes: "This is not my house, it is my prison". At the heart of all Carpenter's work is an opposition between artifice and nature, between conventional wants and real needs, between social imprisonment and liberation, and these are insistently mapped onto the house and the world, interior and exterior.¹⁶⁵

In this way, we might take Forster's use of 'shrine' in another direction. As a space, the house enshrines homosexual desire: it captures it, preserves it, borders it. The shrine, then, is a troubling image, one that allows male desire to exist but only within specific bounds. In worrying about leaving Cambridge, Maurice embodies a deeply valid fear: left without a private space, he may no longer be able to express his desire for Clive. This anxiety is reflected later in the novel, with Maurice starting and flushing when Clive's mother remarks: "Oh, Penge is his absolutely, under my husband's will. I must move to the dower house as soon as he marries"¹⁶⁶ For Clive to marry a woman is for Maurice to simultaneously lose his relationship with his lover and with Penge. As Rickie requires a woman to set Cambridge as

¹⁶⁵ Michael Hatt, 'Edward Carpenter and the Domestic Interior', *Oxford Art Journal*, 36.3 (2013), 395–416 (p. 400).

¹⁶⁶ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 82.

a proper place, the heterosexual union of Clive and his wife will exclude Maurice from the household that represents his desire.

Moreover, to remain hidden and devoid of society is neither a joyful state of affairs nor a realistic possibility. Maurice, Clive and Alec cannot remain shut up in Cambridge or Penge, a truth that the protagonists soon come to understand. When Maurice and Alec announce their feelings for one another, they briefly retreat, taking a room for a night in a hotel and awaking happy in an embrace. All too quickly though:

Light drifted in upon them from the outside world where it was still raining. A strange hotel, a casual refuge protected them from their enemies a little longer... Maurice wanted the same, what's pleasanter, but the oncoming future distracted him, the gathering light made cosiness unreal.¹⁶⁷

The luminous spectre of the outside world slips through the window, fingering the curtains and ruffling the bedsheets, exposing the translucent privacy afforded to homosexual men, as thin as the glass in the pane. Just as Bowlby troubles the unifying subject of Bachelard's text, Ali Madanipour offers an understanding of this scene by questioning the homogeneity of the house as a private space, maintaining that 'What is within this boundary is considered a private realm, as established by various legal and cultural boundaries'.¹⁶⁸ Contextualising this analysis within a wider history of households and homosexuality, Matt Houlbrook offers a deeper understanding of Maurice's fears by elucidating that the divide between the public and private sphere did not signify a simple binary between permitted and legislated acts, nor did the private domain constitute a neutral safe space for homosexual men. Rather, 'until 1967, the prohibition of private "homosexual offences" enshrined hegemonic notions of the family home within the law. The ideological domains of residence, domesticity and privacy

¹⁶⁷ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 203.

¹⁶⁸ Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 65.

were interwoven and contingent upon one another'.¹⁶⁹ Indeed Forster was part of the first generation of homosexual men who grew up with the threat of the Labouchere Amendment, which prohibited gross indecency, tightening the law surrounding male homosexuality through ensuring it was possible to prosecute men for engaging in sexual acts where buggery could not be proven. Tracing state intervention into homosexuality in Victorian England, Cocks posits that the distinction between public and private sexual deviance is an artificial one, with 'acts taking place "in private"...on the same legal footing as those taking place in the street or park'.¹⁷⁰ Within the text, Cambridge and Penge are no less fraught than the transient space of the hotel. Each moment of desire between the boys is ultimately marred by the threat of the other: a nameless person that may walk in at any time and catch them in the act.

In *Epistemology of the Closet*, Sedgwick offers a theoretical framework to understand this relationship between desire and the household: 'The gay closet is not a feature only of the lives of gay people. But for many gay people it is still the fundamental feature of social life'. Throughout *Maurice*, the household acts as both as the fundamental feature of homosexual life and as a closet, holding a shaping grip and moulding the experience of space for the protagonists of the novel. The house becomes an elasticated closet, a series of rooms and floors that expand and contract, allowing Maurice, Clive and Alec to express their desire with various degrees of space. Yet the exterior walls uphold a firm entranceway to the outside world, the other side of the closet where the lovers cannot openly be together without fear of reprimand. In this way, the house continues to mould the novel even after Maurice and Alec have fled. Like Wilde, the closet is a ghost that haunts the couple, a space to which they cannot return and one from which they must continually move away.

¹⁶⁹ Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 110.

¹⁷⁰ Cocks, *Nameless Offences*, p. 37.

Having failed as a refuge, the house becomes related to pain for the protagonists of the novel, this affective loss summed up by Clive as he realises he no longer loves Maurice: 'He hated queerness, Cambridge, the Blue Room [at Penge]'.¹⁷¹ Once again, this hatred reflects the uncanny nature of the home. As Maurice once allowed Clive to love Penge, now the protagonist's presence elicits a sense of revulsion that folds together the household with sexuality. It is the ultimate failure of the house to act as a home, the knowledge that Maurice and Alec will struggle to be together without the fantastical epilogue to the novel, that reflects the 'painful world' of Forster's text. The house embodies the material, social and psychological pain experienced by the homosexual protagonists. As Wilde offers an ironic frame of reference for Maurice to articulate his desire, so too is the house a structure that allows Maurice, Clive and Alec to express their affections for one another while, at the same time, restricting these desires and making them impossible to continue with.

In this way, it is the house and not the greenwood that best embodies the relationship between sexuality and space in *Maurice*.¹⁷² If anything, the greenwood is a fantasy that runs against the failure of the house. The greenwood is an always-already faded fable: one that cannot really exist, a fantasy born of Forster's desire for a happy ending. Fixing Maurice, Clive and Alec within a closet space, the house becomes an untenable structure to act out homosexual relationships. The pain of acknowledging this, the torment of living in such a bounded world, gives way to the greenwood, which presents the antithesis to the house: a portable, moveable, open landscape where Maurice and Alec can live together (and, perhaps, even reach towards a sense of home). Yet this does not present the greenwood as

¹⁷¹ Forster, *Maurice*, p. 154.

¹⁷² Indeed, the greenwood is not a modern space at all, but an almost anachronistic—or perhaps atemporal—pastoral fantasy, sitting in marked contrast to the weighty presence of Penge and the immanent pressure that the house puts on Clive to marry and shore up the legacy of his home.

the main space of the novel, nor as the space that captures the materiality of homosexuality. It remains the house that reflects homosexual desire throughout *Maurice*. Physically, the house offers brief moments of unsustainable shelter to Maurice, Clive and Alec. Psychologically, the protagonists find a sense of tranquillity that is soon shattered by the social and legal ramifications of Clive's marriage and Alec's class. The pain of the house is born from what it offers and then quickly snatches away, a world which we are permitted to glance at but not to dwell in.

Structural Issues: Reading the Failed Household.

Failure does not have to mark an end. As Muñoz, Heather Love and Elizabeth Freeman discuss, understanding failure can be a productive angle for queer readings as so much of queer history is predicated on loss and impossibility.¹⁷³ In particular, Halberstam outlines that:

As a practice, failure recognizes that alternatives are embedded already in the dominant and that power is never total or consistent; indeed failure can exploit the unpredictability of ideology and its indeterminate qualities...I propose that one form of queer art has made failure its centerpiece and has cast queerness as the dark landscape of confusion, loneliness, alienation, impossibility, and awkwardness.¹⁷⁴

Succeeding Halberstam, this chapter now asks what we can do with the failure of the house in *Maurice*. Tracing the end of the novel, I interrogate what the failure of house can tell us about the relationship between sexuality and space for Forster. I am not as wholly positive in my critique of failure as Halberstam—offering a reading that traces the pitfalls of Forsterian geography, the traps and binds that frustrate sexuality and the problems that this presentation of homosexuality raises—but I remain uninterested in presenting failure as a

¹⁷³ Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. xvi-xvii; Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 21-24; and José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), pp. 169-184.

¹⁷⁴ Jack Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 88-97.

full stop. Rather, in unfolding failure and in asking what failure can tell us, I consider how sexuality and space are bound together within the Forsterian landscape, probing what Forster's 'painful world' can offer our understanding of modernist geography.

Drawing towards the end of this chapter, I am invested in exploring what Sedgwick has referred to as a 'reparative reading' as I analyse the relationship between sexuality and space in Forster's 'gay novel'. In her essay 'Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You', Sedgwick sketches the theoretical history of paranoid reading that has become 'nearly synonymous with criticism itself'.¹⁷⁵ Contending that the argumentative gesture of paranoid reading is exposure, discovery and revelation, Sedgwick depicts such an approach as suspicious and anticipatory in that it expects negative affects as a means of pre-empting them. The critical practice of reparative reading extends beyond these methods of exposure by embracing possibility and unpredictability, as well as the potential of positive affects. For Sedgwick, reparative and paranoid readings do not exist in conflict, but in tandem:

Allow each theory its own, different prime motive, at any rate—the anticipation of pain in one case, the provision of pleasure in the other—and neither can be called more realistic than the other. It's not even necessarily true that the two make different judgments of "reality": it isn't that one is pessimistic and sees the glass as half empty, while the other is optimistic and sees it as half full.¹⁷⁶

Ultimately, in drawing attention to failure, I am not attempting to document a list of the intransiencies that Forster makes. Rather, I am trying to move past this and ask what these multiple instances of failure can tell us about the mediation of sexuality, space and modernity. Love has referred to Sedgwick as an 'enabling' force for queer theory.¹⁷⁷ In reading Forster's failures, I seek to ask how they enable an understanding of the relationship

¹⁷⁵ Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, p. 124.

¹⁷⁶ Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, p. 138.

¹⁷⁷ Heather Love, 'Truth and Consequences: On Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading', *Criticism*, 52.2 (2010), 235-241 (p. 235).

between sexuality and space, as well as how these failures create space to envisage alternatives. Instead of drawing a parallel relationship between failure and exposure, the end of this chapter argues that the failure of the house can be a force that opens, rather than closes, Forsterian geography to new possibilities.

Reading Forster in this way, I follow recent critical attention that has sought to move towards an understanding of not just queer failure, but queer survival.¹⁷⁸ Considering the interlacing of art and survival, Jacqueline Rose contends that 'it is because no reader can exhaust the meaning of...a text, because anyone reading cannot but select and forget—to read is always mentally to drop bits and pieces of the writing as you go—that it will continuously be reinvented'.¹⁷⁹ For Rose, contained in failure is the possibility of rebirth, reinvention and renewal. Extending this idea in his examination of modernism, queerness and survival, Benjamin Bateman positions that in *Howards End*:

Each sister voices the anxiety of an age increasingly defined by displacement, where homes give way to apartments as individual and collective identity come untethered from place and soil. Amidst this chaos individuals lose the institutions that mediated and made relationships possible and sustainable. The novel, however, imagines this loss as an opportunity, an ethical challenge to generate unanticipated relationalities.¹⁸⁰

Such a reading offers reparative potential by addressing failure through possibility. For Bateman, this radical potential is embodied by the ellipsis of the epigraph 'Only connect...', the critic asserting that 'Failing to specify what should be connected—its ellipsis leaving us hanging—the epigraph invites the reader to drop the script of predictable intimacy and finish

¹⁷⁸ See Benjamin Bateman, *The Modernist Art of Queer Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) and Lana Lin and H. Lan Thao Lam, 'The Queer Art of Survival', *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, 44.1 (2016), 341-346.

¹⁷⁹ Jacqueline Rose, 'The Art of Survival', *Critical Quarterly*, 54.1 (2012), 16-19 (p. 16).

¹⁸⁰ Benjamin Bateman, 'Beyond Interpellation: Forster, Connection, and the Queer Invitation', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 57.2 (2011), 180-198 (p. 183).

the phrase in unusual ways'.¹⁸¹ In this regard, Bateman offers a queer extension of Thacker's critique by questioning the kinds of connection Forster offers us. Failure, then, might be framed as an ellipsis rather than as a full stop, acting as a potent continuation that invites a host of potential readings. Following Bateman, I ask how the failure of the household in *Maurice* might act as an ellipsis that creates room for questions, inviting alternative visions of sexualised space.

The most searing failure of *Maurice* is not the breakdown of Maurice and Clive's relationship, but the inability of Maurice and Alec to establish a stable home at Penge. The introduction of Alec to the narrative is akin to the presence of Oliver Mellors in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). Like Mellors, Alec lies heavy on the text, a bodily presence offering a deep, earthy and physical lust that parries with the middle-class foibles of Clive and Sir Clifford Chatterley. Critics have rightly expressed concern in regards to this portrayal of the working-class but what is interesting about Alec is his ability to take Maurice beyond the closet by forcing him to abandon the house in favour of the greenwood.¹⁸² It would be a generous reading of *Maurice* to claim that Alec is an essential critique of the class system, yet the groundsman's presence in the novel does elucidate how homosexuality is tethered to class for Forster by exposing the complete unsuitability of the conventional household.

As a space, Penge is akin to *Howards End*: a middle-class house away from the centre of the city and the physical incarnation of lineage passed down through generations. Remarking that her son needs a wife, Clive's mother echoes the anxieties of Ruth Wilcox by assuming that Clive, as head of the household, will marry a woman to establish himself, secure his

¹⁸¹ Benjamin Bateman, 'Beyond Interpellation: Forster, Connection, and the Queer Invitation', p. 183.

¹⁸² See Stephen Da Silva, 'Transvaluing Immaturity: Reverse Discourses of Male Homosexuality in E. M. Forster's Posthumously Published Fiction', *Criticism*, 40.2 (1998), 237-272 and Wilfred Stone, "'Overleaping Class" Forster's Problem in Connection', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 39.4 (1978), 386-404.

heritage and continue the pedigree of Penge. In this fashion, sexuality becomes bound to class and gender through the household, with the structural borders of the house reflecting the intersections and boundaries of identity throughout *Maurice*. As a structure, Penge offers Maurice and Clive shelter, but it does not entirely absolve them of the pressures of the outside world. Rather, through Penge, the difficulties of homosexuality become imbricated with and intensified by these pressures, bordered by class and walled in by gender. Penge can only ever offer a temporary retreat for the lovers as, by accepting his homosexuality, Clive must renounce the possibility that he will marry a woman and, in doing so, his attachment to his household. Recalling Hatt's assertion that for Carpenter the house represents a space 'between conventional wants and real needs, between social imprisonment and liberation', we find Maurice and Clive trapped, imprisoned and enshrined in a space that can only offer the most temporary of refuge.

Explicating this further, Penge fails to offer a unifying retreat from the outside world. Unlike Clive, as a groundsman Alec is not afforded sustained access to the Russet Room, visiting Maurice at night by clambering through the window before needing to leave again in the morning. Once the ladder Alec uses is removed, so too is his access to Maurice, the couple meeting in the boathouse of the Penge estate. Returning to Bachelard once more, the house becomes a representational space that exists in a reciprocal relationship with its inhabitants. Reflecting the house, Clive and Maurice's relationship is bordered, protected, walled in and smothered by class, while the working-class Alec is figured through the boathouse as an interloper, a marginal figure who exists at the edges of the estate. Ultimately, the house is a representative structure.¹⁸³ Much as the figure of Wilde both engenders and restricts

¹⁸³ In this way, the reciprocity between the body and the house that Penge offers comes to reflect another home (and a further queer relationship) in *A Passage to India*. With critics having long read Dr Aziz and Cyril Fielding as embodying a homosexual undertone, it is interesting that the pair should first meet at Fielding's quarters. Through coded whispers, this scene enters into dialogue with *Maurice*. As Aziz arrives at Fielding's house, attention is immediately drawn to the male body, with Fielding

Maurice's ability to discuss his sexuality, so too does Penge allow Maurice and his lovers to act on their desires while slowly suffocating their relationship. In the same vein, as the walls that ensconce Maurice and Clive mark the dividing lines of class and gender, the position of the boathouse at the edge of Penge requires Maurice to abandon the comparative safety of the Russet Room and the comforts of his middle-class life as he is drawn towards Alec, a marginal class figure.

In defiance of this (and, indeed, contained within the very failure of the house) is the possibility of difference. In providing inadequate shelter, the failed house pushes Maurice and Alec to take on a radically changed way of life in the greenwood. Set against the household, the greenwood offers an open-ended escape that rallies against boundaries and explodes the classed borders that keep Maurice and Alec apart. In all its stultifying permanence, the failure of the house becomes transformed into the elliptic continuance of the epilogue. Grappling with failure, the epilogue of *Maurice* presents a multitude of narrative possibilities, inviting an open-ended vision of Maurice and Alec roaming the greenwood. In this way, the epilogue functions as a kind of ellipsis and offers a reparative

partially hidden behind a frosted screen and still in a state of undress after taking a bath. Following Bateman, we might consider the way in which this unconventional behaviour brims with desire. Bringing attention to the male body within the unusual bounds of the domestic sphere, the narrative co-produces a sense of intimacy which continues throughout the passage, culminating with a brief touch between the men that distantly echoes the furtive touches of Maurice and his lovers. Explicating this further, before they come tête-à-tête, Fielding and Aziz begin to play a peculiar game, attempting to guess what the other looks like through the screen that separates them. The playing of this game is only a few lines long in the text, but it is profitable to dwell on its purpose. In its first instance, the game serves to intensify the corporeal focus of the narrative eye, redrawing attention to the lines of the body and strengthening the desiring undercurrents of the scene. Surmising that the doctor is five feet nine inches high, Fielding is able to guess Aziz's height but little else through the ground glass of the door. This moment of obscured looking is curious, the frosted glass of the screen affording Fielding and Aziz a warped view of one another. In this regard, the door comes to signify a distorted cultural gateway, representing the limited vision that Aziz and Fielding are afforded through the warped lens of empire. Moreover, the power dynamic of this warped gaze elucidates the way in which this lens of empire places Aziz and Fielding in an uneven relationship. It is, after all, Fielding's game that Aziz is playing. In this way, the house becomes a space of desire just as this desire becomes bound up with the politics of empire, cut through with race, class and other markers of identity. Akin to Penge's reflection of the relationships between Maurice, Clive and Alec, then, so too do Fielding's quarters figure a reciprocity between the body and the house.

reading of the text, creating a space where Maurice and Alec may not be able to set up a fixed house, but certainly come reach towards a greater sense of home, of belonging, and of togetherness. This is because desire always asks for more—both pushing us closer to the desired object and requiring us to move past it, seeking out further objects. To admonish the end of *Maurice* as a fantasy and therefore as a folly is to offer a paranoid reading. The greenwood is a fantasy, but it is far from shallow. Set against the prison of the house, the end of *Maurice* offers a coda that affords an alternate vision of the relationship between sexuality and space. Instead of being represented by a series of passageways, rooms and blockages, homosexual desire is able to roam, to move and to continue onwards, asking for more and taking up more, not less, room.

Working through the failure of the fixed house, the end of *Maurice* yearns for more, transforming the message of the novel from one of loss to one of survival. Seen through a paranoid lens, critics have maintained that the greenwood is lacking in artistic merit, unconvincing and unsuitable.¹⁸⁴ Offering a reparative reading, I believe that the greenwood affords us more than this. Against the failure of the household, the greenwood allows for an imaginative reappraisal of Forsterian geography, creating a space that invites an alternate vision of sexuality in which homosexual desire is allowed to flourish. Setting Forster's 'gay novel' aside from its siblings, Matthew Curr contends 'in contrast to Forster's other five novels, this one lacks an ending veiled with evasion or fascinating inconclusiveness; instead it issues an affirmative blast that erupts through the surface of the received Forster canon'.¹⁸⁵

In this way, the spaces of *Maurice* are shaped by its essential relationship with homosexual

¹⁸⁴ See Douglass Bolling, 'The Distanced Heart: Artistry in E. M. Forster's *Maurice*', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 20.2 (1974), 157-167; Mary Ellis Gibson, 'Illegitimate Order: Cosmopolitanism and Liberalism in Forster's *Howards End*', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 28.2 (1985), 106-123; and Christopher Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind* (London: The Chaucer Press, 1977), pp. 99-100.

¹⁸⁵ Curr, 'Recuperating E. M. Forster's *Maurice*', p. 59.

desire, the material refuge of household giving way to the open-ended fantasy of greenwood.

As I move to the close of this chapter, it is useful to return to the beginning and to pose a question once again: Why is homosexuality repeatedly bound up with the household and how does this expand our understanding of the Forsterian landscape? Reading *Maurice*, critics have contended that the greenwood represents Forster's yearning to freely express his homosexual desire without reprimand. While this may be the case, it is not the greenwood that Forster's 'gay novel' is centrally concerned with. As it does not reflect the affective qualities Forster attributed to his novel, nor is the greenwood present for much of the text. Rather, it is the house—Cambridge, Penge, boathouses, studies, bedrooms and so on—that comes to reflect the mediation of sexuality and space in the novel. *Maurice's* relationship to the household is deeply rooted in the material conditions of homosexuality in the early twentieth century. Unable to express their desire in public, the protagonists of *Maurice* turn to the household as a sanctuary, a retreat from the watchful eyes of Cambridge dons and the imposed silence of medical professionals.

For a time, the space of the house provides Maurice, Clive and Alec with the necessary reprieve to explore their relationship. Yet, in acting as a closet, the house slowly begins to suffocate the desire the protagonists feel for one another. Once sheltered by Penge, Maurice and Clive soon become separated by its walls, partitioned and parcelled away from one another. Much as Wilde provides an ironic frame of reference, the house paradoxically engenders and restricts the ability to act out homosexual desire. Inhabiting the house in this way, the characters of *Maurice* enter into a reciprocal relationship with their surrounds. At first Clive finds his feelings for Maurice mapped out onto his family home but, before long, the divisions in their relationship are manifested through structural boundaries. The

impossibility of this relationship extends outwards to Maurice and Alec, a relationship that is further marked by class. As such, the space of the house negotiates the multivalent pressures of modernity for homosexual men—the risk of legal repercussions, the need for secrecy, the fraught division between public and private—these tensions resulting in the painful, difficult and awkward landscape of *Maurice*.

In *Maurice*, the house ultimately provides an inhospitable shelter. The material conditions of homosexuality suffocate the relationship between Maurice and Clive. Yet this failure is crucial to our reading of the novel. It is ultimately the failure of the household that leads Maurice and Alec to flee to the greenwood. In doing so, the lovers offer us the elliptical ending of the novel, an expansive space that rallies against the stultifying borders of Cambridge and Penge, allowing for a multitude of imagined continuances and transforming the message of the novel. The intimacy between Maurice and Alec represents a moment of climax that bursts forward and, in doing so, carves out a space that allows for an alternative approach to the ending of the text. The house, then, marries together the sexual and spatial orientations of *Maurice*. Whether the protagonists are contained within it or rallying against it by escaping, the house as a closet is a crucial force that holds a shaping influence over the novel. In holding such influence, homosexual desire has important ramifications for Forsterian geography. Taking a reparative approach to the failure of the household, we are offered new engagements with the text and new modes of seeing that open up useful critical questions, allowing for a critique of the power structures that underline and mould the novel. In all, the house acts as a queer space, a place that is marked by difference and, in being marked so, invites us to enter, to explore, and to read differently.

Drawing connections between sexuality, geography and modernity, this chapter considered how the queer subject mediates their relationship with the external world. Following this, I

now move to Chapter Two, which turns inwards to examine the spatial interiority of queer subjectivity by analysing the relationship between psychoanalysis and the landscape of the mind in H.D.'s short stories 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare'.

Libidinal Currents: H.D. and the Sea.

H.D. was born physically in America and spiritually in the Greek Islands.¹⁸⁶

— *Vogue Magazine* (1924)

There are the elements, which seem to mock at all human control: the earth, which quakes and is torn apart and buries all human life and its works; water, which deluges and drowns everything in a turmoil; storms, which blow everything before them.¹⁸⁷

— Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion* (1927)

Safe against the second gate, her eyes drugged themselves on more blue; a glorified morning-glory made a burnt tree blossom. The burnt tree, with unfamiliar spider leaves, was drenched with a new variant on blue, this very dark blue, 'paint-box blue', she said again.¹⁸⁸

— H.D., 'Mira-Mare' (1934)

In her study of H.D. *Penelope's Web* (1990), Susan Stanford Friedman recapitulates the central question of *Helen in Egypt* (1961) to ask 'H.D.—who is she?'¹⁸⁹ This query has echoed throughout H.D. scholarship since serious recovery of her work began in the late 1980s, critics seeking to excavate the artist beneath the nominal shapeshifter who transfigured from Hilda Doolittle to Edith Gray, J. Beran, Rhoda Peter, Helga Dart, Helga Dorn, John Helforth and D. A. Hill. 'Who is she?' is a scholarly call to arms that rests at the heart of the biographic, queer, psychoanalytic, feminist and historicist approaches that have allowed for diverse understandings of H.D.'s grand mythopoetic project.¹⁹⁰ Nothing attests to the necessity of

¹⁸⁶ 'Women of Distinction in Literature', *Vogue Magazine*, Early October 1928, p. 80.

¹⁸⁷ Sigmund Freud, 'The Future of an Illusion', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 24 vols (London: Vintage 2001), trans. by James Strachey, XXI, pp. 5-58, p. 16.

¹⁸⁸ H.D., 'Mira-Mare', in *Kora and Ka* (New York: New Directions, 1996), pp. 55-102 (p. 61).

¹⁸⁹ Susan Stanford Friedman, *Penelope's Web Gender, Modernity, H.D.'s Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ Critical interest in H.D. (which was first resuscitated in the 1980s thanks to the intervention of feminist scholars) has sought to unspool the complex thematic skein of her writing. For biographic readings of H.D. that chart the influence of her life on her writing see Barbara Guest, *Herself Defined: The Poet H.D. and Her World* (London: Harper Collins, 1985) and Rachel Blau DuPlessis, *H.D. The Career of that Struggle* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986). For queer readings that analyse her relationship to lesbian identities see Diana Collecott, *H.D. and Sapphic Modernism 1910-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Georgia Johnston, *The Formation of 20th-Century Queer Autobiography: Reading Vita Sackville-West, Virginia Woolf, Hilda Doolittle, and Gertrude Stein* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 95-126. For psychoanalytic readings that mine H.D.'s rich personal investment in the analytic process and relationship to Freud see Elizabeth A. Hirsh,

these readings as clearly as the comprehensive list of pseudonyms summarised by the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library in the Finding Aid to the H.D. papers, names that allow the poet to weave in and out of her fiction.¹⁹¹ H.D. is a signifier, the point at which artistic and narrative identities intersect, a palimpsest written and revised over and over, a quintessentially imagist moniker engaging ‘absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation’.¹⁹² ‘Who is she?’ has affected an academic sleuthing that works to understand these reticulated identities.

Stalking scholars with such dogged persistence, the question ‘H.D.—who is she?’ has obscured another that has quietly follows in its wake: H.D.—where was she? During her creative zenith, the fleet-footed H.D. slipped between locations as often as she cast aside her favoured *nom de plume*. [Redacted].¹⁹³ Long before such discourses became commonplace, those central to the formation of the critical debate surrounding H.D. were intrigued by the geopolitical, ecocritical and cosmopolitan potential of her narrative landscapes. Scholars have provided compelling readings that analyse the significant purchase geography, space and place have on H.D.’s imaginary, spanning the neoclassical vistas of her early poetry collections, the fragmented metropolis of *Trilogy* (1944), and the mythic

‘Imaginary Images: H.D., Modernism and the Psychoanalysis of Seeing’, in *Signets: Reading H.D.*, ed. by Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 430-454 and Susan Edmunds, *Out of Line: History, Psychoanalysis, & Montage in H.D.’s Long Poems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). For feminist readings that stake H.D.’s claim as a central figure in both modernism and women’s writing see Susan Stanford Friedman, *Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981) and Georgina Taylor, *H.D. and the Public Sphere of Modernist Women Writers 1913-1946: Talking Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). For historicist readings that (re)periodise H.D. by situating her in a much longer heritage see Eileen Gregory, *H.D. and Hellenism: Classic Lines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Cassandra Laity, *H.D. and the Victorian Fin de Siècle: Gender, Modernism, Decadence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁹¹ *H.D. Papers* [online]. Archives at Yale. <<https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/11/resources/1467>> [accessed 12 November 2018]. See ‘Appendix: Selective list of nicknames encountered in the H.D. Papers’ contained under ‘Additional Description’, specifically.

¹⁹² Ezra Pound, ‘A Retrospect’, in *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. by T. S. Eliot (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1968), p. 3.

¹⁹³ BRBML, Yale Collection of American Literature, H.D. Papers, H.D. British Passports, 1926 – 1956, Box 49, Folders 1229-30.

panoramas of *Helen in Egypt*.¹⁹⁴ Central to these studies is an unyielding attempt to locate H.D. within her landscape. There are, of course, tacit biographic echoes to be found in the bluffs, hummocks and coasts that frequent H.D.'s work. Annette Debo notes the influence of an East Coast upbringing on H.D.'s writing, tracing the tides and woodlands of her poetry to the shoreline of Maine and the pastures of Pennsylvania.¹⁹⁵ Yet a simple biographic reading of landscape does not suffice. As Debo asserts 'If place is indeed a valid aspect of identity, then it becomes integral to the theorising of the modernist self'.¹⁹⁶ In this respect, H.D. uses place to expand the self as much as she uses questions of selfhood to expand the geographies of her texts. As we map H.D.'s interwoven identities, the question of 'where' circles around the notion of 'who'.

In particular, spatial criticism of H.D. has returned time and again to the sea, a figure that appears in various forms in every one of the novels published before H.D.'s death in 1961, as well as scattered throughout her poetry—most notably taking centre stage in her first collection *Sea Garden* (1916). H.D.'s writing is drenched in the salty tang of brine, caught up amongst sea-weed, sea-cities, sea-quartz, sea-fish, sea-lovers, sea-mothers, sea-mistresses and sea-daughters (I use the poet's own hyphenation here). As the sea provides a home for fish, gulls and sirens, so too does it give rise to the liminal space of banks, coastlines and

¹⁹⁴ Critics centre the importance of place in H.D.'s early work through discussing the erotic politics of the garden. See Cassandra Laity, 'H.D.'s Romantic Landscapes: The Sexual Politics of the Garden', in *Signets: Reading H.D.*, ed. by Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 110-128 and Eileen Gregory, 'Rose Cut in Rock: Sappho and H.D.'s *Sea Garden*', in *Signets: Reading H.D.*, ed. by Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 129-154. Looking much later in H.D.'s bibliography, scholars analyse how H.D. turns to the intensely physical fractured landscape of London in order to make sense of the blitz. See Susan Gubar, 'The Echoing Spell of H.D.'s *Trilogy*', *Contemporary Literature*, 19.2 (1978), 196-218 and Sarah Graham, 'Falling Walls: Trauma and Testimony in H.D.'s *Trilogy*', *English*, 56.216 (2007), 299-319. Turning to the end of H.D.'s career and the long poem *Helen in Egypt*, critics show the lasting power of place for H.D. See Alicia Ostriker, 'The Thieves of Language: Women Poets and Revisionist Mythmaking', *Signs*, 8.1 (1982), 68-90 and Leah Culligan Flack, *Modernism and Homer: The Odysseys of H.D., James Joyce, Osip Mandelstam, and Ezra Pound* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 177-188.

¹⁹⁵ See Annette Debo, 'H.D.'s American Landscape: The Power and Permanence of Place', *South Atlantic Review*, 69.3/4 (2004), 1-22 (p. 2).

¹⁹⁶ Debo, 'H.D.'s American Landscape', p. 2.

shores, as well as other forms—rivers, pools, mist and so forth. Scholarship has been equally attentive to the place of water in H.D.'s writing, particularly when tracing the myriad resonances of the sea.¹⁹⁷

Following the inky footsteps of this critical lineage, I seek to locate the appearance of the sea in two of H.D.'s understudied 1934 stories 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' within a queer framework. These stories are ripe with queer subtext, brimming with sexuality, desire, trauma, relationships and bodies. Considering H.D.'s own interests, however, such a queer framework is necessarily couched in dialogue with psychoanalysis. As critics have discussed at length, psychoanalysis was key to H.D.'s own understanding of her sexuality, Diana Collecott noting that 'much critical interest in H.D.'s life and writing has been aroused by her involvement with psychoanalysis and by the involvement of her sexuality in that analysis'.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, H.D. wrote the stories in 1930 as her interest in psychoanalysis began to pique. Discussing [Redacted] with H.D. *Mirror for a star, star for a mirror*, Silvia Dobson recalls [Redacted] throughout the early 1930s.¹⁹⁹ Though H.D. initially hesitated to publish the stories, she eventually ceded the prose to her partner Bryher, who paid for them to be

¹⁹⁷ Considering H.D.'s relationship to the sea, scholarship has been as varied as biographic readings of H.D. and the seascape of America, the presence of maternity in H.D.'s work, and H.D.'s relationship to the pastoral, masculine poetics, and the classical world. See Debo, 'H.D.'s American Landscape'; Lesley Wheeler, 'Both Flower and Flower Gatherer: Medbh McGuckian's *The Flower Master* and H.D.'s *Sea Garden*', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 49.4 (2003), 494-519 (pp. 505-506); Celena E. Kusch, 'H.D.'s American *Sea Garden*: Drowning the Idyll Threat to US Modernism', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 56.1 (2010), 47-70; Jeffrey Twitchell-Waas, 'Seaward: H.D.'s *Helen in Egypt* as a Response to Pound's *Cantos*', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 44.4 (1998), 464-483 (pp. 467-471); Deborah Kelly Kloepper, 'Fishing the Murex up: Sense and Resonance in H.D.'s *Palimpsest*', *Contemporary Literature*, 27.4 (1986), 553-573; and Bret L. Keeling, 'H.D. and "The Contest": Archaeology of a Sapphic Gaze', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 44.2 (1998), 176-203. Here, I deliberately refuse to draw a tacit thread through scholarship concerning the relationship between H.D. and the sea, seeking instead to elucidate the dissonant readings this scholarship provides. At best we may argue that the sea, like its tide, shifts in H.D.'s work, providing differing reflections that shimmer and glint with refractions of her life and artistic craft. In this regard, we might think of H.D.'s identities not simply as reticulated, but as coaxial, located together within the presence of the sea throughout her writing.

¹⁹⁸ For further discussion of the relationship between H.D.'s conception of sexuality and the psychoanalytic process see Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Susan Stanford Friedman, "'Woman Is Perfect': H.D.'s Debate with Freud", *Feminist Studies*, 7.3 (1981), 417-430 and Claire Buck, *H.D. and Freud: Bisexuality and Feminine Discourse* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).

¹⁹⁹ BRBML, Yale Collection of American Literature, H.D. Papers, 'Mirror for a Star, Star for a Mirror': H.D.'s Letters to Silvia Dobson, 1935-1961, Box 9, Folder 306.

printed in a 100-copy edition by Imprimerie Darantiere for friends in 1934. This was a crucial year for H.D. in which she first experienced a severe breakdown after undertaking analysis with Freud in 1933 to combat a period of creative stagnation. The analysis was fruitful, spurring on an intensely fertile stage in H.D.'s career and amplifying the psychoanalytic resonances of her prose. In a letter to Bryher written at the end of 1934, H.D. admitted that she considered the stories a 'great achievement...and want[ed] them to soak in'.²⁰⁰

Following years of relative poetic success with *Hymen* (1921), *Heliodora and Other Poems* (1924) and *Hippolytus Temporizes* (1927) and swelling (if private) interest in prose with *Paint it Today* (1922), *Asphodel* (1922) and *Palimpsest* (1926), H.D. considered 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' 'long-short stories', a playful taxonomy that allowed the writer to experiment with form—Robert Spoo referring to the category as a 'usefully elastic genre'.²⁰¹ Perhaps, however, we might recast the long-short story as a usefully fluid genre, the space where land and water meet. Following this, we might think of the long-short stories as the point where prose and poetry meet in H.D.'s corpus, 'the beginning of [a] new regime' as H.D. put it herself.²⁰² This generic flexibility is curiously echoed by Woolf in her description of *The Waves*, a novel she depicted as a play-poem, with critics noting its deliquescent form.²⁰³ Bolstering this, each of H.D.'s stories are bathed in language that evokes a watercolour landscape, soaked in vivid greens and lustrous blues. Generically, formally and linguistically, then, 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' swirl around the sea. Along with *Sea Garden*, they show H.D. savouring in the delights and difficulties of an aqueous topography. At the same time, these stories hold an interesting point in the genesis of H.D.'s writing, a space between her earlier

²⁰⁰ H.D. to Bryher on 18 December 1934, in *Analyzing Freud: Letters of H.D., Bryher, and Their Circle*, ed. by Susan Stanford Friedman (London: New Directions, 2002), pp. 521-522.

²⁰¹ Robert Spoo, 'Introduction', in *Kora and Ka*, H.D. (New York: New Directions, 1996), p. v. A note: though published much later, *Paint It Today* and *Asphodel* were originally conceived and written during the 1920s.

²⁰² Spoo, 'Introduction', p. viii.

²⁰³ See Nicole Rizzuto, 'Maritime Modernism: The Aqueous Form of Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*', *Modernist Cultures*, 11.2 (2016), 268-292 for more.

poetry and later prose. Considering the critical attendance to the place of geography in H.D.'s work, it is peculiar that these texts have attracted so little critical attention; this thesis offers a small chink in the armoured silence that encumbers them.

This chapter begins by situating H.D.'s sea in conversation with the discourses of modernism and psychoanalysis, paying particular attention to the thinkers that H.D. intimately engaged with: Freud and Ezra Pound. In doing so, the chapter seeks to elucidate not just the resonances, but the differences, between H.D. and her contemporaries. Feminist critique has rightly sought to situate H.D. as irreducible to a singular frame, Stanford Friedman summarising this position by maintaining that H.D. has been moulded 'into a multiply split, gendered subject characteristic of both modernism and an oppositional discourse that positions woman within, yet against, patriarchal representations of female identity'.²⁰⁴ In my reading, I lean in to this tension, placing H.D. in critical dialogue with her contemporaries. In part, H.D. is informed by the 'oceanic feeling' that Freud describes in his work. In part, H.D. is reacting to the arid masculinity championed by the likes of Pound. In part, H.D. is conceiving her own model of the sea—a model that this chapter argues palpably connects the erotic and geographic through the psychoanalytic. Simply put, this is to say that the kind of self-discovery psychoanalysis offered H.D. as a queer woman becomes spatialised through the sea in a manner that allows the writer to push back against the limitations of the analytic process, figuring her own theorisation of the self as a response to the restrictive models offered by Freud.

