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'To Desire, to Belong':
Homosexual Identity
in the Lives and Writing of
Compton Mackenzie,
Norman Douglas
and D.H.Lawrence

Howard J. Booth
PhD Thesis
University of Kent
at Canterbury, 1997

'Love is a more wonderful thing than art.'
'They are both simply forms of imitation', remarked
Lord Henry.

Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*¹

Alas, while writing this, I must perforce lay the pen
aside, and think how desolate are the conditions under
which men constituted like me live and love.

John Addington Symonds, *Memoirs*²

Who would complete without the extra day
The journey that should take no time at all?

W.H.Auden, 'The Quest'³

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Abstract

This book addresses the negotiation of male subjects with same-sex desire in the sixty year period around the year 1900. It focuses particularly on authors who were active in the 1920s and resident for extended periods in Italy; namely Norman Douglas (1868-1952), D.H.Lawrence (1885-1930) and Compton Mackenzie (1883-1972). It also looks at the reactions of Douglas and Lawrence to the life and writing of Maurice Magnus (1876-1920). The volume seeks to make an intervention in debate in lesbian and gay studies, advocating the necessity of addressing the experience of the subject in relation to available sexual identities. To map this set of relations the psychoanalytic concept of identification is utilised. A model of reading the work of these writers is proposed which looks at their relation to the discourses in which the validity of same-sex desire was being contested. The introduction seeks to set out this theoretical model, and also looks, as an example, at the life and writing of John Addington Symonds. The first chapter considers the work of Compton Mackenzie, and his view that life is a matter of the taking on of roles - homosexuality being, for Mackenzie, the 'bad' role. There is a discussion of the differing conceptions of the subject in circulation at the time, and of issues around 'performativity' and depth psychology. The second chapter looks at Norman Douglas, suggesting that there are many ways in which the subject could engage with available identities, rather than just a small number of possible engagements. The consideration of Douglas allows for a problematization of the perhaps expected relations between sexual practice and sites of constriction and reticence. With Lawrence, in chapter three, the issue of repression is approached directly. Rather than looking at relations between men in a few chapters of some of the novels, recently available or new material is brought forward to discuss his response to same-sex desire. In order to show the importance of interactions between a number of individuals, the fourth chapter looks at the relations of Norman Douglas and D.H.Lawrence with Maurice Magnus. Here, as throughout the book, the relation of same-sex desire to writing is foregrounded; also, material on the same-sex desiring subject in a hostile social sphere is discussed. Finally, the conclusion examines texts by Douglas, Lawrence and Mackenzie from 1928, that year of the scandalous publication. The reception of these supposedly transgressive texts provides the focus here.

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Professor John Worthen helped encourage my interest in Lawrence as an undergraduate: I am very grateful to him for the enthusiastic lead he gave. Other experts in the field of Lawrence Studies have also been helpful. Howard Mills watched over this thesis in its first year when my supervisor was in America, and I have profited from discussions with Professor Mark Kinkead-Weekes. Mark also allowed me to read the final version of his forthcoming second volume of the Cambridge Lawrence biography: this was a great help. The D.H.Lawrence Centre at the University of Nottingham organised 'Work-in-Progress' conferences that saw me air many of the ideas in this thesis for the first time, and the 'D.H.Lawrence in England and Italy' Symposium at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in July 1995 provided a forum for talking about Maurice Magnus.

Many people have contributed to this project at Kent. Amongst the postgraduate community the various conferences I co-organised also provided a valuable opportunity for me to give papers and try to clarify my thinking. Megan Stern was the collaborator on 'Traces, Margins, Journeys' in 1993 and Lee Grieveson co-organised the 'Masculinities' and 'Subject' conferences with me in 1994 and 1995 respectively.

Behind this renaissance in the graduate community at Kent was the energy of Sue Wiseman. I am grateful to Sue for opening so many doors for the raw young graduate that arrived in Kent in October 1990. I also owe a lot to the Postgraduate Theory Seminar which she founded, and I would like to thank all who have attended it down the years - particularly those who assisted me during the eighteen months when it was my responsibility. Sue has continued to be a great support to me after she left Kent - I am hugely indebted to her for all her help and kindness. What I have said about her so far leaves out much she has done, including providing a place to stay when I was working at the British Library, and the many cups of coffee and the cakes she has

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Introduction

The subject and male same-sex desire

My project is to discuss the engagement of the male writing subject with 'homosexuality'¹ in the thirty years either side of 1900. I take as my examples, for close examination, the lives and writing of three authors active in the nineteen-twenties: Compton Mackenzie, Norman Douglas and D.H. Lawrence; I also look at the controversy surrounding Maurice Magnus.

Existing critical writing has found it difficult to relate same-sex desire to writing and the lives of those who write. It has either refused to try, or crude analyses have resulted from bringing broad definitions to bear on a complex text, or homosexuality is used as an explanation for the course of a life. I propose an approach to these issues not through traditional academic English, but using the potentially productive area of Lesbian and Gay Studies. I say *potentially* helpful, because work on the history of sexuality, though often a very rich resource, has largely failed to take account of the range of likely responses of the individual to available sexual identities in a hostile social environment. The response to homosexual identities will be fraught with rejections and ambivalences resulting from interdictions internalised during formative years spent in a heterosexual context. All too often accounts have had the subject simply 'taking on' an available identity, as an actor takes on a role. These narratives imply that an individual unable to belong to the heterosexual centre in society finds, on the edges of society, an untroubled place of refuge. My contention is that the margins are continually reformed by the ongoing, scarring engagement with the centre - they are not a place apart. Further, the language of 'centre' and 'margins', as it is often deployed, moves too quickly to assume that those on the edges of society have a shared, common experience. There is a failure to address the way that, for the homosexual subject, coming to identify with these marginal groupings is likely to be a difficult process. It is my aim to make the engagement of the same-sex desiring subject with available homosexual identities an area for study.

How might such a project be undertaken? I propose to chart the individual's engagement with sexual identities by using the Freudian concept of identification, Freud's account of how character comes to

be formed. Identification has been used in a gay studies context, particularly in the recent work of Diana Fuss.² However, this is an adaptation of the rich, Lacan-influenced vein of work on alterity and difference. Its considerable debt to the line of theoretical texts in colonial and post-colonial studies that runs from Fanon to Bhabha, means that it addresses margins-centre relations. My focus is on the sexually dissident individual's encounter with marginalised groupings - not so much margins-centre, then, as margins-margins continually affected by a hostile centre.

The deployment of the concept of identification will not only be used to examine the relation of the individual to the behavioural aspects of an identity, or to the social group formed around those who assert that they belong to such an identity. The intention is that identification will be deployed as a tool for looking at how the individual stands in relation to 'homosexuality'. In the period under discussion various discourses existed for validating homosexuality to oneself and - for some, particularly for those who wrote - to others. These ways of talking about same-sex desire were provided by periods and places where sex was held to be organised differently than in the modern West, or through an appropriation of the predominantly pathologizing discourse of sexology by establishing what Foucault called a '"reverse" discourse'.³ The concept of identification can thus be used beyond the bond established with another person - though role models were important, often perhaps vital, in helping to embody these differing conceptions of sexuality. Analysis of the same-sex desiring subject's negotiation with and use of this identificatory material - rather than simply their response to the behavioral aspects of an identity - provides a means of mapping the individual in relation to 'homosexuality'. Where were connections made by an individual, and where were possible lines of development not taken? How were these identifications taken up, and with what kinds of enthusiasm or ambivalence? And did they, in time, come to an end - perhaps to be replaced by others, that were very different in form?

Of course, there are possible objections to the use of identification as a theoretical tool to help address the relation between the subject, same-sex 'identities' and a hostile social environment. The first, which I will address in full later, is that Freudian notions of identification are too close to psychoanalytic causologies for male homosexuality, too contaminated by proximity to

what is finally an irredeemably homophobic form of inquiry. The second is that this project threatens to reinstate, if certainly not the autonomous subject, then at least a depth psychology model of the human mind, with psychical structures formed by acknowledged and unadmitted, submerged motivations. My response to both objections would be that my course is set by the need, not to follow the main lines of contemporary theory, but to explore the category of 'experience', and to find a language for doing so.⁴ The aim is to make a strategic intervention which challenges assumptions of the existence of the already-belonging 'homosexual' subject.

Much recent work in lesbian and gay studies - particularly the phenomenon of 'queer studies' which mainly emanates from those with 'Cultural Studies' interests - has failed to historicise adequately, and to address the role of the subject in relation to available identities. There has been insufficient interest in how the present state of affairs came into being, a failure to embark on work in the archive.⁵ A historical sense is needed to discern in our own period preconceptions which are still highly significant, and indeed foundational, but which are no longer immediately apparent. A commitment to historicising projects led to the selection of the three British writers studied here - Compton Mackenzie (1883-1972), Norman Douglas (1868-1952) and D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930). Their differing engagements with 'homosexuality' can be seen by looking at their responses to available identificatory material. Points of comparison are available between the three. For example, all were resident in Italy in the second and third decades of the century. They wrote about each other - their lives crossed and so do their texts. Looking at their writing, mostly from after the First World War, shows how sexual identities and identificatory material that had come to the fore in the late nineteenth century remained foundational; in fact, because of the effects of the Wilde trials in 1895 and the First World War, the nineteen twenties were a period of opening out, even efflorescence, for homosexuality after a dark period. Both Norman Douglas and D.H. Lawrence knew the homosexual Maurice Magnus (1876-1920), and they became embroiled in a controversy over Magnus' *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion* after his suicide. They were responding, in characteristic ways, to the references to homosexuality in this text. The Magnus controversy also provides a good way of looking at the extent of the incompatibility of the homosexual subject with the everyday, homosocially regulated society in which sexually dissident subjects

live.

Of the three main writer's under discussion, only one, Norman Douglas, can be clearly designated as 'a homosexual'. Even then, though his sexual behaviour is clearly documented, he rejected available same-sex identities, he did not identify with and belong to a group with others who shared his sexual interests. But my focus is not on those who found an easy, problem-free home within marginal groupings - if such people, on careful examination, exist⁶ - but on those whose accommodation with 'homosexuality' was marked by ambivalence and rejection of various aspects of the emergent homosexual sub-culture. (Indeed, as part of this project, notions of a unified sub-culture will be continually called into question.) The aim of inquiry will not be driven by the effort to discern the 'real', core sexuality of the writers under discussion, but an examination of the possible responses to 'homosexuality'. D.H.Lawrence and Compton Mackenzie can certainly be seen responding to same-sex desire; they represent it in their texts. The specific interest in discussing Lawrence is motivated by the wish to transcend the inadequate accounts of Lawrence and homosexuality within Lawrence studies. In part, what is needed is the examination Lawrence in the context of those who lived and wrote around him.

These writers, it should also be noted, were not 'High Modernists', either. Part of my project - though one centred on same-sex desire in the period - is to consider writing outside the Modernist canon which is important to the study of the period in that it reflects, and in turn influence, the social and political fabric. The examination of such writing draws attention to the wider history-of-ideas context of the time; Modernism is only a part of the cultural and intellectual history of the first fifty years of this century, and not the whole.

This introduction will suggest that lesbian and gay studies can be considered in terms of three periods. The argument will be that the structures of thinking involved in each period have not addressed adequately the engagement of the subject with 'homosexuality'. In the second section the proposition is that the Freudian concept of identification can be used to fill this perceived absence in available theory. Then there will be a brief discussion of the life and writing of John Addington Symonds (1840-1893), in part to suggest that he is a vital figure in establishing a number of ways of speaking same-sex desire which others were to respond to and use. But I will also argue in this

third section that examining Symonds' own relation to this material helps us to understand his life and project more fully. It shows some of the complexities of the homosexual subject's positioning at the time. The section on Symonds can therefore serve as an example of the kind of analysis that is to follow in subsequent chapters. The account of the work of this early campaigner will counter Jeffrey Weeks' argument that with Symonds we see, simply, an intervention into the sexual politics of the day compromised by weakness.

Part One. Three periods of lesbian and gay studies: the significance of Foucault

Lesbian and gay studies can be split into three periods: the work of Michel Foucault occupying a place somewhat outside this periodisation as an ongoing source of potential insights (or, on the part of some, simplifying misreadings). The examination of how the individual comes to belong, to identify, has not yet been addressed fully by this emerging field of inquiry. There has also been a retreat from historical investigation into solely synchronic analysis.

I. Essentialist assumptions

In the first period, before 1976, the theory was at one with what can still be regarded as the popular belief about homosexuality. According to this view, homosexuals are said to form a discrete group, with definable boundaries, the homosexual subject a kind of individual who occurs in all societies through history. While the term 'homosexual' was first used in the late nineteenth century, it represents a discovery of a universal phenomenon, through time and across different cultures. This approach allows for the politically forceful tactic of appropriating a valorised figure as 'homosexual'. A text like A.L.Rowse's *Homosexuals in History* seeks to uncover that which has been excluded from traditional historical and biographical narratives.⁷ The effort Rouse makes is to unsettle a heterosexualising narrative, and suggest the ongoing presence of homosexuality - however this overall project is not made explicit. While the powerful psychological impact of appropriating these figures as role models should not be forgotten, there are

difficulties that make this approach intellectually meaningless. This is due to the assumption of a transhistorical homosexual essence. Talk about, for example, a 'gay' Shakespeare can be dismissed as transferring a word denoting a medico-juridical category from the mid- to late- nineteenth century (and, more specifically, using a word - 'gay' - that gained this sense in the early 1930s, probably being introduced into Britain through the plays of Noel Coward⁸), to the English Renaissance.

Two things need to be noted, though, about this critique of a supposedly naïve period. It would be wrong to say that no nuanced studies existed prior to 1976, that there were no accounts that did not consider the social and historical situatedness of 'sexuality'. Indeed, John Addington Symonds' *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, which dates in its earliest form to the 1870s, is careful in its historiographical practice.⁹ The second point runs the other way. It is that while we may now want to attack what we regard as untheorized positions held before our present 'enlightenment', the significance of earlier, pre-1976, practice cannot be discounted. It was important in the lived experience of many - and, in fact, the majority still live under the sway of the essentialist argument, even if they know its intellectual bankruptcy. For all the intellectual failings of the approach of this period, its strategy of uncovering the sexuality of famous individuals, or of appealing to cultures and places where same-sex desire was regarded differently, has considerable psychological force. The same-sex desiring subject lives in a society that does not provide narratives that suggest to her or him that they have a secure place in the world: supporting narratives will be sought.

II. The period of constructionist hegemony

The choice of the year 1976 as the point of transition between the first and second periods of lesbian and gay studies is not arbitrary: in that year volume one of Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* was published. This can be seen as the beginning of a period of hegemony for accounts of 'homosexuality' that stressed its situatedness in the recent past of the West. But it would be extremely reductive to see Foucault as simply a 'social constructionist' in his work on the history of sexuality. Categorising Foucault in this way fails to note the historiographical and philosophical concerns that are such an important part of volume one of the *History of Sexuality*. Further

trying to attach this label to Foucault fails to deal with the shifts of emphasis that can be seen in late Foucault from power, discourse and knowledge towards governmentality, the care of the self and ethics.¹⁰ In fact, the ongoing reception of Foucault's work continues to offer insights, and to suggest new methods of approach.

There is a tendency to see Foucault as someone who is diametrically opposed to conventional models of 'the subject', whose analyses have a different object. This can be related to his rejection of the French intellectual climate in which he grew up; a context for thought dominated by Sartre, by phenomenology.¹¹ However, while his writing on discourse and power sometimes seems to perceive the subject as a medium for wider forces rather than an entity possessing significant agency, there is a move toward questions involving the individual in the late writings. Foucault's aim in the second and third volumes of the *History of Sexuality* (1984) is precisely the wish to address the issue of 'the subject'. He wrote about his changing practice in the introduction to the second volume,

A theoretical shift had seemed necessary in order to analyze what was often designated as the advancement of learning; it led me to examine the forms of discursive practices that articulated the human sciences. A theoretical shift had also been required in order to analyze what is often described as the manifestations of 'power'; it led me to examine, rather, the manifold relations, the open strategies, and the rational techniques that articulate the exercise of powers. It appeared that I now had to undertake a third shift, in order to analyze what is termed 'the subject'. It seemed appropriate to look for the forms and modalities of the relation to self by which the individual constitutes and recognises himself *qua* subject.¹²

This amended project involved Foucault in an investigation of Greek and Roman texts about how the self was encouraged to form and act on the self. He is interested in the emergence of notions of an individual trying to make themselves live up to a particular moral code, and, with a later set of texts, to see how the practice of talking about the failure to measure up to moral precepts emerged; in short, how the perceived need to confess came into being. This is not, then, a consideration of the subject's relation to 'sexuality' in modern times. But the very wish to move to a consideration of the subject as worthy of study is important. It suggests an area of concern that runs against the expectations of those who wish to categorise Foucault as a 'social constructionist' in any simple sense, or to see him as someone who saw the subject as just a

conduit for wider social forces.

In terms of narratives of the emergence of homosexual identities in Britain the main social constructionist accounts come in the work of Jeffrey Weeks. In his *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (1977) Weeks sought to move beyond 'evidence' around 'famous homosexuals and notorious court cases':¹³ presumably he had in mind the books of H. Montgomery Hyde.¹⁴ This involved a shift towards looking at homosexual reform movements - though it is surprising the extent to which the book is structured around accounts of leading reform figures, how much of a transitional text towards fully-fledged social constructionism the book now appears - but also a challenge to a belief in a homosexual essence:

We tend to think now that the word 'homosexual' has an unvarying meaning, beyond time and history. In fact it is itself a product of history, a cultural artefact designed to express a particular concept.¹⁵

Weeks, in his work on the history of sexuality in Britain and on sexology, was part of a movement that, in Gayle Rubin's words, 'gave sex a history and created a constructionist alternative to sexual essentialism'.¹⁶ Much historicising work, which this thesis will draw upon, was done during this second period.

Constructionist theory and practice was executed in opposition to essentialism. Viewing lesbian and gay studies in terms of a binary opposition between essentialist views of homosexuality and these social constructivist narratives structured debate in a limiting way. The essentialist side of the opposition, which was relegated and stigmatized, was something of a straw target. Already near to death, it was ritually flogged in 'new' work. Though essentialist work on homosexuality does have a continuing history in the academy, it is a feeble thread. One thinks, for example, of the embarrassing *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (1990).¹⁷ To show how work on the history of same-sex desire in the 1980's was focused around the essentialist-constructionist debate, and held together by it, I will look briefly at the key example, namely the dispute between John Boswell and David Halperin.

A case history in gay studies of the 1980's: the Boswell/ Halperin debate

The writer seen as the leading theorist of essentialism in studies of the history of sexuality - in fact, it seems the only

serious one - was John Boswell. Argument followed his *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality. Gay people in Western Europe From the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (1980) because it took the word gay and applied it to the Middle Ages.¹⁸ However, this remains the most important study of same-sex desire in this historical period. His posthumously published text *The Marriage of Likeness* (1995) is similarly stimulating. It deal with Christian ceremonies between men in pre-modern times that seem to parallel male-female marriage.¹⁹ Michel Foucault drew attention to the use of the word 'gay' in the earlier text, but not to criticise Boswell for his methodology. Rather he sees the word - as Boswell defined it - as providing 'a useful instrument of research and at the same time a better comprehension of how people conceived of themselves and their sexual behaviour'.²⁰

In the early, theoretical, chapters of his book Boswell wonders aloud 'whether the dichotomy suggested by these terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" corresponds to any reality at all'.²¹ However he does posit, beneath a good deal that is social and historically constructed about an individual's sexuality, a heterosexual or homosexual core. His position was attacked by David Halperin who argued that the word 'homosexual', and the identity it describes, is of recent origin. As he puts it: 'Before 1892 there was no homosexuality, only sexual inversion'.²² In a debate running over a number of articles one of the main areas of dispute is the myth of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*.²³ (It is important to note how these long established sites of 'gay' reading continue to form part of the ground for theoretical debates. My project will involve looking at how those interested in same-sex desire have related to such material.) Boswell says of Aristophanes' speech that 'Its manifest and stated purpose is to explain why humans are divided into groups of predominantly homosexual and heterosexual interest'.²⁴ Halperin argues that same-sex relationships in ancient Greece were concerned with pedagogy and social position. What was significant was who was active and who passive within regulated age-asymmetrical relationships. So a causology for adult male-male same-sex desire did not interest Plato, it was something that was simply not under the discursive floodlight.

Halperin's sharp deployment of a Foucault-inspired historiography prompted Boswell into a rather unfortunate hardening of his position:

The heterosexual/homosexual dichotomy exists in speech

and thought because it exists in reality: It was not invented by sexual taxonomists, but observed by them.²⁵

But there are problems with the trajectory of Halperin's argument, too. Reducing intellectual effort to an ongoing attack on layer after layer of essentialist presuppositions is limiting. Further, Boswell still had some good points to make. An article from 1990 shows Boswell's position easing over time. He argued intelligently for a mode of historical analysis that uses modern terms to splinter, probe and analyze the mores of previous periods.²⁶ It would certainly be a prescient criticism of social constructionism to note that any claim to be asking questions of an earlier period that is not in some way motivated by the concerns and preoccupations of the present is disingenuous.

The Boswell-Halperin debate brings to light the way that Lesbian and Gay Studies through the eighties used the opposition as the structuring medium for most work. In true Hegelian fashion, constructionism seemed to need essentialism as its defining *other*, for all its avowed condemnation of it. There was some poor scholarship in texts which took the theoretically pure, social constructionist, high ground. David Halperin can certainly be accused of this: his texts do not show the depth of research and knowledge demonstrated by the historian Boswell. We can take, as an example, the contention of Halperin cited above which said that 'homosexuality' replaced notions of gender inversion in 1892. To put this more fully, the view that there is a certain 'type' of woman who loves other women emerges. This replaces the contention that the woman must, in some way, *really* be a man if she is to love someone who is anatomically the same. In fact, as Eve Sedgwick has argued, these two notions ran simultaneously, despite the tensions between them.²⁷ For Halperin to pick out the first use of the word 'homosexual', from 1892, in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the point of transition is unsound scholarship. Not to have taken into account that positions informed by theories of inversion have been important well into the twentieth century - say, in the sexology of Hirschfeld, or in the writings of Proust - is careless work. This is not to mention the way they still inform debate in the present.²⁸

The essentialist versus constructionist debate organised work in the field in the nineteen eighties. While the force of the constructionist argument cannot be doubted, aspects of the constructionist high ground that Halperin attempted to occupy can be questioned. I now turn to other problems with constructionism,

particularly as regards the role of the subject.

There were areas that social constructionism did not address, that were left on one side as it engaged with essentialism. Carole Vance has, amongst others, drawn attention to these absences in constructionist discourse. Texts can be seen holding *implicitly* views on the various degrees of the social construction of 'homosexuality' that are possible. They fail to bring these to the surface and theorize them. Vance suggests three stages of constructionism, from the way codes of behaviour may be social constructed, through the view that says that forms of desire themselves can be determined, to the position that 'desire' itself may be produced and encouraged.²⁹

The most disturbing gap in constructionist discourse, though, is that individuals are expected just to fit into an 'identity'. It is all very well to chart the emergence of various 'identities', and to examine the life and writings of key figures who helped form their centre, but the relation of the individual to same-sex desiring identities and the wider social situation needs to be considered. Of particular significance are issues such as the extent of the freedom of action available to the sexually dissident individual, and the mechanisms involved in the internalisation of opprobrium. Some gay theory assumes that a figure who takes a 'wrong' political stance does so out of wilfulness and weakness. In imagining a fully autonomous subject, such accounts fail to take into account social pressures, the effects of the experience of the homosexual subject in a hostile society. An example of such finger-wagging by the contemporary critic at the supposed psychological immaturity of writers from earlier periods can be seen, I would contend, even in such sophisticated writing as John Fletcher's article on Forster's *Maurice*.³⁰

At the other extreme from accounts that make the homosexual wholly accountable for their actions, their 'choices', is more recent historicising work like that of Ed Cohen. He has charted the emergence of expectations of 'masculinity' placed on all men from the second half of the nineteenth century; male heterosexuality emerges with a need to define itself against the emerging figure of the 'unmanly' male, the 'homosexual'.³¹ This wish to see emerging homosexual identities as formed by wider pressures runs the reverse risk to that which asserts or implies the free will of the homosexual subject to make political judgements. It threatens to

deny all agency to those in a sexually dissident position. It is likely, of course, that each situation will see a set of relations between individual choice and external pressures that circumscribe freedom of action to varying degrees: nuanced accounts of the homosexual subject in relation to wider forces are needed that are responsive to the full range of experience.

None of the above constructionist accounts address adequately how the subject lives out her or his sexuality in the world. What of those who are not 'typical', who do not fall easily within the dominant narratives used to map sexual identities in a given period? In such people social constructionism seems to have no interest, its discourse passes them by in favour of accounts of various 'identities'. This failure can perhaps be explained through recourse to the genealogy of social constructionism within lesbian and gay studies, especially through reference to the careless facility with which it took on the ill-defined term 'identity'.

As Philip Gleason has pointed out, the term 'identity', in its modern usage, came to prominence in the 1950's, moving through the social sciences and rapidly becoming pervasive throughout society. However, while Erik Erikson tried to consider in the domain of the human sciences the individual's interaction with the social, the use of the term 'identity' slipped towards the charting of wider social groups. This is not to say that, periodically, interactionist models were not sought, but that the emphasis on the subject receded.³² This thesis uses the phrase 'sexual identity' where it designates a group with shared behavioural characteristics: however, it will be concerned with the individual in relation to these identities, and not in charting groups seen, in some strange way, as having floated free of individual experience.

Social construction theories of sexuality are descended from 'social role' theories in the social sciences. Jeffrey Weeks, in *Coming Out*, mentions 'the single most important influence'³³ on him as being an article on 'The Homosexual Role' by Mary McIntosh from 1968. Her wish to distinguish a form of behaviour, a 'role', is certainly an advance over a Kinsey-like cataloguing of sexual behaviour. It makes the project of writing the history of 'homosexuality' possible. However, its language, its use of metaphors of the stage, of 'persons who play the role of homosexual', is a limited one. Underlying it is the suggestion that the homosexual possesses an assumed, artificial, and the somehow consciously chosen persona, that it is all like an actor taking on

a part.³⁴ This language is still important in gay studies; it underlies - though it is used differently - theories that see identity in terms of 'performativity', as we shall see with the work of Judith Butler. But the idea of sexuality as the taking on of a role can also be seen in the period that this thesis addresses. As will be seen with Compton Mackenzie, metaphors of the stage should not be taken as being unproblematic in this earlier time, either.

The omission of how the individual psychology of the sexually dissident subject is influenced by its engagement with wider forces, and how this may make it difficult to simply adopt a marginalised identity, is the crippling problem of social constructionism. As Steven Epstein has written,

what is missing is any dynamic sense of how society comes to dwell within individuals or how individuality comes to be socially constructed.³⁵

What is needed is a way of studying the formation of the sexual self - a number of questions present themselves. How do individuals respond to expectations placed on them by their families and through their educational experiences? How do some, finding they could not remain within the framework imposed by these expectations come to take a different, sexually dissident path? To what extent are the interdictions encountered as part of these early experiences internalised? Where are there self-validating or politically utilisable role models that provide a way of talking about these dissident desires? In a life, what connections are made, how strong or ambivalent are they? Where were these connections with various groups, role models, and times and places where sex was organised differently, with time, given up? What traces are then left, and how are such connections succeeded by others? And how does the range of responses of the subject to 'homosexuality' problematize more unitary narratives of the emergence of 'homosexual identities'?

So the questions this thesis addresses arise from a problematisation of constructionist narratives. Its language and approach, though, is informed by more recent theoretical texts. Before I go on to suggest that identification provides a useful tool for undertaking my project, I will consider briefly the third stage in the threefold periodisation of lesbian and gay theory. This may be termed the 'deconstructive' period. However unlike deconstruction proper and the work of Derrida, there is no collapse, to use Foucault's critique, into textual play.³⁶ Rather, this is a deconstruction intended to provide politically utilisable insights. I will draw my examples from three key figures in this

period - different in many ways though their work is - Judith Butler, Jonathan Dollimore and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. While their texts are often sophisticated and useful, many questions around the sexually dissident subject in relation to homosexual identities remain unaddressed.

III. Theoretical sophistication: ongoing absences

My project involves a wish to problematise the constructionist narratives of the history of male 'homosexuality'. The recent theoretical writing has been deeply influential in providing an invigorated set of analytical tools. Without wholly unbalancing this introduction it would be impossible to give a full account and critique of the work of these three significant theorists. Indeed a text like Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) is written in such a way as to demand sustained exegesis - an engagement with her text often only seems possible in her own terms. I intend to keep returning in what follows to a number of points about this writing that will make clear my differences from the general tendencies shown in this work: these are the status of history, the tendency to elide all thinking on sexuality with a questioning of essences, and the issue of the breadth of the material under consideration.

The writer who uses deconstructive tools to the most insightful effect, in the most historically grounded way, is Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. Her work can often be seen in terms of the unsettling of often unquestioned structuring oppositions, revealing a more complex disposition of forces through her analyses. Her first book, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985) investigated 'a potential structural congruence between male homosexual relationships and the male patriarchal relations by which women are oppressed'.³⁷ It involved an analysis, following René Girard, of narratives involving erotic triangles (one beloved woman, two male lovers) and explores the unstable nature of the relations between the two men.³⁸ She posited as isomorphic the way patriarchal relations 'between men' can oppress women and homosexual men, looking at the ways that male-male social relations can occupy an unstable boundary between identification and desire. Sedgwick is picking up on Lévi-Strauss's notions of a male traffic in women and Irigaray's further formulation that 'homosexuality is the law that regulates the sociocultural order'.³⁹ The substitution of the term 'homosocial' for 'homosexual', and her charting of the changing nature of the relations between men over time, are Sedgwick's main

advances in this study.

An example of the way Sedgwick works with binary oppositions to gain insights can be seen in her consideration of the essentialist/constructionist binarism in her second book, *The Epistemology of the Closet* (1991): she goes back to the ground of the Boswell/Halperin controversy to make a set of politically utilisable observations. She 'demurs vigorously' from entering into the debate between essentialists and constructionists, preferring to recast the binary opposition as one between 'minoritizing' and 'universalizing' views of homosexuality. She points out that while there is a wish to categorise a homosexual minority with quite specific and definable boundaries, there is also an argument that says that all are defined against sexual identities, and so are in some relation to homosexuality. (Even - perhaps especially - when they are vigorously asserting their total difference from it.) Sedgwick notes the 'continuing, determinative importance' of homosexuality 'in the lives of people across the spectrum of sexualities'.⁴⁰ This binarism can also be historicised. David Halperin's wish, noted earlier, to see 'homosexuals' as those interested in woman-woman, male-male love can be seen as demarcating a fixed group: it is thus a 'minoritizing' view. This can be contrasted with notions of sexual inversion where there is an implication of a spectrum of female-to-male on which everyone has a place, and which is, consequently, 'universalizing' in tendency. Sedgwick then moves on to investigate the 'overlap' between the 'minoritizing' and the 'universalizing' views in canonical texts.⁴¹ Her mixture of discussions of issues in contemporary sexual politics with readings of famous books may well be seen as a limitation, however - she does not engage with the full range of contextual material. Further, while Sedgwick is often interested in the identifications of others, and, particularly, with using her own identifications as a starting point for her reflections, the relation of the individual to the social is not her main object of study. There is a sense when reading Sedgwick of having gained a set of useful insights, rather than receiving a redrawn map.

With Judith Butler and her books *Gender Trouble* and *Bodies that Matter* (1993) we see an intensified questioning of essences - be it of the natural status of 'heterosexuality' or of a supposedly unwritten body. Butler's view of sexual identity is very close to Derridean notions of language where meaning is seen as being established through repetition rather than by recourse to some pure,

fixed original meaning.⁴² She explores the consequences of heterosexuality's effort to assert its naturalness. Butler argues that this is an assertion that never quite succeeds - and has, consequently, to be continually restated. As part of her understanding of *sexual* identity-in-difference Butler develops a politics which seeks to disrupt the constant effort of heterosexuality to assert its status as pure essence. She suggests - and it has to be said that it is a somewhat banal conclusion after her argument has discussed Freud, Lacan, Foucault and Kristeva - a politics of cross-dressing and camp. Gender is not natural, rather it is always being performed. The politics of parody can be deployed so as to continually confront heterosexuality with the fact of its own artificiality.⁴³ However, a number of questions emerge here. One is that the role of the subject in all this is not adequately addressed; indeed when it is considered Butler's thesis may begin to unravel. Particularly, it is necessary to look at what it means to be aware of the mechanisms Butler outlines. If one knows one is performing gender, does this not imply a different relation to gender categories than applies in the case of those who are unenlightened about performativity? Is not the very depth psychology model of the human subject that Butler seeks to avoid not reinstated in what one might call the elite 'theorising subject'? The second point that can be made about Butler here is that her texts are often at a great distance from the social or cultural context that they emerge from, and there is little interest in how the situation she describes came into being. One would like to see the brilliant theoretical insights grounded in the cultural and historical evidence. There also seems to be an unwillingness to make clear from the subject's point of view what it means to experience performing, or troubling, gender.

The need to engage with the perhaps surprising and unsettling range of historical evidence is a point that one could also make when looking at Jonathan Dollimore's *Sexual Dissidence. Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (1991). As the title suggests a wide range of texts, from an extended period, are discussed. However, his effort to see how same-sex desire, for all its marginal status, can be spotted continually appearing from the very centre of things in a 'perverse dynamic', does not historicise the unsettled margins/centre binary so much as constantly rediscover the same mechanism throughout all times and places. Paradoxically, then, history is effaced: all periods, in the end, appear similar.⁴⁴

It is difficult to read these texts and not find much that is valuable, and many of the arguments mounted have soaked into the thinking behind this thesis. However, a perceived need to respond to historical material - and the full range of texts at that - from the perspective of the subject and their experience, has led to a different approach.

While talking of a need to address a wide body of texts, it can also be said that this thesis will not eschew the biographical. In much contemporary theory any discussion of the subject is careful to steer clear of 'mere' biography. But the link between art, life and writing, and the significance of sexuality, is of great importance to this thesis. A way of talking about the life and texts of a writer comes from a perhaps unexpected source, Michel Foucault. In his essay 'What is an author?', Foucault had argued that the life of the author is of little importance - the addition of a name to the text, the establishment of an 'author function', being an obsession of a particular period and thus historically specific.⁴⁵ But in a late interview Foucault takes a different line. He had come to wish to unite life, writing and sexual orientation under the word 'work', saying of the homosexual writer, Raymond Roussel,

On reflection it should be said that because he is homosexual, he hid his sexuality in his work, or else because he hid his sexuality in his life that he also hid it in his work. Therefore, I believe that it is better to try and understand that someone who is a writer is not simply doing his work in his books, in what he published, but that his major work is, in the end, himself in the process of writing his books. The private life of an individual, his sexual preference, and his work are interrelated not because his work translates his sexual life, but because the work includes the whole life as well as the text. The work is more than the text: the subject who is writing is part of the work.⁴⁶

Foucault's term 'work', as defined here, offers a useful way of conceptualising sexuality, life and writing not as discrete zones of activity but as a unitary field, over which enquiry can move: I propose to use this insight.

Part Two. The subject and 'homosexuality': using identification

To move, then, to the second section and to the argument that the concept of identification can be used to address the formation

of an individual's 'character' in relation to prevailing social and historical forces. The psychoanalytic concept of identification helps thought about the way individuals relate to others similarly positioned and to their society, where connections are made (and with what kinds of ambivalence), or where they are not effected.

However, there is a problem, namely the uneasy relationship between psychoanalysis and a homophile position. The argument runs that psychoanalysis, in its very structures, sees homosexuality as at best inferior, at worst as perverse. There are questions around whether homosexuality, as explicated by psychoanalysis, is necessarily a pathological condition, and whether it is, in fact, necessary to address the aetiology of homosexuality at all. How can one use identification as defined by psychoanalysis when it is, as it were, 'contaminated' by a belief in the need to discover causologies for a form of object choice it considers to be inferior to heterosexuality? The exploration of the concept of identification in Freud also relates closely to these causologies for homosexuality; be it in accounts of the Oedipus complex, or accounts of object choice on the narcissistic model.

The difficulties that lesbian and gay studies has with psychoanalysis are complex: they do not form fixed lines of battle. Some, like Sedgwick and Butler, point to the very heterosexualizing core of psychoanalysis, its utilization of the male-female, mother-father dyad. Interestingly Sedgwick, in an essay on *The Importance of Being Earnest*, has tried to subvert this by suggesting the importance of the 'avunculate' - of those, like uncles and aunts, who offer different role models than a child's parents.⁴⁷ What lies behind the gay studies objection to psychoanalysis is, of course, not only its theories, but the history of its therapeutic deployment. It is not surprising that it is in America, where the statements on homosexuality by analysts - particularly by those influenced by ego psychology - were most extreme, that lesbian and gay theorists are most wary and hostile.⁴⁸ Indeed there has also been an ongoing battle with institutionalised psychiatry generally over whether homosexuality is an illness. While homosexuality itself was declassified something called 'Gender Identity Disorder of Childhood' appeared in its place.⁴⁹ Effeminacy is still taboo. In continental Europe, on the other hand - and particularly in Catholic countries - psychoanalytic discourse was seen as something that could be appropriated by gay theory because it at least brought sexuality into the light. One thinks of work influenced by Gilles

Deleuze and Felix Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*; for example, texts by Guy Hocquenghem and Mario Mieli, in France and Italy respectively.⁵⁰

Perhaps, in the best traditions of thought about where 'true' psychoanalysis lies, one may effect a 'return to Freud'. My argument will be that the wider social attitudes can often be seen contaminating psychoanalytic theory and the statements of psychoanalysts. If one looks closely at Freud's pronouncements, though, one can see that he moves to close down a space - implied by the logic of his statements on the Oedipus complex - for a set of wider homosexual identifications.

Some have tried to argue that Freud was enlightened about homosexuality, that his attitudes differed markedly from those who followed him, particularly in America. Henry Abelove makes this case by recourse to a range of evidence. Mostly, though, he relies on Freud's statements on the goals of therapeutic practice or statements on social issues, rather than drawing on his theoretical writings. But his list is impressive. There is Freud's support of petitions instigated by Magnus Hirschfeld, for example. Also Freud intervened firmly in a debate with Ernest Jones, who had said that homosexuals should be barred from becoming analysts.⁵¹

However, efforts to construct a wholly pro-gay Freud cannot be sustained. Kenneth Lewes, in his *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality* (1988), has drawn attention to the attitude to homosexuality expressed in Freud's writings. His study is at once deeply aware of the horrors psychoanalysis has perpetrated on homosexuals, while he remains firm in his wish to stay within the discipline. As Lewes points out, 'Freud's position on the legal and moral issues is clear, but his thinking on the specific issues of the pathological nature of homosexuality is not'.⁵² This can be seen in Freud's famous letter to the American woman whose son was homosexual. Freud tries to make her note that the negative side of her ambivalent relation with her son has become predominant, and that she is, in consequence, harsh about homosexuality in a way that cannot be sustained rationally. On the one hand it is easy to highlight selectively - as Abelove does - the undoubtedly positive statements made by Freud in this letter. But on the other one notes that when he moves on to the more psychoanalytically informed statements - which I will italicize - a *language of the inferior* regarding homosexuality can be seen. The letter is in Freud's own, idiosyncratic, English:

I gather from your letter that your son is a homosexual.

I am most impressed by the fact that you do not mention this term yourself in your information about him. May I question you, why you avoid it? Homosexuality is assuredly no advantage but is nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness; we consider it to be a variation of the sexual function *produced by a certain arrest of sexual development*. Many highly respectable individuals of ancient and modern times have been homosexuals, several of the greatest men among them (Plato, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, etc.). It is a great injustice to persecute homosexuality as a crime and cruelty too. By asking me if I can help, you mean, I suppose, *if I can abolish homosexuality and make normal heterosexuality take its place*. The answer is, in a general way, we cannot promise to achieve it. In a certain number of cases we succeed in developing the *blighted germs of heterosexual tendencies* which are present in every homosexual, in the majority of cases it is no more possible. What analysis can do for your son runs in a different line. If he is unhappy, neurotic, torn by conflicts, inhibited in his social life, analysis may bring him harmony, peace of mind, full efficiency, whether he remains a homosexual or gets changed.⁵³

It is interesting here to contrast the arguments Freud uses that do not denigrate homosexuality with the phrases which emphasise a certain inferiority of homosexuality over heterosexuality. One set are liberal and use famous figures in an account of (cultural) history that looks for evidence of same-sex desire, while the others are psychoanalytically or clinically informed (though there is some inconsistency here: he says that homosexuality is not 'an illness'). For all the social liberalism the negative attitudes of society are reinstated through the supposedly neutral scientific discourse. So even if we look past more recent developments, we see in Freud a belief in the inferior nature of homosexuality in the body of his most liberal statement. The belief in the inferiority of homosexuality continued in the American psychoanalytic tradition, and it can still be seen in French post-Freudian psychoanalysis. For Kristeva - as for Jacques Lacan - homosexuality is a perversion. One thinks of Kristeva saying in *Black Sun. Depression and Melancholia* (1989) that the homosexual male 'is a delightful melancholy person when he does not indulge in sadistic passion with another man'.⁵⁴ It is the very banality of this phrase which shocks - the way it is not troubled by its own assumptions about the nature of a homosexual 'pathology' (not to mention preconceptions about sado-masochism).

There is a need to proceed cautiously, then. My contention is that it is possible to use Freud on identification to theorise the sexually dissident subject's engagement with those similarly marginalized in a hostile society, and not as part of an effort to

find a causology for homosexuality. Doing this involves reading Freud against the grain, so as to see the existence of lines of development suggested by Freud's argument on the development of the male child in *The Ego and the Id* that he sought to exclude. The agenda of the 'science' of psychoanalysis was often dictated by outside, social forces.

To begin with, a general definition of identification as deployed by Freud can be found in *Group Psychology*. Identification 'endeavours to mould a person's ego after the fashion of the one that has been taken as a model'.⁵⁵ The model here functions as an 'ego ideal' (in Freud's early use of the term): the subject's ego strives towards this ideal. So a sense of incompleteness leads the subject to mould herself on another, to pull herself towards that person. I propose to extend Freud's use of identification to involve the subject's relation to cultural artifacts and to other periods and cultures. The reason for making this move is that when looking at the homosexual subject in the decades around 1900 one notes that times and places where sex was regulated differently provided a considerable pull on the same-sex desiring subject. For some they provided a way of asserting the validity of their desire: often some degree of ambivalence can be discerned, however; a number rejected sources of identification with energy. Freud himself, in his writing on travel, involved other places and periods in his discussions of his identifications.⁵⁶ When looking at the course of the male child in the Oedipus Complex in *The Ego and the Id* one notes that the existence of a set of identifications for the homosexual subject is implied by the argument, but this is not carried through by Freud himself.

To turn to this account, early in the life of the young male child he loves his mother and identifies with his father. (I only take the case of the male child here since Freud dropped his belief that the case of the young female was 'precisely analogous',⁵⁷ shortly after *The Ego and the Id* appeared.) These identifications are ambivalent from the very start and are linked to incorporation and the oral phase (the wish to take within but also to destroy). As Freud wrote, 'Identification is ambivalent from the very first: it can turn into an expression of tenderness as rapidly as a wish for someone's removal'.⁵⁸ Identification is also linked with the wish of a child to regain narcissistic wholeness: the identification with the other may, it is hoped, produce this sense of completeness. For Lacan, of course, the example of a child seeing its body unified in

the image provided by a mirror should be understood 'as an *identification*'.⁵⁹ The process of identification, then, is an attempt to overcome a sense of lack.

On entering the Oedipus complex the child is trying to unify conflicting relations with his parents. In a contradictory way - but the unconscious is, of course not worried about logical contradiction - he identifies with his father while loving his mother; this is an object choice which his father is seen as obstructing. The Oedipus complex sees the identification with the father taking on a hostile colouring, one always latent in the initial ambivalence.

An understanding of the dissolution of the complex is complicated by the existence of a positive and negative Oedipus complex. The positive complex will result in heterosexuality - the object choice with the mother will be given up, the child will identify with the father. He will strive to become like the father, so that, in time, he can enter into marriage himself. The negative complex, in which the object choice with the mother is not given up, is seen as resulting in homosexuality - no other woman can be an object choice for him. (Again it can be seen that language around a 'positive' and 'negative' complex constructs heterosexuality as good, and homosexuality as inferior.) As Freud states, though, both the positive and the negative Oedipus complex *will exist simultaneously*, their relative strength deciding heterosexuality or homosexuality respectively.⁶⁰

But what interests me is not this causology, rather the links Freud makes to a set of further identifications beyond the family unit. These secondary identifications come from another outcome of the dissolution of the Oedipus complex, namely the setting up of the super-ego. However what Freud's argument omits is this: while he considers the existence of what one might call secondary paternal identifications, if the negative Oedipus complex were to be dominant it would surely be the case that there would be secondary identifications *not* from the realm of the father and the heterosexualizing centre in society. In short the possibility of a maternal super-ego is implied as well. Freud, though, only considers the possibility of the dominance of the paternal. He says that the maternal identification is joined with the paternal in 'some way' at the inception of the new monitoring agency within the ego,

The broad general outcome of the sexual phase dominated by the Oedipus complex may, therefore, be taken to be the forming of a precipitate in the ego, consisting of these

*two identifications in some way united with each other. This modification of the ego retains its special position; it confronts the other contents of the ego as an ego ideal or super-ego.*⁶¹

The force of the super-ego comes from following the father identification - the maternal is present but it is, it seems, subsumed - and moreover the force of the individual father is backed up by wider social forces and the power of education,

*The super-ego retains the character of the father, while the more powerful the Oedipus complex was and the more rapidly it succumbed to repression (under the influence of authority, religious teaching, schooling and reading), the stricter will be the domination of the super-ego over the ego later on - in the form of conscience or perhaps of an unconscious sense of guilt.*⁶²

Freud's account carefully squeezes out the possibility of wider secondary maternal identifications for the male child. What, if we admit their possibility, might these look like for the subject whose 'negative Oedipus complex' predominates?

Well, one could imagine a need - and it could be said that one does not need Freud for this, though the terminology helps one mount the argument more fully and with sophistication - for an individual interested in same-sex desire, living in a hostile society to establish a different account of history, a different view of the world than that presented to her or him by the heterosexualising centre in society. But it also has to be said that these secondary maternal identifications still have the characteristics of all identifications - they are fraught with ambivalence. They also take their place beside, alongside and in conflict with the forces that Freud sees as supporting the formation of the (father dominated) super-ego. Rereading Freud we can seek to establish a space for a set of homosexual identifications, but that is not to say that there is an unproblematic site of identification for the homosexual subject. The reach of the engagement with the heterosexual society moves far within the psyche and begins early. As well as noting the possibility of establishing a set of homosexual identifications, what we are seeing here in respect of the same-sex desiring subject is the need to write a history of damage.

Part Three. An example analysis: the 'work' of John Addington Symonds

A test case for the form of analysis that I am proposing can be provided by the life and writing of John Addington Symonds. Symonds talked about various precedents for a tolerant attitude to same-sex desire in response to his own difficulty in reconciling what he perceived as the demands of his sexuality with the internalised precepts of society (which were embodied for him in the figure of his father). An examination of Symonds' 'work' is also important because it shows that writing 'homosexuality', may involve difficulties in terms of language and genre. The inherited forms are often structurally bound up with heterosexuality and its narratives (marriage, traditional conceptions of the family unit, and so forth). Approached through an analysis of his situatedness in relation to 'homosexuality' a more complete and sophisticated account of Symonds emerges than the traditional one, first mounted by Edward Carpenter (and followed by Weeks), which sees Symonds as a finally compromised and 'weak' campaigner.⁶³

Symonds can be seen as playing the leading role in initiating possible identifications for late nineteenth century homosexuals. He provided ways of talking about same-sex desire in an impressive array of texts. His *Studies of the Greek Poets* (1873-1876) contains a penultimate chapter on 'The Genius of Greek Art' which Symonds later developed to produce his text on 'peiderastia' in ancient Greece, *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (1883).⁶⁴ This interest can be linked with the fascination the Victorian period had with ancient Greek civilisation, a consequence of the force of the Greek revival which had begun in the middle of the previous century.⁶⁵ The teaching of Greek assumed a leading place in the education of the English ruling classes in the Victorian public school. Symonds was also interested in the Renaissance in both Italy and England. Indeed, he is perhaps best remembered for his *Renaissance in Italy* (7 volumes, 1875-1886) and his *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama* (1884).⁶⁶ Symonds' interest in issues around Michelangelo's sexuality played a part in motivating him to write his biography of the artist.⁶⁷ But Symonds did not only find sources of identification amongst the dead, he also played a part in popularising Walt Whitman's poetry. This had a major effect on him, and he wrote an excellent book length study.⁶⁸ In a sonnet sequence to which he refers in his *Memoirs*, Symonds went so far as to survey the whole range of identifications available for talking about male-male desire.⁶⁹

As well as an interest in periods where same-sex desire was,

in Symonds' view, considered valid, place was important to Symonds. It can be seen from the condensed account of his *oeuvre* that he knew much about Italy and its cultural history; he also wrote travel books about Italy. Henry James saw him as a great expert on the country.⁷⁰ Often Symonds will link these sources of identification together: seeing, for example, the Greek quality in the verse of Whitman when writing on the poet, or talking of Whitman and the Greeks in a text that is mainly concerned with introducing continental writing on sexology.⁷¹ Michelangelo is discussed in relation to sexological developments and issues around homosexuality and morbidity.⁷² We not only have a list of identifications with something in common, but an effort to discern a structure of homosexual identifications, to establish alternative narratives - a homosexual history, a homosexual philosophy and so on. This can be linked to the demands of a 'maternal super-ego' to produce an alternative group of identifications to those linked to the father and the conventional in society. In Symonds' case we see an effort to uncover a 'homosexual writing', and to reform it to produce further texts, which will themselves influence others.

This brief survey of periods, places and individuals does not exhaust the ways in which Symonds sought to provide resources of language and affirming images to those like himself, and to convince others of the benign nature of homosexuality. Symonds' relation to aestheticism, his wish to add to its vein of interest in same-sex desire, also needs to be examined. His essays, such as 'In the Key of Blue', were keystone texts in aestheticist theory in the 1890s.⁷³ In the version of *The Waste Land* before it was subjected to Pound's scalpel, Eliot refers to the 'soapy sea/ Of Symonds - Walter Pater - Vernon Lee'.⁷⁴ As Richard Dellamora has argued aestheticism and same-sex desire were intimately connected from the days of Hallam and Tennyson at Cambridge. It is not only that a theme of the homoerotic can be glimpsed in aestheticism, rather an interest in same-sex desire itself helps form, influences, the course taken by the movement.⁷⁵ Symonds was often directly involved in 'homosexualizing' some of the forms of writing associated with this tendency in the arts, for example contributing to the sub-genre of Nineties verse known as 'Uranian' poetry; that is specifically 'homosexual' *fin-de-siècle* poetry.⁷⁶ Symonds' contacts with Lord Alfred Douglas in his final years led to a laudatory obituary by Bosie in *The Spirit Lamp*.⁷⁷

Symonds' relation to aestheticism, though, is complicated by

his wish to differentiate himself from his 'rival', Walter Pater. Both were contemporaries at Oxford; indeed both were involved in the same race for the Chair of Poetry, before the anxiety of the Anglican establishment about the perceived Hellenism of each forced their withdrawal.⁷⁸ They were polite to each other in public, writing favourable reviews of the other's work on the Renaissance. But Symonds was less generous about Pater in private; for example saying of reading *Appreciations* that he found himself 'wandering about among the "precious" sentences as though I had lost myself in a sugar-cane plantation'.⁷⁹ And Pater, indeed, referred to Symonds in conversation as 'Poor Symonds'.⁸⁰ Pater had, even in his published review of the first volume of Symonds' work on the Renaissance, a crucial reservation; namely that Symonds lacked the ability to be concise, the virtue of economy.⁸¹ Certainly Pater was the better theorist of the Arts: Symonds' responses to Arnold and to Pater are feebly thought-through affairs.⁸²

Symonds also sought to appropriate sexology, to use the status accorded to science, to further his cause. He added to his work on Greek same-sex desire with *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, which remains perhaps the best survey in English of late nineteenth century sexological writing from the continent on homosexuality. He also writes there on the theories of the pioneering campaigner for Uranians, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (I shall discuss Symonds' relation to Ulrichs in a later chapter). Symonds was aware that he could do only a limited amount on his own and he proposed that he and Havelock Ellis should collaborate on a book on 'inversion': they had entered into communication through a shared admiration for Whitman. Symonds was to die long before his collaboration with Havelock Ellis bore fruit: his name appears on the German and first 1897 English edition of *Sexual Inversion*. He helped collect the case histories and was solely responsible for a number of appendices, including *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and a piece on the theories of Ulrichs.⁸³ For all Wayne Kostenbaum's unconvincing arguments that Symonds' was very much the weaker figure, the passive partner in this 'erotic' collaboration, Symonds' forcefully expressed view that homosexuality was congenital became deeply embedded in Ellis's mind.⁸⁴

However there are problems with an account which says that Symonds provided flags around which an emergent homosexual identity could rally: he is seen as having compromised his efforts. A certain counter-strain can be seen in his attitude to homosexuality in life. Often cited is his role in the Vaughan affair. As a schoolboy a

friend told Symonds that he was having an affair with Vaughan, the Harrow headmaster. Symonds eventually went and told his father, who had Vaughan resign his headmastership. Dr Symonds watched vigilantly to see that Vaughan did not subsequently accept any of the bishoprics that were offered to him.⁸⁵ Throughout his life Symonds was to keep a side that was within established convention, that did not trouble the prevailing order. Symonds was married with daughters, living in Switzerland and Venice. He was cushioned from the increasing pressures affecting British homosexuals, particularly the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885.

Symonds' writing can also be seen to be compromised in certain ways, as well. For example, *A Problem in Greek Ethics* existed for many years only in pamphlet form, with only ten copies printed. And for all his fascination with ancient Greece Symonds believed it was dangerous to teach Greek in schools, precisely because of the ancient civilisation's emphasis on male-male relationships.⁸⁶ Further, he protested at Havelock Ellis's decision, as editor of the Mermaid Series, to print, as an appendix to a volume of Marlowe's plays, Brome's famous 'accusations' against the playwright. These claimed that Marlowe liked young boys, though as 'evidence' they are highly suspect.⁸⁷ Strangely then, the person who did more than any other to disseminate potential sources of identification for those interested in same-sex would demand caution from others. In short, it can be suggested that Symonds often seems to be destroying what he most loved. In letters to Walt Whitman he constantly probed as to whether dropped poems from the 'Calamus' section of *Leaves of Grass* suggested a space for sex between men: Symonds eventually received a vigorous denial of any 'morbid references'.⁸⁸ As Michael Moon has argued, Whitman did not feel that he belonged to any sexual identity.⁸⁹ Edward Carpenter strongly condemned Symonds' approach to Whitman, noting his self-lacerating side, and condemning his 'occasional vacillation and timidity'.⁹⁰ In fact, as Weeks argues, Symonds seems to have 'perfected a technique of tasteful evasion'.⁹¹ In his writing he would approach the subject of homosexuality tangentially: in the Michelangelo biography the way he approaches the sonnets to Tommaso d' Cavellieri (which Symonds also translated) is remarkable for its care. As if Symonds felt the need for a second line of approach, there is the appendix on Michelangelo's 'temperament'.⁹²

Nevertheless, a view of Symonds that places him as a compromised pioneer in the formation of a modern homosexual

'identity' is inadequate. And, fortunately, Symonds *Memoirs* casts much light on his own response to the identificatory material, on how this informed his practice. It offers evidence which helps us address *why* this supposedly compromised pioneer might have written the texts he did. This unfinished autobiographical text was kept under lock and key in the London Library for many years. It was finally published in 1984.

The *Memoirs* are, in terms of style and genre, unstable, as if Symonds were unable to find a usable precedent for the form they should take, his wide reading notwithstanding. They lack the control and sense of direction of the great nineteenth century autobiographies of (say) a Mill or a Newman. Symonds' text has little in common with later autobiographies of homosexuals in either the gritty English mode (Christopher Isherwood's *Christopher and his Kind*, J.R.Ackerley's *My Father and Myself*) or the elegant French style from Gide's *If it Die ...* through to Barthes' *Soirées de Paris*.⁹³ They certainly do not have the frank, joyful approach to life of the autobiography of Cellini, which Symonds had just translated when he began work on his own memoirs.⁹⁴ Symonds seems to have little idea who he is writing *for*: he will pause to introduce one of his nature descriptions, or, when talking about his homosexuality, be firm, apologetic or self-lacerating by turns. While this fluidity to the writing does not make for quality it does give the text its ability to take the impression of each of Symonds', often contradictory, viewpoints. There is also the way that autobiography - like many genres and forms for writing - is saturated by expected heterosexual narratives of a life: the autobiographies of homosexuals often tend to be formally innovative. New forms of writing are often required to represent the sexually dissident subject's engagement with society.

There is some sign of an intended overall shape to Symonds' argument in the *Memoirs*. He begins by setting out an early fantasy about sailors, he then goes on to show how these object choices were etherealized and idealised, through contact with the arts, into non-physical relations with boys or young men. The narrative then seems to be moving towards showing Symonds' return to object choices on the model provided by the sailor fantasy - a love for the strong man, which is given sexual expression. However, as shall be seen, no such clear resolution was achieved in life: clarity is also absent in the structure of the *Memoirs* themselves.

We learn of a number of key moments (indeed the text is

overrunning with crises) when Symonds came into contact with art - with images of men, or literary depictions. Encounters with identificatory material proved important to his experience, to the formation of his personality and, indeed, to shifts in the form of his object choices. Reading Plato during his last year at Harrow provided what Symonds described as a moment of revelation. The *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* were an important support for the view that he should render spiritual and 'pure' his sexual interest in men, that he should divert his sexual energies to other ends.⁹⁵ As another example of an engagement with important cultural artifacts, Symonds writes of the effects of reading Shakespeare's 'Venus and Adonis',

It gave form, ideality and beauty to my previous erotic visions. Those adult males, the shaggy and brawny sailors, without entirely disappearing, began to be superseded in my fancy by an adolescent Adonis. The emotion they symbolised blent with a new kind of feeling. In some confused way I identified myself with Adonis; but at the same time I yearned after him as an adorable object of passionate love. Venus only served to intensify the situation. I did not pity her. I did not want her .. she only expressed my own relation to the desirable male ... As it was, I took 'Venus and Adonis' in the way Shakespeare undoubtedly meant it to be taken. And after doing so, it stimulated while it etherealized my inborn craving after persons of my own sex.⁹⁶

Symonds here goes so far as to suggest that identifications provided through literature can modify object choice - though the desire for the sailors is not entirely lost. Interestingly, he also distinguished between his identification with and desire for Adonis; he talks too about identifying with Venus because it allows him to imagine a position from which to have relations with a beautiful man. He is also careful to appropriate Shakespeare to his cause.

Following this idealisation of his male object choices Symonds describes his love affairs, emphasising the way the lack of sexual expression had deleterious effects on his health and career. As he accepted the necessity of a sexual outlet his health did improve, allowing him to complete a large body of work often, as we have seen, aimed at justifying same-sex desire. One of the most fascinating things about this narrative is the way that Symonds and his doctors accepted a 'repressive hypothesis' around his own health: his illnesses of mind and body are seen as related to sexual frustrations.⁹⁷ He gradually returned to the kind of object choice suggested by the sailor fantasy. That said, his interest in etherealized relationships never left him completely, as is shown by

his relations with the Swiss, Christian Buol, towards the end of his life.⁹⁸

No finally successful resolution is achieved in Symonds' 'work' though - the texts opening up identifications for others are themselves affected by the engagement with the heterosexual centre in society. The internalisation of society's moral precepts by Symonds, his sense of guilt, is closely linked to the figure of his father. Early in the *Memoirs* Symonds foreshadowed some of the self-hating statements to come with his assertions of his unworthiness in relation to his father. Dr Symonds was an adviser in matters of health, in the avoidance of sexual scandal (for example, when an accusation was made against Symonds during his time as a Fellow of Magdalen, the so-called 'Shorting affair').⁹⁹ A father identification exerted a pull on Symonds towards a life of success and respectability. In the *Memoirs* Symonds states that he would have found it difficult to publish knowing that his father could read the work and offer criticism. The death of Dr Symonds was one of the events that preceded the period of better health John Addington enjoyed, as if he were freed both sexually and also in terms of writing.

A sense of guilt can be seen as ongoing throughout Symonds' life, reaching a height in the sentiments expressed at the end of the *Memoirs*,

Two factors, equally unconquerable, flesh and the reason, animal joy in living and mental perception that life is a duty, war in the wretched victim of their equipoise. While he awakes from the hypnotism of the flesh, he sees his own misdoing not in the glass of truth to his nature, but in the mirror of convention. He would fain have less of sense or less of intellect. Why was he not born a savage or a normal citizen? The quarrel drives him into blowing his brains out, or into idiocy.¹⁰⁰

The effect of having dissident desires in this society is powerfully documented here: the interdiction is internalised. The tensions between aspects of Symonds' life are seen as irreconcilable. Symonds' relation to the social has been seen by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in terms of class and educational privilege.¹⁰¹ It is certainly true that Symonds, with his private income, had the space for indulging both his desires and his sense of misery. We have to regret the way surviving material about these early homosexuals is, to a large extent, limited to the privileged in class and educational terms. However, bourgeois expectation and guilt are important in the texts and historical data we have: for Symonds this was particularly mediated through the figure of the 'strong' father.

The wish to posit an overall shape to Symonds' life as set out in the *Memoirs* is troubled by the tone of self-pitying failure that mark the later chapters. The design of the book that was suggested in the early pages is not carried through, then. Two things are important about the late pages of this (incomplete) text: the on-going etherealization of the object choice - seen as resulting from his reading of, for example, Plato - and the guilt which follows his flouting of convention, a revenge of a super-ego that can be linked to his father. Symonds' writing sees a continuing working out of the tensions between self-justification, guilt and self-pity. He sees the difference between himself and society's conventions as having affected his writing,

Passion and imagination, in the true sense of these words, were denied me. I was not born without capacity for passion. But I had to tame it down and subdivide it for reason which [sentence uncompleted in manuscript]

I may conclude this topic then by saying that spontaneous passion and creative imagination have hitherto been sterilized in my work. . . . It has been my destiny to make continual renunciation of my truest self, because I was born out of sympathy with the men around me, and have lived a stifled anachronism. What I have achieved in literature might be compared to the fragments of an aerolite scattered upon the summits of some hard impiteous peak.¹⁰²

A consideration of the effect of Symonds' homosexuality on his writing leads to a moment of collapse in the prose, to an uncompleted sentence. The achievements of Symonds' career are seen as scattered and fragmentary, unity is not achieved. His literary efforts come to grief against the hard, phallic mountain of social convention, on the impervious Law of the Father.

Symonds' writing can perhaps be seen as a continuous effort to find some expression for his 'truest' homosexual self - however, at the very moment of realization in an act of writing, he always held back. The pen has to be taken up again, rest and stasis is not found, in life or writing. In fact, Symonds in his writing had a number of irreconcilable goals. It is an attempt to measure up to an aesthetic ideal, yet also it has to be a writing which succeeds in his father's terms, and, further, it seeks to be an expression of the naturalness of his homosexuality. Its sheer bulk can be seen as an ongoing search for the moment where language no longer shows the strain of holding these three things in unity, a moment that is never achieved.

So homosexuality and representation are closely linked. Constructing Symonds as a failure is unhelpful - indeed, in the

final analysis, it is politically complicit in that it fails to see the extent of the problems he faced. The effect on his writing mean that we also have to be careful of judgements about the *quality* of these texts by those interested in same-sex desire. When we say that it is not good writing, might we not only be saying that it is poor *heterosexual* writing? Approaching Symonds through his relation to identificatory material, and relating it to the form taken by his textual production, takes one further than a description of a compromised contribution to the formation of some mythical uncontaminated and wholly positive homosexual identity. Working from the individual's relation to the social using identification produces a more subtle picture.

In this introduction I have sought to show that there is a need to open up a space that is not available in contemporary lesbian and gay theory. It is necessary to find ways of charting how the individual makes her or his way in society: I have sought to suggest that deploying Freud's concept of identification provides a means of doing this. I have used an examination of the figure of John Addington Symonds as an example of such an analysis, particularly in order to stress the implications of my argument for writing, for representation.

In the chapters that follow I propose to carry forward the understanding of the subject's relation to 'homosexuality' built up here. I will seek to suggest that this approach will further the understanding of writers active in the nineteen twenties, and to argue that the range of responses to 'homosexuality' that were made at this time is wider than traditional narratives from the study of the history of sexuality allow. Particularly, I will look at the work of three writers resident for long periods in Italy; namely Norman Douglas, D.H. Lawrence and Compton Mackenzie.

In Chapter One I will examine the work of Compton Mackenzie. While arguing that life is the matter of the taking on of roles, some, for Mackenzie, were seen as more authentic than others. Those involving adult homosexuality were not regarded favourably. The chapter will suggest that even where the relation of the subject to social roles and homosexuality appears, at first sight, to be unproblematic, further consideration is often necessary.

In Chapter Two I will discuss Norman Douglas. Here was someone who appears frank and open in his interest in pederastic relations with young boys. However, this went with great reticence about

homosexuality in his writings, and an unwillingness to identify with other homosexuals. This chapter will explore relations between an unwillingness to identify, writing and sexuality. I will problematise expectations that belonging to sexual identities is, necessarily, a prerequisite for happiness and fulfilment.

In Chapter Three I will talk about Lawrence and homosexuality. Due to the volume of material about Lawrence, and the greater familiarity of readers with a canonical author, this chapter will focus more exclusively on issues around same-sex desire. The chapters on the little known Douglas and Mackenzie will, of necessity, be somewhat more general. The aim of this chapter is to shift attention to Lawrence, homosexuality and his use of ways in which same-sex desire was put into discourse, rather than to focus on certain scenes involving the male body in some of the novels. The chapter will explore issues around same-sex desire and repression.