Having outlined the critical and artistic backdrop of the sea as it features in H.D.'s writing, the chapter moves to an exploration of the sea in 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare'. Specifically, I map the sea as unquestionably bound up with H.D.'s own move towards psychoanalysis,

²⁰⁴ Stanford Friedman, *Penelope's Web*, p. 80. For further discussion of H.D.'s generic flexibility, see Miranda B. Hickman, "'Unconventionally seated": H.D. and Literary Canons', in *The Cambridge Companion to H.D.*, ed. by Nephie J. Christodoulides and Polina Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 9-22.

contending that the long-short stories can be read in conversation with the analytic process. Interpreting the sea in 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' as a psychic space, I argue that H.D. presents mental life as a distinctly spatial ecosystem that can be explored through the psychoanalytic method. Throughout each story, the sea spatialises the psyche, while acts of swimming and diving represent methods employed by Freud. Developing this, I contend that such affiliation of sea and psyche has a strikingly erotic undertone. Throughout her long-short stories, H.D. presents a conversation with Freud through her engagement with the sea, at once a psychic realm and an erotic geography that forges a distinct bond between sexuality and space. As I have claimed however, this is not a simple regurgitation of Freudian thinking, but a complex dialogue that remodels Freudian ideals.

Recognising this remodelling, the central question of this chapter is as follows: How might we understand H.D.'s difficult representation of the sea as necessarily queer? Adapting the notion of wet ontology offered by cultural geographers Philip Steinberg and Kimberley Peters throughout this chapter, I maintain that the sea is an open and ever-becoming space that resists strict categorisation. In this fashion, I argue that the sea in H.D.'s work reflects Luce Irigaray's positioning of masculine sexuality as fearing 'the fluid, that which flows, is mobile, which is not a solid ground/earth or mirror for the subject'.²⁰⁵ Echoing Steinberg and Peters' wet ontologies, Lynda Haas asserts in her reading of Irigaray that 'embedded in [the philosopher's] metaphor of the sea is a fluidity and depth that resists identification'.²⁰⁶ Akin to Irigaray, H.D. also resists easy identification. As a space, H.D.'s sea invites continued exploration, transformation and a rejection of fixity. Much like desire, the sea appears endless, ceaseless and provoking.

Shifting Tides: Modernism, Psychoanalysis and Fluid Discourse.

²⁰⁵ Luce Irigaray, *The Irigaray Reader*, ed. by Margaret Whitford (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 28.

²⁰⁶ Lynda Haas, 'Of Waters and Women: The Philosophy of Luce Irigaray', *Hypatia*, 8.4 (1993), 150-159 (p. 155).

The lineage of women and water in Western art is pervasive and ongoing: Calypso, the birth of Venus, the Lady of the Lake, the drowning of Ophelia, the Little Mermaid, the cultural mythos surrounding Woolf, the Wicked Witch of the West, Patti Smith's *Going Under* (1988), the discovery of Laura Palmer in *Twin Peaks* (1990), Marina Abramović's interest in the process of drinking. The female form has been culturally produced as soft, permeable, wet and porous, with connotations of sexual fluids, menstruation and birth lurking in these artistic depths. Women's bodies have been represented as overflowing, slimy, contaminating, and the site in which men drown. In her analysis of women, water and the West, Alexis Wick traces the continued power of this imaginary, maintaining 'the aquatic plays a crucial role in the distinctly gendered...discourse of the modern...water became the elemental essence of European Man...central to the repressed displacement of woman...in the aquatically fraught horizon of Western Reason'.²⁰⁷

Modernism is not exempt from this discourse. In his posthumously published essay 'Romanticism and Classicism' (written in 1924), T. E. Hulme dispenses with the merits of fluidity by drawing a distinction between 'romantic' and 'classical' verse. Dissatisfied with the state of English poetry, Hulme contrasts aesthetic forms in order to vouch for the superiority of classicism, drawing on the image of a well and bucket to illustrate this:

To the one party man's nature is like a well, to the other like a bucket. The view which regards man as a well, a reservoir full of possibilities, I call the romantic; the one which regards him as a very finite and fixed creature, I call the classical...What I mean by classical in verse, then, is this. That even in the most imaginative flights there is always a holding back, a reservation. The classical poet never forgets this finiteness, this limit of man. He remembers always that he is mixed up with earth.²⁰⁸

Swiftly dispatching with the damp and vague work of the Romantics, Hulme disparages Romanticism as 'moaning or whining about something or other' and advances the idea that

²⁰⁷ Alexis Wick, 'Narcissus: Woman, Water and the West', *Feminist Review*, 103.1 (2013), 42–57 (p. 43).

²⁰⁸ T. E. Hulme, 'Romanticism and Classicism', in *T. E. Hulme Selected Writings*, ed. by Patrick McGuinness (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 68-84, (pp. 70-71).

'beauty may be in small, dry things'.²⁰⁹ In this way, Hulme codifies liquidity as necessarily lesser, as soft, feeble or weak. Recent theoretical examination of the relationship between modernity and weakness has played with this understanding, Paul K. Saint-Amour claiming 'Weakness: not a word that would seem, at first blush, to have anything to say to modernism. Modernism doesn't blush; it blasts'.²¹⁰ Weakness, it seems, is the inverse of the classical impulse that cuts through Hulmean modernity. Scholars have recognised the gendered connotations of such an approach, Saint-Amour arguing that from the 'perspective of the present, that story [of modernity] sounds enthralled with the self-mythologizing of a handful of male writers, germane to only a narrow bandwidth of the cultural production we have come to call modernist...It verges on cartoon vitalism'.²¹¹

Of particular importance is Hulme's influence on the development of Imagist form, which H.D. pioneered and engaged with throughout her career. Crucially, Imagism germinated as Hulme initially penned 'Romanticism and Classicism' throughout the 1911-1912 period, with Hulme's rhetoric mirrored by Pound's 1912 essay 'A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste'.²¹² Like Hulme, Pound rails against ornamentation as he belittles 'pretty little philosophic essays', drawing a dividing line between fluid and solid content.²¹³ Extending Hulme's attribution of hardness to classicism, Pound underscores the gendered contours of the oppositional

²⁰⁹ T. E. Hulme, 'Romanticism and Classicism', pp. 75-78.

²¹⁰ Paul K. Saint-Amour, 'Weak Theory, Weak Modernism', *Modernism/modernity*, 25.3 (2018), 437-459, (p. 437).

²¹¹ Saint-Amour, 'Weak Theory, Weak Modernism', p. 437. In her study of H.D., Laity expands my own reading, dislocating it from Hulme by noting the influence of others, such as Irving Babbitt, who Laity argues first made the distinction between romanticism and classicism, thereby influencing both the anti-Romantic and anti-woman arguments of his pupil, T. S. Eliot. See Laity, *H.D. and the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 7. As Laity draws a thread between Babbitt and Eliot, critics have mapped the lineage of Hulmean thinking and its legacy within modernist discourse. See Rebecca Beasley, *Theorists of Modernist Poetry: T. S. Eliot, T. E. Hulme, Ezra Pound* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1-5 and Henry Mead, *T. E. Hulme and the Ideological Politics of Early Modernism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

²¹² For discussion of Hulme's impact on Imagism see Helen Carr, *The Verse Revolutionaries: Ezra Pound, H.D. and the Imagists* (London: Random House, 2013), pp. 387-341 and Andrew Thacker, 'A Language of Concrete Things: Hulme, Imagism and Modernist Theories of Language', in *T. E. Hulme and the Question of Modernism*, ed. by Andrzej Gasiorek (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 47-64.

²¹³ Pound, *Literary Essays*, pp. 6-9.

relationship established between the solid and the wet, the discrete and the vague. Within his conception of artistic production, male virility allows for a creative hardness that is able to ‘charge, head-on, the female chaos’, Pound going so far as to compare writing to ‘driving any new idea into the great passive vulva of London, a sensation analogous to the male feeling in copulation’.²¹⁴ As Gertrude Reif Hughes argues, though the Imagists attempted to ‘challenge every aesthetic complacency and cultural institution they could identify...[they] failed to question male entitlement’.²¹⁵

H.D. conceived her first collection *Sea Garden* within this cultural framework and its geography vibrates with a distinctly erotic hum.²¹⁶ Panning in to just one poem, ‘Sea Iris’, we find the central tenets of the collection distilled in a handful of loaded lines:

I
Weed, moss-weed,
root tangled in sand,
sea-iris, brittle flower,
one petal like a shell
is broken,

²¹⁴ Ezra Pound, ‘Postscript’, in *The Natural Philosophy of Love*, Remy de Gourmont, trans by. Ezra Pound (New York: Collier, 1961), p. 170.

²¹⁵ Gertrude Reif Hughes, ‘Making It Really New: Hilda Doolittle, Gwendolyn Brooks, and the Feminist Potential of Modern Poetry’, *American Quarterly*, 42.3 (1990), 375–401 (p. 375).

²¹⁶ Of course, H.D. was not the only female modernist to draw on the sea in her writing, nor the only modernist to utilise the sea as a means of envisaging a radical gender politics. Representative of this, a long temporal thread can be drawn from Emily Dickinson through H.D. to Adrienne Rich when considering the eroticisation of the sea within modern women’s poetry. Paula Bennett touches on the sea in the work of Emily Dickinson in Paula Bennett, ‘The Pea That Duty Locks: Lesbian and Feminist-Heterosexual Readings of Emily Dickinson’s Poetry’, in *Lesbian Texts and Contexts: Radical Revisions*, ed. by Karla Jay and Joanne Glasgow (New York: NYU Press, 1990), pp. 104-125 (pp. 119-120), while Roger Gilbert historicises the place of water (and in particular Rich’s poem ‘Diving Into The Wreck’) further in Roger Gilbert, ‘Framing Water: Historical Knowledge in Elizabeth Bishop and Adrienne Rich’, *Twentieth Century Literature*, 43.2 (1997), 144-161. Further to this, there is a larger net that links queer women’s representational strategies to water, the coast and islands through the lens of Sapphism. Included within this is H.D.’s partner Bryher, who took her name from one of the Isles of Scilly and for whom the shore plays an important role. In particular, the shore finds a home in her novel *Gate to the Sea* (1959), which narrates the story of a female heroine in Greece. See Ruth Hoberman, ‘Multiplying the Past: Gender and Narrative in Bryher’s *Gate to the Sea*’, *Contemporary Literature*, 31.3 (1990), 354-372 for more. For a broader overview of Sappho and modernism that contextualises H.D.’s *Sea Garden*, see Susan Gubar, ‘Sapphistries’, *Signs*, 10.1 (1984), 43-62.

and you print a shadow
like a thin twig.

Fortunate one,
scented and stinging,
rigid myrrh-bud,
camphor-flower,
sweet and salt—you are wind
in our nostrils.

II

Do the murex-fishers
drench you as they pass?
Do your roots drag up colour
from the sand?
Have they slipped gold under you—
rivets of gold?

Band of iris-flowers
above the waves,
you are painted blue,
painted like a fresh prow
stained among the salt weeds.²¹⁷

The sea is a harsh, unbridled force that saturates the collection, threatening to whirl up and drag whole forests into its murky ruin. At the mercy of the tide, the fragile wildflowers of the sea garden are swept up in the water. Bedraggled, yes, but also refreshed. In contrast, the sheltered garden set away from the beach is left gasping for breath. In this manner, the sheer power of water is a force that can be traced outwards from H.D.'s early writing. The waves are freeing, life-giving, savage. The flowers that line the collection like the stitches of a seam are beautiful due to their vulnerability, their very ability to stay alive in such conditions. Water, it seems, is not merely so pretty or philosophical after all. Without the ravages of the unbridled sea, the Sea Rose, Sea Lily, Sea Poppies, Sea Violet and Sea Iris would end up like the flowers trapped in the cliff garden, claiming 'For this beauty, beauty without strength, chokes out life'.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ H.D., 'Sea Iris', in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1986), 1.

²¹⁸ H.D., 'Sheltered Garden', in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1986), 40.

Here, I do not seek to fortify the critical binary established by Hulme and Pound by arguing that H.D. merely imbues the sea with a feminine power. Rather, the shoreline is a space in which simple binaries between hard and soft, dry and wet, masculine and feminine are impossible. In this way, as critics have repeatedly noted, the shoreline becomes representative of H.D.'s own bisexuality.²¹⁹ As Stanford Friedman claims, for H.D., bisexuality meant accepting the 'wholeness that incorporates all conflicting forces' and 'ultimately transcend[ing] the duality of a sexually polarized world'.²²⁰ Reflecting this, Collecott notes the spatial ramifications of rejecting such bias. By questioning the inevitability of a deeply gendered symbolic order, H.D.'s claiming of bisexuality finds her 'frequently siting her writing on *margins* and *borders* and constantly crossing and recrossing the permeable boundary...between the symbolic and the semiotic'.²²¹ Examining *Sea Garden*, we find H.D. not simply crossing, but liquifying this boundary. The pull of the tide blurs the line between land and sea, 'hard sand breaks' as 'grains of it' becomes as 'clear as wine'.²²² Storms blow

²¹⁹ For further discussion of *Sea Garden* and bisexuality see Sarah Parker, *The Lesbian Muse and Poetic Identity, 1889–1930* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 158. When discussing H.D.'s bisexuality, I fall in step with a rich critical history that positions H.D.'s relationship to bisexuality as equally gendered and sexualised. As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, terms such as Sapphic pivot around both gender and sexuality. So too does bisexual, underlining why feminist critique of psychoanalysis is vital in this chapter. My thinking aligns with Buck's careful exploration of the multiple contours of bisexuality in Buck, *H.D. and Freud: Bisexuality and Feminine Discourse*, pp. 4-5. Moreover, as Hickman neatly summarises, while 'we continue to debate how to construct H.D. as initiate into modern literary canons, we should recognise her work's queer feminism and feminist queerness'. See Hickman, "'Unconventionally seated": H.D. and Literary Canons', p. 20. Indeed, though spurred on by Freud, reclaiming bisexuality had always been a part of H.D.'s poetic project. If we return to *Sea Garden* and its sea flower poems, we can read the shoreline as an early intimation of such bisexuality, a space that connects the sea to the land, with the sand in which the flowers grow acting as an interlocutor between the masculine and the feminine. Thus, when I engage with the terms bisexual and bisexuality in this chapter, I am once again reflecting on their overlapping gendered and sexualised evocations as a means of considering the interstitial relationship between gendered and sexualised queerness. It is further noteworthy that when I engage with the term bisexual in Chapter Three, I am equally thinking through its gendered and sexualised connotations, though largely engaging with the work of Havelock Ellis rather than Freud and therefore coming from a different vantage point (which is further fleshed out in the chapter itself).

²²⁰ Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Creating a Woman's Mythology', in *Signets: Reading H.D.*, ed. by Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), pp. 373-404 (p. 396).

²²¹ Collecott, *H.D. and Sapphic Modernism 1910-1950*, p. 73.

²²² H.D., 'Hermes of the Ways', in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1986), 1.

in from the coast to 'crash over the trees', cracking branches, breaking off 'a weighted leaf in the wind', which 'whirls up and sinks, a green stone'.²²³ The woodlands atop the cliff-face become part of the flotsam and jetsam, whirling and sinking in the ragged wind as if they were caught in the tide, as if there were no difference between the waves and the craggy scree they beat against. Paradigmatic of this is Elizabeth O'Connor's critique of *Sea Garden*, O'Connor arguing that H.D. 'explores the landscape of the shore in visceral and near-scientific detail...the poems conflate ugliness and beauty, God and mortal, human and plant, in order to construct the shore as a transition to an alternative world'.²²⁴

Nonetheless, to reduce the discursive lineage of water to the language of literary modernism would be to overlook another key influence on H.D. and her writing, especially during the early 1930s as she began to work on 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare'. This influence is psychoanalysis, a framework important for understanding both H.D.'s conception of bisexuality and the construction of her long-short stories. As Ariela Freedman maintains:

H.D.'s encounter with Freud is literature's encounter with psychoanalysis, an encounter which left neither unchanged. It is the encounter of a woman, surrounded and excluded by male modernists, who found her own voice in her analytic sessions and borrowed the tools of psychoanalysis...to articulate her own message.²²⁵

Further outlining the effect of this encounter on the period in which H.D. wrote 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare', Johanna Dehler notes 'H.D. sought to come to terms with her own bisexuality and to overcome her writer's block, when she spent two periods in analysis with Freud' in 1933, periods of analysis in which the poet and the psychoanalyst discussed her desires at length.²²⁶ Yet, as she challenged Pound, so too did H.D. rework Freud and his ideas. In their examination of *Tribute to Freud*, Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau DuPlessis

²²³ H.D., 'Storm', in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1986), 1.

²²⁴ Elizabeth O'Connor, "'Pushing on through transparencies": H.D.'s Shores and the Creation of New Space', *antae*, 3.1 (2016), 36-46, p. 39.

²²⁵ Ariela Freedman, *Death, Men, and Modernism*, p. 103.

²²⁶ Johanna Dehler, 'Traces of Desire: Encodings and Recordings of Sexual Identity in H.D.'s *Paint It Today*', *AAA: Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 22.1 (1997), 69-82 (p. 70).

maintain that the text 'suggests at the subtlest level of implication [H.D. and Freud's] fundamental conflict about sexuality and gender'.²²⁷ Extending this, Collecott notes that H.D.'s 'debate with Freud challenged the assumptions about sexuality on which his system was constructed'.²²⁸ We find this conflict embedded in a letter that H.D. wrote to Bryher while under analysis with Freud: 'papa said I had become so independent...in my outlines that there was no need for him...I must go easy...a sort of perfect bi-sexual attitude arises...I have tried to be man, or woman, but I have to be both'.²²⁹ In glossing over the difficult relationship she had developed with her analyst, the tones of caution, discretion and vigilance are clear; H.D. did not want to upset Freud. Yet, tellingly, H.D. declares herself the perfect bi-sexual. Three days earlier in a separate letter, H.D. had told Bryher that Freud referred to her as 'that all-but extinct phenomena, the perfect bi-'.²³⁰ In laying claim to this bisexuality, H.D. presents a challenging engagement with Freud, crossing the boundary of sexual difference and recouping the power of the feminine. In this way, we find H.D. once again reinterpreting the masculine script by explicitly championing the bisexuality that Freud found difficult to incorporate into his wider schema and rejecting the prescriptive bias in his theories of female sexuality.

Considering H.D.'s unyielding aesthetic interest in vast bodies of water, tacit threads can be drawn between her presentation of the sea and Freud's discussion of 'oceanic feeling' as a sensation of oneness or completeness with the universe. This term stems from a letter written by French essayist, social critic and mystic Romain Rolland to Freud in 1927. Responding to the furore over Freud's treatment of religion in *The Future of an Illusion*, Rolland notes:

Your analysis of religions is a just one. But I would have liked to see you doing an analysis of *spontaneous religious sentiment* or, more exactly, of *religious feeling*,

²²⁷ Blau DuPlessis and Stanford Friedman, "'Woman Is Perfect'", p. 418.

²²⁸ Collecott, *H.D. and Sapphic Modernism 1910-1950*, p. 95.

²²⁹ Letter from H.D. to Bryher on 27 November 1934, in *Analyzing Freud*, p. 503.

²³⁰ Stanford Friedman, *Penelope's Web*, p. 311.

which is wholly different from *religions* in the strict sense of the word, and much more durable. What I mean is...the simple and direct fact of the *feeling of the "eternal"* (which can very well not be eternal, but simply without perceptible limits, and like oceanic, as it were).²³¹

Elaborating on this in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud at once popularised and dissected the concept of oceanic feeling. While recognising the ‘peculiar feeling, which [Rolland] himself is never without, which [Rolland] finds confirmed by many others, and which [Rolland] may suppose is present in millions of people’, Freud is dismissive, claiming ‘I cannot discover this “oceanic” feeling in myself’.²³² Perhaps this is because the oceanic feeling disrupts Freud’s envisioning of water in *The Future of an Illusion*, in which Freud argues ‘There are the elements, which seem to mock at all human control...water, which deluges and drowns everything in a turmoil’. Unlike Rolland, Freud positions water as a source of discomfort, as an unsolvable, uncontainable problem that threatens to disrupt certainty, leaving only confusion and disorder.

Indeed, this presentation of water as elementally antithetical to reason is extended further in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud claiming ‘it is not easy to deal scientifically with feelings’.²³³ As with his description of water, Freud is ‘afraid that the oceanic feeling too will defy this kind of [rational] characterization’.²³⁴ In typical form, however, though Freud claims the ocean is not easy to characterise, he maintains it is not impossible. In dialogue with Rolland’s letter, Freud attempts to chart the development of the oceanic experience by tracing ‘the ideational content which is most readily associated with the feeling’.²³⁵ Initially Freud turns to the experience of love as explanation for why the ego, which ‘appears to us as something autonomous and unitary, marked off distinctly from everything else’, might suddenly become an indiscreet category. Here, Freud claims that there is only ‘one state—

²³¹ William B. Parsons, *The Enigma of the Oceanic Feeling: Revisioning the Psychoanalytic Theory of Mysticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 36.

²³² Freud, ‘Civilization and Its Discontents’, p. 65.

²³³ Freud, ‘Civilization and Its Discontents’, p. 65.

²³⁴ Freud, ‘Civilization and Its Discontents’, p. 65.

²³⁵ Freud, ‘Civilization and Its Discontents’, p. 65.

admittedly an unusual state, but not one that can be stigmatized as pathological—in which it does not do this. At the height of being in love the boundary between ego and object threatens to melt away'.²³⁶ Reading Freud through this lens, we find the ego is disturbed by love. Having characterised feelings as difficult to measure scientifically, Freud uses love as a defence that allows him to circumvent offering a prolonged explanation. In its place, Freud contends that the subject is offered a feeling of oneness with the world through feeling at one with their beloved, liquifying the perceived boundary between self and other.

Following this, Freud pathologizes oceanic feeling. Maintaining that 'the adult's ego-feeling cannot have been the same from the beginning. It must have gone through a process of development', Freud argues that an infant 'does not as yet distinguish his ego from the external world as the source of the sensations flowing in upon him'.²³⁷ Offering the example of the mother's breast, Freud contends that this feeling of oneness is initially disrupted as the infant 'will later recognize...his own bodily organs, can provide him with sensations at any moment, whereas other sources evade him from time to time', a realisation that requires the ego against confront 'something which exists "outside" and which is only forced to appear by a special action'.²³⁸ The infant comes to understand themselves as separate from external objects and, in turn, comprehends that they are not at one with the world. Developing this analysis, Freud notes two further incentives that can spur on the 'disengagement of the ego from the general mass of sensations'.²³⁹ These are the 'frequent, manifold and unavoidable sensations of pain and unpleasure the removal and avoidance of which is enjoined by the pleasure principle'.²⁴⁰ Much like the sensations provided by the mother's breast:

²³⁶ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 66.

²³⁷ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', pp. 66-67.

²³⁸ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 67.

²³⁹ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 67.

²⁴⁰ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 67.

One comes to learn a procedure by which, through a deliberate direction of one's sensory activities and through suitable muscular action, one can differentiate between what is internal—what belongs to the ego—and what is external—what emanates from the outer world.²⁴¹

Freud contends that such an understanding has a pragmatic purpose, allowing one to defend themselves from threats of harm. To experience oceanic feeling, then, is a danger to the self and 'the starting-point of important pathological disturbances'.²⁴² Yet Freud still questions: 'Have we a right to assume the survival of something that was originally there, alongside of what was later derived from it? Undoubtedly'.²⁴³ In this regard, Freud positions oceanic feeling as a fossilised experience, a remnant of infancy that allows the ego to feel as if it is part of a greater whole, rather than a discrete being that is subject to threats from the world around it. Oceanic feeling is a primal memory, a trace of the past that should be overcome as the infant progresses through the stages of psychosexual development.

Nonetheless, as Sarah Ackerman has shown, Freud's reaction to oceanic feeling is strange, asserting: 'It is curious that Freud...makes a pronounced effort to "clear away" this subject matter...Although Freud never conceptualized analysis as such, many aspects of the analytic framework seem to invite the oceanic'.²⁴⁴ Here, Ackerman outlines a tacit connection between oceanic feeling and the analytic process: Freud asks the analysand to become immersed in the analytic experience and allow their thoughts to flow freely.²⁴⁵ This psychic flow may not mirror oceanic feeling exactly, but it certainly echoes it, favouring connection over isolation, attachment over partition, and fluidity over rigidity. Furthering this connection between oceanic feeling and psychoanalytic practice, Ackerman notes Freud's suggestion that the analyst should match the psychic state of the analysand. In his recommendations to physicians practising psychoanalysis, Freud positions this process as a

²⁴¹ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 67.

²⁴² Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 68.

²⁴³ Freud, 'Civilization and Its Discontents', p. 68.

²⁴⁴ Sarah Ackerman, 'Exploring Freud's Resistance to the Oceanic Feeling', *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 65.1 (2017), 9-31 (p. 22).

²⁴⁵ Ackerman, 'Exploring Freud's Resistance to the Oceanic Feeling', p. 23.

kind of soundwave, arguing: 'Just as the receiver converts back into soundwaves electric oscillations in the telephone line which were set up by sound waves, so the doctor's unconscious is able...to reconstruct that unconscious, which has determined the patient's free associations'.²⁴⁶ Drawing on the image of the soundwave, Ackerman contends that 'the analysand can bring forth...the rush of ideas of her unconscious, presenting to the analyst the free flow of her unthought ideas. This state, I would argue, is an expression of the oceanic feeling'.²⁴⁷ Akin to Freud's description of love as a bond between subject and object that allows for a feeling of oneness, the analyst and analysand must enter into a unmitigated relationship in order for the analysis to be a success. This bond disrupts the notion that the ego is completely discrete, oceanic feeling threatening the primacy of the Freudian model through offering a disruptive force that cannot be fully rationalised. In her reading, then, Ackerman tactfully suggests that this is where Freud's struggle with oceanic feeling stems from. Furthering this, I now argue that oceanic feeling opens up pockets of resistance in the Freudian model that H.D. exploits in her engagement with psychoanalysis. Extending discussions of H.D. and her self-mythologizing connection to place, this chapter now turns to 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare', contending that they present a literary reworking of psychoanalysis through offering the sea as a psychic space that begs to be explored.

The Hyphenated Self: 'Kora and Ka' and the Jelly-Fish Model.

Writing to Silvia Dobson in the summer of 1935, H.D. disclosed she was shy about the publication of the volume containing 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare', [Redacted].²⁴⁸ The

²⁴⁶ Sigmund Freud, 'Recommendations to Physicians Practising Psycho-analysis', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Vintage 2001), XII (2001), pp. 109-120 (p. 116).

²⁴⁷ Ackerman, 'Exploring Freud's Resistance to the Oceanic Feeling', p. 25.

²⁴⁸ BRBML, Yale Collection of American Literature, H.D. Papers, Letter from H.D. to Silvia Dobson July 27 1935, Box 9, Folder 306.

writer's nerves were well founded. When composing her stories, H.D. drew upon the trauma she experienced at the hands of the First World War. The outbreak of the war in 1914 coincided with the conception of H.D.'s first child, fathered by fellow imagist Richard Aldington. As H.D. entered her second trimester however, the pregnancy ended with a stillbirth, a tragedy the poet believed was inspired by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, a British ocean liner torpedoed by German submarines in May 1915. While H.D. recovered from the lasting impact of losing a child, Aldington was sent to the Front in France in 1917, marking the beginning of the slow dissolution of the couple's marriage. Acutely affected by his time during the war, Aldington and H.D. separated shortly after his return, finally divorcing in 1938. In the attendant proceedings, H.D. describes their separation:

[Redacted].²⁴⁹

It was this ordeal—the mass death of the First World War, the death of her unborn child, the death of her brother—that would form the basis of much of H.D.'s analysis with Freud. So too did this trauma embed itself in H.D.'s literature. Tracing the resonances of this time in her discussion of *Asphodel*, Suzette Henke outlines the 'implicit analogy between the text of the woman's body, scarred and mutilated by the physiological stress of childbearing, and male narratives of war wounds and heroism'.²⁵⁰ Though H.D. began *Asphodel* (and therein the last of her *Madrigal Cycle*) nearly a decade earlier in 1921, the literature she wrote in the early 1930s speaks to many of the same themes. The trauma of the stories, then, becomes shorthand for a range of gendered and sexualised difficulties that H.D. faced, especially those wrought upon the (implicitly queer) female body.

²⁴⁹ BRBML, Yale Collection of American Literature, H.D. Papers, Divorce, 1937-38, Box 48, Folder 1202.

²⁵⁰ Suzette Henke, *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 44.

Echoes of H.D.'s own First World War trauma can be found littered throughout both of her long-short stories. 'Kora and Ka' narrates the process of recovery for John Helforth, a civilian who never made it to the Western Front but is haunted by the death of his soldier brothers Bob and Larry, emasculated (or perhaps feminised) by feelings of shame and guilt that are only exacerbated by his mother, who believes he should have also been conscripted. John is rent double, existing in 'broken duality', split between a melancholy spirit that lives inside him and his corporeal body, which struggles to maintain control over the 'sort of shadow they used to call a Ka, in Egypt. A Ka lives after the body is dead...shall live after Helforth is dead'.²⁵¹ This riven state is rendered formally by the trisected narrative of the text, recounted respectively by Ka, then John, then both at once as John is cared for by Kora Morrell, a young woman who nurses him as a distraction from her own ghosts, namely her relationship with her children. Though H.D. admitted that John was her primary cipher in the text, tacit links can be drawn between the writer and each of her protagonists: civilian guilt, the loss of a brother, a body and mind racked by war, the inability to connect sexually, the difficulty of childbirth, the curative love of a young woman (in H.D.'s case, her partner Bryher, whom she met in 1918).

The fractured eroticism of 'Kora and Ka' is mirrored through its sister text 'Mira-Mare', the story of Alex and Christian, a brother and sister disaffected with life and with one another and hoping to heal whilst on a retreat to Monaco. Like its sister, 'Mira-Mare' draws on H.D.'s war experience, while capturing the tone of H.D.'s waning relationship with the writer Kenneth Macpherson, the second husband of her lover Bryher whom H.D. had met in 1926 and worked on the film *Borderline* (1930) with. The affair finished in 1930, the year H.D. began to work on her long-short stories. 'Mira-Mare' is written in bright prose, overflowing with lush hues and engaged in a rich relationship with the landscape of the seaside. As with

²⁵¹ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', in *Kora and Ka* (New York: New Directions, 1996), pp. 9-54 (p. 29). H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 9.

'Kora and Ka', the bodies of the text are shot through with trauma: Alex is threatened by the current of her psyche, Christian by the weakness of his physique, corporeal stutters that reflect the breakdowns of John and Kora. Coupled with 'Kora and Ka', 'Mira-Mare' presents a more guarded figuring of H.D.'s relationship to war: bodies that refuse to work, relationships that vacillate and falter, psyches that threaten to drown the self.

To truly understand the interleaving of sexuality and space in the long-short stories, however, it is necessary to first turn to aphoristic essay *Notes on Thought and Vision* (1919). Written over a decade earlier, *Notes on Thought and Vision* finds H.D. already establishing a relationship between fluidity, embodiment and sexuality through her presentation of the self as 'body, mind and over-mind', a triadic structure that echoes both the id, ego and superego of the Freudian psyche and the psychoanalyst's topographic rendering of consciousness as a tripartite system comprising the unconscious, preconscious and the conscious.²⁵² Though H.D. initially penned *Notes on Thought and Vision* as a response to sexologist Havelock Ellis' collection of psychological data, this understanding of the self shores up critical suggestion that H.D. began reading Freud before their analysis began in 1933.²⁵³ In her psychic model, H.D. represents the over-mind through the image of the jelly-fish:

That over-mind seems a cap, like water, transparent, fluid yet with definite body, contained in a definite space. It is like a closed sea-plant, jelly-fish or anemone...I should say—to continue this jelly-fish metaphor—that long feelers reached down and through the body, that these stood to the same relation to the nervous system as the over-mind to the brain or intellect....I first realised this state of consciousness in my head. I visualise it just as well, now, centred in the love-region of the body or placed like a foetus in the body.²⁵⁴

Nonetheless, locating consciousness within her maritime menagerie, H.D. does not simply engage Freudian thinking. Rather, she adapts it. Drawing on the symbol of the jelly-fish, H.D. positions consciousness as a continuum that flows together. Reaching down from the head,

²⁵² H.D., *Notes on Thought and Vision* (San Francisco: City Lights, 1982), p. 17.

²⁵³ See Matthew Kibble, 'Sublimation and the Over-Mind in H.D.'s "Notes on Thought and Vision"', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 41.1 (1998), 42-57.

²⁵⁴ H.D., *Notes on Thought and Vision*, p. 18-19.

the jelly-fish feelers connect the psyche and the body as 'jelly' is anchored to 'fish' through hyphenation. In this fashion, the jelly-fish is rendered a composite being, its tripartite structure existing in relational dialogue, rather than sliced into isolated anatomic components, H.D. inviting haptic and speculative engagements with the jelly-fish that ask us to consider how consciousness might become embodied, and thus embodied differently.

Vital here is H.D.'s bold claiming of the feminine through repeatedly relating jelly-fish consciousness to the womb, arguing 'the brain and the womb are both centres of consciousness, equally important'.²⁵⁵ In his discussion of the over-mind, Matthew Kibble ballasts this reading by situating H.D. in opposition to Freud, claiming: 'the "over-mind" has a transgressive aspect, which saves it from [Freudian] normativity...the "over-mind" is an explicit criticism of the idea that artistic or intellectual activity involves the suppression of sexual activity'.²⁵⁶ As H.D. notes 'All reasoning, normal, sane and balanced men and women need and seek at certain times of their lives, certain definite physical relationships'.²⁵⁷ Moreover, for Stanford Friedman, the embodied nature of the over-mind has specifically gendered contours, 'The over-mind is imaged as an amniotic globe, the maternal body in which the poet is encased...She is both contained and container, both inside and outside'.²⁵⁸ Critics have troubled this reading of the jelly-fish as a simple rendering of the maternal, arguing that H.D. invokes the mother-figure in order to problematise the naturalisation of women's reproductive role.²⁵⁹ Following this, we might consider how the intimate relationship the jelly-fish has with its own body further elicits notions of masturbation, of artistic production, and of finding pleasure in the self. What remains vital, however, is H.D.'s rejection of an essentially masculine psyche, favouring instead a deeply spatialised model

²⁵⁵ H.D., *Notes on Thought and Vision*, p. 21.

²⁵⁶ Kibble, 'Sublimation and the Over-Mind', p. 73.

²⁵⁷ H.D., *Notes on Thought and Vision*, p. 17.

²⁵⁸ Stanford Friedman, *Penelope's Web*, p. 10.

²⁵⁹ See Kathleen Crown, 'H.D.'s Jellyfish Manifesto and the Visible Body of Modernism', *Sagetrieb*, 14.1/2 (1995), 217-241 and Kathryn Simpson, 'Pearl-diving: Inscriptions of Desire and Creativity in H.D. and Woolf', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 27.4 (2004), 37-58.

that utilises the jelly-fish-in-the-sea to create a body-in-space model that connects the corporeal with the psychic as a means of reclaiming the feminine.

Furthering her dialogue with Freudian thinking, H.D.'s jelly-fish prefigures the concept of oceanic feeling by positioning the self as an indiscrete object deeply connected with its surroundings. As invertebrates with no skeletons, digestive tract, brain, eyes, respiratory, nervous or circulatory system, jelly-fish are largely made up of water. Comprising their surroundings, jelly-fish embody the sense of oneness elicited by oceanic feeling, at once individual and part of a wider system. H.D. is likely to have known this. In her description of the body, mind and over-mind, H.D. reflects the anatomic makeup of the jelly-fish, which contains three layers: the outer epidermis, a thick middle layer made of an elastic substance called mesoglea, and an inner layer called the gastrodermis. This understanding reflects encyclopaedic entries at the time, the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911) containing an entry on hydrozoa that uses the same spelling of 'jelly-fish' and notes that 'in the first place, [hydrozoa] exhibit the three structural features distinctive of the Coelentera'.²⁶⁰ Embodying a sense of interior fluidity that seethes outwards to its surrounds, the jelly-fish at once disrupts the partitioning of the self and opens the subject, positioning it as indiscrete, porous and permeable. In *Notes on Thought and Vision*, then, H.D. crystallises tacit connections between fluidity, gender and embodiment by offering her jelly-fish model. Connecting the psyche to the body and its surrounds through the anatomy of the jelly-fish, H.D. positions consciousness, corporeality and spatiality as inseparable from one another by materialising the subject as an essentially fluid being ensconced in waves. For H.D. there exists a vital relationship between the material and the psychic; as a site of flow, the body prevents consciousness from being reduced to an abstract. At the same time, the body becomes porous: just as the jelly-fish comprises the water that surrounds it, watery human

²⁶⁰ 'Hydrozoa', in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-1911), p. 172.

consciousness is opened to the material changes that surround it. As she connects jelly-fish with a dash, H.D. presents identity as essentially hyphenated; the psyche-body-world tethered to one another.

Though published fifteen years after H.D. first proposed her jelly-fish model, H.D.'s long-short stories are very much entangled within its feelers and caught up with this irreducibility of the psyche, the body and the world. Written between the wars as H.D. experienced bouts of personal and artistic transformation, the stories straddle the early aqueous topographies of *Sea Garden* and *Notes on Thought and Vision* and the later psychoanalytic depths of *Tribute to Freud*, all the while extending the seascapes of *Hymen* and *Heliodora*, collections that include lyric poems from the perspective of women such as Evadne, the daughter of Poseidon, and poems to women such as Lethe, the goddess of forgetfulness associated with the river of the underworld. Published within such a transformational moment, the long-short stories are aesthetically and thematically complex, pulling together fragments of H.D.'s earlier interest in liminal spatiality and later near-obsessive relationship with the psychoanalytic method. Certainly, it is not coincidence that 'Mira-Mare' is set in Monaco, depicted as a 'a bastard little principality, stuck like a beauty-patch, on the face of Europe' in the text.²⁶¹ It seems H.D. cannot quite escape the mythic pull of liminality itself, even as she begins to critique the allure of liminal space(s).

Overwhelmingly, however, it is the sea and not Monaco that connects the long-short stories, an aqueous topography with an acutely psychoanalytic resonance. In 'Kora and Ka', as John experiences his first breakdown due to the stress of his job, he comes to view his 'undermanager as under layers of green water, violet-laced and the numbers on his ledger shone violet-laced, nine, six, up through transparent seaweed'.²⁶² Here, the sea is established

²⁶¹ H.D., 'Mira-Mare', p. 59.

²⁶² H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 15.

as an elemental vision of John's mental state, with this association between psyche and space reverberating throughout the text. Elsewhere in the narrative, green once again becomes explicitly associated with water: 'He saw a world like a drop of water and himself enclosed in it. It was a green world'.²⁶³ This image reflects the seaweed vision of his first breakdown, drawing an affiliation between the colour green, the psyche and the sea. Extending this further, John notes during a later episode:

Colour has rotated in his mind but he now discards it. If he watched colour in his mind, he will be watching...to watch anything at the moment is dangerous. Green has been kind. At the moment, it is the one colour that disregards him. Green does not try to snatch back at him, mitigate, suggest billow of open-curtain or red, red, red. Green is most removed from red, from memory and the mole-trap of his office in the city.²⁶⁴

When at peace, John finds solace in green, the colour that does not threaten to overthrow his delicate state. As a consequence, green becomes affiliated with the psychic space that John retreats into when the physicality of being is too much to bear, the hue that offers him respite from the overbearing materiality of the world around him. When faced with stress, however, the delicate balance of John's green psyche becomes a deluge, a space that John can no longer find refuge within, a sea that threatens to whirl up and drown him, his body ensnared by the water, his limbs entangled in seaweed. In this way, John becomes a bodily tether between the psyche and the world, a corporeal hyphen that anchors consciousness, corporeality and spatiality as jelly is intimately bound to fish.