In Chapter Four I will pursue the discussion of Lawrence and Douglas by looking at Lawrence's *Memoir of the homosexual Maurice Magnus*. The publication of this text precipitated a major disagreement with Norman Douglas, Magnus' literary executor. My argument will be that Magnus' life and writing show the structural incompatibility of the same-sex desiring subject with a homosocially regulated society.

So, in the body of the chapters, I will explore aspects of the subject's relation to same-sex identities through an examination of these four individuals. Such issues as roles and performativity; expected relations between sexual activity, identity and writing; repression; and the homosexual male subject in society will be raised. In the conclusion I look texts of the year 1928, that year of the scandalous publication. The argument will be that though many at first sight transgressive texts were published that year - Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Douglas' *Some Limericks*, and Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women* amongst them - the tendencies already perceived earlier in the decade can again be seen operating. This final section of the thesis focuses mainly on the impact of these texts on others, on their reception.

Chapter One

Compton Mackenzie: representing homosexuality as the 'bad' role.

In this first chapter my project is to discuss Compton Mackenzie and 'homosexuality'. An examination of his life and writing offers the scope for an intricate discussion of issues around identification, same-sex desire and representation. Mackenzie, to the casual eye, appears to be a writer who believed that life was a matter of the taking on of roles. On closer examination, though, it can be seen that some roles are represented as being more authentic than others. Mackenzie's own positioning in relation to same-sex desire can be shown to lie behind the establishment of this hierarchy. We move from a view of Mackenzie that supports a 'social role' model of homosexuality, then, towards a recognition that it is necessary to chart this subject's relation to same-sex desire. This can be achieved through looking at Mackenzie's responses to available identities and to the relevant identificatory material.

I will, in this chapter, discuss Mackenzie's 'retreat without' in early life, the way his first years left him with an imperative to look outside himself and to take on a series of roles. With his representation of homosexuality in adulthood - and particularly of what one might term the 'nineties identity' - the word 'pose' takes on a pejorative sense. His early interest in schoolboy relations, though, left him viewing the feelings involved there as authentic, while he remained heterosexually identified. Despite Mackenzie's own emphasis on life as a series of roles, one which he uses in his written texts, we find that a depth psychology model applies. Early trauma, and Mackenzie's retreat from it, led to his emphasis on the surface role, and his representation of homosexuality taking this form. Interestingly, it was differing views about the conception of the subject that can be seen as the underlying point at issue between Mackenzie and Lawrence in their personal relations and, later, in their writings about each other. Looking at Mackenzie allows us to test, and extend, the theoretical conclusions set out in the Introduction.

Mackenzie's retreat without

How did Mackenzie's emphasis on the taking on of roles in maturity relate to his own early experiences? I intend to probe the issues this question raises before moving on to look at Mackenzie's remarkably frank statements on the close relations between boys in the novel *Sinister Street* (1913-1914) and in his *The Four Winds of Love* sequence (1937-1945). Though such a course threatens a detour into an effort to establish the psychology of the author, Andro Linklater's recent biography of Mackenzie suggests that these early experiences are important to an understanding of what lies behind the emphasis on the taking on of roles in his life, and the effects it had on the form taken by his writing.

The thesis that Linklater develops is that the mature Mackenzie's emphasis on his extrovert nature and his easy adoption of a series of enthusiasms and roles is a smokescreen built to obscure psychological pain.¹ There were certainly a number of such enthusiasms in Mackenzie's life: Mackenzie the spy in Greece in the First World War was followed by Mackenzie the lover of islands in the 'twenties; in turn that gave way to Mackenzie the Scottish nationalist in the thirties. (To quote Auden in *The Orators*: 'Scotland is stirring: in Scotland they say/ That Compton Mackenzie will be king one day'.²) This leaves out, amongst other things, his lifelong championing of certain political causes (Greece high amongst them) and projects in a variety of new media: for example, co-founding and editing for many years *Gramophone* magazine, and his being a pioneering broadcaster. Indeed, the only part that seems to have lasted - the role that could watch other roles - was that of the writer: though after a time he abdicated from the role of the artist in favour of being a money-making entertainer. But the taking on of different passions in life and the volume of writing Mackenzie produced was perhaps a screen activity that allowed him to avoid facing early traumas.

The assumption of parts was something that surrounded Mackenzie from the beginning. He was born into a company of travelling actors, headed by his father, at a time when the changed social status of actors was being cemented. The stigma that attached to those involved in the theatre had declined, and Irving's knighthood in 1898 perhaps showed final acceptance. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century Mackenzie's paternal grandfather, Henry Compton, had changed his name on becoming an actor out of respect

for his own family and that of his wife (she was a Symonds, and the great aunt of John Addington³). To an extent, then, even the role of the gentleman, so important to Mackenzie's schooling and subsequent career, was a role he had to assume, rather than simply something he could simply be.

The two key periods of emotional difficulty in Mackenzie's life that Linklater identifies were Mackenzie's periods of separation from his mother as a young child when she went on tour, leaving him at home, and the period at the end of his schooldays. Linklater builds his view from Mackenzie's own fictional and autobiographical writing - reading them against the grain that Mackenzie sought to establish in his ten volume autobiography, *My Life and Times* (1963-71). There Mackenzie attempted to represent himself as an untroubled extrovert. However, there is an emphasis on childhood night terrors in a number of Mackenzie's texts. It is there from the start, in one of his earliest writing ventures, the poem 'The Child's Epic of the Night'.⁴ The reason for the state of mind of the nervous and anxious young Mackenzie can be seen in the actions of his cruel Nurse. She is represented in fictional terms in *Sinister Street*, and given limited coverage in the first volume of the autobiography. The reason that Mackenzie gives in the first volume of *My Life and Times* for not dwelling on the fact that 'there was often much unhappiness in my childhood' is that he was 'temperamentally incapable' of doing so. He says that 'I sympathise with the sundial's preference for sunny hours'.⁵ This is an elegant phrase - indeed rather calculatedly so: it may perform a masking function. An emphasis on happy memories might not mean simply a constitutional predilection towards what is pleasant, so much as a wish not to open up old psychic wounds. One remembers the approach taken by the mentally ill Ruskin in his autobiographical *Praeterita* to speak 'of what it gives me joy to remember', so as to avoid precipitating one of his periodic lapses into madness.⁶

What particularly pained Mackenzie, he makes clear in his autobiography, were the periods of separation from his mother,

Oh, to be grown-up and free from this endless purgatory of childhood, which, brightened though many moments were by beloved figures like my mother, above all my mother, presented the perpetual threat of being left with my old nurse to spend with her an endless time of unreasonableness ahead and winter on the way.⁷

This increasingly breathless, evermore under-punctuated, sentence captures the exaggeratedly bleak view of life of the unhappy child unable to imagine an alternative, positive future. Not unusually

with Mackenzie, writing about childhood leads to a qualitative improvement in his writing. Mackenzie emphasised that the period of misery in his childhood was unique in his experience. He argues at the conclusion of the first volume of his autobiography, 'Octave One', that,

I did not have to endure again anything like the difficulty of what life had been with my old nurse. Indeed that experience remains for me unique. I have already explained why I did not make more of it in this first octave.⁸

As Linklater makes clear, Mackenzie was unable to see that his mother allowed the continuing dominance of Nurse Currie, that she permitted its patently traumatizing effects on the young Mackenzie to continue.⁹ The suggestion then, is that Mackenzie's personality was not simply an untroubled, extrovert one, but that behind this surface - indeed what brought such an extreme emphasis on the surface into being - was the avoidance of the implications of the early childhood experiences, the internal pain. He turned without, away from facing questions of the emotions within towards an exterior world of roles and poses, to the world as theatre.

The view taken by Mackenzie of his father in the autobiography is, finally, of someone for whom he had little respect from a young age. This was despite the fact that his father worked hard and supported him into his late twenties. Mackenzie was to react strongly from his father's notions of thrift and economy. Edward Compton was regarded as an embarrassment by the young Mackenzie: the separation between surnames that Mackenzie insisted upon from a young age seems to reinforce the distance. The reader of Mackenzie's autobiography begins to suspect the presence of Oedipal rivalry with the father for the mother's attention. Such a view is reinforced by an account of a crisis that can be said to have resulted in the Oedipus Complex's dissolution.¹⁰ The last evening before his parents were to go on another tour was to be spent at home, with their children. However, somebody came to invite them out: their father agreed, the mother vacillated. Eventually she chose to go out with Edward,

The door closed. The jingle of the hansom-cabs and trot of the horses' hooves grew less and less audible until silence fell. Then I went up to my bedroom and as I climbed the stairs I thought, not in so many words exactly of course, but with the equivalent surge of emotion:

'You can never again in life afford to depend on the love of somebody, you must always be prepared henceforth to be disappointed, and then if you are

disappointed you will be able to bear it because you knew that it might happen.'¹¹

Mackenzie then goes on to discuss these events in relation to psychoanalysis, arguing against its conclusions. He says that 'I was never jealous of my father. I had no passionate love for my mother'.¹² One may suspect that two senses of the word 'denial' apply here. What is most important in the retelling of this incident is not only that it involves an acceptance that he would not be able to compete with his father for his mother's attention, but rather the general nature of the subsequent conclusion, namely that the love of others, in general and for all time, could not be depended upon. It can be argued that his relations with his parents left Mackenzie interested in women who could offer protective mothering care and unable to unconditionally and fully place his trust in people. The betrayal by his beloved mother was to make authenticity and belief in anyone difficult to achieve. Fascinated by the taking on of roles, Mackenzie was painfully aware that they were just parts being played out, to be taken up or discarded. He was to play roles himself, and to be interested in observing them in others: in one way tremendously enthusiastic and engaged, he was, finally, always the detached observer. While there is evidence of competition with his father this was not to be as an actor, but through a variety of different parts that Mackenzie took on, with great intensity and success, but always for a short period. The super-ego did not goad Mackenzie towards a precise goal, but to a diffuse succession of enthusiasms in which Mackenzie showed an easy facility fatal to real and genuine success.

The second, less significant, period of crisis for Mackenzie in his young years came in adolescence, when the resolution to remain, in the final analysis, emotionally detached from others seems to have been compromised. His enthusiasm for religion, specifically Anglo-Catholicism, led to him considering the priesthood: these experiences were later used for his trilogy of religious novels. In this *fin-de-siècle* world, however, there were links between a number of sub-cultures - to ritualist groups might be added legitimist organisations and those who belonged to emergent homosexual identities. I will examine Mackenzie's response to these groups later, but the point here is that this dizzying series of encounters in adolescence placed some strains on Mackenzie, particularly as regards fitting back in with school life. A crisis led to his withdrawal from school and a period of convalescence: the

outcome was an even more chiselled detachment from his later enthusiasms on subsequent occasions; they just faded away, painlessly.

The reason for dwelling on the conclusions of the Linklater biography - and responding to his suggestion that it is necessary to turn back to Mackenzie's autobiographical writings and re-read them against the line of argument taken by their author - is its significance for Mackenzie's representation of homosexuality and the relation of these points to the form taken by the writing. After his undergraduate days at Oxford, Mackenzie believed he had a vocation as a poet. When the slim volume that resulted proved unsuccessful, though, writing a play for his father's company led him to attempt to turn that play into a novel. This first novel, *The Passionate Elopement* (1911), set in the eighteenth century, allowed him to use the possibilities of surface comedy found in the literature of that period.¹³ It was not until his third novel that Mackenzie was able to find his mature style; but with *Sinister Street*, following the upbringing of the Mackenzie-figure of Michael Fane, also came the height of his serious reputation. The novel - at least its first volume - was warmly welcomed by Henry James in 'The New Novel 1914'. (One remembers that Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* was said to 'hang in the dusty rear'.¹⁴) Linklater powerfully argues that the limitations that began to be seen in the writing, particularly as regards depth and characterisation, are closely linked to issues of Mackenzie's personal development and psychology,

The failure to flesh out his protagonists went back to his initial problem of where to place the authorial voice. Having aligned it with the central figure's consciousness, as he did from *Sinister Street* onwards, it was inevitable that the person should be invested with many of the author's characteristics. But here Monty's personality proved a handicap. The protean nature which took on another person's character was stymied when it was turned upon its fictional counterpart, like a mirror turned to face another mirror. Unable to borrow from anybody else's personality, he was also frustrated psychologically by his deliberate distaste for introspection following the crisis of his adolescence.¹⁵

The refusal to acknowledge and work through the early trauma fed through into a writing which always resisted a move below the surface of the character. His representation of homosexuality as a pose fitted easily with his own psychological imperative to live life in terms of the taking on of roles, particularly those drawn from marginalised sub-cultures. That said, homosexual identities were treated differently, as the bad role. However, while he was to

condemn adult same-sex roles as artificial and lacking the naturalness of heterosexuality, there was one kind of same-sex relationship which, perhaps building from his own experience, he did grant authenticity: this was close relations between boys. It is to this issue of Mackenzie's unequal treatment of different forms of same-sex object choice that I now turn, as a key issue in this chapter.

Mackenzie, youth and same-sex desire

Mackenzie was fascinated by the bonds established between boys in late nineteenth century public schools. As will be shown when looking at the context of Douglas' schooling a decade before Mackenzie's, schools were increasingly aware of the possibility of same-sex desire. Mackenzie relates being caught in bed with another boy - innocent of any sexual motive - by a horrified schoolmaster: this suggests that the policing eye has moved beyond the knowledge of the schoolboys themselves.¹⁶ One of the ways of diverting energies that may have gone into same-sex bonding was, it can be surmised, through displacing these energies onto games. This is part of the reasons, one suspects, for the development of games as an educational ideology at this time.¹⁷

Mackenzie's own particular school friend in the early teenage years was Alan Mitchell. In *Sinister Street*, Michael Fane and Alan Merivale - based on Mackenzie and Mitchell at St. Paul's - achieve 'boyhood's glory' through their combined sporting achievements. Their intense friendship is said to take place in the 'sexless interlude before the Eton collar gave way to the "stick up" and before the Eton jacket, trim and jaunty, was discarded for an ill-fitting suit that imitated the dull garb of a man'.¹⁸ However, the intensity of their relationship is forcefully expressed in the account in *Sinister Street*,

Michael suddenly became aware that the end of the summer term was in sight. He shivered in the dewfall and put his arm round Alan's neck affectionately and intimately: only profound convention kept him from kissing his friend and by not doing so he felt vaguely that something was absent from this perfection of dusk.¹⁹

The interest here is not so much whether this is 'sexual' but in the way it might be perceived by society at large, and how Michael

reacts to his mixed feelings. The reference to there being something 'absent from this perfection of dusk' suggests that the wish to kiss Alan is seen as entirely natural. There is some self-consciousness about approaching the barriers of convention; Michael feels restrained, experiences a sense of loss and regret. Usually for Mackenzie same-sex interest is shown as something that makes the individual ridiculous when compared to the everyday in society: here convention itself is seen as limiting.

For Mackenzie this boyhood period of interest in same-sex relations is anyway of limited duration. The transition out of what is perceived as an adolescent phase plays a crucial part in the narrative of *The Four Winds of Love*, particularly in the first and best volume, *The East Wind of Love* (1937). John Oglvie - the Mackenzie-figure - is at the same school as that depicted in *Sinister Street*: indeed Fane and Merivale make fleeting appearances. Oglvie remembers a similar riverside scene of 'boyish passion' to that between Michael Fane and Alan Merivale in the earlier novel. The other boy, Dicky Heythrop, drowns soon after this, leaving Oglvie with a memory of a 'love' that was never 'spoilt'.²⁰ However, Oglvie now feels that he has moved beyond such things. At a debate on the future of Ireland that introduces the triangular framework of relationships that structures the whole novel sequence, Oglvie shows that he is highly aware of an Irish boy supporting the Nationalist cause. This provokes the intense jealousy of another boy, Emil Stern, whose interest is not wholly in the intellectual cut-and-thrust: Stern is in love with Oglvie. The latter has to negotiate a path, in the successive novels, between Fitzgerald's Catholic Irish nationalism and Stern's atheistic international socialism. Years later Oglvie, in a Mackenzie-like fashion, becomes a Roman Catholic and a Scottish nationalist. After the debate Stern declares his love for the seventeen year-old Oglvie, who says he is past such passions. Preparing an essay, Stern notes that 'the best love poetry in Latin is about boys',²¹ he thus uses the resources provided by classical precedents to speak same-sex desire.

Remembering this period in their lives later, in a discussion at the end of *The East Wind of Love*, Oglvie summarises the feelings around his shifting object choices. I quote at some length,

'Do you remember that essay we wrote for Askew on the difference in the attitude of the classical poets and the modern romantic poets toward love?'

Emil nodded.

'You persuaded me not to show up mine,' he said.
'Nevertheless, it would have been the only essay which

contributed anything to the discussion. And you must admit that to steep ourselves in the literature of Greece and Rome, and at the same time to pretend that what is perhaps the chief emotional foundation of such literature is unfit for open discussion is to turn our classical education into a bad joke.'

'I do recognise that while we are being swayed by a classical education and while the emotions of boyhood and adolescence are being all the time deliberately distracted from the sexual idea of woman we behave normally by indulging our vitality with boys' love; but I suspect that woman offers man nowadays a much more potentially rich emotional adventure than she could offer him in ancient Greece or ancient Rome. . . . You think that if you and I had changed the ground of our friendship and turned it into physical desire for one another we should have enriched it. I don't. On the contrary I believe it has actually been enriched by what we have withheld from it. I became friends with you at the moment when I was finding passions for boys with peachblossom complexions and slim figures an unsatisfactory repetition of one another, and so when my friendship with you began I did not waste any emotion on that side of it. You had not indulged your casual fancies to the extent I had, and therefore you had not suffered from the disillusionment of satiety. If we had become friends a year earlier than we did, I've no doubt at all that it would have meant a love-affair between us; but, don't forget, that it would also probably have meant that at this moment instead of sitting here and talking as intimately as we are both talking now we should long ago have passed out of one another's ken, and if we ever thought about each other we should have thought with an idle wonder at what we had seen in one another once upon a time. It's no use looking at me with such disapproval, Emil. I shall never search any more for love from one of my own sex, though perhaps when I grow old I shall look back to the boyish passions of school with the conviction that they were the real flower of passion. I think that what most attracts us all about ancient Greece is that it was a world of glorious schoolboys whose life man will never know again.'²²

At school, boys 'behave normally' by engaging in 'boy's love': convention is not outraged. The use of ancient Greece to discuss same-sex desire is, as we have seen, not unusual. The discussion of the effects of a classics-orientated education here can be related to the specific question, raised by John Addington Symonds, of whether 'sexual inversion' was encouraged by the teaching, as such an important part of the curriculum, of Greek in schools. Symonds, in one of his more self-hating opinions, made clear to Benjamin Jowett that he thought it dangerous to teach Greek to boys since it would encourage homosexuality.²³ The argument of Oglvie in this passage, that homosexuality denies a necessary engagement with what is 'other', with the opposite sex - rather it is said to see a continuous repetition of the same - has a long history, in various

diverse forms. These include recent manifestations, such as Roger Scruton's argument based on a supposedly 'philosophical' objection to homosexuality.²⁴ As we shall see, it was also one of Lawrence's key arguments against homosexuality. It can be noted in causologies for homosexuality that saw same-sex passion as springing from the self. These suggested that same-sex desire was caused by masturbation or, in one of the Freudian models, by a narcissistic object choice.²⁵ Another member of the same sex could not be seen as really 'other'. This perceived need for an engagement with someone other than the self pertained even *within* homosexual relationship structures: it is difficult to find a homosexual relationship in the sixty years pivoting on the year nineteen hundred that was not age or class-asymmetrical. Oglvie argues, in patronising terms, that the modern woman provides a particularly effective encounter with what is 'other'.

The most extraordinary parts of this passage, though, surely come in the final sentences. First, there is a 'turn' to suggest that though these same-sex passions will have been given up, surpassed, they may (somehow) retain a qualitative preeminence over those that follow. In this it may be linked to the surprising way that Clive Durham, in Forster's *Maurice*, is pictured in old age, in the novel's penultimate paragraph, returning to memories of his relationship with Maurice, despite his having been depicted 'changing' to heterosexuality.²⁶ Both texts reinstate what has been excluded - in *Maurice* it is love between people of the same sex with similar educative and class backgrounds, here it is schoolboy relationships - suggesting residual feelings of loss and sadness. The last sentence of the above quotation also welds schoolboy experience onto ancient Greece, for a moment transposing the two and effacing the gap imposed by time, leaving the reader with a blurred sense of the distance between them as social systems.

The fact that Mackenzie gives such attention to these incidents in *Sinister Street* and *The East Wind of Love* many years after his own schooldays might suggest that he remained interested in same-sex relations between schoolboys. It would be possible to argue that this interest plays a part in sustaining a writing to do with youth that is simply more densely voiced than much of his writing. While there is nothing to support James Money's account of Mackenzie having affairs with Capri boys after his return from the war, which seems to be Capri gossip, it could well be said that this would have been the most likely same-sex object-choice. (And also, perhaps,

given the shattering impact of the conflict and the difficulties with his marriage, this would have been the most probable time.)²⁷

It is important to note the link for Mackenzie between the significant transitional period in adolescence and the various 'nineties sub-cultures - amongst them groups of homosexuals - that he had been interested in when he was that age himself. Towards the end of his schooldays in *Sinister Street* Michael Fane selects two boys who could act as 'types of Alan and him'²⁸ at the height of the friendship, suggesting an ongoing interest, through identification, in schoolboy relationships. A scandal is depicted as bursting around the two boys: Fane rushes to their defence with the headmaster. His word is accepted - a surprise given that the headmaster takes the opportunity to tell him to give up 'the detestable association of mental imposters and be a boy again', to abjure the 'vile' company of *fin-de-siècle* aesthetes.²⁹ Mackenzie had made a similar appeal to the headmaster after a teacher had been suspicious of a trip he had taken with two younger boys to acts as fags. Mackenzie had not only observed the emerging homosexual identity at close quarters - including, as we shall see, the remnants of the Wilde circle - he was felt, by others at least, to be on the verge of being implicated. I now propose to turn to the young Mackenzie's relationship to the 1890s homosexual identity, and his later representation of his engagement with the identity in his writings.

Same-sex passion and the *fin-de-siècle*

Mackenzie's involvement in the eighteen nineties sub-cultures was something he was to continue to draw on in his representation of same-sex desire. His view of homosexuality over the span of his writings is, in fact, quite unitary. To an extent his position was liberal and tolerant, but he remained convinced that homosexuality was inferior to heterosexuality, and a wrong choice. Homosexuality is regarded as a pose - and this, remember, by the man who took on a succession of roles - but one that is materially inferior to other roles, and one that gives humour when contrasted with the 'normal' heterosexual centre in society. Adult homosexuality is, then, treated differently from relations between schoolboys.

To begin with, the facts surrounding Mackenzie's own engagement with these *fin-de-siècle* sub-cultures can be provided. He found himself at the heart of the Wilde circle post-1895, attended a

number of legitimist gatherings, and was heavily involved in the cause of ritualism in the Church of England. One of Mackenzie's best friends in adolescence, Dickie Hewlett - brother of Maurice and himself bisexual at this time - introduced Mackenzie to Collingwood Gee. As we shall see in the concluding section of this thesis, Gee was to be in Florence, after the war, where he met, and at a later date painted, Norman Douglas, Pino Orioli, Reggie Turner and Lawrence together. Mackenzie called him 'as completely homosexual as anybody I have known' in his autobiography³⁰ - by that stage of Mackenzie's life a statement with some force. It was Gee who introduced Mackenzie to Lord Alfred Douglas. Mackenzie thus came into contact with Robert Ross and Reggie Turner. All the homosexuals, Mackenzie tells us, recognised and respected his heterosexuality, though this still leaves out what it was that attracted him to this beleaguered group. Turner was called by Wilde 'the boy-snatcher of Clement's Inn'³¹ and, with Ross, was to nurse Wilde in his final illness. Mackenzie devoted a chapter on 'Those who stood by Oscar Wilde' to his book *On Moral Courage* (1962).³² Turner was in Florence post-War, depicted by Lawrence in *Aaron's Rod* (1922), and his legacy was to be the bone of contention that caused the strained relations between Norman Douglas and Pino Orioli, Lawrence's collaborator in the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928).³³ So Mackenzie found himself at the centre of a homosexual sub-culture - one that was to provide many of the figures that Lawrence and Douglas were to live with and react to in Italy in the 'twenties. It does not follow on from Mackenzie's interest in this world, of course, that his later depictions of it would be wholly positive.

Mackenzie's last account of this period, in his autobiography - though typically unchallenging in its argument and flat in its prose style - gives some sense of the key underlying assumptions of his view of same-sex desire. He says in 'Octave Two' of *My Life and Times* (1963),

...although I was not at all physically interested in homosexuals, I found their company amusing and was fascinated by the way they were able to believe that they were superior to normal people. ...

No doubt it will be argued that if homosexual behaviour between adults were no longer a criminal offence it would lead to widespread corruption. In fact it would lead to the contrary because the very element of danger that exists to-day is an encouragement to many temperaments, and the charter which the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1886 [actually 1885] has given to blackmail is a far more pernicious corruption of society

than the abnormality of private behaviour. I am grateful to the opportunity I was given to observe homosexuality when I was sixteen, because now at eighty I recognise that it is quite possible to play with fire and yet avoid getting burnt. I was able to preserve completely my own integrity, and in justice to what would have been called all those 'dangerous companions' hardly one of them failed to recognise that integrity and the very few who didn't were dismissed by me as bores whose company I rejected.³⁴

Heterosexuals here are 'normal people', homosexuals have an 'abnormality'. While blackmail - an important issue for the history of same-sex desire in Britain down to the implementation of the Wolfenden Report, and very important to Mackenzie's representation of it - is the worse area of 'corruption', homosexuality is by implication seen as to some extent corrupt, even if it is a lesser social evil than blackmail. Mackenzie's self-presentation as heterosexual - though one somehow 'fascinated' by what he saw - goes with an enjoyment of the company of homosexuals as 'amusing', a potential source of comedy. Same-sex desire is presented as being like fire, something that can burn - unless, that is, one does not get too close. This is a revealing image in that it sees Mackenzie talking about a necessary distance, the significance of a final level of detachment.

This language around 'corruption' will require further contextualisation, but it is easy to point to the way that the view presented in the autobiography is close to the earlier fictional treatments of the sub-cultures of the 'nineties. As the novel *The Early Life and Adventures of Sylvia Scarlett* (1919) makes clear the group of those interested in same-sex desire was only one of a number of interlinked sub-cultures in existence at the time. The narrative about Sylvia's childhood draws out some of these links. Early in the novel Sylvia is posing as a boy, Sylvester; he (I will use the male pronoun, since this section centres on the possibility of pederasty) has already been involved in an effort to gain money from legitimists by posing as a king. While eating chestnuts on Waterloo bridge Sylvia/Sylvester is approached by a middle aged man. (Much of the comedy of the scene that follows results from the child's innocence in the face of what happens - the reader fills in the gaps with her or his knowledge.) The man introduces himself as Mr Corydon, and he makes a point of not giving him one of his cards. The use of the name is surely a pun - if not on the man's part then on that of the narrative voice. As Mackenzie noted elsewhere (in *Literature in My Time*, *The Four Winds of Love* sequence and in *Thin*

*Ice*³⁵) young British public schoolboys were asked to translate lines from Virgil about the love of the shepherd Corydon for the beautiful Alexis. (The name 'Corydon' also provided the title for Gide's eccentric pseudo-Socratic dialogues on homosexuality.³⁶) Mr Corydon asks the child if he would like to go to a reception, 'a very warm reception in fact'.³⁷ On arrival they find that the servants are dressed up as Venetian gondoliers. This is not only a reference to Italy and its supposed different attitudes to sexuality, but is also a reference to the behaviour of recent British homosexuals in Italy. John Addington Symonds' lover Angelo Fusato was an Venetian gondolier, and Symonds used Angelo, draped against a variety of sunsets, to paint his influential aestheticist essay 'In the Key of Blue'.³⁸ There are also a number of references to smoking - it can be noted that in the Wilde circle codes around lighting cigarettes and so forth formed a way of establishing contact and cementing bonds between those interested in same-sex desire.³⁹ The behaviour of the homosexuals Sylvia/Sylvester meets is described as exaggeratedly precious - Corydon is described as behaving 'fussily'⁴⁰ - and the decor of the room is depicted as excessively rich. After the child has partaken of rather too much alcohol - green, absinthe-like *crème-de-menthe* in imitation of decadent Paris, appropriately enough - she is recognised by some at the party, who already know her from legitimist circles. They set up the feared cry of 'blackmailer', and the guests gather around 'like angry women trying to mount an omnibus',⁴¹ an image which suggests effeminacy: Mr Corydon counts his visiting cards. After Sylvia/Sylvester is bundled out onto the street the resolution to revert to being a girl is made. Being a boy in eighteen nineties London was clearly too dangerous.

If *Sylvia Scarlett* sees Mackenzie noting the links between the emergent homosexual sub-culture and legitimism, with much comedy, then his religious trilogy from the early 'twenties notes the link between 'homosexuality' and Anglo-Catholicism. The novels cover the progress of Mark Lidderdale from a Mackenzie-like upbringing (including night terrors⁴²) to an interest in Anglo-Catholicism. Mackenzie had himself considered taking orders, but Lidderdale does become a High Church priest. He eventually submits to Rome: Mackenzie himself became a Roman Catholic in 1914. The young Lidderdale works with another priest, Dayrell, who says that 'his personality is antipathetic to women generally'.⁴³ While being a woman-hater in the turn of the century period did not overlap fully

with homosexuality, Dayrell's choice of reading suggests an interest in relations between members of the same sex,

'I shall always be glad to lend you any of my books, you know,' Dayrell suggested to Mark one day. 'I have all Havelock Ellis and Krafft-Ebing, and there's this Viennese fellow Freud, who really throws some light on certain sexual impulses.'⁴⁴

Dayrell is depicted as laying himself open to blackmail - specifically from the father of a boy. Mackenzie, while strongly aware of the risks of blackmail intimates that the person in a position of trust should not lay himself open to these problems: Lidderdale seems to have Mackenzie's support when he says that 'I sympathise with no priest or schoolmaster or scoutmaster who gets himself into trouble over this sort of thing'.⁴⁵ Dayrell leaves the ministry, and travels to the continent.

This link between homosexuality and Roman and Anglo-Catholicism will recur in Mackenzie's later representations of homosexuality, and it will also appear in my later chapters. Before concluding this section by looking at the main features of Mackenzie's representation of *fin-de-siècle* same-sex desire it is worth asking about the reasons underlying these links. All these marginalised sub-cultures could be said to provide spaces to those on the margins of society, where dissident opinions and desires could be expressed and some sense of community established with the similarly positioned. But this is hardly adequate: how did Anglo-Catholicism and homosexuality, specifically, move into such close relation to each other in the eighteen nineties, and what was the role of writing in this? When Charles Ryder, in Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), goes to Oxford - with copies of *Sinister Street* and Norman Douglas' *South Wind* on his shelves, signalling already, perhaps a susceptibility to Sebastian's influence - he is warned by his cousin against the High Church enthusiasts: 'Beware of the Anglo-Catholics - they're all sodomites with unpleasant accents'.⁴⁶ Why did Waugh think this connection could be made? How did he know that his audience would recognise the possible link? And, finally, how and why is this turned into something that is intended to provide humour?

The most sustained effort to chart the links between same-sex desire and Anglo-Catholicism historically comes in David Hilliard's 1982 article 'UnEnglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality'. While too often eschewing the development of his argument in favour of an accumulation of detail about relations

between men who may be termed 'homosexual', Hilliard does make some incisive points. He begins by noting the central paradox of the attraction of the same-sex desiring subject to Christianity,

Despite the traditional teaching of the Christian church that homosexual behaviour is always sinful, there are grounds for believing that Anglo-Catholic religion within the Church of England has offered emotional and aesthetic satisfactions that have been particularly attractive to members of a stigmatised sexual minority. This apparent connection between Anglo-Catholicism and the male homosexual sub-culture in the English-speaking world has often been remarked upon, but it has never been fully explored.⁴⁷

Hilliard goes on to note the way that some of the young men drawn to Anglo-Catholicism may have found that it gave 'oblique and symbolical'⁴⁸ expression to their difference in terms of sexuality. Ritualism may also have provided a way of displacing sexual tension, as well as a place that provided certain opportunities. For others - and this is how Mackenzie represents himself - who wished to show general dissent from the centre in society, attaching themselves to one of the most marginalised groupings was a form of rebellion, which did not necessarily involve a commitment.

One might want to argue that the priesthood attracted the homosexual male as a context where one was permitted to dress up in clothing that is seen as 'feminine'. As we have seen, for Judith Butler in her *Gender Trouble* cross-dressing, like camp, is a political action in that it disrupts heterosexuality's efforts to pass itself off as the 'natural' sexual category. However, mapping this straight onto the links between homosexuality and Anglo-Catholicism would falsify the complexities of the situation, and would involve an abdication from a sustained effort to historicise intelligently. The main difficulty with Butler's politics is the assumption that the subject with dissident desires is likely to be able to move easily towards an extrovert self-confidence in the face of the centre of society. Again one must emphasise the effects that engaging with a hostile society is likely to have, the likely internalisation of opprobrium.⁴⁹ However, taking a more historically aware approach, there is a history of Anglo-Catholics being seen as effeminate, and of suspecting High Church priests of 'perversion'. This comes, unsurprisingly, from the statements of opposing Protestants. Charles Kingsley, who became embroiled in controversy with Newman, provoking the by then Roman Catholic into writing the *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1862), had earlier attacked the Oxford Movement for its 'fastidious, maundering, die-away effeminacy'.⁵⁰

The Newman circle had always emphasised chastity for priests, and the group saw a number of intense male-male friendships. Geoffery Faber's classic *The Oxford Movement* (1933) saw repressed homosexuality as providing the Tractarians with much of their energy.⁵¹ It was perhaps an easy move from suggesting that High Churchmen were effeminate and unmanly to suggesting that Anglo-Catholics were 'inverts': Hilliard points out that this was done by a number of Protestant extremists.⁵² It seems to be the case, though, that this was part of the naming imposed by others, rather than identifications taken on by Anglo-Catholics interested in same-sex desire themselves. But one can perhaps say that, for the sexually dissident subject, Anglo-Catholicism provided part of an early homosexual style - a rich interest in ritualism could be added to emerging homosexual 'camp', and to aestheticism.

As Owen Chadwick argued, Anglo-Catholicism emphasises the 'element of feeling, the desire to use poetry as a vehicle of religious language, the sense of awe and mystery in religion'.⁵³ The connection between developments in the arts and in the Church can perhaps best be made by considering both in relation to the word 'symbolism'. John Dixon Hunt suggested in his study of the Pre-Raphaelites that a characteristic of the movement is the use of symbols to gesture towards that which is not readily representable and immediately accessible to realist modes of representation, particularly the other-worldly.⁵⁴ Of course, as Pre-Raphaelitism moved beyond the original brotherhood to form a broader tendency in the arts, eventually flowing into aestheticism and decadence, the sacred and the profane were continually mixed. It is important to note the centrality of masculine desire to the development of aestheticism. As was noted in the Introduction, beginning with the early Apostles Hallam and Tennyson at Cambridge, aestheticism in Victorian England was often pressed into service to give expression to same-sex desire.⁵⁵

Mackenzie himself was aware of these historical developments and the connections between the emerging movements. In *Literature in My Time* (1933) he notes a succession of movements in the arts,

The literature of the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood to which Ruskin stood as godfather may seem definitely outside the scope of this book; but the aesthetic movement of the 'eighties was really the fruit of pre-Raphaelitism, and the literary and artistic activity of the 'nineties could not have manifested itself without the aesthetic movement of the previous decade.⁵⁶

Mackenzie was also, as a teenager, fascinated by French symbolist

poetry which exerted a strong influence on the 'nineties (again dissident desire was involved). He also connected the religious changes to those in the arts,

The religious and artistic development moved on parallel lines in the same direction, and they were the manifestations of a similar disposition of mind.⁵⁷

So to the structural links between homosexuality and Anglo-Catholicism one has to add a third side to make a triangle: the significance of art and the language it provided. Mackenzie himself saw the links between movements in the arts and religious developments.

To give some examples of the connections between same-sex desire, aestheticism, and Roman and Anglo Catholicism, one thinks of Walter Pater, before he had become seriously interested in Christianity, enjoying the ritual of an Anglo-Catholic 'priory'. One of the lay brothers wrote him a (distinctly Uranian) poem on his birthday.⁵⁸ Or there is Oscar Wilde writing to a friend encouraging him to feel the powerful aesthetic moments offered by Rome, the 'Sacred City',

Do be touched by it, feel the awful fascination of the Church, its extreme beauty and sentiment, and let every part of your nature play and have room.⁵⁹

The way that the appeal of Rome is expressed here could not have been written without the Conclusion to Pater's *The Renaissance*, but there is also a sensuous language of touch here, a physical aspect. Further, as Timothy D'Arch Smith has noted, the 'nineties also saw a sub-genre of verse and sometimes prose - which he calls 'Uranian' - that specifically addressed male-male, usually man-boy, desire. Many of the practitioners of this kind of writing were priests. He notes,

The greatest heights [sic] of indecency in Uranian verse are reached when eroticism is mingled with religion. It is a hardy annual that clergyman are attracted to choir-boys but it is none the less a fact that the Uranians, many of them members of the church, swooned over their singing boys and acolytes and, when they should have been at their devotions, threw lustful glances at the red robed creatures in the church.

D'Arch Smith's contentions are backed up by references to a number of poets, including John Addington Symonds and Count Fersen (of whom more later in this chapter).⁶⁰ To add to his list one might also point, in the realm of Uranian prose, to John Francis Bloxam's 'The Priest and the Acolyte': this was at first attributed to Wilde, damagingly. Bloxam later became a stratespherically high Anglo-Catholic priest.⁶¹

However, as the reference in the above quotation to the way that religion only heightens the erotic element shows, charting the structural links between these groups and tendencies is not enough: a study of the energies involved, of the dynamics, is also required. To return to Hilliard's opening question: what kind of psychology was required for the same-sex desiring subject to find that which condemned them attractive? It seems likely that the homosexual subject found in the church a place where (contradictory) feelings of guilt and possibility could find focus. Absolution for sin could be sought in an attractively erotically charged atmosphere, with Anglo-Catholicism's adoption of the practice of confession providing a safe environment for expressing the internal drama out loud. This point about the complexity of motive of the same-sex desiring subject in relation to Anglo-Catholicism was also something that, again, Mackenzie glimpsed in his non-fictional writing,

It was felt that people who behaved oddly and devoted their affections to unusual objects were probably mad. There was no theory to account for such madness. Therefore when a reader recognized one of his own vagaries in a case provided by Mr. Havelock Ellis, unless he was willing to accept the proposition that he was mad, he was left with the only alternative of being a sinner. The incubus of puritanism which had lain so heavily and so long upon the peoples of England and Scotland might suggest an explanation for this linking up of an aesthetic revolt with an excessive consciousness of sin, if the mental process were not equally conspicuous across the Channel. Verlaine's alternating moods of emotional piety and equally emotional sensuality are more extreme than any expression of them in English verse. Whatever the cause and examination of the minor poetry produced during the 'nineties betrays a preoccupation with the decorative aspects of sin which later developments of psychology have caused to seem more trivial and insincere than it really was.⁶²

Mackenzie's own representation of the 'nineties was not to take such insights linking religion, homosexuality and movements in the arts on board - he preferred to play it all for comic effect. He seems to have been on the edge of a subtle understanding of the links between the sub-cultures and the issues around the individual's interaction with them, but the concentration is not sustained. Before moving on to show how Mackenzie's representation of homosexuality works - through looking at the figure of Wilmot in *Sinister Street* - it is important to pick up on the reference here to madness, to the medical model of homosexuality, and to add to it the comments of Mackenzie cited earlier about 'corruption'. In short, to address the links between homosexuality and 'degeneration'.

Mackenzie raised the link between the eighteen nineties and degeneration himself when he devoted a chapter on Max Nordau's *Degeneration to Literature in My Time*.⁶³ The Nordau text, with reviews of the translation of the second German edition coming soon after the end of the Wilde trials in 1895, is significant for the history of 'homosexuality' in that it gave people a convenient way of 'understanding' events which had made little sense to them using already available frames of reference. It fulfilled, Mackenzie himself suggested, a similar role in the eighteen nineties, to that played by Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918-1922) after the First World War. Nordau believed that a certain section of society, the artists, and the rich and leisured drawn to their cultural productions, showed signs of degeneration. He was picking up on the work of the dedicatee of *Degeneration*, Cesare Lombroso, who had argued that social deviants showed signs of physical degeneration, so that taking measures to look after the physical stock would improve the state of society.⁶⁴ Nordau believed that aspects of degenerate activity could be seen in art and religious trends. He looks early in the text at the Oxford Movement, and moves through Pre-Raphaelitism to Symbolism in France and Aestheticism in England. Nordau added a footnote about the Wilde trial to the third German edition.⁶⁵ Continental literature and music fares no better, with Tolstoy roundly attacked along with Wagner. He tries to make Nietzsche the final proof of his argument, as the philosopher obligingly died mad.

Degeneration is linked to sexuality on a number of occasions in the Nordau book. He notes that 'the emotionalism of the degenerate has, as a rule, an erotic colouring, because of the pathological alteration in their sexual centres'. However, Nordau feels that it is wrong, in a book for the 'general educated reader', to 'dwell on this delicate subject'; in fact he eschews discussion of degenerate sexuality 'on principle' in his text. He sends his readers to the works of Krafft-Ebing and Westphal amongst others - that is, to sexological texts cataloguing forms of sexual 'deviance', and which give much attention to same-sex desire.⁶⁶ Krafft-Ebing, in early editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis* linked homosexuality to degeneration.⁶⁷ In *Literature in My Time* Mackenzie feels that the Nordau text is important in what it tells us about the 'nineties, a foundational decade for the Modern, in his view. However, though he notes that Nordau's science is flawed, he proved unable to see through the way that it gave a certain view of

homosexuality - as degenerate, corrupt, a sign of a decaying society. This attached itself to the way that homosexuality was seen, and became part of the language that Mackenzie himself used to represent same-sex desire for the rest of his writing career.

If this non-fictional writing of Mackenzie suggests that he had seen some of the complex range of discourses around these sub-cultures, and of the psychological effects of engaging with them, then his fictional representations do not work these insights through. Rather they are exaggerated and used to identify the homosexual as different from the 'normal', 'natural' centre in society. In *Sinister Street*, Wilmot reflects on the Church to Michael, who has admitted that his previous enthusiasm for it had gone 'stale',

'The Church!' echoed Mr Wilmot. 'How wonderful! The dim Gothic glooms, the sombre hues of stained glass, the incense-wreathed acolytes, the muttering priests, the bedizened banners and altars and images. Ah, elusive and particoloured vision that once was mine!'⁶⁸

The Christian ritual and symbolism is here depicted as a series of aesthetically pleasing moments, and again the ghost of Pater hovers. Wilmot is also a poet, as he tells Michael the first time they meet, suitably enough in a bookshop. The ways open to those interested in same-sex desire to identify with times and places that accorded their desires validity are here turned into ways of making Wilmot seem peculiar and amusingly different. Again, it is necessary to quote at some length,

'I don't suppose you've seen any of my stuff. I don't publish much. Sometimes I read my poems to Interior people.'

Michael looked puzzled.

'Interior is my name for the people who understand. So few do. I should say you'd be sympathetic. You look sympathetic. You remind me of those exquisite boys who in scarlet hose run delicately with beakers of wine or stand in groups about the corners of old Florentine pictures.'

Michael tried to look severe, and yet, after the Upper Fifth, even so direct and embarrassing a compliment was slightly pleasant.

'Shall we go along? Tonight the Hammersmith Road is full of mystery. But first, shall I not buy you a book - some exquisite book full of strange perfumes and passionate courtly gestures? And so you are at school? How wonderful to be at school! How Sicilian! Strange youth, you should have been sung by Theocritus, or better, been crowned with myrtle by some wonderful unknown Greeks, some perfect blossom of Anthology.'

Michael laughed rather foolishly. There seemed nothing else to do.

'Won't you smoke? These Chian cigarettes in their diaphanous paper of mildest mauve would suit your oddly

remote, your curiously shy glance. You had better not smoke so near to the savage confines of St. James's school? How ascetic! How stringent! What book shall I buy for you, O greatly to be envied dreamer of Sicilian dreams? Shall I buy for you Mademoiselle de Maupin, so that all her rococo soul may dance with gilded limbs across your vision? Or shall I buy you *À Rebours*, and teach you to live? And yet I think neither would suit you perfectly. So here is a volume of Pater - *Imaginary Portraits*. You will like to read of Denys L'Auxerrois. One day I myself will write an imaginary portrait of you, wherein your secret, sidelong smile will reveal to the world the whole art of youth.'

'But really - thanks very much,' stammered Michael, who was beginning to suspect the stranger of madness - 'it's awfully kind of you, but, really, I think I'd rather not.'

'Do not be proud,' said Mr Wilmot. 'Pride is for the pure in heart, and you are surely not pure in heart. Or are you? Are you indeed like one of those wonderful white statues of antiquity unaware of the soul with all its maladies?'⁶⁹

Here the reference to Renaissance painting focus on their depiction of young men. As seen in the introduction, the period generally had drawn those interested in finding spaces where same-sex desire was regarded differently: one thinks of the work of Pater and Symonds. The reference to Greek sculpture again picks up on a line of writers who had focused on the different attitude to male beauty in an earlier age: this again involves Pater and Symonds, but it goes back to Winckelmann in modern times. The 'Anthology' is of course the *Greek Anthology*, with its strong vein of pederastic poems;⁷⁰ and as shall be seen the *Greek Anthology* was Norman Douglas' favourite poetry. The references to Sicily and the beauties of its youth draw upon a place with a homosexual 'colony'. Its most famous resident at this time, the photographer Baron von Gloeden, was involved in taking pictures of the island's boys.⁷¹ Most important here is the reference to Wilmot's 'Interior' - that is, 'inverted' - poetry. Wilmot connects his work and his attempted seduction of Michael to a certain lineage of developments in the arts that involves French writing and the texts of Walter Pater. But the suspicion of madness hangs over Wilmot from his introduction.

Wilmot's influence leads Michael to seriously consider what he has lost as his friendship with Alan faded. As mentioned earlier, he considers looking towards friendships with younger boys (and thus towards the kind of bonds between males that Mackenzie did take seriously). Michael's view of Wilmot soon turns towards the negative. He sees people like him as taking on a 'pose', and as degenerate and corrupt,

Sunday was a day at Edwardes Square from which Michael returned almost phosphorescent with decay. Sunday was the day on which Mr Wilmot gathered from all over London specimens of corruption that fascinated Michael with their exotic and elaborate behaviour. Nothing seemed worth while in such an assembly except a novel affectation. Everything was a pose. It was a pose to be effeminate in speech and gesture; it was a pose to drink absinthe; it was a pose to worship the devil; it was a pose to buy attenuated volumes of verse at an unnatural price, for the sake of owning a sonnet that was left out of the ordinary edition; it was a pose to admire pictures that to Michael at first were more like wall-paper than pictures; it was really a pose to live at all. Conversation at these delicate entertainments was like the conversations overheard in the anterooms of private asylums. Everyone was very willowy in his movements, whether he were smoking or drinking or looking for a box of matches. Michael attempted to be willowy at school once, but gave it up on being asked if he had fleas.⁷²

The discourse of homosexuality as artificial, as the false pose, is weaved together here with that which sees same-sex desire in terms of corruption and madness. The medical model of homosexuality is used to help negativize those interested in same-sex desire. This is very different from the depiction of relations between boys, which is accorded validity and treated sympathetically: here Fane's school provides the contrast, the normality and the conventional, which humorously emphasises the artifice of this 'nineties world, rather than its being seen as in any way limiting.

So this, then, is how Mackenzie represents homosexuality and the *fin-de-siècle*; he excludes the complexities in the relations between the two that he shows elsewhere that he was perfectly capable of glimpsing. Instead he notes what he sees as the artificial and comic in homosexuality. Before going on to look at his treatment of homosexuality in the novels *Vestal Fire* (1927), *Extraordinary Women* (1928) and *Thin Ice* (1956) it is worth asking why Mackenzie represented homosexuality in this way. Clearly possible answers have to be tentative, we are entering the territory of biographical speculation. One possible account might be that the Mackenzie drawn to homosexuality in adolescence felt the need to overcompensate in his negative accounts of adult homosexuality; one could even argue that this was something that he felt a powerful psychological imperative to keep at bay, to repress. More profitable though is speculation around the key paradox: why did the man who took on a succession of roles condemn *this*, homosexual, role? One possible explanation is that this role - one that he felt unable to take on finally himself, while still something that arrested his

interest - became the 'bad' role. Possibly it became a way of externalising the negative feelings about a life that lacked constancy, obvious depth and grounding, that was a succession of enthusiasms. These lines of thought are somewhat speculative, but the evidence draws one towards the accounts they offer.

Mackenzie's representation of homosexuality in the Capri novels and *Thin Ice*

The examination of Mackenzie, homosexuality and the *fin-de-siècle* suggests that we should not turn to the novels by Mackenzie of the 'twenties and later that deal with same-sex desire expecting a transparent, unmediated reportage of homosexual identities. While Mackenzie may offer us a view of people in terms of immediate, surface characteristics - eschewing the complications of unconscious motivations, of a depth psychology - I have been seeking to suggest that his view of homosexuality was related to the complexities surrounding his own taking on of roles. Mackenzie's representation of homosexuality in *Vestal Fire* and *Extraordinary Women* again sees him viewing same-sex desire as inferior.

In making this case about these novels I am arguing against others who have written on the two texts. Leo Robertson in his *Compton Mackenzie. An Appraisal of his Literary Work* (1954) argues that *Vestal Fire* has 'a brilliantly gay non-moral setting' (even in 1954 the use of the word 'gay' might have brought a smile to the mouths of some readers⁷³) with the 'sting taken out of the satiric intention' by the comedy.⁷⁴ Of the novel about the lesbian Mediterranean colony, *Extraordinary Women*, he argued that it was the 'self-indulgence and self-centredness' of the protagonists that led Mackenzie to poke fun at them rather than their 'amatory unorthodoxy'.⁷⁵ D.J.Dooley in his 1974 book on Mackenzie takes a similar line: 'Mackenzie preaches no sermons in his two novels'.⁷⁶ As we shall see it is made quite explicit in both novels that Mackenzie sees homosexuality as inferior and abnormal. The writing of Sally Beauman and Andro Linklater in the 1980s is more surprising in the anachronism of their arguments. Linklater, in his biography of Mackenzie, calls one of the characters in *Vestal Fire* an 'effusive young pansy',⁷⁷ and Beauman, in her introduction to the 1984 Hogarth Press edition of the text, is similarly objectionable.

She says of Count Marsac, the main figure in *Vestal Fire*, 'Marsac may seem at first the essence of the *fin-de-siècle* poseur, but he too has an alarming habit of popping up elsewhere. In the late Sixties in San Francisco, for example; tomorrow in New York or Notting Hill. The affectations alter, not the man'.⁷⁸ Certain characteristics associated with the homosexual - be they imposed from outside or taken on by the dissident subject themselves - are seen as part of their essence, of 'the man', and they are judged for their difference from the norm. Linklater's argument in his introduction to the Hogarth Press edition of *Extraordinary Women* that 'the heterosexuals and male homosexuals fare no better than lesbians - all are figures caught up in the comedy of sexual desire' is similar to the earlier arguments.⁷⁹ But its claim that there is equal treatment cannot be sustained. Mackenzie's representation of homosexuality is as a social role, but one that is artificial and humorous, abnormal and inferior in comparison to heterosexuality. Having looked at the comic novels of the 'twenties - and briefly addressed same-sex desire involving adults in *The Four Winds of Love* sequence - I will examine the novel *Thin Ice*, the best novel of Mackenzie's later years, about a failed homosexual politician. I hope to show that the readership Mackenzie intended for this novel excludes someone who might identify with the experience of the homosexual characters, that the sender-receiver relation excludes them. These texts are representations of homosexuality by Mackenzie - someone who described himself as 'a natural minority man'⁸⁰ - that are finally negative in nature.

Linklater's comment that *Extraordinary Women* is a 'comedy of sexual desire' is a credible argument, one that to an extent holds for *Vestal Fire* as well. With the First World War Mackenzie's view of love darkened - again for reasons to do with his own life. On the surface, if one examines the narrative closures of the novels on either side of the war, he may appear to be becoming more optimistic. Mackenzie's first novel *The Passionate Elopement* is a story of unrequited love and *Guy and Pauline* (1915), written before he went to the war, concerns a failed love affair. The first project to follow his return from the war, *The Adventures of Sylvia Scarlett* and *Sylvia and Michael*, however, ends with the marriage of Michael Fane and Sylvia. But the way in which love is viewed has run the other way. There is less an acceptance of romantic heterosexual conventions than a certain cynicism about the constancy of love. This is mingled with a preparedness, when in comic vein, to enjoy

the results. Generally, Mackenzie felt, like so many others, that the world in which he had grown up died with the war, a certain set of expectations and codes went. Even Mackenzie's writing style was to reflect this falling away of the past, with a parred down prose style replacing the rich, indeed excessively purple, prose of the earlier novels. Also, Mackenzie returned from Greece to find that his wife had been having an affair. Whether the level of fidelity that Mackenzie demanded from his wife was that he expected of himself can certainly be questioned, but he was deeply upset: if he had become close to and trusted anyone after the difficulties of his childhood it had been Faith. While the marriage continued in name it was irrevocably damaged. Thus the Capri novels of the mid 'twenties, for all their comedy, do have a darker tone. As I will show, heterosexual passion as well as same-sex love see desire as being defined as the desire for what is different, so that once a love object is obtained boredom will soon follow and a new object choice will be sought. However what Mackenzie sees as the essential nature of homosexuality is that it presents this mechanism in particularly extreme form, unsoftened.

It is worth pausing over the terms 'comedy' and 'tragedy' here: Mackenzie saw *Thin Ice* as addressing the tragic side of homosexuality, while *Vestal Fire* and *Extraordinary Women* had dealt with what he saw as its comedy.⁸¹ Now there can never, in terms of genre, be a homosexual comedy, with difficulties placed in the way of a relationship in terms of family, money or wider issues of social bonding being reconciled through the establishment of a socially sanctioned and economically rewarded relationship: that is, marriage. There can only be 'comedy' in the other sense of the word, homosexuality made funny - and made amusing, of course, to others. The relationship between narrative voice and implied reader closes off the homosexual from these texts: Mackenzie's representation of homosexuals is not *for* homosexuals.

Vestal Fire was Mackenzie's best novel since *Sinister Street*. It attempts to capture a whole community with an eye for the absurd, and with a cleverly executed if unremitting humour. The subject matter of the narrative closely follows the events surrounding the life of Baron d'Adelswärd-Fersen. On arrival in Capri he was fêted - because he was very rich - but the discovery of his past of age-asymmetrical relationships in France split the island into two camps. The Wolcott-Perrys, two middle-aged rich women, made belief in his integrity the touchstone of whether others could be their

friends. The arrival of the war and Fersen's reluctance to go and fight precipitated further social discord, the remaining living 'sister' falling out with Fersen. The latter died from a heart condition probably related to his drug addiction. Mackenzie was able to observe the last stages of the drama himself, and to check the earlier facts with John Ellingham Brooks, a long term homosexual resident on Capri. (Mackenzie depicted him affectionately as Geoffery Noel in *The Four Winds of Love*: he is the dedicatee of *Vestal Fire*.⁸² Lawrence met Brooks on his visits to Capri and he became, for a period, a correspondent of Lawrence's.⁸³ Douglas dedicated his *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* to him.⁸⁴)

Vestal Fire is very carefully constructed in a way that it closely links form and message. The height of the Fersen-figure Count Marsac's fortunes are described in high spirits with some foreshadowing (at one point in the form of an authorial intervention) of what is to happen. The major figures are to enter into decline, and to die off - Marsac, the 'sisters' - the change to an elegiac tone coming at the exact half way point of the novel, something augmented by the arrival of the war. The main protagonist in this novel of many characters is thus time, a point reinforced by many references to growth and decline in the natural world, and the framing classical epithets at the head of each chapter. The novel is - particularly for Mackenzie - very carefully organised. Initial reviewers, however, were not kind. Cyril Connolly argued that for Mackenzie to enter into competition with the 'masterpiece' of Norman Douglas' *South Wind* was 'to court deserved and speedy misfortune': *Vestal Fire* was a 'feeble' sequel to Douglas' novel.⁸⁵ Elsewhere Connolly called *Sinister Street* a 'bad book', and used Mackenzie as an example of someone who had a 'Mandarin' style.⁸⁶ In this review he saw *Vestal Fire* as an unsuccessful attempt by Mackenzie to relaunch himself as a serious novelist, post-War.

The available ways in which those interested in same-sex desire could identify are used in this text to identify homosexuals as other, different and amusing. An examination of how this is effected will also provide a fuller sense of this text and its wide array of characters. In the first part of the novel the English chaplain on the island is the Rev Cyril Acott. He is described by the churchwarden, Bookham, as 'simply an effeminate puppy'⁸⁷. Mackenzie did at times depict homosexuals as effeminate, though his arguments about gender mixing were not usually located within the individual subject. Elsewhere he argued that whole countries could have a

different balance between male and female. England, as proven by its many kings who were interested in same-sex desire, was particularly likely to see homosexuality owing to its extreme masculinity.⁸⁸ Mackenzie also wrote about how writing in his time had become increasingly feminized: he sees D.H. Lawrence as being in the vanguard of this tendency.⁸⁹ To return to Acott, he meets Madame Serbécoff - who is to appear again in *Extraordinary Women* - and she rapidly adjusts to her audience,

She had prepared to impress the new English chaplain by gushing over the beauties of *The Pilgrim's Progress* when she first met him at tea, but divining his tastes within ten minutes she had transformed *The Pilgrim's Progress* into *The Picture of Dorian Grey* so swiftly that before the visit was over Mr Acott was confiding to her what difficulty he had to make altar-boys see life steadily and see it whole.⁹⁰

Acott's literary tastes are a clue to his sexual ones: the link to 'altar-boys' is therefore expected, the paraphrase of Matthew Arnold is slightly more surprising. The priest's career is a by now predictable mixture of the decadent in art, high church practice and homosexuality,

it must be allowed that the behaviour of the Reverend Cyril Acott, since he came last Autumn as chaplain to Sirene, had grown increasingly odd for an English clergyman. Ten years before, as an undergraduate, he had been a prominent figure in the more tropical coteries of Oxford decadence. He had belonged to a club called the Pea Green Corruptibles. He had had two poems rejected by *The Spirit Lamp* as too daring, and a sonnet accepted by *Southernwood: An Interior Review* (Quarterly, £1 ls.), which was in the Shakesperian mode and ended:

And I would burn for evermore in Hell,
Might I but swing there in thy thurible.

Soon after this Cyril Acott entered a theological college, whence he passed out to an East End curacy in Popney. There he had worked hard ever since, and his appointment to a winter chaplaincy in Sirene was a thoroughly well-deserved rest. But gradually the island laid her spell upon him. He became faintly pea-green again, slightly corruptible once more.⁹¹

We also learn of Acott's earlier life that he felt 'indignation'⁹² at the treatment of Oscar Wilde, and that, like Dayrell in *The Parson's Progress*, he felt that he had read up on 'the most complex sexual aberrations' for his pastoral work.⁹³ Acott also remembers two more lines of his poetry: 'I saw the acolytes about the chancel sway/ Like dim red roses in the moonlit dusk'.⁹⁴ The reference to Lord Alfred Douglas's periodical *The Spirit Lamp* helps link Acott to a particular 'nineties world - one both literary and homosexual. The

subject matter of the poetry is clearly inspired by Anglo-Catholicism. The name of the club, 'Pea Green Corruptibles' shows Mackenzie's comic touch at its best: green is of course the colour of absinthe (as well as peas) and it is the 'Corruptibles' - and thus susceptible to degeneration - rather than 'Incorruptibles'. Mackenzie is also, of course, playing with Carlyle's description of Robespierre in *The French Revolution* as the 'seagreen Incorruptible'.⁹⁵ But the point here is surely that Mackenzie is sketching in a certain figure for comic effect, to provide humour for a (heterosexual) reader rather than as part of any attempt to probe the surface. Acott is presented as a shallow figure, the opportunities where depth might be added - why, for example, did Acott feel the need for the hard work in the 'East End curacy'? - Mackenzie simply glides through.

If Bishop Heard, the clergyman in Norman Douglas' *South Wind*, is allowed some development as he loses his moral stringency, Acott simply plays out his type. He is also seen as part of a chain of desire that never rounds off with two people who desire each other. Acott conceives a 'romantic passion for Nigel Dawson whom he compared to Lysis'.⁹⁶ He makes Dawson his new churchwarden, but Nigel becomes infatuated with Count Marsac. However, Marsac soon tires of Dawson: he prefers an Oxford undergraduate who can share his passion for opium. Drug culture was strongly linked from the 'nineties to same-sex desire: *The Picture of Dorian Grey* (1891) sees the link being represented. As Eve Sedgwick has argued 'the addict' appears at the same time as 'the homosexual' as a medical category.⁹⁷ Described by Bookham as 'an effeminate and corrupt young decadent',⁹⁸ and aware of his youthful good looks ('Several people have said that I reminded them of the Narcissus in the Naples Museum'⁹⁹), Dawson is deeply impressed by Marsac's writing. Indeed he translates some of it into English - again the choirboy theme is to the fore: 'Child of the heavenly choir or infant saint,/ He has the same voluptuous virgin eyes'. His mother, naively, asks if the boy is some relation of the Count,

'Oh no, no, no! It's an ideal love in the key of blue. That's the whole point of the comparison with della Robbia.'

'My dear Nigel, you're getting me all muddled up. Now what in the world is the key of blue?'

'John Addington Symonds, of course.'¹⁰⁰

Again Symonds' name and his essay 'In the Key of Blue' appear, but while many interested in same-sex desire may have appealed to Symonds and his work to provide a legitimate space for their

desires, in this text it is part of the way that the homosexual characters are fixed as absurd, humorous and irrevocably 'other' than the reader.

Nigel Dawson flirts with Marsac's 'friend and secretary'¹⁰¹ Carlo, provoking Marsac to chase Dawson through the streets wielding a scimitar. Using a number of classical parallels Carlo is described as looking like Antinous, the lover of the Emperor Hadrian: Marsac also has a statue of Carlo made for the garden of his house posing as Hylas, the beloved of Hercules.¹⁰² Mackenzie's depiction of Carlo is of interest, he enters sympathetically into the situation of the poor, heterosexual but beautiful young man trapped in a difficult situation. He is depicted as falling into economic dependency on Marsac,

Five years of luxury with Marsac had not been long enough in which to forget the misery of his childhood in that swarming Trastevere alley. To whatever there was abnormal in his relations with Marsac he had become easily habituated in that strange bisexual pause in the growth of a normal adolescence. He had the capacity for facing facts which is the birthright of every young Italian male or female, and though there might be moments when the temptation to be normal was irresistible (of which the Roumanian had taken advantage) he recognized that his life with Marsac was a career. The long Latin civilisation has had time to incorporate so much of masculine experience, so much of feminine wisdom that the sentimentality of a semi-barbaric culture like the American or English is obnoxious to a Latin. The Latin individual is capable of what seems to the Anglo-Saxon a cynicism in sexual relations utterly beyond his comprehension. A decent Englishman would have despised Carlo; but a decent Italian would not have despised him, however much he might abominate his detestable situation. A decent Italian would have blamed Marsac's wealth and would have deplored the outraged dignity of his nation in the abuse of a humble compatriot, would have felt precisely that emotion of a resentful pride at the way the world treats his whole country like a *fille de joie* to which Mussolini has known how to give practical and rhetorical expression.¹⁰³

The final reference to Mussolini, at least mildly approving in tone, now grates. Ironically, the Fascists were to ban *Vestal Fire*.¹⁰⁴ The fantasy of homosexual Italy is in large measure debunked by Mackenzie, who sees that the difference between the wealth of some northern Europeans and the south as the key factor. He seems anxious to excuse Carlo of the charge of behaviour close to prostitution; rather in the end it is Italy that is used as a prostitute by the citizens of other countries. In suggesting that Carlo became 'habituated' to what is 'abnormal' in his relations with Marsac (which presumably means sex) in the 'strange bisexual

pause' of adolescence, Mackenzie again refers to this important teenage period when he accords same-sex desire the status of a real, genuinely and deeply felt feeling. Carlo is presented as coping well with the Marsac's jealous rages, particularly towards the (sad) conclusion of the Frenchman's life. Carlo is at the end granted, it seems, a happy resolution to his story, the ending of a comedy: 'He is probably married now, and happy'.¹⁰⁵ No such positive resolution is granted to the homosexual characters. Even the most sympathetically drawn, the musician Burlingham, is seen as having had an unhappy and wasted life which is represented in terms of *his* homosexuality rather than society's treatment of same-sex desire,

The music stopped. Old Burlingham was back in the present with his piano and his photographs and here and there a few silver ornaments as relics of a wasted fortune and souvenirs of a wasted life, while heavy upon him hung the loneliness that an abnormal obsession casts upon age.¹⁰⁶

If Mackenzie goes out his way to understand the culturally specific situation of Carlo the same effort is not made here.

The depiction of Marsac in the text is unremitting in its condemnation. For example, 'Carlyle once said that Herbert Spencer was the most unending ass in Christendom. He had not met the Count'.¹⁰⁷ He is seen as indulging every one of his whims - his philosophy of life is described as an 'amorphous hedonism'¹⁰⁸ - combined with a propensity for lying and coming to conclusions about others that suit his immediate emotional advantage. He is called 'degenerate' by other characters on a number of occasions,¹⁰⁹ and indeed it is through a discussion of degeneracy involving Bookham and a visiting lawyer that Marsac's past of age-asymmetrical relationships is revealed. Bookham points to a brother and sister whose relationship is reputed to be 'all very degenerate and unpleasant',

'You can't shock me, Mr Bookham,' said the little lawyer. 'Hullo, why talking of degeneracy there goes Lagerström!' He whistled his amazement. 'Well, well, so this is where his voyage round the world ended!'

'I beg your pardon,' Bookham exclaimed. 'But do you mean Count Marsac?'

'That's right. Marsac-Lagerström, to give him in full, what does Sirene make of *him*? ... Did you never hear of the Lagerström scandal?'

The little American leaned across the table and lowered his voice to remind Bookham what that had been.

'Miners?' the churchwarden bellowed. 'Good lord, what a degenerate brute! Not coalminers surely?'

'Minors not miners,' the little lawyer made haste to explain. ...

'Well, that's bad enough,' he rumbled.¹¹⁰

Mackenzie plays with the relative shock value of the two most common forms of homosexual object choice at the time, those which were age or class-asymmetrical. He succeeds in capturing the moralizing self-importance of Bookham and the man-of-the-world but slightly precious accuracy of the lawyer. The references to degeneracy help to fix Marsac as abnormal and inferior, and also as a potential source of humour.

If the Rev Acott had helped Mackenzie sketch in for his readership a characteristically English set of connections between homosexuality, Anglo-Catholicism and Uranian writing, with Marsac the constituent parts of this triangle are somewhat different: it is to be Rome rather than Canterbury, French decadent writing rather than English. On arrival he pays for a porch for the English church, though, which he insists on having designed himself. At the opening ceremony - which Acott had hoped would be 'something rather interior and subtle'¹¹¹ - the more conventional residents of the island are to be surprised,

it was Bookham who with a tremendous gesture tore down the covering; and it was Bookham who had to explain why it was that the angular figure of Saint Sebastian wearing nothing but four arrows should be considered an appropriate decoration for a place of worship dedicated to St Simon and St Jude.¹¹²

St Sebastian is, of course, the (unofficial) patron saint of homosexual men - one remembers that Wilde, on release from prison, took the name of Sebastian Melmouth.¹¹³ If the comedy here seems quite gentle, and aimed at the middle class English attitudes of Bookham as much as anything, the same cannot be said of Mackenzie's reaction to Marsac's writing. Marsac produces a journal called the 'Symposion', aimed at 'all ye who feel the inspiration of Athens', of which the narrative voice is dismissive.¹¹⁴ When it comes to Marsac's novel, which deals with his peek at Carlo's affair with a Roumanian woman in a piece of fiction transposed into a context of wholly heterosexual relations, Mackenzie steps in to make some observations (and to sermonise),

And Marsac like so many writers of his temperament attributed to two young people supposed to be normal the characteristics of an abnormal passion. It is remarkable how nearly always fatal prose is to the pretentiously styled Uranian temperament, which time after time shirks honest self-revelation in such a medium, but continually seeks by an endogenous understanding of women, an almost uterine intelligence, to atone for its inability to create men. One day a novelist with that temperament will have the courage to write about himself as he is, not as he would be were he actually Jane or Gladys or Aunt

Maria. And that will be a novel worth reading, not an obstetrical feat.¹¹⁵

Mackenzie makes it quite clear that homosexuality is abnormal and inferior to heterosexuality. He is unable to see that the reason for the lack of 'honest self-revelation' that affects the writing may lie in the intolerance of society rather than in the 'nature', the essence, of the 'Uranian' temperament.

This authorial comment is reinforced by the character treated in the novel with most respect - Duncan Maxwell, based on Norman Douglas. As shall be seen in the next chapter, the condemnation of the homosexual identity that crystallised in the 'nineties was a characteristic of Douglas. He believed in pursuing age-asymmetrical relationships while representing himself, at least in his writing, as a manly gentleman. Maxwell says of Marsac,

Good God, I tell you, my dear fellow, that for me Marsac has been dead and buried since 1898. He stinks like an unwrapped mummy of stale spice. I've no patience with these soulful pederasts. Everything must be turned into a blasted religion, that's what makes me so furious. If we hear a tom-cat howling on the tiles we jolly well throw a boot at him, but when these blasted lovesick poets and pederasts start howling we sit around and admire them.¹¹⁶

Maxwell's attack on what he sees as an over-sophisticated style, with links to religion and to the literary taste of many of those interested in age-asymmetrical relations, was characteristic of Douglas too - but it appears here that Maxwell is distancing himself from the sexual practice as well. There is little sign in the novel of Douglas' own sexual object choice of pre-pubescent boys in the character of Maxwell. The pedagogical side of Douglas' pederasty is present, however. Maxwell is linked to the satyr Silenus (the instructor, we are reminded, of 'the youthful Dionysus'¹¹⁷). We come closest to an intimation of pederasty, perhaps, when Maxwell takes a young boy off to view some geological exhibits: 'Thus may Silenus have trod such a path with the youthful Dionysus beside him'.¹¹⁸ So, in the main, Maxwell's character is used as a weapon to beat the 'nineties identity; the homosexuality of Douglas, except for a few hints for those looking for them, is cut away from the representation by Mackenzie, no doubt in part to protect his friend.

Of course, it could be argued that Marsac is depicted by Mackenzie in the novel in a wholly fair and mirror-like way - that Fersen simply was like that. However Xavier Mayne (really Edward Ireneaus Prime Stevenson) in his pioneering sexological text *The Intersexes*, privately printed in Italy in 1908, takes a different

view of Fersen's literary projects. We know from d'Arch Smith that some of his poetry mixed religion and same-sex desire. Smith cites the poem 'Messe blanche' from Fersen's book *L'hymnaire d'Adonis*,

*Et pendant que d'un geste exquis et jeune, il lance
L'encensoir parfumé pendant la messe, il pense
Aux jeux très libertins qu'il goûtera le soir.*¹¹⁹

[And as, with gesture graceful and young, he swings
The fragrant censer during Mass, he thinks
About the wild debauchery he'll taste that night.]

Stevenson finds a 'distinctly homosexual quality, chiefly pederastic and referring to very youthful ephebi' in the novels and poetry of Fersen. He also translates the closing pages of a short story called 'Une Jeunesse', a misogynistic tale which involves a French painter and a young boy from Taormina called Nino. The young boy, though homosexual, rejects the painter for reasons, it seems, of religion and social scruple: as far as one can judge the writing is satisfactory.¹²⁰

As well as Fersen, Norman Douglas depicted a number of the real-life figures that Mackenzie drew upon in *Vestal Fire* in a different way in his two volume autobiographical text *Looking Back* (1933). Despite his dislike of homosexual identities available at the time he had some feelings for the effeminate Vernon Andrews (who provided the basis for Nigel Dawson in *Vestal Fire*).¹²¹ Douglas sees Fersen less in comic terms, like Mackenzie, than as a tragic figure,

There is a full-length portrait of him as 'Count Marsac' in the *Vestal Fire* of Compton Mackenzie, who successfully catches the comic side of Fersen's personality. He had a tragic side as well.¹²²

The writing of Fersen is not simply dismissed as the self-indulgence of a ridiculous ego, though it is not held to be good. For Douglas Fersen was a showman rather than a totally artificial figure,

There was something not disingenuous or false, but theatrical about the fellow. With his childlike freshness, his blue eyes, clear complexion, and flawless figure, he could have made the impression he yearned to make, if he had not always been over-tailored. That ruined everything - to my way of thinking, at all events. He was too noticeable and apparition. Somebody ought to have told him that boys with pretty faces should dress modestly, else the beholder's glance will be deflected to the cut and colour of their clothes. In character too he was flamboyant and self-assertive. He had a passion for living on the stage, a Neronic love of exhibiting himself and being the centre of whatever was going on. . . . He was a fluent but shallow talker; vanity had made him more empty-headed than he need have been; some loveable streaks, some touches of genuine sensibility, made their appearance now and then.¹²³

Douglas feels that had he met Fersen as a boy, and had a hand in his development, things might have been different: 'If we had met then, he might be alive to-day'.¹²⁴ He also notes the existence of a genuineness to Fersen: there is nothing of the kind in Mackenzie's Marsac. Viewed in its place in the novel as a whole the adaption from life is not only the result of the pressures imposed by the creation of a work of fiction, but it is the result of the wish to represent homosexuality in a certain way. Leo Robertson saw *Vestal Fire* as a 'non-moral' text yet he also saw it as 'satiric'. But then the question is: at whom is the satire aimed? The marginalised hardly need to be held up to ridicule or treated ironically. Douglas, aware of Mackenzie's text, suggests that other views of Fersen were possible that see his life tragically. It is also of interest that Douglas pays particular attention to the theatricality of Fersen. It all sounds more than a little like Mackenzie himself - as we shall see Douglas' depiction of Fersen is almost uncannily close to Lawrence's description of Mackenzie on Capri.

Mackenzie's second novel from the 'twenties about homosexuality on a Mediterranean island was *Extraordinary Women*. It deals with lesbian desire. I propose to discuss its reception in the Conclusion with other productions of that year of scandalous publications, 1928. However, the main point about the text itself can be made here. If we have seen an analysis of sexuality in which the desire never matches up with reciprocal desire from the one beloved in *Vestal Fire*, this is raised to the level of the central concern of *Extraordinary Women*. Mackenzie augments the theme by building in the effects of narcissism. Unlike the earlier novel the plot of *Extraordinary Women* is wholly invented: it gives Mackenzie free reign to explore the implications of his subject matter, something caught in the novel's subtitle of 'Theme and Variations'. The novel works out Mackenzie's post-war view of love as an unstable succession of object choices. Rosalba Dosante begins by showing that she can attract at will, leaving a trail of broken hearts behind her as she moves onto her next object choice. However as the net widens to include new visitors to the island, and even men, her grip loosens. She starts to care too much - once she is no longer wholly narcissistic and becomes involved then she starts to fail. Finally, the futility of human sexual desire is realised by Rosalba's long-suffering lover Rory, who puts out her love for Rosalba with her final cigarette of the novel.

The conception of love as the ceaseless pursuit of what is 'other' and different - which we have seen growing from Mackenzie's return from the war - may well have been influenced by Proust. Mackenzie admired the author and contributed an essay to a memorial volume in English, edited by Charles Scott Moncrieff.¹²⁵ The great translator was a friend of Norman Douglas: they shared the same sexual tastes.¹²⁶ This conception of desire of Mackenzie and Proust is close to that set out by Jacques Lacan in one of his occasional comments on homosexuality. I propose to briefly suggest that what this line of argument implies - and this can be seen in the work of Lacan - is an emphasis on homosexuality as perverse, while suggesting simultaneously that there is a general insight to be gained from it about love and desire.

In Lacan's *Seminar I* a 'quite stupendous analysis of homosexuality' is said to be found in Proust, specifically in the story of Albertine. Lacan argues that perversion sees an unstable 'see-saw' between two extremes, between the subject's narcissism and an object choice that is, in the final analysis, only an ideal unified image of the self (for example as seen in a mirror). Because, one assumes, of what is perceived as the inherently narcissistic nature of homosexual desire, 'the true desire of the other' is never admitted. Rather there is,

An incessant see-saw of the lark-mirror which, at each moment, makes a complete turn on itself - the subject exhausts himself in pursuing the desire of the other, which he will never be able to grasp as his own desire, because his own desire is the desire of the other. It is himself whom he pursues.¹²⁷

There is a chasing-the-tail quality to this account of perversion. Homosexuality for Lacan, 'can find no way of being grounded in any satisfying action', it is ceaseless motion. However after labelling it as perverse and inferior Lacan moves in the very next paragraph to talk about 'human passion' as a whole. The famous Lacanian tag 'desire is desire of the other' does not only apply to homosexuals, but the mechanisms involved are particularly clearly seen there. The paradox is that while homosexuality is condemned as perverse it is simultaneously utilised as synecdoche.

With Mackenzie's text, when seen alongside the comments of his admiring readers, a similar paradox can be discerned. Homosexuality tells us something about all human desire and yet it remains abnormal. Andro Linklater, as we have seen, argues that all in *Extraordinary Women* - homosexual or heterosexual - are caught in a comedy of desire. But in saying this he is ignoring Mackenzie's own

clear statement in the text that same-sex desire is inferior because of the instability of this form of desire,

It is difficult to find any woman who has not become dissatisfied at some time or another with the course a normal love peruses. But when women fall in love with each other the passion always seem to begin at the point when normal lovers know in their hearts it will soon come to an end.¹²⁸

The form of the instability may be comparable but homosexuality is inferior to heterosexuality, and so not 'normal', because this instability is present to a greater degree. There is a problem, however, in the logic of an argument that wishes to keep the stigma attached to homosexuality while wishing to make what it says about desire more uniformly applicable.

Having looked at how Mackenzie continues to use the 'nineties homosexual identity to represent homosexuals into the nineteen twenties, and to use it as a source of comedy, I now propose to move on to look at his later depictions of same-sex desire. As time went on, and with the 'nineties world and his own involvement in it increasingly losing its relevance to the contemporary situation, the two poles of Mackenzie's view of homosexuality come into even sharper focus. On the one hand there is his belief in its abnormality and inferiority, on the other his compulsion to keep writing about it with a certain liberal intent.

The long *The Four Winds of Love* sequence has, as mentioned, a homosexual character in Emil Stern. (In respects other than his sexuality he is based, it seems, on Leonard Woolf.¹²⁹) He renounces all sexual encounters and, in time, marries another communist. As so often Mackenzie offers a commentary to the reader, and makes his points, through the associations made in the narrative. So communism is represented as intellectually 'sterile' through a link to the homosexual character: all are placed on the negativized side of the novel's argument, which sees John Oglvie become a nationalist and a Roman Catholic. But of course Mackenzie's attention is engaged by same-sex 'passions' between boys in the first novel of the sequence. His views of adult homosexuality in the sequence of novels are again negative, though he sees same-sex passion as a reality in society. Mackenzie was still drawn to represent homosexuality, though, and he devoted his energies to the subject in *Thin Ice* (1956), written when he was in his mid-seventies.

The novel is best seen as an intervention in a debate on homosexuality in the period leading up to the publication of the

Wolfenden Report in 1957. Mackenzie again makes his points mainly through dialogue and narrative but the novel is different from standard Mackenzie fare in one respect: it uses a first person narrator. Through distancing the central homosexual character from the reader, it offers Mackenzie the possibility of masking his inability to really enter into the experience of a homosexual character. As Andro Linklater has noted it is a device that works well to cover some of the weaknesses of Mackenzie's writing.¹³⁰ That said, the responses of the genial narrator George Gaymer also help Mackenzie control the reactions of an initial readership probably uneasy with the subject matter. George Gaymer meets Henry Fortescue at University where Fortescue already has his sights set on a political career. The plot follows the way that Fortescue's failure to find high office governing the country leads him, in Gaymer's phrase, into 'letting his temperament get the better of him'¹³¹: into what is seen as a failure to govern himself. The friendship between Henry and George initially springs from Henry's being attracted to Gaymer: one of the most interesting tensions that Mackenzie has to hold in the book is the close homosocial friendship between Henry and George, between the heterosexual and homosexual man. For the character of Fortescue Mackenzie drew on his knowledge of his friend from Gallipoli days, George Lloyd (later Lord Lloyd of Dolobran) and Tom Driberg.¹³²

The potential dangers to which homosexuality may expose Fortescue are intimated early on when he and Gaymer are in Algeria. Henry takes a young guide - 'a handsome youth of about eighteen, hardly darker than an Italian'¹³³ - into the interior for a period. A tradition of the toleration of homosexuality in the Islamic world - though not necessarily by Islam itself - was known in the West, most importantly it was noted by Sir Richard Burton in editorial matter in the *Arabian Nights*.¹³⁴ Homosexual trips to North Africa were not unusual - witness Lord Alfred Douglas' foray away from the coast, again with a young Arab:¹³⁵ it offered sexual possibility with a greater degree of difference (and also danger) than was available in countries to the north of the Mediterranean. Fortescue fails to gain a place in the Cabinet, and his friends become worried that his urge to take long walks at night - which presumably means to importune men - will result in ruin. His political ambitions unfulfilled he eventually undertakes a tour of his beloved east. (Mackenzie manages to create a Turkophile, which for a Hellenist and impassioned Philhellene must have been a teeth-

grinding effort.) Another failed politician, Oliver Attwood, is relieved that Fortescue has chosen the East,

'If he stays in London he'll eat his heart out, and if the whispers are true ...' Attwood leaned over to replenish his glass. 'You don't want to see him retiring to Capri or Taormina or even Florence with an Italian valet in sedulous attendance until he has swindled him out of enough money to get married.'¹³⁶

The Italian option - the main places where foreign homosexuals gathered are listed - may lead to Fortescue taking on a Carlo-like attendant (though this time one viewed as a likely negative influence). Attwood's 'vice', drink, is something he shares with Henry Fortescue's brother, Tom. Decline through alcohol abuse places Tom in on a parallel course to that of Henry: both are seen as having lost their roots when their ancestral home burns down. The suggestion that they have given into weakness - degenerated - is strong. Alcoholism was seen as a classic degenerative condition:¹³⁷ Evelyn Waugh linked homosexuality, alcoholism and the decline of the upper class, one remembers, through the figure of Sebastian in *Brideshead Revisited*. Tom's wife Muriel is presented as being on an upward curve: initially peevish she becomes a Roman Catholic, always a good sign in a Mackenzie text. As well as the suggestion that engaging in homosexual acts is a failure of moral nerve, there is also a link with the medical model of homosexuality, to madness and degeneration. Increasing emphasis is laid on Henry's compulsion to go 'wandering' as a form of madness: as Muriel puts it 'Mania is the only word for it'.¹³⁸ While Tom dies from carelessness induced by drink, Henry's death is wholly beyond his control, in a fierce bombing raid. But at both the beginning and the end of the novel this is described as a 'mercy'. There is no place in this world for the homosexual who cannot repress his desires. Mackenzie again represents homosexuality as abnormal: this is a tragedy viewed - and here having Gaymer as the first person narrator helps - from without.

On the other hand Mackenzie had something of a liberal motivation for writing the novel. The starting point for Mackenzie, and the focus of the novel's plot, centres around blackmail. Gaymer makes a reluctant entry into the homosexual underworld to buy a letter of Henry's. Mackenzie's concern with blackmail and homosexuality placed him at the heart of reformist arguments in favour of decriminalization at the time: the Wolfenden Report of the following year, 1957, felt that homosexuality was a moral rather than a legal issue.¹³⁹ Early reviewers of the novel did not quite

know how to read its message. Mackenzie's fellow Catholic Evelyn Waugh noted the way that Mackenzie makes homosexuality in the novel a matter of moral choice - with acting on homosexual desires being a sin - while others, such as Douglas' friend John Davenport, noted the liberal intent of Mackenzie's effort.¹⁴⁰

Thin Ice can be linked to a number of cultural productions of the period which sought change in the law through the argument about blackmail, most famously the Basil Dearden film *Victim* (1961),¹⁴¹ which dates from the long period between the Wolfenden Report and the 1967 act. The film concerns a barrister Melville Farr played by Dirk Bogarde: blackmailers have a photograph of him with a young man, who later killed himself to protect Farr. The film, by genre a melodrama, has been rightly called 'the archetypal liberal pity film of the period' by Jeffrey Weeks:¹⁴² it features people with varying degrees of tortured expression. The Bogarde character is depicted as stronger than the rest - a clear class point - prepared to sacrifice his career to bring the blackmailers to justice. But it is made evident that he has never actually indulged his 'instincts' and at the end his future is secured by the love of his wife. In the last moments of the film he throws the photograph with the boy into the fire, the narrative closure thus ends the homosexuality along with the blackmail, and Farr is seen as being saved by the love of a good woman. As with *Thin Ice* the film argues, in the words of the senior police officer in *Victim*, 'There's no doubt that a law that sends homosexuals to prison offers unlimited opportunities for blackmail'. For both film and novel blackmail may be the worse phenomena, but homosexuality is still viewed negatively. Competently made in its attempts to trap the viewer into confronting some of her/his expectations or prejudices¹⁴³ the film, like Mackenzie's novel, recognises the need for a change in the law while finally failing to accept homosexuality.

Mackenzie was now broadly a part of a (finally compromised) liberal view of homosexuality and law reform that was shared with a number of others. However, he seems to have actually believed the negative arguments around homosexuality that some used merely as a political tactic to ameliorate popular scepticism so as to gain legal reform. What is remarkable, though, is the pull that the subject still had on the aging Mackenzie, the draw this 'bad' role still exercised. It was one that could result in his taking special care over the writing. In his autobiography Mackenzie said that he found *Thin Ice* one of the hardest of his books to write - something

that he also said about *Extraordinary Women* - suggesting that the subject of homosexuality engaged his energies if not always his full sympathy. He added that he had one further novel on same-sex desire still to write. It was not to be.¹⁴⁴

Mackenzie, Lawrence and conceptions of the subject

Making homosexuality a matter of moral choice for the homosexual subject viewed from outside in *Thin Ice* shows that Mackenzie's view of human psychology had not changed. He still believed in a world of surfaces, where human characteristics were immediately apparent and where conscious choices could be made straightforwardly. Mackenzie rejected the kind of complexities that might result from a more complete effort to enter into the experience of those he was drawn to represent. In this final section of the chapter I intend to contrast Mackenzie and Lawrence's understanding of the human subject by looking at their writings about each other.

Mackenzie's rejection of the depth-psychology of psychoanalysis was total. He says that he read large amounts of Freud and Jung - though there is little to suggest great understanding - in the years before he moved to the Outer Hebrides.¹⁴⁵ Mackenzie's eschewal of psychologising in his writing, again intentional, put him in conflict with the main literary trends of his day. As he makes clear,

The future may find that the psychological maze in which we have temporarily lost ourselves was an unnecessary complication of human motives. The older I grow the more I am inclined to agree with Balzac that there are only about a dozen fundamentally different characters in western man and that human conduct is a much simpler affair than we like to suppose.¹⁴⁶

Certainly Mackenzie's conception of humanity and social interaction - particularly where desire is concerned - as a surface comedy, puts in him in marked contrast to Lawrence's serious emphasis on an essential life bubbling from 'the passionate blood in the deeps of man'¹⁴⁷ as he puts it in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, or 'the free spontaneous psyche',¹⁴⁸ to use the terminology of the psychoanalysis books.

These views of the human subject are obviously important in what they mean for these writers' understanding of homosexuality. Same-sex desire, though, is not the central concern in their

personal interactions and their writing about each other, though they did discuss sex. However, Mackenzie confirmed that there is a character based on Lawrence in *The Four Winds of Love* sequence.¹⁴⁹ It is said that Daniel Rayner is basically homosexual. John Oglvie writes in a letter about Rayner's responses to Italian fascism that, 'I think it was probably Rayner's innate homosexuality (always debarred from expressing itself practically by an equally strong respectability) which attracted him to fascism at first'.¹⁵⁰ The argument of repression - of unconscious wishes that are not admitted - is a surprising one for Mackenzie to mount, given his views on the human psyche. It is worth pointing out, though, that this position was held by other contemporaries whose knowledge of Lawrence in the main follows the period in his life when same-sex desire is usually thought to be a key issue, namely the war years. Pino Orioli's *Adventures of a Bookseller* also includes this repression argument: 'Lawrence was a homosexual gone wrong; repressed in childhood by a puritan environment. That is the key to his life and writings'.¹⁵¹ We may suspect that Norman Douglas had a hand in the contents of this passage, as he had in the prose style of the book:¹⁵² perhaps he and Mackenzie had discussed Lawrence's sexuality.

Mackenzie told and retold his Lawrence anecdotes. As well as using the material for the *Four Winds of Love* he talks about Lawrence in non-fictional prose in *Literature in My Time*, *On Moral Courage* and *My Life and Times* (especially Octaves Four, Five and Six), often repeating the same passages verbatim. He talks about their first meeting before the war, their time together on Capri at the end of 1919 and the very beginning of 1920, their subsequent plans to sail to the South Seas, and he says something of their dispute over 'The Man who Loved Islands'. His longest discussion of Lawrence comes in two chapters of *On Moral Courage*. He has little time for Lawrence, thinking him an egomaniac (indeed, like Bertrand Russell, he compares Lawrence to Hitler¹⁵³) who placed too much emphasis on sex and not enough on other people. That said, he did record having had some happy times with Lawrence - who he says had a sense of fun, though not a sense of humour - and he had great respect for Lawrence's writing when devoid of its preaching aspect.¹⁵⁴ But Mackenzie's account of their discussions on Capri in late 1919 and early 1920 also capture the way he had radically different attitudes to sexuality and the subject from those of Lawrence. As he wrote in *On Moral Courage*,

Certainly this reading of *Ulysses* had fired Lawrence to enumerate more theories of sex than I had yet heard from him. One thing that was worrying him particularly was his inability to attain consummation simultaneously with his partner. I pointed out that this was always a rare and happy coincidence but he became gloomier and gloomier. Failure to achieve this coincidence must mean a love as yet imperfect. Then he went on to say that on reflection he believed that the nearest he had ever come to perfect love was in his youth when he had loved a young coalminer. On and on he went until at last I said:

'If you are determined to show that you can describe the sexual act in detail without shocking people ...'

'I want to shock them,' he interrupted.

'I was using the word conventionally, without embarrassing people ...'

He broke in again with his talk about the need for people to think with their genital organs instead of their minds, on and on about the Etruscans who he was convinced without the faintest justification from archæology or history were a people that thought with their genital organs, on and on about the sexual act until at last I had to stop the sermon.

'Listen, Lawrence, there's one thing you've got to bear in mind when you write about the sexual act. Except to the two people who are indulging in it the sexual act is a comic operation. Like love-letters read out in court during a breach of promise action.'

Lawrence gazed at me with an agonized expression and his pale face grew paler. Then he hurried away with the string-bag to eat his lunch in solitude. He did not come to see me until next day, when he told me that perhaps I was right. This made him grimly determined to prove to the world that the world must observe the sexual act with reverence.¹⁵⁵

For all Mackenzie's boast of a perfect memory it was too early for Lawrence to be reading the complete *Ulysses* at this time.¹⁵⁶ His passion for the Etruscans also came later: as Mackenzie points out elsewhere Lawrence's main ideal community and way of thinking at the time, his identification, was Pre-Socratic Greece. He borrowed Mackenzie's copy of Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* while on Capri, to re-read it.¹⁵⁷ Other aspects of Mackenzie's stories about Lawrence on Capri at this time can be called into doubt. When, slightly earlier, he has Lawrence pointing to his genitals and declaring the need to think from them, the Lawrence of this period - the time of the psychoanalysis books - was probably pointing at his solar plexus.¹⁵⁸ Further, these stories see not so much, as Mackenzie argued, the origin of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, rather they appear to have the novel written back into them. But while the validity of so much of the detail falls away on examination it can be seen that what is at issue between Lawrence

and Mackenzie are questions around the significance of sexuality to a life, and questions of the subject, of depth psychology and the significance of comedy. Mackenzie controls the telling of his anecdote in such a way as to give him the upper hand (Lawrence is hardly allowed direct speech). The reference to the coal miner - Alan Chambers one assumes - takes the place of a surprising, passing bombshell in the narrative flow. Particularly in the context of a discussion of simultaneous orgasm it suggests Lawrence involved in sexual relations with another boy. (Perhaps a reference to same-sex passion between boys which would particularly have gained Mackenzie's attention.) But the overall dispute outlined, for all these reservations, rings true: Mackenzie is trying to talk and to laugh Lawrence into the belief that sexual desire produces a surface comedy in which people, to the observer, become amusing types (as, of course, Lawrence himself starts to become here).

I will now turn, for the purpose of comparison, to Lawrence's writing on Mackenzie, and close the chapter by moving outside Mackenzie and viewing him through other eyes. Lawrence was involved in amplifying a very different conception of subjectivity around the period when he was on Capri. This shown in his developing *Studies in Classic in American Literature* project, and in his insistence in the psychoanalysis books on an essential spontaneous (heterosexual) self that he believed could be found welling up from the deeps of a man. In short, he advocated a depth psychology with a belief in a core natural self that could be obscured by surface distortions. Lawrence rapidly grew dissatisfied with Capri, calling it that 'Cat Cranford of Capri', and so suggesting, one assumes, that the residents were a set of gossipy old women. He also said that he disapproved of both Compton Mackenzie and his influence. However, when he left the island for Taormina, he wrote to Mackenzie that they should continue to 'weave fate together somehow'.¹⁵⁹ They continued to discuss the possibility of buying a boat, sailing to the South Pacific and colonizing an island. Martin Secker - who was moving, at Mackenzie's prompting, towards publishing *Women in Love* and republishing *The Rainbow* - steered Mackenzie towards the auction for Jethou and Herm: he did not want two of his authors' list disappearing that far away.¹⁶⁰

Lawrence had already reached an incisive reading of Mackenzie, though, as is shown by his letter to Catherine Carswell of 4th January 1920, from Capri. I quote at length,

We lunch or dine sometimes with Compton Mackenzie,

and he is nice. But one feels the generations of actors behind him, and can't be quite serious. What a queer thing the theatre is, in its influence. He seems quite rich, and does himself well, and makes a sort of aesthetic figure - 'head of the realistic school of England, isn't he', asks my Roumanian, - walking in a pale blue suit to match his hair. It was a sight on New Years Eve, when we were down in Morgano's café - the centre of Capri, downstairs. F. and I sat with an old old Dutchman and a nice man called Brooks, drinking a modest punch, and listening to the amazing bands which come in, with the Tree, on New Years Eve: a weird, barbaric affair. The Anacapri lot intoned a ballad, utterly unintelligible, of about 38 verses, with the most amazing accompaniments. - At about 11:0 came in Mackenzie with rich Americans - rather drunk. The Tiberio band came - Monty (Mackenzie) took the tree and bobbed it in the faces of the Americans, and looked like Christ before Pilate in the act. The Tiberio boys, two of them, danced the Tarantella to the same grunting music - a funny indecent pederastic sight it was (Don will chase my spelling - I mean paederastic). At midnight the Monty crowd ordered champagne, and tried to look wine and womanish. But my God, it was an excruciating selfconscious effort, a veritable Via Dolorosa for Monty, who felt his stomach going. Oh God, the wild rakishness of these young heroes! How conscious they are of the Italian crown in the background. They never see the faint smile of the same crowd - such a crowd - such a smile. - A glass of champagne is sent out to the old road-sweeper - de rigeuur (can't spell). Meanwhile we sip our last drop of punch, and are the Poor Relations at the other end of the table - ignored - to our amusement. - Mackenzie is going to begin tomorrow, at 10:30 precisely 'Rich Relatives'. He thinks *Relations*, as an offset to *Relations*, so good. ... The English crowd here are the uttermost limit for spiteful scandal. My dear Catherine, London is a prayer-meeting in comparison! We get it from Mary Cannan! ... she is staying with an arch scandalmonger - wife of a local judge of some sort - she's English.¹⁶¹

Mackenzie here sounds 'over-tailored', Douglas' complaint against Fersen. The supple, evocative prose brings us the Capri of the time - from the 'pederastic' (or rather 'paederastic') dance, to John Ellingham Brooks, and, at the end, a glimpse of the gossipy Mrs Galatà, used by Mackenzie as the basis for Mrs Ambrogio in *Vestal Fire*.¹⁶² The masterstroke of Lawrence's letter is linking his account to the titles of Mackenzie's symmetrical novels, *Poor Relations* (1919) and *Rich Relatives* (1921). In fact, Lawrence's motivation may be questioned here, it could be said that his vanity is wounded by his not being the centre of attention. Lawrence represents Mackenzie as unauthentic, as self-consciously playing out a part, something he links to the influence of the theatre: he suggests that the Italian audience, often silent (or silenced) in

the English construction of Italy, viewed Mackenzie's performance in a more knowing way than he realised. They form a community with Lawrence in seeing the performance as artifice, as of the surface. Mackenzie is captured by the very fixing of him as comic, artificial and absurd in the view of the majority that he used on others, particularly the homosexual 'other'.

Lawrence's next contacts with the Mackenzies seem to have resulted in a sustained consideration of the implications of Mackenzie's life and its relation to writing. After Lawrence returned to Europe from America he revisited Capri with Dorothy Brett in 1926. Lawrence and Faith met again, and of one dinner Faith noted: 'that night he seemed an angel, and I gave him some of the secrets of my heart which hitherto had never been let loose'.¹⁶³ Following this, Faith tells us in her second volume of autobiography *More Than I Should*, a short story appeared that drew on what Lawrence had been told that evening. The question that follows is, was this story 'Two Blue Birds' or 'The Man who Loved Islands'? Though she says the story contained a 'monstrous caricature of Monty' I think it mainly refers to 'Two Blue Birds'. This story may have upset Faith whereas the other only impacts on her through Mackenzie. This surmise is supported by the way that, when he quotes from the account of the dinner in *More Than I Should* in his autobiography, Mackenzie goes on to say that he told Faith that he did not feel that this short story really touched them at all: he explains his legal action against 'The Man Who Loved Islands' elsewhere.¹⁶⁴ It may be the case that some of the detail that, as Viktor Link has shown, links Mackenzie to 'The Man who Loved Islands', might have come through Faith that evening,¹⁶⁵ but while 'Two Blue Birds' sees Lawrence sharply categorising the writing career and life of Mackenzie, in the other story the figure of Mackenzie provides only a starting point for an exploration of general themes.

'Two Blue Birds' is situated on a fascinating point of intersection between Lawrence's views of art, human relationships and the importance of the natural world in suggesting an alternative to a living environment grown mechanical. A writer, Cameron Gee, lives separately from his wife for much of the year, and is looked after by a dotting secretary and her family. His wife visits him and is horrified - though her position is tainted by bitterness, jealousy and snobbery. She feels that his life has been made so comfortable that he is decaying both personally and creatively.

Lawrence and Mackenzie both saw each other as the victims of the women around them. The interest of Lawrence in the possibly suffocating effects of too much female care came to an extreme point with the figure of Mrs Bolton in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. The main scene in the short story brilliantly focuses the issues Lawrence wishes to raise: Cameron Gee is disturbed by his wife as he dictates an essay on 'The Future of the Novel' to his secretary in the garden. Seeing two blue tits playing at the secretary's feet the writer's wife demands that he writes about those, that he engages with life again. At tea, with both wife and secretary in blue dresses, there is a fight between them like that between the birds, but the whole point of the story is that while they might raise responses from each other Cameron Gee can no longer be energised. He just responds with the word 'Quite' to his secretary's protests: the story ends with the phrase, 'And that was all he did say'.¹⁶⁶ The main figure is also sexually detached from both women: the failure of a career and a life as it becomes a mere repetition, rather than one spent engaging with the world, is characteristically for Lawrence in some way a sexual one. The depiction of Gee is of someone unconnected with the deeper well-springs of life, this cuts him off from human relations and leads to a crippling shallowness in his writing.

'The Man who Loved Islands' does include aspects of Mackenzie's Channel Isles experience - though it is transferred to the Scottish Islands. But the concerns are wide. Lawrence is exploring the ability of the ego, as constituted in modernity and so without fixed patterns of confident belief, to withstand isolation and loneliness. The relation between self and the size of the island is made clear early on: 'this story will show how tiny it has to be, before you can presume to fill it with your own personality'.¹⁶⁷ That no man can survive as an island is of course a recurrent literary theme, and in many ways Lawrence is retelling *Robinson Crusoe* with a central character who has neither the faith nor the confidence of Defoe's hero. The islander may increasingly crave isolation but he is ever more prone to its effects: the experience of the malignancy of the islands may have come from Lawrence being told of Mackenzie's periodic panic attacks when in wild countryside.¹⁶⁸ Cathcart's failure is, for Lawrence, a personal failure. Not for the islander the period of purifying isolation followed by an important relationship granted to Birkin or, most notably, Mellors. Rather he is accorded the cold, snowy fate of that other representative of

modern man, Gerald Crich in *Women in Love*. And while it seems to me to be impossible to say that the islander *is* Mackenzie - indeed someone who enjoys being alone while never finding full rest and happiness is in many ways Lawrence himself - Lawrence could well have seen in Mackenzie's love of islands a starting point for a study of how modern subjectivity, used to a ceaseless flow of activity and surface event, responds to coping with 'the terrors of infinite time'.¹⁶⁹

Mackenzie, then, provides Lawrence with a way of opening up questions around subjectivity. With his depth model psychology Lawrence's position is in stark opposition to Mackenzie's emphasis on the surface role. There is also sharp disagreement over the significance accorded to sexuality.

In this chapter I have sought to show how Mackenzie does not offer a detached observation of 'homosexual identities', but a representation of the same-sex desiring subject deeply informed by the social context and his own engagement with that society and same-sex desire. His writing does exert a certain fascination: Edmund Wilson felt this, while under no illusions about the quality of many of Mackenzie's texts.¹⁷⁰ Mackenzie depicted others and himself as taking on roles: in the case of adult homosexuals he condemned them for doing so, the exception being his depictions of intense boyhood relationships. He emphasised the surface flow of events, an uncomplicated view of human nature and a world of straightforward choices rather than offering any penetrating insights. However, the ways in which Mackenzie fixed the homosexual other as playing a part, as not authentic, could be turned back on him - one could point to the excess of his own theatricality and emphasis on the surface. And perhaps this is why Mackenzie obsessively returned to homosexuality, it was picked at as a kind of 'bad' role. The engagement of the individual with homosexual identities, then, even when it may appear at first sight to be a straightforward untroubled affair, requires careful and sustained analysis.

Chapter Two

A reticence obscured: Norman Douglas and the expression of same-sex desire

Says one lover to another: 'and if any should hinder that sweet union which will end our pain -'

Is he not right? Do we not all find the cure for love in sweet union? The man who wrote those lines may have yearned for some alliance which was scandalously improper or illegal; he was not greatly concerned, I imagine, with these social issues, not engaged, like many of us, in a pious endeavour to justify his acts towards some man-created ideal of what is right. Why strangle yourself with a rope of your own making? He knew that love is a pain. He knew its remedy, its only remedy. He set it down.¹

This quotation comes from Norman Douglas' short monograph of 1929, *One Day*, during a discussion of the poetry of the *Greek Anthology*. There is at times in such later writing by Douglas as this the suggestion of the sexually transgressive. More is involved here than the argument that the only way to end sexual frustration is the sexual act. Douglas takes on the possibility that the desire may be condemned by society, that others may 'hinder that sweet union'. He is, it seems, creating a space that allows for a sexual object choice such as his own, for age-asymmetrical relations with young boys. He is appealing to ancient Greece as a period and culture where such desires were considered valid. But, again, we can go further: it is not only that we have here an individual in opposition to a hostile society. For 'many of us' - is Douglas use of this pronoun purely for stylistic reasons, or is he saying that he is implicated? - there is an internalised demand to live up to the demands of a 'man created ideal' of what is right. Douglas recognises that the run of society's interdictions involves the subject with same-sex desires themselves, he is arguing that individuals should free themselves from interdictions both external and also internal, that have become, over time, a part of the self. However, there is perhaps a tone of the transgressive to this quotation rather than an act of transgression itself. One can discern a reticence, but one obscured by Douglas' frank and open

tone. This can be seen in the closing sentences on the poet. 'He knew its remedy, its only remedy.' Sex - one assumes. 'He set it down.' But Douglas does not do so.

My aim, taking a number of writers whose lives and texts intersect, is to explore the engagement of the male subject who desires his own sex with available homosexual identities and society. As attention has often been directed towards charting the main sexual identities and what constitutes them in general terms, the tendency has been to select individuals as examples who appear to take on the attributes of the identity in the most unproblematic (and one may add, most easily discussable) fashion. However this simplifies the complexities of the range of engagements with available identities, the range of possible responses. We have already seen with Compton Mackenzie that the individual's relation to and representation of homosexuality may not be as unmediated by the writer's own positioning in relation to same-sex desire as may first appear. In short, homosexuality as a social role, as something easily assumed by the subject, is called into doubt. A discussion of Douglas allows us to begin to point to the complexities that result from having dissident desires and engaging with a limited number of homosexual identities in a hostile society. One expected model would be that society's interdictions lead to inhibitions in an individual's sexual life. Further down the line, this might lead to a situation where balked desire led to speech and possibly writing about the problem. With Douglas we find, broadly, the opposite; a vigorous sexual life is combined with great caution in his writing. Expected patterns of development are not found - it is necessary to redraw, indeed to extend and re-conceive, the complex inter-relations between the subject, same-sex desire, and the social sphere.

From Douglas' thirties he led perhaps the most condemned form of sexual life of all - engaging in relations with pre-pubescent boys. This went, those who knew him report, with a great freedom in speech. However, in writing and certain situations Douglas shows much circumspection when addressing issues around same-sex desire. The main emphasis of his writing, though, is on freedom from restraint, and the importance of breaking away. In the first part of this chapter I will argue that there was a period of constriction from which Douglas felt the need to attempt to free himself. There are glimpses, then, of an early internalisation of the moral law, even the seeds of a modicum of guilt. It is this, I will contend,

that leads to the closing down of Douglas' openness around the issue of homosexuality in his writing. As John Davenport noted: 'There was a certain conscious naughtiness in his revolt: he never killed his conscience'.² In the second section I will set out Douglas' philosophy, arguing that it created a space where same-sex desire was legitimate - indeed, the legitimization of Douglas' lifestyle provides the argument with its energy - while he rarely talks about homosexuality directly. As part of this section I will look at how Douglas' most famous text *South Wind* (1917) helps him develop his position. As well as exploring the use he makes of ancient Greece, I shall also examine the significance that place and travel had for Douglas, particularly in the Mediterranean and, specifically, Italy. Finally I will look at the rare direct comments of Douglas on homosexuality, arguing that same-sex desire was expressed differently in writing and in speech. As far as Douglas' spoken comments on homosexuality are concerned it is necessary to look at other people's representation of him. In particular, I will look at that of D.H.Lawrence, which carries us further in the consideration of Douglas' attitude to the role of love in a life.

The small amount of elderly secondary material on Douglas offers nothing similar to this project.³ I will use an important body of writing by Douglas that has not yet been discussed: unsigned pieces from his time at *The English Review*. These extend our knowledge of his reaction to some of the main figures in homophile movements at the time and his response to contemporary sexological discourses on homosexuality. My central focus is to address why the vigorous, unabashed sexual life should go with a high degree of caution about same-sex desire in Douglas' writing.

Norman Douglas: a 'centrifugal' course in life, writing and sexuality

Norman Douglas' self-presentation in texts scattered throughout his output beg a number of questions. Throughout he places an emphasis on a course he terms 'centrifugal' in nature, in which one expands, breaking free from that which impedes. Metaphors of growth and expansion, one might say, themselves proliferate. But one wants to ask: freedom from what? a moving outwards from what point of constriction? why the force of the emphasis on cutting loose? and

what brought that centrifugal course in Douglas' life to an end?

The most important autobiographical references concerning Douglas' early years come during an account of a walking trip in the Vorarlberg region of Austria, where he had grown up, in his travel book *Together* (1923). Douglas seeks to convince us that, from his early days, a number of characteristic Douglasian traits were present, albeit in embryonic form. He and his sister got drunk at ages five and three respectively,⁴ and his nanny gave him a lifelong interest in seeing corpses: Douglas said that this was 'A sound education'.⁵ (He later instructed a friend to send him photographs of Lawrence's exhumation.⁶) Perhaps the main act that shed convention in this Vorarlberg period came at the age of seven when he fixed upon 'a far reaching aphorism: There is no God'.⁷

So, according to Douglas' own later account, the transgressive in life just started off on its own, it was there from the start. Douglas' father, Shloto Douglas - the family moved from Scotland to bring mill technology to highly suitable Austrian locations - was very well respected in the Vorarlberg region, a reputation that survived for many years after his death. Norman Douglas, though, tells us that he is unconcerned that his own life diverged from the course taken by his father, the path that led to such adulation from the traditionally minded. For Douglas the Vorarlberg was 'the only country where, by good luck, I have not yet been found out; where my family name is a byword for all that is upright and honourable'.⁸ And while there is the suggestion here of a certain nostalgia for respectability from Douglas, he says in *Together* that his trips to the Vorarlberg with René are not only about his being honoured there,

'Your name, dear sir, is eternal in this country.' One must try, however, not to take these things too melodramatically. We live but once; we owe nothing to posterity; and a man's own happiness counts before that of anyone else. My father's tastes happen to have lain in a direction which commend him to his fellows. Had his nature driven him along lines that failed to secure their sympathy, or even their approval, I should have been the last to complain. The world is wide! Instead of coming here, one could have gone somewhere else.⁹

This is all very accepting and expansive in its outlook. It takes into account the fact that Douglas' lifestyle - we know to add, though Douglas characteristically does not make this clear, his sexual lifestyle - made him an outsider in society. But there is evidence that Douglas was not free from constriction from the outset, rather that he reacted strongly, and went on reacting, to a

period of marked restriction. This trauma was situated, it seems, not in early childhood, but in his schooldays.

There is little in Douglas writing about his mother, much more about his father. Douglas placed a great emphasis on manliness, and it is possible that this came from his father, or rather from accounts of his exploits. Shloto was killed in a hunting accident when Norman was five years old. As we have seen in the introduction, Freud's account in *The Ego and the Id* of the dissolution of the Oedipus complex says that various social, educative and religious forces contribute to the dissolution of the complex and the setting up of the super-ego along with a reinforced father identification. However, with Douglas - or at least from what can be gleaned about him from his own accounts - the response to these forces emerged in reaction to his early education. Faced with these social pressures to conform he reacted strongly and negatively - perhaps, one might speculate, because of the liking for freedom developed during his earliest years in Austria. He developed not so much a super-ego urging him to conform as a super-ego-of-rebellion; that said, his schooldays were to leave their effects. There is a note of insistence to his rejection of conformity, and a sense of preoccupation with breaking free from restraint, that suggests some internalisation of the moral precepts of society. Douglas came to know, it seems, the place from which moralising ways of thinking were spoken. To quote John Davenport again: 'The ghost of a Scottish moralist may have lingered behind the garden god'.¹⁰ V.S. Prichett detected that there was something of the 'ex-puritan' to Douglas' scornful laughter.¹¹ Rather than continuing to grow up in Austria Douglas' Scottish paternal grandmother insisted that he be educated in Britain. It is during accounts of this phase of Douglas' life, his schooldays, that sexuality enters in directly for the first time.

Douglas was always reticent about revealing emotional involvement and worry. Even Nancy Cunard, his most committed hagiographer, noted that 'Depth under depth of reserve was in him'.¹² In his autobiographical text *Looking Back. An Autobiographical Excursion* he recounts a near-drowning incident, saying that it was the only event in his life that had 'left a scar on my psychic constitution'.¹³ We might well question this, finding a certain disingenuousness in Douglas' self-presentation, beginning with the evidence of the very structure of *Looking Back* itself. Douglas' books were often put together around a simple motif - in

the travel books a loose overall shape is usually provided by a journey. In *Looking Back* he works through his collection of old calling cards writing pieces of varying length depending on the chain of memories induced by each. The whole way the book was composed seems to have been with the intention of exercising a rare degree of control in an autobiography over who and what was talked about. As Douglas himself notes at one point there is a preponderance of cards from two of the happiest periods of his life, his Karlsruhe period and his first decade in Italy.¹⁴ There is not much material on some close friends one would look for, or accounts of long periods of time. Omissions include the years of his marriage and also the subsequent divorce.

In this general context of highly controlled revelation though, comes an outburst from Douglas about Yarlet Hall, his preparatory school, and its headmaster. Douglas says that he 'hated Yarlet Hall and all it contained', that he 'felt miserable there': in short it was a 'pestilential institution'.¹⁵ There was a good deal of bullying at the school, and Douglas, still with an Austrian accent, was one of the victims. This gives him the opportunity to introduce a favourite theme of his writings, his hatred of cruelty to children. (Of course, in one possible account it could be argued that his sexuality involved a fixation on childhood, though such an easy link between the *experience of childhood trauma* and the *desire for sexual relations with the young* is a connection difficult to argue through.) Douglas writes of bullying that it was a

system which tends to undermine all individual self-respect: indeed, my explanation of the *gaucherie* and shyness and lack of poise and hesitating demeanour so common among better-class Englishmen is that their self-respect has been kicked or laughed or bullied out of them at school, and that they have never been able to re-acquire it.¹⁶

This sense of having to 're-acquire' a certain attitude to life is of interest. It suggests that after an experience of early difficulties one might find it difficult to restore equilibrium. The language Douglas uses when talking about his Yarlet headmaster certainly suggests that the school left Douglas with a 'scar' on his 'psychic constitution',

Such was my loathing for this worm in human form and such is my still existing rancour against him, that if somebody were to assure me officially that he had died of a lingering and painful disease I should rejoice from the bottom of my heart. People of his age have no right to inflict misery upon children entrusted to their charge; they should be made to suffer for it not in Hell

but on earth, here and now.¹⁷

The tone here is, in part, one of deliberate exaggeration: but Douglas cannot quite stop himself and keep within the bounds of a controlled response. This is not all wicked play. After Yarlet, Douglas went on to his public school, Uppingham: it seems, from his account, to have been only a slight improvement.

As far as same-sex desire and sexual practices are concerned, the public school system of Douglas' day differed markedly from that of the 1850s. Then the young John Addington Symonds saw open and widely occurring same-sex practices at Harrow that filled him 'with loathing and disgust'.¹⁸ The expanding number of public schools, and particularly the newer ones, were under increasing pressure to produce not leisured gentleman but the economically productive and socially conforming man. These were years of great change, of Thomas Arnold's reforms at Rugby, of the growth of games and an increased commitment to study - learning through, of course, the medium of Classics.¹⁹ A theme of the educational developments, and the theories that lay behind many of them, like Kingsley's muscular Christianity, was an attack on sin and vice. The fear was that this would lead the degenerating child to become an economically and socially useless, 'unmanly' adult. J.R. de S. Honey has noted the sense of the word 'sin' in respect of schoolboys gradually gained specificity: prior to 1860 the word suggested the range of possible misdemeanours, from 1860 it was linked to sexuality, specifically the 'solitary vice' (masturbation), and after 1880 the word began to signify 'dual vice', the possible dangers of schoolboy friendship, of same-sex passion.²⁰ Ed Cohen has usefully shown how the perceived need to protect the nation's stock from the debilitating, degenerative effects of masturbation was particularly marked in the public schools. It was linked to emerging notions of strong heterosexual masculinity, which defined itself against the crystallising homosexual identities associated with the effeminate and the unmanly, as fixed by the figure of Wilde in the reporting of the trials of 1895.²¹

Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham in Douglas' day, was one of the most influential of Victorian schoolmasters. He paid particular attention to the question of schoolboy morals. In his biography of Thring published in 1900 George R. Parkin argued that 'On no subject of school life did Thring think more deeply or strive more diligently to discover the true principles and method of treatment'.²² This influenced the running of the rest of the school

which was organised so as to provide occupation for the boys so as to reduce the opportunity, and the energy, for sexual acts by boys on their own or with others. He believed that schoolboys 'should be protected by all their surroundings being framed so as to shut off temptation. The whole structure and system should act as an unseen friend': in short, he advocated 'The good wall'.²³ The idea of the 'unseen friend', of watching the individual and issuing dire warnings so that they begin to self-monitor can of course be linked to Foucault's conclusions in *Discipline and Punish*.²⁴ Foucault himself writes of attempts to modify school design and regulations so as to prevent masturbation in volume one of *The History of Sexuality*.²⁵ Thring made sure that all boys knew of his injunctions on sex - it is impossible that Douglas, who was there for three years, would not have known of them. Thring said in an address to the Church Congress,

Ignorance is deadly, because perfect ignorance in a boy is impossible. I consider the half-ignorance so deadly, that once a year, at the time of confirmation, I speak openly to the whole school, divided into three different sets. First, I take the confirmees, then the communicants and older boys, then the younger boys, on three following nights after evening prayers. The two first sets I speak very plainly to; the last I only warn against all indecency in thought, word, or deed, whether alone or with companions. Thus no boy who has been at school a whole year can sin in ignorance. And a boy who despises this warning is justly turned out of the school on conviction.²⁶

Whichever set Douglas was in, a statement of some kind on sexuality would have been heard. We also know something of the form his warnings might have taken, since Thring published his sermons. (Headmasters were often clergymen partly because of the force it gave to their moral role.) It is possible indeed that Douglas heard the sermon where Thring uses a discourse of degeneration to condemn 'secret acts', 'hidden pleasures', and 'hidden impurity': masturbation, one assumes,

O fearful it is to see the young child in its first disobedience, beginning sin, with a smile perhaps, a petted forwardness, and by little acts of self-indulgence, setting the devil poison working. And then at school, in the beginning of more independent action, there begins also the double life, the life which does not with a generous spring answer to the spirit of the place, but day by day gets more apart into secret thoughts, and secret acts, either of not working, or of hidden untruth, or hidden pleasures, or hidden impurity, which dares not show itself; and so a false independency, and a lying freedom in wrong doing, takes the place of the vigorous manly liberty of him who is free indeed,

because he has nothing to conceal, and nothing to fear. And so the poisonous breath of sin keeps tainting and corrupting all the freshness and purity of young life; and the corruption spreads, and gets into the very soul, destroying all its power to do true work, and win even earthly credit; and the face loses its frank and manly expression; and the poison begins to be seen outwardly; and after disappointing father, and mother, and family, and himself most of all, the wretched victim either sinks down to a lower level and lives on, or often finds an early grave, killed by his own foul passions.²⁷

Masculinity, degeneration, parental expectation, economic productivity and notions of sin are all linked together here. This sense of having a double life, and being made to feel guilty, is an experience that can be transferred over from the masturbating child to the individual who becomes aware of desires for members of the same sex. The control of sexuality lies behind Thring's whole educational theory: the effect on those at the school of this campaigning zeal must have been marked. Douglas certainly came into contact with this sharply proscriptive attitude to sexuality.

Douglas' days at Uppingham seem to have been lonely - the schoolboy a great contrast to the gregarious adult - his closest friend, the Bug, was unpopular and similarly isolated. In *Looking Back*, Douglas gives a sense of the moralizing atmosphere of Uppingham,

Yet the constipated Bug was the only boy with whom I became familiar at Uppingham. ... Fortunately he was in the same house as myself, though not in the same class. Our housemaster was a pompous sneak; he used to crawl about in noiseless felt slippers in order to catch us doing what we ought not to be doing ...

Altogether I think upon those days at Uppingham without regret. And yet Edward Thring, the headmaster, had a great reputation; it was that which caused me to be sent there. These are matters of temperament. Some few of us are born centrifugal. The herd-system and team-life, congenial to many, went against my grain. A mildewy scriptural odour pervaded the institution - it reeked of Jeroboam and Jesus; the masters struck me as supercilious humbugs; the food was so vile that for the first day or two after returning from holidays I could not get it down.²⁸

There is perhaps the suggestion here that the creeping schoolmaster was seeking sexual 'vice'. The constriction of the alimentary canal stands in for a wider contraction of the full possibilities of life: food was one of Douglas' favourite forms of enjoyment. (Douglas used the image of the laxative effects of Turkey Rhubarb when emphasising the need for the relaxation of morals. As Keith argues in *South Wind*, 'The best way to begin improving oneself was to keep one's own bowels open, and not to trouble those of anyone else. Turkey rhubarb

in fact'.²⁹ Two of Douglas' late books are on aphrodisiacs,³⁰ so linking food and sex - and as for the process of writing, that was linked to voiding the bowels.³¹) The references to Christianity in the above quotation show, perhaps, the events that gave birth to Douglas' lifelong hatred of Judeo-Christian religion. In the end Douglas had himself withdrawn from Uppingham by his mother after he threatened to commit an impropriety. Asked by Constantine Fitzgibbon, 'Was sodomy the threat?' Douglas replied, 'No. Sexual malpractice. Not sodomy'.³² The tactic worked: anyone involved with Uppingham, as Thring says, would have known that any acts or even statements would not have been tolerated. Not for the first time Douglas extracted himself from an unpleasant or awkward situation by effecting a total change. These schooldays, though, left their effects on Douglas, the moral injunctions were, I would argue, to some degree internalized. His education was completed at Karlsruhe. Looking at Douglas' centrifugal course that followed, and where and how it came to rest, it is possible to see the forces of constriction behind the surface emphasis on growth and breaking free. It is to this development that I now turn.

Douglas' time at the German gymnasium saw the beginning of his intellectual growth after the English interregnum. There are also the beginnings to his own sexual life with a succession of - usually short-lived - heterosexual affairs. As a young boy in Austria he had been interested in natural history. One of the structurally unifying tropes of *Together* is provided by Douglas' successive interests: 'but flowers were dropped, when butterflies began', 'Butterflies were dropped, when stones began', 'Stones were dropped when birds and beasts began'.³³ His enthusiasms - not just intellectual in nature - were to undergo similar expansion. Douglas also commenced the trips to collect specimens: he wrote his researches up in scientific monographs which were in some cases republished in maturity.³⁴ Within these texts the views of the older Douglas can be seen emerging as the subject matter widens. Douglas moves from studying the specific beasts and fauna of a geographical area towards making points verging on general conclusions about life and art. He ends *Looking Back* with one of his last Karlsruhe experiences, a visit to a Professor Leydig. What particularly impresses Douglas about Leydig are 'his *asides*, his footnotes to the text, his generalizations' - an important part of Douglas' mature writing style - and his 'strong emphasis on individuality'.³⁵

Douglas' emphasis on the individual's pursuit of their own pleasure over perceived responsibility to others was to be the cornerstone of his thought. An example of Douglas making general conclusions from his scientific ruminations comes with his final scientific monograph, *On the Darwinian Hypothesis of Natural Selection*. Douglas later asserted that its radical argument made him couch the argument in a tentative language, but the piece is interesting because it suggests a bridge between his scientific and later writings. He is against the idea that display in animals is purely a matter of impressing the opposite sex, a mere matter of sexual selection. Instead he argues - as he put it many years later in *Looking Back* - for the 'utility of useless characters'.³⁶ The difference between men and animals also hinges on the importance of leisure,

Man appears to owe what advance he has made to the refinement of these faculties, in the first instance to his social instincts, to the consequent division of labour and the greater *leisure* derived therefrom. Without leisure no artistic product can be consciously evoked or recognised as such; artistic worth does not exist much less the taste whereby to criticise it. Whatever may be the potential capacity of mind of the 'higher animals' I hold that their time is too preoccupied with the actual struggle for existence to permit the formation of the mental qualities ascribed to the argus pheasant.³⁷

Freed from a bleak struggle for existence, and the ruthless need to perpetuate the survival of the fittest of the race, other things become possible. Douglas' attitude to leisure is closely linked to enjoyment and to artistic production (his ongoing emphasis can be seen in the 'On Leisure' chapter in *Siren Land* (1911) where he says, 'And leisure is the *primum mobile* of the universe').³⁸ It formed part of his stress on the Mediterranean, where freedom from the daily mechanical drudgery of survival and an outdoor life are easier to achieve: this is also Count Caloveglia's argument in *South Wind*.³⁹ Further, as we shall see, he was to argue that homosexuality constituted a harmless, productive form of diversity rather than a terrible aberration: in short he was no ruthless 'red in tooth and claw' evolutionist or believer in variation from the norm being a sign of degeneration in either his scientific or social views.

The sexual life saw a similarly expanding curiosity to that seen with his intellectual interests, though this time it was marked with crises. After his German education Douglas joined the British Diplomatic Service. Sexually his time cramming for the exams and as a Third Secretary in St. Petersburg were periods of experimentation.

He contracted syphilis, though, in London and went *en disponibilité* when a dual affair with two Russian women became dangerous, because of the probable reaction of the aristocratic family of one of them. Interestingly, the account of his sexual adventures in St Petersburg in *Looking Back* is immediately followed - as part of the same entry - with his first recorded interest in a boy, in Naples.⁴⁰ But again the 'centrifugal' course is not easy and smooth. Douglas then got married, and while he said he was in love with Elsa for two years, the relationship ended disastrously in an acrimonious divorce. He said little about his wife in his writings. She died in poverty in Germany during the First World War: a marked reticence can be noted on events that touched him deeply.⁴¹

Mark Holloway, Douglas' biographer, noted the links between the intellectual path and that of his sexual life,

Douglas' "boundless curiosity" in other matters is well enough known; that it should have extended to sex is only to be expected. The child of seven who had denied God in the pinewood without being struck dead, would never thenceforth have been deterred by fear of any of the consequences of this curiosity; and that the avid collector of objects should have become the equally avid collector of experiences, of men and women as objects of love would be in no way surprising. 'Stones were dropped when birds and beasts began'; 'Birds and beasts were dropped when girls began'; 'Girls were dropped when boys began'. None of these statements is strictly true; none of them need to be a downright lie; they may all be illustrations of a truth.⁴²

Douglas' pursuit of young boys was to be vigorous and unabashed, resulting in many occasions when he had to leave a place quickly. When in Italy, he would find that the Italian *Codice Penale* of 1889 was liberal as regards adult homosexuality, but that it condemned offenses against minors. John Addington Symonds had spelt out the legal situation in France and Italy in *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, written in the early 1890s.⁴³ That the legal situation was well known amongst expatriate homosexuals in Italy can be seen from Stevenson's *The Intersexes* of 1908. He says that 'semilissexual satisfactions' were legal in Italy unless they were in public, employed violent coercion, involved soldiers on active duty or those under sixteen years of age.⁴⁴ The moral climate, though, became increasingly strict following the rise of the Fascists. There does seem to have been an ongoing tradition of socially sanctioned pederasty, if Douglas' accounts are to be believed. This is a survival that can be seen in the uncondemning, positive comment of the Neapolitan mother of the first boy in which Douglas showed

interest (though, in fact, Douglas represents the boy as being more emotionally involved than he). The mother is said to have commented to Douglas, "'L'avete svegliato" ... you have woken him up'.⁴⁵ Further Douglas often remained close to those he had loved when they were younger: helping support them financially, encouraging them to marry and so on. There seems, from the accounts in Holloway's biography, to be little evidence of lives scarred by abuse. This raises the question - outside the scope of this thesis - of whether the significance accorded in our time to sexual abuse as the event in the past that transforms a life and limits the present is socially constructed (though experienced in a very real way for all that) rather than inevitably and essentially that which causes a range of later effects.

Douglas settled in Italy from 1902 on. The turn of the century years are a crucial period in Douglas' development - we know little about them, in large measure because Douglas was reticent in his own writings. This time saw the birth of the mature Douglas in life generally and sexuality specifically. Writing was decided upon as a career as other funds ran out. As the 'financial cataclysm' approached he wrote a series of pamphlets about Capri, showing that the early interest in natural history had grown to involve the historical, in fact a wide play of material. (These pamphlets were, much later, gathered into a book, *Capri. Materials for a Description of the Island* (1930), published by Pino Orioli in Florence. It is dedicated to that other famous sometime Capri-resident British author, Compton Mackenzie: reference is made to the 'cantankerous little cliques' depicted in Mackenzie's novels set on the island.⁴⁶) However he did try and write fiction in the first decade of the century (unsuccessfully),⁴⁷ but his home genre was always going to be the travel book. He used his work on Capri in *Siren Land* (1911). This was followed by *Fountains in the Sand* (1912), about Tunisia, and *Old Calabria* (1915).

The push towards writing a novel, a further stage of literary expansion, came from Joseph Conrad. With an examination of this relationship with Conrad it is possible to take stock of where Douglas centrifugal course came to rest. This expansion outward in life, sexuality and writing ended with Douglas still living off the centre in society. He tried to hang onto his status as a 'gentleman'. Douglas had met Joseph Conrad on Capri where he put Douglas in touch with J.B. Pinker. The agent helped Douglas to find review work.⁴⁸ (Pinker was to be Lawrence's agent during the



years.) Douglas and Conrad became close, Conrad calling Douglas 'one of my two most intimate friends'.⁴⁹ Conrad encouraged Douglas in his writing, urging him to write a novel as the 'shortest way to a living'.⁵⁰ Forced to go to London to be on the spot as far as reviewing was concerned Douglas began his first and best novel, *South Wind*, while working on the *English Review*. He became Assistant Editor of the periodical, though his time there came after its great Hueffer days. Also from this period comes *London Street Games* (1916), which involved many hours of pleasurable research amongst the children of the capital.⁵¹ By the time his novel was finished, though, Douglas had fled Britain so as to avoid trial for offenses with minors. Before being committed for trial he had needed to raise bail. Compton Mackenzie wrote that, 'At this moment practically all Douglas' friends avoided him, but two of them did stand bail for him; Joseph Conrad refused to do this'.⁵² The friendship was over.

Douglas was, then, quite literally an exile from Britain and its Empire - and for similar reasons to those that sent Fersen to Capri and provided much of the plot of *Vestal Fire*. The friendship with Conrad shows the way that the shifting visibility of homosexuality affects the individual's standing with others; in Douglas' case from being a part of society, and near the centre of the literary world, to losing personal friendships and having to leave the country. But Douglas continued to seek to use the position of a gentleman as a key part of his persona and his language when many would have held that he had forfeited this status. As we shall see, the insistence on gentlemanly behaviour is the main line of argument in *D.H. Lawrence and Maurice Magnus. A Plea for Better Manners* (1924), as the very title suggests. Douglas was also to appeal to his readers as a gentleman addressing gentleman (whatever, it seems, the sex of the reader). This meant that the transgressive impact of some of his later texts is rapidly reabsorbed as merely a certain sanctioned naughtiness.

Douglas' transgressiveness in life and writing did not really trouble the prevailing order, rather it provided pleasure for a certain privileged readership. As Paul Fussell has noted, Douglas' 'subversiveness does not threaten the *status quo*, it teases and requires it'.⁵³ Lytton Strachey, who admired Douglas' writing hugely, and who went to Paris so as to meet him, wondered if he were not a little too 'old' - too much from a Victorian generation. This is a reminder perhaps of how long Douglas centrifugal course had taken him to effect.⁵⁴ Indeed in the 'twenties such a course

provided him with his living. His development as a writer ended with the travel books *Alone* (1921) and *Together*; they are more personal in style, less writerly and ornate than the earlier books. The second and third novels - *They Went* (1920) and *In the Beginning* (1927) are opaque as to meaning and lazy in their execution. He began to live off his earlier reputation with privately printed texts. It is true that private publication from Italy allowed Douglas more leeway as to content - as indeed it did for Lawrence when he published *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, also using the services of Pino Orioli - but a vital measure of caution remained. The combination may have made his work attractive to the wealthy readership at play to which he was appealing. There is a degree of reticence with Douglas then, one that originated in his schooldays, and finally brought his development to a halt - but it may also have provided him with his readership.