Accordingly, John develops a fanatical relationship with green that becomes embodied with stunning clarity by the figure of Kora. Recalling the outfit she wears when they first meet, John notes 'I remembered the hat was green because I remembered thinking her yellow fur, drawn tight across her shoulders and about her hips, made her look like a caterpillar'.²⁶⁵ This affiliation continues throughout the text: Kora is psychically linked to the rose leaves that

²⁶³ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 16-17.

²⁶⁴ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 14.

²⁶⁵ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 21-22.

comfort John; it is Kora that sets the globe on the table and presents John with a representation of the green world that he longs to escape into; Kora wears a green chiffon scarf and, according to John, she dons a green hat. Or does she? As he remembers her caterpillar outfit, John questions 'Or wasn't the hat green?...She said it was mole-grey; she afterwards called the thing *taupe*'.²⁶⁶ The colour of Kora's hat is a point of consternation that peppers the text, with John insisting that it is green. It is not until the end of the narrative, when John and Kora reach towards resolution, that John finds he can:

Admit, now, that it was a grey one. Admitting even that technically the hat had been green, it must have been in that mist and underground etched-in sort of city, smudged in with so dull a green smear that, for process of today's comparison, it might have been grey.²⁶⁷

What are the stakes of this argument? Why, for most of the text, does John find it vital that the hat is green? I position that, as the shade of his psychic seascape, the hat must remain green for John to find a sense of equilibrium. As his bedside nurse, Kora must remain associated with green to continue to soothe the broken John. Green is not simply a consoling tincture, it represents John's very ability to remain afloat, Kora becoming a buoy that he can catch on to. To deny Kora's association with green is to rebuke her healing potential, to face up to the idea that Kora herself requires healing, to place her outside of John's psyche, and to locate her once again within the material world.

Having rendered Kora as the ideal woman, however, John repeatedly finds the sense of balance she offers intangible; Kora's ability to heal slipping just beyond his grasp. Reacting to this agonising failure, Ka overpowers John, a 'pale grape tendril' rising to the surface and causing John to lash out.²⁶⁸ This tendril evokes the delicate balance of jelly-fish consciousness as it upsets the relationship between body, mind and over-mind. Out of line, the conscious turns on itself, one of the jelly-fish stingers rising to the surface to attack the upper layer.

²⁶⁶ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 21-22.

²⁶⁷ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 54.

²⁶⁸ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 30.

Failing to act as a whole, the body of the jelly-fish becomes split into three distinct parts that are represented by Kora, Ka and John, as well as the trisected narrative of the text. Indeed, though he believes that he exists in broken duality, John is just as unable to connect with Kora as he is with his inner Ka. If John is a husk, a body scooped out by the war, Ka rules his mind, lurking in its watery depths. In turn Kora becomes the over-mind, her green clothes reminiscent of the amniotic globe of the jelly-fish, with John's attempt to escape into her green world positioning Kora as the mother, the space that will allow him to be reborn. With her own psychic imbalance stemming from her children, Kora rejects this position however. Toying with the idea that if she had 'loathed [her] children' and husband she would be mentally sound, Kora refuses to be cast as just the mother, further dividing their tripartite relationship and troubling the idea that woman should simply be read as the reproductive agent of man's healing.²⁶⁹ Encased within this are many of H.D.'s experiences: stillbirth, a husband racked by war, the inability to sexually connect, and the need to heal.

The attempt to overcome the fissured form of John, Kora and Ka's relationship is marked towards the end of the text by an abortive embrace. As they argue, John cruelly mentions Kora's children, to which she responds by clasping him tightly, an act intended to bind them together but which frightens the neurotic John, violently bringing issues to the surface for each party:

She lets go suddenly. She slips from me, lies of the floor ; the print-poppies make poppy and corn-flower pattern on her back. I am amazed to see poppies and cornflowers convulsed, shaken like field flowers under high wind or down sweep of sharp scythe. Something has been cut down, it lies gasping among those silver and rose-fish from a Japanese aquarium. "Kora." It is Kora lying there, gasping in her agony, among rose-fish and gold-fish that have now merged into one blur of shadow. In the shadow, the soft folds of chiffon stuff now lie still. I stoop. I lift her up, a drowned girl from the water.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 44.

²⁷⁰ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 47.

Like a fish out of water, Kora writhes and gulps, no longer able to cope. In this way, Kora comes to reflect John and his splintered mind, unable to hold together or stay afloat in a postwar world. And yet, though John and Kora fail, it is this confrontation that allows the text to reach towards a resolution. As the couple address one another, the final line of 'Kora and Ka' finds John tracking a change in the couple: 'Now we are Kore and the slain God...risen'.²⁷¹ This moment positions John and Kora within a mythic framework, reimagining the pair as Kore and Dionysus, the daughter of Demeter abducted by Hades and her sibling, the dying-and-returning god of wine, fertility and ritual madness. Ultimately, John must become submerged in psychic waves to pull Kora from her own ruin. Through this process, John and Kora drown and die, reborn as figures that are intimately bound to one another.

In their conceptualisation of wet ontologies, geographers Philip Steinberg and Kimberley Peters offer a theoretical frame for understanding this resolution. Turning to 'the ocean itself: to its three-dimensional and turbulent materiality, and to encounters with that materiality, in order to explore how thinking with the sea can assist in reconceptualising our geographical understandings'.²⁷² Set against the discourse of thinkers such as Carl Schmitt, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Roland Barthes—who, akin to Freud, present the ocean as a 'non-signifying field [that] bears no message' as 'on the waves there is nothing but waves'—Steinberg and Peters 'contend that it is precisely these waves that make the ocean productive for enlivening our understanding of space'.²⁷³ Summarising this position, Steinberg and Peters assert:

In short, we propose a wet ontology not merely to endorse the perspective of a world of flows, connections, liquidities, and becomings, but also to propose a means by which the sea's material and phenomenological distinctiveness can facilitate the reimagining and reenlivening of a world ever on the move...The ocean...—through its material reformation, mobile churning, and nonlinear temporality—creates the need for new understandings of mapping and representing; living and knowing;

²⁷¹ H.D., 'Kora and Ka', p. 54.

²⁷² Philip Steinberg and Kimberley Peters, 'Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces: Giving Depth to Volume through Oceanic Thinking', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 33.2 (2015), 247-264 (pp. 247-248).

²⁷³ Steinberg and Peters, 'Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces', p. 249.

governing and resisting. Like the ocean itself, maritime subjects and objects can move across, fold into, and emerge out of water in unrecognised and unanticipated ways.²⁷⁴

Unpacking this, Steinberg and Peters maintain that it is precisely the interpretation of the sea as nothing but waves that provokes ontological inquiry. What does it mean for the ocean to be a space that resists or disrupts signification? How might a consideration of the ocean allow us to understand 'being' differently? In which ways can we use liquidity, unrest and wetness to reinvigorate ontological debate? In answering these questions, Steinberg and Peters contend that the very turbulence of the ocean animates geographic ontologies by unsettling fixed borders, reenvisioning space as open to flux, and creating 'a world of fluidities where place is forever in formation and where power is simultaneously projected on, through, in, and about space'—an argument that is given roots by the wild flowers of *Sea Garden*.²⁷⁵ Though Steinberg and Peters' reading of waves is primarily concerned with issues surrounding capital, territory, and geographical boundaries, I reframe the central tenets of their thinking to ask: How might a wet ontology transform understandings of gender and sexuality? As Rutvica Andrijasevic and Laleh Khalili note in their feminist analysis of the politics of water, 'Water is the stuff of catastrophic inundation and of salvation; the space of connection, rejuvenation and oceanic distance'.²⁷⁶ A queer lens offers multiple standpoints from which to consider this assertion: Feminist politics has been positioned as a succession of waves that break into one another; trans scholarship has argued that gender is a process of becoming; queer and feminist analysis has positioned that gender and sexuality, like waves, can be fluid.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Steinberg and Peters, 'Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces', p. 248.

²⁷⁵ Steinberg and Peters, 'Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces', p. 261.

²⁷⁶ Rutvica Andrijasevic and Laleh Khalili, 'Editorial', *Feminist Review*, 103.1 (2013), 1-4 (p. 1).

²⁷⁷ For trans scholarship that positions gender as a process of becoming see Susan Stryker, Paisley Currah and Lisa Jean Moore, 'Introduction: Trans-, trans, or transgender?', *Women's Studies Quarterly* (2008), 11-22 and Finn Enke, 'Introduction', in *Transfeminist Perspectives in and Beyond Transgender and Gender Studies*, ed. by Finn Enke (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), pp. 1-15. For comparative examination of gender, sexuality and fluidity, see Monique Wittig, *The Straight Mind and Other Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), p. 87; J. Jack Halberstam, *Gaga Feminism*, pp. 9-

Discussing the relationship between femininity and fluidity in *This Sex Which is Not One* (1977), Luce Irigaray speaks particularly to the idea of sexual porousness as she observes that ‘historically the properties of fluids have been abandoned to the feminine’.²⁷⁸ Yet Irigaray rejects essentialist identifications of women and water. Interrogating the culturally grounded composition of the psyche through the masculine discourse of her contemporaries (her primary interlocutors here being Freud and Lacan), Irigaray probes the ‘deep economy of language’ in which the feminine has been reduced to ‘an abstract nonexistent reality’ (a claim that reflects the presentation of waves as a site of non-signification).²⁷⁹ Writing on the mechanics of fluids, Irigaray posits that psychoanalysis has affected a ‘*historical lag in elaborating a "theory" of fluid*’, creating a long-standing relation ‘*between rationality and a mechanics of solids*’ (a rationality that reflects the posturing of Hulme and Pound).²⁸⁰ Tracing the relationship between geography, femininity and fluidity, Irigaray maintains:

Woman serves (only) as a *projective map* for the purpose of guaranteeing the totality of the system—the excess factor...*Since what is in excess with respect to form—for example, the feminine sex—is necessarily rejected as beneath or beyond the system currently in force*.²⁸¹

Constructing femininity outside the rigid borders of the psychoanalytic phallus, Irigaray presents a challenging, psychic and, crucially, bisexual fluidity: ‘Woman “touches herself” all the time, and moreover no one can forbid her to do so, for her genitals are formed of two lips in continuous contact. Thus, within herself, she is already two but not divisible into one(s)-that caress each other’.²⁸² For Irigaray, though femininity has been relegated to the fluid, it is this fluidity that has offers femininity a source of power. In championing its dry and hard qualities, masculine discourse leaves itself permeable to attack from the very wetness

11; and Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), pp. 22-24.

²⁷⁸ Luce Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 116.

²⁷⁹ Luce Irigaray, *Je, Tu, Nous*, trans. by Alison Martin (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 20.

²⁸⁰ Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One*, pp. 106-107.

²⁸¹ Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One*, pp. 106 – 110.

²⁸² Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One*, pp. 24.

that it has been established in alterity to. Feminine fluidity threatens to saturate masculinity, rendering its clear edges vague and dampening its solid form. Against an essentialist reading of gender, Irigaray underscores the critical labour necessary to naturalising the masculine as dry and the feminine as damp. In doing so, however, Irigaray denaturalises this process, exposing the many ways that masculinity is vulnerable to wetness, fluidity and flow, much like the sand of the *Sea Garden* that is neither fully dry nor fully wet.

Deepening this understanding, Hélène Cixous concurs that masculinity is particularly vulnerable to bisexuality, which she spatialises as:

The location within oneself of the presence of both sexes, evident and insistent in different ways according to the individual, the nonexclusion of difference or of a sex, and starting with this "permission" one gives oneself, the multiplication of the effects of desire's inscription on every part of the body and the other body.²⁸³

Situated within her wider understanding of desire as an aperture that opens the self to otherness and difference, Cixous offers bisexuality as a fluid pluralisation of desire that refuses to be confined or fixed. Like Irigaray's two lips touching, for Cixous, 'it is woman who benefits from and opens up within this bisexuality' as man has 'been trained to aim for...glorious phallic monosexuality'.²⁸⁴ Cixous maintains that bisexuality can invigorate femininity, snatching it away from discourse that seeks to reduce its potential. In this way, we might consider the potential turbulence of bisexuality as a wet ontology, as an open, expansive and irreducible flow that undermines strictly bordered masculinity and animates the feminine, allowing for 'new understandings of mapping and representing; living and knowing; governing and resisting'.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Hélène Cixous, 'The Newly Born Woman', trans. by Betsy Wing, in *The Hélène Cixous Reader*, ed. by Susan Sellers (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 35-46 (p. 41).

²⁸⁴ Cixous, 'The Newly Born Woman', p. 41.

²⁸⁵ Steinberg and Peters, 'Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces', p. 256. A problem presents itself here. Implicit in Steinberg and Peters' inquiry is the suggestion the ocean offers a necessarily different approach. Giving primacy to materiality, Steinberg and Peters jettison Irigaray's psychoanalytic approach by contending that it leads to 'dematerialised abstraction'. See Steinberg and Peters, 'Wet Ontologies,

Considering the end of 'Kora and Ka', I believe that H.D. predicates the long-short story's sense of narrative resolution on such bisexual fluidity. Crucial here are the questions of (bi)sexuality that lingered just below the surface of H.D.'s mind during her sessions with Freud, her textual reworking of psychoanalytic theory grappling with deeply erotic questions. In particular, the choice of Dionysus and Kore crackles with curious philosophical symbolism. In his rendering of the god of madness *Dionysus: Myth and Cult* (1933), philologist Walter Otto depicts 'the god of the most blessed ecstasy and the most enraptured love. But he was also the persecuted god, the suffering and dying god'.²⁸⁶ We find John refracted throughout this description, torn between love of Kora and mental suffering, psychically ecstatic and overwhelmed. So too does this imagining of Dionysus have a distinctly Nietzschean significance. For Friedrich Nietzsche—a philosopher closely guarded by H.D.'s intimate friend

Fluid Spaces', p. 256. I find this an unfair misrepresentation. In particular, the advent of hydrofeminist thinking—a mode of critical analysis that seeks to understand our bodies as being inextricably part of the natural world and not separate from or privileged to it—has recuperated Irigaray and concretised the material contours of her thinking. Exemplifying this, the ontological questions raised by Steinberg and Peters resonate with the ecocritical epistemologies of hydrofeminist scholar Astrida Neimanis, who stresses to rethink embodiment 'as watery stirs up considerable trouble for dominant Western and humanist understandings of embodiment, where bodies are figured as discrete and coherent individual subjects...But as bodies of water we leak and seethe, our borders always vulnerable to rupture'. See Astrida Neimanis, *Bodies of Water: Posthuman Feminist Phenomenology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 2. For Neimanis, 'In describing how [gender] differences manifest...Irigaray simultaneously offers a phenomenology of elemental and material embodiment'. See Neimanis, *Bodies of Water*, p. 68. In particular, we find this through Irigaray's association of the fluid, the abject and the feminine: men do not just fear water, they fear 'the flow of shameful liquid. Horrible to see: bloody...Blood, but also milk'. See Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 237. This association of fluids with the body materialises readings of Irigaray, elucidating how wet ontologies might be brought into dialogue with gender and sexuality through questions of embodiment. Moreover, in a way, this reading of embodied fluidity overlaps with Adrienne Rich's advancing of the lesbian continuum, which Rich positions as 'including a range-through each woman's life and throughout history-of woman-identified experience; not simply the fact that a woman has had or consciously desired genital sexual experience with another woman'. Included within this, Rich cites the 'the grown woman experiencing orgasmic sensations while suckling her own child, perhaps recalling her milk-smell in her own'. Importantly, when considering the lesbian continuum, Rich specifically invokes the relationship between H.D. and Bryher to underscore her argument. Once again, this alignment of Irigaray with Rich exposes the innate queer contours of Irigaray's feminist critique of psychoanalysis. See Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence', *Signs*, 5.4 (1980), 631-660 (pp. 648-651).

²⁸⁶ Walter F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, trans. by Robert B Palmer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 49.

D. H. Lawrence—Dionysus is a crucial image. In *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), Nietzsche introduces the opposing drives of the Dionysian and Apollonian, a dualism that underpins the metaphysics Nietzsche tended towards in his early work. Set against the rationality, reason, form and structure of Apollo, the god of light, the Dionysian is centred in profligate sexual recklessness where natural instincts are unleashed. Dionysus is a god who represents the eternally self-creating, the eternally self-destroying. For Peter Sedgwick, this imagining of Dionysus 'emerges as an expression of the feeling of ecstasy that accompanies the sense of loss of the individuated self'.²⁸⁷ Such an interpretation is vital, as it echoes the notion of oceanic feeling: the loss of the self to the whole in a kind of religious fervour.²⁸⁸ Like Dionysus, whose merriment is folded together with his madness, John must accept the other. In order to heal, he must enter into a process of rebirth in which he becomes one with Kora, losing his sense of self to a greater whole that—much like the jelly-fish model—allows him to connect outwards.

Continuing her examination of fluidity in *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche* (1980), Irigaray extends this conversation by entering into dialogue with the Dionysian. Drawing attention to the original myth of Dionysus and Apollo, Irigaray notes that Dionysus is born of a dead mother, a mother that Apollo ordered to be murdered. In this way, Irigaray contends that Nietzsche's use of Dionysus is intended to cover any maternal debt, disconnecting the feminine from the process of rebirth and reasserting the value of the phallus. As Irigaray argues, 'Let us not wait for the Phallus god to grant us his grace. Yes, the Phallus god, because whilst many repeat that "God is dead", they rarely question the fact that the Phallus is alive

²⁸⁷ Peter R. Sedgwick, *Nietzsche: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 37.

²⁸⁸ Indeed, as has been noted, the circles surrounding Romain Rolland, the proponent of oceanic feeling, read Nietzsche and were influenced by his ideas. See Jacob Golomb, 'Nietzsche and the Marginal Jews', in *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture*, ed. by Jacob Golomb (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 158-192 (p. 162).

and well'.²⁸⁹ In particular, Irigaray underscores how this allows Nietzsche to distance himself from the feminine, having positioned himself as a disciple of Dionysus:

The god lacks boundaries, limits—a skin. Conceived by the father of the gods and a mortal, he has experienced generation in the womb of a living woman, but not the slow maturing that constitutes a body in a dark nourishing soil before it comes into appearing. Dead before term. His mother reduced to ash by her lover of thunderbolt while she was still carrying their child.²⁹⁰

Considering the destructive energy of Dionysus, Irigaray maintains that the god: 'Sets flowing all the water that is frozen into solid walls...As he lets the springs leap up once again, he annihilates the place from which they come'.²⁹¹ Interrogating this, Irigaray questions: 'By recalling desire, does he not destroy the body?'²⁹² For Kelly Oliver, Dionysian water reaches towards the impossible, staging how 'the tension between divine and human is too great and he goes to pieces'.²⁹³ Against this, Irigaray positions that it is the feminine that can truly hold the power of water. Developing her affiliation of women and water, Irigaray contends that Nietzsche, like Freud and Lacan, is fearful 'of the *fluid*, that which flows, is mobile, which is not a solid ground/earth or mirror for the subject'.²⁹⁴ Irigaray asserts that Nietzsche (attempting to erase the maternal) must get away from the sea as 'She is far too disturbing...Too restless to be a true mirror. At a distance: that is where to keep her so as to bind her to his rhythm and to the measure of his will'.²⁹⁵ Here we find the (re)articulation of feminine power and the innate fragility of the masculine, which, in being hardened, has become brittle and frangible, thus open to the power of bisexuality.

²⁸⁹ Irigaray, *The Irigaray Reader*, p. 45.

²⁹⁰ Luce Irigaray, *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, trans. by Gillian C. Gill (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 123.

²⁹¹ Irigaray, *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 129.

²⁹² Irigaray, *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, 129.

²⁹³ Kelly Oliver, *Womanizing Nietzsche: Philosophy's Relation to the "Feminine"* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 120.

²⁹⁴ Irigaray, *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 28

²⁹⁵ Irigaray, *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 52.

Having come together in chaotic union through their embrace, Kora reflects John, gasping like a fish searching for the safety of the wet green world. In mirroring John, however, Kora forces him to face himself, allowing him to heal and positioning the pair as brother and sister—albeit the mythologised siblings Kore and Dionysus. Crucially, each of the mythic characters H.D. draws on symbolises rebirth: the essential death of the old and the return of the new. Having risen again, John and Kora rebuke romance in favour of kinship, a kinship that emboldens, renews and refreshes them. In particular, ‘Kora and Ka’ resonates with Steinberg and Peters by quite literally reflecting their contention that wet ontologies allow us to consider how objects ‘emerge out of water in unrecognised and unanticipated ways’.²⁹⁶ Drowned in the aquarium of their minds, ‘gasping in...agony, among rose-fish and gold-fish’, John and Kora emerge transformed, metamorphosed by water into Kore and Dionysus.²⁹⁷ I believe that such positioning further represents an embodied understanding of wet ontology through reflecting the essential bisexuality of John and Kora. As Kora is both mother and daughter, John must become both mother and son, Irigaray’s reframing of the Greek myth allowing for a new understanding that centres the sea as a maternal force that both Dionysus and Kore must return to. Vitality, this communication requires that John and Kora are able to flow into one another, allowing the masculine to reckon with the feminine and opening up new space that reflects both the turbulent shoreline of *Sea Garden* and the innately hyphenated jelly-fish model. John relinquishes himself, allowing his hard edges to become vague and accepting the power of his psychic seascape. As Cixous asserts, bisexuality becomes the non-exclusion of difference, the permission that John gives himself to accept the other. Indeed, in its openness, bisexuality is coded an acceptance of the other, as an acceptance of permeability and porousness, and as an acceptance of the material world. The

²⁹⁶ Steinberg and Peters, ‘Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces’, p. 261.

²⁹⁷ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 47.

body accepts the space that surrounds it and, in doing so, becomes innately queered by geography; the male and female finally co-existing in bisexual duality.

In all, the narrative gesture of 'Kora and Ka' is John's move from a split and discrete object towards a hyphenated self that reflects both oceanic feeling and the jelly-fish model. As the text opens, we find John Helforth rent into three: John and the Ka, yes, but also Kora. Together, we can read these characters as body, mind and over-mind. John, the body, tethered to the ravaged Ka, who rests in the mind threatening to overwhelm all with his lurking tendrils. John, the body, yearning for connection with Kora (the over-mind), the need for the exterior, the world beyond the body, and the sexual connection with the other. John, the body, separated from his surrounds yet so desperate to find comfort in the green world. John, the body, separated from the seascape. John, the body, separated from geography. As the narrative progresses, however, John comes to act as a jelly-fish tether between himself, Kora and Ka through entering into a kind of oceanic relationship with the world. Much as the jelly-fish binds together the body, mind and over-mind while existing in a porous relationship with the sea, John must become a porous subject himself, drowning in the space that surrounds him in order to model a kind of bisexuality that overcomes the essential fissures of the text. In this way, H.D. connects gender, sexuality and space. As wet subjects, John and Kora, like the sea, are open and ever-becoming, a figuration that disrupts visions of the couple as discrete bodies, positioning them as a bisexual dyad that flows into one another. As bodies of water, John and Kora are brought together and oriented in resistant, difficult and queer ways.

Deep Dive: The Psychoanalytic Method and 'Mira-Mare'.

Following the psychoanalytic undercurrents of the early *Notes on Thought and Vision*, H.D.'s interest in psychoanalysis became crystallised through the sessions that she commenced

with Freud in March 1933 and lasting to mid-June of the same year and resumed for five weeks in 1934. H.D. recalls these sessions in the prose memoir *Tribute to Freud*, a work that was ‘taken direct from the old notebooks of...1933’ and engages with the analytic methods Freud taught her: free association, allusions, dreams, and visionary experiences.²⁹⁸ In the memoir, H.D. continues to explore her jelly-fish consciousness under the watchful eye of Freud, embarking on a subaqueous voyage into the depths of her psyche and offering a vision of their time together as:

I have the feeling of holding my breath under water. As if I were searching under water for some priceless treasure, and if I bobbed to the surface the clue to its whereabouts would be lost forever. So I, though seated upright, am in a sense diving, head-down underwater.²⁹⁹

Here we find H.D. reinforcing the articulation of the psyche as a geographic plane, a spatial ecosystem that can be traversed through the analytic method. The analysand is figured as a swimmer, diving down into their consciousness. Corresponding with Silvia Dobson at the end of 1934, H.D. cultivates this image this by claiming [Redacted].³⁰⁰ In accordance with this psychic seascape, mental imbalance throughout H.D.’s work is rendered through the crushing weight of the waves. As *HERmione* (1981) opens, the protagonist’s psyche is powerless against the break of the tide: ‘Her Gart tried to hold on to something; drowning she grasped, she caught at a smooth surface, her fingers slipped, she cried in her dementia, “I am Her, Her, Her”’.³⁰¹ Though critics such as Harold Bloom have branded H.D.’s memoir ‘a new faith in the Freud era’, it has been the project of feminist critique to extricate H.D. from

²⁹⁸ Johnston, *The Formation of 20th-Century Queer Autobiography*, p. 106.

²⁹⁹ H.D., *Tribute to Freud* (New York: New Directions, 2012), p. 53.

³⁰⁰ BRBML, Yale Collection of American Literature, H.D. Papers, Letter from H.D. to Silvia Dobson 16 September 1934, Box 9, Folder 306. It is interesting to note the different ways in which H.D. uses aqueous metaphors across her writing, often positioning water as synecdoche for the mind. Here, H.D. uses ‘water-logged’ to refer to a kind of psychic blockage, while in her long-short stories the act of swimming comes to envisage the analytic process as the analysand moves through the archaeology of their psychic landscape. Elsewhere in *HERmione*, mental imbalance is further represented through drowning.

³⁰¹ H.D., *HERmione* (New York: New Directions, 1981), p. 3.

scholarship that seeks to frame *Tribute to Freud* as a kind of hagiography.³⁰² Against the likes of Bloom, Diane Chisholm maintains 'H.D. becomes Freud, curing herself of the blocks and gaps that infect the telling of her life story, and, at the same time, healing Freud of discursive foreclosures in scientific skepticism, Schopenhauerian pessimism, and metapsychological misogyny'.³⁰³ In this way, Freud's writing becomes a complicated intertext that is central to understanding H.D.'s figuring of the sea, a space that is repeatedly inscribed with psychoanalytic subtext, but, in being so inscribed, reworks that subtext. As H.D.'s jelly-fish model reworks the Freudian model of consciousness, *Tribute to Freud* does not uncritically replicate Freudian thinking, but engages in a process of reassessment, revision and reframing. Published the year after H.D. undertook analysis with Freud, 'Mira-Mare' deepens the aquatic symbolism of 'Kora and Ka', with the turn of the tide reflecting the powerful force of the waves in *Sea Garden* and gesturing towards later watery landscapes of *By Avon River* (1949) and *Helen in Egypt*. Caught between these texts, 'Mira-Mare' is replete with a psychoanalytic subtext that quivers with erotic overtones, arousing distinctly Freudian readings. In 'Mira-Mare', protagonist Alex's obsession with the colour blue reflects John's fascination with green in 'Kora and Ka'; like John, a single colour represents Alex's compulsive relationship to water. In line with this, Alex garbs herself in an all-blue swimming outfit, 'The cap was slate blue, the shoes were cobalt, shining paint-box blue' and carries a 'blue suède...pocket-diary', the colour of which we are unreliably told is a coincidence, the notebook supposedly discarded years ago and scraped up 'from somewhere'.³⁰⁴ Leaving the hotel that she is staying at during her holiday with Christian, Alex finds herself 'safe against the second gate' as her 'Eyes drugged themselves on more blue; a glorified morning-glory made a burnt tree blossom. The burnt tree, with unfamiliar spider leaves, was drenched with

³⁰² Harold Bloom, *Poets and Poems* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2005), p. 280.

³⁰³ Dianne Chisholm, *H.D.'s Freudian Poetics: Psychoanalysis in Translation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 4.

³⁰⁴ H.D., 'Mira-Mare', p. 57.

a new variant on blue, this very dark blue, “paint-box blue”, she said again’. Blue is an anaesthetic, a comforter that provides the same sense of safety John finds in the sea-green folds of Kora’s clothes. Later, as Alex bickers with her brother Christian about the casino decorations, H.D. explicitly draws upon the psychoanalytic resonance of the colour. Christian believes the decorations are ‘sub-conscious plant life’ but Alex retorts ‘sub-aqueous’.³⁰⁵ In revolt against her brother, Alex gathers ‘the blue-impression’ of these surrounds ‘like a cloak, about her’, a protective force, a shield from the world.³⁰⁶ The stakes of this argument reflect those of Kora’s hat. Blue fleetingly allows Alex to garner a sense of herself, a stability that makes her feel if she ‘should almost float’.³⁰⁷ Enveloped in blue and reliant on its charm, Alex’s psyche reflects the sea-green world that John so desperately yearns for.

This preoccupation with the colour blue blurs with Alex’s relationship to the sea. Approaching her hotel at the beginning of the text, Alex notices it is called the ‘Mira-Mare’ and not the ‘Miramar’ as the guide had written down.³⁰⁸ Throughout this scene, the narrative repeatedly draws our attention to the spelling and meaning of the name, Alex slowly casting her eye over the contours of the words: ‘Mira the beautiful, Mare the Sea, obviously’.³⁰⁹ The name Mira-Mare presents a sense of intrinsic poise, a name of equal parts, flirting with one other through half-rhyme and a connecting dash, sumptuously drawn out by the alveolar trill of its Italian pronunciation. Much like the dash of jelly-fish and H.D.’s use of hyphenation to fasten the sea to other words (sea-weed, sea-cities, sea-quartz and so on), the name Mira-Mare yearns for connection, equilibrium and balance. Much like John, it is this sense of balance that Alex continually attempts to capture throughout the text. And much like John, it is this balance that consistently eludes her. Perhaps because of this, Alex misreads Mira-

³⁰⁵ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 71.

³⁰⁶ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 71.

³⁰⁷ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 60.

³⁰⁸ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 59.

³⁰⁹ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 59.

Mare. 'Mira' does not translate as the 'beautiful' or 'wonderful' sea, but the act of looking at the sea, with connotations of contemplation or longing. Indeed, Mira-Mare is a name commonly ascribed to hotels overlooking the sea. In the 1920s, hotels named Mira-Mare or Miramare stood in Genoa, Rhodes, and the French Riviera; H.D. spent time holidaying at each of these destinations.³¹⁰ Through her reading, Alex betrays a yearning to go beyond the act of mere looking, yearning to get lost in the balance of the beautiful water. Moreover, Alex's contention that she came across her blue notebook accidentally and her misinterpretation of the name Mira-Mare reflect John's insistence that Kora wears a green hat. Both protagonists are unable to let go of a prized colour, their obsessive relationship to green and blue casting doubt on their ability to interpret the world around them.

The yearning for the waves figured by the colour blue becomes realised by the act of swimming in 'Mira-Mare', a process that offers a return to nature, the female body ensconced by the water as it is encoded by the tideline in *Sea Garden*. Daily, Alex weaves her way to the beach to swim, away from Monaco and away from Christian, who refuses to join her as he feels deeply shamed about his physique: 'afraid of arms, not so brown as those arms, of back not so bronze and muscular'.³¹¹ Set against Christian's feebleness, swimming becomes an erotic act. Stripped bodies float amongst the tide, affording Alex a sense of liberation as she escapes her brother and his inhibitions. Out in the blue, the act of swimming evokes the psychic seascape of H.D.'s analysis with Freud, a process that she depicted as having 'the feeling of holding [one's] breath under water. As if I [one were] searching under water for some priceless treasure'.³¹² As she swims away from the Mira-Mare, this priceless treasure becomes embodied by a particular figure, Alex seeking out a man who has taken on

³¹⁰ See 'Grand Hotel Miramare-Genoa', *Vogue New York*, 1 February 1926, p. 19; 'Places and Pleasures: Wisconsin, Rhodes, and the Canaries', *Vogue New York*, 1 March 1960, p. 172; and 'The New "Hôtels de Luxe" of Paris', *Vogue New York*, 15 September 1927, p. 53.

³¹¹ H.D., 'Mira-Mare', p. 67.

³¹² H.D., *Tribute to Freud*, p. 53.

special significance for the couple: 'Yes, it was their favourite, hardly to be distinguished, at this distance, save for his electric blue waist band. He wore nothing, a platinum-coloured rubber cap and that blue strip at his waist'.³¹³ The blue favourite, unobtainable, nearly naked except for a strip of cloth and out at sea, represents an alternately hued image of the green Kora, who John fruitlessly seeks out as his antidote. The act of swimming, of moving through the colour Alex associates with her psychic balance, presents an attempt to understand the self. While Alex is lost amongst the blue waves, swimming offers her the chance to connect outwards and become part of a greater whole by placing her body in dialogue with others in the sea and evoking a sense of oceanic feeling. Alex is no longer atomised, no longer hyper-individuated, she has gone beyond the mere act of looking and is enveloped within the sea, connected to its waves and the bodies around her as if by a hyphen.

At the same time, the figure of the swimmer takes on the position of the analysand, dredging up memories and working through psychic imbalance as they traverse their mental geography—a geography that H.D. would remember through the act of swimming in *Tribute to Freud*. In this regard, it does not require a leap to imagine Freud as the blue favourite, calling Alex forward, pushing her deeper and deeper into the psyche. Within the text, H.D. gives further credence to this relationship:

Forgetting-remembering...she remembered Atlantic breakers on miles of virgin sand and sand dunes and behind dunes, American sea-grass. She remembered the European scene, old, old remembrance, steel blue within lotus-blue of lilies. She remembered, as passing from blue-lit to blue-lit window, one places candles on altars, in a cathedral where all is already too-bright. The flame of the sun was so many million candles, burning to its own glory. In it, she was submerged, rising, dropping to straddle the middle of the three landmarks.³¹⁴

³¹³ H.D., 'Mira-Mare', p. 65-66.

³¹⁴ H.D., 'Mira-Mare', p. 69.

To forget but remember appears an oxymoron, until we ask: What is Alex trying to escape? If we offer psychic trauma as an answer to this question, then to forget but to remember is, in many ways, to heal, to come to terms with the past while ridding oneself of pain. This reflects the Freudian argument (as presented in papers such as the 1896 'The Aetiology of Hysteria'), that one cannot simply forget, as this leads to repression and further trauma. As John Fletcher notes, for Freud, 'with neurosis, the power of "forgetting" is reduced by the displaced and disguised return of the forgotten material in conversion symptoms or isolated, obsessional ideas and rituals'.³¹⁵ In 'Mira-Mare', H.D. recognises that one cannot simply forget and creatively revises the symbols of Freudian discourse in order to offer swimming as a cipher for the analytic process, an act that attempts to overcome the yearning to forget by tempering it with remembering and digging (or swimming) further into the topography of the psyche. Locating healing within the landscape of her mind, such creative revision casts the blue favourite as the analyst, the ever-present force requiring the swimmer to push onwards into their psyche. By forgetting-remembering, Alex undertakes the necessary labour of addressing her psychic difficulties and comes to terms with her obsessive relationship to the colour blue. In this way, H.D. once again offers a connection between body, mind and over-mind, while mining the symbols of the analytic process. In 'Mira-Mare', Alex (like John) is the body, with the sea cast as the mind and the favourite both the analyst and the over-mind, pushing Alex onwards, out of herself and towards others.

So too can connections be drawn between the figures of Kore and Dionysus and the brother-sister couplet of Alex and Christian. Much like John and Kora, Alex and Christian snipe at one another throughout most of the story, spewing their vexations as they sit in the hotel. And much like John and Kora, it is not until the very end of the text that Alex and Christian are able to reconcile, the final line of 'Mira-Mare' offering a subtle moment of closure:

³¹⁵ John Fletcher, *Freud and the Scene of Trauma* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), p. 212.

She said “sub-conscious”. “Sub-aqueous” he said, remembering her word. She said “you remember that bit of paper, in my pocket-book...*The moth having seen the light*”. He said “*Never returns to the darkness*”.³¹⁶

Here, Alex and Christian balance their earlier argument, concordant with one another through the repetition of the aquatic understanding of the hotel decorations, as well as Christian’s finishing of the line from the notebook. Reading the act of swimming as symbolic of the psychoanalytic process, I suggest here that Alex and Christian’s reflection of one another codes H.D.’s essential bisexuality by bringing together the masculine and feminine into a relationship that could not exist before. Quite literally, the sea has allowed Alex to cross borders that she was previously unable to overcome. This moment of recognition is essential, abridging the gendered duality at the heart of the text and allowing for equilibrium. Indeed, Alex and Christian’s position as brother and sister subtly circumvents the possibility that this is a traditional romance narrative, instead locating the couple as a bisexual dyad like John and Kora. Through the sea, through the repetition of sub-aqueous, through Christian’s willingness to evoke Alex’s watery psyche, the couple enter into a relationship that is at once masculine, feminine and fluid.

Overall, in writing ‘Kora and Ka’ and ‘Mira-Mare’, H.D. positions the psyche as a lush seascape, a topography that reflects the delicate ecosystem of the mind, and a space that her characters reckon with as they are to come to terms with their troubled psyches. As part of this, H.D. reworks Freudian theory and psychoanalytic discourse to accommodate the masculine and the feminine as a bisexual dyad that must be accepted. It is this reworking that allows H.D. to open up the sea to a deeper queer reading. Earlier in this chapter, I noted that H.D. was anxious about publishing her long-short stories. As I claimed, these nerves were well founded. After all, ‘Kora and Ka’ and ‘Mira-Mare’ are suffused with trauma,

³¹⁶ H.D., ‘Mira-Mare’, p. 102.

encapsulating a deeply affective sense of openness and exposure. It is always tempting to think of exposure as a lesion, a gash or a sore. The Latin for wound, *vulnus*, offers us the stem for vulnerability. To be vulnerable is to be wounded, flesh flayed and open to the world, body exposed to infection and other complaints. Drawing to a close, however, I want to reimagine the vulnerability and exposure of 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' as a coastline. Continuing the thematic message of *Sea Garden*, the littoral space that runs between land and sea is vulnerable to the waves: cliffs erode, fish are left floundering on the beach, people are dragged out into the depths, houses topple into the water below.

It is appealing to gloss over such vulnerability, yet H.D. embraces it, situating it like a coral reef under the tide of her texts. For H.D., the self must be vulnerable to accept the other. The masculine John must be vulnerable to accept the feminine Kora. The feminine Alex must be vulnerable to accept the masculine Christian. In all, 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' offer the psyche as a seascape that mirrors the delicate balance of mental life. The psyche becomes an overwhelming tide that threatens to drown John, Kora, Alex and Christian. And this tide cannot be escaped. To calm the siren call of the waves, the protagonists of H.D.'s long-short stories must reckon with water, becoming sub-aqueous creatures that are drowned and reborn, stronger than before. Extending the erotic hum of *Sea Garden*, the long-short stories vibrate with sensual tension, painting sexuality and topography in vibrant greens and blues that bleed into one another. Throughout the long-short stories, the sea is a transformative space that John, Kora, Alex and Christian must submerge themselves. As they surface, the characters are finally able to face up to one another, John and Kora drowned and revived, Alex and Christian gaining a sub-aqueous perspective.