Douglas' philosophy

The direct statements of Norman Douglas on homosexuality - to which I will turn in the next section - need to be placed in the overall context of his thinking. This insists on breaking free from the restrictions on life imposed by society. The energy with which this is done may well have been provided by his own positioning as someone interested in age-asymmetrical same-sex relationships in a society that condemned such desires. However, while a space that permits homosexuality results, indeed may be the very reason motivating him to launch this general argument, Douglas shows great care on the rare occasions when he mentions homosexuality. There are very few direct references, though these increase in number from the late nineteen twenties.

The first main point about Douglas' view of the world is that life should be grounded on the world-as-it-is. This is frequently stated through his texts. His training as a scientist gave him a taste for skilled and precise observation. It is for this reason, one may venture, that Douglas found the travel book such a congenial genre. As we have noted in his late scientific monographs, though, there is also an emphasis on the role of leisure in matters of appreciation, along with a sense of beauty. This links in with the other main tenet of Douglas world view, his emphasis on pleasure. Douglas has been variously categorised as a hedonist, an epicurean,

or as simply crudely egocentric. However there is also, close to the surface, another voice, that of the internalised interdiction urging another line of behaviour, society's line. This, along with the emphasis on pleasure, beauty and a view of the world that emphasises the tangible can be seen in the writerly final paragraphs of *Old Calabria*,

This corner of Magna Graecia is a severely parsimonious manifestation of nature. Rocks and waters! But these rocks and waters are actualities; the stuff whereof man is made. A landscape so luminous, so resolutely scornful of accessories, hints at brave and simple forms of expression; it brings us to the ground, where we belong; it medicines to the disease of introspection and stimulates a capacity which we are in danger of unlearning amid our morbid hyperborean gloom - the capacity for honest contempt: contempt of that scarecrow of a theory which would have us neglect what is earthly, tangible. What is life well lived but a blithe discarding of primordial husks, of those comfortable intangibilities that lurk about us, waiting for our weak moments?

The sage, that perfect savage, will be the last to withdraw himself from the influence of these radiant realities. He will strive to knit closer the bond and to devise a more durable and affectionate relationship between himself and them. Let him open his eyes. For a reasonable adjustment lies at his feet. From these brown stones that seam the tranquil Ionian, from this gracious solitude, he can carve out, and bear away into the cheerful din of cities, the rudiments of something clean and veracious and wholly terrestrial - some tonic philosophy that shall foster sunny mischiefs and farewell regret.⁵⁵

Each of the two paragraphs ends with the return of that which it is argued has to be overcome, but that is nevertheless deeply felt; the views of society may prey on us in 'weak moments', there is a sense of 'regret' that has to be left behind. These statements on moving away from the intangible and the introspective also raise questions about Douglas' prose, its relation to what is being said, its effect on the reader. On one level an objection might centre on the fact that this is not a 'rocks and water' prose style. On the other hand it is intended to be the product of well-spent leisure, and to offer the reader the intelligent enjoyment of such a style. In this it succeeds, though *Old Calabria*, published in 1915, hardly feels like an early twentieth century - let alone a wartime - text. For Cyril Connolly - though Douglas fares better than his *bête noire* Mackenzie - this is still an example of 'reformed Mandarin'.⁵⁶ Douglas post-war texts are more pared down in their style. In part this is because he was now unwilling to undertake the kind of research that was needed to underpin a *Siren Land* or an *Old*

Calabria. There is also a sense, however, that, as with Mackenzie, the rich prose style went with the war. Douglas prose remains an attractive one though, the result of his emphasis on fact and on pleasure, it communicates the importance of precise observation and beauty to his readers.

The nature of Douglas' emphasis on pleasure needs clarification. Was it, as Richard Aldington argued, simply an egotistical pursuit of pleasure, specifically a morally grubby pursuit of poor, ugly young boys? Aldington's book *Pinorman* suggests that while Douglas believed he was chasing 'Greek genii', the reality was at some distance from this.⁵⁷ Douglas, for the hostile Aldington, was simply a pleasure seeker with no scruple - but this was not, at least, Douglas' *intellectual* position. The pleasure was refined: the hedonism was tempered. This was not expressed by recourse to the productive interplay between opposing forces - for example, in Arnold's formulation, between the Hellenic and the Hebraic⁵⁸ - but rather through an emphasis on moderation held to be latent within Greek thought itself. This was disseminated through the tradition in European aesthetics that emphasised how beauty could be given a depth beyond mere surface play through the exercise of restraint, and which drew its inspiration from Greek sculpture (one particularly thinks of the writings of Winckelmann and Pater). In Douglas' texts this is best caught in Count Caloveglia's statement in *South Wind* that 'All excess is unlovely'. Douglas preferred the term 'epicurean' to the description of himself as a 'hedonist'. However, it is possible to question whether the 'adjustment' spoken of in the above quotation from *Old Calabria* was ever achieved. John Davenport remarked: 'his reaction from Puritanism was too violent for epicurean balance'.⁵⁹

Constantine Fitzgibbon attempted to account for the two views of Douglas - the first as egoist, the second as cultured epicurean - in the following way,

In the years after the first world war he became, particularly to people who did not know him, a symbol of the individual's revolt against Victorian values. In certain circles his books were read and admired - one might almost say worshipped - for reasons quite extraneous to their content, much as Byron's poems had been a century before. In fact he was gradually put in a position which was essentially a false one. For though he might flout the morality of his society, he was never anti-social, and though a hedonist, his hedonism was that of a Victorian gentleman, not of the eighteenth century diabolist or the twentieth century experimenter. He suffered for his hedonism, as much as from his admirers

as from anybody else. I mention this only because it undoubtedly affected the reception of his books and, to a very much lesser extent, that reception is itself reflected in some of his later writings. Meanwhile let it be said that there was nothing in his character, as there was nothing in his appearance or manner, to suggest the Bohemian or sensualist of popular fancy.⁶⁰

These comments of Fitzgibbon's provide a useful corrective to the view that Douglas' emphasis on accepting the world-as-it-is and on pleasure is all that there is to say. Interestingly, they also suggest that as Douglas got older he started to play a part others assigned to him, to perform, one might say, a caricature of himself.

The way that Douglas' emphasis on pleasure can be seen being tempered, refined and extended in a way linked to Greek thought is only part of the significance to his life and writing of his identification with ancient Greece. There is a temporal axis here, but also, because of the perceived survival of residues of Greek culture in Southern Italy - in the 'Magna Graecia' that we have already seen him referring to - a link to travel and experience in the here and now.

It is important to say something of the context for the English in Italy, and why Douglas would have found it attractive. The subject of north European travel to the south has been well charted in John Pemble's *The Mediterranean Passion. Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (1988). The Grand Tour, the preserve of the few, was succeeded by the beginnings of mass tourism. The south of Europe became accessible to the richer portions of the middle class of the economically prosperous north. Discourses around health painted the Mediterranean as attractive, the advent of the railway improved communications greatly. The increased political stability of post-unification Italy removed an obstacle to travel. Primarily, though, it must be said that part of what pulled people to the south was the economic imbalance between north and south, the standard of living that was, in most years, possible there. For homosexuals as well as the cultural antecedents, there were the identifications that could be used to help validate their desires - for example, ancient Greece, and the Renaissance. A different attitude to same-sex desire was also believed to exist in the present. There were also many images and much talk helping to construct the southern male body as beautiful. With the imbalance of wealth the desires could be realised using money - reciprocated love existing, perhaps, only in fantasy.⁶¹

A culturally valorised period of the past, then, came together

with a place in the present that was felt to retain some of the earlier values in order to provide a space for same-sex activities. Two important concerns for the late nineteenth and early twentieth century middle and upper homosexual converge here: education and patterns of travel. It is possible to bring together two of Freud's, at first sight somewhat contradictory, statements on travel. He argued that travel was a wish to return to the security of the first home, the womb, and also the wish to escape, to break free from the influences of home and family. With the journey to Italy the homosexual could break away, while effecting a homecoming to one of the strongest sources of identification available to the contemporary same-sex desiring upper middle class male subject, one that had formed the bedrock of their education, namely ancient Greece. For John Addington Symonds, 'The Bay of Naples, the coast of Sicily, are instinct with the memory of those first settlers'.⁶² Douglas held that every footstep in the Bay of Naples area was 'fraught with memories'. As John Pemble has noted of the traveller to the Mediterranean countries,

On the threshold of the South he experienced an apotheosis. He passed from the circumference to the centre of things, and his thoughts dwelt on roots, origins, essentials, and ultimate affinities.⁶³

These 'ultimate affinities' for the homosexual subject in a hostile society may well have included the attractions of a time and place where sex was organised differently. The Mediterranean was also seen as the 'centre', and not as a place on the insecure margins.

Much research has been done from the nineteen eighties onwards about the Victorians and Ancient Greece. Two long texts, by Richard Jenkyns and Frank M. Turner, explored the way that Greece pervaded Victorian culture and education, providing those in positions of power with a language for discussing contemporary issues.⁶⁴ Both mention the use to which discourses around ancient Greece were put by those interested in same-sex desire. However, it is only with Linda Dowling's stimulating recent text *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (1994) that this work has been given a specific gay studies inflection. Dowling's argument is a sophisticated one. She charts the importance of Hellenism in providing a liberal alternative to the conservative line that, since the eighteenth century, had emphasised manliness and holding firm to certain values that would cement the health and strength of the nation. However, as she points out, while a Benjamin Jowett may have used appeals to Greek thought to question and probe political and religious tenets

that had previously been untouched by analysis, there was the problem of the point at which the door-opening thinking came to rest. What was to stop it extending to same-sex desire? Indeed this was to happen at in Wilde's famous speech during his trials where he defended 'friendship' through recourse to Plato, whom he mentioned along with the Neo-Platonist Michelangelo and Shakespeare.⁶⁵ Dowling's thesis places the argument around Hellenism and homosexuality at the very heart of battle between the conflicting political ideologies of the time,

The role of Victorian Hellenism in legitimating 'homosexuality' as an identity thus derives ultimately from its promise, so powerfully expressed by such advocates as Mill, Arnold, Gladstone and Jowett, to restore and reinvigorate a nation fractured by the effects of laissez-faire capitalism and enervated by the approach of mass democracy. The specific consequence would be to give Hellenism, in the late-Victorian warfare of ideas and ideologies, precisely the same central structural place occupied by 'virtue' in classical republican discourse more than a century before ... this struggle between competing discourses gives us the moment at which a lingering Victorian dread of 'effeminacy' may be seen to have yielded to a newer and more urgent fear of cultural stagnation. In precisely this moment, filled with hope that the Hellenic gifts of self-development and diversity of talents might succeed in revitalising Victorian culture, such writers as Symonds and Pater and Wilde would find the opening in which 'homosexuality' might begin to be understood as itself a mode of self-development and diversity, no longer a sin or crime or disastrous civic debility but a social identity functioning within a fund of shared human potentialities, now recognized as shared, out of which the renewal or, as Pater would say, the renaissance of Victorian life might actually begin to rise.⁶⁶

With the Wilde trials, of course, Hellenism became suspect, the possibility perceived and taken by Pater, Symonds and Wilde was not one that could bear fruit, the dread of 'effeminacy' and weakness would return, now embodied in the emergent figure of the 'homosexual'. But the possible force of the identification for the same-sex desiring subject had by this time been given much attention: we saw many of Symonds contributions in starting building these resources in the Introduction.

Douglas' philosophy draws heavily on ancient Greece: 'A thousand turbid streams, pouring into Hellas from every side, issued thence grandly, in a calm and transparent river, to fertilize the world'.⁶⁷ His Greece was martial and masculine rather than one with many traces of Plato and the ideal, though. The emphasis on pleasure and the world-as-it-is can again be seen, here in *Siren Land*,

And the Greeks? The idea that we entered into the world tainted from birth, that feeling of duty unfulfilled which is rooted in the doctrine of sin and has hindered millions from enjoying life in a rational and plenary manner - all this was alien to their mode of thought. A healthy man is naturally blithe, and the so-called joy of life of the ancient Greek is simply the appropriate reaction of the body to its surroundings.

The attitudes of the Greeks are seen as still living in the attitudes of those of the 'Parthenopean region',⁶⁸ the Neapolitans always held that 'the promptings of nature were righteous and reasonable'. Further, differing from the northern European, 'they have kept in view the ancient Hellenic ideal of Nemesis, of that true temperance which avoids troubling the equilibrium between man and his environment'. But Douglas makes it clear that while Greece may serve as a period of positive identification there grew from it the very tendency towards being exhorted to live up to an ideal, and internalising that imperative, that he most opposes,

The ancient Hellenic ideal: for the Greeks themselves overthrew it; soon came Orphic mysteries, and Plato, and the rest of them, stuffed with Eastern lore, and men found it easier to babble charming nonsense about souls and essences than to investigate the facts of life. The old idea of sanity perished; ethics ceased to be a department of physiology; an ego-centric and introspective existence began. Men regulated their behaviour not according to nature, but according to the imaginary exigencies of an imaginary life beyond.⁶⁹

Some elements of the later Greece did interest Douglas: sculpture, he believed, 'remained objective' long after this characteristic had been lost in other disciplines.⁷⁰ The interest in Greek sculpture, with its many male nudes, can be used to relate Douglas to a tradition of art criticism that, again, takes in Winckelmann, Pater and Symonds.⁷¹ Same-sex desire would also have contributed to Douglas' interest in the *Greek Anthology* - 'the tender Anthology' as he called it⁷² - some of which was written as late as the Common Era. Douglas wrote a book on some of the animals described in the work: it was entitled *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* (1928).⁷³ He speaks of the *Anthology* at length in his travel piece on Greece, *One Day*, where he criticises Symonds' translations of some of the poems.⁷⁴

So Douglas' Greece was an early and heroic Greece, rather than that of Plato. His particular bugbear, though, was Christianity: what he called 'the quaint Alexandrian tutti-frutti known as Christianity' produced some of his most tiring and repetitive rhetoric.⁷⁵ He particularly associated Rome with the birth of

Christianity. In his book *How About Europe?* (1929) - in which he replies to Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (1927) which placed India's problems firmly at the door of Indians⁷⁶ - he berates Europe, while praising (here at least) the attitudes of the East. The Romans and Christianity are a focus of his arguments,

That discomfort, that European stomach-ache from which all of us are suffering, that moral constipation, has been traced to a variety of sources. I become more and more convinced, with increasing years that the roots of the mischief lie far back, in the Roman point of view.

He goes on to link the Romans to the 'imported pinchbeck' Christianity.⁷⁷ Metaphors about digestion are again used to express the constriction of north European values. Douglas found the Middle Ages a vigorous period: he has less time for the Florentine Renaissance.⁷⁸ He used to dismiss the period and its culture with the word 'Cinquecento'.⁷⁹ So the south of Italy was praised for keeping some aspects of ancient Greece alive: 'southern spaciousness' could be opposed to 'gothic gloom'.⁸⁰ There is also an interest in the contrast with what lies outside Europe.

The relation between these historical and geographical axes of Douglas' thought - between the north and south of Europe and beyond, and a history of same-sex desire in the south that stretches back to the Greeks - can best be seen in *South Wind*. Again, the maximum space for the validity of homosexual desires is created while Douglas draws back from clearly forcing home the point in respect of same-sex desire.

In the novel, rather than an opposition between the west and the east that it constructs - as Said argued in his *Orientalism*⁸¹ - we find three geographical areas demarcated. Each is associated with a set of values. Italy decomposes north European values, as does Africa, but Italy, due to its past and cultural heritage, is able to re-configure, re-stabilise that which has been broken down. Douglas condemned north African culture in *Fountains in the Sand* as undeveloped and impoverished, the people physically and psychologically affected by climate and religion. In this he fits in with much scientific thought related to degeneration. For Lombroso the white European male was at the top of a tree which shaded into black people and then towards the higher primates. North Italian science even saw southern Italians as simply less developed. A number of early texts on the origins of the Mafia put it down to Africans on Sicily breeding with the islanders: their offspring

began the problem.⁸²

Douglas' constructs an Italy that is between the limited, constricting north of Europe and an Africa that it is seen as somehow too different. While the Mediterranean offers greater freedom than the north of the continent, it also provides the consolations of a valorized and familiar history and culture. *South Wind* opens with a returning colonial bishop approaching the island of Nepenthe: it is a fictional composite of a number of places, including Capri. The bishop is returning from his diocese of 'Bampopo', in East Africa, a journey through the Suez canal and the Mediterranean. Already Mr Heard's health has been affected,

His own state of body was far from satisfactory at that moment; Africa - he was Bishop of Bampopo in the Equatorial Regions - had played the devil with his lower gastric department and made him almost an invalid; a circumstance of which he was nowise proud, seeing that ill-health led to inefficiency in all walks of life ... Be perfect of your kind, whatever that kind may be. Hence his sneaking fondness for the natives - they were such fine, healthy animals.

Fine, healthy animals; perfect of their kind! Africa liked them to "get through with it" according to their own lights. But there was evidently a little touch of spitefulness and malice about Africa; something almost human. For when white people try to get through with it after their particular fashion, she makes hay of their livers or something. That is what happened to Thomas Heard, D.D., Bishop of Bampopo.⁸³

That Heard's digestive system is disordered suggests, as we have already seen with Douglas, that more is in play than simple health. Specifically, the suggestion of diarrhoea involves a total lack of control, as opposed to the over-constricted, constipated north. The north European stress on efficiency and how such an individual copes in Africa is reminiscent of his 'friend' Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*: the manager says that 'Men who come out here should have no entrails', a suggestion of human hollowness that led T.S.Eliot to use a quotation from the novel as an epigraph to 'The Hollow Men'.⁸⁴ This quotation from *South Wind*'s opening page also suggests something of the appealingly erudite yet slightly (and only slightly) shocking tone that so appealed to its early readers.

The opening of the novel appears to be preparing us for the eventual emergence of a golden mean between the ill north European bishop with his stress on efficiency, and a chaotic Africa, full of the healthy, though a place that creates disorder in the lives of the European. The Italians on board Heard's ship are, like the Africans, described as 'natives',⁸⁵ but they are differentiated from

the healthy by being thoroughly seasick, like Heard. Italy, the land of a temporary discomforture of the self before an equilibrium is reached, begins to enter as a third, and soon the most desirable, category. Heard starts comparing the Mediterranean with Africa when he watches a Saint's procession,

Mumbo-jumbo, thought Mr. Heard.

Yet he looked without wincing at this caricature of Christianity. It was like an act in a pantomime. He had seen funnier things in Africa ...

How they attached themselves to his heart, those black fellows. Such healthy animals! This spectacle, he discovered, was rather like Africa - the same steamy heat, the same blaring noises, dazzling light, and glowing colours; the same spirit of unconquerable playfulness in grave concerns.⁸⁶

Later, when Heard goes to the funeral of a member of the English colony on the island he is not disturbed, as he would have been in the past, by its garish lack of subtlety. He is depicted as 'changing, widening out'.⁸⁷ The sirocco, the hot prevailing wind, blows from the south: Mr Heard calls it 'This African pest'.⁸⁸ And just as Heard, returning from Africa, can be affected by Nepenthe, so can those approaching the island from the North. The young Denis Phipps arrives from Florence also at a moment of crisis in his life. But Nepenthe, unlike Africa, re-configures as well as producing an effect of dissolution. As Keith notes,

Northern minds seem to become fluid here, impressionable, unstable, unbalanced - what you please. There is something in the brightness of this spot which decomposes their old particles and arranges them into fresh and unexpected patterns.⁸⁹

The heat of the island is something it shares with Africa, but the history of the Mediterranean provides a stabilizing, suturing effect for those traumatized by an engagement with what is seen as too different from themselves. In the novel this position of balance is given expression by the residents or regular visitors to the island.

Not everyone is travelling through Nepenthe. And while Douglas, to an extent, kept to his dictum about not using real life precedents for his characters there are some exceptions amongst the minor figures: for example the magistrate, Freddy Parker and Eames. However it seems to me that many of the major figures in the book resident on the island, or regular visitors to it, represent aspects of Douglas' own character. Even the minor character of the young Marten has Douglas interest in minerals and his sexual energy. Eames can be linked to the scholar Douglas of the Capri monographs, though without the love of pleasure and the wide intellectual curiosity of

his creator. These last are aspects of Keith, who is also trying to throw off certain Scottish moralizing tendencies. But Keith does not have Douglas' love of beauty - he does not like music for example. Count Caloveglia has this quality of appreciation in abundance. Douglas is thus able to use various strands of his own discourse in the novel, split between the various major characters in the text, gradually weaving them together as it progresses.

What the Mediterranean region has that allows it to function in a way that is more complex than some geographical liminal zone between Europe and Africa is its cultural history. A conversation between von Koppen, Caloveglia and Heard sees a set of distinctions develop between the 'uncivilised' (Africans), 'progress' (America, which Caloveglia also associates with Britain), and 'civilisation' (Europe, particularly, one surmises, the south of the continent).⁹⁰ Caloveglia places great stress on individuality and a centrifugal course, as we have seen a familiar Douglasian emphasis,

Progress is a centripetal movement, obliterating man in the mass. Civilisation is centrifugal; it permits, it postulates, the assertion of personality. The terms are, therefore, not synonymous.⁹¹

The Mediterranean has the cultural history and the past that will allow for a rebuilding of the forced and constricted north European ego, including one already seen as traumatised by an engagement with Africa.

The main plot of *South Wind* concerns Heard's loss of his rigid northern moral outlook to the extent that he accepts the murder of the blackmailer Retlow by his cousin. As Douglas said, the point of the plot of *South Wind* is 'How to make murder palatable to a bishop'.⁹² The sub-plot of the novel concerns the Greek art object the Locri Faun, which Caloveglia claims to have found and which he is trying to sell to the American millionaire von Koppen. As well as the surface play in the statue there is also a deeper repose, a balance and unity is achieved. Here Douglas is picking up on Pater writing of Winckelmann - for all that Douglas once called Pater a writer of the 'diabetic school'⁹³ - for example when Pater refers to Greek sculpture of the male body as showing 'the tranquil godship in him, as opposed to the restless accidents of life'.⁹⁴ The Locri Faun is described very much in these terms,

[the] head and shoulders were now enveloped in a warm beam of light. Under that genial touch the old relic seemed to have woke up from its slumber. Blood was throbbing in its veins. It was in movement; it dominated the scene in its emphatic affirmation of joy.

Mr Heard, his eyes fixed upon the statuette, now

realized the significance of what had been said. He began to see more clearly. Soon it dawned upon him that not joy alone was expressed by the figure. Another quality, more evasive yet more compelling, resided in its subtle grace: the element of mystery. There, imprisoned in the bronze, dwelt some benignant oracle.

Puzzle as he would, that oracle refused to clothe itself in words.

What could it be?

A message of universal application, 'loving and enigmatical,' as the old man had called it. True! It was a greeting from an unknown friend in an unknown land; something familiar from the dim past or distant future; something that spoke of well-being - plain to behold, hard to expound, like the dawning smile of childhood.⁹⁵

In fact the Locri Faun is a fake, forged by the Count so he can sell it to Koppen, but that is not the point: the right effect, the correct attitude to life and art, has been achieved. Heard notices more than primitive energy, he begins 'to see more clearly'; a moderating force is discerned. What steadies Heard is the engagement with Greek culture, the effect of identification with the 'unknown friend' in the 'unknown land' - from the 'dim past' or 'distant future'. Ancient Greek sculpture shows in microcosm the effect on Heard of his stay on Nepenthe after a north European upbringing and an encounter with Africa. The engagement with the culture of the area is seen as producing a growth of the self; one that stems from the past, and which can be grounded through recourse to art and history. Count Caloveglia is the spokesman in the novel for these values; we learn that 'There is something Greek about Count Caloveglia'.

Douglas' philosophy, then, uses an identification with the Greece of the past, brought to life - admittedly, even fabricated - in the Italy of the present, to create a world which emphasises a sophisticated pleasure in a tangible world. A space for pederastic desires seems to be central to this, but it rarely breaks surface. However, it may be just be glimpsed in the above quotation. Needing a simile for the benign 'message' of the sculpture he says it is 'like the dawning smile of childhood': a pregnant closing cadence.

Placing *South Wind* in literary terms is difficult: as with the other texts of Douglas they should perhaps be approached through their ideas rather than through specifically literary analysis. There is no doubting the impact of the novel on the first part of the century. If Richard Aldington is to be believed, the novel had gone through twenty-one impressions in the thirty years after its publication in 1917.⁹⁶ It was welcomed in its *Times Literary*

Supplement Review by Virginia Woolf in terms of escape; it is important to remember that its appeal to early readers was as a breath of fresh southern air to a stranded, war-afflicted public.⁹⁷ Graham Greene said that his 'generation was brought up on *South Wind*': it 'seemed to liberate us from all the serious dreary immediate past'.⁹⁸ Aldous Huxley said that Douglas was used to help him create the character of Scogan in *Chrome Yellow*, to voice a certain set of attitudes.⁹⁹ In terms of style and content a number of writers - including Woolf and Aldington - suggested a link to Wilde. There is a transgressive quality to both, of course, but there, it seems to me, the similarity ends. Douglas had little time for the 'nineties homosexual identity associated with Wilde. Further, there is little to connect Wildean paradox to Douglas' more conventional, solid prose. The issue of the effect on the reader is crucial here; in Douglas' case it is far less unsettling than with Wilde. Douglas' transgression appeals to certain conventional stock responses and prejudices (in *South Wind* about Africans, particularly), it really only tickles a certain sanctioned gentlemanly naughtiness. The reticence over homosexuality is part of this; and unlike Wilde it is reticence itself rather than the deliberately coded references to homosexuality which recent scholarship has suggested litter the Wildean corpus.¹⁰⁰

Edmund Wilson brilliantly focused on the relations between text and reader in Douglas in a review article on *How About Europe?*. Generally, Wilson argues that Douglas takes a certain Nietzschean line, rejecting handed-down values. However, Douglas then insists on the validity of his own cherished causes - for example the treatment of children. In fact, Douglas criticised Nietzsche for overvaluing the significance of humans in the universe, of failing to take account of the facts.¹⁰¹ But Wilson's argument in this piece holds, especially when extended to the matter of readership. The reader is flattered by being given the impression that she or he are sole auditors of an intelligent and cultured speaking voice.¹⁰² This relationship serves to distract attention from the detail of Douglas position and, I would want to add, allows Douglas a cloak which covers the lack of a direct approach to the subject of homosexuality. That said, homosexuality is at times addressed specifically in this overall context which emphasises the removal of barriers to action while being reticent about the precise 'pleasures' involved. It is to these references that I now turn.

Douglas and homosexuality (I): In written texts

Douglas' overall view of the world includes, at its heart, a space that legitimates facts of human existence and pleasures such as homosexuality: it does this without naming same-sex desire, giving it voice. However, it is possible to address Douglas' attitude to homosexuality directly, his positioning in relation to available identities, and his use of available discourses. There is sufficient evidence to look behind, as it were, the reticence - a caution which I have argued originates in the proscriptive atmosphere of his schooldays. It can be noted that he used available discourses around same-sex desire while keeping a distance from available identities. For many individuals interested in same-sex desire, the discourses that offered a legitimate space for their desires in the world, and the networks that were established around certain identities, offered their first tentative steps towards possible sexual contact. With Douglas, though, we have the love affairs carried on with vigour and energy along with an unwillingness to identify and a high degree of caution: here we find the 'sexual' without the 'identity'. As far as direct references to homosexuality are concerned by Douglas we see various levels of openness or reticence. There is a difference between writing and speech, and also differences between various kinds of writing. Firstly, he became more open, as has been mentioned, in his later writing. Secondly, and this has not been commented upon before, there is a body of writing from Douglas' days at the *English Review* which were unsigned. In these pieces he seems to have felt (slightly) more secure about airing views related to homosexuality, though clearly there were still limits on what could go into such a journal. Douglas' choice of what to review shows an interest in discourses around homosexuality, and some interest in giving this talk circulation through further writing. In general, it is again necessary to note and account for this reticence, a caution often obscured from sight by surface bravura and bluster.

It is clear that Douglas did not approve of 'effeminate' homosexuals, and was said to have little time for those who came to pay court to him. He had little in common with the 'Uranian' poets, who often shared his sexual object choice. He and Orioli - according to the unsympathetic Richard Aldington - would identify those interested in homosexuality as being different to themselves, as 'other', saying of them in a condemnatory fashion *'Mi pare un paio*

di sods [it seems to me a couple of sods]'.¹⁰³ This exclusive attitude certainly included those who were passive sexually, or who loved other adults. On whichever count this decided their response to Lytton Strachey: 'The wrong kind of sod, my dear'. Aldington records that in fact he never found any other 'sods' of whom the two approved.¹⁰⁴

Douglas disapproval of the lack of the 'masculine' values in the 'nineties identity and the writing associated with it can be seen in his review of Edmund John's volume of Uranian verse *The Flute of Sardonyx*.¹⁰⁵ Douglas argues, in an unsigned piece in the *English Review*, that John's lacks the 'clear cut paganism' he would want to see. There are not, for Douglas, sufficient signs of the values of a healthy, pre-Socratic Greece.¹⁰⁶ However - and here the contradictory element in Douglas enters in - he could be melted by personal contact. In his entry on John in *Looking Back* he says that he was asked to write this review by Edward Garnett who wanted its 'reputation' defended against criticism of his subject matter - probably perceived homosexual and pederastic content. Douglas was later to meet John himself, before his early death. He disliked the way he dressed - he gave it too much attention, as we have seen an excessive care about dress was seen as a sign of homosexuality - but there is evidence of a real personal sympathy for the young poet.¹⁰⁷ As we have seen he responded in a similar way to Vernon Andrews. Of course, the most notable homosexual that Douglas knew well, despite his objection to the 'wrong' kind of 'sod', was Maurice Magnus. So Douglas condemned the 'nineties identity and the majority of homosexuals of his day, while responding personally to a number who belonged to these identities. The point perhaps is that Douglas was very unwilling to identify *in general terms* with any identity.

Douglas, as assistant editor of the *English Review*, was able to choose his subject matter. Behind the cloak of anonymity provided by a policy of unsigned reviews and some unsigned articles he felt able to approach issues around sexuality more directly than in texts that appeared under his own name at this time: the very choice of texts is significant. These pieces show his links both with those active in the homosexual politics of the time and his relation to prevailing discourses around homosexuality. Particularly it is possible to explore his relation to perhaps the main causology for homosexuality in circulation early in the century, namely that the homosexual woman or man were part of a 'third sex'. It is necessary

to look closely at Douglas' response to discourses around homosexuality, to tease out the form taken by idiosyncratic, cautious references to this material in his texts.

Douglas seems to have had some contact with the homosexual politics of his day, though it was limited in nature and shows his caution. Of course, Douglas' time in Britain was limited. But he knew the work of George Cecil Ives. He also seems to have known Ives personally; though, to judge by the evidence, more as an acquaintance than as a close friend. Ives was the leading figure in organised homophile movements in the difficult years following the Wilde trials. He was an organiser, a criminologist and a (poor) poet.¹⁰⁸ It was to Ives, in an 1898 letter, that Wilde made his comment that one day society would accept homosexuality, 'Yes: I have no doubt that we shall win, but the road is long, and red with monstrous martyrdoms'.¹⁰⁹ Ives was the leading figure in the secret and rather ridiculous Order of Chaeronea - named after the battle in which the Sacred Band of Thebes were defeated by the Macedonian cavalry - with its code, rings and quasi-Masonic paraphernalia.

Less overtly centred around homosexual rights issues was the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology founded in 1914 (from the 1920's it was called the British Sexological Society), in which Ives was again the leading figure. It was interested in a wide range of kinds of sex reform, including eugenics and contraception.¹¹⁰ As well as a text on attitudes to youth in classical antiquity - drawing on what we have seen was a major source of identification for those interested in same-sex desire - Ives produced an well researched volume of criminology, *A History of Penal Methods*. It includes a section on homosexuality.¹¹¹ Douglas reviewed the book for the *English Review*, and he refers to it positively twice later, in *Alone* and *How About Europe?*¹¹² Following the publication of *Alone* Ives must have thanked Douglas for the praise. There is a letter in reply from Douglas to Ives in the archives of the British Sexological Society that are now at the University of Texas at Austin,

My dear Ives,

So glad to hear from you again, and to learn that you liked *Alone*. My reference to the value of your book was not nearly forcible enough; not nearly!

I don't know much about the circulation of my books, but I do know something about what they yield me, in the way of profit, on the publisher's showing; and it is so discouraging, that if I were only a few years younger, I would abandon this enterprise of trying to write things, and look about for something that could at

least keep me alive, and at the same time so interesting, from a human point of view, that I should imagine that you, as a student of humanity, would appreciate its interest. If that is so drop me a line, and you shall have a page - not more - of bald statistics.¹¹³

For all the surface appearance here that something transgressive is happening, that Douglas is talking about sexuality, this is not spelt out. It can only be inferred through what we know of the addressee, Douglas is cautious not to say directly what the book would be about, even in a private letter. That Douglas was well aware of contemporary sexological texts is known from a letter to Douglas from Aldous Huxley where Huxley says of an example of such writing that 'A book about this subject which you pronounce a revelation must, I feel, be remarkable!'.¹¹⁴ It can also be established that Douglas knew Xavier Mayne's *The Intersexes*.¹¹⁵ He can certainly be seen responding to theories about the existence of a 'third sex'. It is necessary, though, to turn first to the context for statements on the existence of an intermediate sex, before looking at Douglas' use of these theories in his written texts.

The theory that the homosexual had the physical characteristics of one sex while being, in some way, of the other sex - and so having the desires of that other sex, that is for people with the same kind of body - went back to the inception of the medico-juridical category of the modern 'homosexual'. The shift from an act that anyone might commit, a sin open to all, towards a pathology belonging to a specific, identifiable minority, is crisply identified by Foucault in volume one of *The History of Sexuality*. He makes it clear that notions of gender inversion are an integral part of this shift, of this moment of first definition. I quote at some length what is one of the most dazzling and insightful of Foucault's observations,

As defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridical subject of them. The nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology. Nothing that went into his total composition was unaffected by his sexuality. It was everywhere present in him: at the root of all his actions because it was their insidious and indefinitely active principle; written immodestly on his face and body because it was a secret that always gave itself away. It was consubstantial with him, less as a habitual sin than as a singular nature. We must not forget that the psychological, psychiatric, medical category of homosexuality was constituted from the moment it was

characterised - Westphal's famous article of 1870 on 'contrary sexual sensations' can stand as its date of birth - less by a type of sexual relations than by a certain quality of sexual sensibility, a certain way of inverting the masculine and the feminine in oneself. Homosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it was transposed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphroditism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species.¹¹⁶

Foucault mentions Westphal, but perhaps the most significant figure in characterising same-sex passion in terms of the inversion of the sexes, was Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. A German jurist, Ulrichs was the first to contend - at a conference in 1867 - that same-sex desire was natural and should not be criminalised. He coined the word Uranian (or 'Uranier', or 'Urning'¹¹⁷) and sought to give a scientific basis to his arguments in his pamphlets. However the biological arguments he deployed won little scientific backing. Ulrichs interested the young Richard von Krafft-Ebing in the study of same-sex desire, but soon came to see him as his 'scientific opponent'.¹¹⁸ While Foucault seems to have been right to note that notions of inversion formed part of the initial definition of homosexuality as a medico-juridical category, theories around degeneration soon came to the fore.

However, if the publication of the first edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* in 1886 eclipsed Ulrichs' theories for a period, notions of inversion were to prove persistent. Indeed, as Alan Sinfield has pointed out in his work on Wilde, notions of same-sex desire as related to effeminacy remain central to 'homosexuality' and its place in society to the present day.¹¹⁹ What Max Hirschfeld, Ulrichs' successor, felt was necessary was a strong scientific theory that would show that homosexuality was a naturally occurring phenomenon. From 1900 his theory that the balance between male and female hormones influenced sexual object choice began to gain ground. For example, a woman that desired another woman had, for Hirschfeld, more male hormones than a heterosexual woman. (The inability to believe that a woman could love another woman without somehow being a man, and its corollary for male homosexuality, was remarkably persistent, even amongst homosexual apologists. The love of the same seems to have been a possibility that simply could not be faced.) Hirschfeld, unlike Ulrichs, was himself a doctor and a scientist. It was his theories, for example, that Freud felt he had to argue against when developing his own theories around homosexuality, for example in the *Three Essays on Sexuality*.¹²⁰

Himself homosexual, Hirschfeld was a skilled political campaigner, enlisting support in very public campaigns to overturn German anti-Homosexual legislation, particularly Paragraph 175 of the legal code, which outlawed male homosexual acts (though not mutual masturbation). He was also interested in birth control and eugenics.¹²¹ He can be seen as influencing a general interest in the period in intermediate types and androgyny that was not solely linked to same-sex desire: literary modernism is shot through with this. Hirschfeld sought to use the scientific theory to remove the taint of abnormality from homosexuality. As Havelock Ellis wrote of his work in *Sexual Inversion*, 'In Hirschfeld's book [*Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*] the pathological conception of inversion has entirely disappeared; homosexuality is regarded as primarily a biological phenomenon of universal extension, and secondarily as a social phenomenon of serious importance'.¹²² Hirschfeld's high-profile campaign nearly achieved success towards the end of the Weimar period. But the problem with his approach was that the scientific theory could be put to other ends by those whose attitudes differed from Hirschfeld's liberal and homophile values. Hirschfeld was a homosexual and a Jew: his organisation was swept away by the Nazi's (his headquarters and library destroyed). The Nazi's used hormone experiments to see if they could 'treat' homosexuality. Documentation of experiments in Buchenwald to inject hormones into homosexuals survives.¹²³ The British state took up the approach in the nineteen fifties, for example in the case of the scientist Alan Turing.¹²⁴

In Britain the situation was different from that in Germany: and this accounts, in part, for Douglas' cautious use of these theories, which I am moving towards discussing. Instead of the many texts produced in Germany there were but a few. That said, these were mainly by homosexual apologists for whom the reception of German texts was important. Symonds wrote an essay on Ulrichs which appeared in the first edition of *Sexual Inversion*, on which his name appeared (posthumously) as co-author: Symonds also met Ulrichs.¹²⁵ Edward Carpenter, who like Symonds knew German, lived to see inversion theory gain ground: in time, Douglas was to respond to his work. Carpenter's 1894 piece on homosexuality is entitled 'Homogenic Love'. It shows Carpenter drawing on the range of possible identifications that suggested the legitimacy of homosexuality. Most important to Carpenter personally was the identification he had formed at Cambridge with Walt Whitman.¹²⁶ This was combined with the

significance to him of Ancient Greece, something forced home during a sojourn in the Greek South of Italy.¹²⁷ This led him to 'throw in my lot with the mass-people and the manual workers'.¹²⁸ The influence of Whitman - whom he later met - was used to bolster his belief in Utopian socialism allied to a sexual side to 'Comradeship'. In 'Homogenic Love' after noting the identificatory periods and places such as ancient Greece,¹²⁹ along with important figures such as Michelangelo (discussed with reference to the Symonds' biography),¹³⁰ he moves on to the scientific material. He has more time for the theories of Ulrichs than the then dominant argument of Krafft-Ebing. However, he uses the identificatory material he has already used to call pathologizing sexological arguments into doubt, to argue for an '*inherited tendency in that direction*'. He uses the vigour of the Dorian Greeks and other examples of peoples and places where different attitudes to same-sex desire are said to pertain to counteract the claim that same-sex desire involves neurosis or morbidity.¹³¹ With the increased weight that inversion theory received in Germany Carpenter's *The Intermediate Sex* of 1904 is a very different text.¹³² He now has the weight of Hirschfeld's arguments, he can use science to help him, but this has to go with greater circumspection in his discourse because of the effects of the Wilde trials in Britain. Third sex theories, then, but they are set down in an opaque prose.

Carpenter returned to the identificatory material with this model in *Intermediate Types Among Primitive Folk* (1914). This is a text Douglas chose to review. By now Carpenter could open his text arguing that third sex theories had won the day. He claims,

That between the normal man and the normal woman there exist a great number of intermediate types - types, for instance, in which the body may be perfectly feminine, while the mind and feelings are decidedly masculine, or vice versa - is a thing that only a few years ago was very little understood. But today - thanks to the labours of a number of scientific men - the existence of these types is generally recognised and admitted; it is known that the variations in question, whether affecting the body or the mind are practically always congenital; and that similar variations have existed in considerable abundance in all ages among all races of the world.¹³³

Carpenter goes on to draw on anthropological evidence from non-Western cultures. Krafft-Ebing had argued, in the first chapter of the seventh edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, that sexuality was less capable of refined expression away from the West, though also less prone to 'perversions' than in 'civilised' societies.¹³⁴ Carpenter sought to argue the naturalness of same-sex desire through

finding evidence of it amongst those he believed to be closer to nature. Douglas, too, was to see third sex material in terms of different peoples and places. However, having set out the context for these theories, it can be shown that Douglas' response to these ideas is not free and open, but cautious, tending towards obscurity and even self-contradiction.

Douglas' use of third sex theories is complex and partial: he does not take them on in a way unmediated by his own response to same-sex desire. While he appears to be taking on these theories, close examination reveals that his emphasis is on a strong, socially distinct group. He is interested in a separate group between the two sexes, and not, it seems, in an explanation for same-sex object choice. Neither is it entirely clear whether he identifies with this group himself, whether he feels that he belongs there.

Usually, Douglas emphasises the masculine in this third sex - somewhat straining the logic of the idea of a group *between* the two physically distinct sexes. However he did see dangers in the excessively masculine, as he argued in his 1911 travel book *Fountains in the Sand*. The exclusive presence of the male element in the Tunisian boys, he argues, produces an ingrowing effect.

The climate, and then their religion, has made them hard and incurious; it is a land of uncompromising masculinity. The softer element - thanks to the Koran - has become non-existent, and you will look in vain for the creative-feminine, for those intermediate types of ambiguous, submerged sexuality, the constructive poets and dreamers, the men of imagination and women of will, that give to good society in the north its sweetness and *chatoyance*; for those 'sports' and eccentrics who, among our lower classes, are centrifugal - perpetually tending to diverge in this or that direction. The native is pre-eminently centripetal. His life is reduced to its simplest physiological expression; that capacity of reflection, of forming suggestive and fruitful concepts, which lies at the bottom of every kind of progress or culture, has been sucked out of him by the sun and by Mahomet's teachings.¹³⁵

Here the north of Europe is opposed to, and placed above, North Africa. This is done through a comparison between Tunisians and the English working class. Tunisia is seen as confining - again Douglas' favourite images around contraction and expansion occur. Here the constriction is regarded as being the result of excessive masculinity: Douglas' bugbear religion, this time in the form of Islam, also appears. But all this is not figured in terms of desire, and neither is it when Douglas writes about Carpenter's text. Here, though, the issue is one of a sufficiency of the 'masculine' in

Britain.

While Douglas later condemned the jingoism that accompanied the outbreak of the war,¹³⁶ his review of Carpenter's text stands in close relation to that upsurge in national feeling. It also sees Douglas responding to Carpenter's interest in periods and places where gender and sexuality are organised differently. Douglas considers the martial implications of the existence of a third sex,

But to those who can read between the lines, the present little study is much more than its scientific title suggests. It is more than a mere investigation into what has been done, during the world's history, by the 'intermediate' towards the softening of manners and the ennoblement of thought - towards civilising humanity. The book is of profound interest; it is one that every thoughtful man and woman ought to ponder, at this present juncture. Mr Carpenter's description of the customs of certain Greek races ought to help us realise the significance of those notions of masculine self-respect, courage and abnegation which led to sacrifices of undying heroism, to victories like that of Thermopylæ. Even more interesting, because less familiar, are his researches into the origins of the Japanese warrior-caste, which are shown to have close analogies with those of the Dorian Brotherhood. What was it that overthrew Russia but the solemn inspiration of that ideal which was fostered by the Samurai and their chivalrous institution? These matter and this national import should at last be taken to heart in England; they should be frankly explained, rather than covered up under the veil of sloppy mendacious nonsense.

As a matter of fact, they have already been taken to heart, sub-consciously; and the explanation - as usually happens - will follow in due course. Movements like that of the Scouts show that our country is by no means dead to the value of such purifying aspirations. Here is a nascent caste which will grow up with, and inevitably disseminate, ideas of manliness and military efficiency superior to those which animated the preceding generation; a brotherhood bound together by honourable ties of patriotic duty and mutual obligation; a penetrating protest against sentimentalism in conduct and muddle-headed effeminacy of thought. The antique pre-Christian conception of virtue, as described by Mr. Carpenter, is once more in the ascendent. It was high time.¹³⁷

Douglas moves steadily through Carpenter's accumulation of identificatory material around times and geographical locations that saw the intermediate being given a full role. His main intention is to emphasise the martial role of the third sex. The 'creative-feminine' is not present here - neither is an explanation for same-sex object choice. This passage can be taken at its face value. It could, though, have been an effort to keep 'intermediate sex' theories before the public, at a time when war fever threatened to

drown them out. However, it can be seen, moving from accounts of the third sex theories to Douglas' use of these ideas, that his written texts are unclear, show many layers of reserve and caution. In this review Carpenter's already opaque prose is diffracted through another lens, the glass of Douglas' own carefulness and reticence, even though this is an unsigned review.

Douglas' own writing about the third sex - in the piece I now want to discuss and in other, this time unsigned, work¹³⁸ - is hardly direct. References to the third sex in signed work is, if anything, even more obscure. There is a passage at the end of chapter fifteen of *Old Calabria* where Douglas brings together the importance of late Victorian sages in foregrounding issues of sexual difference, 'third' sex theories and the use of ancient Greece. An entry in the index for 'third sex, its significance'¹³⁹ directs the reader to this passage. He talks about a writer who believes the lost poems of Sappho to be the greatest treasure still missing under Italian soil,

The lost poems of Sappho - a singular choice! In corroboration whereof he quoted the extravagant praise of J.A. Symonds upon that amiable and ambiguous young person. And he might have added Algernon Swinburne, who calls her "the greatest poet who ever was at all".

Sappho and these two Victorians, I said to myself. ... Why just these two? How keen is the cry of elective affinity athwart the ages! *The soul*, says Plato, *divines that which it seeks, and traces obscurely the footsteps of its obscure desire.*

The footsteps of its obscure desire -

So one stumbles, inadvertently, upon the problems of the day concerning which our sages profess to know nothing. And yet I do profess to see a certain Writing on the Wall setting forth, in clearest language, that $1 + 1 = 3$; a legend which behoves them not to expunge but to expound. For it refuses to be expunged and we do not need a German lady to tell us how much the synthetic sex, the hornless but not brainless sex, has done for the life of the spirit while those other two were reclaiming the waste places of earth, and procreating, and fighting - as befits their horned anatomy.¹⁴⁰

Douglas begins here by finding the selection of Sappho, of all poets, 'singular'. But then he begins to discern a chain, a number of writers from a preceding generation that had been drawn to Sappho. He mentions Symonds, whose name we are not surprised to see in relation to homosexual identifications, and Swinburne, whose attitude to homosexuality was contradictory.¹⁴¹ In fact, what Douglas is doing here is building, with the tools to hand, a theory of identification, of the links between the similar. The phrase 'elective affinity' is, in its origins, scientific; in German the

word is *Wahlverwandtschaft*. Douglas may have been thinking, then, that the way certain individuals discover 'affinity' with others was analogous to the way that elements were once held to combine. While Douglas was not particularly literary, his German education may have meant that he had in mind Goethe's *novelle*, *Elective Affinities*, from 1809. The implications of the theory in Chemistry for bonds between people are discussed at length in chapter four of Part One of that text.¹⁴²

The references to Plato helps to explain the links between members of the third sex, and also adds another name into the chain that takes us from ancient Greece, via the nineteenth century to Douglas' time. The references to the obscurity, the hidden nature of the 'desire', is of interest. Is the suggestion that society imposes this obscurity? Certainly the passage itself is difficult, it does not easily yield up its meaning. The reference to Plato calls into mind that the glimpse of ideal forms in Plato, as part of the upward journey of the soul, is best achieved when in love: one remembers Socrates second speech in the *Phaedrus*.¹⁴³ While Douglas would have been unhappy about Plato's emphasis on the need to reign in (Plato's own image, of course) the flesh with a moral sense, he would have responded to Socrates' insistence that pederasty and pedagogy come together. At the very least the reference to Plato blends ancient Greece in with the sexological material. Douglas, though, fails to make clear what the link between individuals from different periods consists of *precisely*, and exactly what the prophecy, the 'writing on the wall' at his Belshazzar's Feast, says. The 'German Lady' here may be Ulrichs or, more likely, Hirschfeld. Douglas, usually a clear writer - one welcomed by Hueffer and Conrad precisely because of the maturity of his style¹⁴⁴ - here teeters on the edge of incomprehensibility. Some knowledge of the context of third sex theories helps, but Douglas clearly experienced some personal imperative that demanded caution and care when writing about sexology. That said, he also felt the need to put issues around the intermediate sex into discourse. There is also an issue of readership here. To begin with such passages as this are rare in Douglas' work before the late 'twenties. Further, they can only begin to be understood only by an audience which is already highly literate in the debate around the third sex.

This high degree of reticence even seems to produce flat contradiction and near-incoherence in Douglas' published texts. For example, one can take the image of the third sex as 'hornless' that

is used here, and contrast it with the motif of the horn in Douglas' novels *They Went* and *In the Beginning*. Both Douglas' second and third novels are in mythic form. In a dazzling passage in *Looking Back*, Douglas set out the various precedents for the stories of each; he also tells what he has invented.¹⁴⁵ If *South Wind* achieved its undoubted pull through a judicious mixture of fantasy and the realist mode, the later novels see the element of realism sacrificed; there is a sketchy, over-rapid quality to both. In *They Went* (1920) the part of the narrative that is entirely the result of Douglas' imagination is the figure of Theophilus, the Greek merchant and artist. In many ways, though there may be no precedent in the various myths Douglas used, Theophilus corresponds to the figure of the devil. (Which, of course, does not mean that Douglas does not have considerable sympathy with him.) It is he, along with the Princess, his protégé, who represent beauty: they are opposed by the forces of betterment. *They Went* is also a novel about teachers and the young who learn from them. The chief druidess, Manthis, has a favoured pupil from her girl's school, the Babchick, who travels everywhere with her: this is something the narrative voice calls an 'admirable institution'.¹⁴⁶ The Princess possesses a young boy servant called Harré, as well as having an older figure who is significant to her in Theophilus. The forces of beauty versus betterment fight it out in a coastal town with a reputation for vice: it has, we learn, 'brothels adapted to every taste', and a few have even left their Mediterranean haunts to come to sample its sexual possibilities.¹⁴⁷ But as well as a debate between two sides about progress as opposed to the ability to appreciate beauty, there are also those who look to earlier, more straightforward times. Lelian, an 'old believer' and the court armourer, wants a city where 'there would be less commerce, less vice, less effeminacy'.¹⁴⁸ The novel shows some sympathy with this position, as it does for the side of beauty - but both the old way of life, and the creative and artistic, are represented as being doomed to failure. It is not unreasonable to link Theophilus and the princess to the 'creative' attributes of the third sex identified by Douglas.

In *Old Calabria*, though, members of the third sex were 'hornless'. Those whom Douglas seems to be wishing to identify as possible members of a 'third sex' in these fictional texts have horns, indeed it is said to be their main distinguishing characteristic. The unicorns in *They Went* are depicted as being solitary and interested in beauty over other concerns. Theophilus

says to the princess, 'We are the lonely unicorns, Princess'.¹⁴⁹ Later, when he stabs Aithryn, who has opened the sluice gates that will flood the city, we learn,

'One mischief maker the less,' thought the Greek who, being a lonely unicorn like his charming disciple, could not bring himself to sympathise with the feelings of those that belonged to another and more respectable category.¹⁵⁰

We have here the delineation of marginal, minority group that is not 'respectable'; it is seen as always losing out in the end, and is associated with creativity and art. It seems that it is also connected with relations between the young and the old. A link to Douglas' view of the third sex seems possible here.

The motif of a horned minority is also to be found in the novel *In the Beginning* (1927). The narrative concerns the origins of civilisation and of notions of good and evil. The most attractive figures in the text are not the gods, the half-gods or the mortals but the last survivors of a race of satyrs, Nea-huni and Azdhubal. Satyrs are of course often linked to sexual excess and, as Francis Lissarrague has noted in his absorbing article 'The Sexual Life of Satyrs', their interests included same-sex eroticism.¹⁵¹ Nea-huni passes his knowledge on to such mortals and gods who need it, particularly to Linus, a young boy who grows into the king who colonises and develops large tracts of land. Nea-huni comes to account for the difference between the two remaining satyrs - living their peaceful and isolated lives, and yet so often treated with prejudice - and the gods and mortals,

Now wherein does our image differ from that of these two? Ah, you have guessed it. And therefore our peculiar virtue must reside in our horns or, maybe, in something of which they are the outward mark or symbol. That has been my secret conviction ever since ... ever since ...' he broke off, as though undecided whether or not to express his thoughts.¹⁵²

Nothing could better represent the flickering presence of the representation of homosexuality in Douglas' writing than this passage, a presence which never grows into a full clear light. Instead of finding clear expression it fades into ellipses. Anyway, Douglas seems unsure as to whether the 'horned' or the 'hornless' represent the third sex.

One can, though, also point to the consistency of Douglas' scientific arguments that underlie his comments on homosexuality. As has been mentioned the number of direct references to homosexuality increases. In *Late Harvest* (1946) there is a footnote where he makes

a number of points in favour of tolerance for homosexuality. Douglas takes the line that it constitutes a harmless variation which brings much that is of 'beauty' (and can therefore be associated with artistic production). It seems to echo the argument of *On the Darwinian Hypothesis of Sexual Selection* of fifty years earlier,

Here we have a constant and well-marked variety or 'sport' of our species - a variety which has existed from time immemorial among all races of men and in every walk of life - a variety which has given to mankind, *caeteris paribus*, as much of beauty and of use as had any other section of the community - a variety which, in typical specimens, is as persistive as the blue-winged teal, though not so rare. . . . What calls for treatment is not so much homosexuality as the diseased attitude adopted towards it in non-Latin countries. This attitude is the outcome of Judeo-Christian teaching, as interpreted by Puritanism.¹⁵³

Douglas places the moral climate of the south above that of the north of Europe, Christianity also appears. Douglas' scientific interests, his wider thinking, is brought to bear on homosexuality: the argument here shows how Douglas' philosophy and the direct statements on homosexuality could have been made to dovetail. The point is that Douglas held back from forcefully working through the chain of argument himself.

So Douglas' direct comments on homosexuality in his writing are rare, certainly until the late 'twenties. The bluster about the need to break away from constraint that we see in Douglas' overall philosophy, intended to tickle a certain audience with a certain sanctioned naughtiness, goes with a tentative, reticent - indeed somewhat contradictory - set of direct references which would only have been accessible to an already-knowledgeable readership actively seeking these passages. In *How About Europe?* Douglas tied in same-sex desire, or male prostitution at least, to what he perceived as the need to roll back the state from its interference in private lives.¹⁵⁴ As we shall see in the Conclusion there are also some poems in *Some Limericks* that have as their subject matter same-sex passion. But this text was privately published, and, I will argue, limited in its radical impact.

Douglas' talk, it appears, was less constrained and careful than the writing, where Douglas' caution, due to a certain internalisation of society's precepts, can be perceived.

Douglas and homosexuality II: In speech

The way Douglas' own speech and accounts of his personal style - his way of speaking, his mannerisms - relate to prevailing identities is of interest. He comes across as a contradictory figure. This contention has to take into account the fact that accounts of Douglas' are highly polarized, in part due to reactions to the Magnus controversy. His friends were at pains to emphasise his manliness. Though he was homosexual, they are saying, he was not effeminate: something not only condemned by the heterosexual centre in society but also negativized within homophile discourses as well. When Nancy Cunard and John Davenport assert Douglas' extreme masculinity they also include references to an aspect of his speech that runs the other way. Davenport asserts that Douglas was 'intensely masculine' and reports him as condemning effeminate homosexuals: 'For God's sake, dearie, preserve me from those ---'.¹⁵⁵ Is there not, though, in Douglas' extremes of emphasis and in some aspects of his vocabulary - such as 'dearie' here - an element of homosexual camp?

By the nineteen 'twenties, when Douglas centrifugal course was at its end - his biographer Mark Holloway speaks of Douglas experiencing a loss of elasticity across the range of his interests¹⁵⁶ - we have accounts of Douglas' speech at great distance from the caution we have discerned in his writing. Aldous Huxley wrote that the Douglas he knew in the early twenties was incapable of talking about anything but sex and drink.¹⁵⁷ He would also talk about homosexuality to near total strangers. Bennet Cerf described a day that involved a first meeting with Norman Douglas, who railed against the world's 'imbecile attitude' to homosexuality.¹⁵⁸ In fact, accounts of Douglas' speech present a difficulty: they tend to follow the view of Douglas adopted by the teller of the anecdote. Some like Harold Acton or Perdita Schaffner speak warmly of 'Uncle Norman',¹⁵⁹ or are dotting like Nancy Cunard in her book *Grand Man* (1954). Others, like Frieda Lawrence or Richard Aldington are less favourably disposed. When writing of Douglas and his behaviour, the homosexuality, because of the social stigma attached to it, becomes a weapon that can be used by those who did not like him. An example of the way that it could be used to shock comes in the draft of a letter Frieda wrote to *Time and Tide* in response to Aldington's *Pinorman*,

I did not want to tell this story it is an ugly one, but I think now I will.

When I was in Florence after Lawrence was dead to talk with Orioli about his publishing some of L's books

I was in Orioli's flat + Norman was there too. Casually Norman said to me: 'I have got a charming boy of 14, but I prefer them younger, wouldn't you like to take him on?' He would never have said this to me while L. was alive. I said after gathering my wits: 'I have children of my own'.

I don't know whether Miss Cunard thinks I should have felt honored by kind Douglas's offer or not. I was horrified and never saw him again.¹⁶⁰

Frieda's drawing together of her intellectual resources misfires - she leaves open a reading that says she is rejecting Douglas' offer of a young boy for sexual purposes because she has her own children for just that purpose. There is anyway something very unconvincing about Frieda trying to take the moral high ground: it is quite clear that Douglas was simply being mischievous. Frieda, then, is hardly an impartial observer of Douglas' speech, showing the difficulty of any analysis of Douglas speaking about homosexuality.

However, she does comment interestingly on Douglas' trying to hold onto his status as a gentleman. This comes in a letter to Richard Aldington, now at Austin, praising him for his book *Pinorman*, on Pino Orioli and Douglas,

I don't think Lawrence ever knew how deeply N. hated him. I knew Norman earlier than you, when he still had his full diabolical splendour, that could not have friends only slaves. But you are fair to him, you could have presented an ogre swallowing small boys. He saw himself as that finished article 'the perfect gentleman' but he did not seek the society of other perfect gentleman, but wild untamed little boys, that freshened his weary soul.¹⁶¹

Again Frieda's own view of Douglas is barely concealed, but she points out interestingly that even in terms of speech and everyday behaviour Douglas wished to be seen as a gentleman, to be a part of the centre in society, rather than to place himself outside the prevailing order.

One possible form of writing in which Douglas, it could be argued, did not exercise the caution seen in his written texts was in his letters. Douglas Goldring argued that these were as fresh and open as his private speech. Goldring felt that Douglas' letters captured his authentic speaking voice, and he compares them to the letters of Lawrence in their 'unforced spontaneity'. He wonders, though, if many would not be 'too intimate' - which might well mean too explicit - for publication.¹⁶² In fact, Douglas' letters are often somewhat repetitious, with a reliance on stock Douglasian phrases. They are usually quite short and stick to the matter in

hand (business issues, appointments, and so forth). Also - being letters - they have to be placed in the context of the relationship that gave rise to them, they are hardly general pieces intended to reach and unsettle a wide audience. As shown by the letter to Ives quoted above, Douglas' could anyway be cautious in a private letter. An important example of Douglas' letter writing will be discussed in chapter four, namely his letter allowing Lawrence to go ahead and have the book by Magnus on the Foreign Legion printed, which I will quote in full for the first time.

The most sustained, and probably the most insightful account of Douglas, comes in Lawrence's writing. It concerns the Douglas he knew in Florence at the end of 1919 and in the early nineteen twenties. The writing is, then, from the key point in Douglas' life where his responsiveness to new stimuli was starting to decline. The texts involved are the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus* written in early 1922 and, with its Douglas-figure James Argyle, *Aaron's Rod* (1922). Douglas is described in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus* as being 'decidedly shabby', presumably in terms of his clothes, but is also a 'gentleman'.¹⁶³ In the opening pages of the piece Lawrence describes a situation where people are seeking to establish superiority. Douglas is shown describing Magnus as 'a little busybody and an inferior'. (Originally Lawrence wrote 'outsider' instead of 'busybody' but that would have done for any of the three of them ...¹⁶⁴) The talk of Lawrence, Magnus and Douglas at table is described as 'noisy and unabashed' - the other guests at the pension were presumed to have no knowledge of English.¹⁶⁵ This information suggests that the socially transgressive, and probably sex, was one of the subjects under discussion. Lawrence describes the attractive qualities of Douglas on such occasions openly. The party was 'gay and noisy, Douglas telling witty anecdotes and grumbling wildly and only half whimsically about the food'.¹⁶⁶ For Douglas, Lawrence says, the food was 'an obsession'.¹⁶⁷ Lawrence's representation of Douglas, along with the attractive qualities also notices an obsessive and domineering quality. Yet Douglas complains of this in others, especially with Magnus,

'A little busy fellow,' he said. 'Oh yes, fussing about like a woman. Fussy, you know, fussy. I can't stand these fussy - - -' And Douglas went off into improprieties.¹⁶⁸

'Fussy buggers', one assumes. Again Douglas is shown implicated in the very behaviour that he condemns in others - behaviour that he sees as marking somebody as belonging to a homosexual identity with

which he does not identify. This is the fussy condemning fussiness. As well as the attractive side to Douglas to which Lawrence attests there is also much evidence of the bullying, repetitious and limited quality he had (down to the repetitive vocabulary).

The depiction of the Douglas-figure James Argyle in *Aaron's Rod* takes us further; though, of course, it is framed within the novel's interest in a perceived need for a man to find something in his life beyond relations with a woman. Again we have verbal repetitions, a fascination with drink and sex, and a horror of 'old maids'.¹⁶⁹ The balance that Lawrence strikes is also of note: Argyle is at once intelligent and with feelings, yet also cruel, living life in a rut and 'a bit doddering'.¹⁷⁰ The main thrust of Argyle's discourse is a theory of love that includes a frank acceptance of his homosexuality. He argues that 'soul is born of -'¹⁷¹ ('shit', presumably) - again linking a Douglas-figure's arguments to food and digestion. Without the cultivation of the soul what gives life meaning for Argyle is a succession of love affairs. Rather than shifting object choices producing a ridiculous comedy, as for Mackenzie, it is love that gives life its meaning,

Where's the soul in a man that hasn't got a bedfellow - eh? - answer me that! Can't be done you know. Might as well ask a virgin chicken to lay you an egg. - I don't know what cock bird committed adultery with the holy dove, before it laid the Easter egg, I'm sure. But there must have been one, you know. There must have been one. Ha! Ha! Ha! - I'd give a lot to have seen him at it.¹⁷²

This emphasis on a love for an other, which is raised to a philosophy of life by Argyle, is carried further in the 'High Up Over the Cathedral Square' chapter. The Cambridge edition of the novel has brought out the way that the English first edition cut a long section of the conversation involving Argyle: the American edition retained it.¹⁷³ Argyle says, talking with the Marchese Del Torre,

'A man is drawn - or driven. Driven, I've found it. Ah, my dear fellow, what is life but a search for a friend? A search for a friend - that sums it up.'

'Or a lover,' said the Marchese.

'Same thing. Same thing. My hair is white - but that is the sum of my whole experience. The search for a friend.' There was something at once real and sentimental in Argyle's tone.¹⁷⁴

Behind the bluster, it seems, this is Argyle's real position; though it is still one, the novel suggests, that is tinged with artifice. Argyle debates with the Lawrence-figure Rawdon Lilly whether there is anything beyond love. His position is clear; but is also

represented as being inflexible,

'And will you go on till you die, Argyle?' said Lilly. 'Always seeking a friend - and always a new one?'

'If I lose the friend I've got. Ah, my dear fellow, in that case I shall go on seeking. I hope so, I assure you. Something will be very wrong with me, if I ever sit friendless and make no search.'

'But Argyle, there is a time to leave off.'

'To leave off what, to leave off what?'

'Having friends: or a friend, rather: or seeking to have one.'

'Oh no! Not at all my friend. Not at all! Only death can make an end of that, my friend. Only death And I should say, not even death. Not even death ends a man's search for a friend. That is my belief. You may hang me for it, but I shall never alter.'

'Nay,' said Lilly. 'There is a time to love, and a time to leave off loving.'

'All I can say to that is that my time to leave off hasn't come yet,' said Argyle, with obstinate feeling.¹⁷⁵

The two have reached an impasse in the argument: Lilly moves on to talk with Del Torre after he has called Argyle an 'obstinate love-apostle'. However Argyle does add that he has certain 'ideals which I never transgress',¹⁷⁶ though these are, tantalisingly, left unspecified. The Douglas-figure in the book is shown as having a sincerely felt position beneath the surface of verbal repetitions and the bluster. The depiction of the Argyle seems subtly balanced; for all the limited, somewhat tiring quality, Lawrence does give him a position that is represented as sincere.

Certainly if Douglas was more open in speech than in his writing he was cautious about those who might turn his talk into texts. There is evidence that Lawrence's arrival in Italy led him to be careful about this. When he first arrived Douglas wrote to Reggie Turner,

I have D.H.Lawrence (*The White Peacock, The Rainbow* etc.) with me just now. Would you care to meet him? If so, let me know and I will arrange a quiet dinner somewhere, ONLY WE THREE.