As representations of the masculine and the feminine, the transfiguration of Alex, Christian, John and Kora presents couplings predicated not on erotic union, but on bisexual dialogue.

Together, each couple comes to embody the acceptance of the masculine and the feminine as a mode of working through the multiple, as well as highly gendered and sexualised, traumas that H.D. experienced: the incapacity of being a civilian, the inability to sexually satisfy a husband transfigured by war, the loss of stillbirth, the romantic possibilities that stem from loving another woman. In this way, the texts reach towards H.D.'s later declaration that she was the 'perfect bi-'. Anticipating this declaration, 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' evoke a sense of oceanic feeling, yearning for completion, for unity and for connection with the world. The couples of the long-short stories cannot simply turn inwards, but must connect together body, mind and over-mind. For H.D., oceanic feeling is necessary to create a wholeness that explodes outwards from the self, tethering the self to the world as in her jelly-fish model.

In her engagement with Freud, then, H.D. evokes a sense of wet ontology by utilising the open and immanent space of the sea to create a more capacious model of the psyche that dissolves the borders of sexual difference, centres bisexuality, and recoups the power of the feminine. As Irigaray and Cixous present feminine power as a deluge that threatens to swirl up and saturate exclusionary masculine discourse, H.D. draws liquifies the boundaries of sexual difference to enliven an essential bisexuality that positions the masculine and the feminine in dialectical relation with one another. Ultimately, the modern toolkit of psychoanalysis becomes the method through which H.D. grapples with her gendered and sexualised queerness. At the same time, however, H.D.'s literary encounter with psychoanalysis invites a more capacious model that allows for the feminine. In turn, by spatialising the analytic process, the seascapes of 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare' become a physical working through of queer identity, a churning, difficult and resistant geography that reflects queerness as constantly in flux.

In all, H.D. does not fear liquidity, she embraces it. Embracing the sea, H.D. resists the dry discourse of her contemporaries that seeks to minimise femininity. Water becomes a powerful tool that threatens to make hard lines vague. At the same time, however, H.D. does not simply supplant land with water, but sets them in conversation with one another to generate new understandings. Embracing the sea, H.D. adapts the Freudian model of consciousness, presenting the psyche as a spatial ecosystem that can be explored through analysis. Less fixed than Freud, H.D. exploits pockets of resistance within his psychoanalytic theory to offer a model that dissolves the borders of sexual difference and boldly reclaims bisexuality. Embracing the sea, H.D. centralises the porousness of bisexuality, revelling in its erotic flow. Anticipating oceanic feeling, H.D.'s jelly-fish mind binds together consciousness, embodiment and the material world, offering a vision of bodies that are permeable, leaky and seething. Spatialising the psyche through the sea, H.D. situates geography in a couplet with sexuality by positioning bisexuality as an orientation that gestures outwards towards the world and encapsulates the other, thereby creating a greater whole.

Having thought through the manner in which the characters of H.D.'s long-short stories ultimately seek to move from individuated subjects to a greater (and connected) whole, the thesis now expands upon this by turning to Katharine Burdekin and the massifying effect of eugenic ideology throughout her texts *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night*. In doing so, I pan out from the individual subject as a means of analysing the manner in which the taxonomizing of sexual identity binds queer bodies together through the spaces of utopia and dystopia.

Public Bodies: Katharine Burdekin and Utopia.

I regard sex as the central problem of life. And now that the problem of religion has practically been settled, and that the problem of labour has at least been placed on a practical foundation, the question of sex—with the racial questions that rest on it—stands before the coming generations as the chief problem for solution.

— Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897).³¹⁷

You ought to have come round to a normal attitude towards women at twenty-five. Don't leave it too long, Hermann. You may find yourself in difficulties.

— Katharine Burdekin, *Swastika Night* (1937).³¹⁸

To say that power took possession of life in the nineteenth century, or to say that power at least takes life under its care in the nineteenth century, is to say that it has, thanks to the play of technologies of discipline on the one hand and technologies of regulation on the other, succeeded in covering the whole surface that lies between the organic and the biological, between body and population.

— Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (1976).³¹⁹

Even within discussions of queer modernism, Katharine Burdekin inhabits an outsider position; a liminal figure, historically overlooked in favour of her contemporaries and often falling between the cracks of scholarly debate. Partly, Burdekin is overlooked because of the ambivalent critical framing of her dense body of work. By creating parallel realities that query, subvert and playfully revise her contemporary cultural landscape, Burdekin explores sexual identity and radical politics through fantasy, science fiction and avant-garde experimentation. Partly, Burdekin is overlooked because of a longer critical elision of women's writing from discussions of the interwar period.³²⁰ Though she published a flurry of well-received novels throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Burdekin is often used as a critical prop, briefly drawn upon

³¹⁷ Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Ivan Crozier (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 91.

³¹⁸ Katharine Burdekin, *Swastika Night* (New York: The Feminist Press at City University New York, 1985), *Swastika Night*, p. 22.

³¹⁹ Michel Foucault, "'Society Must Be Defended' Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-76', ed. by Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. by David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), p. 253.

³²⁰ See Janet Montefiore, *Men and Women Writers of the 1930s: The Dangerous Flood of History* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-6.

as a precursor to discussions of George Orwell and Aldous Huxley, but subsequently discarded in favour of these male authors.³²¹ Partly, Burdekin is overlooked because of her own social standing. Highly secretive, prone to using a pseudonym and gossiped about due to her difficult character, Burdekin existed on the fringes, never at the centre of the circles she moved within.³²² In an undated letter to H.D., Burdekin anticipated her liminal position, noting that her writing appealed ‘to a certain public, but very small and unpopular’.³²³ Privately, H.D. and Bryher would move from praising Burdekin to disparaging her—letters between the couple inferring that they grew tired of her company.³²⁴

Sustained critical consideration of Burdekin has stemmed from feminist intervention into debates concerning the literature of the interwar period. Sparked by recovery work undertaken by Daphne Patai in the early 1980s, critique initially framed Burdekin as a feminist counterpoint to her male contemporaries. As Patai argues: ‘Long before discussion of patriarchy and its meaning became popular, and in the midst of the post-World War One lull in British feminism, Burdekin was attuned to this dimension of the world around her and was able to criticize it’.³²⁵ Following Patai, criticism sought to recuperate Burdekin as a lost light of the 1930s political landscape, as a woman rewriting the literary axis of war, and as

³²¹ Exemplifying this, Burdekin is fleetingly mentioned by Phillip E. Wegner and Andrew Hammond in their respective historical surveys of British dystopian fiction, but serves as little more than scholarly upholstery. See Phillip E. Wegner, ‘The British Dystopian Novel from Wells to Ishiguro’, in *A Companion to British Literature, Volume 4: Victorian and Twentieth-Century Literature, 1837–2000*, ed. by Robert DeMaria, Jr., Heesok Chang and Samantha Zacher (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), pp. 454–470 and Andrew Hammond, *Cold War Stories: British Dystopian Fiction, 1945-1990* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 1-29.

³²² In order to conceal her identity, Burdekin used pseudonyms such as Murray Constantine, Katharine Penelope Cade and Kay Burdekin. These pseudonyms worked, on occasion, perhaps too well. *Proud Man* was initially attributed to the British writer Olaf Stapledon and not accredited to Burdekin until Daphne Patai began to recover her fiction. See Robert Crossley, *Olaf Stapledon: Speaking for the Future* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p. 437. Alongside this, Burdekin asked friends to refer to her as ‘it’ rather than he or she. For evidence of these pronouns, see letter from H.D. to Havelock Ellis on July 24 1934 in *Analyzing Freud*, pp. 403-404.

³²³ Letter from Murray Constantine to H.D. [No Date], Box 9, Folder 298.

³²⁴ See letter from H.D. to Havelock Ellis on July 24 1934 and letter from H.D. to Bryher on 17 November 1934 in *Analyzing Freud*, pp. 403-404 and pp. 264-265.

³²⁵ Daphne Patai, ‘Orwell’s Despair, Burdekin’s Hope: Gender and Power in Dystopia’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 7.2 (1984), 85-95 (p. 88).

an early pioneer of feminist science fiction.³²⁶ Such feminist intervention paved the way for queer critique of Burdekin. Drawing tacit links between the representation of homosexual desire and patriarchal power, critics argued that Burdekin positioned homosexuality as a form of hypermasculinity that altogether excludes the feminine.³²⁷

As feminist critique offers a gateway into queer readings of Burdekin, it is this interest in the sexual contours of her literature that has ignited discussions of her relationship to modernism. This critical recognition of the relationship between sexuality and modernity in Burdekin's work is largely thanks to Elizabeth English's discovery of a cache of letters that underscore a hitherto unrecognised relationship between the novelist and sexologist Havelock Ellis. As English outlines:

The discovery of this correspondence is highly significant, since it tells us that Burdekin had an interest in theories of sexual inversion, and that she had a relationship with one of those theories' most famous proponents. This acquaintance has not been heretofore acknowledged, nor has the influence of sexology of Burdekin's work, but recognizing this debt is essential for understanding her utopian agenda.³²⁸

Following Patai's feminist analysis, English plaits together Burdekin's interest in sexological discourse and utopian politics through the lens of lesbian modernism. Homing in on the invert, English traces the impact of Ellis' thinking on Burdekin's work in order to argue that Burdekin takes the relationship between sexology and utopia to 'the logical extreme by associating the lesbian not only with modernity but also with futurity, since the female invert

³²⁶ Karen Schneider interrogates the critical elision of Burdekin in Karen Schneider, *Loving Arms: British Women Writing the Second World War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997); Kate Holden situates Burdekin within the literary milieu of the 1930s in Kate Holden, 'Formations of Discipline and Manliness: Culture, Politics and 1930s Women's Writing', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 8.2 (1999), 141-157; and Sarah Lefanu examines Burdekin's importance within science fiction studies in Sarah Lefanu, *In the Chinks of the World Machine: Feminism and Science Fiction* (London: The Women's Press, 1988), pp. 71-72.

³²⁷ Carlo Pagetti neatly summarises this argument in Carlo Pagetti, 'In the Year of Our Lord Hitler 720: Katharine Burdekin's *Swastika Night*', *Science Fiction Studies*, 17.3 (1990), 360-369.

³²⁸ Elizabeth English, 'Lesbian Modernism and Utopia: Sexology and the Invert in Katharine Burdekin's Fiction', in *Utopianism, Modernism, and Literature in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Alice Reeve-Tucker and Nathan Waddell (London: Palgrave, 2013), pp. 93-110 (p. 95).

both represents, and paves the way to, progress'.³²⁹ Drawing attention to the shape of Burdekin's utopia, English tempers her focus on the relationship between sexuality and modernity with a spatial critique that imbricates the politics of utopia with the taxonomizing of the queer subject. At the same time, by centring the lesbian invert, English folds together the multivalent tensions of gender anxiety and sexual desire throughout Burdekin's writing by moving away from rigid categories of masculine and feminine. This argument is vital as it creates room for a more capacious queer critique that extends beyond a simple conflation of masculinity, male desire and patriarchal power—allowing for a budding resurgence of Burdekin scholarship.³³⁰

Emerging from such nascent queer critique of Burdekin, this chapter continues to interrogate the relationship between the queer subject, sexology and utopia in the novels *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night*. Moving away from the lesbian, I contend that Burdekin's fiction is informed and underpinned by an engagement with another strand of Ellis' thinking: eugenics. With Ellis' influence on queer modernism habitually framed through his theories of sexual deviance, his eugenicist principles are often overshadowed. Yet Ellis' theories of sexual inversion are knotted together with his eugenicist ideology. To try and parcel one out from the other is to create an artificial boundary between the two. As Ivan Crozier outlines in his thorough study of Ellis and eugenics, 'it is clear that eugenics represented for Ellis the most significant interface between individual sexual expression, the species and the state—an interface he would later call the "most intimate of all relations"'.³³¹ With eugenicist ideals predicated on the notion of sexual reproduction, sexual orientation becomes inherently

³²⁹ English, 'Lesbian Modernism and Utopia', p. 96.

³³⁰ Alongside English's chapter in *Utopianism, Modernism, and Literature in the Twentieth Century*, her research into Burdekin has been included in Elizabeth English, *Lesbian Modernism: Censorship, Sexuality and Genre Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015) and as part of the Lesbian Modernism(s) panel at the Queer Modernism(s) conference in 2018. In addition to this, Thomas Horan has examined the damaging effects of misogyny and homophobia in *Swastika Night* in Thomas Horan, *Desire and Empathy in Twentieth-Century Dystopian Fiction* (London: Palgrave, 2018), pp. 93-128.

³³¹ Ivan Crozier, 'Havelock Ellis, Eugenicist', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 39.2 (2008), 187-194 (p. 187).

linked to the health, strength and longevity of the nation. When seen through the lens of sexology, the development of the queer subject is therefore necessarily bound to the construction of eugenic thinking. Simply put (with eugenics suturing orientation to the futurity of the nation) sexuality, geography and modernity become magnetised once again. Accordingly, it is high time to recognise the complex sexological impulse of eugenic discourse within Burdekin's queer world-building and, specifically, her utopia.

Read through a modern-day lens, the relationship between queerness and utopia is often couched in a subversive dialogue that seeks to radically dismantle the state as a means of (re)constructing a world in which queer people can flourish.³³² Often, such queer utopianism is rooted in an intersectional politics that binds together gender transgression and sexual dissidence with race, class and disability.³³³ Yet such presentism is dangerous when reading Burdekin. The term eugenics stems from the Greek *εὖ* (good or well) and *γένος* (race or kin).³³⁴ Traced from the late nineteenth century, eugenic arguments reductively situate the body and the nation in dialogue by positing that the strength of a country is predicated on the health of its populace. The nationalist idealism of Ellis and his contemporaries is thus cut through with a eugenic impulse that seeks to create a 'real guide as to those persons who are most fit, or most unfit to carry on the race'.³³⁵ For Ellis, then, utopia is necessarily white. Inversion holds a curious position in this model, Ellis arguing:

³³² Muñoz expresses this thoroughly throughout *Cruising Utopia*. Further reflections on the revolutionary potential of utopia are offered by Muñoz and Lisa Duggan in Lisa Duggan and José Esteban Muñoz, 'Hope and Hopelessness: A Dialogue', *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*, 19.2 (2009), 278-279.

³³³ Critiquing the anti-relational perspective offered by Lee Edelman, scholars have sketched new theoretical engagements with utopia. Prescient here are arguments made in James Bliss, 'Hope Against Hope: Queer Negativity, Black Feminist Theorizing, and Reproduction without Futurity', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 48.1 (2015), 83-98 and Alison Kafer, *Feminist, Queer, Crip* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 31-33.

³³⁴ For longer discussion of the historical relationship between modernism and eugenics, see Donald J. Childs *Modernism and Eugenics: Woolf, Eliot, Yeats, and the Culture of Degeneration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Marius Turda *Modernism and Eugenics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

³³⁵ Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene* (Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 200.

In nearly every country of the world men associate with men, and women with women; if association and suggestion were the only influential causes, then inversion, instead of being the exception, ought to be the rule throughout the human species, if not, indeed, throughout the whole zoölogical series. We should, moreover, have to admit that the most fundamental human instinct is so constituted as to be equally well adapted for sterility as for that propagation of the race which, as a matter of fact, we find dominant throughout the whole of life.³³⁶

Here, Ellis slyly positions inversion as an organic form of eugenics. Stripped down to its bare elements, this assertion conflates heterosexual desire with reproduction and homosexual desire with sterility. In not reproducing, the white invert upholds racial purity. Queer subjectivity and utopian idealism are therefore able to become bedfellows so long as queerness is still bordered by whiteness.³³⁷ This understanding complicates and extends the scholarship of English by showing how the sexological connection between futurity and inversion is infected with racial purity when read through the lens of eugenics. To interrogate the relationship between sexuality, space and modernity in Burdekin's fiction, scholarship must reckon with her complex and troubling construction of utopia through eugenic sexology.

This chapter begins by exploring the eugenic idealism of *Proud Man*, a novel which interrogates the politics of the interwar period through the figure of the Genuine Person, a being who has been transported from a society that exists thousands of years in the future. The Genuine Person is a hermaphrodite from a society without the divisions of sex and class; a society without war, without states and without borders; a society whose populace is exclusively vegetarian, communicates telepathically, reproduces through self-fertilisation, has no need for morality and lives for hundreds of years.³³⁸ For the Genuine Person, these

³³⁶ Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, pp. 200-201

³³⁷ Here, my argument finds affinity with scholarship that has positioned the development of the queer subject as necessarily raced. In particular, Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and The Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000)

³³⁸ In contemporary discourse, the use of hermaphrodite has been recognised as inappropriate and replaced with the term intersex. Discussion of this can be found in Alice Dreger, and others, 'Changing the Nomenclature/Taxonomy for Intersex: A Scientific and Clinical Rationale', *Journal of Pediatric*

qualities are considered distinctly human. In comparison, the fractured society of the 1930s is inhabited by 'subhumans', none of whom have reached the full consciousness of humanity. Reading *Proud Man*, I argue that this quest for anatomic, social and moral perfection is deeply indebted to eugenic ideology. Akin to Ellis, Burdekin envisions a kind of racial purity by creating a distinction between higher and lower forms of humanity. For Burdekin, however, this purity is necessarily queer. Having learnt to reproduce via autogamy, the humans of the future push Ellis' thinking to the logical extreme by conflating reproduction and sterility. Within the Genuine Person's society there is no need for human fertilisation as we know it; reproduction occurs through the self and consequently cuts out the chance of miscegenation. In this way, the borderless geographic harmony of the Genuine Person's society is predicated on the massifying discourse of eugenics, underpinning idealist spatial fantasies with questions of futurity, modernity, sexuality and reproductivity.

Following this discussion, the chapter moves to an analysis of *Swastika Night*, the novel that succeeded *Proud Man*. Set in the seventh century of the Hitlerian millennium, *Swastika Night* offers a dystopic torsion to the utopian idealism of *Proud Man*, envisaging a world in which Nazi politics has come to dominate Europe and Africa, opposed only by the Japanese Empire that controls the vast landmass of Asia, Australia, and the Americas. Within the Nazi Empire, Germany takes shape as a Holy Land, comprising a people whose blood sets them above all others. Ballasting this, homoeroticism has become commonplace within Nazi society. The Germanic male physique is not simply lauded, it is fetishized as an object of religious lust and a refraction of Hitler, who has been monumentalised as a seven-foot tall, blonde, muscular deity. Comparatively, women have become sexual slaves, their heads shaved, their bodies clad in nothing but grey cloth, and their sole purpose to provide reproductive services for the

Endocrinology and Metabolism, 18.8 (2005), 729–73. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I employ hermaphrodite as I am engaging with Burdekin's historical use of the term, which refers to someone who is equipped with both male and female reproductive organs. For this reason, I have also resisted referring to the Genuine Person in contemporary terms such as non-binary or agender.

male populace. Evidently, *Swastika Night* presents a sharp turn away from the eugenic idealism of *Proud Man*. But why? Situating Burdekin in dialogue with her contemporaries, this chapter argues that the rise of Nazi politics affected a change in public attitudes towards eugenics. By the middle of the decade, eugenics had begun to become aligned with far-right thinking due to the rise of Nazi racial hygiene. In turn the eugenic sexology propounded by Ellis became viscerally augmented in the public eye. This is not to say that Ellis' eugenic vision is any less riddled with deeply racist scientific posturing, but to draw attention to the rapid change in public sympathies for eugenic ideals. In light of this change, Burdekin could no longer envision a world in which utopia, eugenics and queerness could exist in harmony. Under the auspices of the Nazi regime, eugenic thinking became a challenge to queerness by openly opposing sexually dissident identities. Alongside those categorised as racially other, queerness became displaced from the centre. Within this new understanding of eugenics, even the white queer subject was no longer safe. As such, the massified eugenic geography of *Proud Man* sits at odds with the deeply riven and equally critical spatial politics of *Swastika Night*, a novel that unbuttons Burdekin's previous coalition of body and nation and moves towards a different interrelation of sexuality, geography and modernity as it grapples with the consanguinity of futurity and reproduction.

(Sub)humans: The Eugenic Utopia of *Proud Man*.

Recounted from the perspective of a Genuine Person who has been transported to the 1930s from thousands of years in the future, *Proud Man* came late in Burdekin's career and marked her adoption of the masculine pseudonym Murray Constantine. On publication, the novel was met with mixed reviews. Burdekin won praise for her bold critique of interwar society, *The Times* stating 'This is a novel principally for those who seek the rather austere unusual...the book has notable qualities and a strange intermittent beauty'.³³⁹ At the same

³³⁹ 'New Novels', *The Times*, 11 May 1934, p. 19.

time, however, critics argued that the novel was plagued by a reductive interest in the sexual sciences. As the *New English Weekly* put it:

Mr. Constantine ended by setting himself a problem which no writer in history could ever have attacked with the dimmest hope of success, with the possible exception of Dostoevsky. In this dire extremity, he fell back for support upon the trauma theory of Freud; and the best that can be said for the result is that it is a startling object-lesson in the comparative worthlessness of scientific generalisation in psychology beside living experience and intuition.³⁴⁰

Agreeing with this sentiment, the *New Statesman and Nation* contended that '*Proud Man*, then, in its final quarter becomes an ordinary psychological novel, and, judged as such, suffers from a false simplification'.³⁴¹ Even in its own day, the debt that *Proud Man* owed to Freud and his contemporaries was apparent. Writing in *The Listener*, Edwin Muir connected Burdekin's interest in the sexual sciences to the novel's distinctly utopian impulse, positioning that 'It was an original idea to turn a Utopia against its usual purposes, that of enhancing our opinion of ourselves, by showing what we are capable of in the far future'.³⁴² Yet, much like contemporary scholarship on Burdekin, these reviews skated over the eugenic impulse of the novel (or, at times, perhaps bought into its seemingly utopian vision).

Proud Man is structured through the protagonist's engagement with subhuman society, cleaved into a trisected narrative that follows the storyteller as they live with a priest, a writer, and a man plagued by the death of his mother. Following this narrative, the Genuine Person appears first as themselves before being dressed as a woman and finally as a man. The first of these narratives serves as a general introduction, the Genuine Person offering a kind of futurist travelogue as they dictate subhuman society for the record of their peers. This zoological intrigue is followed by the Genuine Person's recollection of their attempt to amalgamate with the cultural climate of England in the 1930s, respectively adopting feminine and masculine dress to fully comprehend the duality of subhuman experience.

³⁴⁰ 'Views and Reviews. Proud Man', *New English Weekly*, 24 May 1934, pp. 140 – 141.

³⁴¹ 'Proud Man, Murray Constantine', *New Statesman and Nation*, 19 May 1934, p. 120.

³⁴² Edwin Muir, 'New Novels', *Listener*, 30 May 1934, pp. 395-396.

Androgynous, tall, alluring and unable to fully grasp the cadence of the English language, the Genuine Person is widely regarded as a 'beautiful foreigner' by those they meet. In short, the narrator is rendered distinctly queer, not simply due to their sexual anatomy, nor because of their self-fertilising reproduction, but because of their voice, their customs and their values.

In its representation of the Genuine Person, *Proud Man* mines the sexual sciences. On a formal level, English argues that 'with its reportage style, and the Person's anthropological cataloguing of subhuman identities and behaviours, the text in some ways mimics the pseudo-scientific tone of sexological writing'.³⁴³ Most pertinently however, English contends that the text is bound up with and shaped by the advent of modern lesbian identity as constructed by sexological discourse. Drawing on Ellis' claim that the 'commonest characteristic of the sexually inverted woman is a certain degree of masculinity', English contends that the Genuine Person's attempts to pass as a woman are read semaphorically through lesbianism, the narrator having too mannish a physique to appear typically feminine.³⁴⁴ In turn, English tracks this lesbian figure throughout Burdekin's *The Rebel Passion* (1929) and posthumous *The End of This Day's Business* (1989) by arguing that the invert offers an antithetical viewpoint to the masculine posturing of war. For English, the lesbian presents a societal inversion, 'possesses[ing] the power and freedom through her economic, social and sexual independence to abdicate from damaging behavioural patterns imbued within normative male and female psyches'.³⁴⁵ In this regard, the lesbian becomes a utopian figure, an alternate model of futurity that offers a remedy to the societal ills of the 1930s, and a sexological invert that gestures towards political subversion.

Though English offers a compelling examination of the lesbian trope in *Proud Man*, this analysis fits uneasily with the Genuine Person. Like puzzle pieces that have been forced

³⁴³ English, 'Lesbian Modernism and Utopia', p. 99.

³⁴⁴ English, *Lesbian Modernism*, p. 36.

³⁴⁵ English, *Lesbian Modernism*, p. 44.

together, the lesbian struggles to map completely onto the hermaphrodite narrator. Principally this is because (though they are read as one) the Genuine Person is not a lesbian character. Rather, they appear as a genderless being, 'a *person*, that is, an entity independent of others both physically and emotionally, who is self-fertilising, and can produce young, if it wishes to, alone and without help'.³⁴⁶ Throughout the novel, the Genuine Person passes as both a mannish woman and an effeminate man, aided by the companions they meet and the clothes that these companions provide them, though regularly getting into scrapes. At one time, when they are staying with a priest, the Genuine Person is mistaken for a beautiful woman and believed to be having an affair with the minister. To this, the Genuine Person responds:

I told him that by far the simplest way out of the difficulty would be for me to go down to the church one seventh day morning, when all his discontented people would be assembled, and there take off my clothes and show them that they were mistaken in their surmise, because my body was not in all respects like a subhuman's nor likely to be wholly attractive to Andrew. But I warned him at the same time that they would probably be frightened, seeing they were all either men or women.³⁴⁷

Such blurring of the lines between the Genuine Person's anatomy and others' perception opens the novel to myriad kinds of desire (including heterosexuality) and categories of inversion: lesbianism, yes, but also transvestitism, eonism and male homosexuality.³⁴⁸ At the same time, this blurring of anatomy and perception elucidates that mannishness and effeminacy are merely a burlesque that allows the Genuine Person to inhabit subhuman society. In all, the Genuine Person's gendered traits are costumes used to garb the body (and costumes that the narrator regularly feels uncomfortable wearing, complaining about the

³⁴⁶ Katharine Burdekin, *Proud Man* (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1985), p. 22.

³⁴⁷ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, p. 133.

³⁴⁸ For a fuller description of eonism, see Ivan Crozier, 'Havelock Ellis, Eonism and the patient's discourse; or, writing a book about sex', *History of Psychiatry*, 11.42 (2000), 125-154. Importantly, Crozier notes that Ellis drew heavily on confessional narratives (that I believe reflect the tone of *Proud Man*) when analysing eonism. Further to this, while dressed as a man, the Genuine Person notes that an astonishing number of subhuman men are attracted to them, opening the novel to homosexual readings. See Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 251-252.

restrictions of high heels and trousers). Due to this, though her reading of *Proud Man* is useful, English largely focuses on the costume in place of the wearer, interrogating the impact of the caricature lesbian established by sexological discourse. But what of the identity that lies beneath the Genuine Person's costumes? What of the character behind the mask?

Turning to the sexological theories of Ellis, it is evident that the construction of the Genuine Person is equally informed by another inverted identity: the bisexual. As with H.D., bisexuality does not simply refer to sexual attraction here. In the late nineteenth century, the discovery that embryos do not develop into males or females until the twelfth week of gestation generated the idea that humans are predisposed to physical bisexuality. Freud drew on this discovery and extended it through his psychoanalytic theories, forming the notion of innate bisexuality, with Esther Rapoport summarising in her survey of psychoanalysis and bisexuality that 'In most of Freud's writing...bisexuality is construed as the deeper truth of human sexuality that is, however, impossible in practice'.³⁴⁹ For Ellis, this notion carried equal weight. As Merl Storr has highlighted, in the first edition of the 1897 *Sexual Inversion*, the first volume in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897-1928), bisexuality 'is used to refer to the existence of two biological sexes within a species, or to the coincidence of male and female characteristics within a single body'.³⁵⁰ By contrast, Ellis refers to 'psychosexual hermaphroditism' as 'the somewhat awkward name given to that form of inversion in which there exists a sexual attraction to both sexes'.³⁵¹ By the 1915 edition of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, this had changed, with Ellis adapting the meaning of bisexuality to include sexual attraction to male and female partners, establishing a linguistic duality in which 'bisexual' referred both to sexual dimorphism and sexual attraction. Slowly,

³⁴⁹ Esther Rapoport, 'Bisexuality in Psychoanalytic Theory: Interpreting the Resistance', *Journal of Bisexuality*, 9.3-4 (2009), 279-295 (p. 282).

³⁵⁰ Merl Storr, 'Genealogy of the Concept of Bisexuality', in *Bisexuality: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Merl Storr (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 13-56 (p. 15).

³⁵¹ Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, p. 156.

the terms 'bisexuality' and 'hermaphroditism' exchanged meaning to signify, respectively, sexual attraction and intersex identity, Freud musing on the differences in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*.³⁵²

The theoretically complex genesis of bisexuality is bound up within Burdekin's engagement with the term in *Proud Man*. The novel adopts 'hermaphrodite' to refer to the Genuine Person's sexual anatomy, as was common within sexological discussion by the 1930s, but strikingly utilises 'bisexuality' to refer to the sexual dimorphism of the subhuman species, rather than sexual attraction to male and female partners. Perhaps a more useful spelling would be bi-sexual, a hyphen that denotes the bifurcation of subhumans into men and women.³⁵³ The Genuine Person believes this riven state to be an evolutionary weakness symptomatic of the chrysalis stage of the 1930s, such division barring the subhuman populace from reaching perfection. Most keenly, this is evidenced through the Genuine Person's diagnosis of subhuman failure:

They are not happy in their bisexuality, *because they have become conscious of it*. A consciousness, even though only partial and affecting only about a third of their minds, combined with a sexuality which is still animal and should be *unconscious*, is quite possibly the cause of all their troubles.³⁵⁴

Here, Burdekin couples the sexological theories of Ellis with the model of psychic apparatus proposed by Freud. Subhumans struggle as they are rent double between masculine and feminine, the recognition of this division through the superego causing them painful disaffection. Split first by sex into men and women, subhumans are further subdivided by their psyches. Remedying this, the hermaphrodite form presents anatomical perfection. As the narrator notes, 'though there have been cases of a clumsy sex fusion', they remain the

³⁵² Freud, 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality', pp. 141-142.

³⁵³ This spelling of bi-sexual has a much longer history relating to plants and animals that possess both sex organs. See 'bisexual' in *The Oxford English Dictionary* [online] <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/19448?redirectedFrom=bisexual>> [accessed 23 January 2018].

³⁵⁴ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 17-18.

‘only *person* extant’ during their visit.³⁵⁵ Through the anatomy of the Genuine Person, Burdekin reaches towards same the ‘deeper truth’ of human sexuality that Rapoport claims was impossible in practice for the likes of Freud and Ellis. In doing so, Burdekin takes the gender of the protagonist to the logical extreme, just as she does with the lesbian.

For the Genuine Person, the anatomical divisions of the subhuman populace map outwards to the grander scale of the nation: ‘power seems to be a natural consequence of a feeling whether conscious or unconscious, of inferiority...males in the beginning had every reason to seize the power, while the females, deeply content with their biological importance, had none’.³⁵⁶ As the Genuine Person notes, ‘the three main avenues of escape are religion, art, and war...the war escape, is the best outlet for the sadism and restlessness caused by the unnatural misery of their sex lives’.³⁵⁷ It is here that Burdekin’s appraisal of the interwar period finds distinct clarity. Arguing, ‘the next war will probably be started by that nation which has the most neurasthenic unemployed males’, the Genuine Person provides an intersectional critique, linking the gendered, nationalised and economic conditions that plagued Europe throughout the early 1930s.³⁵⁸ As they subjugate women, men seek to dominate each other through the patriarchal power of the nation, a binding together of the ‘homosexual pack which clings together and excludes all females’.³⁵⁹ The divisions between men and women become spatially materialised through state borders created along masculine lines. On a personal and global scale, it is only through the overpowering of a deeply gendered other that subhuman males can begin to grasp at a sense of self-esteem. This diagnosis gestures cuttingly towards the interwoven roots of the Second World War: the

³⁵⁵ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 22-23.

³⁵⁶ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, p. 28.

³⁵⁷ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 25-26.

³⁵⁸ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, p. 40. The term neurasthenic (referring to neurasthenia, an idiopathic medical condition characterised by lassitude and lethargy) was regularly employed by eugenicists. See Venetia Abdalla, ‘“That Neurasthenia Joke”: Degeneration and Eugenics in the Work of Ford Madox Ford and Violet Hunt’, *International Ford Madox Ford Studies*, 12 (2013), 141-158 for more.

³⁵⁹ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, p. 34.

economic sanctions of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the reintroduction of German conscription in 1935, the militarisation of countries throughout Europe, and the velocity at which Nazi, fascist, communist and anarchist politics grew.³⁶⁰ Sexuality, geography and modernity become imbricated with one another, with the political landscape of the 1930s accentuated by gendered tensions that lubricate the machinery of war.

Set against this, Burdekin utilises the figure of the Genuine Person to offer an alternate vision of society that continues to barter in the currency of sexology. The anatomical makeup of the Genuine Person overcomes the split nature of subhuman bisexuality and its embodiment of the fraught politics of the interwar period. Revelling in the wholeness and unity of their being, the Genuine Person is relieved of the psychic guilt caused by the divisions of the subhuman superego. Indeed, the protagonist has no need for morality as they are rid of the notion of good and bad entirely. This extrapolates outwards to the society that the Genuine Person arrives from—a planet free of gender divisions and free of borders, thus free of war. Simply put, the Genuine Person acts as an antithesis to the bi-sexual subhuman populace and, by extension, the societal ills of Burdekin's heyday. For Burdekin, utopia is a queer space that critiques the heterosexual gender binary. As the lesbian invert offers a model of futurity, so too does the hermaphrodite. And yet, existing in dialogue with the work of Ellis, this queer utopia is distinctly eugenic.

³⁶⁰ Taking the temperature of the political climate with such stunning accuracy, Burdekin enters into dialogue with novelists such as Heinrich Böll and Kurt Vonnegut, especially the lengthy chronological analysis of *Billiards at Half-Past Nine* (1959) and the slippery, challenging narrative of *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969). Nonetheless, writing before the publication of the majority of novels responding to the Second World War, Burdekin's analysis can be seen as exceedingly precocious, offering a vivid premonition akin to Storm Jameson's *In the Second Year* (1936) and Kay Boyle's *Death of a Man: A Novel* (1936).

As the letters between Burdekin and Ellis show, the author was not merely influenced by the sexologist, she was in dialogue with him. [Redacted].³⁶¹ [Redacted].³⁶² This was far from a one way conversation, with Burdekin forcing Ellis to admit he had not yet read some of the writers that she recommended. Moreover, though there is a paucity of information contained inside these missives, Burdekin was hardly the only author Ellis exchanged letters with. Situating Burdekin's letters in a broader contextual framework is therefore useful to understanding the relationship she and Ellis had. As critics have discussed, thinkers of all stripes corresponded with Ellis to seek advice and support.³⁶³ In particular, Ellis received letters pertaining to the relationship between morality and sexual health: [Redacted].³⁶⁴ Reading Burdekin in light of Ellis' wider correspondence, it is the last of these topics that haunts *Proud Man*.

Underpinning Ellis' eugenicist thinking is the relationship between anatomic and national fitness. For Ellis, the body is synecdoche for nation. The healthy body acts as a necessary foundation to the strong nation, while, by contrast, the diseased body extrapolates outwards and leads to a deformed nation. This interrelation of body and nation offers a stunning example of what Foucault refers to as the biopolitics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a time when scientific development folded the older sovereign right to 'take life or let live' into the ability 'to make live and to let die'.³⁶⁵ This idea finds distinct

³⁶¹ New York, Glenn Horowitz Bookseller (hereafter 'GHB'), The Dobkin Family Foundation, Archive of Katharine Burdekin, Letter from Havelock Ellis to Katharine Burdekin 4 December 1934, Box II.

³⁶² GHB, The Dobkin Family Foundation, Archive of Katharine Burdekin, Letter from Havelock Ellis to Katharine Burdekin 14 May 1937, Box II. [Redacted].

³⁶³ For a thorough introduction to Ellis' impact on literary modernism, see Debra A. Modellmog, 'Modernism and Sexology', *Literature Compass*, 11.4 (2014), 267–278 and Schaffner, *Modernism and Perversion*, 89-102.

³⁶⁴ Connecticut, Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Havelock Ellis Papers, Box I, Letter from Rebecca West dated 4 February [No Year], Letter from Upton Sinclair dated 2 June 1927, and Letter from Leonard Darwin dated 25 September 1920. Important here, of course, is also Ellis' commentary on and support for *The Well of Loneliness*, included in the first British edition published by Jonathan Cape and the American edition published by the Sun Dial press, both in 1928.

³⁶⁵ Foucault, "'Society Must Be Defended'", p. 241.

clarity in Ellis' essay the 'Sterilization of the Unfit', penned as part of the first volume of the *Eugenics Review* (1909):

The sterilisation of the unfit, if it is to be a practical and humane measure commanding general approval, must be voluntary on the part of the person undergoing it, and never compulsory...So far as the individual goes it will be beneficial. But no one could be simple enough to suppose that this oversight could be so complete as to prevent propagation. And if not, then little is achieved; the burdens of society, to say nothing of the race, are merely being multiplied. It is not possible to view sterilisation with enthusiasm when applied to any class in the community.³⁶⁶

There is a sly duality at play here. Albeit that Ellis offers the central caveat that sterilisation must be voluntary, he nevertheless believes eugenic intervention to be a necessary step. Regardless of his apparent protests, Ellis finishes by imploring the reader to consider: 'But when we are dealing with the unfit the resources of civilisation in this matter are limited. And if we reject the method of sterilisation, what, I ask myself, is the practical alternative?'³⁶⁷

This question functions as a kind of metanoia and allows Ellis to double back on his argument, positioning that sterilisation must be voluntary, while later subtly correcting his original statement as a means of advocating that sterilisation is necessary for the nation to remain healthy. In this fashion, Ellis suggests a eugenic answer before distancing himself from such an endorsement, fixing a signpost then wiping away his fingerprints.

Situated in dialogue with Ellis, *Proud Man* offers a layered engagement with eugenic thinking. Undeniably, eugenic idealism underpins the construction of Burdekin's futurist society. The Genuine Person provides a model of perfect health that extrapolates outwards to an unburdened utopia, creating a metonymic relationship between anatomy, sexual orientation and geography that shores up Ellis' positioning of the body as synecdoche for nation. As the Genuine Person notes:

One of the major differences between subhumans and human beings, besides the difference between a half-conscious being with a split mind, and a fully conscious

³⁶⁶ Havelock Ellis, 'Sterilization of the Unfit', *Eugenics Review*, 1.3 (1909), 203–206.