I am going to try to prevent his meeting certain other people, because he is a damned observant fellow and might be so amused at certain aspects of Florentine life as to use it for 'copy' in some book: which would be annoying.¹⁷⁷

The reference to 'certain aspects of Florentine life' may well refer to the sexual behaviour of some of the homosexual Florentine expatriates. He later seems to have expressed similar anxieties to Maurice Magnus. A letter from Magnus to Douglas survives in which Magnus says 'Don't worry about Lawrence writing nasty'.¹⁷⁸ It appears that while Douglas was less reticent and cautious about

talking about his homosexuality in his speech than in his writing, he was anxious to control the boundary between the two.

In this chapter I have suggested that behind the surface bluster of the 'transgressive' Douglas there lies a deep reticence about the direct expression of homosexuality. This is seen in the writing - though, in the main, not in the speech - despite the way that Douglas' general philosophy seems motivated by the wish to create a space for sexual behaviour condemned by society. The reticence, I have argued, sprang from a period of constriction in Douglas' life experienced in his schooldays, and a consequent partial internalisation of society's precepts. This argument shows the need to consider differing engagements of the individual interested in same-sex desire with available identities and society, how a seemingly strange coexistence of a vigorous sexual life with great caution in writing came about. In the next chapter I will look at perhaps the more expected path, where there is some resistance to acknowledging same-sex desire, because of society's opprobrium. I will seek to do this through an examination of Lawrence and homosexuality.

Chapter Three

D.H. Lawrence and male same-sex desire: repression and acceptance

This chapter, on D.H. Lawrence and his relation to 'homosexuality', will explore issues around same-sex desire and repression. As Lawrence is a canonical author, and because there is a huge volume of secondary work already available, a different and less inclusive approach is justified than that taken with Mackenzie and Douglas, who are now little read. I will make highly specific interventions, often focusing on direct statements on homosexuality by Lawrence. Many of these have only become available in the last fifteen years with the Cambridge edition of his letters and works, and have not yet been fully discussed.

Thus far, as part of an effort to open out ways of discussing the experience of the same-sex desiring subject, two avenues of investigation have been followed through. The wish to move past models in which the subject is simply seen as taking on - unproblematically - one of a small number of available identities has led to a discussion, in respect of Mackenzie, of issues around roles and performativity. Further, examining the 'work' of Norman Douglas, questions concerning the relation between identification with identities and issues of sexual practice have been addressed. Here I will explore the subject, same-sex desire and repression through looking at Lawrence's life and writing. It is important to address ways in which the subject responds when the interdictions of society that condemn homosexual object choices, which have been internalised, cannot be squared with competing libidinal cathexes for members of the same sex. Having taken on the views of society at large on same-sex desire, probably with authority figures such as parents in a mediating role, the individual seeks to hold at bay their homosexual desires - to avoid disclosing them to others, or the investments may not be acknowledged to themselves. There will be no assertions here, though, that some core sexuality, some truth to someone's sex, is being hidden. Rather, it will be acknowledged that the subject may experience, in a very real and potentially painful way, a tension between their desires and what they feel their desires should be. Psychoanalytic theory will again be used to help provide a set of

tools to aid this discussion. Once more, the implications of the experience for writing will be addressed.

There is, of course, a long tradition of discussing Lawrence in terms of repressed homosexuality. Amongst those who knew him both Douglas and Mackenzie, as we have seen, were of the view that Lawrence was a repressed homosexual. I intend to return to this old ground from a different perspective, and with new material. There is a need to move away from discussions of Lawrence and male same-sex desire that simply examine male-male contact in some famous chapters of some of the novels. Debates amongst Lawrentians on the exact point at which such engagements might be said to become 'sexual' are often bizarre, tortuous, and unenlightening. The emphasis here will be on Lawrence's direct statements on homosexuality, and what this tells us about his relation to prevailing ways of putting same-sex desire into discourse.

The argument will be that Lawrence's use of the ways of speaking about homosexuality is precisely where the tension between Lawrence's interest in same-sex desire and his wish to move away from such an engagement can best be seen. For Lawrence, the discourses around same-sex desire, and the way that he used them, are important. This was the material used by others, as has been shown, to provide identifications - the role models, the periods and places where sex was regulated differently. A shape to Lawrence's changing relation to same-sex desire can be discerned. At first he writes about close relations between men in a way that suggests that he was unaware that this could be construed as 'homosexual' by those deploying sexological discourses. By 1913 though, and the letters to Henry Savage, Lawrence was aware of the category of 'the homosexual'. Lawrence uses arguments from sexology and he also draws on references to Greece, Michelangelo and Whitman. While generally negative, the response to same-sex desire is not yet as furious and angry as it was to become; but one notes already the energy that the consideration of homosexuality could draw from Lawrence. The sense that here was something that arrested his interest, drew his attention, is also seen in a cluster of texts from 1915. Here his attitude to homosexuality can be seen hardening markedly in letters written following his visit to Cambridge. This is also seen in the subsequent references to same-sex desire in *The Crown*. With the early draft chapter of what became *Women in Love*, the 'Prologue' chapter, we see a Lawrence-figure holding at bay desires for the same sex. But we also see here an effort to understand, to bring

into view, the processes of repression - and so, to a certain extent, to accept this aspect of his sexuality. This, though, is not something seen in his widely circulated texts, but in pieces that have surfaced many years after his death. This limited acceptance seems to have taken much of the tension out of his interest same-sex desire. An increasing tendency to move away from using the material used by others to discuss same-sex desire can also be perceived.

I will go on to look at Lawrence's use of two ways in which the validity of same-sex material was contested. Firstly, I will examine Lawrence's writing on David and Michelangelo, and secondly, I will look at the treatment of Whitman in his writing. By the early nineteen twenties Lawrence's interest in same-sex desire has been held to be over. But this is not true; it can be seen as a presence up to the first draft of *The Plumed Serpent* ('Quetzalcoatl'). After the reaction of 'panic' to Keynes, though, Lawrence was able to engage with homosexuals over a longer period - witness his encounters with Douglas, and, especially, Maurice Magnus. As we shall see in the next chapter, Magnus provoked one of Lawrence's longest sustained considerations of homosexuality as late as 1922.

Lawrence and repression

A long line of Lawrence criticism has believed that Lawrence was a repressed homosexual. One can trace this through the work of, for example, John Middleton Murry, H.M.Daleski and Jeffrey Meyers, though with different emphases in each case.¹ The writings of Meyers provide the opportunity to make clear how I will not use notions of repression, namely as part of an effort to pin a term on to what is seen as Lawrence's real, essential sexuality. In both the chapter on Lawrence in his 1977 book *Homosexuality and Literature* and in his 1990 biography of Lawrence (he transfers some material from one to the other, unaltered)² Meyers identifies four homosexual scenes in the novels. These he says are 'overt' in nature.³ This stress on the (to Meyers) immediately recognisable homosexual aspect of Lawrence's writing comes under strain, though, because he insists that the homosexuality is also, somehow, 'covert'. To quote Meyers discussing the protagonists of *The White Peacock* (1911), *Women in Love* (1920) and *Aaron's Rod* (1922): 'Like Cyril and Birkin, Aaron is a covert homosexual who cannot finally commit himself to male love'.⁴ Meyers slides too easily from these texts to the sexuality of their author,

arguing that Lawrence is in a state of 'inner struggle with repressed homosexual desire' that 'results in an ambiguity of presentation'.⁵ Meyers seeks to prove that Lawrence's sexuality can be readily identified and named, while suggesting that it has to be uncovered by his critical quest. In an unsatisfactory way it is 'overt' to the critic and 'covert' in the texts themselves.

Along with Meyers' crude arguments and use of evidence, there is a marked distaste for his subject matter, a phobic response to homosexuality. What really upsets Meyers, in fact, are suggestions of *heterosexual sodomy* in Lawrence. Quite what provokes this strong response is difficult to say. Meyers suspects that Lawrence turned to heterosexual anal sex as a substitute for his balked homosexuality. He calls 'the equation of the anus with the life force ... an obscene and outrageous idea'.⁶ He also turns violently on any need homosexuals may experience for positive identifications, having glimpsed this important aspect to their self-formation: he argues that 'they desperately and defensively cite the moral examples and aesthetic principles of ancient Israel and classical Greece to justify, rationalise or condone the validity of their personal obsessions'.⁷ In his negative response to homosexuality Meyers only succeeds in revealing one of *his* obsessions. The intellectual muddle in his arguments comes, then, with a mixture of anxiety, prurient interest and homophobia.

The root problem with Meyers' approach is the effort to find a clear, demonstrable 'truth' of Lawrence's sexual nature. Taking 'homosexuality' as a natural category is, as social construction theorists argued, highly dubious. The evidence does show that an argument using the concept of 'repression' can be productive, but the effort to find a category or 'identity' into which the subject 'naturally' fits cannot be sustained.

Lawrence was fascinated at various times by others of the same sex, an interest that he found it difficult to accommodate into the overall patterns of his life. Saying this clearly puts pure water between my position and that of Leavis on Lawrence. Leavis saw Lawrence as having a 'feeling for health': he believed that Lawrence wrote wholly within a heterosexual frame. He often took Lawrence's statements on sexuality at their surface level, failing to look at the complex motivations that lie behind them.⁸ I will suggest that Lawrence was driven by a number of, often conflicting, forces. My interest is in Lawrence's ability to express in his writing, for all the occasional closing down of his openness to other positions and

the angry rhetoric, the contradictions in his life. It is a prose that captures the stresses and strains of the introjection into society of a subject who wished that his sexuality would produce the riches he felt a 'normal' sexuality could offer, but whose desires at times ran the other way.

To look at Lawrence as showing the wish to hold at bay homosexual desires, to represses cathexes with certain object choices, seems to be walking close to some theoretically treacherous ground. In reinstating a depth psychology model of the human mind (which I argued for in the Mackenzie chapter), and, specifically, using theories around 'repression', is there not a danger of ignoring some of Foucault's insights around the 'repressive hypothesis'? Foucault argued, in volume one of *The History of Sexuality*, that in the nineteenth century there was a 'discursive explosion' around 'sex' which proclaimed that here - if sexuality was 'heterosexual', as other sexualities were pathologised - meaning and fulfilment in a life was to be found. His project was to question this belief by exposing the structures of thought on which it relies. In the peroration to this volume Foucault cites Lawrence as an example of someone who proclaimed the need to gain a knowledge that is said to reside in sex,

'There has been so much action in the past,' said D.H.Lawrence, 'especially sexual action, a wearying repetition over and over, without a corresponding thought, a corresponding realization. Now our business is to realize sex. Today the full conscious realization of sex is even more important than the act itself.'

Perhaps one day people will wonder at this. They will not be able to understand how a civilisation so intent on developing enormous instruments of production and destruction found the time and the infinite patience to inquire so anxiously concerning the actual state of sex; people will smile perhaps when they recall that here were men - meaning ourselves - who believed that therein resided a truth every bit as precious as the one they had already demanded from the earth, the stars, and the pure forms of their thought; people will be surprised at the eagerness with which we went about pretending to rouse from its slumber a sexuality which everything - our discourses, our customs, our institutions, our regulations, our knowledges - was busy producing in the light of day and broadcasting to noisy accompaniment. And people will ask themselves why we are so bent on ending the rule of silence regarding what was the noisiest of our preoccupations.'

However, Lawrence's own positioning in relation to 'sexuality' was more complicated than this implies. The insistence on the need to 'realize' sex may have been intensified by a wish to exclude certain

forms of desire. In fact, Foucault does not deny that there may have been specific instances of repression in this period, rather his project is to question the precepts of an episteme that finds truth in sex. As he argues,

Let there be no misunderstanding: I do not claim that sex has not been prohibited or barred or masked or misapprehended since the classical age, nor do I even assert that it has suffered these things any less from that period on than before. I do not maintain that the prohibition of sex is a ruse; but it is a ruse to make prohibition into the basic and constitutive element from which one would be able to write the history of what has been said concerning sex starting from the modern epoch.¹⁰

From the perspective of the subject, then, it is likely that society's demands as regards the significance of the right kind of sexuality would be taken within, and that the subject, consciously or unconsciously, would feel that dissident desires had to be kept at bay. My primary aim in this thesis is to enlarge the available tools for discussing the subject's experience of same-sex desire in a hostile society. Though not using precisely the same approach as Foucault, the wish to make strategic interventions is, at least, in the spirit of Foucault. If he was responding to a Marcuse-influenced¹¹ language of the nineteen sixties and the 'repressive hypothesis', perhaps what is needed today is to call into doubt the 'elective hypothesis' - the belief that there are a range of off-the-peg sexual identities available for the subject to slip into, without difficulty, without pain. To address the experience of the same-sex desiring subject in this situation I have decided to use Freud's theories. They provide a language for addressing the negotiation of many people - and specifically here Lawrence's negotiation - with 'homosexuality' in this social environment.

Freud held repression to be one of his discoveries, and to be the 'corner-stone on which the whole structure of psychoanalysis rests'.¹² He argued, in his 1915 paper 'Repression', that it is a form of defense where 'pleasure of satisfaction' is 'changed into unpleasure' because 'it would be irreconcilable with other claims and intentions'. Repression sees a 'sharp cleavage' between the unconscious and the conscious: '*the essence of repression lies simply in turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious*'.¹³ There are two further points that Freud makes that I wish to draw out. The first is that the instinct itself cannot be touched by the repression. The contents of the unconscious are not

accessible. Rather it is the 'ideational', which in the first stage of repression becomes attached to the instinct, and the 'associative' material which subsequently comes into contact with the ideational, which are subjected to repression. The second stage of repression, or 'repression proper', then,

affects mental derivatives of the repressed representative, or such trains of thought as, originating elsewhere, have come into associative connection with it. On account of this association, these ideas experience the same fate as what was primally repressed. Repression proper, therefore, is actually an after-pressure.¹⁴

This emphasis on how a metonymic chain of material linked to the instinct becomes the object of repression is significant. It can be argued that Freud is not only talking about a certain kind of object choice, or an interest in a specific individual. Rather, through the emphasis on the 'associative', what comes to be repressed may, potentially, include whole discourses that have come into 'connection' with the ideational. In the history of 'homosexual' object choices, I have argued for the importance of, for example, ancient Greece, Whitman and aspects of the Renaissance to those interested in same-sex desire in this period. The tensions in Lawrence's relation to 'homosexuality' can be seen through examining his response to ways of putting same-sex desire into discourse.

As Freud sets out this second stage of repression he makes it clear that the repressed may also provoke much attention,

Moreover, it is a mistake to emphasize only the repulsion which operates from the direction of the conscious upon what is to be repressed; quite as important is the attraction exercised by what was primarily repressed upon everything with which it can establish a connection.¹⁵

My second point about Freud and repression is that we may see an increase in talk around that which it is felt has to be repressed. Much energy and effort may be perceived at the site of the repression.

These points are also in play in the third stage of repression, 'the return of the repressed'. This is, of course, vital for the Freudian understanding of the transference neuroses. In the 'Repression' paper this is part of 'quite other processes' in which the unsatisfied instinctual aim, through symptoms in normal life, such as dreams and parapraxes, enter into the conscious mind.¹⁶ However, perhaps more suggestive is the argument followed through brilliantly in Freud's earlier analysis of Jensen's *Gradiva*, where the return of the repressed is said to occur *in and through* the

means used to bring about the repression.¹⁷ Thus the chain of ideational and then associative material coming from the instinct, and the treatment it receives, would in this account be the very battleground between repression and the return of the repressed.

With Lawrence and 'homosexuality' we see the use of the material available to those interested in same-sex desire at the time, that which often served them, as we have seen, as 'identifications'. Sexology, the Renaissance, Whitman and ancient cultures are all important to Lawrence. When Lawrence becomes aware of the category of 'homosexuality' he begins to argue forcefully against it, using arguments from prevailing sexological discourses. However, he is also drawn toward the subject, particularly during the First World War - it is something much picked over, given much attention in his writing. The interest in same-sex desire, which there is an effort to repress, can be seen returning in the attention given to the 'associative' material. Same-sex desire is finally pushed away as Lawrence leaves the associative material behind in the nineteen twenties.

Something else can be seen happening as well. Lawrence drained away much of the energy he invested in same-sex desire through a limited acceptance of same-sex desire. But this was long hidden - one may posit the existence of *textual* repression - because he wrote about it in texts that were not published. Initially, I will address Lawrence's increasing awareness of the medico-juridical category of 'homosexuality', deploying new evidence to suggest that this resulted from a 'misrecognition' by some 'nineties-influenced readers of the content of Lawrence's first novel, *The White Peacock*.

First responses to 'homosexuality': from *The White Peacock* to the letters to Savage

Those seeking to identify a 'theme of the homoerotic' in Lawrence's writing begin with the 'A Poem of Friendship' chapter in *The White Peacock*, published in 1911. The connection between this chapter and Lawrence's own life is made by arguing through his similarity to the narrator, Cyril. In his depiction of George, Lawrence is seen as showing his interest in a certain kind of young

man; muscular, strong and intellectually impressionable. Particularly, amongst those around Lawrence to whom he responded, one might point to Jessie Chambers' brothers and George Neville. Lawrence seems to have been drawn to those granted the physical strength denied to him.¹⁸

However, the wider context of *The White Peacock* raises questions of more interest. What is most notable about the novel is that it seems outside and behind some of developments of the period in terms of its writing and treatment of sexuality. In its precious prose style it is heavily influenced by Pre-Raphaelitism and aestheticism. We have seen Alan Sinfield and Ed Cohen contending that a forceful, productive masculinity was defined, to an extent, through an opposition with the figure of Oscar Wilde, who was held to embody 'effeminacy'. Through Wilde, of course, homosexuality and a certain *fin-de-siècle* attitude to art were linked. It is possible to argue that in terms of writing the stress placed on a productive masculinity in the late nineteenth century is reflected in a shift from 'effeminate' aestheticist writing towards such 'strong' conservative writing as the sea novels of Conrad. *The White Peacock* is a novel that often surprises given Lawrence's later development, but it is also, one might argue, a belated novel when placed in the general literary context. As we shall see, this may be why it appealed to some early reviewers who were trying to keep alive the residues of the 'nineties in their work. What is most remarkable about the novel is that it is not self-conscious about 'homosexuality', there is little sign of any awareness that the behaviour described could be seen as pathological.

The chapter 'A Poem of Friendship' begins with a set-piece description of the spring countryside. Lawrence's narrator, Cyril, makes the move between the landscape and the physique of George seamless,

The movement of active life held all my attention, and when I looked up, it was to see the motion of his limbs and his head, the rise and fall of his rhythmic body, and the rise and fall of the slow waving peewits.

The phrase 'rise and fall' - one with sexual overtones - is used both of George's body and of the flight of the birds. The suggestion is that there are no boundaries between the natural, beautiful male body and the environment that surrounds George; no distinction, where this individual is concerned, between nature and the human world of thought and nurture. When it then starts to rain the two young men sit 'close together' under a hedge. We learn that, 'It was

at those times we formed the almost passionate attachment which later years slowly wore away'.¹⁹ However, the summer of the friendship is still to come with the June swim. When it is over, and the two start to dry, George is described as being 'well proportioned', of 'naturally healthy physique, heavily limbed'.²⁰ Cyril stops drying himself as he looks at George's body,

He saw I had forgotten to continue my rubbing, and laughing he took hold of me and began to rub me briskly, as if I were a child, or rather, a woman he loved and did not fear. I left myself quite limply in his hands, and, to get a better grip of me, he put his arm round me and pressed me against him, and the sweetness of the touch of our naked bodies one against the other was superb. It satisfied in some measure the vague, indecipherable yearning of my soul; and it was the same with him. When he had rubbed me all warm, he let me go, and we looked at each other with eyes of still laughter, and our love was perfect for a moment, more perfect than any love I have known since, for either man or woman.²¹

George takes on an active role as Cyril lapses into passivity. There are also gender implications here - the very fact that George feels that Cyril is like a woman 'he loved and did not fear' alerts us to the fact that, for Lawrence, an interest in relations between men was often closely linked to problems in encounters across the sexes. The final statement seems, as Jeffrey Meyers has noted, to echo David's lament for Jonathan in the Second Book of Samuel: 'thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women'.²² This passage is remarkable for the erotic pull which a modern reader finds close to the surface. But for Lawrence's narrator it is unnameable, 'vague' and 'indecipherable'; he cannot find its name.

However, Lawrence may have been aware of some boundaries when working on the text. The editor of the Cambridge edition of the text tells us that Lawrence made a number of deletions in this part of the chapter. For example, a little further on in the final manuscript version came the following,

It is the perfect communion, subtle and sacred. When I ask him a brief question, my voice is low, and full of rare intonation, so that he answers the words with a quiet 'yes'; but the intonation he answers with his eyes, that have the softness of wet flowers.²³

The form taken by the feeling can again only be approached through descriptions of its intensity - that intensity is forced home, unsurprisingly for this text, with an image drawn from nature. To give another example of an excised phrase, it is said of the swimming George that 'his white breasts and his belly emerged like cool buds of a firm fleshed water flower'.²⁴ It may have been,

though, that the over-sentimental quality of these phrases accounts for Lawrence's excising pen. He left in, anyway, phrases like 'almost passionate attachment', which hover on the edge of the sexual. In this chapter we find an effort to write about strongly felt relations between men. It is possible that the excisions show an awareness that such feelings may transgress some social boundary, or the limit of what can be published - but, importantly, there is no sign of an awareness of the pathologising discourses around 'homosexuality'.

By 1913, and Lawrence's letters to Henry Savage, all this had changed: Lawrence was now aware of the category of 'homosexuality', and he was also experiencing an imperative to define himself against it. It is in this correspondence with Savage that Lawrence begins to deploy what were to become his main lines of argument against same-sex desire, arguments that negativise that passion in relation to encounters between the two sexes, to heterosexuality. Lawrence also sees successful male-female relations as the best ground for the production of great art. What has not been realised about Lawrence's correspondence with Savage, though, is that in responding to the poetry of Savage's friend, Richard Middleton, Lawrence was reacting to someone who wrote what Timothy d'Arch Smith defined as 'Uranian' poetry. We have already noted the existence of this minor line of poets, producing an attenuated form of nineties verse, in the chapters on Mackenzie and Douglas, and also when talking about John Addington Symonds. They were interested in same-sex desire, and usually in age-asymmetrical relationships.²⁵ Lawrence's first known self-conscious statements on homosexuality are thus not produced in a vacuum, but in response to contact with aspects of the homosexual sub-culture of the time. In fact, the origin of the contacts between Lawrence and Savage was Middleton's enthusiastic response to *The White Peacock*. Savage was with Middleton when he picked up the book in the office of Frank Harris, who was then editing *Vanity Fair*.²⁶ Middleton wrote a very positive review of the book, perhaps, one may speculate making a 'misrecognition' of Lawrence's allegiances, both literary and sexual, in that first novel. We do know that other readers of *The White Peacock* reached the conclusion that it dealt with homosexuality, including E.M.Forster in a remarkable letter.²⁷ Unfortunately the review was not included in *Vanity Fair* - we know that it was too long - and it does not seem to have appeared anywhere.²⁸ Before turning to Lawrence's response to Middleton's

work in his letters to Savage, I will first establish the necessary context around these two minor figures and same-sex desire.

Henry Savage presents himself in his autobiography *The Receding Shore* (1933) as a heterosexual libertine. His literary career never really got beyond review work (he was on the staff, for short periods, of a number of periodicals) and a few biographical and autobiographical texts. The literary interests he mentions in the book are at variance with the accounts of the lifestyle, however. Savage was an early reader of the complete text of Wilde's *De Profundis* - suggesting contacts with what remained of the Wilde circle, probably Robert Ross - and he also did some editing work on the Casement diaries.²⁹ Savage met Middleton in 1905, they shared in interest in the same kind of literature and became close friends.³⁰ The majority of Middleton's love poems and short stories deal, in a conventional way, with heterosexual love. But the poems about young boys, who are often poor and often die, are more physical. There is often a strong vein of necrophilia in Uranian writing: perhaps the only significant Uranian theme missing from this part of Middleton's output are references to Catholicism. That said, the physicality may be said to be unsexualized. Lord Alfred Douglas, in an introduction to a miscellany of Middleton's lesser writings, believed that Middleton was simply arrested in childhood. Frank Harris, in an essay on Middleton in the first volume of *Contemporary Portraits* (1915), noted that 'There was in him a modern mixture of widest comprehension with a child's acceptance of vice and suffering and all abnormalities'.³¹ Middleton also wrote short stories about boyhood: Harris said that his 'tales of boys are among the best in the language'.³²

As an example of Middleton's writing about young males, I will quote from one the most markedly 'Uranian' of his poems. Again we return to the boy Hercules loved, 'Hylas',

A Fair boy grieving in the spring
 Stayed the procession of the years,
 For the sun grew pale at his sorrowing,
 And the moonlight filled his tears.
 A rose lay dead upon his mouth,
 The violets dreamed about his eyes,
 And a wind blew out of the mad South
 And tore the timid skies. ...

Ah, dear boy with the lovely head
 And the silver body of snow,
 Laugh out again for the gods are dead,
 And the dead gods homeward go.
 Ah, dear boy with the red lips
 And the breast as soft as a girl,

Young love has brought a thousand ships
And the stars are all aw whirl.³³

What arrests here is the loving attention focused on the body of the dead Hylas. The boy is both feminized and sexualized, and there is also a blurring of the boundaries of the dead boy and the wider natural forces. As with the 'A Poem of Friendship' chapter in *The White Peacock*, the description moves easily between the beauty of the body and nature.

The most striking evidence of the way that Middleton's work was received is his inclusion in a 1924 anthology of Uranian verse, published in New York, entitled *Men and Boys*. The collection makes reference to Biblical and classical sources, before moving on to modern poets. Amongst these are John Addington Symonds, Verlaine, Edward Carcroft Lefroy and John Gambril Nicholson. Also present is Edmund John whom Norman Douglas reviewed and later knew, as we have seen. Richard Middleton is represented by four poems.³⁴

Savage, though, went to some length to deny that Middleton was homosexual in his 1922 biography of the writer,

Here, perhaps, is the place to discredit rumours current after his death as to his having been at heart in favour of, or having actually practised, homo-sexuality. I believe now that my own slight impression that he had leanings towards this form of perversity was due mainly to his habit, in the earlier days of our acquaintance, of making himself out to be other than he was, acting after the fashion of Barrie's Sentimental Tommy: "I am inclined to behave as though I was walking on the stage". From my intimate knowledge the rumours were not true of him; I should say so if they were; nor would he have hidden anything of the kind from me. In editing *Poems and Songs*, I was not without hesitation in including the poem *Hylas*, fearing that some people might see dirt in it. Soon after it first appeared in *Vanity Fair*, Aleister Crowley came bounding towards its author with mingled exultation and irony exclaiming, "I've read" or "I liked your poem" - I'm not sure which; it was his attitude which impressed me - "and I've just written one about _____" a subject too gross to mention. I let the poem stand because aesthetically considered, it passes muster. There is no more and no less in it than there is in Whitman's *Calamus*.³⁵

The reference to *Calamus* hardly underwrites Savage's case. It is clear that rumours about Middleton's sexuality were in circulation around the time of his death - in taking them on Savage only gives them yet wider circulation. He seems to be suggesting that Middleton was 'accused' of homosexuality because of a certain homosexual style, some early form of 'camp' behaviour. Savage remains a shadowy figure: but his effort to make Lawrence respond to Richard Middleton

led to Lawrence's first sustained attempt to set out his views on 'homosexuality'.

Middleton committed suicide in 1911. Henry Savage edited a number of posthumous volumes that gave Middleton something of a vogue in 1912, and he also wrote an obituary in the *English Review*.³⁶ In 1913 Savage sent Lawrence some of Middleton's work, to get his response: Lawrence may have already read some of the poetry and prose published in periodicals. In his letters to Savage - which followed Savage's enthusiastic review of the novel³⁷ - Lawrence brings to bear many of his own concerns of late 1913, particularly those shown in the poetry. Lawrence's life at this time was centred on the, at times scarring, relationship with Frieda. He was asking what such an encounter meant for his art and, indeed, what it said about male-female relations in general.

Whatever Savage said to Lawrence, it provoked an energised response from Lawrence that shows he was now aware of the pathologising sexological discourses around the category of 'homosexuality'. In these letters the way that homosexuality moves into the centre of Lawrence's vision is striking. I quote from the letter of 2nd December 1913,

It interests me about Middleton's work. I think he always felt some obstruction. I think one has as it were to fuse ones physical and mental self right down, to produce good art. And there was some of him that wouldn't fuse - like some dross that hindered him, that he couldn't grip and reduce with passion. And so again he hated himself. Perhaps if he could have found a woman to love, and who loved him, that would have done it, and he would have been pure. He was always impure. I can't explain the word impure, because I don't know what it means.

It seems to me a purely lyric poet gives himself, right down to his sex, to his mood, utterly and abandonedly, whirls himself round like Stephens philosophy till he spontaneously combusts into verse. He has nothing that goes on, no passion, only a few intense moods, separate like odd stars, and when each has burned away, he must die. It is no accident that Shelley got drowned - he was always trying to drown himself - it was his last mood.

Then there is the half lyric poet, like Middleton. His lyrics are far, far before his prose, of course. But he had exhausted most of his moods: his one-man show was over: it needed to become a two person show. That heavier, more enduring part which wasn't a lyric poet but a man with dramatic capabilities, needed fertilising by some love. And it never was fertilised. So he destroyed it, because perhaps it had already begun to corrupt. I believe, he would have loved a man, more than a woman: even physically: like the ancients did. I believe it is because most women don't leave scope to the man's

imagination - but I don't know. I should like to know why nearly every man that approaches greatness tends to homosexuality, whether he admits it or not: so that he loves the *body* of a man better than the body of a woman - as I believe the Greeks did, sculptors and all, by far. I believe a man projects his own image on another man, like on a mirror. But from a woman he wants himself re-born, re-constructed. So he can always get satisfaction from a man, but it is the hardest thing to get ones soul and body satisfied from a woman, so that one is free from oneself. And one is kept by all tradition and instinct from loving men, or a man - for it means just extinction of all the purposive influences.

...

Again I don't know what I'm talking about.³⁸

Lawrence's disclaimers of special knowledge do not wholly distract us from the fact that his intelligence is energised and engaged by these issues. As we have seen, Freud suggested that the site of repression will show signs of a marked attention on the part of the subject. The significance of the failure to 'fuse' the 'physical and mental self right down' results in an artistic failure for Middleton. To move beyond 'half lyric' poetry he needs another person, this other not being available he begins, 'perhaps ... to corrupt'. As shall be seen Lawrence was to develop these ideas of homosexuality and corruption further. In fact, they had often been linked in late nineteenth century Lombroso-influenced sexological discourses on homosexuality, for example in the work of Krafft-Ebing.³⁹ The failure to engage with what is 'other' can be linked to other causologies for homosexuality that saw it as the result of a collapse in on the self, either from narcissism or from the practise of masturbation.⁴⁰ Again this argument was to be deployed by Lawrence in later writing. The reference, in this letter, to men projecting their image onto other men 'like a mirror' shows Lawrence using an argument close to the causology for homosexuality involving narcissism that Freud had begun to develop himself in his Leonardo essay only a few years earlier, in 1910.⁴¹

There is a shift in this letter, though, when Lawrence moves on to address homosexuality - the way a man may engage with another man, rather than what Lawrence sees as the engagement with the real 'other', namely women. The issue of same-sex desire and art, rather than an account of Middleton's development, moves to centre stage. The relationship with a woman is now seen as the more problematic - there may be insufficient room for the imagination, difficulty in achieving 'satisfaction'. And the relation to art is no longer that the failure to engage with women arrests artistic

development, rather than homosexuality and greatness in the arts go together. To pose questions around homosexuality, and to make a strong link to the physical presence of the male body, Lawrence makes reference to the Greeks. As we have seen ancient Greece was a period often appealed to by those seeking to argue that homosexuality should be regarded differently. Importantly, Lawrence registers here the power of repression: a man may experience this kind of love 'whether he admits it or not'. He notes that the social conventions and 'tradition' also run against homosexuality - though he has, through his references to the Greeks, found an historical precedent that goes the other way.

In short, while the argument about the need to be reborn through engagement with the other that women represent is maintained, there is a shift of focus. Homosexuality, greatness in art, and issues of repression and social convention, as they affect the subject who experiences desires for members of the same sex, gain a surprising centrality in Lawrence's argument as the letter progresses.

Lawrence responded to Savage's prompting about Middleton by using references to 'the ancients' to help him mount his argument: in the letter that follows he extended this to an artist of more recent times, who often served as a role model for those interested in same-sex desire. Savage seems, the internal evidence suggests, to have mentioned Whitman in his reply to Lawrence. As I have argued, Whitman was often appealed to by those, like Carpenter and Symonds, who wished to affirm the validity of homosexual experience. Lawrence's line on Whitman here is one that he was to develop further during the *Studies in Classic American Literature* project. Though he sees much that is positive in Whitman at this stage, he feels that Whitman occupies himself with generalised emotions or ideals rather than the specific emotional experience of individuals,

But Whitman did not take a person: he took that generalised thing, a Woman, an Athlete, a Youth. And this is wrong, wrong, wrong. He should have taken Gretchen, or one Henry Wilton. It is no use blanking the person out to have a sort of representative. . . At any rate whatever Whitman is, I hope he's really let you loose from some bondage - he can do. I am glad you will rejoice in humanity. There is something a bit Greek, and a bit Christian in it: it has produced Greek art, and Michael Angelo - but not Rembrandt. - And it is largely wrong: too much intellect, too much generalisation in it.⁴²

Now this response to Whitman sees Lawrence linking him with the Greeks and Michelangelo. As we have already seen Lawrence associated

Greece with same-sex desire. Lawrence seems here to be suggesting a chain of linked cultural material, which was used by others as identifications that could help to justify to themselves and then perhaps to others the desires condemned in society. He is already seeking to place himself on the other side - on Rembrandt's side, as it were - but this homosexual space is accorded attention. Whitman, at this point in time, can still 'loose' one 'from some bondage'.

In writing from 1915 Lawrence was to use such 'associative' material as this - to deploy terminology from Freud's account of repression - to express his response to homosexuality. This reaction - after his encounter with a number of homosexuals, particularly Keynes - was to be strongly negative. His energies were engaged as he experienced an imperative to keep homosexuality at a distance. Negativizing sexological accounts of homosexuality, along with this 'associative' material, were used to attempt to justify a negative view of same-sex desire. But the very interest shown, the wish to keep picking over the 'associative' material, suggest the presence of desires that run the other way.

Lawrence's interest in the struggling Savage - a writer yet further down the literary tree whom he could help as others, like Edward Garnett, had helped him - soon faded. They fell out on Lawrence's return from Italy over Savage's interest in Anatole France.⁴³ They did not meet again, unless one believes Savage when he says that he visited Lawrence on the day that he died.⁴⁴ Savage wrote a memoir of Lawrence in 1930 that suggests that there were more letters from Lawrence that do not survive,

We corresponded - he was nearly always out of England. His letters are not by me in this Riviera retreat, but these also I remember as highly individual communications, his letters from Italy being particularly interesting. He discussed everything as frankly as does Norman Douglas. Homosexuality among the Italians he analyzed acutely and with the curiosity of a scientist rather than with that of most of our modern intellectuals. Some reflection of this interest is to be found in his book *Twilight in Italy*.⁴⁵

Savage also referred to these letters in his autobiography as the 'unexpurgated part of the book *Twilight in Italy*'.⁴⁶ Maurice Magnus was also to alight on the depiction of 'bisexual types' in *Twilight in Italy*, as shall be seen in the next chapter. As has been seen in chapter two, same-sex desire and Italy were often linked from the second half of the nineteenth century. Savage knew Douglas,⁴⁷ so the reference here is to Douglas' speech - he was much freer when talking than in his writings. Savage's reminiscences of Lawrence in

his 1930 piece suggest that what had stayed in his mind as the focus of their engagement was the subject of same-sex passion.

This engagement with Savage - and through Savage with Middleton - shows that Lawrence was now self-aware about 'homosexuality'. Lawrence was interested in the subject, but he also questioned same-sex desire. I will now move on to look at the writing of the war years to see how he developed this response further. Rather than looking at specific chapters or scenes in the novel where homosexuality has been said to be glimpsed - the main example is the 'Gladiatorial' chapter of *Women in Love* - the argument will be that charting Lawrence's use of arguments about the cause and nature of homosexuality, and of discourses where the validity of same-sex desire was affirmed, will allow the overall shape of his response to homosexuality to be discerned. After looking at the war years, and the writing produced at this time, I will look at the treatment of two main areas of associative material - one around David and Michelangelo, the other Lawrence's changing view of Whitman.

The War Years

Lawrence's position on homosexuality - his characteristic lines of argument - gained greater definition in 1915. A cluster of texts record his responses to the homosexuals that he met. These encounters led to a hardening of his position on same-sex desire; to argue this through he used the discourses around 'homosexuality'.

The first important encounter of this year was with E.M. Forster, who came to stay with Lawrence at Greatham in early February. During this visit Lawrence told Forster what he believed to be some hard truths about his life. Lawrence wrote to Bertrand Russell about Forster, after he had departed from Greatham. The letter is dated 12th February 1915: it is amongst Lawrence's longest and most complex, making great demands on the reader. Giving a full account of this letter would take too long; anyway, as well as same-sex desire, other issues are in play. For example, Lawrence's response to the war is involved, as is his relationship with Russell, and the thinking that his own marriage with Frieda produced about heterosexual relations. The letter is characteristic of Lawrence's non-fiction writing in that it sees him deploying a particular reference - here it is the Prometheus myth - which he

works with and extends to help him to develop a particular line of argument. Lawrence continually re-forms the language and terms suggested by the reference, until he has used it to exhaustion. He then turns to his next source of language and imagery.

Forster is mentioned by Lawrence, as much as anything, to help him make a number of points to Russell. It is surprising, at first sight, that homosexuality should then move to occupy such a central place towards the end of the letter. Lawrence uses his references to Forster to suggest to Russell, in an oblique way, that more was needed than an anti-war platform and the advocacy of economic and social change through nationalisation. Lawrence accepts the need for this political and economic transformation, achieved through revolution - but he also wants something more. Another revolution is required, this time in the realm of sex. It is only really possible to imagine relating properly to the economic 'other' if the sexual 'other' is engaged with fully. For Lawrence such an engagement is that of a man with a woman.

Lawrence seeks to diagnose the social relations that pertained in the England of the time. But homosexuality suddenly moves to the centre of the stage. As with Lawrence's letter to Savage about the Greeks and Michelangelo, it is a source of puzzlement to Lawrence. It is better than solitary sexual activity, but while his reaction to homosexuality is not as vigorous as it was to become only shortly afterwards, it is still negative. Forster's finally unsuccessful 'social passion' stems from a 'neutral' sexuality. This results from his shying away from the right kind of relations with a woman toward what Lawrence perceives as substitute forms of sexuality, such as masturbation and homosexuality,

The ordinary Englishman of the educated class goes to a woman now to masterbate [sic] himself. Because he is not going for discovery or new connection or progression, but only to repeat upon himself a known reaction.

When this condition arrives, there is always Sodomy. The man goes to the man to repeat this reaction upon himself. It is a nearer form of masterbation. But still it has some *object* - there are still two bodies instead of one. A man of strong soul has too much honour for the other body - man or woman - to use it as a means of masterbation. So he remains neutral, inactive. That is Forster.

Sodomy only means that a man knows he is chained to the rock, so he will try and get the finest possible sensation out of himself.⁴⁸

One notes the Promethean language here, not only in the specific reference to being 'chained to a rock', but also in the interest in

repetition. Lawrence, as we shall see in the next chapter, was still trying to order categories of sexual experience in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus* written in 1922. But only a month after Forster's visit to Lawrence, the views on homosexuality of Lawrence were to harden markedly. This was in response to his visit to Cambridge in March; the repercussions of his encounter with John Maynard Keynes were to be felt for some time.

Lawrence had looked forward to going to Cambridge as Russell's guest. However the trip was a disaster. It was always unlikely that the miner's son would feel comfortable amongst the educationally privileged. But that this strong reaction was to be focalised through Lawrence's reaction to homosexuality is perhaps surprising. It was his meeting with Keynes that disturbed Lawrence. Of course, there is a strong link between turn of the century Cambridge and homosexuality. Many of this famous generation of Cambridge Apostles - with meetings attended by Lytton Strachey, John Maynard Keynes, and Forster - were homosexual, and they were to give Bloomsbury a homosexual tinge.⁴⁹ Lawrence's visit to Cambridge can be seen as one of the points of origin for his interest in corruption and dissolution - though, as has been seen in the letters to Savage, references to corruption had been present at a lower level of intensity for some time. From the start there was a link made between dissolution and homosexuality. In letters about the Cambridge homosexuals he developed further his argument about same-sex desire, and it now stressed 'corruption': 'These horrible little frowsty people, men lovers of men, they give me such a strong sense of corruption, almost putrescence, that I dream of beetles'.⁵⁰

The most sustained attempt to give an account of the traumatising visit came in a letter to David Garnett of mid-April 1915. Lawrence felt that he had to warn Garnett of the influence of Cambridge, particularly about those closest to him, namely Frances Birrell and Duncan Grant. Lawrence may well have heard that Garnett had slept with Grant. Unaccountably Garnett was still denying everything in annotations he provided for the letter when it first appeared in full in 1981 in the Cambridge edition of the letters. These notes should, then, not be taken at face value, but the letter itself is valuable,

It is something almost unbearable to me. And not from any moral disapprobation. I myself never considered Plato very wrong, or Oscar Wilde. I never knew what it meant till I saw K., till I saw him at Cambridge. We went into his rooms at midday, and it was very sunny. He was not there, so Russell was writing a note. Then suddenly a

door opened and K. was there, blinking from sleep, standing in his pyjamas. And as he stood there gradually a knowledge passed into me, which has been like a little madness to me ever since. And it was carried along with the most dreadful sense of repulsiveness - something like carrion - a vulture gives me the same feeling. I begin to feel mad as I think of it - insane.

Never bring B. to see me any more. There is something nasty about him, like black-beetles. He is horrible and unclean. I feel as if I should go mad, if I think of your set, D.G. and K. and B. It makes me dream of beetles. In Cambridge I had a similar dream. Somehow, I can't bear it. It is wrong beyond all bounds of wrongness. I had felt it slightly before, in the Stracheys. But it came full upon me in K., and in D.G. And yesterday I knew it again, in B.⁵¹

What is remarkable here is the heightening of the specific scene. The homosexuality referred to in Plato, indeed the actual alloerotic acts of Wilde, had not, Lawrence says, shocked him, or provoked moral disapprobation. He thus uses precedents for same-sex relations to speak of this desire - particularly Wilde and, the Plato. The significance of this incident in Cambridge is difficult to account for, as it is at first sight extremely innocuous. In Lawrence's account there is a peculiar gap between the almost fetishized detail of the realistic narrative (Russell writing the note, Keynes blinking with sleep) and Lawrence's own response with its emphasis on madness, on intimations of the breakdown of order. What happened precisely to elicit this response? Did Lawrence catch a glimpse of someone else in the room that Keynes was leaving, was there some odour, or did Lawrence simply register for the first time some kind of homosexual style? The references to birds of prey were to be used by Lawrence in fictional and non-fictional accounts of other homosexuals, particularly Maurice Magnus. (It may have been suggested by the Promethean language of the letter to Russell about Forster. We have seen Lawrence referring to the 'birds of fowl desire'; this may, in part, have involved homosexuality.) Magnus in his dressing gown nearly five years later did not lead to the unsettlement that occurred with Keynes, though: he simply describes the garment in detail.⁵² It is in the language of trauma that Lawrence described the encounter: 'It was one of the crises of my life'. This form of words suggests a moment of flux that could have been resolved in a number of ways. Lawrence felt that 'he could sit and howl in a corner like a child, I feel so bad about it all'.⁵³ He feels forced to withdraw by the stimuli, back into the infantile.

The extreme reaction here would seem to suggest that Lawrence was not reacting with detachment to issues that affected others,

that he was deeply involved himself with the issue of same-sex desire. Such an argument is given further strength by the dream about beetles that followed the Cambridge visit. Lawrence wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell,

I will not have people like this - I had rather be alone. They made me dream in the night of a beetle that bites like a scorpion. But I killed it - a very large beetle. I scotched it - and it ran off - but I came upon it again and killed it. It is this horror of little swarming selves that I can't stand: Birrells, D. Grants, and Keyneses.⁵⁴

Paul Delany's reading of this dream is to point out the links between the beetles and homosexuality. He makes reference to the belief of the Egyptians that beetles were all male, mount from behind (hardly unusual in the animal world), and that scarabs lay their eggs in balls of dung. He points to the connection between beetles and dirt, and thence to corruption.⁵⁵

As Slavoj Zizek has pointed out, though, in his comments on Freudian dream analysis, it would be a misreading of Freud to ask what the beetles 'mean' here, what the 'latent thought' might be. Rather, Zizek reminds us, 'the real subject matter of the dream (the unconscious desire) articulates itself in the dream-work, in the elaboration of its "latent content"'.⁵⁶ Looking at the structure of the narrative, the interest in this dream lies in the repeated effort to get rid of the beetle, first scotching, then killing it. This would seem to suggest that what is at issue in this dream is the holding of something - homosexuality, one assumes - at bay, to repress it, only for it to return. The final killing of the beetle, totally expelling the desire, is perhaps a resolution in fantasy of the 'problem' of same-sex desire. The main point here is that Lawrence is pulled towards, psychologically implicated in one might say, that which he is seeking to condemn. One remembers Freud's point that the site of repression often sees a signs of heightened attention.

Before turning to look at the most striking evidence of all that Lawrence was mounting an argument against a homosexuality that was, simultaneously, something that was very close to him - namely the 'Prologue' chapter, a part of the developing *Women in Love* project - I will look at the variant readings to *The Crown*. These bring together a number of the strands involved in Lawrence's treatment of homosexuality - the arguments he used to negativise, the imagery he often drew on, and the precedents for same-sex desire that he deployed. According to Cecil Gray Lawrence devoted the whole

of another of these philosophical texts to same-sex desire: the piece was called *Goats and Compasses*. Lawrence sent it to Philip Heseltine (better known under the name he appended to his compositions, Peter Warlock) who, after they fell out over Lawrence's depiction of him as Halliday in *Women in Love*, used the text as toilet paper - hence its failure to survive. But Gray - though hardly a reliable witness - had read it and he said that it was 'a bombastic, pseudo-mystical, psycho-philosophical treatise dealing largely with homosexuality - a subject, by the way, in which Lawrence displayed a suspiciously lively interest at that time'.⁵⁷

The Crown variants

The cut sections of *The Crown* were first published in 1988. As Mark Kinkead-Weekes argued in his masterly account of the project that produced *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, Lawrence had established much of the intellectual ground for these novels with two of the so-called 'philosophical' texts. *The Study of Thomas Hardy* sets out the conceptual ground for *The Rainbow*, and *The Crown* stands in a similar relation to *Women in Love*.⁵⁸ *The Crown* is interested in the way that there has to a breaking down, a process of dissolution, before something better can appear. It is concerned with excremental flow and anality, and in those who enjoy being caught up in this corruption. Homosexuality becomes a key issue because the ambivalence of dissolution for Lawrence can be seen there: the process of breaking down may bring rebirth, but it may also be part of an unstoppable decline towards the deathly. The origins of the writing of *The Crown* came only a few days before Lawrence's trip to Cambridge in March 1915.⁵⁹ The first three of the six sections of the text were published in Lawrence and Murry's short-lived magazine *The Signature* before it folded in the same year. When Lawrence prepared the text for publication in 1925 he made many revisions - cutting some extended comments on homosexuality in the later half of the text. By this time same-sex desire no longer received the same level of interest from Lawrence - he may also have realised that these sections made publication less likely. These excised passages are published for the first time as variant readings in the textual apparatus to the Cambridge text. They have as yet received no extended analysis. Here Lawrence

deploys the arguments we have already seen applied to homosexuality with greater force and compactness. To mount them he makes reference to periods, individuals and places where sex was organised differently - and, indeed, he directly addresses the relation of present to past.

The long passage excised from section four about homosexuality comes after Lawrence's account of evidence of corruption in nineteenth century American and European art. In the paragraphs immediately preceding the cut passage he draws on examples from Poe and Dostoevsky. As Colin Clarke has shown corruption was a dominant theme for the Lawrence of the *Women in Love* period.⁶⁰ In the 1925 text Lawrence replaced the excised passage on homosexuality with one on adult childishness, which he sees evinced in films. That said, he does mention 'the prevalent love of boys', calling it 'disgusting' in this replacement section - he may well have had Douglas and other Florentine homosexuals he knew in the nineteen twenties in mind when saying this.⁶¹

The passage cut from the original manuscript sees Lawrence bringing together arguments about homosexuality that we have already seen in embryo. These concern the failure of heterosexual relations, and the collapse in on the self. The encounter with Keynes, and the subsequent interest in corruption, makes the treatment of homosexuality different, more intensely negative.

The general argument is that man, as he corrupts, finds his relations with women problematic. He seeks other outlets, but his sensitivity means that there are many barriers in the process of breaking down. This necessitates the taking on of other routes towards yet greater degrees of corruption. Man finds it difficult to move 'straight to the reduction of the self in sex', rather 'Many many processes intervene'. There is a 'jangled horror' if the process of reduction is sought with a women: the modern man - and Lawrence only seems to be talking about men here - is really interested in other men,

What he loves is a man who is to a certain degree less developed than himself. Then he can proceed to reduce himself to this level. It may be he wishes to reduce himself back to the level and simplicity, the underdevelopment, of a boy. It may be he wishes to reduce himself only to the level of a lower type of man. In which case he will love boy or man, as it may be. His ideal his basic desire, will be to get back to a state he has long surpassed. And the getting back, the reduction, is a sort of progress to infinity nullity, to the beginnings. So that his progress has some sort of satisfaction.⁶²

This account shows that Lawrence is aware of the two main forms of male homosexual object choice available at the time. These involved relations of the middle or upper class male with either a working class man or a boy. Couples composed of a middle or upper class man with a male of the same educational and class background were unusual. Lawrence goes on to refer to historical and cultural precedents for such 'higher' to 'lower' relations,

He is given to the flux of reduction, his mouth is upon the mouth of corruption. This is the reason of homosexuality, and of connection with animals. This is the significance of the myths, of Leda, of Europa. This is David turning to Jonathan, Achilles to Patroclus. This is always the higher, more developed type seeking to revert to the lower.

And all this comes because of the envelope of nullity with which mankind is enclosed, the envelope of the achieved self, the womb of the past era. Within this envelope, this enclosure, nothing but reduction, disintegration can take place. For the envelope is completely impermeable, it is conceived as the outer nullity, and all that is, is within.⁶³

This 'flux of reduction' leaves the strong seeking the weak, a decline that is seen as a collapse *within*. Lawrence links homosexuality with bestiality, a connection made in such sexological texts as that by Krafft-Ebing.⁶⁴ There is a more general connection to those discourses that linked same-sex desire with degeneration, as a reversal of a forward-moving evolutionary process, and to arguments that related homosexuality to narcissism. Lawrence refers to individuals often used as role models by those who sought to assert that same-sex desire was valid; be they figures such as Achilles and Patroclus or Biblical characters. The references to culturally valorized figures seen as interested in same-sex desire bring examples of homosexuality onto the surface of the text. This has the effect of troubling the abstract argument through introducing potential sources of identification. (The importance of David to Lawrence will be discussed in a later section.) Here Lawrence uses these figures as part of an energised attempt to argue against same-sex desire. Arguments reminiscent of sexological texts which sought to pathologize homosexuality can also be discerned. But the interest in significant figures often linked to same-sex desire, along with the generally energised response to the subject, suggests the submerged presence of forces that run against the negativizing trend.

This passage cut from the 1915 text goes on to link corruption to war and to soldiers. It was, then, part of Lawrence's efforts to

agitate against the war at this time. He argues that while people may begin wars with noble conceptions of conflict, a war that goes on any length of time is 'a war of pure reduction, as in David, and Alexander, and Napoleon'. As well as a corporate corruption of the leaders and the mass, the individual soldier will be affected too: 'everyone notes that a natural activity in the life of a real soldier is drinking, prostitution, and homosexuality'.⁶⁵ Lawrence's comments on soldiers and debased behaviour can be linked to his representation of power and sadism in 'The Prussian Officer' ('Honour at Arms'). This short story was fiercely cut on first publication in the *English Review* by Norman Douglas, then an employee of the periodical, on the instructions of the editor, Austin Harrison.⁶⁶

This interest in corruption, homosexuality and the war following Lawrence's Cambridge visit can be seen in a letter Lawrence wrote on 30th April 1915 to Lady Ottoline Morrell. This came two days after Birrell, who had come to stay, had left. Lawrence linked the insects to some soldiers he had seen,

Can I ever tell you how ugly they were: 'To insects - sensual lust.' I like sensual lust - but insectwise, no - it is obscene. I like men to be beasts - but insects - one insect mounted on another - oh God! The soldiers at Worthing are like that - they remind me of lice or bugs: - 'to insects - sensual lust'.⁶⁷

Lawrence seems to be referring to homosexuality amongst soldiers here. As I will show in the next chapter, what Lawrence and others responded to in Maurice Magnus' memoirs of his experiences in the Foreign Legion, were the references, later cut, to the sexual world of the military.

After writing on soldiers in the variants to *The Crown* Lawrence goes on to talk about intellectuals. Those who try to help the oppressed are 'the purest type of disintegrators ... the very-dry essence of corruption'. There is, it seems, an emphasis on anality here. They are 'Like some extreme instrumental insects, they run brittly hither and thither, at their work of breaking down'.⁶⁸ By this stage when Lawrence turns to insect imagery there is clearly the possibility of a connection to homosexuality - though beetles were to become a general image of corruption in the finished *Women in Love*.

In the nineteen twenties, as I will show, Lawrence moved away from the interest in same-sex desire evinced in *The Crown*, and he also dropped the material that he had used in his arguments against

homosexuality, the 'associative' material. But one further text from this 1915 period remains to be examined, the 'Prologue' chapter.

***Women in Love*, the 'Prologue' chapter and repression**

Before looking at this chapter from a draft of the *Women in Love*, I will examine, briefly, the relations between men in the finished novel, suggesting that the account of their feelings is carefully controlled.

In *Women in Love* there is a triangular relationship between Ursula, Birkin and Gerald: this is of great importance to the plot.⁶⁹ One of the main issues in the novel, for Birkin, is the possibility a relationship with another man. As George Donaldson has pointed out in an article on Gerald and Birkin's relationship, while the authorial commentary shows Gerald as limited and unable to develop his relationship with Birkin, this charge masks a lack of clarity on Birkin's part about what kind of engagement he wants with the other man.⁷⁰ It seems that there is some control exercised to limit the extent to which this male-male relationship can be seen as sexual, however. Though the wrestling scene in the 'Gladiatorial' chapter is physical and tactile Birkin's thoughts soon turn back to Ursula, there is no problem of the demands of an unsatisfied sexual desire here.⁷¹ Rather homosexuality is linked to the form-obsessed modernism of Loerke. As well as being interested in adolescent girls, Loerke has a male companion, Leitner. We learn that they had 'lived and travelled together in the last degree of intimacy'. This phrase replaced one that Secker had asked to be changed (originally there was a reference to them 'sharing the same bedroom').⁷² Lawrence takes the opportunity, again linking art and sexuality, to connect a sterile aesthetic and writing with a non-reproductive sexuality.

Birkin's wish to establish some form of enduring relationship with Gerald ends with his death. But at the very end of the novel, where we would expect 'closure', things are to an extent held open. Birkin is shown lamenting a lost opportunity, to which Ursula responds negatively,

'Did you need Gerald?' she asked one evening.

'Yes,' he said.

'Aren't I enough for you?' she asked.

'No,' he said. 'You are enough for me, as far as woman is concerned. You are all women to me. But I wanted

a man friend, as eternal as you and I are eternal.'

'Why aren't I enough?' she said. 'You are enough for me. I don't want anybody else but you. Why isn't it the same with you?'

'Having you, I can live all my life without anybody else, any other sheer intimacy. But to make it complete, really happy, I wanted eternal union with a man too: another kind of love,' he said.

'I don't believe it,' she said. 'It's an obstinacy, a theory, a perversity.'

'Well -' he said.'

'You can't have two kinds of love. Why should you!'

'It seems as if I can't,' he said. 'Yet I wanted it.'

'You can't have it because it's false, impossible,' she said.

'I don't believe that,' he answered.⁷³

And the novel ends here. What we are told of the nature of the relationship is carefully controlled: 'sheer intimacy', which would seem to mean the sexual encounter, is the preserve of the male-female relationship. Ursula's response involves a suspicion of 'perversity'. The editors of the Cambridge edition believe that the word 'perversity' is used in its original sense: as a caveat they add that it is 'possible' that it carries some of its modern meaning as regards sexuality.⁷⁴ This would seem to me to be Ursula's meaning as using 'perversity' in a sexual sense was by this time well established.⁷⁵

An intriguing question here, though, is to ask whose voice corresponds to Ursula's. While it is unwise to elide Birkin and Lawrence too easily they do have aspects of common experience. But who, then, would Ursula correspond to? Frieda? Possibly, but we may also be listening to an internalised debate about these male-male relations, an internal discussion about what how to respond to desires that are to an extent now acknowledged. Whichever way, the issues as discussed here, in the final version of the novel, have been digested and mulled over, they are shorn of the immediate crisis produced by the demands of desire that is given such forceful representation in the 'Prologue' chapter.

It is now clear that this was written shortly after Lawrence arrived in Cornwall in late 1915 - it comes at the end of this series of texts in which Lawrence worked through his strong negative response to homosexuality in Cambridge in writing.⁷⁶ It seems that Lawrence was increasingly considering male-male relations consciously.

At this stage in the development of *Women in Love* the novel began at an earlier point, with an analysis of Birkin and Hermione's

relationship. The relations between men and women are seen as failing, as driven by convention: the link for Lawrence between same-sex desire and a perceived failure in heterosexuality is again seen. The demands of desire for Birkin, though, reside with male-male relations,

In the street, it was the men who roused him by their flesh and their manly, vigorous movement, quite apart from all individual character, whilst he studied the women as sisters, knowing their meaning and their intents. It was the men's physique which held the passion and the mystery to him. The women he seemed to be kin to, he looked for the soul in them. The soul of a woman and the physique of a man, these were the two things he watched for, in the street.

And this was a new torture to him. Why did not the face of a woman move him in the same manner, and with the same sense of handsome desirability, as the face of a man?⁷⁷

This account of Birkin's sexuality is reminiscent of the causology for homosexuality that Freud developed while working on Leonardo - a strong bond with mother figure leaves the adult with an idealised view of women, with it only being possible to respond sexually to men. Of course, writers such as John Middleton Murry in *Son of Woman* (1931) were to try and transfer such arguments about the effect of a strong mother onto Lawrence himself. It is the male body that captures Birkin's interest here. Birkin wants to move past these soul-orientated, mental and spiritual relations with women - and this is of course a classic Lawrentian theme - but the problem here is that the attractiveness of men, the pull that cannot be given full expression, is too strong.

If this is the case - if one cannot give way to homosexuality - the difficulty lies in creating feelings,

This was an entanglement from which there seemed no escape. How can a man create his own feelings? he cannot. It is only in his power to suppress them, to bring them in the chain of will. And what is suppression but a mere negation of life, and of living.

He had many friendships wherein this passion entered ... He loved his friend, the beauty of whose manly limbs made him tremble with pleasure. He wanted to caress him.

But reserve, which was as strong as a chain of iron in him, kept him from any demonstration.⁷⁸

After talking about trying to produce a set of feelings that are seen as right, we move on to a description of 'suppression'. The view that this might damage the individual is replaced by a statement of the strength of the resolution not to succumb to any 'demonstration' of the desire. But this is still represented as a

form of imprisonment. Homosexuality, to use the Promethean language of the letter to Russell, is no longer a state where one is tied to a rock - rather the constraint seems to come in *pulling back* from giving desires for the same sex expression. Lawrence shows a marked interest in giving time and attention to the exploration of these issues. The 'Prologue' chapter cannot be used simply as the evidence that proves a situation of repression, of the holding at bay of certain desires, though. Freud, in his account of repression, says that it consists in keeping desires away from the conscious, from the domain of the ego. In this chapter Lawrence explores, through Birkin, what it might mean for someone to *know* that they are experiencing this form of object choice; there is a level of conscious realisation, too.

At times in this chapter Birkin's desire for others of the same sex is forgotten. There are spaces that suggest, it seems, that this state of loving men may not be permanent, or that the engagements are unsatisfactory. We learn that Birkin 'left his friends completely, even those to whom he had been attached passionately, like David to Jonathan'.⁷⁹ (Lawrence used the David and Jonathan relationship to talk about male-male relations in a number of the novels. In *Kangaroo* we learn of the Lawrence-figure, Somers, that 'All his life he had cherished a beloved ideal of friendship - David and Jonathan'.⁸⁰ In *The Rainbow* this relationship, which was often alighted on as one of the Biblical precedents for same-sex passion, is used to describe the nature of Tom Brangwen's relations with another schoolboy. It is later placed in a list of the most significant relationships of his life.⁸¹) However, with the two kinds of men to whom Birkin is attracted - northern, white, strong males (who are, of course, like Gerald) and men 'with dark eyes that one can enter and plunge into, bath in, as in a liquid darkness'⁸² - there is sexual element in the descriptions, particularly in the images of penetration. Yet for Birkin the other men provide no permanent object choice, no satisfactory love. There is also evidence of a tendency towards dissolution, of men taking on animal-like characteristics. However, Birkin's cathexes with men return, after a time,

But then, inevitably, it would recur again. There would come into a restaurant a strange Cornish type of man, with dark eyes like holes in his head, or like the eyes of a rat, and with dark, fine, rather stiff hair, and full, heavy, softly-strong limbs. Then Birkin would feel the desire spring up in him, to have him, as it were to eat him, to take the very substance of him.⁸³

Here the encounter will end in subsuming and incorporating the object of desire: there is an infantile, oral quality, which is mixed in with the powerful animal imagery.

Compared with the finished novel, and other parts of the Lawrence canon, the 'Prologue' chapter stands out. The force accorded to same-sex desire is great, indeed primary. Moreover, this after an incisive study of the experience of keeping the experience of same-sex desire hidden from the outside world. We learn,

This was the one and only secret he kept to himself, this secret of his passionate and spasmodic affinity for men he saw. He kept this knowledge even from himself.⁸⁴

It is difficult to imagine how anyone who had never experienced anything analogous could have written these pages. Of course, it should be pointed out that this chapter sets out what Birkin moved away from in the pages that followed. There are certainly many risks in grafting Birkin's experience's straight onto Lawrence. However, Birkin is used in the final version to explore what we know to have been many of Lawrence's own concerns at the time. To exclude consideration of the possible connection completely would be a mistake.

The issues around holding certain desires at bay are now a matter for conscious thought. The encounter with Keynes produced a strong reaction, but one little understood. Lawrence had worked his way through, it seems, to a greater level of self-understanding. It has to be emphasised, though, that while we may wish to praise Lawrence's ability to reflect on his own experiences, this was often achieved in texts that were not published; final drafts are often more carefully, even conservatively, organised. It appears that the partial acceptance only helped these desires to remain hidden from the world at large into the longer term.

This chapter is the last of this cluster of significant texts about same-sex desire written in 1915. After the war there is a falling away of interest. Lawrence rejects the 'associative' material, finding other role models and golden periods than those used as identifications by subjects interested in same-sex desire, other resources of identification and language. However, I would suggest that same-sex desire does persist as a significant theme in Lawrence's life and writing until about 1925, and the first version of what was to become *The Plumed Serpent*. (Here though it is perhaps displaced somewhat into a theme of relations between men and issues

of power and authority.) I will argue in the next chapter that what arrested Lawrence's attention when reading Maurice Magnus' text on the French Foreign Legion were the references to the sexual world of the Legion. This text, and the contacts with Magnus, provoked a response from Lawrence in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, written in January 1922. Further, I will discuss how Magnus was represented in *The Lost Girl* (1920), and how he and other homosexuals resident in Florence, like Norman Douglas, were depicted in *Aaron's Rod*.

Later in the period before Lawrence escaped to Italy from the England he had come to loath, there is evidence that he may have carried through his interest in relations with men: there was a highly significant relationship. This was with the Cornish farmer, William Henry Hocking. Some of the evidence that Lawrence was sexually interested in Hocking comes from Lawrence's own writing - particularly in 'The Nightmare' chapter of *Kangaroo* (1923), where Hocking becomes the suggestively named John Thomas.⁸⁵ A letter from Frieda's daughter, Barbara Weekley Barr, to Edward Nehls seems to confirm the presence of a sexual element. It comes from the early nineteen fifties, and is now at Austin,

Yes there was of course a kind of irregular relationship for a time between D.H.L. and the young Hocking, which the latter may wish forgotten: his daughter spoke of it to me when I first met her in London a few years ago.⁸⁶

The nervous response of the Hocking family, when they were subsequently approached by Nehls, would seem to offer further support to the contention that there was a relationship between the two men of an intensity that made those close to them uncomfortable. Jeffrey Meyers view, though, that there were any allo-erotic acts is, given the available evidence, certainly unproven.⁸⁷ If Lawrence's other responses to significant events in his personal life are used to provide a template, then we would expect, if such a sexual encounter had occurred, an explosion of writing seeking to explore the experience: of this there is little sign in available texts. However, that there is no conclusive evidence of sexual acts does not mean that the evidence of sexual feelings can be discounted.

An important factor here - and this is something we also noted with Douglas - is that Lawrence clearly felt unable to take on available same-sex 'identities' himself. His negotiation with same-sex desire is an isolated one because of an unwillingness to identify with others interested in same-sex desire. He did not enter into what shared language, homosexual sub-culture and community

existed at this time (which is not to overestimate the coherence or extent of such groupings). And - now unlike Douglas - this inability to identify with available 'identities' went with a difficulty, it seems, in finding a way of giving these desires sexual expression. When Lawrence did try to put bonds between men into language then, he takes a singular course. One finds that he wishes to formalise the connection he felt with Middleton Murry - and this is something that finds its way into Birkin and Gerald's encounter in *Women in Love* - in the manner of Germanic blood brotherhood, *Blutbrüderschaft*.⁸⁸ This was out of the mainstream of usually available identifications for those interested in same-sex desire at the time. It supports Paul Delany's contention that Lawrence had an idiosyncratic, 'esoteric' interest in 'homosexuality'; that his was an isolated course.⁸⁹

In the early nineteen twenties Lawrence started to exclude the 'associative' material, even from arguments that negativized homosexuality, such as we saw in the variants to *The Crown*. Periods and places where sex and the social were organised differently always appealed to Lawrence. At this time he moved away from the periods that others had used in order to attempt to carve out a space in which same-sex desire could be seen as legitimate, valid and possessing a history. He found the philosophy of the pre-Socratic Greeks of interest, along with other early religions which stressed the 'passionate communion', as he called it in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*.⁹⁰ In time of course he was to find his 'golden age' with the Etruscans, which he could, due to lack of available evidence, largely script himself.⁹¹ I will show, as an example, how he moves away from his earlier interest in Whitman, which was used to talk about relations between men. He also denies his strong fascination with Michelangelo's 'David'.

David - and Michelangelo's 'David'

The Biblical figure of David was utilised by those interested in same-sex desire as a potential source of identification: this was developed, for example, by John Addington Symonds in his poetry.⁹² We have already noted a number of references to David by Lawrence. There may be an echo of David's lament for Jonathan in *The White Peacock*. He used the pair as a way of referring to very close male-male bonding in both *The Rainbow* and in the early draft of what

became *Women in Love*. David and Jonathan are also deployed by Lawrence to help him build his argument against homosexuality in *The Crown* variants. But by the time he came to write his play *David* in 1925 Lawrence's concerns are different. His interest there is, in the main, with matters of power - specifically the conflict between Saul and David.⁹³ In this section I will look at Lawrence's shifting response to Michelangelo's representation of the Biblical figure. Lawrence at first turned with fascination to the sculpture, and then he denied that interest.

The possibility of Michelangelo's 'homosexuality' had been raised since the late nineteenth century - amongst the first to do so was, it seems, Lombroso himself. John Addington Symonds discussed Lombroso's contention, with his usual mixture of interest mixed with caution and tentativeness, in his biography of Michelangelo. The sexuality of the artist receives much attention there.⁹⁴ Symonds also translated the sonnets of Michelangelo, bringing to the English-speaking world the discovery that the artist's great-nephew had changed the gender of the pronouns in a number of the poems.⁹⁵ Those interested in same-sex desire in the Renaissance continue to find the study of Michelangelo fertile ground. One thinks of James Saslow's monograph on homosexuality in Renaissance art, and his new translation of Michelangelo's sonnets.⁹⁶

Lawrence linked Michelangelo with the Greeks in one of the letters to Savage, suggesting as we have seen that he perceived, through history, a certain attitude to art being evinced by those interested in same-sex desire. In the variants to *The Crown*, Lawrence described Michelangelo, along with Leonardo, as one of 'the two great painters of divine corruption'.⁹⁷ He links them with the theme of dissolution - and this strand in Lawrence, I have suggested, is often connected to homosexuality. Lawrence refers to the 'David' sculpture in the *Study of Thomas Hardy*. It is not possible here to enter into detail on the role Michelangelo plays in helping Lawrence construct his complicated - indeed convoluted - argument about the male and female principles in life and art in this text. I will limit myself to the comment that Lawrence makes about the 'David' sculpture. He notes its 'exaggerated' quality,

the David, young, but with too much body for a young figure, the physique exaggerated, the clear outward-leaping, essential spirit of the young man smothered over, the real maleness cloaked, so that the statue is almost a falsity.⁹⁸

Lawrence was to refer to this perceived self-consciousness in the sculpture again. His ambivalent reaction was to be turned first into an enthusiastic, positive response to the 'David' - one that touches on issues around same-sex desire - and then to a rejection of the work. The positive reaction can be seen in the essay 'David', and also in *Aaron's Rod*.

The arrival of Aaron in Florence in the novel occurs in November: Lawrence himself arrived in Florence at the end of his journey from England in November 1919. Those whom Aaron meets in Florence are based on the Florentine homosexuals that Lawrence knew - Douglas and Reggie Turner amongst them. Indeed on Lawrence's own arrival in 1919 he met up with Douglas and, for the first time, with Maurice Magnus: they all stayed in the same hotel. Lawrence may well have come to associate this arrival in Italy with the expatriate homosexuals he had found himself spending time with. Aaron's walk around Florence and his encounter with its artistic artifacts are part of the novel's consideration of masculinity. Aaron feels Florence to be one of the 'living centres' of the world, and his observations come through the encounter with the nude males of the great monumental sculpture. It is necessary to quote at some length,

And then to come immediately upon the David, so much whiter, glistening skin-white in the wet, standing a little forward, and shrinking.

He may be ugly, too naturalistic, too big, and anything else you like. But the David in the Piazza della Signoria, there under the dark great Palace, in the position Michelangelo chose for him, there, standing forward stripped and exposed and eternally half-shrinking, half-wishing to expose himself, he is the genius of Florence. The adolescent, the white, self-conscious, physical adolescent: enormous, in keeping with the stark, grim, enormous palace, which is dark and bare as he is white. . . .

The great, naked men in the rain, under the dark-grey November sky, in the dark, strong, inviolable square! The wonderful hawkhead of the old palace! The physical, self-conscious adolescent, Michelangelo's David, shrinking and exposing himself, with his white, slack limbs! . . . Here men had been at their intensest, most naked pitch, here at the end of the old world and the beginning of the new. Since then, always rather puling and apologetic.

Aaron felt a new self, a new life-urge rising inside himself. Florence seemed to start a new man in him. It was a town of men.⁹⁹

The 'David' arrests Aaron's attention, it pulls his interest towards it. This occurs to the extent that it occupies a level of excess over and above that which is what is needed for the argument he is

presenting. Indeed, the nakedness of the 'David' - the physicality of Lawrence's description of the whiteness of the skin and the 'slack limbs' - goes with a sense that the statue is somehow pushing its own sexuality on Aaron, that the 'David' is 'exposing himself'. When Lawrence moves on to say that the city produces a 'new man' in Aaron, it is still tinged with this sexual element. In this place men are said to have reached their 'intensest, most *naked* pitch' (my italics). Further, the description of 'a new life-urge rising inside himself' is suggestive of tumescence. The statue captures the attention of Aaron, and it is possible to discern an erotic tinge here.

Lawrence's essay 'David' is close to the experiences given in the novel to Aaron. It could be from either 1919 or 1921: the earlier date is the more likely.¹⁰⁰ Again, he is fascinated by the work. The statue is said to be born of the unstable meeting of the north and the south that was, for Lawrence, the Renaissance. Using flower imagery Lawrence sees David as the Florentine Lily - it needs both fire and water to survive. (The plant is the symbol of the city: in fact it is a kind of iris.) The fire represents the south, the water the north of Europe. Lawrence says that these correspond to the 'dew' and 'fire' described in Pater (this comes, interestingly, in the essay on Michelangelo's poetry¹⁰¹). The Renaissance, though, was a false dawn. In Lawrence's view it did not bring forth a new way of life - despite its name it was infertile, though it nearly achieved a productive fertility. This is illustrated, in Lawrence's account, by the tradition that people gathered on New Year's Eve to see the statue experience an orgasm at the New Year. (There is in fact no evidence of such a tradition.¹⁰²) The statue, then, shows evidence of a sexuality that can never result in reproduction.

This essay sees Lawrence at his most allusive: it is something of an oddity as far as the whole Lawrence oeuvre is concerned. Short sentences leave much work for the reader, who has to fill in many gaps in the flow of meaning,

Michelangelo's David is the presiding genius of Florence. Not a shadow of a doubt about it. Once and for all, Florence. So young: sixteen they say. So big: and stark naked. Revealed. Too big, too naked, too exposed. Livid, under today's sky. The Florentine! The Tuscan pose - half self conscious all the time. Adolescent. Waiting. The tense look. No escape. The Lily. Lily or iris, what does it matter? Whitman's Calamus, too.¹⁰³

Again Lawrence lingers, fascinated, slightly horrified, over the

naked body. With these extremely choppy sentences it is as if there is something else waiting to be said that falls between the full stops. Finally, after moving through the lily and the iris Lawrence mentions the title that Whitman gave to the section of *Leaves of Grass* that addresses most directly male-male relations, 'Calamus'.¹⁰⁴ Calamus is itself, of course, a form of reedy grass. Lawrence uses the reference to Whitman as a way of referring to the homoerotic appeal of the statue but without naming that desire more directly, more baldly. It is placed under the cloak, as it were, of the chain of references to fauna. There is evidence of approaching same-sex desire through this material, but a more marked *holding back* from addressing same-sex desire directly. Here the wish to exclude same-sex desire, and the forces that continually bring this interest back to the surface can be perceived.

When Lawrence next refers to the statue in non-fictional prose, though - in the essay 'Fireworks' probably written on June 25th 1926 - he violently excludes the possibility of any interest in the statue, or, consequently, in same-sex desire. The appeal of what was once for Lawrence the very symbol of the city has gone. He dismisses the statue, but in a way that, intriguingly, also suggests a loss to his own self,

Michelangelo's David, untouched by the fountain, trails his foot with perpetual self-consciousness, and hopes the crowd will look at him. They do not; they pass under him and never think of him. Probably they do not like him, the over-life-size, smirking, self-conscious young man who looks like the beginning of all modern fatuity, with his big head. Anyhow, it is a curious thing that his name is utterly unknown to the ordinary Italians of the neighbourhood. Tell them your name is David, and they stare at you with blank, stupefied incomprehension. They have never heard the name. It might as well be tiddlywink.¹⁰⁵

Again we have the objection to the statue that it is self-conscious, but now the dismissal of this possible way of talking about same-sex desire is total. But there is a suggestion that this exclusion touches Lawrence as well. 'David' was, of course, Lawrence's own, largely unused, first name. As this form of associative material is blocked out, Lawrence's own name - the sign used to identify a subject in their individuated selfhood - is effaced, lost. This perhaps parallels the way some of Lawrence's desires have been forced away from himself and repressed.

Walt Whitman

A similar pressure on the associative material can be seen with Walt Whitman. At first Lawrence responded to Whitman very positively, particularly because of Whitman's belief in 'manly love'. By the time, though, of the version of the essay on Whitman included in *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923), Lawrence could find little that was good. But more can be proved here than a similar process to that seen with the material around the 'David' sculpture. At the beginning of Lawrence's project to write about Whitman we see striking evidence of a level of acceptance of same-sex relations between men. This, though, was writing that did not see the light of day. The *partial* coming-to-terms with these desires only succeeded, finally, in allowing Lawrence to drain the some of energy away from the site of repression, and thus, in time, to contain these desires more efficiently.

In the introductory chapter the significance of Whitman to those seeking to validate same-sex desire, particularly class-asymmetrical relationships, was noted. Early readers of Whitman included Symonds and Carpenter, both of whom were in contact with the poet. Carpenter was still writing about Whitman during Lawrence's lifetime - his last piece on the poet, a lecture to the British Society for Sex Psychology, which was later published, comes from 1924.¹⁰⁶ There was clearly a general climate in which readers of the Calamus poems were seeing how the texts squared with the sexological category of 'homosexuality'.

Emile Delavenay has argued that Carpenter had a considerable and general influence on Lawrence, but his thesis was always weakened by the lack of direct reference by Lawrence to Carpenter.¹⁰⁷ We do now know that Lawrence was aware of Carpenter's work, but this information only really tells us that he seems to have dismissed it when with Forster.¹⁰⁸ The only text by Carpenter that we know Lawrence had read is *Love's Coming-of-Age*. This was while he was still in Eastwood: it was lent him by Alice Dax. We cannot be sure that he read anything about 'intermediate sex' theories. Carpenter added a chapter on this to the second edition of the book, and it is not known which version Lawrence read.¹⁰⁹ Anyway, due to Carpenter's style and caution there was always a lack of clarity of meaning and argument in his prose. It is clear from *The White Peacock* and the letters to Savage that Lawrence became aware of the sexological discourses around same-sex desire between

1911 and 1913. Rather than using Delavenay's crude and old-fashioned notions of influence though, my preference is always for the Foucault-influenced examination of prevailing discourses. In these, as I have sought to show through this thesis, Carpenter played a part, amongst other things as someone who brought Whitman before the public.

To return to the English reception of Whitman, particularly remarkable is the 1913 text by W.C.Rivers. This monograph, *Walt Whitman's Anomaly*, has not yet received the attention it deserves in the study of the history of sexuality in Britain. Rivers demonstrates in this text more than an easy mastery of degeneration theory, and the causologies for homosexuality it was used to support. He is also cognisant of theories of gender inversion. That he was aware of the very latest developments is evinced by the knowledge shown of the conclusions reached in Freud's *Three Essays* of 1905. In terms of literary scholarship, he is aware of the writing of Symonds, Carpenter and Ellis on Whitman. Bringing all this secondary material to bear on Whitman's life and writing, Rivers comes to the view that 'it must be admitted that Whitman was homosexual. The conclusion is as sound as an anvil'. Rivers notes Whitman's strong response to the body of a man,

The beauty of men's bodies indeed attracted him strongly, just as it did another invert of genius, Michelangelo, and just as it does the commonplace one who frequents swimming baths in order to feast his eyes.¹¹⁰

The link to Michelangelo is an unsurprising connection to make here, and indeed the homosexual man observing the swimming, partially-clothed or naked male, is represented elsewhere in English writing from the early part of the century. One thinks, for example, of the novel *Nicholas Crabbe* by Baron Corvo.¹¹¹ Any effort, then, to prove a general or specific influence on Lawrence from one person's writing, for example that of Edward Carpenter, is too limited. It is clear from a body of evidence that the discourses around Whitman at the time were heavily inflected with the notion that a theme of particular centrality to his life and poetry were close relations between men and men. It is to this general climate that Lawrence was responding.

Jessie Chambers noted that Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was one of Lawrence's 'great books'.¹¹² Yet his pre-War comments in the letters to Savage already reveal a questioning note about taking on the whole of Whitman's message. We have seen Lawrence doubtful about the generality of the message, particularly in respect of a

perceived failure to ground it in specific male-female relationships. In Lawrence's lifetime two essays he wrote on Whitman were published: an effort to begin writing about Whitman in June 1918 while in Derbyshire was followed by a revised version made in Sicily in July 1920. This was published in *The Nation and The Athenaeum* of 23rd July 1921. The third version, written during 1922, was the one that formed the concluding essay to *Studies in Classic American Literature*.

The language Lawrence deploys in the second version is, unsurprisingly given the date of its writing, close to that of the psychoanalysis books. It is a mixed discourse, though: some earlier 'philosophical' terminology - for example a reference to the 'systole'/'diastole' binarism of the *Study of Thomas Hardy*¹¹³ - is present, as is the 'dissolution' theme so important to Lawrence around the time of *Women in Love*. The essay is more questioning than a letter which the Cambridge editors place in March 1920, which praises the 'Calamus' poems of Whitman,

I find in his Calamus, and Comrades one of the clues to a real solution - the new adjustment. I believe in what he calls 'manly love', the real implicit reliance of one man on another: as sacred a unison as marriage: only it must be deeper, more ultimate than emotion and personality, cool separateness and yet ultimate reliance.¹¹⁴

So we find ourselves picking up where *Women in Love* ended, with some of the same questions about the nature of the male-male relationship. It is 'deeper' than marriage, yet the phrase 'cool separateness' suggests that it is not sexual.

The essay, after an initial reverence to Whitman as the 'greatest of the Americans',¹¹⁵ sees Lawrence begin to question. He starts to talk of self-consciousness, deploying the not unfamiliar line that the mind has gained dominance over the physical. Lawrence, talking of the 'mental' centres and the way they stray, seeking to 'finger' the lower self, is using language of those sections of the psychoanalysis books where he speaks of masturbation and its supposed link with homosexuality.¹¹⁶ Whitman, it is said, 'self-consciously affects himself'.¹¹⁷ Lawrence argues that the poet in his aspiration towards 'Allness' strives for what would be the victory of the mental over the lower self. This perceived democratizing trend in Whitman is attacked by Lawrence,

We know, as a matter of fact, that all life lies between two poles. The direction is twofold. Whitman's one *direction* becomes a hideous tyranny once he has attained his goal of Allness. His One Identity is a prison of

horror, once realised. For identities are manifold and each jewel-like, different as a sapphire from an opal. And the motion of merging becomes at last a vice, a nasty degeneration, as when tissue breaks down into a mucous slime. There must be the sharp retraction from isolation, following the expansion into unification, otherwise the integral being if overstrained and will break, break down like disintegrating tissue into slime, imbecility, epilepsy, vice, like Dostoyevsky.¹¹⁸

Lawrence rejects this merging of individuality into a collective mass and dissolution. The word 'degeneration' is actually used. At least, though, *total* dissolution is regarded as a great danger. Surprisingly, the other 'pole', the creative opposition which will halt, indeed reverse, a fall into this 'slime' is not the presence of women, engaging with man, but the right kind of relations with another man,

And the polarity is between man and man. Whitman alone of all moderns has known this positively. Others have known it negatively, *pour épater les bourgeois*. But Whitman knew it positively, in its tremendous knowledge, knew the extremity, the perfectness, and the fatality.

Even Whitman becomes grave, tremulous, before the last dynamic truth of life. In 'Calamus' he does not shout. He hesitates: he is reluctant, wistful. But none the less he goes on. And he tells the mystery of manly love, the love of comrades. Continually he tells us the same truth: the new world will be built upon the love of comrades, the new great dynamic of life will be manly love. Out of this inspiration the creation of the future.¹¹⁹

This idea of 'polarity between man and man' rather strains Lawrence's usual insistence on the engagement with what is 'other': can there ever be a 'polarity' between same and same? Here he concurs with Whitman in his emphasis on the significance of 'manly love'. It is also interesting to note the use of the word 'wistful' (it also appears in the later essay) to describe Whitman's response to the importance of the same-sex bond. Later, as shall be seen, it was used by Lawrence in his highly compacted accounts of why Magnus managed to appeal to him, to touch him.

Lawrence, though, is anxious in this piece (as shown in his restatements of this point) to emphasise, as he was in *Women in Love*, that this relation does not affect marriage,

First, the great sexless normal relation between individuals, simple sexless friendships, unison of family, and clan, and nation and group. Next, the powerful sex relation between man and woman, culminating in the eternal orbit of marriage. And finally sheer friendship, the love between comrades, the manly love which alone can create a new era of life. ... The ultimate comradeship is the final progress from marriage;

it is the last seedless flower of pure beauty, beyond purpose. But if it destroys marriage it makes itself purely deathly. In its beauty, the ultimate comradeship flowers on the brink of death.¹²⁰

The 'sheer friendship' - the word 'sheer' is no longer reserved for the 'intimacy' of marriage, as it is in the completed *Women in Love* - marks the highest plane. As with the 'David' sculpture - when Lawrence regarded it positively - it is seen in terms of infertility, as 'seedless'. The threat of dissolution is at once the danger of male-male contact, the tendency towards the deathly, and also its possibility: from this point of extremity great things can be born. Nothing so forcefully communicates Lawrence's interest in and anxiety about male-male desire as this passage: here it forms a border zone of equivocation between annihilation and a source of the maximum potential.

Just as with the finished *Women in Love* there is a degree of control and caution here - certain questions enter into the reader's mind which this text is careful not to answer. Just what does 'manly love' consist of? What form of social relations is envisaged? And does it extend to sex? One notes the existence of an essay on Whitman from 1918, then, with interest. In the forthcoming second volume of the Cambridge biography of Lawrence, by Mark Kinkead-Weekes, this first essay on Whitman, which he has seen, is discussed at length. There is an acceptance in Lawrence's piece of anal sex between men. Lawrence was at this time developing his idiosyncratic notion of body centres, and the anus is seen as perhaps even more significant than the vagina. This is surprising, to say the least, given Lawrence's reaction to Keynes, his letter to Garnett and the comments in the variants to *The Crown*. But the evidence suggests that this first version of the Whitman essay never even reached the typist. This acceptance of same-sex desire came in 'hidden' writing.¹²¹ So we have a complex structure in which statements on same-sex desire are controlled, and, as we shall see, finally excluded, alongside a bringing into consciousness, indeed a willingness to accept, homosexual sex, in writing that Lawrence did not release. The overall result of this 'acceptance' - though it is perhaps better described as an act of 'displacement' into a repressed textuality - seems to have been to take the energy out of the issue for Lawrence, as he moved into the twenties.

As with the 'Prologue' chapter the private acceptance was followed by Lawrence taking a more careful position in published texts. Indeed, Lawrence's pressure on the 'associative' material was

to see him moving away from Whitman altogether in the last essay. The Whitman piece in *Studies in Classic American Literature* is longer than the second essay, but less rigorous and sustained as it bombards the reader with cheap rhetorical tricks. Comparing it to that second essay, comradeship - manly love - is not held to be an advance achieved through sheering away from death at the last moment but rather the same-sex bond leads *inevitably* towards death. Lawrence is rejecting this material, expelling it. At first Lawrence echoes the second version (which suggests, as do some quotations in common, that he had it before him as he wrote),

In *Calamus* he changes his tune. He doesn't shout and thump and exult any more. He begins to hesitate, reluctant, wistful.

The strange *calamus* has its pink-tinged root by the pond, and it send up its leaves of comradeship, comrades from one root, with the intervention of woman, the female. ...

Merging! And Death! Which is the final merge.

The great merge into the womb. Woman.

And after that, the merge of comrades: man-for-man love.

And almost immediately with this, death, the final merge of death.

There you have the progression of merging. For the great mergers, woman at last becomes inadequate. For those who love to extremes. Woman is inadequate for the last merging. So the next step is the merging of man-for-man love. And this is on the brink of death. It slides over into death.

David and Jonathan. And the death of Jonathan.

It always slides into death.

The love of comrades.¹²²

Lawrence's old argument about the turn to male-male desire as a result of the failure of heterosexual relations returns here. Whitman represents a tendency to death, one also seen with David and Jonathan. Here the short sentences, unlike those in the 'David' essay, are intended to create the impression of a straightforward and simple inevitability to the argument, all conveyed with a mocking tone. Lawrence, though, had found his engagement with Whitman anything but simple and straightforward.

Lawrence tries in the closing pages of the essay to attempt to say something positive about Whitman: 'Whitman the great poet ... Whitman the one pioneer. And only Whitman'.¹²³ But this is a kind of nostalgia, there is an elegiac tone. Whitman's poetic language and his concerns, which Lawrence had been pulled towards are now pushed away. This is felt in the present as lack. But Whitman is hardly mentioned again in Lawrence's writing.

As with Douglas, Lawrence found his negotiation with 'homosexuality' to be one that he undertook on his own. He did not identify with available same-sex identities. We have tried to see, through an examination of Lawrence in relation of the discourses around same-sex desire, how he attempted to keep these desires at bay. Even his acceptance of these desires seems almost strategic - the writing involved was anyway itself suppressed. The way that Lawrence took an idiosyncratic path in relation to same-sex desire is best captured in the memoirs of Lawrence by the painter Knud Merrild. Admittedly, Merrild pastes together a Lawrence sketched in both from his memory of the man and from the statements of Lawrence in an eclectic jumble of his texts - but much here rings true, even if it does not always sound like Lawrence's own use of English. Merrild has Lawrence mentioning Whitman, and turning, fleetingly, to Nietzsche, before finding an adequate form of words to describe the kind of relationship with another man that he wishes to see,

All my life I have wanted friendship with a man - real friendship, in my sense of what I mean by that word. What is this sense? Do I want friendliness? I should like to see anybody being 'friendly' with me. Intellectual equals? Or rather equals in being non-intellectual. I see your joke. Not something homosexual, surely? Indeed, you have misunderstood me - besides this term is so imbedded in its own period. I do not belong to a world where that word has meaning. Comradeship perhaps? No, not that - too much love about it - no, not even in the Calamus sense, not comradeship - not manly love. Then what Nietzsche describes - the friend in whom the world standeth complete, a capsule of the good - the creating friend, who hath always a complete world to bestow. Well, in a way. That means in my words, choose as your friend the man who has centre.¹²⁴

Lawrence is reported as objecting to the word 'homosexual' because it is historically specific - it does not belong in all cultures and periods, nor even describe the experience of some in the modern West. He says that he does not 'belong' to - identify with - a 'world where that word has meaning'. What is perhaps most telling here is the way this argument develops. Lawrence picks up the various possible ways of speaking about male-male relations, only to find them wanting. He ends with a rather unconvincing effort to resolve the issue by finding 'my words', the language with which Lawrence feels happy - but that is his alone.

I have been looking at Lawrence in order to suggest ways in which it is possible to examine the experience of the subject and same-sex desire in this period in terms of notions of repression. It

is not necessary to look in such situations for a hidden 'real' sexuality to the subject, the evidence suggests that an imperative was experienced by the subject, in a hostile social climate, to keep certain desires at bay, not to admit them. Lawrence can be perceived using discourses around 'homosexuality' to condemn this form of sexual object choice. In these arguments he appealed as evidence to periods and places where sex was differently regulated, or to individuals who established close bonds with others of the same sex. The very presence of the 'associative' material, however, also threatened to draw attention to the possibility of different sexualities and desires. And for all his anger about homosexuality the level of attention accorded to the subject suggests that the return of the repressed can be perceived.

After the war, same-sex desire was a less important issue for Lawrence. This came about, in part, through the continued force of the repression. This can be seen acting on the 'associative' material, expelling it. But some of the tension in this issue was drained away by a partial acceptance of same-sex desire (partial either in terms of content or because it reached no readers). The writer who has reached many down the years condemning same-sex desire can be seen to have a complex positioning in relation to same-sex desire himself.

The easing away of the energy same-sex desire drew from Lawrence in the nineteen twenties left him, in a somewhat contradictory fashion, able to engage with homosexuals over a longer period. He knew, for example, the Florentine expatriates interested in same-sex desire, like Douglas. But his contacts with one homosexual in Italy were to provoke one last extended set of comments on same-sex desire from Lawrence. This writing resulted from engaging with Maurice Magnus. It is to that encounter that I now turn, for the final chapter.

Chapter Four

The same-sex desiring subject in the social sphere: Douglas and Lawrence's responses to Maurice Magnus

I hear Compton Mackenzie is buying a yacht in England and is sailing in the autumn for the South Sea Islands with cinema and God knows what. Asked Lawrence to come who refused! Any chance for me? I'd love a trip to the South Sea Islands. Can't you recommend me as something?

Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas¹

This chapter will engage with Douglas and Lawrence's relations with Maurice Magnus. The refusal of Magnus to fit into usually accepted forms of social relation, his troubling of prevailing attitudes to money and affection, produced differing, but one might argue characteristic, responses from Douglas and Lawrence. Further, the issue of same-sex desire is of importance in the encounters between the three. The contention will be that what both Lawrence and Douglas responded to in Magnus' writing about the French Foreign Legion were the references, later cut, to same-sex desire. Supporting this entails looking closely at texts by and about Magnus, and often returning to manuscript sources. An examination will be undertaken into how those interested in same-sex desire responded to others who were themselves engaging with 'homosexuality'.

The events surrounding the life, writing and death of Maurice Magnus also provide an opportunity for looking at the same-sex desiring subject in relation to society at large. I will argue - using theoretical tools from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's book *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1995) - that Magnus' failure to accommodate himself to prevailing attitudes to money and affection exposed the structural incompatibility of the homosexual subject with a society organised around homosocial bonds between males. This work on the homosexual 'sponger' can be seen complementing Leo Bersani's recent writing, in his book *Homos* (1995), on the subject of the 'gay outlaw' in Gide,

Proust and Genet. He notes that 'Perhaps inherent in gay desire is a revolutionary inaptitude for heteroized sociality'.²

As well as issues around control and freedom in the giving of money and of affection, Magnus' life also raises issues around openness and constriction, inclusion and exclusion, in the realm of writing. Magnus kept referring to same-sex practices as he developed his manuscript on the Legion - he was advised against this from the beginning by Douglas. In the end these sections of the text were cut before publication by Martin Secker.³ It was precisely the cut parts of the text on the Legion that gained Lawrence's attention, and to which he was responding in his *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*. Magnus disturbed Lawrence, and the issue of same-sex desire was once more forced into the forefront of Lawrence's concerns. This can be seen in the *Memoir* where, I will argue, a careful attempt to build a set of terms and the imagery that can be used to negativise Magnus topples over, in the closing pages of the piece, into anger and rant. A long section on Magnus' references to same-sex desire in the Legion was cut from Lawrence's piece by Secker.

This chapter involves a re-examination of one of the most famous literary controversies of the first fifty years of the century.⁴ The most important text that the disagreement between Douglas and Lawrence produced was, surely, Lawrence's *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*. Long held by those interested in Lawrence to be one of his best pieces of writing it has always been difficult to find: after first appearing in print in 1924 it was not reprinted for over forty years.⁵ The full, uncut, version only appeared in the 1987 Cushman edition, and has not yet been discussed at length. My intention here is to show the centrality to this famous dispute of same-sex desire.

To support and develop these contentions, the material on Magnus - and Douglas and Lawrence's reactions to him and his writing - will be looked at chronologically. In terms of its form, then, this chapter will be somewhat different from those that have preceded it.

To help orientate the reader before developing the detailed account, beginning with what is known about Maurice Magnus, a general sketch of the events surrounding his life and career, and how Douglas and Lawrence came to be involved, may help. Magnus was in Douglas' company when he first met Lawrence in November 1919 in Florence. At that time Douglas and Magnus had known each other well

for a few years, though they had first become acquainted ten years earlier in 1909. Lawrence subsequently visited the monastery at Montecassino in February 1920 at Magnus' invitation - the latter was known there because he was interested in becoming a monk. After he had sent some money to Magnus, Lawrence had become the subject of appeals for money from the American, who was, to say the least, a spendthrift. The Lawrences moved, in time, to Sicily, where Magnus followed them; they came to feel that they had to say no to his requests for help. Having come to Sicily because of a crisis in his life - he was in trouble with the Italian police over, it seems, a hotel bill - Magnus eventually went to Malta. As the net closed in and the possibility of extradition loomed - and with further debts on the island - he killed himself there in November 1920.

After the suicide the dead man's creditors in Malta felt more comfortable dealing with Lawrence than with Magnus' literary executor, Norman Douglas. Lawrence eventually arranged for publication of Magnus' Legion book with Secker in Britain and Knopf in America in 1924: part of the money that resulted went to paying off the debts of the Maltese. At the head of the volume, as the 'Introduction', was what Lawrence had called his *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, which had been written in 1922. In Douglas' response, *D.H. Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners* (1925), Lawrence was accused of misrepresenting his subject through the deployment of the 'novelist's touch' and of usurping Douglas' rights as literary executor. Though Douglas seemed to have the better *prima face* case than Lawrence in the view of many at the time, a letter to the *New Statesmen* from Lawrence in February 1926 changed this. It quoted parts of a 1921 letter from Douglas to Lawrence in which Douglas made over to Lawrence any money that would come from publishing Magnus' text: he also said that he did not object to being put in any piece of writing Lawrence should undertake on Magnus. But the controversy was not over, and it rumbled on after Lawrence's death with contributions from Richard Aldington, Douglas himself, Frieda Lawrence and Nancy Cunard. I am less interested in these later texts: with the exception of Frieda's comments the initial focus on same-sex desire in the Magnus text was lost.⁶

Identifying Magnus

To begin the task of looking at the role of same-sex desire in the controversy it is necessary to set out what is known of Magnus' life before he wrote about his Foreign Legion experiences. It is also worthwhile to ask what theoretical tools may aid an examination of his 'work'. Magnus himself is, in the body of evidence we have, a somewhat empty sign: the name 'Maurice Magnus' is a designation of identity largely written in by others. The surprisingly small recent literature on the Lawrence text has not set out the available material on Magnus' life.⁷ He was born in New York on 7th November 1876, his father being one Liebstrau Magnus. The father had married, in 1867, Hedwigis Rosamunda Liebstrau Magnus (1845-1912). According to sources at the monastery of Montecassino, she was the illegitimate daughter of Kaiser Frederick William, and thus a half-sister of William II.

The mother was said by both Lawrence and Douglas to be the central figure in Magnus' life. Douglas tells us that he never really recovered from the blow of her death.⁸ Along with this love for his mother the other important fact for a study of Magnus' life is his conversion to Roman Catholicism in England in 1902.⁹ He was a figure who did not find a place in society; most obviously he was a restless traveller, and almost stateless. As Douglas notes Magnus crossed the boundaries of nationality; he describes him at one point as a German-American-Jew.¹⁰ There is evidence to suggest that while he knew America well, and influential American families, but he had from boyhood spent time in Europe from North Africa.¹¹ He disapproved of the British Empire, of the French in whose Foreign Legion he had served, and he detested the Germans. Everything suggests that the country he loved was Italy. One may speculate that this was, at least in part, due to the different attitudes to same-sex desire that were held to prevail there.

The main account of Magnus' activities before Douglas and Lawrence take up the narrative comes through accounts of the life and work of the theatrical innovator, Edward Craig. Magnus, we learn, had gained an interest in collecting 'names' - the acquaintance and then friendship of the rich and famous. One day, around about 1905, he visited a Craig exhibition, praised the work highly, and within a short time was Craig's manager, and also that of Craig's close friend and lover, Isadora Duncan.¹² It meant much to him that these 'names' were also interested in the arts. He was

talented at arranging things - Craig called him 'one of the most useful people I have never known'¹³ - and he put Craig in contact with significant figures such as Stanislavsky (with whom he negotiated on Craig's behalf). While Craig was in Russia Magnus edited his journal *The Mask* for him.¹⁴ Though inclined, Craig wrote, to be somewhat 'peppery',¹⁵ particularly with women (something Lawrence seems to have caught with the Magnus-figure Mr May in *The Lost Girl*), Magnus at some point got married. Mrs Lucy Seraphine A. Magnus remains a shadowy figure, though - all we know is that she was living in Bristol at the time of her husband's death.¹⁶ Magnus' main sexual interest was in other men, by the end of his life his usual practice was to pay for sex.

The problem with Magnus as a business partner - though this was hardly something that Craig or Isadora Duncan were free of themselves - was that he was not above putting his hand in the till, of 'borrowing' money that was not returned. Given the account of Craig himself in *Index to the Story of My Days*, this seems not to have wholly poisoned the view others took of Magnus. He went on to undertake extensive tours of Russia with Isadora Duncan. Magnus drops out of the Craig story in the early 1910s though - Douglas in *Plea* has him leaving for America in 1909¹⁷ - perhaps due to the medical condition of his mother, who died in 1912. We can pick the Magnus story up again as he was in Rome, as editor of the *Roman Review*, in the year before the war. This was an English language weekly newspaper, aimed at visitors and the expatriate community, that sought to survey Italian political, economic and cultural development. It eschewed - until the very end of its run, at least - the usual formula for publications aimed at visitors and expatriates; that is, the lists of recent arrivals in the large hotels and the tourist guide material. The publication lasted from July to November 1914: it seem to have been badly affected, and eventually killed, by the repercussions of the outbreak of the war.¹⁸ The year 1915 saw Magnus joining the French Foreign Legion; he soon deserted and returned to mainland Europe. In 1917 he met Douglas again and was, interestingly, still in Italy.¹⁹ As the Legion book makes clear, he would have been in a difficult position legally in an allied country as he was a deserter from the army of France.²⁰ When Craig ran into him again in Rome he was still up to his old tricks as regards 'names', putting Craig in touch with important figures in the expatriate and diplomatic community, along with figures in the arts such as Diaghilev. However, by 1919 - the

Magnus Lawrence met for the *first* time, of course - Craig saw him as a changed man.²¹ Many of the 'names' were themselves down on their luck - with the war the existence of a class that could offer patronage to others was, it seems, coming to an end. Magnus felt he had no future; hence the plan to retire as a monk to Montecassino.

After saying something about what is known about Magnus before 1919, some observations can be made about the issues raised by his way of life and his writing. Questions around money and affection are vital to an understanding of Magnus. It was his attitude toward a set of relations between the giving of money and affection, sexuality and writing that other, more significant and talented figures, responded. He sought to elicit deeper bonds of affection than those that usually pertained in the social relations between men at the time. He used these bonds of affection to make appeals for money. But while he would return the gift of money with care and attention, the money itself would often not be seen again: he did not remain within prevailing codes around the return of gifts. It seems clear that for all Lawrence's statements after he had written the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, he was not a malicious swindler, pure and simple.²² He was someone who took little heed of the future, and was determined, even down his funeral arrangements, to go 'first class'.²³ Magnus continually overstepped the usual social and economic boundaries between individuals in his society: this is the key insight through which an understanding of his life can be sought. Various other theoretical tools can assist somewhat. For example, following Simmel, one could suggest that Magnus, rather than mixing the everyday with periods of adventure - with periods of risk taking differentiated from but related to the everyday - compulsively spent his life in an unstable, adventure mode.²⁴

But to focus on the issue of affection and money, there is a body of texts from anthropology, by Mauss, Lévi-Strauss and Benveniste, that may help. This material has been the subject of a recent stimulating monograph by Derrida.²⁵ The work on the subject of the gift suggests the need to consider the wider context of an economy of affection involved in the return of one gift with another. Work on the links between gender and economic relations, important for an examination of Magnus, has been given a lesbian and gay studies inflection by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in her study of 'homosexuality', *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosexual*

Desire. She notes the way that the male bonding that is so important for the regulation of society in our time, and also for ordering gender relations, is rigorously policed to exclude homosexuality. There is, she argues, a 'radically discontinuous relation of male homosocial and homosexual bonds' in society and culture in the West. I would argue that Magnus proceeded on the assumption that no such discontinuity between what Sedgwick calls 'men-promoting-the-interests-of-men' and 'men-loving-men' existed.²⁶ Sedgwick's initial work - combining theoretical tools from Lévi-Strauss, René Girard and Luce Irigaray - has been followed by her own study of the 'open secret' of the closet, of ways in which the homosexual subject is allowed to collaborate with the centre through being offered a sanctioned role in the homosocially ordered, homophobic, society.²⁷

A figure like Magnus may at first sight seem to offer a form of resistance to the prevailing order, to offer a radical form of non-collaboration for other sexually dissident subjects to follow. He appeals to the affections of a friend, deploying a homosexual set of skills within a homosocial framework, opening a tear in the homosocial, not only exposing it to an influx of desire but cheating the system of exchange and social relations. But the failure of individuals like Magnus to engage with society seems almost pathological. It was tremendously self-defeating as regards their own lives, as one can see with Magnus. I start to talk about others like Magnus here, because one can discern similar figures; Meyers has noted, crudely, the possible links between Magnus and Frederick Rolfe. It is possible to discuss the similarities in a sustained way.²⁸ One could add to this list Gerald Hamilton, the basis for the character of Mr Norris in Christopher Isherwood's *Mr Norris Changes Trains*.²⁹

Another shared factor seems to be crucial here. As well as the homosexuality one also notes that these figures shared religious interests, particularly they were Roman Catholics. In fact, as we saw when looking at Mackenzie's work, there were strong links between Roman Catholicism, Anglo-Catholicism and homosexual sub-cultures. Perhaps one part of those difficult-to-account-for links is an interest in a world where human relations were not organised by a policed homosociality, but a Christ-inspired attitude to others and to worldly goods. Norman Douglas, who had no sympathy at all with Magnus on this, says that Magnus' view on life was inspired by his Christianity. Because of his religion, says Douglas, he was a generous man who would return evil with good, he 'could not bear

cruel dealing between man and man'.³⁰ The corollary of this, however, was a high degree of bafflement on Magnus' part when others were not generous with him. Magnus refused to live by prevailing attitudes to money, as he made money an issue of friendship and affection. It was this that unsettled Lawrence, who was, in fact, quite frugal and conventional in his attitude to financial matters, as well as being sensitive to issues involving male-male bonds. Frieda Lawrence spoke of Lawrence being 'deeply disturbed' by Magnus: we will see how Lawrence's text on Magnus reflects this.³¹

First, though, it can be demonstrated how Magnus' attitude to sexuality led him to become exercised about the brutal, loveless sexual world of the French Foreign Legion. In the domain of sexuality Magnus reinstated money, to preserve what he saw as decent contacts between bodies he bought sex. In his memoirs of the Legion period he included references to this sexual world that both Douglas and Lawrence encouraged him to remove so as to make the work publishable, and so provide him with the money he so much needed. Douglas' response to these passages is highly characteristic of the attributes noted in the earlier chapter, surface bluster masking inner caution. In a different way, Lawrence was also reacting in his *Memoir* to the excluded sections of Magnus' text concerning the sexual world of the Legion, the contacts with Magnus made same-sex desire a powerful issue for him again. The 1924 Secker volume has cuts from both Lawrence's text and the Magnus text: the key thread that runs through the book is thus removed, it is doubly hollowed. These inclusions and excisions suggest that a troubling of the usual balance between openness and closure existed not only in the realm of finance and affection, but in terms of textual production and publishing, too.

Norman Douglas' response to Magnus

Douglas first met Magnus on Sunday 22nd August 1909 when Magnus came up to him on Capri to ask for money. Magnus is described in the account of this meeting in *Plea* as 'childlike and forlorn ... ingratiating but not cringing'.³² As Howard Mills has pointed out, Douglas is more interested in *Plea* in a bluff self-presentation than in focusing on honestly representing Magnus in scenes such as this.³³ Douglas refuses to lend money - 'It makes enemies' - but he will give.³⁴ Douglas immediately makes it clear that he will step

out of the chain of compulsory return, of borrowing and repayment. On the next occasion that Douglas ran into Magnus, in Rome in 1917, when Douglas was financially hard pressed, he tells us that the roles were reversed, Magnus helping and pampering Douglas; this he continued to do.

There is a scene in Douglas' 1921 travel book, *Alone*, which tells of an encounter with Magnus in this wartime period. The narrative suggests that the writing of this text also dates from 1917, but the internal evidence suggests that it was written later. Though Magnus is not named in the text, Douglas later confirmed that it was a portrait of Magnus.³⁵ Depicted as 'a connoisseur of earthquakes social and financial', Magnus finds 'Italy to be a "paradise of exiles"'. This demonstrates interestingly the role played by Italy for many outsiders, especially in terms of sexuality, at this time. However, Douglas finds Magnus in a pensive mood, with

his face all puckered into wrinkles as he glanced upon the tawny flood rolling beneath that old bridge. There he stood leaning over the parapet, all by himself. He turned his countenance aside on seeing me, to escape detection, but I drew nigh none the less.

"Go away," he said. "Don't disturb me just now. I am watching the little fishes. Life is so complicated! Let us pray. I have begun a new novel and a new love affair."

"God prosper both!" I replied, and began to move off.

"Thanks. But supposing the publisher always objects to your choicest paragraphs?"

"I am not altogether surprised, if they are anything like what you once read to me out of your unexpurgated 'House of the Seven Harlots'. Why not try another firm? They might be more accommodating. Try mine."

He shook his head dubiously.

"They are all alike. It is with publishers as with wives: one always wants somebody else's. And when you have them, where's the difference? Ah, let us pray. These little fishes have none of our troubles."³⁶

Douglas' handprint overlays this account heavily. One suspects that the events, and what was said, would have been very different. But Douglas' representation of what happened is of interest. The account is carefully constructed to confirm heterosexuality. There is nothing here to intimate that Magnus and Douglas were homosexual - though the gender of the 'love affair' is not specified, the context suggests that it is heterosexual. Magnus' writing is shown, though, to be preoccupied with a wish to include sexuality, even if this made the work unpublishable. Douglas goes

on, as well, to expand on Magnus' religiosity, which has already been seen in his inane repetitions of the phrase 'Let us pray'. He links the Catholicism to sexuality, 'he confesses, moreover, - like other men of strong carnal proclivities - to certain immaterial needs and aspirations after "the beyond"'.³⁷

This vignette of Magnus in *Alone* is brought to a conclusion with the suggestion that his private writing may also reveal material about him that might explain an eventual suicide,

What good things one could relate of M.M., but for the risk of incurring his wrath! It is a thousand pities, I often tell him, that he is still alive; I am yearning to write his biography, and cannot wait for his dissolution.

"When I am dead," he always says.

"By that time, my dear M., I shall be in the same fix myself."

"Try to survive. You may find it worth your while when you come to look into my papers. You *don't know half*. And I may be taking that little sleeping-draught of mine any one of these days. ..."

For dramatic effect - it is all too neat - Douglas added a footnote to the text that was supposedly written in 1917, '*Fecit!* He poisoned himself with hydrocyanic [i.e. prussic] acid on the 4th November, 1920'.³⁸ The insights about Magnus that we gain here come in the shadow of the image Douglas is trying to project of himself. We can, though, see an interest in writing and the sexually transgressive, in religion and in the issue of suicide.

The year 1917 also saw Douglas' engagement with the early stages of the developing *Legion* text. The argument will be that the later account by Douglas of his first encounter with the Magnus text involves a characteristic response on his part to same-sex desire. As with Lawrence, what immediately struck Douglas about Magnus' writing were the references to the sexual world of the *Legion*. While on the surface he appears to be responding to their shocking, transgressive quality, the argument he made to Magnus was that he should remove these references: Douglas thus demonstrates an ear for the conventions of society. Douglas makes it clear that he only ever saw an early *manuscript* version: 'I never saw these *Memoirs* in their subsequent shape - in proof or even in typescript'. I quote at some length from *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*,

DREGS, then, was being written during the autumn of 1917 and I collaborated as best I could, and would have gone on collaborating to the end but for the fact that in October, just before the Italian defeat of Caporetto, I got into some kind of trouble myself and had to hop over

the frontier. The text was different from what it now is; it contained many allusions, expunged later on, to certain ultra-masculine peculiarities of legionary life upon which I shall not expatiate here. Me they amused, these little incidents; they struck me as a natural result of local conditions; but their bestial promiscuity and utter lack of idealism horrified the fastidious Magnus more than any of his other unpleasant experiences out there; they made him sick - sick not in the American and Biblical, but in the English sense of the word: ready to vomit. Yet he put it all down with names and dates and places. Often I told him he would never get any one to print this stuff, interesting as it was from a sociological point of view (and, as a matter of fact, he showed the manuscript later in that crude state to a well-known London publisher who, after his death, remembered having seen it and wrote to me: 'If you, as his literary executor, would allow the book to be expurgated, it might come out' and again nearly a year later (26th January, 1922) 'How are you going to make it printable? When you have taken out the unprintable stuff there won't be a great deal left except the exciting escape from France.')

Well, it has been expurgated thoroughly now - too thoroughly for my taste; a hint or two might have been left in for the guidance of the initiated. Strange on the face of it, that Magnus should have been so averse to expunging this obnoxious material; the reason was that he had suffered so much in the Legion, and detested it so intensely, that he meant to show it up in all its crudity. I had to return to the attack over and over again; the last time on the very day when I left for France.³⁹

This passage is illuminating in the shifts that are enacted. Douglas begins by making a distinction between his own unshockable, transgressive nature - hence the reference to his own 'hop over the frontier' - and the 'fastidious' Magnus. This opposition in place, the reader might fail to notice that it is Douglas who is the voice of moderation, encouraging Magnus to cut these references. In the final paragraph quoted above Douglas sets out a compromise of the kind he favoured: the text should be cut but with hints, suggestions, for the 'initiated'. He is advocating a space for these things to be said, but one that is both sanctioned and finally untroubling; there are to be signs to be deciphered for those already pre-positioned to receive them. It is interesting that, put baldly, Douglas admits to being on the 'attack' as far as encouraging Magnus to tone down his manuscript is concerned.

From surviving letters it is clear that the 'London publisher' in the above extract from *Plea* was Grant Richards: Douglas' side of the correspondence is at the University of Texas at Austin. In letters from the early nineteen twenties Douglas told him a rather

different story than the account he was to give in *Plea*, written in late 1924. Again there is a preoccupation with those parts of the Magnus text that deal with the sexual world of the Legion, the material beyond the boundary of the publishable, though. Douglas' problem as Magnus' literary executor was that he did not have Magnus' manuscripts because Borg, one of Magnus' Maltese creditors, would not let him have them. Douglas was left trying to secure those pieces by Magnus that were out to publishers or which had been sent to his friends (Douglas made enquiries to Douglas Goldring, for example).⁴⁰ At issue was not only the Legion manuscript but Magnus' Russian Memoirs; these Richards did have but they were lost in the post.⁴¹ Richards, though, was more interested in the text on Magnus' Legion experiences, and a year later (4th October 1921) Douglas was offering Richards £80 for the book with £40 to go to himself and £40 to Borg, the Maltese.⁴² Douglas proved somewhat evasive when it came to putting Richards in direct contact with Borg. He emphasised that he had materials for a good memoir - 'Of course I have a good photo of Magnus, and endless queer information and documents' - but was more reticent about associating himself with Magnus. He told Richards that if 'the name of the author became known ... I should not be able to write anything about him'.⁴³ Douglas was most probably wary about calls on the literary estate from Magnus' creditors but there is also the possibility that he was concerned about being linked, by association, to Magnus' sexual life in the minds of those readers who knew about it.

Regarding the Legion text, Douglas wrote in a letter to Grant Richards - it followed the one from Richards that is cited in *Plea* - emphasising that the early, manuscript version of 'Dregs' was publishable. In his penultimate letter to Douglas, Magnus had reported Grant Richards' words to him when he first rejected the Legion manuscript: 'Grant Richards wrote me "There are two kinds of books, those which are publishable and those which are not, and although your Ms. is most interesting it belongs to the latter class"'.⁴⁴ Douglas seems to have three aims in his letter to Richards about the contents of 'Dregs': firstly to convince Richards that he was involved with something that was publishable and proper, secondly that he is entitled to some of the proceeds because much of the work is his, and thirdly (and tentatively) perhaps to insinuate that those involved with the project at a latter stage (that is, Lawrence) were in some way responsible for the introduction of the sections on the sexual life of the legion,

Thanks for yours of the 26 January.

The manuscript of "Dregs", which I wrote together with Magnus [underlined in green crayon by Douglas] was printable in every sense of the word; that was in the autumn of 1917. It would have done very well as a child's school-prize. What he added or took away afterwards, when he produced a typescript of it, I can't say, never having seen it.

Lawrence's memoir of him is sure to be full of bias. He hardly knew the fellow - only for 2-3 months, and moreover, Magnus owed him money, which he never got back! My memoir would be the other way round. I knew him for 15 years or so [sic], and moreover, he lent me money which, needless to say, he never got back. Judge if I should not be fair to his memory.⁴⁵

Douglas, in his claim to have co-authored the finished Legion text, is quite simply lying. Again Norman Douglas emphasises how he personally was different from others who had dealings with Magnus: he was not owed money.

By 1922 Douglas' patience was wearing thin, he perhaps realised that there was little chance of his gaining any money from writing a memoir of Magnus. One wonders, indeed, whether he was not trying to scupper Lawrence's efforts to write a memoir, already preparing arguments that could be used against such a text, with the possible financial benefits in mind. Douglas had already made it clear that he, unlike Borg and Lawrence, was not in need of repayment from Magnus' estate. However, at the end of 1921 Douglas threw in the towel to Lawrence over the affair, giving him *carte blanche* with the Magnus book. It is this letter that Lawrence was to keep - a very unusual thing for him to do - and use with such devastating effect in *The New Statesman* letter of 20th February 1926.

This 1926 letter saw Lawrence's effort to rebut Douglas' charge in *Plea* that he had taken over rights as literary executor that belonged to Douglas. Lawrence's public reply was triggered by the inclusion of *Plea* in the commercially published edition of Douglas' book *Experiments* (1925) - the Douglas volume had been reviewed in *The New Statesman* the previous week. The 1921 Douglas letter has not been published in full; it was cut for inclusion in Lawrence's letter. Lawrence warned Secker that it would have to be cut down because it was Douglas' property.⁴⁶ (Lawrence did not make this selection himself, the letter not being in his possession at the time.) However wild the style of Douglas' letter, whoever made the cuts - it may have been the ubiquitous Secker - perhaps realised that it had a naughty attractiveness that may have counted against Lawrence. It is dated 26th December 1921: after the letter in full

I reproduce the cut version used in Lawrence's letter to the *New Statesmen*,

Dear Lawrence,

I am writing from Volterra - wonderful old place - but will be back in Florence ere long. So many thanks for yours of the 20th.

Damn the Foreign Legion. As literary executor of M. (appointed 4 years before his death, and once again later on) and as co-writer of that MS, I applied for it to Borg on the 27 April, [underlined in red, note to the side, in the left margin, 'and also earlier, immediately after M's death'] and again via the U.S. consul; in Valetta. Couldn't get an answer out of him. I then had an editor, or rather publisher, who would have taken it in, and all the profits would have gone to Borg, as Magnus wrote me about his great kindness to him. I was going to do a memoir of him. Latterly Grant Richards applied to me for it. I referred him to Borg, who has answered that the manuscript has gone to the U.S.

I bet you the Foreign Legion is going to "give me peace". Whoever wants it, may ram it up his exhaust-pipe. *I have done my best, and if Borg has sent it on to me then the book would be published by this time, and Borg would be £30 or £50 the richer. Some folks are 'ard to please. By all means do what you like with the MS. As to M. himself, I may do some kind of memoir of him later on - independent, I mean of the Foreign Legions. Put me into your introduction - drunk and stark naked, if you like. I am long past caring about such things, and if you surround M. with disreputable characters, why it may end in persuading those American fools that he was a saint. What does it matter, any how, what one writes for these people?*

Pocket all the cash yourself: Borg seems to be such a fool that he doesn't deserve any.

Or put yourself into connection with Grant Richards, if you like to have further complications.

I'm out of it, and, for once in my life, with a clean conscience.

New Mexico? What next! You'll come back neurasthenic [red underlining] Everybody does who sets foot on that absurd continent. Why not Burma, or Indo-China. Much love to Frieda! I am amazed at your enduring Taormina all these months.

Yours always,
Norman Douglas⁴⁷

* * * * *

Dear Lawrence,

So many thanks for yours of the 20th.

Damn the Foreign Legion ... I have done my best, and if B___ had sent it to me the book would be published by this time, and B___ £30 or £50 the richer. Some folks are hard to please. By all means do what you like with the MS. As to M. Himself, I may do some kind of memoir of him later on - independent of Foreign Legions. Put me into your introduction, if you like...

Pocket all the cash yourself. B___ seems to be

such a fool that he doesn't deserve any.
 I'm out of it and, for once in my life, with a
 clean conscience ...

Yours always,
 Norman Douglas⁴⁸

The tone of Douglas letter is radically changed by the cuts, replacing the open, transgressive Douglas (though again the writing is rather self-consciously posed) with a figure who appears to be bad tempered and guilt-ridden. Cuts to a text are seen to change and alter the meaning; for example, no mention is made of Douglas' claim of co-authorship. In the full letter, Douglas enjoys deploying the humour of anal violence, and likes the idea of shocking American readers. He is less than honest, as the letters to Grant Richards previously cited demonstrate, when he suggests that he had been planning that all the money would go to Borg.

So the response of Douglas to Magnus shows his wish to *appear* transgressive while also revealing his caution: he suggests that Magnus should adopt the same relation to his readers as that cultivated by Douglas. He encouraged Magnus to remove the parts of 'Dregs' that threaten to make it unpublishable. After Magnus' death, he made efforts to get the text published: his own financial gain seems to have been involved. Frustrated in these efforts he signed over the affair to Lawrence; then, perhaps expecting Lawrence to take his usual course of destroying all incoming correspondence, he engaged with Lawrence's writing on Magnus as if he had never written any such letter.

The response of Lawrence to Magnus' Legion text

Lawrence's reaction to 'Dregs', to what was published as *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*, resulted in his *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*. What caught his eye were the references by Magnus to the same-sex practices in the Legion. His reaction can be seen in the context of the general account of Lawrence's relation to same-sex desire given in the last chapter.

Returning to the textual history of the Legion manuscript, it is possible to consider Lawrence's reaction to the text Magnus was developing. Again his reaction picked up on the passages dealing with the sexual world of the Legion - sections that were to be cut. Lawrence did not, even at first, see the same 1917 version as Douglas, but a version 'rather raggedly typed out'.⁴⁹ The comments on the title-page of the surviving typescript of "Dregs" by an

American' run,

Written in Italy in the autumn of 1917. Cut destroyed and stolen in parts by enemies of various countries through which it passed during war [sic]. Rewritten from original notes in the spring + summer of 1920.⁵⁰

Keith Cushman, in his edition of Lawrence's *Memoir*, suggests that Lawrence wrote these comments.⁵¹ This seems unlikely - we know, however, that this was the kind of thing that Magnus wrote on his title-pages.⁵²

Cushman argues that the last date in this quotation must be inaccurate, that this was the typescript seen by Lawrence at Montecassino in February 1920.⁵³ (One remembers that Douglas had seen a yet earlier *manuscript*.) However, Lawrence himself made clear that there was *another* typescript version before the final one. In a letter of 15 April 1925 he wrote,

As for Douglas' co-writing - it's a literary turn: Besides, Magnus re-wrote the *whole* thing, after I talked with him in Montecassino. I really sweated to get that fellow money, and Douglas wouldn't give him a cent.⁵⁴

Douglas' claim to be co-author is explicitly denied by Lawrence. The reaction of Lawrence to reading Magnus' Legion text at the monastery was that it was not well written, he found it 'vague and diffuse ... lacking in sharp detail and definite event'. There was something in the material, though, 'that made me want it done properly'. (An examination of the manuscript shows that this phrase replaced one where Lawrence described the book as a 'valuable document'.) Magnus is described in Lawrence's text as 'unwillingly'⁵⁵ taking on a revision. Lawrence later describes Magnus as sending a copy of the Legion book to him; on reading it Lawrence reversed his opinion and judged it 'good, and told him so',⁵⁶ a view to which he held. So Lawrence is quite clear about the textual history of the Legion text.

Magnus, though, in a letter to Douglas of 9th May 1920, says that Lawrence merely told him to 'rewrite the 5 lost ['last?'] chapters and finish it'.⁵⁷ Near the end of the *Memoir* Lawrence says that he 'was moved and rather horrified' by the first typescript version that he saw - this comes immediately before he moves on to the strong pages on Magnus' homosexuality and sexual practices in the Legion that Secker was to cut.⁵⁸ The fact that Lawrence felt 'horrified' on reading the text in Montecassino suggests that references to the sexual world of the Legion had not been removed completely since the early, Douglas-observed days of the project,

back in 1917, in any subsequent draft. When he described the Magnus' piece as 'horrid' in a letter, then, he was referring to the subject matter, and not, as Keith Cushman argues, to the quality of the writing, or, at this point in the early nineteen twenties, to the morals of the writer.⁵⁹ These references to the sexual world of the Legion are still in the final draft, which survives - though they may well have had their contents diluted because of the force of Douglas' 'attack' on this material. Many readers of Magnus' memoirs in their cut published form must have wondered what it was about this text that engaged Lawrence and Douglas. With Lawrence we wonder what such an intelligent reader, so often capable of looking beneath the immediately apparent surface of a text to some fundamental constitutive tension, found in Magnus' writing. If we read the full Magnus text we can see what this is - the hypocritical self-presentation of Magnus in the sexual world of the Legion: 'hypocritical', that is, in relation to his own sexual practice. Lawrence makes this clear in the sections of his memoir that were subsequently cut.

Magnus' Legion text and his letters to Douglas

Thus far, this chapter has sought to accumulate evidence to argue that what arrested Douglas and Lawrence about the Magnus' text were those sections concerning the sexual mores of the Legion. Also at issue was how publishable these sections were. But what can be gleaned about this text from the final typescript? Keith Cushman, in his edition of Lawrence's text, says that only a photocopy of the typescript survives.⁶⁰ He prints two excerpts - one to give a flavour of the book (it is in the published text) and the most extended section on the 'girants', the passive homosexuals in the legion.⁶¹ While the latter is significant, he does not make clear how the many references to the sexual world of the Legion, which were later cut, punctuate the full version of the Bel Abbès section of the text. In comparison with the cut version it has a different flavour. In fact, the original typescript does survive - it is at Austin - and at the back of the file are two sheets of paper on publisher's office stationary with a list of the excised passages. Martin Secker said that he had put in much work on the text personally - Lawrence had in fact given Secker permission to cut both texts if he felt it necessary in order to get the book

published.⁶² These cuts focus on the homosexual references; allusions to heterosexual sex, prostitution, and venereal disease are allowed to pass through into the published book.

A reading of the full Magnus' piece makes it clear that for Magnus perhaps the most significant feature of the Legion in North Africa was the same-sex activity. Further the text is, in total, 'a masterpiece of unconscious representation'⁶³ - to use Douglas' phrase about Lawrence's *Memoir* - with the horror shown by Magnus at the homosexuality around him being accompanied by evidence of his own interest in a more 'fastidious' homosexuality. If he transgressed mores around money and affection, he reinstated money, distance and barriers in the realm of sex. From his arrival at Bel Abbès we are introduced to the figures who are 'jeune fille' and 'girants': the former obviously passive homosexuals, the latter also often prostitutes (though some chose their lovers, they still expected some return).

Magnus suggests, in his representation, that what one might call homosexual aggression was a pervasive feature of the all-male legionary environment. On arrival the new recruit - with perhaps some money - would be compromised in 'intimate relations' and then made the target for others.⁶⁴ If any legionaries were caught engaging in sexual relations with other soldiers they had their names read out at 'rapport' - so the knowledge was shared. Once inducted into this world of 'girants' and their lovers, the codes of behaviour around same-sex desire are shown to have affected many aspects of military life. The girants would receive favours from their lovers, including having their backpacks carried for them on marches.⁶⁵ In short, a whole sub-culture is delineated in the course of the Bel-Abbès section.

In the environment Magnus depicts a link is established between the sexual and the violent side of legionary life: sexuality is strongly associated with power. For example, he points out that rivalry over a 'girant' was one of the reasons for the murders that occurred.⁶⁶ When reading this text, Lawrence would have alighted on passages which echo his own conclusions on soldiery in *The Crown* variants. Magnus, like Lawrence, notes a set of shared interests which extend to violence, homosexual sex and drink: 'The majority of all the soldiers were cutthroats, thieves, tramps and loafers, and all of them were pederasts or drunkards or both'.⁶⁷ Without the cut parts of the text what Magnus clearly believed to be the major part of the horror of life in the legion, the sexual climate, is absent.

What was to fascinate Lawrence was Magnus's role, his hypocrisy because of his own sexuality. In the text Magnus has himself making it clear that he is heterosexual and would chose to go to a woman. He says that this was recognised and he was encouraged to grow a moustache - only male prostitutes, 'tappettes', were clean shaven, apparently.⁶⁸ But there is much that runs against this: Magnus rather gives himself away. This is shown when Magnus notes the beauty of Arab men in general or of specific fellow legionaries - when he takes cognisance of the size of the genitals of a 'particularly repugnant superior', whose physique 'bore signs of degeneration', or his pleasure when he sees two English soldiers embrace on hearing that they are to be allowed to go to the front together.⁶⁹ Further, there is Magnus' strong admiration for refined officers such as Count de R., a liking expressed in a way that hovers between identification and love. These can develop very strongly with little contact. He says of an officer,

The nice Greek officer left for Verdun soon after I arrived. He had an extraordinarily young and handsome orderly who accompanied him. I regretted to see him leave, as he was the only officer in the Legion who was a gentleman, and to whom I could have fled in urgent necessity and who would have understood and have helped me. Some people dont [sic] need to talk, they know each other by instinct.⁷⁰

The comment on the beauty of the orderly is entirely superfluous to Magnus' argument - it suggests Magnus' own investments. In the sentence that follows, the pronoun 'him' is somewhat blurred in terms of the individual that it designates. We come to realise that the 'him' must refer to the Greek officer, but if the pronoun referred to the last male mentioned it would be the 'extraordinarily young and handsome orderly' whose departure was regretted. Magnus represents himself as horrified at the sexual world of the Legion and yet feels compelled to represent it in his text.

An examination of the last typescript version of the Legion text, then, shows the significance of the cut sections to the text as a whole. The text is also of interest in relation to later events - for example, the way Magnus is described failing to lend money to others who were in need, and checking into a hotel before he had the money to pay the bill.⁷¹ It is to these events at the end of Magnus' life that I will now turn, and towards a reading of Lawrence's *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*. The aim is to show that Lawrence was responding to homosexuality in this text, and to the unsettling rejection of homosocial conventions by Magnus. To begin

with, I will look at the depiction of Magnus in fictional terms in *The Lost Girl* (1920), and at how Lawrence developed a language to describe expatriate homosexuals in Italy in *Aaron's Rod* (1921).

Lawrence's response to Magnus in his fiction

The Lost Girl introduces aspects of Lawrence's view of Magnus to which he returned. It helps to show that he used a constant form of imagery to describe Magnus and characters based on him. The authorial voice has a certain detached, ironic tone; there is a steady flow of comment. A number of characters are described using animal imagery; for example Alvina's prospective suitor, Albert Witham, is 'fish-like'.⁷² With the character of Mr May, the manager of the cinema that is 'Houghton's Last Endeavour', Lawrence draws on what he knew of Magnus. Mr May's relations with Alvina are explained by using imagery concerning birds,

He made no physical advances. On the contrary, he was like a dove grey, disconsolate bird pecking on the crumbs of Alvina's sympathy, and cocking his eye all the time to watch she did not advance one step towards him. If he had seen the least sign of coming-on-ness in her, he would have fluttered off in a great dither. Nothing *horrified* him more than a woman who was coming on towards him. It horrified him, it exasperated him, it made him hate the whole tribe of women: horrific two-legged cats without whiskers. If he had been a bird his innate horror of a cat would have been such. He liked the *angel*, and particularly the angel-mother in woman. Oh! - that he worshipped. - But coming-on-ness!

So he never wanted to be seen out-of-doors with Alvina ...

But Miss Pinnegar, a regular old, grey, dangerous she-puss, eyed him from the corner of her pale eye, as he turned tail.