³⁶⁷ Havelock Ellis, 'Sterilization of the Unfit', p. 206.

being with a whole mind, and perhaps arising out of that difference, is caused by the subhuman concept of *privilege*...A privilege of class divides a subhuman society horizontally, while a privilege of sex divides it vertically. Subhumans cannot apparently exist without their societies being divided, preferably in both these ways, though the intense antagonism, either open or secret, conscious or unconscious which privilege of either kind engenders, prevents any subhuman society from having the stability necessary to its permanent existence.³⁶⁸

Implicit within this is human difference, the Genuine Person coming from a world without such barriers. Due to this, the queer subject gestures towards the unblemished world. Principally, the hermaphrodite body overcomes the duality of the bi-sexual subhuman populace by presenting a dissolution of essential divisions that renders national borders equally soluble. In this fashion, the very landscape of the futuristic utopia that the Genuine Person has come from is predicated on the erosion of sexual difference. Consequently, this erosion allows for the evasion of the heterosexual impulse that the Genuine Person relates to 'war...land-grabbing and empire-building', which act as 'the best outlet for the sadism and restlessness caused by the unnatural misery of [subhuman] sex lives'.³⁶⁹ As the Genuine Person reproduces through autogamy, they are able to produce genetically perfect copies of themselves, overcoming the need for sterilisation. With Ellis framing homosexual desire as an inversion of heterosexual desire, the sexual reproduction of the Genuine Person conflates the reproductivity of heterosexuality with the sterility of homosexuality. In *Proud Man*, self-fertilisation represents the end-point of eugenics as it allows (in Ellis' terms) only 'those persons who are most fit...to carry on the race' to reproduce. As Fredric Jameson argues that 'Utopian corporeality is however also a haunting...harboring muted promises of a transfigured body', the queer geographies of Burdekin's futuristic societies become deeply bound up with eugenic thinking; sexuality and nation sutured together by the biopolitical

³⁶⁸ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 17-18.

³⁶⁹ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 25-26.

impulse of the early twentieth century that conflated futurity with the transfiguration of the anatomy.³⁷⁰

The eugenic strain of *Proud Man* is reinforced by the novel's engagement with race. As the text opens, the Genuine Person notes 'In these two years I lived among the English people, and though I read about other *races* and *nations*...I did not go among them'. Contained inside the Genuine Person's emphasis is the inference that their futuristic society is free of race. Here, the novel tempts us to read this inference as demonstrating a post-racial society, but this temptation is wholly dangerous.³⁷¹ Instead, the Genuine Person's emphasis suggests a deeply troubling sense of racial purity, referring to subhumans as 'our transition stage, or race infancy'.³⁷² Read through a Foucauldian lens, the futurist society of *Proud Man* represents:

A struggle in the biological sense...the theme of the binary society which is divided into two races or two groups with different languages, laws, and so on will be replaced by that of a society that is, in contrast, biologically monist.³⁷³

This is stressed by the Genuine Person noting that their skin is 'of a human colour, pale golden brown', instead of a subhuman 'yellowish pinkish shade never seen on any human body'.³⁷⁴ In this way, the Genuine Person weaponizes race as a means of drawing a dividing line between themselves and those they regard as subhuman, a view which chimes with Ellis' argument that only some are 'fit...to carry on the race'. And yet, though the Genuine Person recognises this difference, it is a difference that causes them surprisingly little trouble. Vital here is the way in which the Genuine Person interacts with the society around them. The

³⁷⁰ Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 6.

³⁷¹ My use of the term post-racial stems from the thinking of Anoop Nayak, who maintains that even if race is a social construct, racialisation still has powerful ramifications for social organisation and regulation of human society. See Anoop Nayak, 'After race: ethnography, race and post-race theory', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29.3 (2006), 411-430.

³⁷² Burdekin, *Proud Man*, p. 15.

³⁷³ Foucault, "'Society Must Be Defended'", p. 80.

³⁷⁴ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 81-83. This quote also serves to centre whiteness by referring to subhumans as 'yellowish pinkish', a diagnosis that is further fleshed out by Burdekin's inclusion of the figure of the negro, further explored in the next paragraph.

Genuine Person's complexion is regarded as darker than that of the average English person, but not so dark as to be cast as racially other. As such, though they are regarded as a 'beautiful foreigner' and unable to pass for English, the Genuine Person is still coded as white, understood as possibly Russian or Italian and, crucially, able to move through society without experiencing racial aggression. Extrapolating this, if the Genuine Person is emblematic of the futurist human race, utopia is equally coded as monolithically white.

Anxieties concerning racial division are increased tenfold later in the novel when the Genuine Person observes:

The primitives, while not attaining a human carriage, have not yet lost all their unconscious animal dignity, and they move in a more pleasing manner than the civilized subhumans. The only man I ever saw walking with any approach to pace or beauty was a negro, a dark skinned subhuman whose race is only lately civilized by contact with the white.³⁷⁵

Though the novel infers that the Genuine Person does not initially recognise race, it doubles down on both the primitivist undercurrent of modernism and the colonial discourse of the early twentieth century by positioning the figure of the negro as uncivilised and therefore special.³⁷⁶ The Genuine Person's gaze is highly important here. By offering no further speculation on the figure of the negro, the Genuine Person shores up the view that whiteness is inherently civilised. This raises questions: Why exactly is the Genuine Person's futurist society supposedly free of land-grabbing? Could this society's lack of national borders potentially be read as a colonialist fantasy? As critics have discussed, the supposedly egalitarian post-racial society ignores the very power embedded within race itself.³⁷⁷ As Eric K. Watts asserts: 'Treating "race" as merely a social construction misses a crucial facet of its

³⁷⁵ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, pp. 66.

³⁷⁶ See Sieglinde Lemke, *Primitivist Modernism: Black Culture and The Origins of Transatlantic Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 3-9 and Simon Gikandi, 'Race and the Modernist Aesthetic', in *Writing and Race* (London: Routledge, 2014), ed. by Tim Youngs, pp. 147-165.

³⁷⁷ I am thinking in particular here of the critique offered by anti-racism scholars, including Tim Wise, *Colorblind: The Rise of Post-Racial Politics and the Retreat from Racial Equity* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2010) and the sharp theoretical insights throughout Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of Post-Racial Society* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2018).

nature; the power of tropes of race...Saying that "race" is a "fiction" does very little to disable its vigorous affects'.³⁷⁸ Irrespective of their protests, the Genuine Person still recognises race, wielding its power to segregate themselves from the subhuman populace, a populace that once again becomes demarcated along racial lines through a binary division between civilised and uncivilised peoples.

At times, the eugenic idealism of *Proud Man* appears somewhat tempered by a scepticism towards scientific intervention. Exemplifying this scepticism, as the Genuine Person is taken into the care of an elderly priest, they are warned not to allow:

Any physiologist or biologist even to look at you from a distance. I know that your hearing and sight and powers of smell and touch are far, far keener than mine were as a lad, but I do not for that reason want to take your eyes out to look at the backs of them, nor to dissect your nose, nor to X-ray the bones of your ear. But if you meet a biologist he will put you to all sorts of tests and indignities, and end up pickling you in a bottle for the edification of future generations.³⁷⁹

In light of this, the hermaphrodite narrator appears to be the naturalised result of human evolution, rather than the product of scientific tampering, the organic aftermath of the chrysalis stage, rather than a feat of eugenic engineering. Yet this scene does not entirely elude Ellis' influence. Throughout his eugenic arguments, Ellis often couples scientific reasoning with cultural Darwinism by positioning eugenics as a naturalised form of human desire. Evidencing this, Ellis frequently invokes the figure of St Valentine, arguing that 'the patron saint of sexual selection, more especially in England...The eugenic ideal which is now developing is not an artificial product, but the reasoned manifestation of a natural instinct'.³⁸⁰ This invocation exhibits a romantically mythologised view of eugenic discourse that once again allows Ellis to advocate for eugenics while distancing himself from explicitly championing sterilisation. Much as Ellis distances himself from enforced sterilisation, the

³⁷⁸ Eric K. Watts, 'The Nearly Apocalyptic Politics of Post-Racial America: Or, "This Is Now The United States of Zombieland"', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 34 (2010), 214-222.

³⁷⁹ Burdekin, *Proud Man*, p. 125.

³⁸⁰ Havelock Ellis, 'Eugenics and St Valentine', *Nineteenth Century*, 59 (1906), 779-87.

hermaphrodite body of *Proud Man* exhibits a complex sympathy for eugenic ideals, at times wary of scientific intervention but simpatico to evolutionary perfectionism.

In all, the utopian space that the Genuine Person inhabits is read through the queer subject. Set apart from the fractured landscape of the subhuman interwar period, the geographic unity of *Proud Man's* futurist society is predicated on the sexual oneness of the hermaphrodite body, establishing a metonymic relationship between queer subjectivity and utopian space. In itself, however, this queer subjectivity is coded as racially superior through a deeply troubling eugenic sensibility. Positioning humans as morally, socially and anatomically advanced in comparison to subhumans, the Genuine Person demonstrates a biopolitical impulse that transfers the locus of power from the individual human body to the collective human race. At play here is the massifying effect of eugenic ideology. As Foucault outlines:

What we are dealing with in this new technology of power is not exactly society...nor is it the individual body. It is a new body, a multiple body, a body with so many heads that, while they might not be infinite in number, cannot necessarily be counted.³⁸¹

In this regard, the Genuine Person reflects Foucault's argument that the nation's 'future and its fortune [are] tied not only to the number and the uprightness of its citizens, to their marriage rules and family organization, but to the manner in which each individual [makes] use of his sex'.³⁸² Influenced by Ellis, Burdekin sketches a vision of utopia that binds together sexuality and space through the 'modernising' discourse of eugenic ideology. The very landscape of the society that the Genuine Person comes from is predicated on a eugenic ideal that integrates the health of the nation with the health of the race. Though they are the only one to visit subhuman society, the Genuine Person is ultimately cataloguing their journey for the experience of their peers, fusing together the roles of the visitor and the guide so often present throughout utopian fiction (and therefore overcoming yet another

³⁸¹ Foucault, "*Society Must Be Defended*", p. 245.

³⁸² Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p. 26.

distinction). Their views are never seen through the lens of the singular body, but tied to a wider racial experience, requiring us to question who this supposed utopia benefits.

Compulsory Homosexuality? Desire and Dystopia in *Swastika Night*.

If we situate Burdekin in dialogue with her contemporaries, the eugenic impulse of *Proud Man* is perhaps unsurprising. After the outbreak of the First World War, eugenic thinking found a foothold within artistic and intellectual circles. In 1915, Woolf recorded the moment she encountered a group of disabled people on a walk in her diary: 'everyone in that long line was a miserable ineffective shuffling idiotic creature, with no forehead, or no chin...It was perfectly horrible. They should certainly be killed', while from 1937 to 1944 Bloomsbury Group economist John Maynard Keynes served as the director of the British Eugenics Society, declaring shortly before his death that eugenics was 'the most important, significant and, I would add, genuine branch of sociology which exists'.³⁸³ Akin to this, George Bernard Shaw, T. S. Eliot, and W. B. Yeats all showed varying sympathy for eugenic thinking.³⁸⁴ Considering the widespread cultural influence of eugenic ideology, what comes as a surprise is therefore not *Proud Man*, but the fact that the novel Burdekin published just three years later should present such a radically different engagement with eugenic idealism. This novel is *Swastika Night*. Set in a futurist dystopia in which the Nazi empire has risen to power, *Swastika Night* offers a polarised vision of eugenics to *Proud Man* that pushes eugenic ideology to the extreme as a means of disavowing it entirely.

To comprehend this change in sympathy, it is crucial to understand that eugenic ideology is not a philosophically cohesive concept, but an asymmetric bioethical impulse that

³⁸³ Virginia Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, ed. By Anne Olivier Bell, 5 vols (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), I (1977), p. 13. John Maynard Keynes, 'Opening Remarks: The Galton Lecture', *Eugenics Review*. 38.1 (1946), 39–40 (p. 40).

³⁸⁴ For further discussion of the relationship between post-war literature and eugenic ideology, see Daylanne K. English, *Unnatural Selections: Eugenics in American Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and Clare Hanson *Eugenics, Literature and Culture in Post-War Britain* (London: Routledge, 2013).

manifested systemically variegated symptoms across cultural, social and political borders.³⁸⁵ In their studies of modernism and eugenics, critics have been quick to stress the heterogeneity of eugenic thought, arguing 'eugenics was as diverse ideologically as it was spread geographically' though centrally connected by a nodal point: the underlying vision of national regeneration.³⁸⁶ Gaining a fashionable currency within the sexological community, eugenic fervour did not begin to slow down until the early 1930s as Nazi ideology utilised eugenic thinking to enforce segregation, sterilisation, euthanasia and, eventually, industrialised murder. As Donald MacKenzie highlights:

The Nazi victory in Germany and the subsequent Nazi eugenic measures strengthened the association of eugenics and the extreme right. After some initial hesitation, the Eugenics Society condemned Nazi eugenics...[finding] it difficult to make it clear that what it preached was different from what the Nazi practised. By the late 1930s eugenics in the old, strong, sense was identified with fascism.³⁸⁷

Of course, Burdekin was not the only writer affected by this change in attitude. Though some would continue to reinforce their belief in eugenics even after the war had ended, many were vocal about their shifting principles.³⁸⁸ Evidencing this, while in 1904 H. G. Wells would argue 'It is in the sterilisation of failure, and not in the selection of successes for breeding, that the possibility of an improvement of the human stock lies', his influential manifesto *The Rights of Man: Or, What are We Fighting For?* (1940) countered this by advocating that 'no man shall be subjected to any sort of mutilation or sterilisation except with his own deliberate consent, freely given'.³⁸⁹ Similarly, the fervent support Huxley showed for eugenic

³⁸⁵ Historians track the geographic diversity of eugenics in Mark B. Adams, *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) and Pauline Mazumdar, *Eugenics, Human Genetics and Human Failings: The Eugenics Society, its Sources and its Critics in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1991).

³⁸⁶ Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics*, p. 118.

³⁸⁷ Donald MacKenzie, 'Eugenics in Britain', *Social Studies of Science*, 6.3-4 (1975), 499-532.

³⁸⁸ Exemplifying this, Maynard Keynes, Ellis and Bernard Shaw all continued to advocate for eugenics after the Second World War had ended.

³⁸⁹ Francis Galton, 'Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims', *American Journal of Sociology* 10.1 (1904), 10-11, (p. 11); H. G. Wells *The New World Order—Whether it is Attainable, How it can be Attained, and What Sort of World a World at Peace Will Have to Be* (London: Seeker and Warburg, 1940), p. 143.

thinking in the early 1930s had largely disappeared from his writing by the outbreak of the Second World War.³⁹⁰ Like Wells and Huxley, *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night* straddle a rich multiplicity of eugenic frames and chart a shift in Burdekin's thinking, *Proud Man* staging an interest in eugenic idealism that gives way to *Swastika Night's* critique of Nazi racial hygiene. In *Swastika Night*, this racial hygiene is codified through the Nazi faith, a religion similar to but distinct from Christianity and upheld by Teutonic Knights, soldierly priests who act as the proselytising vanguard of the regime. Paradigmatic of the hierarchical racial structure that the Nazis have enforced are the fundamental immutable laws of Hitler Society that the Knights recite:

*So is a Nazi above any foreign Hitlerian.
As a Nazi is above a foreign Hitlerian,
So is a Knight above a Nazi.
As a Knight is above a Nazi,
So is Der Fuehrer (whom may Hitler bless)
Above all Knights,
Even above the Inner Ring of Ten.
And as Der Fuehrer is above all Knights,
So is God, our Lord Hitler, above Der Fuehrer.³⁹¹*

These devotional laws are unbreakable. There are no 'exceptions in the divine doctrine of race and class superiority. It must be in the Holy Blood. The blood of Germans or of Knights'.³⁹² Mirroring the Genuine Person's anthropological cataloguing of the differences between humans and subhumans, these laws fold the individual body into a wider racial taxonomy as a means of stratifying social status. Yet there is an essential difference here, a presupposition that the eugenic impulse of *Proud Man* is distinct from the racial hygiene of *Swastika Night* with the former presented as utopian in nature and the latter as a dystopian

³⁹⁰ Critics detail Wells and Huxley's engagement with eugenics in Joanne Woiak, 'Designing a Brave New World: Eugenics, Politics, and Fiction', *The Public Historian*, 29.3 (2007), 105-129 and Jayna Brown, 'Being Cellular Race, the Inhuman, and the Plasticity of Life', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 21.2-3 (2015), 321-341.

³⁹¹ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 7.

³⁹² Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 21.

nightmare. Essential to this change is the hierarchisation of whiteness itself.³⁹³ In *Swastika Night*, eugenic ideology becomes coded through nationality, which is used to divide white subjects into gradated ethnic groups. As eugenics became associated with far-right politics rather than the sexological protection of the white race, the white subject was no longer absolved of eugenic suspicion.³⁹⁴ In *Swastika Night*, anxieties around racial hygiene are therefore partly predicated on the loss of hegemonic whiteness. Unlike *Proud Man*, where the futurist society of the Genuine Person is coded as a racial monolith, *Swastika Night* presents deep seated apprehensions about the racialisation of Englishness as distinct from German whiteness.³⁹⁵

This change in sympathy for eugenic ideology is intimately reflected by the vastly different geographies of *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night*. Whereas the Genuine Person notes that their world is free of nation and thus free of war, Hitler Society is predicated on national divide and locked into an ongoing battle with the Japanese empire. Moreover, the faith-based racial

³⁹³ Here, I follow critical whiteness studies and employ the term 'whiteness' to describe an elastic racialised group that has expanded and contracted throughout history. Critics speak to this elasticity in Melissa Steyn and Daniel Conway, 'Introduction: Intersecting whiteness, interdisciplinary debates', *Ethnicities* 10.3 (2010), 283-291. As I have discussed, in *Proud Man* the futuristic human race is coded as monolithically white, whereas in *Swastika Night* white subjects become hierarchised through nationality, with German citizens located at the centre of power. In particular, my use of the term whiteness resonates with Nayak's assertion that 'Whiteness is a social norm and has become chained to an index of unspoken privileges', as well as the broader arguments contained in Anoop Nayak, 'Critical Whiteness Studies', *Sociology Compass*, 1.2 (2007), 737-755.

³⁹⁴ Under far-right political regimes, whiteness is often not the only qualifier of racial power. As argued in Uli Linke, *German Bodies: Race and Representation After Hitler* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 32, 'whiteness is fundamentally a relational category: It is constructed by the way it positions others at its borders'. Extending this, Heinz-Georg Marten notes that the Aryan ideal generated gradations even within whiteness in Heinz-Georg Marten, 'Racism, Social Darwinism, Anti-Semitism and Aryan Supremacy', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 16.2 (1999), 23-41.

³⁹⁵ Emblematic of the distinction between German and English whiteness is the notion of *Volk* (people). With *Volk* rooted in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German philosophy concerned with national spirit, the Nazi party adopted the term to demarcate who was included within the German community. Importantly, *Volk* was often attached to a geographic identity, the Nazi party using the term *Volk ohne Raum* (people without space) to refer to the loss of the German Empire and, subsequently, to justify territorial expansion into Eastern Europe. As Alexa Stiller outlines, the concept of *Volk* (and offshoots such as *Volksgemeinschaft*) was elastic yet bordered, much like whiteness. See Alexa Stiller, 'On the Margins of *Volksgemeinschaft*: Criteria for Belonging to the *Volk* within the Nazi Germanization Policy in the Annexed Territories, 1939-1945', in *Heimat, Region, and Empire: Spatial Identities Under National Socialism*, ed. by Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Maiken Umbach (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 235-251.

divide of Nazi society has transformed Germany into a Holy Land, a place of worship that pilgrims are able to visit, but without access to the same privileges as the Nazis:

“Ach, Engländer,” said the Nazi, nodding in a sort of disgusted comprehension. “Let’s see your pass, then,” he added, in a milder manner...“All right. Remember now you’re in Germany that when it says ‘Keep off the Grass’ that *exactly* is what it means. The grass round our churches wasn’t put there for herds of Englishmen to gallop over. Verstehen?”³⁹⁶

In this fashion, *Swastika Night* encrypts the politics of blood hierarchy through the landscape. With German blood considered superior, German land becomes sanctified as holy ground. By contrast, England is home to ‘the last rebels against the might and holiness of the German Empire’ and riddled with Christians, whose faith sets them apart from Nazis and renders them Untouchable.³⁹⁷ Such affiliation of body and place reflects the nationalist slogan ‘blood and soil’. Employed by the real-world Nazi party, blood and soil encapsulates an idealised vision that connects a racially classified national body with the land. Dating to the nineteenth-century agrarian romanticist tradition, the concept of blood and soil became catalysed in the early 1920s by a growing body of serological literature that sought to create classifications based on blood groups. Furthering this, the term was popularised at the beginning of the Nazis’ rise to power by Richard Walther Darré and *A New Nobility Based on Blood and Soil* (1930).³⁹⁸ As in *Proud Man*, geopolitics become bound up with and represented by the body.

This spatialization of racial hierarchies is further entrenched by the gender politics of *Swastika Night*, encapsulated by the Holy Mystery of Maleness that rests at the heart of Hitler Society and the fundamental immutable laws that accompany it:

³⁹⁶ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 18.

³⁹⁷ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 20.

³⁹⁸ A comprehensive analysis of Nazi serology and the term ‘blood and soil’ is Pauline Mazumdar, ‘Blood and Soil: The Serology of the Aryan Racial State’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 64.2 (1990), 187-219, while the cultural myth that anticipated the Nazi’s use of the term is explored through Christa Kamenetsky, ‘Folklore as a Political Tool in Nazi Germany’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 85.337 (1972), 221-235.

*As a woman is above a worm,
So is a man above a woman.
As a woman is above a worm,
So is a worm above a Christian...
So, my comrades, the lowest thing,
The meanest, filthiest thing
That crawls on the face of the earth
Is a Christian woman.
To touch her is the uttermost defilement
For a German man.³⁹⁹*

As racialised social stratification creates divisive geographies and demarcates the spaces through which subjects may move, these fractured geographies are further partitioned by sexual difference. Emblematic of this are the Women's Quarters, a euphemistic title for the prisons where women are kept as sexual slaves for most of their existence. The Women's Quarters reproduce the vertical hierarchy of Hitler Society by setting boundaries that mark how far women may move, concretising the position women are afforded within the fundamental immutable laws. Further to this, when forced to leave their quarters and participate in prayer, women are required to inhabit Nazi space in a particular manner, standing in church as their 'rumps [are] even more defiling to holy places than their little feet'.⁴⁰⁰ Existing near the bottom of the ladder, it would be a mistake to claim that German women are not permitted to enter holy spaces. Rather, these women are coerced, brought into the church but never truly a part of it, just as they are included as part of German society but never afforded power within it.

In all, the fundamental immutable laws of Hitler Society bind together sexual reproductivity and racial myth to shore up the legitimacy of Hitler Society by allowing the Nazis to maintain a hold on the vast landmass they have accrued. For Burdekin, utopia becomes marked by a geographic openness and unity that is racialised through the hermaphrodite body of the Genuine Person. By contrast, dystopia is rendered a system of barriers, blockages, divisions,

³⁹⁹ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁰ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 8.

boundaries and partitions that are reflected within the blood hierarchies and the essential sexual difference of the Hitlerian millennium. Framing *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night* within wider public sympathies for eugenics, it is evident that though each novel is underpinned by eugenic ideology, the attachment of such ideology to Nazi racial hygiene marks a shift in the tone of Burdekin's fiction. Nonetheless, though *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night* present different engagements with eugenics, it is once again Burdekin's presentation of queer subjectivity that draws the disparate threads of her dystopian novel together by interweaving race, gender, sexuality and space.

The narrative of *Swastika Night* centres on Hermann, a Nazi soldier, and Alfred, an English engineer whom the Nazi trained with in his youth. Though their racial and class differences have not permitted them to see one another for many years, Alfred seeks out Hermann's company during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Intelligent, educated and permitted to read due to his job, Alfred quietly believes in an alternative to the Nazi regime, questioning the historical lineage of the German empire: 'Why do so many of the Japanese subject races speak English? The Americans, the Canadians, the Australians, and some of your subject races too, the South Africans?'⁴⁰¹ This questioning is fruitful. Through Hermann, Alfred comes to meet the Knight Friedrich von Hess, the keeper of a secret book created by one of his forefathers that contains the true history of the war period and the construction of the Nazi regime. Reading the mountainous tome of the ancestral von Hess, Hermann and Alfred discover the history of Hitler Society, a regime predicated on falsifications about the original Nazi party. Viscerally exhibiting these entrenched falsehoods, the men unearth a photo of the real Hitler, quite unlike the blonde deity they believe in: 'Where were the broad shoulders, the mighty chest, the lean stomach and slender waist and hips? This little man was almost fat'.⁴⁰² Within this portrait, Hitler is accompanied by Eva Braun, a figure Hermann

⁴⁰¹ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 26.

⁴⁰² Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 67.

and Alfred first believe to be a slender young man, unaccustomed as they are to seeing nourished women with clothing and hair. The discovery of this book leads Hermann and Alfred to attempt to mount a rebellion against the regime, beginning to band together disaffected Englishmen, as well as Alfred's children. Both the soldier and the mechanic are killed in the process, but the book is saved and passed on to a Christian friend of Alfred, a gesture that leaves the novel open-ended as the ancient teachings of Christianity exist in repressed rebellion against the Nazi regime and its false history.

Pivotal to *Swastika Night's* critique of eugenic ideology is the relationship between Alfred and Hermann. To date, critical attention has read homosexuality in *Swastika Night* through the wider lens of the nation, an extension of the Holy Mystery of Maleness that serves to erase women.⁴⁰³ In keeping with this, Patai asserts:

Burdekin's vision of an overt male homosexuality based on deification of the male and total denigration of the female is more coherent, more cohesive. The same ideology extends in both directions: upward toward the Führer, and downward toward the reduced women.⁴⁰⁴

Though I agree that Burdekin presents the homoerotic fetishization of the male body as an integral facet of patriarchal Nazi culture, I contend that this is a reductive reading of *Swastika Night* that elides the subtleties of the text. Offering a rereading of the novel, I maintain that Burdekin's representation of male homosexuality is far from coherent or cohesive. Indeed, it is within Burdekin's disparate representation of relationships between men that her critique of eugenics often resides. Though homoeroticism is lauded throughout *Swastika Night*, genuine homosexual desire is uncommon, Alfred going so far as to warn Hermann: 'you ought to have come round to a normal attitude towards women at twenty-five. Don't leave it too long, Hermann. You may find yourself in difficulties'. Moreover, though German

⁴⁰³ Summarising this position, George McKay contends that homosexuality is the normal sexual state of men in Hitler Society in George McKay, 'Metapropaganda: Self-Reading Dystopian Fiction: Burdekin's *Swastika Night* and Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*', *Science Fiction Studies* 21.3 (1994), 302-314.

⁴⁰⁴ Daphne Patai, *Orwell's Despair, Burdekin's Hope*, p. 94.

society is predicated on a deification of Aryan masculinity and the reduction of women, the novel suggests that the (hetero)sexual act remains enjoyable for many men. In keeping with this, Alfred is unable to completely eschew sympathetic feelings for the mother of his children, a woman named Ethel. It therefore appears that the enforced homoeroticism of Hitler Society has not managed to eliminate heterosexual desire, creating a tension between homosociality and homosexuality.

In her queer critique, Sedgwick explicates such sexual tension, examining the different kinds of intimacy that exist between men. For Sedgwick:

To draw the “homosocial” back into the orbit of “desire”, of the potentially erotic, then, is to hypothesize the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual—a continuum whose visibility, for men, in our society, is radically disrupted... For instance, the diacritical opposition between the “homosocial” and the “homosexual” seems to be much less thorough and dichotomous for women, in our society, than for men...The apparent simplicity—the unity—of the continuum between “women loving women” and “women promoting the interests of women”, extending over the erotic, social, familial, economic, and political realms, would not be so striking if it were not in strong contrast to the arrangement among males.⁴⁰⁵

Through this theorisation of male bonding, Sedgwick disrupts the notion of an unbroken continuum between homosocial bonding and homosexual desire. Homosocial bonding (that is, friendship between men) must necessarily be policed by homosexual panic (that is, the fear of erotic intimacy between men) if it is to refrain from slipping into the orbit of homosexual desire (that is, sexual yearning between men). It is this distinction between homosocial intimacy and homosexual desire that violently plagues Hitler Society. Though they are expected to worship homoerotic visions of masculinity, so too are German men required to enter sexual relationships with women, rendering male affection neither coherent nor cohesive.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), pp. 1-3.

⁴⁰⁶ This deification of the male physique somewhat reflects the real-world Nazi fetishization of Aryan masculinity. See Tim Pursell, 'Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys: Homoeroticism in the Art of the Third Reich', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17.1 (2008), 110-137 for more.

This tension between the homoerotic and the homosexual is exacerbated by the biopolitical necessity of heterosexual desire within Hitler Society. Although women are stripped of their rights and live in caged communes created for the purpose of breeding, they are still attributed to a male partner, wearing armbands to signal their ownership and imitating the heterosexual convention of marriage. This mock intimacy has geopolitical ends. German women have stopped giving birth to daughters, with Women's Quarters across the country having such a remarkable number of young males that the Teutonic Knights are becoming anxious about the future of the Nazi regime. In this regard, the geographic stability of *Swastika Night's* futurist society is underpinned by sexual desire. In tracing the development of biopolitics, Foucault charts a significant historical transformation from a politics centred on sovereignty to a politics centred on society, maintaining in *Society Must be Defended* (1997) that a battle 'has to be waged not between races, but by a race that is portrayed as the one true race, the race that holds power and is entitled to define the norm, and against those who deviate from that norm'.⁴⁰⁷ In line with this biopolitical imperative, the political apparatus that scaffolds authoritarian societies requires a constant blood supply. Without new births Hitler Society will fall and become vulnerable to the Japanese Empire. As such, though homoeroticism is commonplace within Nazi society, the state ultimately demands heterosexual relations between men and women in order to continue functioning.

In this respect, the homoeroticism of the Nazi empire is not altogether different from the concept of compulsory heterosexuality as outlined by Adrienne Rich. In 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence', Rich positions that heterosexual power 'has become a model for every other form of exploitation and illegitimate control'.⁴⁰⁸ Here, Rich employs

⁴⁰⁷ Foucault, "*Society Must Be Defended*", p. 61.

⁴⁰⁸ Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence', p. 660

Kathleen Gough's eight characteristics of male power in historic and contemporary societies as a framework:

Men's ability to deny women sexuality or to force it upon them; to command or exploit their labor to control their produce; to control or rob them of their children; to confine them physically and prevent their movement; to use them as objects in male transactions; to cramp their creativeness; or to withhold from them large areas of the society's knowledge and cultural attainments.⁴⁰⁹

The strictly policed livelihoods of women in *Swastika Night* meet each of these conditions. In light of this, it is evident that the society of *Swastika Night* is predicated on heterosexual power relations that have, in the dystopian future of the novel, espoused a homoerotic fetishization of the male form, raising men above women to the utmost extreme. As Sedgwick positions, homosociality is able to be 'embodied fully in...heterosexuality; and its shape is not that of brotherhood, but of extreme, compulsory, and intensely volatile mastery and subordination'.⁴¹⁰ Weaponised by the state to support the construction and proliferation of its regime, this homosociality must be considered as distinct from homosexuality and, by extension, queer subjectivity. With homosexuality undermining the biopolitical imperative to reproduce, it is precisely this queer subjectivity that threatens to weaken the state and loosen the geographic grip that Hitler Society has on Europe and Africa. Noting this, I offer an expansion of Rich's term: compulsory homoerotic heterosexuality. This phrase elucidates the essential tension of sexual desire throughout *Swastika Night*. Homoeroticism is a pivotal part of Nazi culture, though one that is predicated on a heterosexual extremism that underpins the sustenance of state apparatus.

Set against the compulsory homoerotic heterosexuality of the Hitlerian millennium is Hermann, a markedly homosexual character infatuated with Alfred. Burdekin goes to lengths to display the unusual nature of this attraction. Primarily, the signification of the soldier's

⁴⁰⁹ Kathleen Gough, 'The Origin of the Family', in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 69-70.

⁴¹⁰ Sedgwick, *Between Men*, 66.

name invites critical attention: Hermann, Her-mann, Her-Man, an effeminate, female or inverted man, and a counterpart to the mannish lesbian figure. This reading is consistently wrought out within the text. Hermann claims he ‘can’t stick women’ and longs for ‘the real bodily Alfred’, the depth of his emotion so strong that he finds he cannot kill the Englishman, even after Alfred openly critiques the Nazi regime: ‘Personal love did still exist, and Alfred even sleeping had still had a stranglehold on Hermann’s will’.⁴¹¹ This affection is important, with Hermann’s love for Alfred running against nationalist ideology. Unable to kill Alfred, Hermann feels himself ‘a traitor, a bad German; he was *soft*’.⁴¹² Further to this, for Ahmed such traitorous nature is bound up with compulsory sexuality ‘that shapes which bodies one “can” legitimately approach as would-be lovers and which one cannot’.⁴¹³ In framing his desire as traitorous, Burdekin draws a distinction between the normative homoeroticism of the Nazi regime and the queer feeling that runs against permitted state lines, politically charging queerness as an outsider category that questions and critiques the established order.

Bolstering this reading, Hermann’s queer feelings are intensified by Alfred’s nationality. In the deeply mythological blood hierarchy of the Nazi regime, a German soldier’s love for an Englishman transgresses racial, cultural and political bounds. This is frequently reinforced. The English are believed to be a ‘funny, informal, queer people altogether’ by Hermann, while in England Alfred has refined his rebellion of disbelief at Stonehenge, a ‘pre-Christian, pre-Roman, probably Druidic...queer place’.⁴¹⁴ Most keenly, however, the fallout of such

⁴¹¹ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 22, p. 31, p. 32.

⁴¹² Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 32. Recent cultural critique has explicitly linked softness to queer identity, as well as outlined the radical potential of softness in undermining violent patriarchal culture. See Andi Schwartz, ‘The Cultural Politics of Softness’, *GUTS*, 27 December 2018, Culture section <<http://gutsmagazine.ca/the-cultural-politics-of-softness/>> [accessed 18 January 2019]. Further to this, Ahmed has discussed how cultural softness and national strength are presented as antithetical to one another in Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, pp. 1-7. Bringing these critiques into dialogue with one another, it follows that (failing to reproduce) homosexual desire in *Swastika Night* generates a specific kind of queer softness that threatens the hardness of Hitler Society.

⁴¹³ Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, p. 91.

⁴¹⁴ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 17, p. 117.

prohibited queer desire is exhibited by Hermann's decision to leave Germany to be with Alfred. In order to do this, Hermann is forced to leave Germany in permanent exile, the most debased and degrading punishment for any Nazi 'to which death was at any rate theoretically preferred'.⁴¹⁵ For Hermann, to be attracted to Alfred is to orient himself towards England and away from the German empire, subverting the strictly enforced order. In desiring Alfred, Hermann pushes past the acceptable membrane of Nazi politics, his homosexuality undermining the compulsory homoerotic heterosexuality of the state.

Outlining the concept of homonationalism, Jasbir K. Puar provides a critical lens through which to comprehend this. In *Terrorist Assemblages* (2007), Puar describes how sexuality and nation function together through a process of homonationalism, contending:

National recognition and inclusion...is contingent upon the segregation and disqualification of racial and sexual others from the national imaginary...Further, this brand of homosexuality operates as a regulatory script not only of normative gayness, queerness, or homosexuality, but also of the racial and national norms that reinforce these sexual subjects.⁴¹⁶

In a society such as *Swastika Night*, homoeroticism operates as a regulatory script that draws a perimeter around normative forms of desire while reinforcing racial and national standards through sexual subjectivity. The statue of the mythic Hitler can be drawn on once again here. A deeply fetishized male body, the blonde, muscular Hitler works on racial—as much as sexual and gendered—lines, a lauded Aryan monolith that embodies the complex belief system of this futuristic Nazi culture. Homoeroticism is acceptable so far as it reinforces the hierarchy of identities present in the fundamental immutable laws of Hitler Society. Attraction towards the white, Germanic male generates a script that resists racial, cultural and sexual outsiders. At the same time, this script reinforces permitted relationship between

⁴¹⁵ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 102.

⁴¹⁶ Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 2.

men, opening a gap between homosocial behaviour and homosexual desire, the latter of which becomes a queer subjectivity.

Deepening our understanding of this relationship between sexuality, state and race is the minor character of Alfred's elder son Thomas, a figure routinely ignored in discussions of homosexuality in *Swastika Night*, but one I believe proves vital to our critical conception of the novel. Thomas is the only openly homosexual character to exist within the narrative.

Extending beyond the usual remit of homoerotic behaviour:

He never went to the Women's Quarters. His whole sexual and emotional life was lived among men. No stigma attached to it, and the German government had nothing to say against a whole-time homosexuality for Englishmen. If they had no children it was their own lookout. Alfred, who was as normal as it was possible for a man to be in such a society, had never blamed or envied Thomas for his way of living, but now when he came into the kitchen and found Fred alone, reading a book on engineering, he did suddenly wish he had grown up like Thomas. *He* wouldn't be in the sickening atmosphere of the Women's Quarters, worrying about his baby daughter and being sorely tempted to beat up Army Knights. He'd be off with the friend of the moment, free to go where they would, with the whole clean night-country before them.⁴¹⁷

Thomas provides a neat counterpoint to Hermann. Unlike the Nazi soldier, whose body and desire are bound to the Germanic state, the English Thomas is permitted greater freedom from the regulatory script of the nation. There is no imperative 'to have come round to a normal attitude', no fear that he will find himself 'in difficulties'. As Ahmed positions, 'sexual orientation involves bodies that leak into worlds; it involves a way of orientating the body towards and away from others, which affects how one can enter different kinds of social spaces'.⁴¹⁸ Thomas is permitted to reside freely in the social company of men. Hermann is not. This difference underscores that Burdekin's staging of homosexual characters is neither coherent nor cohesive. Whereas the closeted Hermann's queer feelings work against the nation as his desire orients him away from the state, Thomas' reproductive capabilities do not matter, being, as it is, that he does not possess German blood. This is not to say that

⁴¹⁷ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 166.

⁴¹⁸ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 145.

Thomas' queer subjectivity does not matter, however. Rather, this threat becomes embodied in an altogether different manner.