'So unmanly!' she murmured. 'In his dress, in his way, in everything - so unmanly.'⁷³

May is here shown as being afraid of women's sexuality, having an idealised, spiritual view of women. Lawrence is perhaps using his knowledge of Magnus' relation to his mother. It is also possible to hypothesise that Lawrence was aware of the links made in prevailing sexological discourses - elaborated most notably by Freud⁷⁴ - between mother-son relationships, a failure to establish heterosexual relations, and homosexuality. The description of Magnus as a bird can be related to the bird imagery that we saw being used by Lawrence in his writing on homosexuality during the war years. In a move that produces rather awkward writing, Lawrence goes on to

liken women, specifically Miss Pinnegar, to cats - and the cat, of course, then takes on a predatory relationship to the bird. Particularly she sees him as 'unmanly' - through its association with effeminacy, homosexuality is, it seems, implied.

In Lawrence's *Aaron's Rod* this bird imagery is used in the descriptions of the homosexual expatriates in Florence. The ground for this is laid on Aaron's journey up from Rome with Angus and Francis. It is possible to argue that they are coded as homosexual, though this is difficult to prove. It is a matter of judging whether their speech takes on aspects of a homosexual style, an element of homosexual 'camp',

Oh but Angus, my dear - he's the *flautist*. Don't you remember? The divine bit of Scriabin. At least I believe it was Scriabin - But *perfectly divine* !!! I adore the flute above all things -' And Francis placed his hand on Angus' arm, and rolled his eyes. Lay this to the credit of a bottle of *Lacrimae Cristi*, if you like.

And after dinner we learn that 'The two young men went elegantly upstairs'.⁷⁵ They are also associated with this bird imagery, especially Angus who is described as 'bird-like', a 'bird-creature', 'pursuing like a bird', and 'like a wicked bird'. And on the train Francis 'looked down at the fat man as a bird from the eaves of a house'.⁷⁶

The bird imagery is used to describe characters based on the Florentine expatriate homosexuals. The Douglas-figure James Argyle declares himself 'a shady bird, in all sense of the word, in all sense of the word',⁷⁷ and the character of Algy Constable - based on Reggie Turner, sometime member of Wilde's inner circle - flaps 'his eyelids like a crazy owl'.⁷⁸ We have already looked at Lawrence's representation of Douglas in *Aaron's Rod* during the chapter on Douglas. We saw that Douglas is depicted in the novel in a way that seems to have been carefully balanced. On the positive side there is his belief in a certain philosophy of love and other occasional intimations of a certain 'wistfulness' that may make him attractive. For our purposes here it is necessary to note that the bird imagery is again present. Argyle turns a discussion with Constable on the soul onto the subject of sex and adultery,

Where's the soul in a man that hasn't got a bedfellow - eh? - answer me that! Can't be done, you know. Might as well ask a virgin chicken to lay you an egg. - I don't know what cock-bird committed adultery with the holy dove, before it laid the Easter egg, I'm sure.⁷⁹

We have a continual reworking of the bird motif here.

According to Richard Aldington it was anger on Douglas' part over his depiction as Argyle in *Aaron's Rod* that motivated him to write *D.H. Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*.⁸⁰ Whether or not he read the English or American editions is not known: it seems to me to be important. If he read the American edition rather than the English one, he may well have felt that his own caution about these things had been undermined by Lawrence, and hence the force of his response to Lawrence's Magnus piece in *Plea*. There are intimations, particularly in the long three page section of the novel that was cut, that Argyle is exclusively interested in homosexuality: 'But I didn't forswear love, when I forswore marriage and woman. Not by any means'.⁸¹ John Worthen has argued that the long excision was made by Secker 'presumably because he felt it got too near the topics of masturbation and homosexuality'.⁸² On the subject of same-sex desire Secker's censoring pen was always to hand. What it is important to note here is that Lawrence makes it clear that Argyle is homosexual, and, as so often, he turns to bird imagery when writing about those interested in same-sex desire.

Lawrence's response to Magnus' life and writing in the Memoir of Maurice Magnus

Having looked at how Lawrence had established certain resources of language and imagery for his treatment of Magnus in fictional terms - something he also deployed generally with other homosexuals, including Douglas and the Florentine expatriates in the early twenties - it is now possible to build towards a full reading of the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*. It is clear that contact with the writing of Magnus, and particularly the sections on the sexual environment of the Legion that were to be excluded, informed Lawrence's representation of him. Not only are his encounters with Magnus described, Lawrence is also seen reading, at various stages of its development, Magnus' text on the Foreign Legion. Lawrence was unsettled by the text and the man, issues around same-sex desire were closely linked to the question of the use of money. Lawrence, who preached a need for change in the very fabric of social relations, retained a conventional working class attitude to money, an emphasis on thrift. This is foregrounded in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus* from the very first paragraph: Lawrence declares himself

'poor'. Lawrence asserts his caution with money a number of times in the *Memoir*. Magnus reversed many of Lawrence's own practices - he was a spendthrift with money and gave affection freely, but was cautious, fastidious and hypocritical about his sexuality, in which domain he reinstated money and exchange and paid for sex.

For all that Lawrence's account begins with some of his best, most measured writing, his reaction to Magnus is not, in the final analysis, a controlled one. As Lawrence neared the end of the only draft of his memoir the final typescript of Magnus' text arrived. The effect of reading it led Lawrence in the final pages of his text to produce writing that reflects an angry, unsettled mind. The encounter with Magnus in life and in writing forced the issue of same-sex desire back into the forefront of Lawrence's concerns, and in this final section we have three pages which see his last sustained consideration of homosexuality.

References to the war frame the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*. At the opening, Lawrence makes it clear that on his arrival in Italy he was effecting a break from the 'desperate weariness of war', and he stresses his poverty. So, for Lawrence, it is a new period, and there is a need to make one's way carefully in this different time,

On a dark wet, wintry evening in November 1919 I arrived in Florence, having just got back to Italy for the first time since 1914. My wife was in Germany, gone to see her mother, also for the first time since that fateful year 1914. We were poor - who was going to bother to publish me and to pay for my writings, in 1918 and 1919? I landed in Italy with nine pounds in my pocket and about twelve pounds lying in the bank in London. Nothing more. My wife, I hoped would arrive in Florence with two or three pounds remaining. We should have to go very softly, if we were to house ourselves in Italy for the winter. But after the desperate weariness of the war, one could not bother.⁸³

The past casts a shadow here - Lawrence repeats the starting date of the war twice, and risks some awkwardness of style in order to mention the year the war ended. He also stresses his poverty - giving us a careful statement of his finances: this lack of money is related to difficulties with publishers. He is pleased to have escaped wartime England, to have effected an escape to Italy. It is in this context, this place in Lawrence's own life, that he encounters Magnus and Douglas.

Lawrence, in a cancelled first sentence to his text, said that he was going to offer 'an exact account of my experience with Magnus'.⁸⁴ However, there is from early on a certain amount of foreshadowing, a preparing of the ground that will allow him to

represent Magnus in a certain way. He puts in place both information and imagery that are to be used later. In terms of the narrative, of course, this can make the Lawrence-figure in the text, and the views of the authorial voice, appear alert and sound in judgement; we forget that the telling may have been ordered to create just such an effect. Lawrence, to cite a minor example of this, immediately identifies Magnus as an actor-manager in type, and in time we find out that Magnus was Isadora Duncan's manager, that he was indeed familiar with this world.

More significant than many of these narrative foreshadowings, however, is the imagery and terminology that Lawrence builds up around Magnus. This is to be used to provide him with a whole forceful language to use against Magnus. In the opening pages Lawrence reintroduces the bird imagery used for the Magnus-figure in *The Lost Girl* and for the Florentine homosexuals in general. Emendations to the text of the opening pages suggest that this was something Lawrence strengthened: the initial description of Magnus as 'short and mincing' - with the suggestion of effeminacy and, possibly, homosexuality - is replaced by his being said to be 'short and strutting'.⁸⁵ This lays the ground for descriptions of him as sticking 'his front out tubbily, like a bird and his legs seem to perch behind him, as a bird's do' and his being a 'grey-sparrow'. In an inserted sentence the bird imagery is used to help suggest that Magnus is fundamentally 'common', 'a sparrow painted to resemble a tom-tit'.⁸⁶

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the Florence section of the *Memoir* sees Douglas depicted as someone who, while appearing to be somewhat transgressive in speech, is hanging on to his status as a gentleman. While condemning Magnus for fussiness it is Douglas who appears nervy and obsessive. Magnus and Douglas appear to be close, and this has led the editors of Lawrence's Cambridge letters to slip into thinking that they were more intimately involved. When Lawrence says, then, that Douglas is away with his 'amico' - the emphasis that results from using the foreign, Italian word for male friend suggesting a further, sexual connotation - the editors of volume three of the letters simply assume that this is a reference to Magnus. In fact, Douglas was away with René, the dedicatee of his travel book *Together*.⁸⁷ That said, Lawrence felt the need to insert a sentence towards the end of the *Memoir* to make it clear that the Douglas-Magnus relationship was 'not love', but one of 'mental friendship'.⁸⁸

The exchange between Lawrence, Douglas and Magnus sees Lawrence introduce, in this Florence section, some of the attitudes towards money that are to be so important to the text. Magnus is represented as taking a carefree approach to money, and Douglas appears to follow him in this (though there is, we find, a gap between his statements and his practice). Lawrence, though, opposes their position,

'Oh,' said Magnus, 'why that's the very time to spend money, when you've got none. If you've for none why try to save it? That's been my philosophy all my life: when you've got no money you may as well spend it. If you've got a good deal, that's the time to look after it.' Then he laughed his queer little laugh, rather squeaky. - These were his exact words.

'Precisely,' said Douglas. 'Spend when you've got nothing to spend, my boy. Spend *hard* then.'

'No,' said I. 'If I can help it, I will never let myself be penniless while I live. I mistrust the world too much.'

'But if you've got to live in fear of the world,' said Magnus, 'what's the good of living at all. Might as well die.'

I think I give his words almost verbatim.⁸⁹

Lawrence is clearly aiming in this Florence section of the *Memoir* to lay down some markers he can return to when discussing latter events. As Howard Mills has noted, Lawrence's assertions of accuracy here constitute a failure of tone; they do not just back up the veracity of what has been said, they also introduce their validity as a question.⁹⁰ It makes the way these comments fit the events of the next year of Magnus' life too mechanical. However, we see Lawrence establishing a clear contrast between his own practice and Magnus' recklessness before the law.

Given the account of Magnus in Florence it is perhaps surprising to note that it was Lawrence who made sure that contacts continued between the two, and who made certain that the proposed trip to a monastery at Montecassino occurred. Lawrence tries in the *Memoir of Maurice Magnus* to account for the attraction Magnus could exert,

He had a queer delicacy of his own, varying with a bounce and commonness. He was a common little bounder. And then he had this curious delicacy and tenderness and wistfulness.⁹¹

The words 'wistful' and 'winsome' are to be used by Lawrence to describe the attractiveness of Magnus: it remains unclear exactly what he means by this. We have, though, noted its use elsewhere, when, for example, Lawrence talks about 'manly love' in his essays on Whitman. When placed against the means Lawrence develops for

condemning and negativising Magnus it is a rather limited language.

It is at this point, too, that Lawrence sends Magnus money - the unsolicited five pounds. Lawrence puts this down to four things - firstly he had the money, a gift that he had recently received. One act of spontaneous opening out, of generosity towards him, leads him to make such an act towards another. Secondly, he felt he owed Magnus something for the dinner on Magnus' last night in Florence, to celebrate his (last) birthday. Thirdly, Lawrence thinks that Magnus had judged him as being 'careful', and he wished to get 'revenge' for that. The last reason that he offers is that in Magnus' letter he felt 'the strange wistfulness of him appealing to me'.⁹² So it is Lawrence who moves from a certain response in terms of affection towards giving money. This is a situation that Douglas makes it clear did not occur with him: after initially lending 'nearly one pound ten' to Magnus in 1909, Magnus always felt in his debt.⁹³ In further letters from Magnus, Lawrence detected an expectation that further money would be forthcoming, which made him resist sending anything - it could well be argued that Lawrence had gone some way towards creating this expectation. As further support to his case, Lawrence mentions that his wife was against it. We shall see Magnus felt that Frieda had to be excluded from his dealings with Lawrence, that she was his enemy, and she becomes, in Lawrence's representation of events, a somewhat unreliable bulwark against Magnus' appeals. The relationship between Lawrence and Magnus has a third element in the figure of Frieda: it is, to an extent, triangular.

Lawrence had been invited by Magnus to see Montecassino, and he was interested in the monastery: he describes his journey there in detail. Indeed writing on travel and on place is part of what makes this text more than a memoir (or, more strictly, an account of a relatively short period when Lawrence had dealings with Magnus). It is, rather, a text which uses aspects of a number of different genres. As Douglas first pointed out the way individuals and events are represented has some elements of the novel about it,⁹⁴ and the discussions of general themes such as sexuality and the war are close to those mounted in the 'philosophical' texts. But most important is the writing which is close to Lawrence's travel writing, his writing about the significance of place. This was first noted by Edward Nehls in respect of the Montecassino section of the *Memoir*.⁹⁵ Lawrence's writing about the trip to the monastery is important; it is the pivotal point in Lawrence's changing response

to Magnus, at least as Lawrence presents events in the *Memoir* text. Lawrence sets up a number of binary oppositions, which he adds to the sources of imagery he has already established. Magnus is to be placed on the lower side of these heirachised oppositions. The more restricted, less developed set of terms that are used to describe the attractiveness of Magnus are placed under pressure, squeezed from the text.

On arrival at Montecassino Lawrence is met by Magnus, who uses physical touch to try and cement their relations. One also notes the references to Magnus' gaze, which seeks to pull Lawrence in,

He looked up at me with a tender, intimate look as I got down from the carriage. Then he took my hand.

'So very glad to see you,' he said. 'I'm so pleased you've come.'

And he looked into my eyes with that wistful, watchful tenderness rather like a woman who isn't quite sure of her lover.⁹⁶

Lawrence has to turn to the conventionally accepted form of sexual love for an analogy to describe what is happening here: it perhaps suggests, as does the energy involved in the final rejection of Magnus, that the part of him that responded strongly to other men was being appealed to. By this time, though, one can hypothesise that something more would be needed to energise this issue for Lawrence: this further factor is provided by Magnus' unsettling of the generally held attitudes toward money. Magnus is soon aligned with the monastery, with what he describes as 'The piece, the beauty, the eternity of it'.⁹⁷ In the pages that follow, Lawrence is to develop forcefully an alternative position about the monastery.

Montecassino is described as being cold, 'Dead, silent, stone cold everywhere': the rest of the text is to work with this warm/cold binary opposition. There is also a stress on white, for example in the description of the monastery's corridors.⁹⁸ Initially it is Magnus who provides the means that makes Lawrence warm again. Coming from Capri, which was mild, Lawrence only has a light coat. Magnus provides a warm 'sealskin' coat. Again there is the element of touch,

I can still remember the feel of the silky fur. It was queer to have him helping me solicitously into this coat, and buttoning it at the throat for me.

'Yes, it's a beautiful coat. Of course!' he said.

'I hope you find it warm.'

'Wonderful,' said I. 'I feel as warm as a millionaire.'

'I'm so glad you do,' he laughed.

'You don't mind my wearing your coat?' I said.

'Of course not! Of course not! It's a pleasure to me if it will keep you warm.'⁹⁹

Lawrence starts to feel awkward in the coat as he and Magnus tour the church, he feels 'millionairish'.¹⁰⁰ An effect of warming is linked to being made rich: at this stage Magnus can still effect positive and pleasing transformations for Lawrence. After this first day, though, Lawrence starts to tire of the monastery, and he begins to reject Magnus too. That evening he 'came out of the black Overcoat [sic] and we went to bed'.¹⁰¹

The following day sees Lawrence thinking about the 'poignant grip of the past, the grandiose, violent grip of the past, the grandiose, violent past of the Middle Ages, when blood was strong and unquenched'.¹⁰² Lawrence is not only introducing the vigour of the medieval period - which he is to contrast with the present, but also notions of the quality of the blood, that are to carry much weight later in the piece. While drawn to the nature of life Lawrence associates with the Middle Ages, he realises that he is a 'child of the present'.¹⁰³ Despite the attraction, he realises that the monastery provides an identification that has to be rejected. He compares the monks' life to that of modern-day University 'Dons', and he mentions Cambridge. It is interesting that he should recall his unhappy 1915 visit here, an other encounter with issues around same-sex desire which provoked a strong reaction.

It is at this point that Lawrence first reads the Legion manuscript, and when he hears of Magnus' reasons for staying at the monastery, of the cheque Magnus gave to an Anzio hotel which was drawn on an empty account. Lawrence also introduces another binary opposition, closely linked to that between the medieval period and the present, namely that between the physical and the mental-spiritual. Magnus places himself above the local peasants; Lawrence, though, feels that he is too spiritual, lacking the 'blood-presence' they have: 'he had no strong blood in him to sustain him, only this parasitic lymph which cries for sympathy all the time'.¹⁰⁴ Lawrence is already starting to use the blood imagery to suggest Magnus' weakness, and relate this to his demands for money. Magnus is also represented as stressing mental friendships over physical ones. It seems that these are 'friendships' between men, as he is a misogynist,

So he loathed women, and wished for a world of men. 'They talk about love between men and women,' he said, 'Why it's all a fraud. The woman is just taking all and giving nothing, and feeling sanctified about it. All she tries to do is to thwart a man in what he is doing. - No, I

have found my life in my *friendships*. The physical friendships are very attractive, of course. And one tries to keep them as decent and all that as one can. But one knows they will pass and be finished. But one's *mental* friendships last for ever.'¹⁰⁵

This passage, which found its way past Secker's policing eye and into the finished text, appears to signal Magnus' homosexuality in its talk of 'physical friendships'. As Lawrence develops his response to the monastery, Magnus comes to occupy the wrong side of the binary oppositions, he emphasises the spiritual and mental - not to mention his very wish to become a monk at the medieval Montecassino.

Lawrence's generosity towards Magnus reflects the state of his affections towards him. He pays for a bottle of drink, but as he departs only offers Magnus twenty lira. Magnus, it is said, 'looked at me wistfully',¹⁰⁶ but this is no longer able to spur Lawrence into giving. The return to Capri has the quality of an escape but also a strong sense of ending. Significantly, in the terms of the piece, it is also a move from cold to warmth: a warmth, one might say, achieved without Magnus and his overcoat,

There on the steamer I sat in a bit of sunshine and felt that again the world had come to an end for me, and again my heart was broken. The steamer seemed to be making its way from the old world, that had come to another end in me.¹⁰⁷

The question is though, what has died here? In part it is the strong medieval values that Montecassino, Lawrence feels, embodies so powerfully. But there is also the way that, for Lawrence, the possibility of a close friendship with another man has again come to nothing. The strong sense of something dying produced by leaving the monastery and Magnus is soon replaced by a sense of rebirth on arrival in Sicily.

This brings into play a whole set of identifications with a past period that is seen in positive terms,

Lovely, lovely Sicily, the dawn-place, Europe's dawn, with Odysseus pushing his ship out of the shadows into the blue. Whatever had died for me, Sicily had then not died: dawn-lovely Sicily, and the Ionian sea ... me rejoicing like a madness in this dawn, day-dawn, life-dawn, the dawn which is Greece, which is me.¹⁰⁸

The 'madness' is no longer provoked by the presence of a suffocating, dying past, as with the monastery; rather Lawrence embraces - indeed not only does he strive to emulate, rather he *becomes* - early Greek civilisation. From a rejection of an identification with the medieval and Catholic past we move to

Lawrence's interest in early civilisations, specifically here Pre-Socratic Greece. Into this happiness, though, 'crept the serpent' in the form of Magnus.¹⁰⁹ In the Taormina section of the *Memoir*, Frieda is a significant presence. Lawrence depicts her as being angry with him that he had picked up this man, but also liable to crumble and submit to Magnus' demands when they are made in person.

Magnus, in his own account of the events in Sicily in a highly significant unpublished letter to Norman Douglas of 9th May 1920 (he had arrived in Taormina on the 26th April), says that Lawrence was 'most sympathetic and ready to help me in the way I wanted'. It is impossible to square Magnus' account of events with that given by Lawrence nearly two years later in the *Memoir*. Magnus proposed that he should sign over some of his manuscripts to Lawrence in return for the money that would take him to Egypt. In the *Memoir*, Lawrence refuses to do this. On the other hand, Magnus says in the letter that Lawrence 'seemed willing and was most nice'. He felt that with this request, and one that Lawrence should go to the monastery to collect Magnus' papers, the problem was Frieda's opposition,

She, the bitch, met me and asked some supercilious questions and passed some pleasant words. In the afternoon I got a note from Lawrence enclosing 50/- saying that he had been thinking about it and couldn't help me! I asked to see him - my mouth was dry - he was out - she was in - I asked it she knew what he had written me - she said 'more or less' - of course I knew it was her doing. I spoke as nicely as I could, and pleaded without losing all my dignity - not to her but the fix I was in - for ... [word illegible, could be 'repetition', possibly 'reparation', neither of which make full sense]. She looked like nails, but asked me to come later - I did and repersuaded him - he would let me know the next day. The next day, Friday, he brought up his objections, and again I overcame them - we compromised - he was not to go to the hill and I would get some one to reimburse him. He was very nice. Next day another note enclosing 200 Lire and refusing to have anything more to do with me as his wife was angry !!!!!
Finis.¹¹⁰

The misogyny this reveals is distasteful. There is, though, much pathos in Magnus' unwillingness to believe that Lawrence would not help him. Lawrence noted in the *Memoir* that Magnus' response to him, on hearing his decision, showed increased 'respect', 'he seemed quieter, wistfuller, and he seemed almost to love me for having refused him'.¹¹¹

While reference to this archival source gives us something of what Magnus thought about these events (though one tailored, no doubt, to fit his audience of one, Norman Douglas) what we lack is

a sustained account of Lawrence from Magnus. One suspects, from this account of events in Sicily, that it would be a somewhat simple-minded consideration. But it is clear from Magnus' letters to Douglas that Magnus regarded Lawrence as someone who was interested in same-sex desire. In a letter from Malta, Magnus seems to be responding to anxiety on the part of Douglas about his putting the Florentine expatriates into his writing,

Don't worry about Lawrence writing nasty. He opened his heart to me here accidentally. He is looking for bisexual types for *himself*. Spoke of his innocence when he wrote 'Twilight' and 'Il Duro'. Evidently innocent no longer. Didn't like Malta because he thought the religion or something prevented their sexual expression! I didn't elucidate as I could have done even after a few days stay!¹¹²

We see here another contemporary response to the *Twilight* in Italy project that sees there signs an interest in same-sex desire - this was something we also saw with Henry Savage's response to the text. Magnus seems to see Lawrence as inhibited and over-intellectualising his sexuality. Magnus' own exchanges with Douglas on the subject of sex were far more practical in nature. He notes Douglas interest in young males, and that he is no longer interested in love,

Most interesting what you say about the Maltese and the tobacco. Of course you are a connoisseur of young tobacco and I don't know. I find what I want - married or not - it matters little to me. My age of romance is over ages ago.¹¹³

The reference to 'tobacco' is clearly code for males here: Magnus is interested purely in the sex with mature men, and with no 'romance'. Sex is reduced to the level of goods which are bought and sold.

Magnus' appeals to Lawrence make less and less impact on him during the Sicily section of the *Memoir*. This even happens when Magnus seeks to establish physical contact and to establish eye contact, when he put 'his hand on my arm and looked up beseechingly'.¹¹⁴ But these efforts to win Lawrence over can affect, interfere with, the language that he is trying to develop that sets him apart from Magnus, namely that which emphasises early civilisations such as early Greece,

'Don't be unkind to me - don't speak so coldly to me -'
He put his hand on my arm, and looked up at me with tears swimming in his eyes. Then he turned aside his face, overcome with tears. I looked away at the Ionian sea, feeling my blood turn to ice and the sea go black.¹¹⁵

While Lawrence can reject Magnus' exhortations, and speak 'coldly', his 'blood' can be frozen and the Ionian Sea turned from blue to black: Magnus can still affect him, though only, it seems, in a

negative way.

At the end of the *Memoir*, after the account of what he heard about Magnus' suicide, Lawrence attempts to come to some conclusions about Magnus. Lawrence's recently gained ability to take a more detached view of same-sex desire is eroded by Magnus' unsettlement of prevailing attitudes to male-male affection and money. The precise, careful and yet seemingly open writing topples over into angry rant. The evidence suggests that at this point something entered in forcefully that Lawrence felt he had to close down and exclude. Lawrence tells us what this was: the section begins 'Yesterday arrived the manuscript of the Legion, from Malta. It is exactly two years since I first read it in the monastery'.¹¹⁶

The writing in this final section circles around one main point: 'I could, by giving half my money, have saved his life. I had chosen not to save his life'. Lawrence still feels, on writing the *Memoir* over a year later in January 1922, that he had made the right 'choice'.¹¹⁷ However, the closing pages of the piece show a marked loosening of the grip and control exercised by Lawrence early in the piece. His argument returns obsessively to a number of key points - and, at times, as in the comments against war ('I am at war! I, a man, am at war!'¹¹⁸), the text seems to reflect a mind on the edge of mental collapse.

It is in this closing section that we find Lawrence's comments on Magnus and the legionaries' sexuality in the three pages of the manuscript that were cut by Martin Secker. In a letter to Lawrence, Secker said that he had made the cut 'where you let yourself go on Magnus's attitude towards certain things'.¹¹⁹ Secker thus suggests that Lawrence had lacked due restraint, that he had transgressed boundaries in the realm of writing: Secker cannot even bring himself to use the word 'homosexuality'. In the *Memoir*, Lawrence tells us that while he had been 'moved and rather horrified' on his first reading of the Legion text, what strikes him most now is how amusing he finds Maurice Magnus' description of himself 'surging like a little indignant pigeon across the drill-yards and into the canteen of Bel-Abbès'.¹²⁰ However, the smiling response is shown to mask hysteria, and he becomes angry as he considers the hypocrisy of Magnus,

Reading this Algerian part of the MS. again makes me stone-cold to this pink-faced, self-indulgent, morally-indignant pigeon. The Legion is dreadful: very well. But Magnus? - Bah he, is a liar, he is a hypocrite.

To start with, the 'vice' which he holds up his hands so horrified at, in the 'girants' - (one wonders

what the actual word is ['girond' is French slang for a young passive male homosexual]) - he had it himself. But he always paid his lovers: in money. So he gave me to understand. ... He had a taking kind of winsomeness himself. He came up so winsomely to appeal for affection. He took the affection and paid back twenty francs. Bargain! - Later, he took the affection, and borrowed twenty francs, and cleared out in triumph.¹²¹

Lawrence uses the imagery that he has developed to negativise Magnus: as well as using the warm/cold opposition and the bird imagery, Lawrence goes on to bring in the way he was 'Cold as a bit of white mud'.¹²² Of most importance in this quotation are the final sentences where Lawrence makes it clear that it was the reversal of prevailing attitudes towards affection, sexuality and money that shocked him. When Magnus went to a man for sex 'He took the affection and paid back twenty francs': here 'affection' refers to the sex that he bought from other men. Importantly, Lawrence uses the same word when talking about Magnus' appeals for money to people like himself, the way he built up bonds of feeling before appealing for money: 'Later, he took the affection, and borrowed twenty francs, and cleared out in triumph'.

In the somewhat dizzying argument that follows, Lawrence moves to address specifically the sexual world of the Legion as described in the uncut Legion text. He vents his anger by saying that he considers Magnus to be worse than the legionaries. But he still has to find a set of terms, a language which makes it clear why he still does not approve of *their* behaviour, either. At his first attempt to mount this argument he is only beginning to develop these resources,

To my mind he is worse than the poor devils of legionaries. They had their blood-passions and carried them defiantly, flagrantly, to depravity. But Magnus had whitish blood, and a conceit of spiritual uplift, and he kept up appearances: and filched his sexual satisfactions, despising them all the time. ...

To me, the blood-passions are sacred, and sex is sacred: more sacred than mind or spirit or uplift. In the legionaries, even, the recklessness, the blood-recklessness, is sacred. But, alas, that which is most sacred in them they wilfully murder and torture to death. So man turns back on himself, when he finds part of his primal self denied. What distresses me in the Legion is not that it is so 'shocking,' but that I feel there so much genuine creative blood-passion being self-destroyed, like a snake which should turn and start to gnash itself and destroy itself, because it is imprisoned or tied up by a cord. The sacredness of the passionate blood was admitted in every religion, before this era of spiritual uplift.¹²³

As well as references to the quality of the blood, and the use of the physical/spiritual binary opposition, Lawrence returns to

arguments he had used during the war years about homosexuality as a collapse in on the self experienced when heterosexual relations are in difficulty or are impossible. The powerful image about the snake destroying itself suggests the energy the subject of homosexuality could still unleash. What Lawrence is trying to develop here is the positive language against which the legionaries are also found wanting. The germ lies in the reference to a 'primal self' in the above quotation - to it is added the identification established with the early religions of the Mediterranean basin. Lawrence wants to 're-instate the great old gods of the passionate communion: Astarte, Cybele, Bel, Dionysos'. He argues that 'It will never be any better till we admit the sacredness, the profound and *primary* sacredness of the passion of the living blood'.¹²⁴ Lawrence is asserting the need to get back to a '*primary*' sexuality - which is natural and therefore, in his account, heterosexual. So when he returns to the issue of the sexuality of the legionaries again, the problem is their failure to hold to the 'source of their nature'. Lawrence finds a way of saying why he thinks the legionaries are in the wrong, even if they are better than Magnus,

And they turn back to their lustful self-destructions. That, to me, is the tragedy. That they turned *themselves* in defiance against themselves. If they could have kept their souls and honorably stood by the reality which they *knew*, but were not free to believe in - the reality of passionate blood in the deeps of a man - they would have been great.¹²⁵

Lawrence is now clearer about the significance of this 'primal self'. Interestingly, he again shows an awareness of the workings of repression, or at least of layers of conflicting psychological forces, when he says that the legionaries know the significance of this core sexuality, but are not 'free to believe' in it.

In this final section of the *Memoir*, which includes the pages cut by Secker, Lawrence uses the imagery and binary oppositions he has built up through the piece. The *Memoir* gives a restricted language to what he finds attractive in Magnus - the 'wistful', 'winsome' quality - while develops the means by which Magnus can be negativised. However, for all the care with which the project is launched there is a loss of control and grip in the writing at the end of the piece. Lawrence is, though, able to diagnose Magnus' 'power', his ability to 'arouse affection and a certain tenderness in the hearts of others, for himself'.¹²⁶ Magnus' transgression of usually prevailing bonds between men, the policed homosociality,

combined with his reinstatement of money precisely where Lawrence feels that affection should be freely given, namely in the domain of sexuality, forces the issue of same-sex desire back to the forefront of Lawrence's concerns. One senses that Lawrence - by now usually able to close-off the possibility of desire between men with a repressive structure combining with a limited acceptance of same-sex desire - resents the way that this side of his nature had been manipulated by Magnus. The encounter with Magnus forces the issue of the engagement with other men back towards the surface. Lawrence's response, his effort to tame the force of his reaction in writing, is characteristic of his negotiation with 'homosexuality', as is Douglas' involvement in the Legion affair, with his mixture of surface swagger concealing inner caution.

There are important issues around writing here. If we have been speaking of an economy around money, affection and sex - moments of opening out and of constriction, of an unwillingness to give - there are also excisions and a closing down in the realm of writing. The censorship and self-censorship that we see here can be related to the interdictions of society, of its voice as to what is or is not acceptable. Just as Magnus' freedom in demanding money and giving affection unsettled usually prevailing homosocial bonds, so his wish to write without respect to society's sexual mores disturbed others involved in writing and publishing. We do not only have the interaction of these three figures each positioned in a particular way as regards same-sex desire, we also see that society affects that negotiation and influences the representation of those desires. Magnus' near-pathological refusal to accept prevailing attitudes to money and writing, his attempt to live outside society's laws on the right way to love and to write, cannot last indefinitely. That other writer - of a kind - Martin Secker, shows that the reach of the heterocentric, homosocially organised, society includes not only issues of the regulation of the economy, but also into published writing.

What we see here is relations not only *between* subjects interested in same-sex desire, figures in consequence on the margins of society, but encounters in the context of a wider - and hostile - social sphere. This was something movingly caught by Rebecca West when she remembered a trip she took with Lawrence and Douglas, probably in 1921. She notes that Lawrence, Douglas and Magnus, beyond their responses to each other, were marginalised figures as far as society at large is concerned. I will end the

chapter, then, with a quotation from yet another memoir - another effort at understanding one particular subject's course in the world - namely West's short book on Lawrence, published (by Secker) in 1930,

The two men spoke for long of a poor waif, a bastard sprig of royalty, that had recently killed himself after a life divided between conflicting passions for monastic life, unlawful pleasures, and financial fraud. ... This was the man whose recollections of service in the French Foreign Legion were published with a preface by Lawrence which provoked Norman Douglas to a savage retort that stands high among the dog-fights of literary men. But then they were joined in amity while they talked of him with that grave and brotherly pitifulness that men who have found it difficult to accommodate themselves to their fellow-men feel for those who have found it impossible.¹²⁷

Conclusion

Identification and transgression in the year 1928

In her recent book *Identification Papers* (1995) Diana Fuss has gathered together a number of her articles on the impact for lesbian and gay studies of the study of the psychoanalytic theory of identification. The introduction to the book is new writing in which she addresses the relation between the theory of identification and the contemporary politics of sexual identity. Fuss notes that the assertion that people should join with the like-minded, or should adopt a shared position with those on the margins for strategic, political reasons, involves a fatal simplification. Coming to belong cannot be achieved through just an act of the will. Fuss argues that,

problems remain for the theorization and practice of a 'politics of identification'. Perhaps the most serious difficulty with designing a politics around identification is the fact that the unconscious plays a formative role in the production of identifications, and it is a formidable (not to say impossible) task for the political subject to exert any steady or lasting control over them. Given the capacity of identifications continually to evolve and change, to slip and shift under the weight of fantasy and ideology, the task of harnessing a complex and protean set of emotional ties for specific social ends cannot help but to pose intractable problems for politics.

Fuss notes, though, that any links between the subject and the wider social group need identification, that for all the shifting complex nature of the situation that is now revealed, there 'can be no politics without identification'.¹ The force of the argument Fuss makes here is considerable, it demands that any effort to chart the relation of subject to available identities and society moves past a model in which a position is simply donned like an item of clothing. She argues instead for the shifting, ambivalent nature of the identifications involved. The intervention she makes is to demand attention to the subject's relation to these groupings.

Fuss notes a fold in the discourse of identity politics, something that it does not address. Clearly, too, Fuss's argument has implications for the writing of the history of 'homosexuality'. Rather than accounts of central figures or of developing identities what is required are nuanced and historically aware accounts of the

subject's relation to same-sex desire in a hostile social environment. New ways of mounting narratives and of analyzing the possible forms taken by a subject's engagement with the social are required. Belonging to marginalised groupings predicated on particular forms of desire was not simply a matter of conscious choice.

It is precisely at this intersection between the subject, available identities and the wider social context that this thesis has sought to position itself. It has sought to address how the subject, brought up in a heterosexual social context, was positioned in relation to 'homosexuality': the shifting patterns of connections that were formed, and the ambivalences and rejections involved. Moreover it has sought to examine the link between identification and representation, to note that many of these sources of identification came from the domain of culture and to begin the task of charting the ways in which subjects related to them. Particularly, interest has focused on how some who responded to available identifications themselves sought to influence others, on how writing subjects recirculate sites of potential identification to their readers in a way mediated by their own experience.

Looking, specifically, at the lives and writing of Mackenzie, Douglas and Lawrence the effort has been to address these subjects' relation to 'homosexuality'. In the three chapters on the situatedness of these writers in relation to same-sex desire a move was made from addressing same-sex identities in terms of roles, through the issue of the lingering effects of the internalisation of opprobrium, and a mismatch between sexual practice and identification with identities, toward an examination of conflicting psychical forces and repression. In short, a move *within* the subject was enacted. But care was taken not only to look at these subjects' relation to prevailing discourses and identities, but also to look at their response to one another, to give, as examples, a set of relations between differently situated subjects. This was particularly seen in the last chapter with a careful study of the response of Douglas and Lawrence to the affairs and writing of Maurice Magnus. The life of Magnus also served as an opportunity to address the interaction of the subject interested in same-sex desire with the social sphere. The aim has been to write an account of 'homosexuality' and the writing subject which addresses the experience of those involved.

The effort to chart the subject's experience has not only

involved an examination of their attitude to prevailing sexual identities or significant role models. Rather the psychoanalytic concept of identification has been extended to involve the significance to the individual's formation of cultural artifacts, periods and places which suggest a different organisation of 'sex'. Particularly important here was the role played by ancient Greece - which for many lived on in the Greek south of Italy - the Renaissance, and more recently and specifically, the poetry of Walt Whitman. A question that may follow from outlining these major sources of identification in this earlier period is to ask how things have changed subsequently. There has clearly been a shift. Robert Aldrich in his *The Seduction of the Mediterranean. Writing, Art and Homosexual Fantasy* (1993) has argued that the allure of the Mediterranean for those interested in same-sex desire went into terminal decline with the Thirties Generation. This is somewhat extreme - it ignores the way, to give just one example of their continued deployment, that Derek Jarman returns to English Renaissance drama with the films *Edward II* (1991) or to Italian Renaissance art in *Caravaggio* (1986). That said, he is often seeking to rewrite the way this cultural material or these individuals are seen: one sees this happening in his film *Sebastiane* (1976).² More recent sources of identification from popular culture are highly important, but the long established ones have a certain longevity. This is strikingly shown in the coming-out story which provided the title, epigraph, and even the quotation used in the publicity flyer, for a volume of life stories by lesbian and gay men collected by the National Lesbian and Gay Survey and published by Routledge in 1993. This example of a response to identificatory material runs,

I still hadn't come out to my father. One day I noticed he was reading Proust. 'I've got something in common with him.' He asked what that was. I said 'What do Proust, Auden, Michelangelo, Cole Porter, Noel Coward and Marc Almond have in common?' He stared at me. 'Add me to the list.' He still stared at me and then he said 'Who's Marc Almond?'³

The culturally valorised material is more widely known, even today it is more likely to provide a shared language through which same-sex desire can be discussed with others.

In this conclusion to the thesis I will not look further at how the writers under discussion responded to available sources of identification. Rather, what will be addressed is the reception of texts dealing with issues around sexuality from 1928. These books were Douglas' *Some Limericks*, Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women* and

Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. In part the argument will be that the response to these texts was, given the analyses already undertaken, in many ways what we would expect. But there is a further aim in view, namely to show that an ongoing encounter with historical evidence suggests that identifications are not only unstable, that the form they take at times surprises, demanding further thought and the re-forming of conceptual models.

Mackenzie, Douglas and Lawrence in 1928

One of the novels by Mackenzie published in 1928 has already been discussed, namely *Extraordinary Women*. As we saw this account of the lesbian community on a small Mediterranean island can be seen as a Proust-inspired investigation of the instability of human desire. For some it is a demonstration that desire is desire of what is 'other' that does not discriminate between heterosexual or homosexual object choice. However, the novel itself makes it clear that it sees an instability in lesbian desire which is much greater than that occurs with heterosexuality; the same mechanisms are present in both, they are just greatly accelerated with same-sex desire. As the narrative voice of *Extraordinary Women* states at one point, 'What a perverse emotion love was'.⁴

We are also dealing here with a *comedy* of human desire. It is true that third sex theories are deployed to an extent, and that quotations from Sappho head every chapter, but this is less to offer potential sites for identification than to help 'fix' the type and provide humour - for example, when Rory Freemantle says, 'If one is abnormal one ought to avoid high promontories'.⁵ Mackenzie's annoyance at the lesbian colony on Capri post-war, with which his wife flirted for a while, is evident, for all that the book does not rush to judgement.

The Mackenzie text is very different from that other book about lesbians from 1928, this time very much a *tragedy*, John Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*. It is difficult book to talk about well, since for all the inadequacies of its writing and execution, it has clearly had a certain power and 'affect' for many readers. It has provided a vital source of identification to large numbers over a long period. The text itself shows an awareness of sexological texts - both Ulrichs and Krafft-Ebing are mentioned.⁶ For all the overwrought quality to the account of Stephen's life it is at times

a telling study of the social isolation experienced by the 'invert',

Like a very small child this large muscular creature would sit down beside him because she felt lonely, and because youth most rightly resents isolation, and because she had not yet learnt her hard lesson - she had not yet learnt that the loneliest place in this world is the no-man's-land of sex.⁷

The way Hall notes the mechanisms whereby the moral precepts of society are internalised are also of interest, Stephen has an 'inherent respect for the normal'.⁸ But it has to be accepted that there is a self-lacerating quality to much of the writing: for example, in the references to homosexuality as the 'mark of Cain'.⁹ Phrases such as 'the terrible nerves of the invert' and 'those haunted, tormented eyes of the invert' suggest the way that society's opprobrium has been internalised to produce a disturbing degree of self-hatred on Hall's part.¹⁰ Any account of the novel has to take this into account, one cannot simply dismiss the text on the grounds of what is perceived as poor writing. My intention here, though, is not to analyze Hall's text, or even to undertake a sustained comparison of the novels by Mackenzie and Hall, but to compare their initial reception. This helps reveal the crucial differences between the two texts in the context of the sexual politics of the day.

Though the books were often discussed or reviewed side-by-side they had very different fates.¹¹ Radclyffe Hall became aware that Martin Secker was due to publish a novel on lesbianism by Mackenzie in September 1928, and had the publication date of her novel brought forward in consequence. Hall's novel was published by Jonathan Cape; he took care to publish it under a sombre black cover and only send out review copies to the serious dailies. The book also had an introductory 'Commentary' by Havelock Ellis which was intended to offer it a certain scientific weight¹² (indeed the book is a prisoner of an over-schematic theory of inversion). Problems began when the editor of the *Sunday Express*, James Douglas, launched a campaign in his newspaper to have the novel banned. He said that he would rather give a young boy or girl a phial of Prussic acid than Hall's book. At the lower end of the market only the *Labour Daily Herald* defended the right of free speech - Hall, though a Conservative and a Roman Catholic was pleased at their support. Cape played a double strategy: on the one hand he was pleased that the publicity was helping sales, while on the other he offered to withdraw the novel if asked to do so by the Home Secretary. The then incumbent in that position, Joynson-Hicks ('Jix') was highly

sensitive to the issue of 'obscenity' - he reacted strongly to Lawrence's writing and painting. Indeed, one lampoon at the time of *The Well of Loneliness* controversy called him the 'Policeman of the Lord'. His response to Cape was that if Hall's novel were not withdrawn it would face prosecution. Jonathan Cape sent out an order to his printer not to undertake the third printing of the novel, but he also had moulds of the plates made. These were taken to Paris where the novel was published by Pegasus. It was when a consignment of this edition was brought into the country that the trail for obscenity was initiated.

Hall called on the support of other writers. Partly, her demand that the novel be recognised as great art alienated others - but it is clear that Hall had been brave where her writing colleagues were to be timid. Even those who did support Hall seem to have made compromised interventions. Forster's letter of support antagonised Hall because of the weakness of its wording (*Maurice*, of course, remained unpublished). In a somewhat tipsy conversation Forster had told Virginia Woolf that he found lesbianism rather disgusting.¹³ Woolf, though she agreed to be a witness at any trial, insisted that she be placed towards the bottom of the list of those giving evidence on the book's behalf, so that other witnesses had already paved the way. At the trial the evidence of the expert witnesses proved inadmissible if they spoke about the novel as art, and the novel was found to be obscene.¹⁴ The appeal also failed. Vita Sackville-West attended these later proceedings, feeling she should support Hall, but soon grew bored and went shopping. Radclyffe Hall's effort to put lesbianism into the public domain appears reckless, indeed one may also suspect an element of pathology, but her bravery deserves some place in the account.¹⁵

Compton Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women* was received differently. Secker was, as ever, cautious. Two thousand copies of the novel were printed and it was made clear that the type would be distributed. Mackenzie was prepared to defend the novel in court if necessary, and the BBC organised a broadcast debate on censorship between Mackenzie and James Douglas: in the event Douglas backed out shortly beforehand. But the novel was not touched, and went, in time, into a cheap edition.¹⁶ Some of the publicity used references to Hall's novel to help the Mackenzie text sell. Michael Baker in his biography of Hall suggests that contemporary claims that Hall was a character in Mackenzie's book were true: in fact, this is highly unlikely.¹⁷ But the interesting fact about the Mackenzie text

is that while its main theme was lesbianism it was not banned, that despite what was said it was not the very subject matter of women loving women that provoked the reaction but, in the case of *The Well of Loneliness* and *Extraordinary Women*, the view taken of it.

A key text for looking at the response to these two texts is *The New Statesman* of 25th August 1928. Even those who argued against censorship differentiated between the two novels on the grounds of their differing views on the acceptability of lesbianism. Cyril Connolly reviewed both novels in way which gave no suggestion of his own bisexual experiences.¹⁸ As we have seen Connolly was no admirer of Mackenzie, and he manages to damn the text while praising the message. While finding the novel 'dreary' he does feel that it makes an accurate point,

He forces one to realise that Sapphic love besides being 'abnormal' must lead to situations far more intolerable than any which could be created by the least admirable kind of 'normal' sexual relations. If it does not prove, it at any rate suggests, that women cannot fall in love with women and remain sane and decent human beings.

Connolly argues that it was only a recent, post-war context that saw somebody even trying to publish an entire novel on this theme - he notes for example the fate of *The Rainbow* in 1915, where one chapter, entitled 'Shame', depicted same-sex desire between women. Indeed, Connolly sees lesbianism as very much a passing phase, a 'modern social disease'.¹⁹

The treatment of *The Well of Loneliness*, which he reviewed in a separate piece, and this time with other books, is yet more scathing in literary terms - but Connolly is now disapproving in terms of the message as well. He finds the middle section of the book particularly weak, it is

nothing but mechanical writing or desultory reporting broken only by Stephen's unhappy passion for Mary, and a few pleas for kindness to animals, halos for inverts, and a special paradise for trees.

Connolly sees no reason to accord the homosexual subject any status on the margins or a history of oppression at all; the failure is one of a lack of robust vigour on Stephen Gordon's part, 'we are distressed at her lack of spirit, her failure to revenge herself on her tormentors'.²⁰ Connolly does not believe the book should be banned, but while he finds much fault in literary terms, it is the very treatment of the theme that, finally, angers him. At least the Mackenzie text, for all its faults, offered up something he could agree with.

The editorial in that week's *New Statesman* is even more overtly against lesbianism. However, it wonders whether, given the fate of *The Well of Loneliness*, Mackenzie's novel 'is also to be suppressed or withdrawn?'. It feels that this would be a 'minor public misfortune'.²¹ Mackenzie noted in his autobiography that the *Labour Daily Herald* protested that the Government was being inconsistent. If *The Well of Loneliness* were condemned for treating the subject seriously, why was the comedy of lesbian love left alone?²² Mackenzie may be seen in *Extraordinary Women* to be offering an account of the social 'role' of the lesbian as part of an objective study of human desire, but it is possible not only to argue that the novel is nothing of the kind, but also to show that it was received as a representation of lesbianism of a certain, negative, kind.

Norman Douglas' contribution to the year of the seemingly transgressive text - this year that saw a pushing back of the boundaries of the publishable due to an increase in direct references to sexual practices in writing - was his *Some Limericks. Collected for the Use of Students, & Ensplendour'd with Introduction, Geographical Index, and with Notes Explanatory and Critical*. It was published privately from Florence with only a small number of copies printed: one hundred copies were sold at five guineas; ten, on special paper, went for ten guineas apiece.²³ The price, along with the subject matter, reflected a late twenties social environment where there were private collectors with money and a climate of increased sexual freedom -this world was, of course, about to come to an end with the Wall Street Crash. Douglas' text is a characteristic production: it has the humour of the smoking room, yet with hints for the 'initiated'.

In a teasing introduction to the book Douglas suggests that the limerick, like all 'original works of art, however humble', is the product of sufficient 'leisure'. He also says that he is engaged in collecting the blasphemies of Florentine coachmen, but that these were mainly the product of an early pre-mechanical age (though he puzzles over the absence of such oaths in *Romola*).²⁴ If the industrial era has reduced the amount of leisure time that can produce art, this capacity is also the preserve of the leisured class in the privileged society. The English working class, like the underfed southern European in general, has simply not time of sufficient quality.²⁵ Douglas also sees the limerick as the glue of Empire, that they 'fill you with a breath of old England in strange

lands, and constitute one of the strongest sentimental links binding our colonies with the mother country'.²⁶ There is some light humour here at the expense of the British colonial enterprise, but it is gently done; there is little to redeem his statements about class. Amongst the serious points that can be made about this introduction is that Douglas sees the limerick as 'a belated product of puritanical repression'.²⁷ Douglas, though, while accepting the force of the moral law tries to make it clear that he has thrown off its fetters. There is a note of insistence about the claim, however: 'Abuse, hearty abuse, is a tonic to all save men of indifferent health'.²⁸

Turning to the limericks themselves it is easy to be somewhat po-faced. But there has to be, for all the humour it provides, disquiet about the class and gender hierarchies that are being reinforced in *Some Limericks*.²⁹ Douglas' taste for the humour of violation and anal violence is also much in evidence.³⁰ Some of the limericks do have homosexual relations as their subject matter and the Douglas of 1928, in a privately printed, low-circulation text, is prepared to venture a little proselytizing,

There was a young man of Madras,
Who was having a boy in the grass,
When a cobra-capello
Said "Hello, young fellow!"
And bit a piece out of his arse.

The note observes that it 'is to be feared that the young man commemorated in this poem had no antidote at hand, and that he therefore paid with his life for what, in India is a matter of individual taste'.³¹ However, the overall tone here is hardly transgressive, the book is giving a certain moneyed readership at play exactly what Douglas believed they wanted. He takes care to minimize his own effort - it can hardly have been a hard book to produce.

As Mark Holloway noted in his biography of Douglas it is a text written in either conscious or unconscious competition. It appeared from Florence in November 1928, Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was published in the same city in June of that year. Both projects involved Douglas' great friend Pino Orioli. Douglas had attended early readings from the Lawrence novel, and declared it 'one of the filthiest books I ever read'. Douglas' own book was not advertised, rather he appealed directly by mail to prospective buyers. In the letters he sent he said that *Some Limericks* was 'one of the filthiest in the English language, I should think, and written only

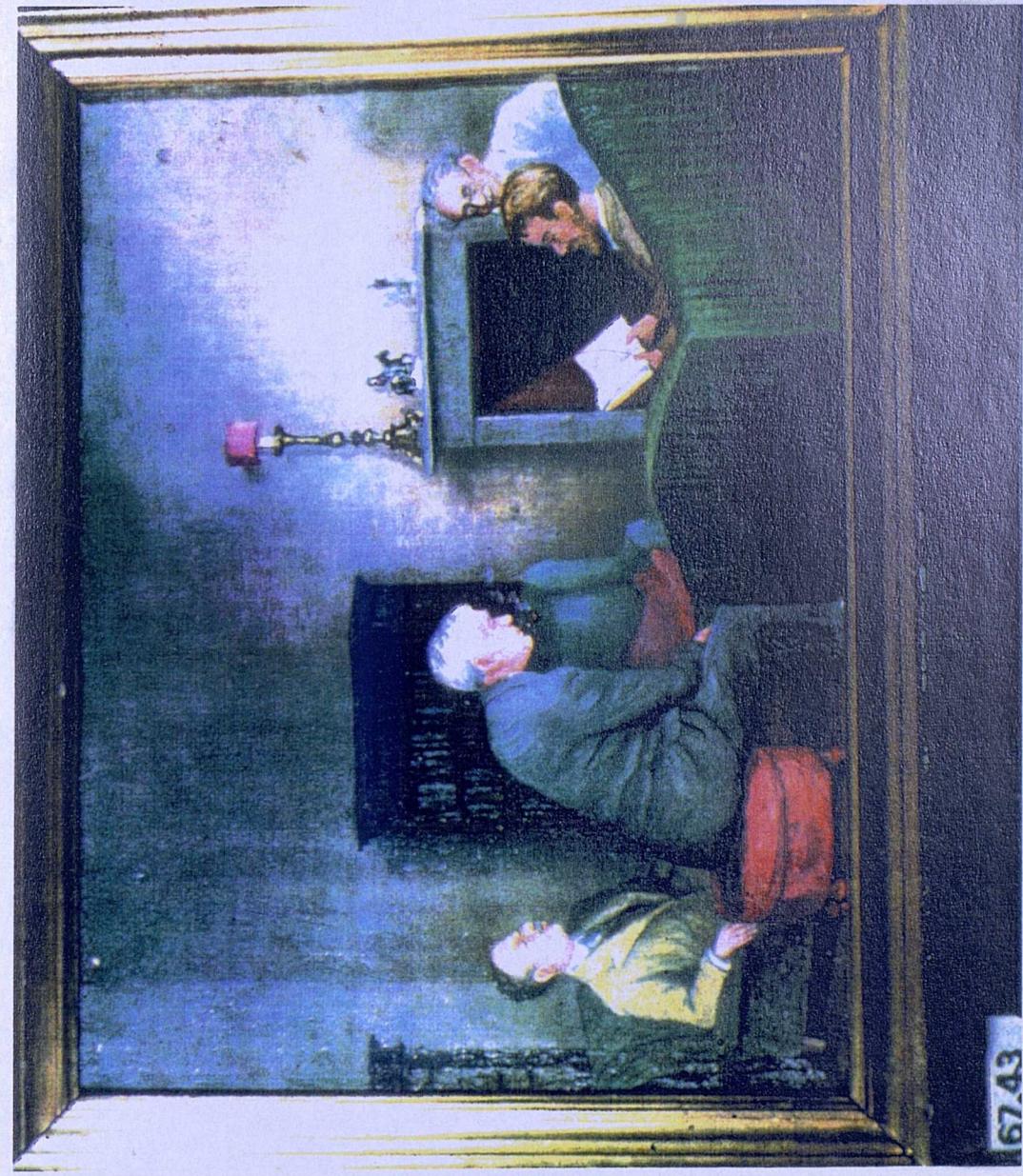
for the *Dirty-minded Elect*'. As Holloway intelligently points out, Douglas was quite clear that he thought Lawrence's novel was aimed at the inhibited 'bourgeois'. His own book, then, was targeted at a different audience, at the 'Elect'.

The early responses to the limerick book varied. Scott-Moncrieff called it 'one of the most laughter provoking things ever produced'.³² Aldous Huxley thought the effort pitiable: 'It was a totally unfunny book'.³³ In the essay 'Pornography and Obscenity' Lawrence argued that 'dirty limericks' are part of the tendency to do 'dirt on sex'.³⁴ He also said in a letter that he thought the Douglas' text simply 'indecent' - though he was also annoyed that in failing to offer value for money it was something of a market-spoiler for his own novel.³⁵ One thing can be said with some confidence, though - and for once a Leavisian terminology is useful: if there was no great geographical distance between Lawrence and Douglas at this time, there was between a considerable gap between the texts in terms of their moral seriousness.

In this year of scandalous publications the most famous is surely Lawrence's last novel. It is not possible here to offer a full reading of the *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, to note the form taken by its unfortunate hardening of Lawrence's writing on sex into a final polemical statement, or to look in detail at the novel's reception. The effort to advocate a liberated outdoor heterosexuality could be seen as the final demonstration of the total exclusion of homosexuality. However, same-sex bonding never drops away from Lawrence's interests entirely. One thinks a number of his late paintings, or the description, which comes in the third version in the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* project, of Mellors' colonel 'who had loved him and whom he had loved'.³⁶

One image that resulted from those early readings of the novel in Florence does interest me here, though. Having suggested the way that the texts that Douglas and Mackenzie offered to others can be seen as characteristic, it is perhaps salutary to end with a sense of the difficulty of following identifications, the need for constantly challenging structures of thinking in the light of evidence of new and surprising connections and combinations.

This can be seen with a painting I reproduce here by Collingwood Gee: the original is now at Austin. It depicts one of the first readings of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in Florence. What is known of Gee comes in Mackenzie's autobiography, and we have already



Lawrence reading Lady Chatterley's Lover, 1928 by Collingwood Gee
(Art Collection, Harry Ransom Research Center, University of Texas at Austin)

noted his role in introducing Mackenzie to the remnants of the Wilde circle. From the description of Gee given by Mackenzie it is possible to identify him as Mr Mee (for 'Gee'), one of the Florentine expatriates depicted by Lawrence in *Aaron's Rod* (1921). This was thought, by the editor of the Cambridge edition, to be Maurice Magnus, but the description simply does not fit. So the painter - who must himself have been present at these readings, though he is not represented in the image - was himself homosexual. Mackenzie described him as being 'as completely homosexual as anybody I have known'.³⁷ In the painting itself is Reggie Turner - who Wilde once called the 'boy-snatcher of Clement's Inn', and who, indeed, helped nurse Wilde in his final illness: his contacts with the young Mackenzie were discussed in the first chapter. Norman Douglas is also present, as is the novel's printer, Pino Orioli. The composition may well be awkward simply due to a lack of talent on Gee's part, but it is strangely unsettled. On the far left, Reggie Turner looks uncomfortable, exaggeratedly straight-backed, and his eyes, one senses, are flapping. The central figure is Norman Douglas - we see more of him than of the others; and again he appears to be somewhat bored-looking as he draws on his pipe. Pino Orioli looks out awkwardly from over Lawrence's head, a grin forming on his face. The author himself is strangely recessed in the sarcophagus-like sofa. For someone who advocated giving expression to the body as opposed to the mental and the spiritual we only see, inappropriately, head, shoulder and hands. The first audience for *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, then, was a group of middle aged men who were all homosexual. What, one wants to know, 'held' the scene, what kept this strange grouping in place? Did Lawrence think he was going to persuade them to change as a result of his reading? What occurred to each of his auditors as they listened? The question this surprising image poses about same-sex desire and identification is that unexpected links can be formed, there is a need to extend and modify conceptual models for addressing the relation of the subject to wider social groupings in the light of the ongoing challenge provided by the encounter with the body of available texts and evidence.

This thesis has sought to open out what has often been occluded in accounts of the history of male homosexuality. The pull, the identification in the present, towards a group that is felt to be accessible and which the individual wants to construct as wholly

coherent, produces a blindspot in available models. There is a failure to address the way the subject's identifications with the limited range of available identities are ambivalent, may change over time, and the way they may be affected by socialisation in a homophobic environment. It omits and cannot face a present which is composed, in part, of an internalisation of the oppression of the past. It has been the intention of this thesis, taking a number of subjects who themselves wrote, to look at their relation to available sources of identification, and at how their interventions were received.

The exclusion of an account of the experience of the subject that I identify here can be seen even in recent work, such as George Chauncey's *Gay New York* (1995). The aim of the book is to chart how a vital and vibrant gay culture existed in the city in the period 1890 to 1940. It takes the form of following key figures, and involves a remarkable reconstruction of gay haunts and of their codes of behaviour. The text is quite specifically designed to suggest that here was a period when there was little difficulty gaining direct access to homosexual culture. Chauncey begins, in what theoretical introduction he provides, with an effort to rebut what he sees as three myths, namely those of 'isolation, invisibility and internalisation'.³⁸ While it is not possible to analyze his thesis in detail, one can certainly register a number of immediate problems. For example, the parameters of his inquiry are carefully circumscribed, allowing for a difficult few decades after 1940 to prepare the ground for the Stonewall uprising in 1969, which would otherwise be the rebellion without a justification. There is no sustained effort to ask how a subject moved from, or between, their family and friends and this 'gay world'. It is a text that excludes the effects of socialisation in a hostile social environment for those interested in same-sex desire. Written in a state of denial for a readership that is also in denial, there is an effort to make a community through establishing a happy circle of forgetting, a project that is always on the edge of unravelling. It is this kind of text that anyone writing a history of the subject's encounter with same-sex identities - of the ambivalences and possible rejections of aspects of the gay sub-culture experienced by the subject - has to counter and break down.

A question may have presented itself. Is this account of the subject's relation to same-sex identities in a hostile society itself unmediated by the positioning in relation to 'homosexuality'

of the writing subject who produced it? Surely *this text* is not written from some, inevitably imaginary, objective viewpoint, and with a direct access to 'truth'? Of course, these are strong questions; everything that has been said tends toward the acceptance of their force. But there will be no submission here either to the question or of the answer - in so far as that answer is known.³⁹ All that can be said, perhaps, is that a certain relation of the subject to available discourses may open certain lines of sight, enable a certain trajectory of research to be undertaken which may yield up results. Here the contention has been that it is necessary to address the writing subject's relation to 'homosexuality', and to be prepared in doing so to write a history of damage.

Notes

Notes to the Epigraph page

1. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray, The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* (London: Collins, 1966) p. 73.
2. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, ed. Phyllis Grosskurth (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986) p. 266.
3. W.H.Auden, *Collected Poems*, ed. Edward Mendelson (London: Faber and Faber, 1991) p. 286.

Notes to the Introduction

1. This thesis addresses only male homosexuality. This is a limitation, not least because the questions I raise seem highly relevant to lesbian experience as well - lesbians have also needed to establish supporting narratives, to seek ways of belonging after initial experiences of exclusion. However, there are differences with the history of male homosexuality that make this a different project. For middle and upper-middle class male homosexuals their shared public school education provided a shared range of reference, a shared pool of available sources of identification with places where sexuality was differently organised. Also lesbian identities emerged, it seems, somewhat later: the timescale is different. A further significant factor for the history of female homosexuality is the male representation of lesbianism: examples of this include the 'Shame' chapter of Lawrence's *The Rainbow* and Compton Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women*. I hope aspects of what is said in this thesis may be of use to a similar project addressing lesbian desire. It seems inappropriate - indeed wrong - to claim though that I can address the subject area adequately with the material and structure I have in mind. When the insights apply to both male and female homosexuality I try to make this clear by using both male and female pronouns.

Appropriate terminology for same-sex desire is a complex issue. The word 'homosexuality' is placed in inverted commas here to draw attention to its status as a construct, something that is socially and historically produced, rather than its being an essential category. However, the use of inverted commas around the word every time it and near-synonyms are used would be exhausting on the eye, they would spread like a rash on the page. I will use inverted commas around a word where I particularly wish to alert the reader about the dangers of falling into the essentialising fallacy. It is possible to argue for the complete avoidance of the word 'homosexuality' and to suggest various alternatives. The problem is, though, that there is no wholly neutral term for same-sex desire that does not come with some associations. For example, one could argue that the phrase 'same-sex desire' is too orientated around issues of the nature of the sexual object choice - in other cultures the emphasis is on the cultivation of the instinct, in the quality of the experience. Alan Sinfield proposes, as an alternative, 'same-sex passion'. (Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century. Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994) p. 11.) However, the word 'passion' carries its own set of implications - from the 'romantic' to the pornographic - that prevent it helping us to reach some 'final' set of terms with a clear, precise meaning. All available terminology has to be provisional, with its status as such being flagged by using inverted commas where context demands. For the sake of a varied prose style I will use a number of near-synonyms for same-sex desire, including 'homosexuality': using it about the period under discussion is not anachronistic, after all.

2. For an absorbing introduction to this area and a discussion of Fanon and issues of gender and homosexuality see Diana Fuss, 'Interior Colonies: Frantz Fanon and the Politics of Identification', *Diacritics*, Vol 24, nos 2-3 (Summer/Fall 1994) pp. 20-42.

3. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume One. An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) p. 101.

4. For an effort to begin the study of 'experience' see Joan Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol 17 (1991) pp. 773-797.

5. Even promising texts with this provenance can prove disappointing. I turned to a new collection of essays from Routledge, entitled *Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects*, with interest. The editors' introduction promises well, particularly when it focuses on issues of subjectivity and experience, though there are soon signs that their theoretical language is bumping against its ceiling. They wish to move beyond the space traditionally designated by 'homosexuality' and declare a need to consider 'other markers of identity by which we situate ourselves and are situated in the world'. (Monica Dorenkamp and Richard Henke, eds., *Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects* (London: Routledge, 1995) pp. 1-2.) Though the need to transcend the terms set by the sexological term of 'homosexuality' and the meanings that have clustered around it over time is surely valid, the insistence on the necessity of considering a number of 'markers' is soon followed by their distillation back into a list of discrete entities; race, gender, sexuality. The phrase how 'we situate ourselves and are situated in the world' is weak, the urge to the barricades of 'homosexuality and ...', as they admit, hardly new. Neither is the calling into doubt of the unity of collective homosexual identity that follows, and the consequent questioning of the use of the word 'we' (though the editors have been using the pronoun sentence-in-sentence-out to refer to their fellow homosexuals and their experience for most of the piece, as in the phrases I just quoted). The essays in the book are held to indicate 'an increased understanding of the density and complexity of the issues that concern lesbian and gay men, and the impossibility of ever fixing "our" subject(s)'. (Monica Dorenkamp and Richard Henke, *Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects*, p. 6.) Many of these pieces, unsurprisingly it now seems, replicate the usual features of contemporary (particularly) American, lesbian and gay studies; the slip and slide of meanings around various identities returns, as the wish to consider the situatedness of the lesbian and gay subject in relation to society recedes. History too is relegated: such evidence is eschewed. My wish for an analysis of the engagement of the sexually dissident subject with a centre in society which experiences as an imperative the need to expel and negativize them, was, I found, a theoretical desire that this book did not satisfy, yet another *amour impossible*.

6. An example of a figure widely seen as at the centre of an emerging identity, as untroubled by difficulties of belonging, is Edward Carpenter. However, Carpenter's own positioning in relation to same-sex desire is more complex than his autobiography seeks to suggest. According to *My Days and Dreams* Carpenter returned from an important trip to Italy in 1873 having decided to change the course of his life. A love of Greek sculpture had been discovered; this was added to his admiration for Whitman. A number of sources of identification that validated same-sex desire had thus been found. (Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes* (London: George Allen, 1916) p. 67.) Returning to Cambridge, in the account given in *My Days and Dreams*, Carpenter renounced orders and placed his college fellowship in the hands of the Dean. Soon after we learn that 'It had come on me with great force that I would go

and throw in my lot with the mass-people and the manual workers'. (Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, p. 79.)