The national threat of queer subjectivity reaches its zenith towards the end of the text as Hermann and Alfred plot to overthrow the Nazi state. Bound together by Hermann's desire for Alfred, the couple seclude themselves in a disused bunker carved into the womb of the English landscape just below Stonehenge, which Alfred boldly lays claim to: 'It's mine now...Your people have always dinned it into me that that's *our* primitive savage monument, and you can't take it away from me now. I'm glad you've got nothing like it in Germany'.⁴¹⁹ It is here (in a dug-out below a culturally queer monument that resists the Nazi faith) that Hermann and Alfred begin mounting their rebellion against the Nazi regime. Importantly, it is Hermann's homosexual desire that allows for the discovery of the von Hess book in the first place, a discovery that opens a historical wound by disrupting the patriarchal myth of the Nazi regime and requiring Hermann and Alfred to grapple with an alternate history that rubs against the enforced belief system of Hitler Society. This wound does not merely open up a new vision of the past, however, but radically challenges the permitted future of Hitler Society. Although Alfred and Hermann die, the von Hess book is passed to a Christian compatriot and Alfred is survived by Thomas. In surviving, Thomas embodies an innate danger that looms large and threatens to dismantle the apparatus of Hitler society altogether. Contained inside Hermann is a queer subjectivity that orients him away from Germany, gashing at the fabric of the nation and opening a small tear in the mythology that has woven together homoeroticism, heterosexuality and blood hierarchy. Contained inside Thomas is the antithesis of the Nazi state altogether. Unlike Hermann, Thomas is not simply a traitor, but a rebel, born of different blood and refusing to reproduce, therefore undermining the teleological impetus of eugenic ideology. As an English homosexual, Thomas represents the

⁴¹⁹ Burdekin, *Swastika Night*, p. 118.

essential opposition to Germanic blood and the reproductive futurity of Hitler Society. Following Hermann, Thomas has the opportunity to not simply tear the fabric of the German state but incinerate it entirely.

The open-ended structure of the novel further attests to this. Unlike *Proud Man*, which offers a seemingly unavoidable vision of a supposedly perfect future, the ending of *Swastika Night* rails against such fatalism through refusing to offer a resolution. Whereas *Proud Man* offers queer subjectivity as a futuristic ideal, *Swastika Night* weaponizes queer feeling as a means of radically undermining Hitler Society's rampant and violent quest for reproduction. In this manner, Burdekin finds affinity with Lee Edelman's anti-futurist claim that 'the sacralization of the Child thus necessitates the sacrifice of the queer'.⁴²⁰ In *Swastika Night*, the queer directly opposes the sacralization of reproduction through undermining the fundamental immutable laws of Hitler Society. For Burdekin, politically charged queerness is able to pose an essential challenge to the eugenic impulse of modernity by opposing the enforced reproduction of the state, rather than simply acting as an organic form of sterilisation. Together, Thomas' refusal to reproduce and the von Hess book elucidate that queerness can act as an end point that operates to ensure there is no future for the Nazi state. In refusing to offer a neat conclusion to her novel, Burdekin radically challenges the ferocious teleology of eugenic thinking by opening a multiplicity of possible endpoints, thus disrupting the violent reproductive imperative of Hitler Society. Through a process of negation and refusal, Burdekin creates an all-encompassing present as a means of rallying against the heretofore inescapable future of the Nazi regime.

In concluding this chapter, it feels appropriate to finish with a word from the secretive Burdekin, a word that casts an immense light on not simply her fiction, but her social standing:

⁴²⁰ Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004) p. 28.

'Destroy'. This word is scrawled across one of the few letters from Burdekin that survives, written to H.D. and contained inside the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. Unlike Woolf and her diaries, Eliot and his letters, unlike H.D. and her notebooks, Pound and his magazine editing, unlike so many other modernists obsessed with cataloguing their everyday experiences through writing, Burdekin has left scholars little textual evidence outside of her novels. And this same destruction rests at the heart of Burdekin's texts, creating a sense of an ending that threatens to dismantle everything in order to find new pathways amongst the rubble. Indeed, the word utopia itself stems from the Greek οὐ (not) and τόπος (place). No place. Utopia has an inherent link to nothingness. A uncuttable tether to destruction.

Engaging with the sexological discourse of the time, Burdekin first wields her destructive nature in order to do away with the (sub)human race by imagining a future set apart from our own. In *Proud Man*, Burdekin flirts with eugenic ideology, adapting the thinking of Havelock Ellis. The Genuine Person and their society present a racially monolithic vision of utopia that slyly evades the process of eugenic engineering by presenting a supposedly finessed society that has supplanted sexual dimorphism with a fantastical vision of the hermaphrodite anatomy. Combining the heterosexual impulse of reproduction with the perceived sterility of the invert through the hermaphrodite body, the futurist nation of *Proud Man* has rid itself of congenital anxieties by eschewing the possibility of miscegenation, disability and homosexuality. This sexual oneness has led to a landscape without war, without empire and without nation, Burdekin aligning queer subjectivity with geography to generate a deeply eugenic sense of utopia.

Navigating the turning tides of eugenic ideology throughout the 1930s, Burdekin once again wields destruction as a means of challenging the sexological discourse that she once bartered in so freely. Set in contrast to *Proud Man*, *Swastika Night* elucidates a change in Burdekin's sympathies. No longer presenting a racially monolithic society, the novel subdivides

whiteness through nationalist blood hierarchies and sexual difference, generating a dystopian antithesis to its predecessor. Within Hitler Society, heterosexuality has become a form of extremism that is weaponised as a means of upholding the state. Here, queer subjectivity radically challenges heterosexual desire through undercutting the mandatory reproductivity that the state relies on. Through Hermann and Thomas, Burdekin utilises queerness in order to undermine the rampant heterosexual futurity of the Nazi state. In this way, the eugenic impulse of Burdekin's earlier writing is ultimately lost amongst the debris that crushes Hermann and Alfred in their bunker. Unlike *Proud Man*, Burdekin refrains from offering a teleological endpoint and thus disrupts the perfectionist undertone of her previous eugenic thinking.

When read through a eugenic lens, *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night* illuminate how the construction of the queer subject is intimately laced together with geography through the perceived health of the nation. For sexologists such as Ellis, the nation is essentially a collective body, strengthened by its ability to reproduce. In turn, race becomes pinned to desire, generating anxieties around miscegenation, queer sexuality, reproductive health and futurity. The question of utopia in Burdekin's literature is therefore shot through with the uneasy relationship between sexuality and space, a relationship that must end with destruction if it is to evade the discourse of racial hygiene. For Burdekin, a queer utopia indebted to sexological discourse is not simply 'not yet here', it can never occur.⁴²¹ Amidst the political landscape of the late 1930s, the 'modernising' impulse of eugenic thinking becomes associated with the erasure of the inverted subject. In all, with queer subjectivity inextricably tied to eugenic ideology, the utopian impulse of modernism becomes a suicidal venture for queer subjects. Those not initially included within whiteness are automatically cast as abject, while the harnessing of eugenicist thinking by the rising swell of far-right

⁴²¹ Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, p. 1.

politics eventually turns on queerness entirely. The dream is lost: queerness, modernity and geography must find new modes of interaction. Recognising this, the thesis now moves to its final chapter as a means of thinking through the end of queer modernist geography, examining the modernist influence that shaped the geographies of Christopher Isherwood and his early writing, but that could not reckon with the outbreak of the Second World War.

Kept at Bay: Christopher Isherwood and the Island.

When winter returned and Otto revealed himself bit by bit as he pulled off layers of thick clothes, his nakedness aroused both of them even more. His body became a tropical island on which they were snugly marooned in the midst of snowbound Berlin.

— Christopher Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind* (1978).⁴²²

When you invent the ship, you also invent the shipwreck.

— Paul Virilio, *Politics of the Very Worst* (1999).⁴²³

Dreaming of islands—whether with joy or in fear, it doesn't matter—is dreaming of pulling away.

— Gilles Deleuze, *Desert Islands and Other Texts, 1953-1974* (2002).⁴²⁴

There is a foreign sexuality to Christopher Isherwood. From his first novel *All the Conspirators* to the late memoir *Christopher and his Kind*, travel palpates with desire. At the opening of his debut, Isherwood writes:

A cormorant, startling them with its queer cry, broke flapping from unseen rocks below and vanished into the empty gulf of light westward, like an absurd impulse of desperation, towards America.⁴²⁵

Reflecting on the cormorant in a later foreword, Isherwood recognises the sibylline nature of this image, claiming 'it amuses me to regard the above sentence—the last of the first chapter of this novel—as an unconscious prophecy'.⁴²⁶ A prophecy of what was to come: the boys of Berlin, the allure of Los Angeles, the fateful meeting with his long term partner Don Bachardy on a beach in Santa Monica. For Isherwood, desire and sexuality, the caress of the sensuous and the thrill of the erotic, are located abroad. Coyly expanding the origin of this 'love-myth' much later in 1976, Isherwood notes that it was a German boy, Bubi, who 'was the first presentable candidate' for a partner, as 'By embracing Bubi, Christopher could hold in his arms the whole mystery-magic of foreignness, Germanness. By means of Bubi he could fall in love with and possess the entire nation'.⁴²⁷ In a recognisably common attempt to shock the audience with his salacious tongue, Isherwood relates Bubi to 'The Blond', an archetypal

⁴²² Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 40.

⁴²³ Paul Virilio, *Politics of the Very Worst* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 1999), p. 89.

⁴²⁴ Gilles Deleuze, *Desert Islands and Other Texts, 1953-1974* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2004), p. 10.

⁴²⁵ Christopher Isherwood, *All the Conspirators* (London: Vintage, 2012), pp. 15-16.

⁴²⁶ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. xv.

⁴²⁷ Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 11.

figure residing at the heart of his love-myth, an 'invader who comes from another land to conquer and rape him...The Wanderer, The Lost Boy, homeless, penniless, dreamily passive yet tough, careless of danger, indifferent to hardship, roaming the earth'.⁴²⁸

There is a troubling sensuality to the 'mystery-magic of foreignness', a phrase coated in fetish and marbled with exoticism. Embedded within foreignness are inherent borders, sites of desire and trauma that solicit those with enough capital to cross them, while barring others from the safety of family and the intimacy of a loved one. As Bernard Bergonzi neatly outlines in his survey of Thirties literature:

The frontier is an insistent element, whether as literal description or emblem or symbol...Whatever the appeal of the frontier as a flexible symbol, the significance of which could be variously, psychological, social and political, one needs to remember that it derived its basic force from the historical conditions of the twenties and thirties.⁴²⁹

For Isherwood, the frontier is a markedly queer emblem that allows him to revel in desire for the abroad with intensely unabashed particularity. Recalling an interaction with the police, who 'told him that he was the only Englishman living in that area. Christopher's vanity was tickled. He liked to imagine himself as one of those mysterious wanderers who penetrate the depths of a foreign land'.⁴³⁰ The frontier becomes inescapably associated with sexual desire for the unknown, scholars meticulously tracking the routing of this desire for foreignness throughout Isherwood's body of work.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 11.

⁴²⁹ Bernard Bergonzi, *Reading the Thirties: Texts and Contexts* (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 66.

⁴³⁰ Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 47.

⁴³¹ For the erotic overtones of Isherwood's Berlin see Norman Page, *Auden and Isherwood: The Berlin Years* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000). For the decadent representation of Weimar, see Linda Mizejewski, *Divine Decadence: Fascism, Female Spectacle, and the Makings of Sally Bowles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). For the sexual subtext of Isherwood's engagement with Hinduism see Antony Copley, *A Spiritual Bloomsbury: Hinduism and Homosexuality in the Lives and Writings of Edward Carpenter, E. M. Forster, and Christopher Isherwood* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2006). For the campy excesses of Isherwood's war correspondence in China see Hugh Haughton, 'Journeys to War: WH Auden, Christopher Isherwood and William Empson in China', in *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s*, ed. by Douglas Kerr and Julia Kuehn (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), pp. 147-162. For the deep sensuality of Isherwood's writing about the USA, see Carola M. Kaplan, 'Working through Grief in the Drafts of A

As Valentine Cunningham summarises, for the writers of the Thirties travelling abroad bound together the erotic and the artistic:

Germany was now the place to be: for artistic progressivism, but also because there sunshine and cocaine and sex, especially homosex, were up until Hitler's intervention in 1933 so freely available...The British homosexuals excitedly went there "to live". In doing so, of course, many of them were taking the first step towards confirming themselves as members of the period's large band of perpetually unsettled drifters.⁴³²

Drifter. A useful description of the young Isherwood—fleet-footed as he was, zig-zagging across Europe throughout the 1930s with London and Berlin as his touchstones—Cunningham's choice further elucidates the problem of categorising the writer and his fictional counterparts, each of whom shirk the traditional labels applied to early twentieth-century migrants: exile, émigré, travel writer. The sheer zeal with which Isherwood abandoned England runs against attempts to brand him an exile, while the Thirties writers that Isherwood associated with rallied against the louche stuffiness conjured by the term émigré. To brand Isherwood a travel writer would be to unjustly gloss over the sheer span of his writing, which reaches far beyond the remit of the travelogue. So Isherwood drifts: between places, between genres, between identities.

Returning to Cunningham, this chapter reframes the term drifter to focus on a location overlooked by Isherwood scholarship: the island.⁴³³ Put simply, I ask what the island has to

Single Man', in *The American Isherwood*, ed. by James J. Berg and Chris Freeman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), pp. 37-48.

⁴³² Valentine Cunningham, *British Writers of the Thirties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 347.

⁴³³ Though Great Britain is an island, throughout this chapter I employ the term 'island' to refer to smaller offshore isles that surround the mainland. In choosing such a formulation, I emphasise that the geographical location of these offshore islands allows Isherwood to imagine them as somehow different from the mainland. This use of 'island' resonates with the critique put forward in Gillian Beer, 'The Island and the Aeroplane: The Case of Virginia Woolf', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge 1990), pp. 265-290 and Gillian Beer, 'Discourses of the Island', in *Literature and Science as Modes of Expression*, ed. by Frederick Amrine (Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), pp. 1-27. As I separate the body of Great Britain from the islands that surround it, Beer draws a similar distinction between the British mainland and the offshore island featured in *To The Lighthouse* (1927). For Beer, the use of the island in *To The Lighthouse* afforded Woolf the opportunity to create a space separate from England, a figuration that reflects Isherwood's engagement with islands.

offer by imagining Isherwood cut adrift. As a space the island is both a recurrent image in Isherwood's early writing and a location that the writer frequently inhabited. In turn, the island becomes both a material and metaphoric space, with Isherwood's own time on islands informing his writing just as islands in his writing represent a much larger analysis of the political (and, in particular, sexual) climate of the day. Throughout his twenties, Isherwood spent time on many islands that would come to feature in his work: the Isles of Scilly, an archipelago off the southwestern tip of Cornwall; the Isle of Wight, situated in the English Channel and favoured by tourists in the early twentieth century; Rügen, a German island located in the Baltic Sea off the Pomeranian coast; and Agios Nikolaos, a small Greek island off the coast of Euboea.⁴³⁴ Indeed, Isherwood's first novel opens on an island, the queer cormorant flying over an imagined counterpart of the Isles of Scilly where Isherwood found the creative impetus to write *All the Conspirators* during a visit to St Mary's (the largest of the archipelago) with Edward Upward in 1926. Inspired by reading *Howards End*, Isherwood began a draft of *Seascape with Figures*, the novel that would eventually be redrafted into his debut, published by Jonathan Cape in 1928. And here we find Isherwood drifting once again: caught between a modernist legacy and the attempt to carve out a new style.

This chapter starts by exploring the island in *All the Conspirators*, an abortive *Künstlerroman* that descends as it follows artist Philip Lindsay. Initially brimming with youthful passion, Philip is slowly rendered unable to follow his craft because of his mother. Opening on an island, the novel upends the traditional narrative arc of the *Künstlerroman* by tracing Philip's return home to, rather than his escape from, the trappings of middle-class society. Reading this early work, I argue that the island is at once a literary and queer symbol for Isherwood, who codes homosexuality through the artistic eccentricities of Philip and the protagonist's wishes to become a writer and painter. Extending scholarly discussion that has placed

⁴³⁴ Indeed, there is proof that Isherwood spent at least part of the year on an island from 1925-1929 and 1931. [Redacted].

Isherwood in dialogue with modernist style, I position the island as a space through which the writer can explore both his engagement with modernism and the limits of sexuality within his narrative.⁴³⁵ In doing so, I maintain that Isherwood presents the island as a space of desire that captures his yearning to become a novelist as much as it represents his longing to escape the stifling confines of heterosexual society. Long before the charm of Berlin sought him out with its magnetic pull, the island offered Isherwood the chance to abscond from home, allowing the author a modicum of freedom and prefiguring the sexual overtones of his later writing.

Recognising the queer and modernist resonances of the island, this chapter moves to explore its appearance in *Mr Norris Changes Trains* and *Goodbye to Berlin*. Charted against the rising threat of Nazi politics, I contend that the island offers an ever more fraught, yet ever more necessary, escape. In *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, Isherwood sharpens his figuration of the island as a literary space through the reading practices enjoyed by the campy Baron Kuno von Pregnitz. ‘Fishy and suave’, von Pregnitz is the anxiously lascivious accomplice of Arthur Norris, regularly accosting protagonist William Bradshaw and throwing parties for young men at his country villa.⁴³⁶ Yet this lifestyle cannot be sustained. Undertaking a government post, von Pregnitz is left in a precarious position—teetering on the edge of the early 1930s, the Nazi rise to power, the burning of the Reichstag and the purging of political opponents during the Night of the Long Knives. Fearful that he is being spied on, von Pregnitz cuts himself off from the men he so adores and turns instead to the comfort of children’s books. Longing to flee to the islands that he reads about in his beloved adventure tales as a means of establishing a homosexual paradise, von Pregnitz echoes Philip’s desires in *All the*

⁴³⁵ Broader discussion of Isherwood’s engagement with modernist style is contained throughout Thomas S. Davis, ‘Late Modernism: British Literature at Midcentury’, *Literature Compass*, 9.4 (2012), 326–337 and Ashley Mayer, “Swastika arms of passage leading to nothing”: Late Modernism and the “New” Britain’, *ELH*, 80.1 (2013), 251–285.

⁴³⁶ Christopher Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1956), p. 38.

Conspirators. Drilling down into the source of von Pregnitz' desire, I posit that Isherwood presents the island as a haven from the outside world. Utilising a Deleuzian prism, I contend that Isherwood is interested in the queer possibilities of a specific kind of isle: the desert island. In *Desert Islands: and Other Texts*, Deleuze frames the desert island as space in which one is free from the norms, rules and etiquette of regular society: 'Dreaming of islands—whether with joy or in fear, it doesn't matter—is dreaming of pulling away'. Reading the island through this Deleuzian lens, I maintain that the island acts as a speculative space that holds an important position in the imaginary of Isherwood and his characters. Dreaming of the island, von Pregnitz longs for a refuge from the political landscape that threatens to overwhelm him.

In *Goodbye to Berlin*, the sense of encroaching political threat is further materialised as the fictional Christopher escapes the city for a holiday on Ruegen Island. Here Christopher spends his days with Peter and Otto, a homosexual couple locked into a tempestuous relationship that ultimately cannot sustain itself.⁴³⁷ As Peter and Otto feed off of their own rage, the island slowly becomes draped in Nazi flags and populated with characters who attempt to engage Christopher in eugenic debate. Once a dreamlike space that offers a haven for homosexual desire, the island becomes transformed, no longer a homosexual paradise, but a space like any other—breached by the same political unease and threatening heteronormativity as the mainland. Drawing a thread through from *All the Conspirators*, I argue that the breaching of the island is presented as concomitant with the collapse of queer modernity. For Isherwood, the violation of the island's shores figures the need for new spaces of desire as much as new methods of literary style. Building upon my theoretical

⁴³⁷ In order to draw a dividing line between the writer and his fictional counterpart, I use Isherwood to refer to the author and Christopher to refer to the protagonist of *Goodbye to Berlin*. Similarly, I use Rügen to refer to the physical space of Rügen Island and Ruegen (the spelling Isherwood employs) to refer to its appearance in the novel.

engagement with Deleuze, I turn to the work of Paul Virilio and the notion of the 'integral accident' in order to maintain that, for Isherwood and his characters, it is essential that the island remains uninhabited. In *Politics of the Very Worst*, Virilio contends that 'to invent the sailing ship or the steamer is to invent the shipwreck'.⁴³⁸ Adapting this, I maintain that to imagine the shipwreck is to invite the ship. In *Goodbye to Berlin*, Isherwood briefly escapes the rising swell of politics by holidaying on Ruegen Island. Yet once the island comes under the threat of habitation, it collapses in on itself. Thus, the island becomes an unsustainable model: to remain a haven, the island must remain deserted, save for those who fantasise about escaping. Paradise can only continue to exist in the imagination so long as it is unspoilt by those who would breach the island's shores. Initially figured as an imaginative space replete with possibility, the island becomes slowly transformed into an untenable material reality.

In all, this final chapter offers a capstone to the wider thesis by tracing the end of the interrelation between sexuality, geography and modernity. The Isles of Isherwood, that queer and modernist archipelago, cannot survive the ravages of fascism, the rise of Nazism and the sweeping changes brought about by the outbreak of the Second World War. Beginning where *Maurice* leaves off, *All the Conspirators* moves past the Forsterian rejection of home to offer the island as a material location that can sustain homosexual desire. Seen through the Freudian lens brought to bear on 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare', the island blisters and cracks, weeping a deeply encoded erotic tension. Yet, faced with the political challenges and eugenic politics that plague *Swastika Night*, the island is ultimately unable to offer a haven that brings sexuality, geography and modernity into harmonious dialogue. For Isherwood, homosexual desire can only safely retreat so long as far-right politics are kept at bay.

⁴³⁸ Virilio, *Politics of the Very Worst*, p. 89.

Cut Adrift: The Island, Modernism and *All the Conspirators*.

In 1926, Isherwood spent the Easter break with friend, novelist and short story writer Edward Upward at Hugh Town on the South West coast of St Mary's. In *Lions and Shadows* (1949), Isherwood recalls this time:

As we had arranged, we took the steamer to the Scilly Isles and stayed there a week. At Hugh Town there was a good hotel, with excellent beer and a waiter with discreet Mortmere tones, who murmured: "Plenty of young ladies on this island, sir." In the visitors' book were the names of people who had stayed in the hotel after their ships had been wrecked on the surrounding rocks. Looking out of my bedroom window, one morning, across the harbour to the peaks of Tresco and Bryher, I knew, with exquisite relief, that I needn't go on trying to write *The Summer at the House*. It was sham all through. Walking down deep grassy lanes between wallflower fields, sheltered from the Atlantic breeze, we began, at once, to plan my new book. It was to open, of course, on Scilly. Two young men, one of them a would-be painter and writer, the other a medical student, are staying at the Hugh Town hotel. The painter has defied his family and run away from an office job in the city: the medical student has egged him on to do this.⁴³⁹

There is an inherent excitement to the island, a wild and ravaged landscape beaten by the wind yet offering sanctuary to those driven ashore by their wrecked ships. This excitement is exacerbated by the tones of the waiter, whispers that carry with them echoes of the grim fantasy town Mortmere that Isherwood and friends cooked up in their school days.⁴⁴⁰ The first text mentioned here, *The Summer at the House*, is an unpublished draft that Isherwood brought to St Mary's for Upward to examine, however their plans were upset by Upward's discovery of Forster, whose literary method would inspire Isherwood to scrap *The Summer at the House* in favour for an entirely new manuscript.⁴⁴¹

This second manuscript would initially be composed under the title *Seascape with Figures*, a draft that received an uncannily similar treatment to *The Summer at the House*. As with his

⁴³⁹ Christopher Isherwood, *Lions and Shadows* (London: Vintage, 2013), pp. 129-130.

⁴⁴⁰ Exacerbating this connection, writing to Isherwood from the Isle of Wight in 1925, Upward sent [Redacted]. See THL, Christopher Isherwood Papers, Letter from Edward Upward to Christopher Isherwood [No Day or Month] 1925, Box 74, Folder CI2326.

⁴⁴¹ *The Summer at the House* was inspired by Isherwood's time with Olive Mangeot and her family. See Parker, *Isherwood: A Life*, pp. 126-130 for more detail about the manuscript.

first attempt at penning a novel, Isherwood brought the manuscript of *Seascape with Figures* with him to an island in the hopes of having it pored over by a friend. This time, holed up at Freshwater Bay, the island was the Isle of Wight and the friend was poet W. H. Auden.⁴⁴² Unlike *The Summer at the House*, however, Isherwood would complete *Seascape with Figures* and send his manuscript out for review. It was rejected by two publishers.⁴⁴³ Seeking inspiration, Isherwood returned to the Isle of Wight a year later to redraft the novel during the summer of 1927. Included within this redraft was a change of title, *Seascape with Figures* becoming *All the Conspirators* and published by Jonathan Cape in 1928, the same year that Stephen Spender would privately publish thirty copies of Auden's *Poems* (1928), as well as his own *Nine Experiments* (1928). In this way, the island holds significant purchase over the young Isherwood, acting as a literary retreat that inspired, provoked and challenged the author. Deep within the belly of the Isles of Scilly and the Isle of Wight, Isherwood sought out the advice of friends and fellow writers, drafted two manuscripts, and laboured over the text that would eventually become his first published novel.

Discussing the scrapping of *The Summer at the House* in *Lions and Shadows*, Isherwood notes the particular influence of Forster and his 'tea-table' technique: 'instead of trying to screw all his scenes up to the highest possible pitch, he tones them down until they sound like mothers'-meeting gossip'.⁴⁴⁴ Expanding on this in the foreword to *All the Conspirators*, Isherwood catalogues a series of writers who provide a kind of literary Baedeker—a guide

⁴⁴² The time that Isherwood spent holidaying with friends would further come to make an impression on their literature. Upward's autobiographical *The Spiral Ascent: A Trilogy* (1977) opens on the Isle of Wight (where the writer would eventually settle), drawing on material that Isherwood included in short story 'An Evening at the Bay' and chapter six of *Lions and Shadows*. [Redacted]. See THL, Christopher Isherwood Papers, Letter from Edward Upward to Christopher Isherwood 26 June 1929, Box 74, Folder CI2350. Similarly, Auden's 1926 poem 'To A Writer On His Birthday' opens with a scene of steamers docking at an island in August. Isherwood's birthday was 26 August 1904.

⁴⁴³ See Parker, *Isherwood: A Life*, p. 139.

⁴⁴⁴ Isherwood, *Lions and Shadows*, pp. 129.

that the author followed while drafting the novel. Jovially reflecting on the awkwardness of his debut, Isherwood comments on his youthful attempts to parrot his literary influences:

Perhaps you will be able to enjoy this book simply as a period piece—smiling at its naive attempts at a James Joyce thought-stream, its aping of the mannerisms of Stephen Dedalus, its quaint echoes of Virginia Woolf, its jerky flashback narration crudely imitated from E. M. Forster.⁴⁴⁵

Reading this list, it is evident that *All the Conspirators* owes a significant debt to modernist style. Though foundational scholarship of the long-1930s literary milieu often sought to position the period as a discrete aesthetic category that presented a radical break from its modernist predecessor, since the turn of the millennium critical debate has strived to reappraise the relationship that the likes of Isherwood had with modernism.⁴⁴⁶ Epitomising this is Jessica Berman's call to 'challenge the distinction usually drawn between politically engaged writing and self-consciously aesthetic or experimental modernism...and to emphasize situated political commitment as a narrative concern central to the many varieties of transnational modernism'.⁴⁴⁷ Framing himself as a mimic of such an exacting roster of writers, Isherwood further dissolves the margins between modernist experimentation and his own style by offering *All the Conspirators* as a metonymic text that gestures towards the likes of Woolf, Joyce and Forster.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, pp. xi-xii.

⁴⁴⁶ The Thirties is concretised as a distinct literary generation across Cunningham, *British Writers of the Thirties*, Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) and Richard Johnstone *The Will to Believe: Novelists of the Nineteen-Thirties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). Dissolving such a critical binary, scholarship is increasingly recognising the cross-pollination of modernist style with a later Thirties aesthetic. See Benjamin Kohlmann, *Committed Styles: Modernism, Politics, and Left-Wing Literature in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 10-13 and Thomas S. Davis, *The Extinct Scene: Late Modernism and Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), pp. 68-104.

⁴⁴⁷ Jessica Berman, *Modernist Commitments*, p. 9.

⁴⁴⁸ [Redacted]. See THL, Christopher Isherwood Papers, Letter from Edward Upward to Christopher Isherwood pre-1925 [No Date], Box 74, Folder CI2307. THL, Christopher Isherwood Papers, Letter from Edward Upward to Christopher Isherwood pre-1925 [No Date], Box 74, Folder CI2341. [Redacted]. See THL, Christopher Isherwood Papers, Letter from Upward to Isherwood pre-1925 [No Date], Box 74, Folder CI2309.

Following the likes of Berman, Jamie M. Carr has traced the erotic contours of modernism's legacy. Examining Isherwood's relationship to modernity, Carr argues:

Given modernism's historical emergence alongside increasingly public representations of "the homosexual", we might attend to how Isherwood reads and responds to modernist styles and conflicts concerning the politics of sexual difference (including gender) in relation to literary history.⁴⁴⁹

Indeed, it is curious that Isherwood should be so keenly influenced by the writing of Forster at such a young age. Akin to the furtive inventory of homosexual forefathers that Forster kept hidden away amongst the pages of his notebook, Isherwood would later come to regard Forster as a master and eventually developed a lasting friendship with the author. Yet years before they would first meet, at just twenty-one Isherwood's remarkably perceptive antennae homed in on Forster as an essential literary influence. Moreover, though Isherwood would not receive the completed manuscript of *Maurice* for more than four decades after he discovered Forster's tea-table style, *All the Conspirators* riffs on many of the same themes as Forster's gay novel. As *Maurice* closes with the recognition that the house will never offer a suitable shelter for its homosexual protagonists, *All the Conspirators* begins with Philip having escaped home, fearful of returning to face his mother. In this way, both Forster and Isherwood situate their characters in dialogue with the domestic sphere, recognising the house as an unsuitable space that is unable to sustain their homosexual characters.

Intriguingly, Forster turned to Isherwood for help as he began to revise *Maurice* in 1933. At this point, a letter from Isherwood suggests that the younger writer believed Forster should close *Maurice* with a scene of domestic bliss.⁴⁵⁰ The construction of *All the Conspirators* sits in stark contrast to this advice, Isherwood having not yet reached the stage in his career

⁴⁴⁹ Jamie M. Carr, *Queer Times: Christopher Isherwood's Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 76.

⁴⁵⁰ Letter from Forster to Isherwood, 27 April 1933 in *Letters between Forster and Isherwood on Homosexuality and Literature*, pp. 20-21.

where he could suggest domestic bliss as a reasonable ending for a homosexual couple. And though in later novels Isherwood would carve out a space in which his characters could cohabit, these texts were conceived in a distinctly different political moment that followed the birth of the gay rights movement in England and America. In 1925 Isherwood was still young, still self-consciously modelling his novel after his modernist influences and still reading Forster, rather than in dialogue with him. Accordingly, in *All the Conspirators* we find Isherwood mirroring Forster and refusing the house. Baked into this refusal is the historical yoking of modernism and homosexuality. Writing his first novel, Isherwood was firmly enmeshed in the complex legacy of modernism—a legacy that extends far beyond mere stylistic innovation and experimentation to influence representations of identity, desire and character. To parrot modernist style is to engage with earlier portrayals of the homosexual, Isherwood's early writing presenting sexuality, geography and modernity as keenly bound up with one another by initially refusing the same domestic sphere that he would later suggest to Forster. As modernism holds a grip over the style of Isherwood's first novel, so too does it shape the internal geography of the text.

In the opening of *All the Conspirators*, Isherwood stages the dual literary and sexual legacy of modernism with stunning clarity as he presents Philip observing the horizon of the Isles of Scilly. This act of looking evokes the original title *Seascape with Figures*:

One sees there the winged horse and the gorgon, molars or fists of giants, a temple's architrave, heads of nubians and pythons thrust from beneath immense burdens of stone; thigh, torso, buttocks, limbs, phallic symbols of male and female.⁴⁵¹

Here we find many of the modernist techniques Isherwood mentions in his foreword littered within a loaded description of the panorama. Principally Joyce hovers over this landscape: the 'molars or fists of giants' recollect the heavily embodied landscape of *Ulysses* (1922), the

⁴⁵¹ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 10.

snotgreen sea and the corpses scented with wax and rosewood. Indeed, the line could follow from another, found in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916): 'Now, at the name of the fabulous artificer, he seemed to hear the noise of dim waves and to see a winged form flying above the waves and slowly climbing the air'.⁴⁵² At the same time, the nubians and pythons echo the orientalist symbols of Pound's *The Cantos* (1925), while the sentence structure, with its ongoing, catalogue-like cadence mimics much of Woolf's prose; clauses, wavering conjunctions, language that bristles and moves, a semicolon followed by a stacked list.

Akin to these modernist leanings, the 'thigh, torso, buttocks, limbs, phallic symbols of male and female' dispersed throughout the landscape render the island a deeply erotic space. Indeed, Isherwood's portrayal of the island almost begs for a Freudian reading. Not content with simply depicting the landscape as a priapic panorama, Isherwood loads the seascape with phallic 'symbols'. There is a distinct lack of coding and subtlety here. The use of 'symbols' presents Isherwood as a reader of modernism, as a mimic embedding textual signifiers throughout his own writing, and as a critical eye able to paint the landscape in precise references that coat his language in a self-conscious lacquer. One might go so far as to call Isherwood's handling of the subject matter heavy-handed. Furthering this, Isherwood attributes such phallic symbols not simply to the male body, but the female form. In doing so, Isherwood calls attention to the appropriation or reconstruction of the phallus along feminine lines. These female phalli echo the psychoanalytic debates of Helene Deutsch and Melanie Klein, who sought to rehabilitate the gender anxieties of penis envy, fear of castration and the Oedipus complex through cogent interrogation of Freudian theory.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 183.

⁴⁵³ See Brenda S. Webster, 'Helene Deutsch: A New Look', *Signs*, 10.3 (1985), 553-571 and Janet Sayers, 'Melanie Klein, Psychoanalysis, and Feminism', *Feminist Review*, 25.1 (1987), 23-37 for more.

Engaging with psychoanalytic discourse, Isherwood deliberately sexualises his landscape by presenting the island as a sensual space.

Extending the Freudian overtones of the island, Isherwood peppers *All the Conspirators* with references to psychoanalytic and sexological discourse. Early in the text, Philip's sympathetically foul-mouthed best friend Allen Chalmers (a literary portrait of Isherwood's close friend Upward) asks if a 'desire to photograph puffins during the love act could be classified as any form of sexual mania'.⁴⁵⁴ Later, a member of a rugby team finds a copy of *Sex and Character* (1903) by philosopher Otto Weininger and uses it to deduce that a member of their college is 'a queer chap', laden with 'observable tendencies to Narcissism and Claustrophobia...exhibitionistic [tendencies]' and 'undeniable traces of Compulsionism'.⁴⁵⁵ Most striking of all, however, is an aside offered by Philip, who goes as far as to comment on the emotional constitution of his generation: 'When I am asked what the War has done us, I say this: That it has brought about a cleaner, saner relationship between the sexes'.⁴⁵⁶ Situating his peers' desire as a product of the First World War, Philip plays analyst to his contemporaries, an armchair psychologist offering critique in broad brush strokes. Couched within the wider novel, the tone of this aside feels forced. Rather than seamlessly interwoven, such conjecture appears to be included out of necessity, a hallmark of the modernist literary tradition that the novel sits in conversation with, though one that fails to fit neatly into Isherwood's developing style.

Read in relation to these pathologizing discourses, the erotic landscape of the island is curious. Unlike Chalmers' witty aside and the language that the rugby team use to brand

⁴⁵⁴ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 5. Upward used the Chalmers pseudonym himself when publishing the short story *The Railway Accident* (1928) and his fictional doppelgänger appears throughout not only Isherwood's fiction, but the memoirs of Spender and John Lehmann.

⁴⁵⁵ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 89. Interestingly, Joyce also drew on *Sex and Character* when writing *Ulysses*, especially in his consideration of the gendered Jewish form. See James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. lx.

⁴⁵⁶ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 144.

each other, the island is the only space in the novel that is permitted to be sexual without being framed within explicitly diagnostic terminology. Though the island may evoke a Freudian reading, Philip does not attempt to pinpoint the root cause or the symptoms of its erotic horizon. In this regard, it is on the island—and the island alone—that Philip experiences an erotic thrill. Indeed, Philip’s sexuality is elsewhere couched in a sickly vernacular that mirrors the rugby team’s reading of *Sex and Character*. At work Philip is repulsed by his female colleagues:

The typists began to appear in their summer dresses, wearing bangles on their bare arms with a handkerchief stuffed inside. This trick of carrying the handkerchief offended Philip. He disliked the way the bangle was embedded in the red pimpled flesh. He disliked the aroma of the girls’ increased sexual vitality, their whispered holiday schemes, giggled anecdotes and the snapshots which they passed round for their friend’s inspection. Philip was in a queasy mood.⁴⁵⁷

With Philip set against the sexual vitality of his colleagues, homosexual desire becomes coded through misogyny, abjection and lack. As discussed in Chapter Three, in her theorisation of male bonding, Sedgwick disrupts the notion of an unbroken continuum between homosocial bonding and homosexual desire. Developing this argument, Michael Flood asserts that ‘Male-male relations organize and give meaning to the social and sexual involvements of young heterosexual men...sex with women is a direct medium of male bonding’.⁴⁵⁸ Thus, in being repulsed by his female colleagues, Philip undermines the implicit social premise of homosocial bonding. To reject the sexual vitality of women is to invite homosexual panic. The text asks us to consider: How might Philip be placed in relation to other men, if he does not desire women? In hating women, Philip derails the very machinery of heterosexuality and opens a lacuna—an absent space to be filled by another, dissident form of desire.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 96

⁴⁵⁸ Michael Flood, ‘Men, Sex, and Homosociality: How Bonds Between Men Shape their Sexual Relations with Women’, *Men and Masculinities*, 10.3 (2008), 339-359 (p. 355).

⁴⁵⁹ Aside from the thighs, buttocks and phalli of the island panorama, there remains one, brief, moment in *All the Conspirators* that presents the body as a possible object of desire. As Philip’s sister

This lacuna is embedded within the changes that Isherwood made when redrafting *Seascape with Figures* into *All the Conspirators*. Here, it is particularly fruitful to home in on what is parcelled out of the original manuscript. In *Lions and Shadows*, Isherwood notes two more lodgers at the hotel that Philip and Alan are visiting:

Also staying at the hotel is a Cambridge Poshocrat-athlete, whom the medical student loathes. And there is a girl of fourteen, in whom both the student and the Poshocrat are romantically interested.⁴⁶⁰

We can search for this girl of fourteen throughout *All the Conspirators*, overturning tables and opening dumbwaiters as we do so, but she is nowhere to be found.⁴⁶¹ Indeed, much like with his female colleagues, Philip believes the women at the hotel to be a nuisance: “Do you know,” said Philip, coldly, “that there were several ladies in the lounge while you were kicking up all that fuss?”⁴⁶² By comparison, the Poshocrat-athlete is rather easier to locate, embodied by Victor Page, a man Philip knows from school and who will later become the partner of his sister Joan. Redrafting *Seascape with Figures*, Isherwood cuts out Philip’s heterosexual desire, an absence that exacerbates Philip’s disgust with his colleagues. In this fashion, it is not simply the women that Philip works with that he dislikes—it is all women.

Joan and her partner Victor go punting, she briefly admires his physique. In this way – through Victor: erect, dominant, controlling the movement of his pole above Joan, shirt opened to allow tantalising glimpses of his flesh – the male body briefly becomes eroticised, further widening the gap between desire and women throughout the novel. Considering the position of Philip’s mother in the text, we may take this analysis a step further. Whereas stifling domesticity is pinned to the female form through Mrs Lindsay, the lithe, mobile, motorcar-driving, punt-wielding Victor offers a converse symbol that presents desire as necessarily in transit and prefigures the ‘mystery-magic of foreignness’ that Isherwood would come to adore. See Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 115.

⁴⁶⁰ Isherwood, *Lions and Shadows*, pp. 130.

⁴⁶¹ Included in *Exhumations* (1966) is ‘An Evening at the Bay’, a short story that recounts Isherwood’s time on the Isle of Wight with Upward. See Christopher Isherwood, ‘An Evening at the Bay’, in *Exhumations* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 200-21. The story includes the first appearance of Allen Chalmers, as well Isherwood’s friend Hector Wintle, who is coded as Philip Linsley (a near progenitor to the name Lindsay). In ‘An Evening at the Bay’, Chalmers and Linsley meet at a bar and unsuccessfully attempt to flirt with local girls. The short story is extended within chapter seven of *Lions and Shadows* but, as with the transformation of *Seascape with Figures* into *All the Conspirators*, the girls disappear from the text once again.

⁴⁶² Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 31.

The absence of a heterosexual love draws Philip into an affective orbit that positions him outside the reach of heterosexual desire. Much like the 'queer chap' that the rugby team discuss, Philip invites diagnosis, his sexuality presented as a pathological condition that renders him sick.

This sickness reaches its crescendo at the end of the novel, where Philip's queasy mood is transformed into a debilitating illness as he lies at home, swaddled in bed without a chance of escape. Forced to leave the island and return to his family in London, Philip slowly deteriorates as the narrative progresses. As he returns to the domestic sphere, Philip is greeted by his mother, who sits 'Pale amongst Edwardian cretonnes...at the inlaid bureau, her husband's wedding present, reckoning domestic accounts with inflamed eyes, by a failing light'.⁴⁶³ This representation of Mrs. Lindsay reflects Isherwood's own feelings about his mother Kathleen, whom Isherwood felt held a straightjacketing grip referring over his childhood home, making it a 'heterosexual dictatorship'.⁴⁶⁴ Cloistered within the folds of these heavy fabrics, Philip's relationship with his mother becomes a kind of 'domestic guerrilla warfare', creating an inhospitable environment that he feels he must escape if he is ever to become what he considers a true artist.⁴⁶⁵ In this way, the home—beset with the stylistic accoutrements of Edwardian modernity—becomes a space in which Philip cannot function. The domestic sphere is bounded by walls that restrict Philip's potential as an artist and draped in overtly feminine fabrics that stifle his ability to paint and write.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶³ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁴ Isherwood, *Kathleen and Frank* (London: Penguin, 2013), p. 384.

⁴⁶⁵ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 99.

⁴⁶⁶ Within their insightful research, Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei have made much of the relationship between domesticity and femininity in the interwar period, arguing that domestic novelists during the 1920s and 1930s established a turn towards the everyday as a means of exploring and questioning the feminine, marriage and everyday living. With queer men excluded from the heterosexual gender relations of the household, it is exactly this domestic turn that Isherwood is rebelling against, resulting in a misogyny that lashes out as much at his mother as it does at the feminised space of the home. See Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei, 'House Haunting: The Domestic

Parallels can be drawn between the women Philip works with and his mother. Throughout *All the Conspirators*, the female body becomes repeatedly inscribed with a sickening quality, represented as a kind of pathogen that has the ability to infect Philip. As with his colleagues, this portrayal barter in the currency of misogyny in order to create a gap between Philip and the female body.⁴⁶⁷ Yet, with this body belonging to Philip's mother, the gap continues to widen. Philip is no longer simply sickened, he is deeply uneasy, irritated by the 'little comforts and pleasures' his mother offers him.⁴⁶⁸ In her work on the relationship between sexuality and space, Ahmed has contended that notions of comfort are crucial to understanding how queer subjects navigate the world. In particular, Ahmed argues that: 'We can consider the sanitised space as a comfort zone. Normativity is comfortable for those who can inhabit it'.⁴⁶⁹ Read through this lens, the very same habits that Mrs Lindsay finds a source of comfort serve to aggravate Philip, who cannot find peace at home. Whereas the disgust elicited by Philip's female colleagues breaks the social codes of homosocial bonding, his revolt against his mother challenges the normative boundaries of the domestic sphere. In each case Philip is rendered a queer character who yearns for a markedly different geography from the one he inhabits. With its intensely personal concerns, *All the Conspirators* presents the home as much as a heterosexual dictatorship for Philip as it was for Isherwood, an uncomfortable space in which the young dilettante and his queer flourishes cannot bloom.

By positioning Philip's breakdown at the end of the novel, Isherwood upends the traditional narrative arc of the *Künstlerroman*. Though he echoes many of the traditional markers of the genre—a sensitive youth set against the values of middle-class society—Philip finds his freedom restricted as the novel continues. At the opening of the text, Philip has reached his

Novel of The Inter-War Years', *Home Cultures*, 1.2 (2004), 147-168 and Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei, *Domestic Modernism, the Interwar Novel, and E.H. Young* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 95-110.

⁴⁶⁷ This reading chimes with Montefiore's scholarship concerning the elision of women writers from the canon. See Montefiore, *Men and Women Writers of the 1930s*, pp. 43-80.

⁴⁶⁸ Isherwood, *All the Conspirators*, p. 59.

⁴⁶⁹ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 147.

peak, the final pages of *All the Conspirators* presenting an anti-climax that cuts the lifeline of his artistic career, rather than staging his maturing creative potential. It is the island that allows Philip to come closest to sexual and artistic maturity, the island that Philip seeks out as a refuge from his mother, and the island that allows Philip, however briefly, to see past his queasy nature and glimpse the thighs, buttocks and torsos of the landscape. In this fashion, the island becomes sharply set against the space of the home. Philip can only survive when he is cut adrift, free from the confines of the domestic sphere and left to float. As the island played a crucial role in the formation of Isherwood's early writing, it becomes foundational to Philip's story by compressing artistic development and sexual identity, folding one in to the other until they become inseparably linked.

Importantly, *All the Conspirators* was the only novel that Isherwood wrote and published before he first visited Auden in Berlin in 1929. Standing alone, the novel remains relatively untouched by the city, unscathed by its urban excesses, its metropolitan fetishes, and its threatening political landscape. Lacking the touchstone of Berlin, Isherwood instead turns to the island, a space that acts as an affective precursor—foreshadowing the stylistic and sexual progression of his later writing. The island is a representative space, a haven, a refuge, a necessary escape that Philip must flee to if he is to survive, though one where he cannot afford to continue to remain. Unable to endure the stifling English home, Philip ultimately explodes outwards from the novel, fragments of his character found embedded within future Isherwood ciphers who revel in the German capital. In all, Philip is restless. Restless for a release from home. Restless for a world peppered with thighs, torsos, buttocks, limbs and phallic symbols, rather than covered by cretonnes. Restless to experiment, to embrace his creative potential and nurture his artistic talents. By anticipating Berlin, the terrain of the island allows Isherwood to come close to overcoming his restlessness. Later in life, as Isherwood translated *Dreigroschenroman* (1934) by Bertolt Brecht to substantiate his earnings, he would mistranslate a passage in which a character has sex in a boat that is tied

to the shore. As Isherwood notes, he 'found this incomprehensible, because he took it for granted that the proper poetic metaphor for sexual surrender would be the casting loose of the boat', yet Brecht himself would correct Isherwood: "'A boat has to be tied up before you can fuck in it'".⁴⁷⁰ In *All the Conspirators*, the island reflect Isherwood's belief that desire must be cut loose, allowing Philip to remain adrift.

Shore of Oneself: The Desert Island and *Mr Norris Changes Trains*.

When Isherwood relocated to Berlin in 1929, the island did not slacken its grip on his life or imagination. While in Germany, Isherwood would regularly holiday on Rügen, an island off the Pomeranian coast in the Baltic Sea. Moreover, Isherwood first visited Rügen before the completion of the Strelasund Crossing in 1936, when the island remained disconnected from the mainland by Strelasund lagoon. In 1931 Isherwood stayed on Rügen with Auden and Spender, a trip during which an infamous photo of the three was captured. Spender stands tall, smiling but seemingly distracted, flanked by the young Auden and Isherwood, both beaming at the camera. Spender and Isherwood are bronzed by the sun. Auden is noticeably not. Isherwood would visit again in 1932 with Heinz Neddermeyer, the German boyfriend he met during the same year.⁴⁷¹

As the island opens *All the Conspirators*, it further lies at the heart of *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, the first of Isherwood's Berlin novels. I deliberately draw on the multiple connotations of heart here, referring both to the position of the island in the text and the romantic, dream-like qualities of its appearance. In *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, the island is filtered through the Baron Kuno von Pregnitz. A wealthy, eccentric homosexual, identified as a 'fairy' at the end

⁴⁷⁰ Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 198.

⁴⁷¹ As is common in Isherwood scholarship, I refer to Heinz Neddermeyer by his first, rather than last, name.

of the novel by Norris, von Pregnitz throws elaborate parties at his country villa, 'full of handsome young men with superbly developed brown bodies which they smeared with oil and baked for hours in the sun'.⁴⁷² Further to this, von Pregnitz' sexuality is made identifiable through his sartorial choices, with the novel repeatedly drawing attention to his monocle. Throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, the monocle became a symbol of queer sexuality, albeit usually attributed to lesbians. In Paris, Montparnasse played host to Le Monocle, a popular lesbian nightclub captured on film by photographer Brassai, who published photos of women at the club wearing eyeglasses in his album *Paris de nuit*. Isherwood was aware of this relationship, portraying Berlin dive-bars as full of 'screaming boys in drag and monocled, Eton-cropped girls in dinner jackets'.⁴⁷³ In turn the association of von Pregnitz with the monocle presents a complex portrayal of the aristocrat as a figure bound up with not simply the tenets of homosexuality, but a queerness often read through the female body—Isherwood once again turning to misogyny as a means of effeminising Kuno and exacerbating the humour of his character.

Though he has attracted markedly less attention than Sally Bowles, the little analysis of von Pregnitz that exists has tended to buy into this humour. As Peter Thomas argues, the baron is a pastiche of camp sensibilities: 'Initially, von Pregnitz is depicted as an essentially clownish figure, a politician with a secret fantasy-life...The world of Norris and von Pregnitz is sado-masochistic but essentially comic; it does not touch Bradshaw because he sees it as Camp'.⁴⁷⁴ For Thomas, it is not until von Pregnitz commits suicide at the conclusion of the novel that

⁴⁷² Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, p. 276. Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, p. 68. These handsome men, with their broad Berlin accents and posturing masculinity, are easily identifiable as the male sex workers Isherwood interacted with throughout his time in Berlin. Often heterosexual, such men provided services to queer men, drawing on their heavily masculinised images to solicit patrons. It is implied that Otto, who Christopher meets on Ruegen Island in *Goodbye to Berlin*, is one of these men.

⁴⁷³ Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 30.

⁴⁷⁴ Peter Thomas, "'Camp" and Politics in Isherwood's Berlin Fiction', *Journal of Modern Literature* (1976), 5.1, 117-130 (p. 124).

we see the grim reality of life. Situating von Pregnitz under the title that Isherwood initially gave his Berlin stories, Thomas maintains 'The tragic dimension of *The Lost* gave way to comic ambiguity in the first Berlin fiction Isherwood actually wrote'.⁴⁷⁵ Furthering Thomas' claims, Paul Piazza classifies the baron as a monstrous presence within the text, arguing that 'Baron Kuno von Pregnitz, for example, like all the Mortmere parodies, is a caricature of perversion...drawn as a sinister storybook monster'.⁴⁷⁶ Against these readings, I believe that the divide between the comic, fishy von Pregnitz and the tragic, suicidal baron that Thomas articulates is an essentially artificial one. Though he is indeed an elevated presentation of homosexuality, von Pregnitz is not entirely unsympathetic. As with Arthur Norris or Sally Bowles, Isherwood fashions a character who is at once camp and deeply human. Indeed to position camp as a rhetoric device that might only be used to debase characters is to undermine the complex intersection of homosexual desire and male femininity that von Pregnitz embodies. Offering a sympathetic reading of von Pregnitz, I argue that the baron is rendered more than a simple parody, satire, or monster through his yearning to escape to an island paradise.

In *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, the parties that von Pregnitz hosts soon melt away as he undertakes a government post and fears he has become a watched man. In place of these lavish festivities, von Pregnitz wraps himself in a fantasy world that allows him to escape the confines of his position. Unable to indulge in the company of young men due to his public responsibilities, von Pregnitz finds 'only their photographs remained to console him...bound in a sumptuous album which he kept'. To protagonist William Bradshaw, von Pregnitz sheepishly admits: 'Sometimes, in the evenings, I like to look at them, you see? And then I

⁴⁷⁵ Thomas, "'Camp" and Politics in Isherwood's Berlin Fiction', p. 118.

⁴⁷⁶ Paul Piazza, *Christopher Isherwood: Myth and Anti-Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 174.

make up a story to myself that we are living together on a deserted island in the Pacific Ocean'.⁴⁷⁷ Eventually Bradshaw manages to coax more out of the Baron:

Encouraged, he proceeded shyly to further confessions. The desert island fantasy was nothing new. He had been cherishing it for months already; it had developed gradually into a private cult. Under its influence he had acquired a small library of stories for boys, most of them in English, which dealt with this particular kind of adventure. He had told his bookseller that he wanted them for a nephew in London. Kuno had found most of the books subtly unsatisfactory. There had been grown-ups in them, or buried treasures, or marvellous scientific inventions. He had no use for any of these. Only one story had really pleased him. It was called *The Seven Who Got Lost*...I took the book home. It was certainly not at all bad of its kind. Seven boys, of ages ranging from sixteen to nineteen, are washed ashore on an uninhabited island, where there is water and plenty of vegetation. They have no food with them and no tools but a broken penknife.⁴⁷⁸

Much like Philip, von Pregnitz is unable to partake in the company of young men, his own villa becoming an unsuitable space to host any more parties. In turn the island presents a sexual oasis disconnected from the mainland by the water that surrounds it, a paradise that extends beyond the clutches of the law. Unencumbered by the regulations that bar von Pregnitz from orienting himself towards young men, the island is a liminal space, an uninterrupted site of desire that affords the baron the opportunity to continue his fantasies. In order to survive von Pregnitz must keep his desire at bay, the island offering a bounded space untouched by the realities of his situation. In this regard, we find another meaning of *The Lost*. Unlike many of the characters in the Berlin novels, von Pregnitz is not already lost—but he wishes to become so, cut adrift from society.

As we interrogate the appearance of the island in *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, the stories that von Pregnitz chooses are of particular importance. Within his reading of the baron, William Sayers unpacks *The Seven Who Got Lost*, noting that the story 'is Isherwood's own invention, and in its cast of characters, it would seem that the author has intentionally conflated a

⁴⁷⁷ Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, p. 174. The name William Bradshaw edges closer to the fictional Christopher Isherwood by using the writer's middle names.

⁴⁷⁸ Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, p. 174.

number of books in vogue during his own childhood and later'.⁴⁷⁹ Crucially, von Pregnitz so admires *The Seven Who Got Lost* as he is uninterested in stories that feature 'grown-ups in them, or buried treasures, or marvellous scientific inventions'. Instead the baron yearns for a specific kind of space: he has a 'desert island fantasy'. As a symbol, the desert island is imperative to understanding von Pregnitz' desire, as well as the interrelation of the island with desire throughout Isherwood's early work more widely. As Philip hopes to escape his mother and the normative society that she represents, von Pregnitz yearns to flee civilisation entirely, inhabiting a wild, lawless space that he and his lovers are free to shape as they would like. In this way, as Philip turns from England, von Pregnitz becomes oriented away from Germany, desire acting as a compass that points the men away from the mainland. Contained within von Pregnitz' yearning to flee Germany is an essential pathos that undercuts his caricature appearance and prefigures the undeniably grim humanity of his suicide. The island becomes an affective node, a space of unrealised longing that elucidates the dire bind von Pregnitz is caught in: to stay in Germany is to be within reach of his lovers, but to never be able to touch them. The baron becomes a modern mirror of Tantalus, eternally deprived of nourishment, surrounded by water and hanging grapes that forever elude his fingertips.

In *Desert Islands and Other Texts*, Deleuze sketches a theoretical frame that is useful to understanding this desire for the island. For Deleuze, the very separateness of the desert island allows us to dream of the island as an uninhabited ideal:

The élan that draws humans toward islands extends the double movement that produces islands in themselves. Dreaming of islands—whether with joy or in fear, it

⁴⁷⁹ William Sayers, 'Isherwood's Kuno von Pregnitz (*Mr. Norris Changes Trains*) and the Premise of Golding's *The Lord of the Flies*', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, 30.4 (2017), 255-258 (p. 255). For Sayers, these books include *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1899) and *Peter Pan* (1911). Within the account of his parents *Kathleen and Frank* (1971), Isherwood includes an excerpt from his mother's diary that notes Isherwood playing a game based on *The Swiss Family Robinson* as a boy. See Isherwood, *Kathleen and Frank*, p. 386.

doesn't matter—is dreaming of pulling away, of being already separate, far from any continent, of being lost and alone—or it is dreaming of starting from scratch, recreating, beginning anew. Some islands drifted away from the continent, but the island is also that toward which one drifts; other islands originated in the ocean, but *the island is also the origin*, radical and absolute.... It is no longer the island that is separated from the continent, it is humans who find themselves separated from the world when on an island. It is no longer the island that is created from the bowels of the earth through the liquid depths, it is humans who create the world anew from the island and on the waters.⁴⁸⁰

In collecting children's books, the baron is dreaming of pulling away. Washed ashore with his favourite boys, von Pregnitz believes he will be able to start again, cut off from the mainland, existing in a deserted paradise, unfettered by the political landscape that haunts him in Berlin. To live on the island is to be separated from the world. This figuration extends the appearance of the island in *All the Conspirators*. No longer is the island merely encoded with thighs, buttocks and phallic symbols, it is brimming with the stripped, tanned, oily bodies of the men that von Pregnitz so adores. In this way, the pull of desire draws the baron away from Germany, a country swelling with political forces that will not allow him to continue meeting with the young men he so adores.

Crucially, in his analysis, Deleuze is not talking of desert islands that are necessarily uninhabited. Rather, Deleuze maintains that the desert island is a fundamental concept within the topographic imagination of colonialism: 'That England is populated will always come as a surprise; humans can live on an island only by forgetting what an island represents'. Desert islands are 'deserted' in that they have not yet been colonised by settlers:

An island doesn't stop being deserted simply because it is inhabited. While it is true that the movement of humans toward and on the island takes up the movement of the island prior to humankind, *some* people can occupy the island—it is still deserted, all the more so, provided they are sufficiently, that is, absolutely separate, and provided they are sufficient, absolute creators... Those people who come to the island indeed occupy and populate it; but in reality, were they sufficiently separate,

⁴⁸⁰ Deleuze, *Desert Islands and Other Texts, 1953-1974*, p. 10. This representation of the island as a site of difference is expanded upon in James Kneale, 'Islands: Literary geographies of possession, separation, and transformation', in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. by Robert T. Tally Jr. (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 204-213.

sufficiently creative, they would give the island only a dynamic image of itself, a consciousness of the movement which produced the island, such that through them the island would in the end become conscious of itself as deserted and unpeopled. The island would be only the dream of humans, and humans, the pure consciousness of the island.⁴⁸¹

In this fashion, the desert island holds an important place in the imaginary. The desert island is a space in which thought itself might be created anew. To explicate this, Deleuze specifically draws on *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Suzanne and the Pacific* (1923), texts that echo the narrative of *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812), a novel Bradshaw notes *The Seven Who Got Lost* is cribbed largely from. Existing within the von Prenzitz' imaginary, the island of his children's books becomes a psychological space, a projection, an unrealised wish-fulfilment. Fated to remain within the pages of his stories, the island becomes an unrequited fetish that the baron can never truly access, a space that creates a safe distance between him and the boys he yearns for. Questioned why he does not leave Germany for the Pacific, the baron says, simply, that it is impossible. The island must remain a fantasy, a site of pure consciousness. For the Baron, to leave Germany and wash ashore would be to ruin the paradise that he has created.⁴⁸²

In *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, this sense of projection is cemented by the figure of Jimmy. Indexing the boys in *The Seven Who Got Lost* against the men invited to his parties, von Prenzitz and Bradshaw work through the main characters 'Teddy, Bob, Rex, Dick: Kuno supplied a counterpart to each...last of all came Jimmy the hero', who the baron sees as a mirror of himself:

⁴⁸¹ Deleuze, *Desert Islands and Other Texts, 1953-1974*, p. 10.

⁴⁸² Presenting the island as an imagined paradise, Isherwood rebukes analysis that would seek to frame the island as a heterotopia. Crucially for Foucault, heterotopias are unlike utopias in that they are localised and real, functioning in relation to other spaces. As an imaginative paradise, the island that von Prenzitz fantasises about does not function in such a way, instead escaping its material, dialectic relationship with the mainland entirely.

“He is myself, you see.” Kuno had the simplicity of complete conviction. “When I was a boy. But exactly...This writer is a genius. He tells things about me which nobody else can know. I am Jimmy. Jimmy is myself. It is marvellous.”⁴⁸³

For von Pregnitz, *The Seven Who Got Lost* acts as a kind of psychoanalytic manuscript, a means of diving into his consciousness and understanding his place amongst the boys. In this way, it is not simply the island that is created anew, it is the baron himself. The island allows von Pregnitz to radically reimagine himself as a lost boy, washed ashore and taking his place as a leader, rather than as subservient to Arthur Norris, to the boys he pays and to the German government. Through this reimagining we are afforded more than a glimpse at the baron’s humanity, Isherwood elucidating that the baron is not simply a monster but caught up in monstrous circumstances. As a space, the island draws von Pregnitz into its orbit, the magnetic compass of sexual orientation pointing him away from Germany as it pulls Maurice and Alec towards the greenwood. At the same time, the island opens an imaginative, internal space that echoes H.D.’s psychic seascape.

The Coast Isn’t Clear: The Collapse of the Island in *Goodbye to Berlin*.

In *Goodbye to Berlin*, the dreams of Kuno von Pregnitz become semi-realised through Ruegen, the island where Christopher happens upon Otto and Peter, a couple engaged in a strained relationship. Otto is young, jocular, exceedingly handsome and equally vain. Peter on the other hand is an otter of a man—sinewy and dark haired, as well as plagued by nervous habits. The relationship between Peter and Otto reaches towards the fantastical vision von Pregnitz has of being washed ashore with his boys: an anxious homosexual secluded on an island with a beautiful male lover. Yet the fictitious paradise that von Pregnitz inhabits in *Mr Norris Changes Trains* becomes ruptured by the material concerns of *Goodbye to Berlin*. As Christopher elucidates, Ruegen Island is not an unfettered paradise: like the baron, Peter must pay Otto to keep him around; like the baron, Peter is beleaguered by his worries

⁴⁸³ Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains*, p. 178.

(especially the idea that Otto will leave him); like the baron, Peter turns to his books for solace.

Tautening the noose slipped over the neck of Peter and Otto's relationship, the Ruegen Island section of *Goodbye to Berlin* is set during the Summer of 1931 and coincides with burgeoning Nazi politics. Obtaining 107 seats in the Reichstag during the elections of 1930, the Nazis became the second largest party in Germany, a swing precipitated by tensions surrounding mass unemployment, spending cuts and tax hikes. Read in dialogue with this mushrooming political threat, critics have presented Ruegen as a distinctly queer escape. Situated within a longer genealogy of queer detachment, Matthew Burroughs Price argues that: 'Unlike the novel's other sections, set within Berlin, "Ruegen" images the vestibular space Christopher seeks: a place where queer subcultures can flourish, a place from which the decadent can record fleeting impressions'.⁴⁸⁴ In tandem with this, Mia Spiro notes the narrative immanence of the Ruegen section, the only section of 'the novel, other than the last, that is written in a diary-like present tense. This temporal disruption in the middle of the book lends a jarring immediacy to the observations that are revealed therein'.⁴⁸⁵ The world of Ruegen is distinct from the rest of the text, offering Christopher a moment of reprieve from the crowded city, on the one hand, and the narrative a break from the undeniable push towards the Nazi threat, on the other, each of which have the effect of rendering this section

⁴⁸⁴ Matthew Burroughs Price, 'A Genealogy of Queer Detachment', *PMLA*, 130.3 (2015), 648–665 (p. 660). This presentation of the island can be situated within broader contemporary ecocritical debates concerning modernism and queer ecology, detailed in Kelly Sultzbach, *Ecocriticism in the Modernist Imagination: Forster, Woolf, and Auden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). As a frame, the queer pastoral has been used to draw parallels between Isherwood and Forster, as well as between Isherwood and Alan Hollinghurst. See Christie, *Worlding Forster*, p. 66 and Elizabeth English, 'Tired of London, Tired of Life: The Queer Pastoral in The Spell', in *Sex and Sensibility in the Novels of Alan Hollinghurst*, ed. by Mark Mathuray (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 95-110 (p. 98).

⁴⁸⁵ Mia Spiro, *Anti-Nazi Modernism: The Challenges of Resistance in 1930s Fiction* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012), p. 213.

distinguishable in its separateness, with the result that the section of the novel is positioned as a geographic, psychological and textual island.⁴⁸⁶

Briefly cut adrift from the wider text, Ruegen comes to reflect the Isles of Scilly in *All the Conspirators*. In particular, a thread can be drawn between the queer and modernist resonances of the island throughout Isherwood's debut and the island in *Goodbye to Berlin*. Enconced on Ruegen, Christopher comes as close as he can to entering into a homosexual relationship without compromising his own sexuality. While elsewhere in the text Christopher appears as a markedly asexual figure, on Ruegen the narrative eye takes a certain, slow pleasure in describing the male form:

Otto has a face like a very ripe peach. His hair is fair and thick, growing low on his forehead. He has small sparkling eyes, full of naughtiness, and a wide, disarming grin, which is much too innocent to be true. When he grins, two large dimples appear in his peach-bloom cheeks.⁴⁸⁷

Through Otto, the landscape of *All the Conspirators* becomes transformed and embodied. No longer satisfied with littering the panorama with phallic symbols, Isherwood presents Ruegen as a refuge where men can wrestle, play and comment on the beauty of another's physique. As the Isles of Scilly offer a brief glimpse of Philip's erotic longings, Ruegen is a space in which Peter and Otto can, for a time, sustain their relationship. In *Christopher and his Kind*, Isherwood augments this affiliation between the male body and the island: 'When winter returned and Otto revealed himself bit by bit as he pulled off layers of thick clothes, his nakedness aroused both of them even more. His body became a tropical island'. Like Bubi,

⁴⁸⁶ Interestingly, a popular German homosexual magazine published from 1926-1933 by Friedrich Radszuweit was named *Die Insel: das Magazin der Einsamen* (or *The Island: the Magazine of the Lonely*). See Mel Gordon, *Voluptuous Panic: The Erotic World of Weimar Berlin* (Port Townsend: Feral House, 2008), p. 82 for replication images.

⁴⁸⁷ Christopher Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1952), p. 127. The crowning example of the fictional Christopher's asexuality occurs when the protagonist is kissed by Ema, a woman he meets at a sanatorium. Here, Christopher describes how her mouth has no particular sensation for him, a depiction that echoes the gap that exists between Philip Lindsay and the female form in *All the Conspirators*. See Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 213.

Otto allows Christopher to experience the mystery-magic of foreignness. Inasmuch as the island becomes a site of homosexual desire, the male body is coded as an erotic escape from the cold of Berlin.

As it reflects the erotic urges of *All the Conspirators*, so too does the presence of the island in *Goodbye to Berlin* owe a debt to psychoanalysis. Though he is constantly in their company, Christopher has little direct contact with Otto during his time on Ruegen Island, speaking to him only once in the presence of Peter. Contrasting with this, Christopher is nearly always absorbed in conversation with Peter and later—when Otto breaks away from their group to head to dances and chase women—Christopher becomes Peter’s closest confidant. At first the couple are described as ‘Peter and I’, but later in the text this is subtly replaced with a simple ‘we’. Discussing this in *Christopher and his Kind*, Isherwood unveils Peter as a romantic surrogate that allows the author to depict his relationship without implicating the fictional Christopher. Bisecting his autobiographical counterpart, Isherwood positions Christopher as a witness to Peter and Otto’s fights as Spender or Auden would have been privy to arguments between Isherwood and Heinz during their trips to Rügen.⁴⁸⁸ There are textual clues here: Peter is Christopher’s ‘own age’, ‘thin and dark and nervous’ and ‘skinny but wiry’.⁴⁸⁹ In childhood Peter, was ‘delicate...[and] began to hate his mother for having petted and coddled him’, while as an adult Peter wears the same horn rimmed glasses that Isherwood would favour in his later life.⁴⁹⁰ Moreover, such textual clues further align Peter with another

⁴⁸⁸ As well as the ups and downs of relationship with Heinz, Isherwood did experience heartbreak on Rügen, writing to Upward about another boy in 1932: ‘I think I have finished with Walter. He betrayed me with a tart from S. America who promises to take him to Paris. I have found a substitute with suspicious ease. He is with me here. I suppose I ought to be undergoing some very high-class pangs. The truth is I’m bored to tears with this whole homosex business. I want my tea.’ See letter from Isherwood to Upward, 8 July 1932.

⁴⁸⁹ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, pp. 126-127.

⁴⁹⁰ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, pp. 127.

Isherwood cipher: Philip. Both men are rendered ill by their mother, both escape to the island, and both are racked by psychosomatic illness.

As a textual 'we', Peter and Christopher are rendered as one being, sharing intimate amicable experiences and fragmented only by their physical bodies. Sneaking out with Peter one night in order to avoid the increasingly unbearable Otto, Christopher notes:

As we open the garden gate and cross the road into the wood, Otto waves to us from the balcony. I have to be careful to hide the peppermint creams under my coat, in case he should see them. Laughing guiltily, munching the peppermints, we take the woodland path to Baabe. We always spend our evening in Baabe, nowadays. We like it better than our own village.⁴⁹¹

This psychoanalytic reading is not merely inferred. Quite the opposite: it is encouraged. Peter is obsessed with being counselled about his difficulties, so much so that when Christopher asks him what he will do when he returns to England, he remarks 'look round for a new analyst, I suppose'.⁴⁹² In conversation, Christopher, Otto and Peter come to reflect the id, ego and superego. Otto—young, handsome, petulant, demanding, virile—is rendered as the id; Peter—neurotic, panicky, attempting to quell Otto and suppress his desires for women—is the superego; and Christopher—acting as mediator between the two and handing out advice to Peter—is the ego. Through the mental life of Peter, Isherwood is able to centre homosexual longing in *Goodbye to Berlin*. The disconnected geography of the island offers an opportune space where Isherwood can continue to code desire through psychoanalytic references that evoke the seascape of *All the Conspirators* and the longing of *Mr Norris Changes Trains*.

Nonetheless, coming into contact with the political landscape of the 1930s, Ruegen Island cannot remain a haven. Indeed, in holidaying on the island, Christopher has broken the rules

⁴⁹¹ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 151.

⁴⁹² Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, pp. 165.

of the sanctified fantasy world that von Pregnitz delights in. Unlike the baron, Christopher has not been washed ashore—he has easily breached the coastline. Outside of Peter and Otto, this is where the central tension of Rügen lies. Escaping to the island for more than a few days, Christopher is bolder than Philip Lindsay or Kuno von Pregnitz, for whom Scilly and the island remains, largely, a dreamlike paradise. Yet in staying Christopher is made aware that the island cannot continue to act as a refuge. Put simply: if Christopher is able to live on the island, then so too are others. Due to this, the island is no longer deserted:

There are now a good many summer visitors to the village. The bathing-beach by the pier, with its array of banners, begins to look like a medieval camp. Each family has its own enormous hooded wicker beach-chair, and each chair flies a little flag. There are German city-flags—Hamburg, Hanover, Dresden, Rostock and Berlin, as well as the National, Republican and Nazi colours. Each chair is encircled by a low sand bulwark upon which the occupants have set inscriptions in fir-cones: *Waldesruh. Familie Walter. Stahlhelm. Heil Hitler!* Many of the forts are also decorated with the Nazi swastika. The other morning I saw a child of about five years old, stark naked, marching along all by himself with a swastika flag over his shoulder and singing '*Deutschland über alles*'.⁴⁹³

Repeatedly returning to Nazi symbols, this drawn out description of the beach presents the slowly encroaching political threat that overwhelms the island flag by flag, fir-cone by fir-cone. No longer a haven cut off from the mainland, the island becomes permeable to the same political forces of Berlin and other flag-bearing metropolitan centres. The genesis of this threat is underscored by the body of the child, a body that will grow and develop, maturing into a greater menace. As Lee Edelman argues, 'The Child remains the perpetual horizon of every acknowledged politics'.⁴⁹⁴ Set against the child, the homosexual desire contained on the island has no future—it will be swallowed up, dismantled, destroyed. Whereas the narrative immanence of the Rügen section initially positions the island as a haven, it begins to exacerbate the pressing and inescapable threat of the Nazi regime.

⁴⁹³ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 138. This threat reflects the real-world encroaching Nazi grip over holidaying on Rügen, with the Nazis building the large and unfinished Prora holiday resort on the island between 1936 and 1939.

⁴⁹⁴ Lee Edelman, *No Future*, p. 3.

Later in the text, the Nazi threat of the child finds further eugenic contours through another figure—a surgeon from a Berlin hospital. Unlike Otto, who luxuriates in the attention of strangers, Christopher is mistrustful of the doctor from the off, picturing him as a ‘little fair-haired man with ferrety blue eyes and a small moustache’.⁴⁹⁵ Marooned on the island, Christopher cannot escape the doctor, however. Bumping into the surgeon as he takes a morning walk, Christopher is lambasted by a medical tirade about Otto:

“My work in the clinic has taught me that it is no use trying to help this type of boy. Your friend is very generous and very well meaning, but he makes a great mistake. This type of boy always reverts. From a scientific point of view, I find his exceedingly interesting.” As though he were about to say something specially momentous, the doctor suddenly stood still in the middle of the path, paused a moment to engage my attention, and smilingly announced: “He has a criminal head...These boys ought to be put into labour-camps...It is a very bad degenerate type. You cannot make anything out of these boys. Their tonsils are almost invariably diseased.”⁴⁹⁶

In his use of ‘criminal head’, the surgeon trades in the language of Phrenology, diagnosing supposed character traits from Otto’s physiognomy. At the same time, the doctor appears to be aware of not just the relationship between Otto and Peter, but Otto’s position as a sex worker. Referencing Otto’s diseased tonsils, the doctor infers that Christopher’s young friend has a sexually transmitted infection and uses this evidence to brand Otto a degenerate.⁴⁹⁷ Herein lies the essential threat of the doctor and his eugenic posturing. For the surgeon, the answer to Otto’s problem is a labour-camp. Given this, homosexual desire is positioned as a treatable condition that should be classed as a punishable offence.

⁴⁹⁵ Elsewhere in the text, Christopher is suspicious of the doctor that comes to perform an abortion on Sally Bowles and nervous about the treatment Frau Nowak will receive at the sanatorium. See Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, pp. 89-94 and p. 209.

⁴⁹⁶ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, pp. 142-143.

⁴⁹⁷ The use of degenerate reverberates with the Degenerate Art Exhibition, held by the Nazis in 1937. A thorough account of this can be found in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, ‘The Dialectics of Design and Destruction: The *Degenerate Art* Exhibition (1937) and the *Exhibition internationale du Surréalisme* (1938)’, *October* 150 (2014), 49-62.

If we return to Deleuze, and the claim that ‘the island would be only the dream of humans, and humans, the pure consciousness of the island’, it is evident that Christopher finds his consciousness disturbed by the presence of others holidaying on Ruegen. The crowded beach, the jolly references to Hitler, and the lurid body of the child draped in a Nazi flag all impinge on Christopher’s ability to cut himself adrift, to image himself free on a deserted island. To unpack this, I turn to Virilio and the notion of the integral accident. For Virilio:

The accident is an invented miracle, a secular miracle, a revelation. When you invent the ship, you also invent the shipwreck; when you invent the plane, you invent the plane crash; and when you invent electricity, you invent electrocution.⁴⁹⁸

Depending on the claim that ‘When you invent the ship, you also invent the shipwreck’, Isherwood elucidates that when one becomes shipwrecked, they also invite the ship. As a desert island can only hold a particular place within the colonial imaginary if it is free of Western interference, so too can the island only serve as a haven for Isherwood without the presence of the Nazis. This is why von Pregnitz believes escaping to the Pacific to be impossible. Though Deleuze maintains that desert islands are not necessarily uninhabited islands, the island must remain deserted of Nazi politics if Christopher, Peter and Otto are to continue to survive on Ruegen. If they can flee, if they can become marooned on an island, then so too can others—so too can the political forces each is trying to escape. A deserted island may be inhabited, but not by those who will seek to eradicate you. Unlike Christopher, who can easily slip away from Berlin at the end of the text, it is the visceral impossibility of this situation that drives von Pregnitz to commit suicide.

The collapse of the island in *Goodbye to Berlin* became materialised by Isherwood’s own life in the 1930s. Unbeknown to Isherwood at the time, his 1932 trip to Rügen with his partner Heinz would act as a precursor to further travelling and another island. Fearing Heinz’ conscription, the couple would flee Berlin in 1933. During this time Isherwood and Heinz

⁴⁹⁸ Virilio, *Politics of the Very Worst*, p. 89.

settled briefly on Agios Nikolaos, a small Greek island known today as Ktiponisi. Referred to as St. Nicholas by its English inhabitants, Isherwood's friend Francis Turville-Petre rented the island from local townspeople who owned the land communally. Isherwood and Heinz lived on the island from 20 May to 6 September, the writer finding their tenure unbearable due to insects, the lack of fresh water, and multiple other problems.⁴⁹⁹ As Isherwood wrote to Spender on 2 September 1933, 'It is like something in Kafka, I don't know how long my sentence is and the wardens have forgotten'.⁵⁰⁰ Shortly after leaving the island, Heinz was refused entry to England on his second visit in 1934. After this, Heinz and Isherwood moved aimlessly around Europe until Heinz' arrest by the Gestapo in 1937. Isherwood fictionalises his time on St. Nicholas in *Down There on a Visit* (1962). Here the island has lost the erotic potential it once held. No longer coded through the male body, St. Nicholas is instead depicted as a 'whale-shaped lump of land' that fails to act as a retreat.⁵⁰¹ Repeatedly told to leave by the inhabitants, Christopher finds the island 'covered with a wiry kind of grass which gets into your clothes, working its way through the cloth and suddenly pricking you like a needle'—starkly contrasting with the sandy beaches of Baabe.⁵⁰² After Ruegen, Isherwood presents the island as a farcical space, the desert island fantasy collapsing in on itself.

The collapse of the island is marked at the end of the Ruegen section of *Goodbye to Berlin*. As Otto finally leaves Peter, he scrawls a goodbye note: 'Dear Peter. Please forgive me I couldn't stand it any longer so I am going home. Love from Otto. Don't be angry. (Otto had written it, I noticed, on a fly-leaf torn out of one of Peter's psychology books: *Beyond the*

⁴⁹⁹ Parker, *Isherwood: A Life*, pp. 258-269.

⁵⁰⁰ See letter from Isherwood to Spender, 2 September 1932.

⁵⁰¹ Christopher Isherwood, *Down There on a Visit* (London: Vintage, 2012), p. 82.

⁵⁰² Isherwood, *Down There on a Visit*, p. 93. Of particular note is Ambrose, a homosexual character based on Turville-Petre who presides over the island as a kind of clownish dictator. Having managed to escape to an island, Ambrose offers a satirical coda to the figure of von Pregnitz, a caricature who underscores the desert island fantasy as a sham. Considering Ambrose, critics have noted the tonal difference of *Down There on a Visit* to Isherwood's earlier work. See Jonathan H. Fryer, 'Sexuality in Isherwood', *Twentieth Century Literature* 22.3 (1976), 343-353.

Pleasure-Principle’.⁵⁰³ As the novel progresses, the island comes to represent the dualism at the centre of *Beyond the Pleasure-Principle*. At first Ruegen presents Christopher with Eros, the sexual drive that underpins the relationship between Peter and Otto. As time passes, however, the island is threatened by Thanatos, Nazi politics overwhelming the narrative by wielding aggression, destruction, violence, and death. As Otto absconds, Isherwood scales down the essential tension of his island to the size of marginalia. The note left behind symbolises a breakup: even within the haven that is Ruegen, homosexual desire cannot last. The political landscape of the 1930s threatens to sweep all it encounters out of its way. Returning to the Berlin at the end of the text, Christopher listlessly remarks on the impossibility of fighting this impulse. Like the city itself, Christopher’s landlady has begun to change: ‘It’s no use trying to explain to her, or talking politics. Already she is adapting herself, as she will adapt herself to every new regime’.⁵⁰⁴ There is no future for Peter and Otto on the island, just as there is no future for Isherwood in the German capital. Once set apart from the mainland, the island becomes connected up by the overwhelming Nazi regime, a space that is no longer distinct, a place that can no longer revel in its separateness.

Critics have long read *Goodbye to Berlin* as a turning point in Isherwood’s career.⁵⁰⁵ Returning to Carr, and the assertion that ‘we might attend to how Isherwood reads and responds to modernist styles and conflicts concerning the politics of sexual difference’, I argue that the collapse of Ruegen signals the concomitant cessation of the island as a space that is coded

⁵⁰³ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 155.

⁵⁰⁴ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 316.

⁵⁰⁵ My analysis of the island finds affinity with criticism of *Goodbye to Berlin* that positions the German capital as an unsustainable space. As critics have noted the hurried, brutal end of the novel in, so too have they diagnosed the city as a dying body infected with Nazism that Isherwood must flee. See Bridget T. Chalk, *Modernism and Mobility: The Passport and Cosmopolitan Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 147-175 and Petra Rau, *English Modernism, National Identity and the Germans, 1890-1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 173-174. For discussion that situates the developing style of *Goodbye to Berlin* in dialogue with modernism, see Pericles Lewis, *The Cambridge Introduction to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 219-225 and Janet Lyon, ‘Cosmopolitanism and Modernism’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. by Mark Wollaeger and Matt Eatough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 387-412 (pp. 398-399).

as queer through an engagement with the tenets of modernist style. After all, what might it mean for Isherwood to have Otto so explicitly sign a breakup note to Peter? Quite literally, Otto tears Freud up as a means of dismissing his relationship with another man and escaping the island that itself once offered an escape from Berlin. Soon after, Christopher also departs Ruegen. In doing so, it is Otto, not Peter, that Christopher follows. This gesture sends a further signal. In jettisoning his close confidant, Christopher leaves behind Peter, a man who in his nervousness and obsession with psychoanalysis is so clearly moulded from the same clay as the fragile Philip and the anxious von Pregnitz, characters wrought from the features associated with public representations of homosexuality. No longer does the compass of desire point towards the island. No longer does sexual orientation draw Christopher away from the mainland. No longer can Philip, von Pregnitz and Christopher cut themselves adrift and take shelter in an offshore haven. Remarking on the fan mail he received from gay men in a later letter to Spender, Isherwood inverts the queer desire the island once symbolised, positioning the island as an atomised, isolating space: 'it's heart-breaking, the sense you get of all these island existences, dotted about like stars and nebulae'.⁵⁰⁶

So, where does the compass point? The answer lies in the queer cormorant that appears at the beginning of *All the Conspirators*. Returning to the cormorant, we find a new kind of prophecy: to continue, this symbol of queerness must fly onwards, over the island and onto new horizons.⁵⁰⁷ [Reacted].⁵⁰⁸ Having torn up Freud, Isherwood must move on from queer modernism and towards new modes of representation, new engagements with queer

⁵⁰⁶ Parker, *Isherwood: A Life*, p. 630.

⁵⁰⁷ This reading engages with analysis of Isherwood that positions the writer's hostility towards modernism's supposed political evasiveness as spurring on his shift away from the legacy of modernist style. In particular, Randall Stevenson, *Modernist Fiction: An Introduction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), pp. 201-205 and Randall Stevenson, 'Remembering the Pleasant Bits: Nostalgia and the Legacies of Modernism', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 43.1 (2010), 132-139.

⁵⁰⁸ THL, Christopher Isherwood Papers, Letter from Edward Upward to Christopher Isherwood 24 August 1939, Box 76, Folder CI2456.

politics and less coded understandings of queer desire.⁵⁰⁹ Tracing the island in Isherwood's early work, we are able to chart the broader modernist interrelation of geography, sexuality and space. Influenced by Forster, Joyce and Woolf, Isherwood initially depicts the island through a high modernist aesthetic that encrypts queer desire into the text by drawing on the same psychoanalytic resonances of H.D. and her contemporaries. Nonetheless, Isherwood soon grapples with the same political concerns as Burdekin. Though psychoanalytic and sexological discourse initially offer typologies useful to understanding the queer self, allowing for a specific kind of queer world-building, these identities are appropriated by the far-right forces so often associated with modernity.⁵¹⁰ Confronted with the political landscape of the 1930s, the island can only ever remain a fantasy. As a material space, the island is fragile, porous and permeable to the invasive politics of the mainland. As a symbolic space, the island elucidates how the arc of queer modernism is inseparably caught up with a self-destructive political impulse. To create queer taxonomies is to invent the integral accident of violence against these identities. To code the island through Freud is to imagine the presence of the doctor. To build queer worlds through the language of sexual science is to render those worlds open to attack from the same discourse.

As I draw towards the close of this thesis, I use Isherwood as a signpost, a cormorant that gestures towards new interrelations of geography and sexuality that radically depart from the modernist island. The swelling political onslaught on the late 1930s and the outbreak of the Second World War present what Jacques Rancière refers to as a 'symbolic rupture' for queer modernist geography. For Rancière:

⁵⁰⁹ Critics have charted the shifting politics of Isherwood's literature after the Berlin novels. See David Bergham, 'Introduction', in *Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality*, ed. by David Bergman (Amherst: University of Press, 1993), pp. 3-18 and Jamie Harker, *Middlebrow Queer: Christopher Isherwood in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), pp. 25-44.

⁵¹⁰ See Terry Eagleton, 'Contradictions of Modernism', in *Modernity, Modernism, Postmodernism*, ed. by Manuel Barbeito (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela), pp. 35-44 (pp. 42-43).

A symbolic event is the name for any event that strikes a blow to the existing regime of relations between the symbolic and the real. It is an event that the existing modes of symbolization are incapable of apprehending, and which therefore reveals a fissure in relation of the real to the symbolic.⁵¹¹

Anticipating the violence of the Second World War, *Swastika Night*, *Mr Norris Changes Trains* and *Goodbye to Berlin* stage this fissure by collapsing in on themselves. And this collapse is not the same failure contained in *Maurice*, 'Kora and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare'. Whereas Forster opens a hopeful space that allows for an imaginative revelry and H.D. fashions a traumatic landscape that reaches towards healing, Burdekin and Isherwood undercut these positive affects altogether. With the outbreak of the Second World War, sexuality, geography and modernity experienced radical changes—transforming the landscape of queer modernism. Taking up Rancière and the notion of a rupture event, my conclusion interrogates the integral collapse of queer modernist geographies.

⁵¹¹ Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, trans. by Steven Corcoran, ed. by Steven Corcoran (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 105.

New Horizons: The End of Queer Modernist Geography.

After the Second World War, everything, including a resurrected culture, has been destroyed without realizing it...after events that even the survivors cannot really survive.

— Theodor W. Adorno, *Notes to Literature* (1958)⁵¹²

there, as here, ruin opens / the tomb, the temple; enter / there as here, there are no doors.

— H.D., *Trilogy* (1944)⁵¹³

So, one by one, the cottages which used to reek of bathtub gin and reverberate with the poetry of Hart Crane have fallen to the occupying army of coke-drinking television-watchers.

— Christopher Isherwood, *A Single Man* (1964)⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² Theodor W. Adorno, *Notes to Literature*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. by Shierry Weber Nicholzen, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), I (1991), p. 244.

⁵¹³ H.D., 'Trilogy', in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Louis L. Martz (New York: New Directions, 1986), 10.

⁵¹⁴ Christopher Isherwood, *A Single Man* (London: Vintage, 2012), p. 8.

The end of *Goodbye to Berlin* is marked by a moment of reflection and refusal. As Isherwood leaves the city, he draws us into a constant present through the novel's final line: 'No. Even now I can't altogether believe that any of this has really happened...'.⁵¹⁵ This pause functions in a similar fashion to the elliptical ending of *Maurice*. Though not as joyous or buoyant, Isherwood's ellipsis offers an ongoing moment of reflection that reaches forward to the contemporary moment (whenever that 'now' may be) and asks the reader to assess just what has happened since the Second World War. In undertaking such an assessment, Isherwood further requires the reader to work through his definitive 'No', a refusal that does not negate the war but—in marking it as an ending—repudiates the attempt to accept it as final or total. Indeed, together with the ellipsis, Isherwood's 'No' signals a moment of transformation, alteration and rupture. While any exact date—1 September 1939 or 2 September 1945, for instance—may be critiqued as an arbitrary caesura, undoubtedly the period surrounding the Second World War not only affected queer modernist geographies, it called them into question. Like Forster and his presentation of the relationship between Maurice and Alec, Isherwood accepts that change must occur, yet all the while asks us to account for what can be salvaged.

As we consider the transformation of queer modernist geographies, it is important to note that it was (of course) not just Isherwood and the writers who came of age during the 1930s that struggled with the fissures caused by the explosion of the Second World War. As has been long discussed, the outbreak of fighting in 1939 marked a significant turning point for modernism more broadly. Indeed, there is no lack of modernist response to the Second World War: Eliot's *Four Quartets* (1943), H.D.'s *Trilogy* (1944), Pound's *The Pisan Cantos* (1948). The purpose of this conclusion is therefore not to argue that the Second World War presents a decisive end to the interrelation of sexuality, geography and modernity, but to

⁵¹⁵ Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin*, p. 317.

draw attention to how the war spurred on a process of transformation that affected the relationship between the central tenets of this thesis. In marking a sense of transformation, the end of *Goodbye to Berlin* is not simply a logical, but necessary closure to this thesis, a novel that encapsulates an integral collapse beyond which new critical methodologies are required to understand the complex aesthetic spatialization of sexuality in the postwar era.

If we recognise that new methods of critical inquiry are necessary when examining the relationship between sexuality and geography in the postwar era, it follows that understanding the Second World War as a transitional period necessarily requires a comprehension of where such transformation stems from, inasmuch as the direction it heads towards. This is to say that to understand the Second World War as a moment of rupture and transformation is to acknowledge the antecedent period as an interrelated body that could be exploded, rather than simply a series of atomised positionalities that might be swept away or scattered. It is the job of this conclusion to identify such an interrelated body and underscore the threads that run through the thesis as a whole as a means of drawing together its central chapters. Simply put, by acknowledging the rupturing effect of the Second World War, I equally recognise that there was a body that could be ruptured. This body is queer modernist geography and it is the purpose of this conclusion to analyse its shape, form and distinctive markers.

Oddly, in his discussion of a quite different war (that on terror following 9/11), it is Rancière who provides a neat theoretical framework for understanding the impact that the Second World War had on the interwoven tapestry of queer modernist geographies. In *Dissensus* (2010), Rancière outlines the concept of a 'symbolic event', that which renders the capacity for symbolisation deficient. As Rancière argues:

Accordingly, a symbolic event is the name for any event that strikes a blow to the existing regime of relations between the symbolic and the real. It is an event that the existing modes of symbolization are incapable of apprehending, and which therefore reveals a fissure in the relation of the real to the symbolic. This may be the event of

an unsymbolizable real or, conversely, that of the return of the foreclosed symbolic.⁵¹⁶

Critical understanding of modernism's relationship to the Second World War oscillates between these two polarities: the unsymbolizable real and the foreclosed symbolic. As Theodor W. Adorno writes, 'After the Second World War, everything, including a resurrected culture, has been destroyed without realizing it...after events that even the survivors cannot really survive'. Principally, this argument allows Adorno to affirm that the Second World War presented an unsymbolizable real, a moment of destruction that required new symbols to comprehend. Much like Isherwood's transformative 'No', Adorno marks a sense of an ending. And yet, even within this short quote, Adorno complicates his own argument. Though the Second World War opened a landscape that problematised the very process of surviving, so too did it necessarily engage with a resurrected culture by dredging up the wreckage of the First World War. In this light, perhaps we might think of the postwar landscape as a decimated waste land of its own, marking the return of a foreclosed symbolic. As Isherwood follows his 'No' with an ellipsis, Adorno illuminates that the destruction of the Second World War was not final.

Much like Adorno, scholars have vacillated between the polarities Rancière establishes whilst they unspool the broader imbrication of modernist literature and the events that followed 1939. Undoubtedly, critics have positioned the Second World War as necessarily transformative, a moment of recalibration that straddles the modern and postmodern (whether this recalibration is seen as a radical break or an interlocutory period). As Paul Crosthwaite notes, 'the most obvious point to be made is that even while the conflict was still underway, the Second World War was identified as an unprecedented crisis of Enlightenment modernity'.⁵¹⁷ Folded within this statement are a range of critical positions

⁵¹⁶ Rancière, *Dissensus*, p. 105.

⁵¹⁷ Paul Crosthwaite, *Trauma, Postmodernism and the Aftermath of World War II* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 15.

that chart the Second World War as at once inimical to modernism and nurturing to other forms, styles and aesthetics: late modernism, yes, but also postmodernism, the Beats, intermodernism and, most recently, metamodernism.⁵¹⁸ The development of these new movements would seem to gesture towards a conception of the Second World War as an unsymbolizable real for modernism by necessitating it give way to other aesthetic practices. Further attesting to this position, criticism has indicated the multivalent ways in which the Second World War operated as the perfect amniotic fluid for the gestation of such new aesthetics: economic globalisation, the Cold War, new communication technologies, the critique of totalitarianism and rejection of universalism.⁵¹⁹

Following this, to present the Second World War as an unsymbolised real is not to reduce it to abstraction. Rather, Rancière's use of 'real' emphasises the extreme materiality of the rupture caused by the outbreak of fighting. As Sarah de Nardi reminds us, the cornerstones of the Second World War are 'abandoned, burned out or destroyed villages and streets, haunting in their melancholy materiality; mass graves and their memories; the bodies of those telling stories about the war; and the tears shed for those who did not make it'.⁵²⁰ In its immanence, the Second World War is rupture made material: bodies and buildings are burst open. Perhaps most importantly to this thesis, here we may think of H.D.'s long poem

⁵¹⁸ For discussion of the Second World War and late modernism, see Marina MacKay, *Modernism and World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 15-18, and Anthony Mellors, *Late Modernist Poetics: From Pound to Prynne* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 22-25. For a historiographic critique that links the Second World War to postmodern style see Peter Brooker, 'Introduction: Reconstructions', in *Modernism/Postmodernism*, ed. by Peter Brooker (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-4. For the Second World War and its impact on the Beats, see the introduction to Jonah Raskin, *American Scream: Allen Ginsberg's Howl and the Making of the Beat Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 1-24 and Leerom Medovoi, *Rebels: Youth and the Cold War Origins of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 215-265. For an examination of the relationship between metamodernism and the Second World War, see David James' critique of late modernism in James, *Modernist Futures*, p. 20, as well as the way in which James and Seshagiri continue this discussion James and Seshagiri, 'Metamodernism: Narratives of Continuity and Revolution'.

⁵¹⁹ For further discussion see Douglas Kellner, 'Globalization and the Postmodern Turn', in *Globalization and Europe*, ed. by Roland Axtmann (London: Pinter, 1998), pp. 23-43 and Ronald Inglehart, 'Globalization and Postmodern Values', *Washington Quarterly*, 23.1 (2000), 215-228.

⁵²⁰ Sarah De Nardi, *The Poetics of Conflict Experience: Materiality and Embodiment in Second World War Italy* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), p. 2.

Trilogy, which mythologises her time in London during the blitz and opens with the poetic voice wandering the streets, finding 'there, as here, ruin opens / the tomb, the temple; enter / there as here, there are no doors'. Set in sharp contrast to Chloe and her desire for Olivia (a desire which opens up new spaces), the rubble of the war presents no clear passages forward, no lighted entranceways to move towards. In this regard, the war presents the very literal destruction of symbols and the ability to interpret them: with the loss of the dead comes the concomitant loss of their stories. And this is all to say nothing of the death of many figures crucial to our understanding of modernism and, more specifically, queer modernist geographies. To name but a few: the exiled Hirschfeld in 1935, Freud and Havelock Ellis within mere months of each other in 1939, Joyce at the opening of 1941 and Woolf shortly thereafter.

Nonetheless, though many have positioned the events following 1939 as an essential turning point, there has also been a recent critical reappraisal that seeks to rehabilitate the relationship between the Second World War and literary modernism.⁵²¹ Recapitulating the crisis of Enlightenment that Crosthwaite draws upon within a longer history that encompasses the First World War, recent scholarly reappraisal positions the Second World War as the return of a foreclosed symbolic, an extension of the same rupture that was so vital to the genesis of modernism, yet one in which, ultimately, even survivors of the 1914-1918 period cannot survive.⁵²² Ballasting this reading, Jean-François Lyotard argues that postmodernism was generated by the delegitimizing of European modernity, asserting 'The decline of narrative can be seen as an effect of the blossoming of techniques and

⁵²¹ See Leo Mellor, *Reading the Ruins: Modernism, Bombsites and British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-11; Paul K. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopedic Form* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-37; and Kristin Bluemel, *Intermodernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 1-20.

⁵²² See discussion of the Second World War as a kind of repetition in Gill Plain, *Literature of the 1940s: War, Postwar and 'Peace'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 39-40.

technologies since the Second World War'.⁵²³ As I have argued, this decline cannot be pinned to a specific date because, as Lyotard claims, 'Anytime we go searching for causes in this way we are bound to be disappointed'.⁵²⁴ It is this very disappointment that echoes Rancière's notion of the unsymbolizable real. What are we searching for? If it is modernism's inability to fully grapple with the war, then of course we will be disappointed. After all, we would be looking for what is not there, searching for continuation when there is rupture. Instead, what is important is that the Second World War is routinely pinned to a transformation. In this regard, the Second World War creates a bond between the unsymbolizable real and the foreclosed symbolic that renders modernism doubly deficient, requiring new avenues of exploration even as modernist aesthetics attempt to capture the events that followed 1939. Capitalising on this deficiency throughout her deft criticism, Marina MacKay has argued in *Modernism and World War II* (2007) that the Second World War marked the "'end" in Eliot's double sense: the end of modernism signifies both its realisation and its dissolution'.⁵²⁵ Importantly for this thesis, MacKay's reading of the Second World War as an "'end" in Eliot's double sense' chimes with Isherwood's elliptical 'No': an ending yes, but not a finality. And just as MacKay illuminates the importance of the war in understanding modernism, so too do the events following 1939 allow for an understanding of the 'realisation and its dissolution' of queer modernist geographies. As Benjamin Bateman argues the ellipsis invites 'the reader to drop the script...and finish the phrase in unusual ways', the transformation and rupture of the Second World War inscribed onto Isherwood's final '...' offers us a moment of pause and reflection, asking us to consider what has come before. Perhaps no critical standpoint gestures to this more cuttingly than Harry Levin's question, posed in 1960:

⁵²³ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Lyotard Reader and Guide*, ed. by Keith Crome and James Williams (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 83.

⁵²⁴ Lyotard, *The Lyotard Reader and Guide*, p. 83.

⁵²⁵ MacKay, *Modernism and World War II*, p. 1.

'What Was Modernism?'⁵²⁶ Homing in on this inquiry, I now whet it down to a fine point by asking 'What was queer modernist geography?'

Cartographies of Desire: Reading Queer Modernist Geographies.

As I have argued, to read queer geographies after the Second World War would necessitate a new critical methodology. What this recognition offers, however, is the prior interrelatedness of sexuality, geography and modernity. It is this interrelatedness I now turn to as a means of drawing together the chapters of this thesis and reading the core principles of queer modernist geographies. To do this, I return to the very concept that I began with, sexual orientation, as well as the questions posed in my introduction: What is the relationship between the spatial and the sexual in the modernist era? How do sexual orientations serve to orient modernist texts? How does modernism code space as queer?

Returning to the conceptual starting point that this thesis began with as a means of drawing it to a close, it is vital to revisit a well-trodden argument: there is an essential duality at play within the concept of sexual orientation, with the erotic and the spatial vying for power. Acknowledging this potentially obvious contention is, however, necessary in order to understand the way in which such power play becomes filtered through the taxonomizing of sexuality across the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Due to this power play, it is the very construction of sexuality that cuts through queer modernist geographies, each of the texts discussed in this thesis struggling with the development of sexual identities as they spatialise queerness. For Forster, this struggle is bodily and affective: the deep pathos and feverous anxiety of *Maurice*, in which unspeakable lust is materialised through the claustrophobic rooms of Cambridge and Penge. Here, the development of sexual identity poses a threat, the spectral presence of Wilde a reminder of the limits and boundaries of homosexual desire. For H.D., this struggle is encoded: the swirling psychic landscape of 'Kora

⁵²⁶ Harry Levin, 'What Was Modernism?', *The Massachusetts Review*, 1.4 (1960), 609-630 (p. 609).

and Ka' and 'Mira-Mare'. Here, queer subjectivity becomes bound up with an internal ecosystem, the act of swimming representing the exploratory nature of the psychoanalytic process as the subject dives deeper into the topography of the mind as a means of reckoning with their sexuality. For Burdekin, this struggle is with the changeable sexual politics of the period: the critique of racial hygiene in *Swastika Night* wrestles with *Proud Man's* earlier valorisation of eugenic ideology. Here, the attachment of sexual taxonomies to broader racial typologies through sexology elicits a change in Burdekin's world-building and vision of utopia. For Isherwood, this struggle is with the troubled legacy of queer modernism itself: the high modernist leanings of *All the Conspirators* giving way to *Mr Norris Changes Trains* and *Goodbye to Berlin* as the outbreak of the Second World War encroaches. Here, the representational spaces of queer modernism begin to collapse as the politicised landscape of the 1930s begins to call for different styles that represent the changing interactions of sexuality, geography and modernity.

Contained within the postwar period were subterranean fault lines that would erupt during the earthquake of gay liberation. Central to this would be the critique of the very discursive practices that helped to concretise queer identity in the early twentieth century, namely the rejection of medical models of sexuality in favour of cultural and political unity. Think, for instance, of the opening line to Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems* (1956), with its innate suspicion of medicalisation and its flashes of distressed flesh: 'I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked'.⁵²⁷ The deep-seated suspicion of psychiatry present throughout queer postwar literature in particular attests to its departure from queer modernism, which is so deeply bound up with psychoanalysis and sexology. This is to say that the decade following the war became fertile ground in which to sow the seeds of the politically rebellious 1960s, with artists interrogating the very same

⁵²⁷ Allen Ginsberg, 'Howl', in *Howl, Kaddish and Other Poems* (London: Penguin, 2009), pp. 1-11 (p. 1).

language that helped the likes of H.D. and Burdekin grapple with queerness through terms such as inversion, Sapphism and bisexuality. No longer were Freud, Ellis and their contemporaries enough, the postwar era yearned to push past diagnoses and towards liberation.

With the relationship between the spatial and the sexual mediated by the taxonomizing of the queer subject, it is the body that acts as the connective tissue between the erotic and the geographic. Of course the body takes many forms but, as Judith Butler argues, 'Just as no prior materiality is accessible without the means of discourse, so no discourse can ever capture that prior materiality; to claim that the body is an elusive referent is not the same as claiming that it is only and always constructed'.⁵²⁸ This thesis has not sought to reduce the body to a series of constructivist positions, but exhibit how the construction of the body affects its material ability to move through, inhabit and navigate space. In Chapter One (as the homosexual subject is diagnosed as deviant) the body is violently affected and rendered ill, Clive sickened by his love for Maurice. Only through reckoning with such desire can Maurice come to move closer to Alec and, eventually, escape the claustrophobic confines of Penge through the fantasy of the greenwood. In Chapter Two the mental and the corporeal are imbricated through the psychoanalytic process, which becomes rendered through the deeply physical act of swimming. Echoing Merleau-Ponty's contention that 'the body is our general medium for having a world', the body becomes the entire world in H.D.'s short stories as they spatialise psychic life.⁵²⁹ In Chapter Three the geographies of *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night* are intimately and violently predicated on the body. Boundaries, wars, and empires are all seen as reducible to sexual difference by the Genuine Person, while Hermann's love for Alfred positions him as a traitor within the mythologised blood

⁵²⁸ Irene Costera Meijer and Baukje Prins, 'How Bodies Come to Matter: An Interview with Judith Butler', *Signs*, 23.2 (1998), 275-286, (p. 278).

⁵²⁹ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p. 169.

hierarchies of the Nazi regime, orienting him away from the nation as he enters exile. In Chapter Four the protagonists of Isherwood's early writing must do away with the legacy of modernism if they are to find a space which can contain them. Like Clive, Philip ends up sickened by his own desire, swaddled in cloths and trapped in an Edwardian home. Indeed, whether within or behind the texts themselves, the presence of medical professionals is no coincidence: Freud, Havelock Ellis, Professor von X, Dr Barry, Lasker Jones, the inescapable doctor of Ruegen Island. These medical figures come to embody the regulatory power of discourse that queer modernism might challenge but can never fully refute.

Due to the spatial relationship between modernist literature and sexual taxonomies, sexual orientations serve to orient modernist texts by acting as a script that regulates the geographies they contain. This is best read through Ahmed's capacious claim that 'if orientation is a matter of how we reside in space, then sexual orientation might also be a matter of residence, of how we inhabit spaces, and who or what we inhabit spaces with'.⁵³⁰ Exemplifying this claim, desire may pull subjects closer together, but the taxonomizing of desire into discrete categories has repercussions for how this movement occurs. In *Maurice*, homosexual desire consistently brings the protagonists together behind closed doors, away from the prying eyes of normative society. As part of this, Maurice rebels against his family, eventually abandoning them altogether—desire propelling him away from his mother and sisters as he moves towards Alec. A similar trajectory occurs throughout *Swastika Night*, Hermann jettisoning the compulsory homoerotic heterosexuality of the Nazi nation to be with Alfred in the culturally queer England. In both Forster and Burdekin's literature, then, the taxonomizing of sexuality creates polarities of desire, rendering the mobile nature of desire as much a question of closeness as it is of distance by positioning the move towards one polarity as necessarily a move away from the other.

⁵³⁰ Ahmed, 'Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology', p. 543.

Further to this, as they contour the route desire takes, so too do sexual taxonomies shape the spatial hierarchies created by affect, centring certain subjects and marginalising others. In 'Kora and Ka', John and Kora are brought into contact with one another by their trauma, bound together by their inability to sexually connect as they struggle to keep afloat, pulled in various different directions by the flotsam and jetsam of their aqueous psyches. In this regard, it is an affective tether that connects two decentred subjects, sexual marginalisation bringing together the dual halves of the bisexual dyad that H.D. grappled with throughout her reading of Freud. So too is this marginal kinship reflected by the island in Isherwood's early novels. Unable to settle in normative society, his characters seek out others who have been pushed beyond the geographic boundaries of the mainland. For a time, the island presents a deep-seated sense of safety that allows for queer interactions. If, as Ahmed argues, 'Heteronormativity functions as a form of public comfort by allowing bodies to extend into spaces that have already taken their shape', then queer comfort is to be found elsewhere, in marginal spaces that allow fleeting reprieve from normativity.⁵³¹ This is, of course, until the violent swing of the late 1930s politics ruptures such safety altogether, Isherwood's island collapsing in on itself. Akin to desire, then, affect is shaped by the regulatory power of discourse. Pushed from the centre to the periphery, queer subjects enter into deeply affective moments of recognition with one another that draw them closer together, shaping their interaction with the world around them.

Following Ginsberg, in *A Single Man* Isherwood pinpoints the end of the war as a transformative moment for society:

In the late forties, when the world-war-two vets came swarming out of the East with their just-married wives...And what better breeding-ground than a hillside neighbourhood like this one, only five minutes' walk from the beach and with no through traffic to decimate the future tots? So, one by one, the cottages which used

⁵³¹ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 148.

to reek of bathtub gin and reverberate with the poetry of Hart Crane have fallen to the occupying army of coke-drinking television-watchers.⁵³²

Here, Isherwood magnetises sexuality, geography and modernity through the war by signifying a reorganisation of modern society through the redrawing of the traditional boundaries that marked the dividing line between normativity and deviance. The invocation of Crane is deliberately suggestive and affective, conjuring up a queer spectre in a manner akin to the references Forster makes to Wilde in *Maurice*. As Forster draws on Wilde to chart an atmospheric change, the image of Crane turfed out of his abode by married couples elicits a shift that would require a more political perspective than the coded desire of modernism. Contained within Isherwood's acerbic analysis is the understanding that queer people would need to push back against normative society if they hoped to preserve themselves. Indeed, although Isherwood held an ambivalent relationship to gay liberation, this shift from coded desire to open discussion is nonetheless present throughout his work. The sickly artist with his queer flourishes in *All the Conspirators* and the fictional Christopher's evasive asexuality in *Goodbye to Berlin* are replaced by the deeply affecting homosexual love of *A Single Man*. If nothing else—like *Howl* with its 'waking nightmares, alcohol and cock and endless balls'—the postwar era marked a necessary vigilance for Isherwood and his contemporaries, a watchfulness that would give way to collective action.⁵³³ In order not to end up like Philip at the end of *All the Conspirators*, postwar literature needed to loosen the grip of medical taxonomy.

It is through the spatialization of such regulatory power that literary modernism comes to code space as queer. Indeed, queer space necessarily exists in a dialogic relationship with normative space—the reeking bathtub gin of Crane's cottage set in stark contrast to the home of the nuclear family and their Coca Cola bottles. There is, of course, nothing inherently

⁵³² Isherwood, *A Single Man*, p. 8.

⁵³³ Ginsberg, *Howl*, p. 1

queer about any space. Instead, spaces become queer through their relative attachment to queer bodies. Queer space is therefore best understood through Soja's concept of Thirdspace, lived space that 'overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects', situating 'the real and the, things and thought on equal terms'.⁵³⁴ The many rooms of *Maurice* are queer in that they function as a series of interlocking closets, affording Maurice, Clive and Alec more or less space depending on how freely the lovers may move about the house. As such, the rooms in which the protagonists meet are coded as queer as they conceal desire from prying eyes. In much the same manner, England becomes coded as a queer space in *Swastika Night* through its relative difference to the institutionalised heterosexuality of Germany. Unlike the Nazi state, England becomes a space where queer behaviour is permitted as the English are not required to reproduce in order to hold up the blood hierarchies of empire. Similarly, the seascape of H.D.'s short stories becomes queered through its near mythopoetic relationship to the bisexual psyche. Drawing on the sea, H.D. spatialises the analytic process that sought to pathologize sexual behaviour. Finally, the islands of Isherwood's early writing offer a brief moment of reprieve in the narrative. Before it collapses in on itself, the island presents a fragile queer haven that allows Philip, the Baron and Christopher to imagine a space in which their relationships can flourish. That is, of course, until the island becomes swept up in the same political turmoil as the mainland.

Milestones: A Conclusion.

Considering the elliptical final line of *Goodbye to Berlin*, we might think of the Second World War as an end in the double sense (that is to say, a realisation and dissolution) as we ask 'What was queer modernist geography?' With the notion of sexuality and sexual identity so clearly imbricated with medical models of sexual behaviour (though this clarity does nothing to assuage the thick, knotted, and complex nature of this relationship) in the late nineteenth

⁵³⁴ Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 68.

and early twentieth centuries, queer sexuality becomes intimately bound up with deviance, inversion and othering. These terms, deviance and inversion, rally against the (straight) directional lines established by Freud in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. And these terms, deviant and invert, present a deeply spatialised vision of queerness, inasmuch as they offer a queered vision of the spatial relationships between bodies. Moreover, terms such as deviant and invert bind together subjects into taxonomized groups. In this way, queer subjects always-already exist in dialogue with one another, just as they exist in (perhaps more fraught) dialogue with normative subjects; certain bodies become magnetised as others become repelled. Modern(ist) conceptions of sexual identity and behaviour, then, comes to establish new modes of queerness that shape space, how it is inhabited and how it is moved through. As Ahmed argues, 'To make a simple but important point: orientations affect what it is that bodies can do'.⁵³⁵

Furthermore, as this thesis has shown, queer modernist geographies are necessarily bound up with myriad modes of identity: queerness becomes classed, raced, gendered, (dis)abled. The queer body never exists in a vacuum that is restricted to sexual behaviour alone. It is impossible to understand the different relationships that Maurice has with Clive and Alec without attending to the very different class positionalities of the schoolmate and the groundsman. It is impossible to understand H.D.'s claiming of 'the perfect bi-' without examining the deep imbrication of gender and sexuality that comes to taxonomize the figure of the bisexual. It is impossible to understand the change in sympathies for eugenic ideology in *Proud Man* and *Swastika Night* without analysing the racialised hierarchies of eugenicist thinking. It is impossible to attend to the description of Otto as having a 'criminal head' without noting the relationship that this description has to other (widely disparaged) bodily models, such as Phrenology. In being so classed, raced, gendered and (dis)abled, queerness

⁵³⁵ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 145.

becomes attached to wider spaces and spatial tropes: houses, seas, nations, islands, closets, utopias and dystopias, topographic models, exile, haven, refuge, sanctuary. This is why, as I stated in my introduction, one cannot reduce the relationship between sexuality, geography and modernity to a mathematical abstraction, such as modernity + sexuality = orientation. As much as modernity and sexuality combine to create a deeply spatialised sense of orientation, the birth of orientation turns on its head to demarcate what (or who) counts as modern (and therefore normative), and what (or who) counts as sexual (and therefore modern). As Gayle Rubin argues, 'The realm of sexuality also has its own internal politics, inequities, and modes of oppression. As with other aspects of human behaviour, the concrete institutional forms of sexuality at any given time and place are products of human activity'.⁵³⁶

Following this, just as they engage many different forms of identity and many different kinds of space, queer geographies anchor themselves in modernist texts in a panoply of manners. The need for a queer space plays with the narrative and structure of *Maurice*, with the oft-omitted Epilogue changing the direction of the story. The seascapes of the bisexual psyche affect the porous form of H.D.'s long-short stories, their elastic lengths and fluid genres. The shifting sociocultural status of queer behaviour and identity marks the political sympathies of Burdekin's texts just as they shape the worlds contained within. And Isherwood plays with the boundaries and limitations of his early novels as he begins to centre queer space explicitly, slowly foregrounding the island. Read through a textual lens, we might therefore expand Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter's claim that 'How sexual minorities come to placemaking says much about social networks and relationships to

⁵³⁶ Gayle Rubin, 'Thinking Sex', in *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader*, ed. by Gayle S. Rubin (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 137.

political economies'.⁵³⁷ How sexualised subjects come to placemaking also says much about narrative, character, genre, form, structure and style.

In all, queer modernist geographies are slippery fish. The interrelation of sexuality, geography and modernity is, of course, not uniform. Queerness is shaped by gender, race, class and disability, yes, but also by questions of temporality, legacy, influence and sedimentation. Whereas for Forster and *Maurice*, the affective weight of the Wilde trial hangs heavy and leaves an indelible imprint on the novel, it is Forster himself who acts as a shaping presence on Isherwood and *All the Conspirators*. As Forster grapples with the immediate history of homosexuality and its legal repercussions, he becomes part of that homosexual history, a cornerstone in his own right. In much the same manner, though H.D. would turn to Freud and Burdekin to Ellis, the relationship between these women is no less important to their own understanding of queerness, with the letters swapped between the two acting as material witness to the conversations and networks that shaped their engagement with medical models of sexuality. This is to say that as queer modernist geographies bloom and develop, they leave their own legacy, reshaping and reforming the tapestry, while offering new methods of exploration and engagement. As I have argued, queer modernist geographies undoubtedly pass as they are ruptured and transformed, but it is this legacy that tempers their dissolution with their realisation, their weight, their gravity and their impact.

Perhaps nothing attests to the lasting importance of queer modernist geographies as much as a tender moment between Isherwood and Forster, authors brought together by their sexuality as much as their writing (and kept together by a lasting friendship). On first showing *Maurice* to Isherwood, Forster asked 'Does it date?' In response, Isherwood posed another

⁵³⁷ Anne-Marie Bouthillette, Gordon Brent Ingram and Yolanda Retter, 'Placemaking and the Dialectics of Public and Private', in *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*, ed. by Anne-Marie Bouthillette, Gordon Brent Ingram and Yolanda Retter (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997), pp. 295-301 (p. 295).

question: 'Why *shouldn't* it date?'⁵³⁸ Ensclosed within both Forster and Isherwood's inquiry is a recognition of the fragility of queer modernism, its essential passing and, yet, the validation of that passing. As one of the first modern gay novels, *Maurice* remains no less important, even when supplanted by the literature that followed. Much like its contemporaries, *Maurice* acts as a map. As we pull these novels, dog-eared and damson, sexual and spatial, from the library shelf, they present us with a cartography of queer desire as it functioned within the milieu of literary modernism.

⁵³⁸ Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind*, p. 126.

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