However, the account of Carpenter putting his Cambridge days wholly and decisively in the past is a selective one. He was very determined to leave the priesthood, and this meant, since his fellowship was clerical, that he might have to leave Cambridge as well. But he hoped, in fact, to be elected immediately to a lay fellowship, and so to stay in Cambridge. This did not happen. It is clear that the resolution to break with his University was not as firm as *My Days and Dreams* suggests. Chushichi Tsuzuki, in his biography of Carpenter, makes clear that he was in fact bound into a love-hate relationship with Cambridge. (Chushichi Tsuzuki, *Edward Carpenter 1844-1929. Prophet of Human Fellowship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp. 27-28.) The intense same-class object choices that Carpenter established there, which he was unable to express or carry forward, were not easily left behind. Tsuzuki cites the following passage from an 1875 letter. It shows Cambridge as holding in one place a number of conflicting tendencies. Carpenter imagines himself back at Trinity Hall,

Now I am sitting by the window open upon the little back garden - where the rain, as of old, is pattering upon the leaves of the mulberry trees and the marigolds & fennel grow beneath in 'sweet confusion'. It is a dreadful little back garden to me - so full of reminiscences & associations, from Walt Whitman to the W.C.! I do not quite know whether I like it or whether I am afraid of it. But it is the same with all Cambridge. However I recant about the garden, for really I hold it a sacred spot, sacred over all pleasure & pain as some things are.

(Edward Carpenter to C.G.Oates, 28th August 1875, quoted in Chushichi Tsuzuki, *Edward Carpenter*, p. 27.) His ambivalence leads him to recast each successive statement, terminating his fluctuating reactions by asserting his love of a particular place, the garden. A Cambridge-identification seems to have survived, in some form, the advent of the later dominant identifications with Whitman and ancient Greece. The kind of mix this produced can be glimpsed in Virginia Woolf's biography of Roger Fry. Carpenter was still returning to Cambridge and meeting undergraduates in the eighteen eighties. He 'discussed the universe with the undergraduates, [and] made them read Walt Whitman'. (Virginia Woolf, *Roger Fry. A Biography* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1940) pp. 46-47.) As late as 1916, in his autobiography, Carpenter can be seen feeling the need to produce a simplified narrative of the past in his autobiography, one which says that Cambridge was something that he surpassed and left fully behind.

7. A.L.Rowse, *Homosexuals in History. A Study of Ambivalence in Society, Literature and the Arts* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

8. Alan Sinfield, 'Private Lives/ Public Theater: Noel Coward and the Politics of Homosexual Representation', *Representations*, No 36 (Fall 1991) pp. 43-63, especially pp. 54-57.

9. In fact, the line that Symonds' takes is very much driven by his own positioning in relation to same-sex desire: this is discussed later in this Introduction. In *A Problem in Greek Ethics* Symonds' argues that sexuality is organised in a number of ways in different periods and in different parts of ancient Greece. His

argument is that in early Greece, most notably in the works of Homer, we see 'heroic' same-sex relations: 'It is a powerful and masculine emotion, in which effeminacy had no part, and which by no means excluded the ordinary feelings'. ([John Addington Symonds], *A Problem in Greek Ethics* ('Ten Copies Privately Printed for the Author's Use', 1883) p. 6.) To the 'heroic' same-sex relations - which he sees as being like those that pertained in chivalric codes - is added 'vulgar' *peiderastia*; that is, bonds with a sexual element involving age-asymmetrical relations. From Crete, and through the Dorians, a 'mixed type of *peiderastia*' emerged, with elements of the 'ideal' and the 'vulgar'. (John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, p. 23.) In time, in Symonds' account, same-sex passion loses its pure aspect; a corruption becomes apparent, marked by 'effeminacy' (this was clearly already a taboo). He carries his argument forward by a discussion of the *Greek Anthology*. (John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, pp. 74-81). Symonds then notes a further historical shift, with the emergence of Judeo-Christian morality,

While the *peiderastia* of the Greeks was sinking into grossness, effeminacy, and aesthetic prettiness, the moral instincts of humanity began to assert themselves in earnest. It became part of the higher doctrine of the Roman Stoics to suppress this form of passion. The Christians, from St Paul onwards, instituted an uncompromising crusade against it.

(John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, p. 81.) Symonds' own respect for convention can be seen here: it is what leads him to condemn 'vulgar' *peiderastia*. He searches for a form of same-sex desire that is untainted, that can be championed; finding this in early Greece. The problem for Symonds, of course, is that it is same-sex passion where sex itself is refined away.

10. On late Foucault see Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); James Bernauer and David Rasmussen, eds., *The Final Foucault* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1988); Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton, eds., *Technologies of the Self. A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (London: Tavistock, 1988); and Michel Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture. Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (London: Routledge, 1988).

11. Cf. James Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault* (London: HarperCollins, 1993) pp. 40-45.

12. Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure, The History of Sexuality Volume 2*, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) p. 6.

13. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out. Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (2nd ed. London: Quartet Books, 1990) p. 1.

14. For example: H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Cleveland Street Scandal* (London: W.H.Allen, 1976); Roger Casement (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964) and Oscar Wilde. *A Biography* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1976).

15. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, p. 3.

16. Gayle S. Rubin, 'Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality', Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1993) p. 10.
17. *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, 2 Vols, ed. Wayne R. Dynes et al., (London: St James Press, 1990).
18. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality. Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
19. John Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness. Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).
20. Michel Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture*, p. 287.
21. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, p. 58.
22. David Halperin, 'One Hundred Years of Homosexuality', *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (London: Routledge, 1990) p. 15.
23. Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951) pp. 58-65.
24. John Boswell, 'Revolutions, Universals, and Sexual Categories' in Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey, Jr., eds., *Hidden from History. Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991) p. 25.
25. John Boswell, 'Revolutions, Universals, and Sexual Categories', p. 19.
26. John Boswell, 'Categories, Experience and Sexuality' in Edward Stein, ed., *Forms of Desire. Sexual Orientation and the Social Constructionist Controversy* (London: Routledge, 1992) pp. 133-173.
27. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991) pp. 46-47.
28. Cf. Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld. A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books 1986). The list of contents for the first section of *Cities of the Plain* runs 'Introducing the men-women, descendants of those of the inhabitants of Sodom who were spared by the fire from heaven'. Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans C.K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, Vol 2, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983) pp. vii, 623-656. On the contemporary relevance of homosexuality and gender mixing see Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century*, pp. 176-207.
29. Carole S. Vance, 'Social Construction Theory: Problems in the History of Sexuality', Dennis Altman et al., *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality? International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Studies* (London: GMP, 1989) pp. 18-19.

30. Fletcher sees Forster as trying to imagine a relationship between two men untouched by the effeminate and the intellectual. However the kind of relationship envisioned between Maurice and Alec excludes someone like Forster, who, in some ways, corresponds to the intellectual Clive. Fletcher argues that Forster erases himself from the successful homosexual relationship he depicts. However the penultimate paragraph reinstates Clive (and so, in this account, Forster) into the scene of homosexual love through fantasy. However, Fletcher's emphasis on a 'virile doubling' between Alec and Maurice omits the significance accorded to their class differences in the novel. Moreover, Fletcher's argument is centred on the psychological make-up and unconscious motivations of the novel's author: it is as if his aim is a judgement of Forster's worth and strength. One discerns a finger wagging at Forster's supposed psychological immaturity. Fletcher does not address sufficiently the ways in which Maurice is deeply interested in the formation of the ego, in a developing self. (John Fletcher, 'Forster's Self-erasure: Maurice and the Scene of Masculine Love', Joseph Bristow, ed., *Sexual Sameness. Textual Differences in Lesbian and Gay Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992) pp. 64-90.)

31. Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side. Toward a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1993).

32. Philip Gleason, 'Identifying Identity: A Semantic History', *The Journal of American History*, Vol 69, no 4 (March 1983) pp. 910-931.

33. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, p. xi.

34. Mary McIntosh, 'The Homosexual Role', *Social Problems*, Vol 16 (1968) p. 192.

35. Steven Epstein, 'Gay Politics, Ethnic Identity: The Limits of Social Constructionism', *Socialist Review*, Vol 17:3&4, No 93-94 (May/August 1987) p. 23.

36. This critique comes in Foucault's response to Derrida, who had criticised his use of Descartes in *Histoire de la Folie*. Originally an article, Foucault's piece was placed, from 1972, at the end of *Histoire de la Folie*. He argues,

I agree on one fact at least: it is not as a result of inattention that classical interpreters, before Derrida, and like him, have erased this passage by Descartes. It is systematic. Derrida, today, is the most authoritative representative of this system, its final radiance. In it discursive traces are reduced to textual traces; events occurring there are elided and kept only as markers for a reading; voices behind the texts are invented so as not to have to analyze the ways in which the subject is implicated in discourses; the original is allocated to what is said and not-said in the text, so as not to put discursive practices back into the field of transformations in which they are carried out ... I am not going to say that there is a metaphysics, the metaphysics or its closure, concealed in this 'textualization' of discursive practises. I am going to go much further. I am going to say that it is a minor pedagogy, one thoroughly historically determined, that manifests itself in a way that is highly visible. This

pedagogy teaches the pupil that there is nothing outside the text ... This pedagogy gives the teacher's voice that unlimited sovereignty which allows it to repeat the text indefinitely.

We have, of course, only an elderly and mutilated translation of *Histoire de la Folie* in English: it does not include this important piece. The above is cited from Didier Eribon, *Michel Foucault*, trans. Betsy Wing (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) p. 121.

37. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) p. 20.

38. René Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel. Self and Other in Literary Structure* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965).

39. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men*, p. 26.

40. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, p.1.

41. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, p. 9.

42. Cf. Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc*, trans Samuel Weber (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1988).

43. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990); Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (London: Routledge, 1993); and Judith Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Insubordination' in Diana Fuss (ed.), *Inside/Out. Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories* (London: Routledge, 1991) pp. 13-31.

44. Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence. Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). On the 'perverse dynamic' see pp. 33, 228-230.

45. Michel Foucault, 'What is an author?', *Language, Counter-Memory, Practise. Selected Essays and Interviews*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977) pp. 113-138.

46. Charles Ruas, 'An Interview with Michel Foucault' in Michel Foucault, *Death and the Labyrinth. The World of Raymond Roussel*, trans. Charles Ruas (London: Athlone Press, 1987) pp. 169-186.

47. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (London: Routledge, 1994) pp. 52-72.

48. For many examples of psychoanalytic efforts to 'correct' homosexuality, see the 'Treatment' section of Katz's anthology of primary source material on gay American history. (Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History. Lesbian and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (2nd edn. New York: Meridean, 1992).)

49. Sedgwick, 'How to Bring Your Kids Up Gay: The War on Effeminate Boys', *Tendencies*, pp. 154-164.

50. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (New York: Viking, 1977); Guy Hocquenghem, *Homosexual Desire* (London: Alison and Busby, 1978); and Mario Mieli, *Homosexuality and Liberation. Elements of a Gay Critique* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1980).

51. Henry Abelove, 'Freud, Homosexuality and the Americans', *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, pp. 381-393.

52. Kenneth Lewes, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1988) p. 32.

53. Cited from Henry Abelove, 'Freud, Male Homosexuality and the Americans', pp. 381-382.

54. Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun. Depression and Melancholia*, Leon S. Roudiez, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989) p. 29

55. Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology, The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol 23*, ed. James Strachey et. al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute for Psycho-Analysis, 1955) p. 106.

56. Writing on travel does not occupy a great part of Freud's output, but it does span his writing career. Sections from *The Interpretation of Dreams* are involved, as well as the late essay 'A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis'. This writing on travel has been suggestively explored in Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys. Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) pp. 187-201. For Freud travel is an ambivalent affair. On the one hand, it is part of an effort to return to the security of the womb: Freud cites the rather heterocentric joke, 'Love is home sickness'. (Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol 17*, ed James Strachey et. al. (London, The Hogarth Press and the Institute for Psycho-Analysis, 1955) p. 245.) On the other, he states that 'I had long seen clearly that a great part of the pleasure of travel lies in the fulfilment of these early wishes - that it is rooted, that is, in dissatisfaction with home and family'. (Sigmund Freud, 'A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol 22*, ed. James Strachey et. al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute for Psycho-Analysis, 1964) p. 247.) In Freud's dreams about Rome in *The Interpretation of Dreams* he considers those things that, at the time of writing the book, had prohibited him from visiting the city, and the way this had figured in his dream life. The main text contains a weak, slightly self-pitying explanation of why his schedule always prevents him visiting Rome, counteracted by footnotes, added later, speaking of the way that subsequent resolutions allowed him to become a regular visitor to the city. Freud sees the effort to get to Rome as related to his encounter with an ancient culture to which he was drawn in his schooldays. Dreams of Hannibal's doomed effort to reach Rome are linked by Freud to his identification with Hannibal as a schoolchild, one fed by Hannibal's semitic origins. A further role played in the relationship between Jewry and Rome (which now means not so much the Empire, as the Church) comes with a memory of Freud's about his father's relation to prejudice. Telling his son that he had once had his cap knocked off, the young Freud asked what

happened next. He was told in reply that his father had just picked up the cap. Hannibal provided a strong, military alternative to such submissive behaviour. But, of course, Hannibal never got to Rome: he failed. Freud contrasts Hannibal with Winckelmann, who did get there. What is not fully brought out in *The Interpretation of Dreams* is the way these dreams, and their use of these diverse sources of identification that are in no way restricted to his father, show Freud's own anxieties about success and failure of psychoanalysis. Will it fail, or, as Winckelmann went on to become the father of modern art history, will Freud go on to found a new discipline? His later footnotes, where he says that he has become a 'constant pilgrim' to Rome can be read as Freud saying the following: 'I have succeeded in life, it is just as if the semitic Hannibal had reached Rome (as Winckelmann did)'. (Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams. First Part, The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol 4* (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute for Psycho-Analysis, 1953) pp. 193-198; the phrase quoted comes from p. 194.)

The late, masterly piece, 'A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis' contains a similar web of concerns uniting childhood with antiquity; to this is added old age. Issues around Jewishness are not so much present in the text itself as in the context that gave rise to it. The piece is an open letter to Romain Rolland, a Jewish writer experiencing difficulties in Nazi Germany. Again the text involves Freud's relation to his father, to his succeeding where his father did not have the opportunity. Freud sees the experience of derealization in Athens as coming from a feeling of guilt at having surpassed his father, who had no secondary education and to whom Greece meant little. But, movingly - again - the use of the interdictions associated with travel, the way it can be used to unite many of the forces involved in a life, sees Freud coming to the edge of insights of such force that he finds it difficult to spell them out directly. Hence the master of carefully unravelling argument ends the essay with a breathless, confessional rush of words,

And now you will no longer wonder that the recollection of this incident on the Acropolis should have troubled me so often since I myself have grown old and stand in need of forbearance and can travel no more.

(Sigmund Freud, 'A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis', p. 248.) Freud's days of travel are over he says (sadly not true of course, a long journey to Britain and exile was still to be made) and he needs looking after: presumably he means Anna and the painfully intimate tasks she had to fulfil relating to his prosthesis. Can she come to surpass her father as he surpassed his, is Freud holding her back in life? The past is used to reach a moving, darkly insightful, understanding of the present. Freud is not only able to show how travel exposes the subject to experiences which allow for the sight of unconscious processes, he also starts to show that his own work on identification within the Oedipal family and in the psychology of groups can be utilised to provide tools for the analysis of the individual's interaction with wider forces.

57. Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id, The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 19*, ed. James Strachey et. al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1961) p. 32. For Freud's change of heart see the essay 'Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes': it is in the same volume pp. 248-258; see

especially p. 248.

58. Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology*, p. 105.
59. Jacques Lacan, *Écrits. A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977) p. 2.
60. Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, p. 31.
61. Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, p. 34.
62. Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, pp. 34-35.
63. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, pp. 55-56.
64. John Addington Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Vol 2 (3rd edn. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893) pp. 361-387. [John Addington Symonds], *A Problem in Greek Ethics* ([London]: Privately Printed, 1883).
65. Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) and Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980).
66. John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, 7 Vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1900-1910). Symonds particularly admired Marlowe's *Edward II* - see John Addington Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama* (London: Smith, Elder, 1900) pp. 524-531.
67. 'The immediate desire behind his frenetic industry was his compulsion to learn definitely whether Michelangelo was a homosexual or not.' (Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds. A Biography* (London: Longmans, 1964) p. 259.)
68. John Addington Symonds, *Walt Whitman. A Study* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1893).
69. Symonds' wrote that 'A cycle of poems gradually got written, illustrating the love of man for man in all periods of civilisation'. The writing was, for him, a 'palliative treatment'. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, ed. Phyllis Grosskurth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) pp. 118-9.
70. John Addington Symonds, *Italian Byways* (London: Smith, Elder, 1883); John Addington Symonds, *Sketches in Italy and Greece* (London: Smith, Elder, 1874); and John Addington Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy* (London: Smith, Elder, 1879). For Henry James on Symonds - an encounter one interesting as regards James' attitude to homosexual identities - see Leon Edel, *The Life of Henry James. Vol 4. The Treacherous Years. 1895-1901* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969) pp. 114-121. For James on Symonds and Italy see page 116. Before Gosse had lent James a copy of *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, and told him of Symonds' homosexuality, James had written a story based on what he knew of the Symonds' marriage; it is entitled the *Author of Beltraffio*.
71. Symonds notes the same quality in Whitman that he finds in the Dorian Greeks; he goes on to point out rather gleefully where this somehow chaste and higher love between men tended,

Personally, it is undeniable that Whitman possessed a specially keen sense of the fine restraint and continence, the cleanliness and chastity, that are inseparable from the perfectly virile and physically complete nature of healthy manhood. Still we have the right to predicate the same ground-qualities in the early Dorians, those founders of the martial institution of Greek love; and yet it is notorious to students of Greek civilisation that the lofty sentiment of their masculine chivalry was intertwined with much that is repulsive to modern sentiment.

(John Addington Symonds, *Walt Whitman. A Study*, p. 74.)

In Symonds' *A Problem in Modern Ethics* he contrasts the sexological writing, which he sees as pathologizing same-sex desire, with the noble view taken by Whitman. (John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Modern Ethics. Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion Addressed Especially to Medical Psychologists and Jurists* (London: [Privately Printed], 1896) pp. 115-125. It is, indeed, this opposition between Whitman and 'science' that he uses to close the volume: see pp. 129-130.

72. See appendix 'On Michelangelo's Temperament and its Bearing on his Poetry' in John Addington Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Vol 2 (2nd ed. London: John C. Nimmo, 1893) pp. 381-385.

73. John Addington Symonds, *In the Key of Blue and Other Prose Essays* (London: Elkin Matthews, 1893) pp. 1-16.

74. T.S.Eliot, *The Waste Land. A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound*, ed. Valerie Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1971) p. 2.

75. Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire. The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

76. Timothy d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest. Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) pp. 12-18.

77. Lord Alfred Douglas, 'In Memoriam John Addington Symonds', *The Spirit Lamp*, Vol 4 (4 May 1893) p. 44.

78. Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, pp. 168-173.

79. Letter to Horatio Brown, 20 June 1889, in Horatio Brown, ed., *Letters and Papers of John Addington Symonds* (London: John Murray, 1923) p. 451.

80. Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, p. 157.

81. Walter H. Pater, 'Renaissance in Italy. The Age of Despots by John Addington Symonds', *The Academy* (31st July 1875) pp. 103-105. For Symonds on Pater's book on the Renaissance see John Addington Symonds, 'Studies in the History of the Renaissance by Walter H. Pater', *The Academy* (15th March 1873) pp. 103-105.

82. Cf. John Addington Symonds, 'Is Poetry at Bottom a Criticism of Life? A Review of Matthew Arnold's Selection from Wordsworth' and 'Is Music the Type or Measure of all Art' in *Essays Speculative and Suggestive* (London: John Murray, 1907) pp. 315-344.

83. For the fullest account of the first editions of *Sexual Inversion* see Phyllis Grosskurth, *Havelock Ellis* (London: Allen Lane, 1980) pp. 173-204. Symonds' involvement is discussed in Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, pp. 284-294. In the first English edition of *Sexual Inversion* Symonds was responsible for a number of appendices. (Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion* (London: Wilson and MacMillan, 1897).) He wrote Appendix A, which was a reprint of *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (pp. 163-251), an appendix on 'Ulrichs's Views' pp. 258-272, and also 'Notes on the Concubines', pp. 276-278. The German edition had, in fact appeared a year earlier: Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Das Konträre Geschlechtsgefühl*, trans. Hans Kurella (Leipzig: Georg H. Wigand, 1896).

84. Wayne Kostenbaum, *Double Talk. The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration* (London: Routledge, 1989) pp. 43-67. For a more sophisticated recent response to Symonds, sexology and marginality see Ed Cohen, 'The Double Lives of Man: Narration and Identification in the Late Nineteenth-Century Representation of Ec-Centric Masculinities', *Victorian Studies*, Vol 36, No 3 (Spring 1993) pp. 353-376.

85. Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, pp. 25-41.

86. Cf. the letter Symonds wrote to Jowett, which is reproduced in *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, pp. 100-102 and John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, pp. 97-99.

87. Phyllis Grosskurth, *Havelock Ellis*, p. 113.

88. Most interesting here is Symonds' report of the correspondence to Carpenter in letters of 21 January 1893 and 13 February 1893 in *The Letters of John Addington Symonds. Vol 3. 1884-1893*, Herbert M. Schueller and Robert L. Peters, eds. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969) pp. 808-809, 818-819.

89. Michael Moon, 'Disseminating Whitman', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol 88, no 1 (Winter 1989) pp. 247-265 and his book *Disseminating Whitman* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

90. Edward Carpenter, *Some Friends of Walt Whitman. A Study in Sex Psychology* (London: The British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology (Pamphlet 13), 1924) p. 12.

91. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, p. 53.

92. John Addington Symonds, trans., *The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti and Tommaso Campanella Now for the First Time Translated into Rhymed English* (London: Smith, Elder, 1878); John Addington Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Vol 2, pp. 93-179, 381-385.

93. Christopher Isherwood, *Christopher and his Kind* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1977); J.R.Ackerley, *My Father and Myself* (London: The Bodley Head, 1968); André Gide, *If it Die ...*, trans. Dorothy Bussy

(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977); Roland Barthes, *Soirées de Paris, Incidents*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992) pp. 49-73.

94. John Addington Symonds, trans, *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, 2 Vols (London: John C. Nimmo, 1888).

95. Symonds writes in his *Memoirs* of his first reading of these key Plato texts, 'that night was one of the most important nights of my life ... Here in the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* - in the myth of the Soul and the speeches of Pausanias Agathon and Diotima - I discovered the true *liber amoris* at last, the revelation I had been waiting for, the consecration of a long-cherished idealism.' (*The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, p. 99.)

96. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, pp. 62-63.

97. For Foucault on the 'repressive hypothesis' in general see Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Volume One*, pp. 17-49.

98. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, pp. 262-267 and Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, pp. 23-204.

99. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, pp. 130-132; Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, pp. 65-69.

100. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, p. 283.

101. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men*, pp. 201-217.

102. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, p. 218.

Notes to Chapter One

1. For this contention, and many of the incidental details in the account that follows see Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie. A Life* (London: Hogarth Press, 1992), especially pp. 1-54. Mackenzie's own account of his formative years can be found in his autobiography, particularly *Compton Mackenzie, My Life and Times. Octave One* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963).
2. W.H.Auden, *The Orators. An English Study* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932) p. 106.
3. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, pp. 18-20. Mackenzie quotes from Symonds' account of his forbears to show the puritan nature of a part of his ancestry.
4. M. Compton Mackenzie, *Poems* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1907) pp. 52-61.
5. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, p. 252.
6. John Ruskin, *Praeterita* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) p. 1.
7. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, p. 147.
8. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, p. 255.
9. 'Neither then nor later could he admit that the real source of his unhappiness was not his old nurse but his mother. It was she who employed Annie Curry and implicitly supported her regimen despite the evident deterioration in the child's appearance and behaviour. It was she who actually inflicted the ultimate sanction of refusing to see him when he misbehaved. And at the end of those summer holidays, it was she who insisted that he be left behind with an old friend rather than be allowed to accompany them on the first part of the tour. Even when his father had succumbed to the boy's frenzied sobbing and brought him along to the station, his mother did not soften. "I can still hear the coldness in my mother's voice," he wrote almost seventy-five years later, "and feel the longing to be kissed and forgiven as I sit beside her in the railway-carriage."' (Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 16. The account draws on *Octave One* of Compton Mackenzie's *My Life and Times*: the quotation that Linklater uses is from p. 149 of that text.)
10. For Freud's most extended account of this see Sigmund Freud, 'The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol 19, ed. James Strachey et. al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1961) pp. 173-179.
11. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, p. 192.
12. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, p. 193.
13. Compton Mackenzie, *The Passionate Elopement* (London: Martin Secker, 1911).

14. Henry James, 'The New Novel 1914' in Henry James, *Selected Literary Criticism*, ed. Morris Shapira (London: Heinemann, 1963) pp. 311-342. For James on Mackenzie see especially pp. 338-342. The quotation on Lawrence comes on p. 314.

15. Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 180.

16. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Two* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964) p. 95.

17. While offering a careful analysis of the growth of games in public schools the possibility that sport may have been used to displace energies that might otherwise have found an outlet in same-sex passion is not taken up, strangely, in J.A. Mangan's *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

18. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960) p. 154.

19. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street*, p. 162.

20. 'Heythrop and himself. The warm July twilight. The noise of rowlocks and splash of clumsy oars and female giggles over the dimming water. "What asses girls are, Judge!" "Frightful asses, Haycock." Deepening July twilight. Lapping of water among the reeds. Quickening of two hearts as Heythrop and Oglvie turn on the cool grass to look at one another. Heythrop's grey eyes are shining visibly even in this warm July dusk. To say they were like stars would embarrass him that spake the simile and him that heard it. "I vote when we're alone we'll call each other by our Christian names, John." "Rather, let's ... Dick."

Dicky Heythrop! It had been brief enough that love, but never spoilt. Drowned a fortnight later in that very Thames which had lapped above the whispers of their boyish passion. Drowned on the first day of the summer holidays three years ago. Dick Heythrop would probably have been in the Eleven this term. He was the best bat among the Classical Juniors three years ago.'

The other protagonist in this 'boyish passion' would, Oglvie thinks, have become an admirable sportsman: the intimacy, he imagines, would have continued, but in the displaced form of admiration for sporting prowess.

Compton Mackenzie, *The East Wind of Love* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1937) p. 123.

21. Compton Mackenzie, *The East Wind of Love*, p. 88.

22. Compton Mackenzie, *The East Wind of Love*, pp. 644-645.

23. John Addington Symonds to Benjamin Jowett, 1st February 1889 in *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, ed. Phyllis Grosskurth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) p. 100.

24. Roger Scruton, *Sexual Desire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986).

25. For the former causology see the early editions of Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. John Addington Symonds translates a section from the 1889 edition in his *A Problem in Modern Ethics*,

The habit of self-abuse prepares the patient for abnormal appetites by weakening his nervous force, degrading his sexual imagination, and inducing hyper-sensitivity in his sexual apparatus. Partial impotence is not infrequently exhibited. In consequence of this sophistication of his nature, the victim of inherited neuropathy and onanism feels shy with women, and finds it convenient to frequent persons of his own sex.

(John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Modern Ethics. Addressed especially to Medical Psychologists and Jurists* (London: [Privately Printed], 1896) p. 45.)

For the Freud see Sigmund Freud, 'On Narcissism: An Introduction', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 14*, ed. James Strachey et. al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1957) p. 90.

26. E.M.Forster, *Maurice* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) p. 215.

27. Money is precise on detail, but offers no proof of his claims. They are: 'At La Solitaria [Mackenzie's main house on Capri] Mimì Ruggiero created and stocked the garden. Monty and Mimì had become good friends soon after his arrival in the island, and Monty was having an affair with Mimì's brother Luigi ... Later in the year Monty bought a four-roomed cottage on the plain of Cetrella, together with two acres of land, where he and Mimì planted tulips, narcissi, hyacinth anemone and iris. He used the cottage for private meetings with his boy-friends and lent it to others for this purpose.' James Money, *Capri. Island of Pleasure* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986) pp. 135, 146.

28. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street*, p. 232.

29. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street*, p. 235.

30. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Two*, p. 253.

31. Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988) p. 392.

32. Compton Mackenzie, *On Moral Courage* (London: Collins, 1962) pp. 52-71. For a biography of Turner see Stanley Weintraub, *Reggie. A Portrait of Reginald Turner* (New York: George Braziller, 1965).

33. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp. 214-217, 219-222. Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas. A Biography* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976) pp. 442-443.

34. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Two*, pp. 255-257.

35. Compton Mackenzie, *Literature in My Time* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1933) p. 82; Compton Mackenzie, *The East Wind of Love*, p. 89; Compton Mackenzie, *Thin Ice* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956) p. 161.

36. André Gide, *Corydon* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1950).

37. Compton Mackenzie, *The Adventures of Sylvia Scarlett* [containing *The Early Life and Adventures of Sylvia Scarlett* (1919) and *Sylvia and Michael* (1919)] (London: Macdonald, 1950) p. 76.
38. John Addington Symonds, *In the Key of Blue and Other Essays* (London: Elken Matthews and John Lane, 1893) pp. 1-16.
39. I am grateful to Professor Alan Sinfield for observations on the Wilde circle and codes around smoking.
40. Compton Mackenzie, *Sylvia Scarlett*, p. 76.
41. Compton Mackenzie, *Sylvia Scarlett*, p. 79.
42. The novel sequence opens with *The Altar Steps*. The text begins, 'Frightened by some alarm of sleep that was forgotten in the moment of waking, a little boy threw back his bedclothes and with quick heart and breath sat listening to the torrents of darkness that went rolling by.' Compton Mackenzie, *The Altar Steps* (London: Cassell and Company, 1922) p. 1.
43. Compton Mackenzie, *The Parson's Progress* (London: Cassell and Company, 1923) p. 265.
44. Compton Mackenzie, *The Parson's Progress*, p. 262.
45. Compton Mackenzie, *The Parson's Progress*, p. 276.
46. Evelyn Waugh, *Brideshead Revisited* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962) pp. 28-29.
47. David Hilliard, 'UnEnglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, 25:2 (Winter 1982) pp. 181-210. The quotation comes from p. 181. For an interesting recent discussion of the Oxford Movement in terms of the wider political implications of a strong masculinity, eschewing the effeminate, see Linda Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994) pp. 36-46.
48. David Hilliard, 'UnEnglish and Unmanly', p. 184.
49. For Butler's politics see especially Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990) pp. 142-149.
50. Charles Kingsley, *His Letters and Memories of his Life*, Vol. 1, ed. Frances Kingsley (London: C. Kegan Paul and Company, 1881) p. 201.
51. Geoffery Faber, *Oxford Apostles. A Character Study of the Oxford Movement* (London: Faber and Faber, 1933) pp. 25-35, 215-232.
52. David Hilliard, 'UnEnglish and Unmanly', p. 191.
53. Owen Chadwick, Introduction to Owen Chadwick, ed., *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: A. and C. Black, 1960) p. 28.

54. John Dixon Hunt, *The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination 1848-1900* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1968) pp. 29-32, 119-176.
55. Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire. The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).
56. Compton Mackenzie, *Literature in My Time*, p. 55.
57. Compton Mackenzie, *Literature in My Time*, p. 94.
58. Thomas Wright, *The Life of Walter Pater*, Vol 2 (London: Everett and Co, 1907) pp. 31-42.
59. *Selected Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) p. 12.
60. Other poets referred to are John Gambril Nicholson, Arthur Linton and Cuthbert Wright. Timothy d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest. Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English Uranian Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) pp. 179-180, 198. The quotation comes from p. 179.
61. 'The Priest and the Acolyte' concerns a Priest's love for a boy who comes to serve for him. As the net closes in on Ronald Heatherington and Wilfred, Heatherington says one last Mass, with poisoned wine,

Their lips met in one last kiss of perfect love, and all was over. ...

When the sun was rising in the heavens it cast one broad ray upon the altar of the little chapel. The tapers were burning still, scarcely half-burnt through. The sad-faced figure of the crucifix hung there in its majestic clam. On the steps of the altar was stretched the long, ascetic frame of the young priest, clothed in the sacred vestments; close beside him, with his curly head pillowed on the gorgeous embroideries that covered his breast, lay the beautiful boy in scarlet and lace. Their arms were around each other; a strange hush lay like a shroud over all.

'And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.'

One notes the mixture of religious and aesthetic language in this description of the dead man and boy, and the way the closing sentence forces home the damage that having same-sex desires in such a society is likely to have. ([John Francis Bloxam], 'The Priest and the Acolyte', *The Chameleon*, 1:1 (1894) pp. 29-47, the quotations come from p. 47. For the link to Wilde see Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde*, pp. 403-4, and on Bloxam's later career as a priest see Hilliard, 'UnEnglish and Unmanly', pp. 197-198.)

62. Compton Mackenzie, *Literature in My Time*, pp. 68-69.
63. Compton Mackenzie, *Literature in My Time*, pp. 84-90.

64. For a remarkable study of concepts of degeneration and its cultural and political impact see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, c. 1848 - c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
65. Wilde referred to Nordau's book in a letter to the Home Secretary from Reading Gaol of 2nd July 1896. This letter, and the reference to the note to the third German edition, can be found in *Selected Letters of Oscar Wilde*, p. 142 and n.
66. Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, trans. from 2nd German edition (London: Heinemann, 1895) p. 168. The reference to refusing to discuss different sexualities 'on principle' comes on p. 182.
67. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to the Antipathetic Sexual Instinct. A Medico-Forensic Study*, trans. F.J.Rebman (New York: Medical Art Agency, [1922]) p. 285.
68. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street*, p. 219.
69. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street*, pp. 215-216.
70. Of particular importance here are the poems in book twelve of the *Anthology*, based largely on Strato's *Mousa Paidiké*. Cf Peter Jay, 'Introduction', *The Greek Anthology. And Other Ancient Greek Epigrams*, ed. and trans. Peter Jay (London: Allen Lane, 1973) pp. 9-30.
71. On von Gloeden see Robert Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean. Writing, Art and Homosexual Fantasy* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 143-152 and Allen Ellenzwieg, *The Homoerotic Photograph. Male Images from Durieu/Delacroix to Mapplethorpe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) pp. 35-64. For a short but incisive discussion of von Gloeden in terms of 'kitsch' rather than 'camp' - particularly evinced by his use of artifacts associated with Rome and, most of all, Greece - see Roland Barthes, *Wilhelm von Gloeden* (Naples: Amelio Editore, 1978) pp. 11-12.
72. Compton Mackenzie, *Sinister Street*, p. 228.
73. As mentioned in the Introduction the word had probably begun to gain this sense in Britain by the early 1930s, but this use was still by no means widespread by the 1950s. Cf. Alan Sinfield, 'Private Lives/ Public Theater: Noel Coward and the Politics of Homosexual Representation', *Representations*, No. 36 (Fall 1991) pp. 43-63, especially pp. 54-57.
74. Leo Robertson, *Compton Mackenzie. An Appraisal of his Literary Work* (London: The Richards Press, 1954) pp. 117, 119.
75. Leo Robertson, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 126.
76. D.J.Dooley, *Compton Mackenzie* (New York: Twayne, 1974) p. 77.
77. Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 211.
78. Sally Beauman, 'Introduction' to *Compton Mackenzie, Vestal Fire* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985) p. ix.

79. Andro Linklater, 'Introduction' to Compton Mackenzie, *Extraordinary Women. Theme and Variations* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1986) p. vi.
80. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, p. 158.
81. Compton Mackenzie, *My Live and Times. Octave Ten* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1971) p. 63.
82. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, pp. ii, xv.
83. Cf. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 3, ed. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) pp. 481, 497-499, 599, 706.
84. The dedication runs, 'to his friend J.E.B. whose verses have enlivened this dismal discourse'. There is some evidence that Douglas meant this dedication ironically; that is to say, they provided entertainment because they were laughably bad. Norman Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1928) p. v.
85. Cyril Connolly in the *New Statesmen*, Vol. 30, no 759 (Saturday November 12, 1927) pp. 143-144.
86. In *Enemies of Promise* Cyril Connolly moves from a discussion of *Sinister Street* as a 'work of inflation' to discuss Douglas' *South Wind*. This was 'a book that was to reform for a while Compton Mackenzie': by which he means, presumably, the negative influence of *Sinister Street*. (Cyril Connolly, *Enemies of Promise* (London: George Routledge, 1938) p. 39.)
87. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 13.
88. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Two*, p. 256.
89. Compton Mackenzie, *Literature in My Time*, pp. 189-247.
90. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 80.
91. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 92.
92. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 92.
93. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 96.
94. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 113.
95. Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution. A Study. Vol 2. The Constitution* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896) pp. 167-168.
96. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 97.
97. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, 'Epidemics of the Will', *Incorporations*, ed. Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter (New York: Zone, 1992) pp. 582-595.
98. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 89.

99. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p.18.
100. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 166.
101. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 31.
102. For the description of Carlo being like Antinous see Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, pp. 31, 46. For an account of the statue of Carlo as Hylas see p. 204. For the story of Hylas and Hercules see Apollonius of Rhodes, *Jason and the Golden Fleece (The Argonautica)*, trans Richard Hunter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) pp. 31-35. Antinous appealed as a potential source of identification to early 'homosexuals'. For Symonds' writing on the beloved of Hadrian see Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds. A Biography* (London: Longmans, 1964) pp. 187-188. There is a poem entitled 'The Lotos-Garland of Antinous' in John Addington Symonds, *Many Moods. A Volume of Verse* (London: Smith, Elder, 1878) pp. 121-134. He devoted an essay on the subject of Antinous to his travel book *Sketches and Studies in Italy*. It begins, 'Visitors to picture and sculpture galleries are haunted by the forms of two handsome young men - Sebastian and Antinous. Both were saints: the one of decadent Paganism, the other of mythologising Christianity'. Symonds argues that while Antinous comes to us in accounts that suggest a clearly drawn personality, with Sebastian there is no clear sense of his 'individuality'. Tellingly, Symonds says that 'We know Sebastian only by his arrows.' (John Addington Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy* (London: Smith, Elder, 1879) pp. 47-90. The quotations come from p. 47.)
103. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, pp.207-208.
104. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Six* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967) p. 118.
105. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 408.
106. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 343.
107. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 47.
108. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 279.
109. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, pp. 181, 221.
110. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 150.
111. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 98.
112. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 121.
113. Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde*, p. 491.
114. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, pp. 232, 233.
115. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 242.
116. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 228.
117. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 132.

118. Compton Mackenzie, *Vestal Fire*, p. 225.
119. Timothy d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest*, p. 198.
120. Xavier Mayne [really Edward Ireneaus Prime Stevenson], *The Intersexes* ([Naples]: Privately Printed, [1908]) pp. 341-345; the quotation comes from p. 341. Edward Ireneaus Prime Stevenson (1868-1942) was an American lawyer turned journalist who spent increasing periods in Europe, prior to settling there. As well as *The Intersexes* he also wrote, under the pseudonym 'Xavier Mayne' (a name only slightly less improbable than his real one), the novel *Imre. A Memorandum*. While carefully preserving the Ulrichs-Hirschfeld line of homosexuality as a mixing of the two sexes the text is also a frank celebration of homosexual sex. Stevenson seems to have been particularly interested in soldiers. The novel shares its pornographic qualities with the anonymous *Teleny* (sometimes attributed to Wilde). (For an account of what is known of the mysterious Stevenson see the *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, ed. Wayne R. Dynes (London: St. James Press, 1990) Vol 2, p. 1250. For recent editions of the two novels see [Edward Ireneaus Prime Stevenson], *Imre: A Memorandum* (New York: Badboy, 1992) and *Teleny* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1986).)
121. In *Looking Back* 'Dawson' - Douglas uses the name Mackenzie had given him - is described as being 'ladylike, not to say effeminate'. However, he accompanied Douglas on a trip to see the aftermath of the Messina earthquake, which made Douglas respect his physical endurance. In fact, Andrews died in the influenza epidemic in February 1920. Douglas says of this that,
- Considering his reputation for effeminacy, he behaved in a sportsman-like fashion on that occasion. They had told him that there was very little chance of his recovery. 'Well, then,' he said to his mother and sister, 'we'll just have one more bottle of champagne together, we three.'
- (Norman Douglas, *Looking Back. An Autobiographical Excursion* (2 Vols. London: Chatto and Windus, 1933) Vol 1, pp. 154, 155.)
122. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, p. 358.
123. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, p. 361.
124. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, p. 364.
125. Compton Mackenzie, 'A Reader's Gratitude', C.K.Scott Moncrieff, ed., *Marcel Proust. An English Tribute* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1923) pp. 59-62.
126. Cf. Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, pp. 505-506.
127. Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, *Book I: Freud's Papers on Technique 1953-1954*, trans. John Forrester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 321.
128. Compton Mackenzie, *Extraordinary Women*, p. 102.

129. The reasons for this contention are fourfold. Mackenzie knew Woolf when at St Paul's: there was a similar age gap between them and Oglvie and Stern in *The East Wind of Love*. Secondly, Mackenzie described Woolf as brilliant: he makes Stern similarly talented. Both Stern and Woolf, thirdly, are Jewish and, lastly, their politics is of the left. For Mackenzie on Woolf see *Literature in My Time*, p. 71.

130. Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 314.

131. Compton Mackenzie, *Thin Ice*, p. 103.

132. Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 314. One of the events in *Thin Ice* - Henry's encounter with the policeman in a Scottish city - actually happened to Tom Driberg. Driberg describes the incident in his incomplete autobiography: he also comments on Mackenzie's use of it in *Thin Ice*,

Either Mackenzie had started on, or this anecdote gave him the idea for, a novel called *Thin Ice*, about the precarious life of a homosexual politician - and in particular including a passage that was clearly to me, based on my Edinburgh experience. 'Monty' Mackenzie was a man I liked, and a novelist whose books I enjoyed, and I had no objection to his using this story, but there was one detail in his version which I did take strong exception to: at the end of his politician's conversation with the policeman, the policeman refused to shake hands with him. This was inaccurate, and I found it deeply offensive.

Since Mackenzie's points are often made through narrative this added detail again suggests that Mackenzie's liberal view of homosexuality had considerable limitations. (Tom Driberg, *Ruling Passions* (New York: Stein and Day, 1978) pp. 142-147. The quoted passage comes from page 146.)

133. Compton Mackenzie, *Thin Ice*, p. 38.

134. A collection of editorial comment on *The Arabian Nights* by Burton has been usefully gathered together in Sir Richard Burton, *Love, War and Fancy. The Customs and Manners of the East from writings on The Arabian Nights*, ed. Kenneth Walker (London: William Kimber, 1964). Burton on homosexuality, including the famous account of a Sotadic Zone - a certain geographic and climatic area in which he believes that homosexuality is likely to be found - can be found on pp. 172-219.

135. Rupert Croft-Cooke, *Bosie. The Story of Lord Alfred Douglas. His Friends and Enemies* (London: W.H.Allen, 1963) pp. 111-112.

136. Compton Mackenzie, *Thin Ice*, p. 128.

137. Cf. Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, p. 87.

138. Compton Mackenzie, *Thin Ice*, p. 192.

139. Cf. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out. Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (1977; 2nd ed. London: Quartet Books, 1990) p. 165.

140. For the Davenport see Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 315. The Evelyn Waugh review can be read in *The Essays, Articles and Reviews of Evelyn Waugh*, ed. Donat Gallagher (London: Methuen, 1983) pp. 511-513.

141. *Victim* (UK, Basil Dearden, 1961).

142. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, p. 174.

143. For example, the suggestion that the blackmailers will be other figures within the homosexual *demi-monde* is suggested through the suspicious figure of the blind PH. It turns out that he is actually involved in a scam writing begging letters, and not a blackmailer. However, the theory that like-blackmails-like is in some ways reasserted when the educated male blackmailer leaves his room and the camera lingers over a photograph of Michelangelo's *David*.

Another way in which the film is quite sophisticated is in its highlighting of various forms of communication. These include letters, telegrams and - even - writing on garage doors. Not only is this used to create tension in the film (at times we are not made immediately aware of what the character is reading) it also highlights the significance of the visibility of the *sign* of homosexuality - the always immanent potential for a slide from same-sex desire being hidden, to its being partially discerned and then suddenly fully known. It is in this environment, of course, that blackmail can thrive.

(For secondary material on the film see Andy Medhurst, 'Victim: Text as Context', *Screen*, Vol 25, nos 4-5 (July-October 1984) pp. 22-35 and Richard Dyer, *The Matter of Images. Essays on Representation* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 93-109.)

144. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Ten* (London: Chatto and Windus: 1971) pp. 53 and 91. On *Extraordinary Women* being 'the most exhausting book I ever wrote' see Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Six* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967) p. 118.

145. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave One*, pp. 193-194.

146. Compton Mackenzie, *On Moral Courage*, p. 119.

147. D.H.Lawrence, *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Keith Cushman (Santa Rosa, California: Black Sparrow Press, 1987) p. 95.

148. D.H.Lawrence, *Psychoanalysis of the Unconscious in Fantasia of the Unconscious. Psychoanalysis of the Unconscious* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) p. 234.

149. 'I called Lawrence Daniel Rayner ... Apart from names and places most of it is factually and conversationally exact', Compton Mackenzie to Edward Nehls, March 12th 1953 in Edward Nehls, ed., *D.H.Lawrence. A Composite Biography*, Vol 2 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958) p. 455 n. 53.

150. Compton Mackenzie, *West to North. Being Book IV of The Four Winds of Love* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1940) p. 420.

151. G. Orioli, *Adventures of a Bookseller* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1938) p. 234.

152. Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, p. 386.

153. Russell made this comparison in his autobiography. He claimed that Lawrence was 'his wife's mouthpiece',

Somehow, she imbibed prematurely the ideas afterwards developed by Mussolini and Hitler, and these ideas she transmitted to Lawrence, shall we say by blood-consciousness. ... His descriptive powers were remarkable, but his ideas cannot be too easily forgotten.

Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell 1914-1944. Volume 2* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968) p. 23.

154. Compton Mackenzie, *On Moral Courage*, pp. 104-138.

155. Compton Mackenzie, *On Moral Courage*, pp. 110-111.

156. For Lawrence's efforts to get hold of a copy of *Ulysses* later in Australia and an initial (of course, negative) response see *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, Vol. 4, ed. Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp. 275, 306, 319-320, 324, 330, 335-336, 344-5. If he had seen copies of *The Little Review* on Capri he has no recollection of it in these letters.

157. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Two*, p. 164.

158. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Five*, pp. 164-165. I am grateful to Professor Mark Kinkead-Weekes for this observation, and for conversations with him about Lawrence and Mackenzie that helped me clarify my thinking.

159. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, Vol. 3, pp. 469, 481.

160. Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 194.

161. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, Vol 3, pp. 443-444.

162. James Money, *Capri. Island of Pleasure*, p. 289.

163. Faith Compton Mackenzie, *More Than I Should* (London: Collins, 1940) p. 34.

164. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Six* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967) pp. 84-85, 131-132.

165. Viktor Link, 'D.H. Lawrence's "The Man Who Loved Islands" in the light of Compton Mackenzie's Memoirs', *The D.H. Lawrence Review*, Vol 15, Nos 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1982) pp. 77-86.

166. D.H. Lawrence, *The Complete Short Stories*, Vol. 2 (New York: Penguin, 1976) p. 527.

167. D.H. Lawrence, *The Complete Short Stories*, Vol. 3 (New York: Penguin, 1977) p. 722.

168. Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie*, p. 202. See also the early poem 'The Hill of Death' which deals with a loss of ego boundaries. In the darkness the mote changes shape,

But when it grew and gathered giant size

Till I in turn became the mote, and it
The man, slow in my veins the cold blood welled,
And all imagination seemed to flit
Away, like a thin ghost by dawn dispelled.

(M. Compton Mackenzie, *Poems*, p. 72.)

169. D.H.Lawrence, *The Complete Short Stories*, Vol. 3, p. 724.

170. For Wilson on Mackenzie - and for Wilson on Scott Fitzgerald on Mackenzie - see Edmund Wilson, *Letters on Literature and Politics 1912-1972*, ed. Elena Wilson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977) pp. 45-47, 562-564 and Edmund Wilson, *The Bit Between my Teeth* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1939) pp. 540-541.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Norman Douglas, *One Day, Three of Them* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930) pp. 38-39.
2. John Davenport, 'Introduction', Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962) p. 12.
3. The only critical study from the last thirty years is the solid Ralph D. Lindeman, *Norman Douglas* (New York: Twayne, 1965). Ian Greenlees, *Norman Douglas* (London: Longmans, Green for the British Council and National Book League, 1957) provides a basic introduction. The earlier R.M. Dawkins, *Norman Douglas* (1933. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952) and H.M. Tomlinson, *Norman Douglas* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1931) are more unquestioningly enthusiastic.
4. Norman Douglas, *Together* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1923) pp. 233-234.
5. Norman Douglas, *Together*, p. 40.
6. Douglas wrote to 'Auntie' (Mrs Gordon Crotch) on 25 March 1935,

My dear Auntie,
 So glad to get your exciting letter about Lawrence.
 Now do tell me more - about bones and skull etc etc. I
 love macabre details. And what is the Captain going to do
 with all this golden hoard, now that he can't get back to
 Mexico? ...
 Do send those photos of the exhumation, and I shall
 be delighted to pay for them.
 Your loving
 Uncle N
- The 'Captain' referred to here is, one assumes, Antonio Ravagli, who was to be Frieda Lawrence's third husband. Mark Holloway reports that two lots of photographs were sent to Douglas by Auntie. I am not aware that they still exist. (Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas. A Biography* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976) pp. 414-415: the letter is quoted on p. 414.) On Lawrence's exhumation see Emile Delavenay, 'A Shrine Without Relics', *D.H. Lawrence Review*, Vol 16 (1983), pp. 111-131.
7. Norman Douglas, *Together*, p. 54.
8. Norman Douglas, *Together*, p. 238.
9. Norman Douglas, *Together*, pp. 64-65.
10. John Davenport, 'Norman Douglas', *The Twentieth Century*, Vol 61, no. 902 (April 1952) p. 364.
11. V.S. Prichett, *The New Statesman and Nation*, Vol 43 (15 March 1952) p. 307.
12. Nancy Cunard, *Grand Man. Memories of Norman Douglas* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1954) p. 13.

13. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back. An Autobiographical Excursion* (2 Vols. London: Chatto and Windus, 1933), Vol 2, p. 272.
14. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, p. 282.
15. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, pp. 476-7.
16. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, p. 478.
17. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, p. 480.
18. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, ed. Phyllis Grosskurth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) p. 94.
19. On the Victorian public school generally see J.R.de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe. The Development of the Victorian Public School* (London: Millington Books, 1977). On the growth of games, J.A.Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
20. J.R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 194. For a fascinating discussion of the regulation of sex in the Victorian public school see pp. 167-198.
21. Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side. Toward a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 9-14. Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century. Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994).
22. George R. Parkin, *Edward Thring. Headmaster of Uppingham School. Life, Diary and Letters* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1900) p. 274.
23. George R. Parkin, *Edward Thring*, pp. 276-277.
24. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977).
25. In France and Germany efforts to regulate expressions of adolescent sexuality are seen as having begun rather earlier, in the eighteenth century. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Vol 1. An Introduction*, trans. Richard Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981) pp. 27-29.
26. George R. Parkin, *Edward Thring*, p. 276.
27. Edward Thring, *Sermons Preached at Uppingham School* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1886) Vol 2, p. 15.
28. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 1, pp. 60-61.
29. Norman Douglas, *South Wind* (London: Martin Secker, 1917) pp. 311-312.
30. Norman Douglas, *Paneros. Some Words on Aphrodisiacs and the Like* (Florence: Orioli, 1930); Pilaff Bey [Norman Douglas], *Venus in the Kitchen. Or Love's Cookery Book* (London: Heinemann, 1952).

31. Norman Douglas, *Late Harvest* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1946) pp. 66-67.
32. Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, p. 43.
33. Norman Douglas, *Together*, pp. 72, 113, 177.
34. *On the Herpetology of the Grand Duchy of Baden* appears in Norman Douglas, *Three of Them*, pp. 131-239.
35. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, pp. 507, 508.
36. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 1, p. 228.
37. G. Norman Douglass, *On the Darwinian Hypothesis of Sexual Selection*, ([London], 1995) p. 329. (Reprinted from *Natural Science*, Vol VII (nos 45 & 46, Nov. & Dec, 1895).)
38. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983) p. 156.
39. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, pp. 97-99.
40. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 1, pp. 230-245.
41. On Douglas marriage see especially Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, pp. 122-148.
42. Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, p. 116.
43. 'Two great nations, the French and the Italian, by the "Code Napoleon" and the "Codice Penale" of 1889, remove these phenomena from the category of crime into that of immorality at worst. That is to say, they place the intercourse of males with males upon the same legal ground as the normal sexual relation. They punish violence, protect minors, and provide for the maintenance of public decency. Within these limitations, they recognise the right of adults to deal as they choose with their persons.' John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Modern Ethics. Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion Addressed Especially to Medical Psychologists and Jurists* (London: [Privately Printed], 1896) p. 129.
44. Xavier Mayne [Edward Irenaeus Prime Stevenson], *The Intersexes. A History of Semilisexuality as a Problem in Social Life* ([Naples: Privately Printed, 1908]) p. 70.
45. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 1, p. 245.
46. Norman Douglas, *Capri. Materials for a Description of the Island* (Florence: Orioli, 1930) p. xv.
47. *Unprofessional Tales*, though in theory written with his wife, was in the main her work. (Normyx [Elsa and Norman Douglas], *Unprofessional Tales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901).) Douglas said that 'only a single story ['Nerinda'] and the Anacreontic poem are entirely by myself'. (Norman Douglas to E.D. McDonald, 21st February 1926, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.) Douglas also wrote a story entitled *The Familiar Spirit*, inspired by his near-drowning, and he nearly finished a

collection of love stories while in Syria entitled *Love Among the Ruins*, two chapters of which are reproduced in *Looking Back*. Neither of these two pieces entered the public sphere in full, however. That said, the two chapters from *Love Among the Ruins* confirm that it dealt with lesbian love, along, it seems, other kinds of object choice. (On *The Familiar Spirit* see Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, pp. 272-278; on *Love Among the Ruins* see Vol 1, pp. 113-127.)

48. *The Letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol 3, ed. Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 238-39.

49. *The Letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol 4, ed. Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p. 430.

50. *The Letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol 4, p. 51.

51. His argument was that the inventiveness of children should be fostered; 'if you want to see what children can do, you must stop giving them things'. Norman Douglas, *London Street Games* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1931) p. 85.

52. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Five: 1915-1923* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966) p. 92.

53. Paul Fussell, *Abroad. British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) p. 120.

54. Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey. A Critical Biography. Vol II. The Years of Achievement. 1910-1932* (London: Heinemann, 1968) pp. 564-565.

55. Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria* (London: Martin Secker, 1915) p. 322.

56. Cyril Connolly, *Enemies of Promise* (1938. London: André Deutsch, 1973) pp. 25-26.

57. Richard Aldington, *Pinorman. Personal Recollections of Norman Douglas, Pino Orioli and Charles Prentice* (London: Heinemann, 1954) pp. 118-119. The quoted phrase comes from p. 118.

58. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (London: Smith, Elder, 1889) pp. 89-103.

59. John Davenport, 'Profile in Sunlight. Grand Man: Memories of Norman Douglas by Nancy Cunard', *The New Statesman and Nation*, Vol 48 (7 August 1954) p. 164.

60. Constantine Fitzgibbon, *Norman Douglas. A Pictorial Record* (London: The Richards Press, 1953) pp. 21-22.

61. Cf. John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion. Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). For a specifically gay studies orientated account see Robert Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean. Writing, Art and Homosexual Fantasy* (London: Routledge, 1993).

62. John Addington Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Vol 2 (3rd ed. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893) p. 365.

63. John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, p. 8.

64. Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980); Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

65. Wilde was asked, 'What is the "Love that dare not speak its name?"'. He replied,

'The Love that dare not speak its name' in this century is such a great affection of an elder for a younger man as there was between David and Jonathan, such as Plato made the very basis of his philosophy, and such as you find in the sonnets of Michelangelo and Shakespeare. It is that deep, spiritual affection that is as pure as it is perfect. It dictates and pervades great works of art like those of Shakespeare and Michelangelo, and those two letters of mine, such as they are.

The Trails of Oscar Wilde, ed. H. Montgomery Hyde (London: William Hodge and Company, 1948) p. 236.

66. Linda Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994) p. 31.

67. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, p. 5.

68. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, p. 151.

69. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, p. 152.

70. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, p. 180.

71. Pater's Winckelmann essay is fascinated by the Greek representation of the male body (Walter Pater, *The Renaissance. Studies in Art and Poetry*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) pp. 114-149). Pater cites a 'characteristic' passage from Winckelmann on the need to be able to appreciate male beauty, pp. 123-124. Symonds' suggested a way of adding the quality of movement to Greek sculpture,

If we in England seek some living echo of this melody of curving lines, we must visit the water-meadows where boys bathe in early morning, or the playgrounds of our public schools in summer, or the banks of the Isis when the eights are on the water, or the riding schools of young soldiers. We cannot reconstitute the elements of Greek life; but here and there we may gain hints for adding breath and pulse and movement to Greek sculpture.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this passage is its frankness, suggesting that at the time this was first published - 1873 - self-consciousness about male-male desire was still at a low level (John Addington Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Vol 2, p. 371.)

72. Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*, p. 120.

73. Norman Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1928).
74. Norman Douglas, *One Day, Three of Them*, pp. 37-51.
75. Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*, p. 311.
76. 'The British administration of India, be it good, bad or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions above indicated. Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigour itself - all are traits that truly characterise the Indian not only of to-day, but of long past history. All, furthermore, will continue to heirachise him, in increasing degree, until he admits their causes and with his own two hands uproots them. His soul and body are indeed chained in slavery. But he himself wields and hugs his chains and with violence defends them. No agency but a new spirit within his own breast can set him free. And his arraignments of outside elements, past, present, or to come, serve only to deceive his own mind and to put off the day of his deliverance.' Katherine Mayo, *Mother India* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927) p. 24.
77. Norman Douglas, *How About Europe. Some Footnotes on East and West* ([Florence]: Privately printed, 1929) p. 214.
78. Douglas Goldring mentions Douglas' lack of time, his 'philistine distaste', for the tourist book attractions of Florence, during his chapter on 'Uncle Norman' in his book *Privileged Persons*. (Douglas Goldring, *Privileged Persons* (London: The Richards Press, 1955) pp. 124-139. The phrase quoted comes from p. 129.)
79. Richard Aldington, *Pinorman*, p. 73.
80. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, p. 80.
81. Edward Said, *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985). See especially pp. 1-110.
82. Cf. Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, c.1848 - c.1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p. 115.
83. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 5.
84. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983) p. 51. T.S.Eliot, 'The Hollow Men', *The Complete Poems and Plays of T.S.Eliot* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969) pp. 81-86.
85. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 6.
86. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, pp. 44-45.
87. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 338.
88. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 356.
89. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 226.

90. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, pp. 359-361.
91. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 360.
92. Norman Douglas, *Alone* (London: Heinemann, 1940) p. 154.
93. Norman Douglas, *One Day, Three of Them*, p. 46.
94. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 137.
95. Norman Douglas, *South Wind*, p. 369.
96. Richard Aldington, *Pinorman*, p. 125.
97. *The Essays of Virginia Woolf. Volume 2, 1912-1918*, ed. Andrew McNeillie (London: The Hogarth Press, 1987) pp. 125-127.
98. Graham Greene, 'Introduction', *Pilaff Bey* [Norman Douglas], *Venus in the Kitchen*, p. vii.
99. 'The Art of Fiction XXIV - Aldous Huxley' [Interview], *Paris Review*, Vol 23 (Spring/Summer 1960) p. 76.
100. See particularly Christopher Craft's essay on the *Importance of Being Earnest* that first appeared in the journal *Representations*, Vol 31 (Spring 1990) pp. 19-46. It is reprinted, slightly modified, in Christopher Craft, *Another Kind of Love. Male Homosexual Desire in English Discourse, 1850-1920* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994) pp. 106-139.
101. Norman Douglas, *How About Europe?*, p. 143.
102. Edmund Wilson, 'The Nietzschean Line', *Shores of Light. A Literary Chronicle of the Twenties and Thirties* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952) pp. 485-491.
103. Richard Aldington, *Pinorman*, p. 108.
104. Richard Aldington, *Pinorman*, p. 37.
105. Edmund John, *The Flute of Sardonyx* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1913).
106. Norman Douglas' anonymous review of *The Flute of Sardonyx* appeared in *The English Review*, Vol 15 (September 1913) p. 318. Attribution to Douglas in Cecil Woolf, *A Bibliography of Norman Douglas* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954) p. 157.
107. For Douglas entry on John in his autobiographical text see Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 1, pp. 245-8: the quotation comes from page 246.
108. An example of the style and subject matter of Ives' poetry is provided by the poem 'Youth',

Short the time he wears the crown;
 Count these years upon one hand;
 Vision then of angel beauty,
 Fore-type of the Seraph Band.

Less before and less hereafter,
 Yet these precious years of bloom,
 Once beheld are not forgotten
 Though life's sun should sink in gloom.

While the poetry creaks like a floorboard, the subject matter is certainly pederastic. (George Ives, *Eros Throne* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1900) p. 49.)

109. *Selected Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) p. 334.

110. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out. Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (2nd ed. London: Quartet Books, 1990) pp. 118-137. Norman Douglas is cited as a 'supporter' of the organisation on p. 117.

111. George Ives, *The Græco-Roman View of Youth* (Philip Sainsbury at the Cayme Press, 1926); George Ives, *A History of Penal Methods. Criminals, Witches, Lunatics* (London: Stanley Paul, 1914) pp. 292-301.

112. [Norman Douglas], 'A History of Penal Methods, by George Ives', *The English Review*, Vol 17 (June 1914) pp. 422-423. For the attribution see Cecil Woolf, *A Bibliography of Norman Douglas*, p. 161. For Douglas' later references to the Ives' text see Norman Douglas, *Alone*, p. 113; and Norman Douglas, *How About Europe?*, p. 186.

113. Norman Douglas to George Ives, 22nd April 1922, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas at Austin.

114. Letter from Aldous Huxley to Norman Douglas of 13th October 1934 in the *Letters of Aldous Huxley*, ed. Grover Smith (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969) p. 385.

115. It is mentioned in Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks. Collected for the Use of Students, & Ensplendour'd with Introduction, Geographical Index, and with Notes Explanatory and Critical* ([Florence]: Privately Printed, 1928) p. 58.

116. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1. An Introduction*, p. 43.

117. Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs. The Life and Work of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1988) p. 50.

118. Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, p. 71.

119. Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century. Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994). See, especially, pp. 1-50, 176-207.

120. Freud, though, claimed that 'Krafft-Ebing's attempted explanation seems to be more exactly framed than that of Ulrichs but does not differ from it in essentials'. As we have seen Ulrichs would not have held to this view, he would not have accepted the suggestion that homosexuality was essentially morbid which permeates

Krafft-Ebing's argument. For Freud on inversion theory see *Three Essays on Sexuality, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol 7*, ed. James Strachey et. al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953) pp. 141-144. The above quotation is from page 142.

121. For a biography of Hirschfeld see Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld. A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).

122. Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion, Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Vol 2 , Part 2* (New York: Random House, 1936) p. 73.

123. For an account of 'reversal of hormonal polarity' experiments in Buchenwald see Günter Grau, ed., *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany 1933-1945*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Cassell, 1995) pp. 281-292.

124. Andrew Hodges, *Alan Turing. The Enigma* (London: Burnett Books, 1983) pp. 467-474: the effect of the 'treatment' was impotence and breast growth.

125. See Appendix C, 'Ulrich's Views' in Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Vol 1. Sexual Inversion* (London: Wilson and Macmillan, 1897) pp. 258-272. Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, pp. 216-219.

126. Carpenter was given a copy of William Rossetti's selection from Whitman's poetry , and he says in his autobiography, *My Days and Dreams*, that 'From that time forward a profound change set in within me'. (Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams. Being Autobiographical Notes* (London: George Allen, 1916) p. 64.) He said elsewhere of *Leaves of Grass*, 'I find it difficult to believe what my life would have been without it'. (Edward Carpenter, 'A Note on Towards Democracy', *Towards Democracy* (London: GMP, 1985) p. 414.) And writing to Whitman, Carpenter said, 'You have opened the way: my only desire is to go onward with it'. (Edward Carpenter to Walt Whitman, 3rd January 1876, cited in Chushichi Tsuzuki, *Edward Carpenter, 1844-1929: Prophet of Human Fellowship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) p. 32.)

127. Carpenter writes about the transformative effect of his visit to Italy in 1873,

The Greek sculpture had a deep effect. The other things, pictures, architecture, etc. interested me much from an historical or aesthetic point of view; but this had something more, a germinative influence on my mind, which adding itself to and corroborating the effect of Whitman's poetry, left me as it were the seed of new conceptions of life.

(Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, p. 67.)

128. Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, p. 79.

129. Edward Carpenter, *Homogenic Love and its Place in a Free Society* (Manchester: The Labour Press, 1894) pp. 7-8.

130. Edward Carpenter, *Homogenic Love*, pp. 9-12.

131. 'And whether the Dorian Greeks or the Polynesian Islanders or the Kelts (spoken of by Aristotle, *Pol[itics]*, ii 7) or the Normans or the Albanian mountaineers, or any of the other notably hardy races among whom the passion has been developed, were particularly troubled by nervous degeneration we may well doubt.' (Edward Carpenter, *Homogenic Love*, p. 27.)

132. Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex. A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1908).

133. Edward Carpenter, *Intermediate Types Among Primitive Folk. A Study in Social Evolution* (London: George Allen, 1914) p. 9.

134. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis. With Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct. A Medico-Legal Study*, 7th German ed., trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company, 1916) pp. 1-22.

135. Norman Douglas, *Fountains in the Sand* (London: Martin Secker, 1912) pp. 217-218.

136. 'The frenzied calls to patriotism at the outbreak of the late war were not so much the voice of the nation as profitable attempts to organise a mass-conscience under which the individual was to be submerged.' Norman Douglas, *How About Europe?*, p. 189.

137. [Norman Douglas], 'Edward Carpenter, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*, *English Review*', Vol 18 (September 1914) pp. 271-272. For the attribution to Douglas see Cecil Woolf, *A Bibliography of Norman Douglas*, p. 162.

138. Another example of Douglas' writing about his attitude to third sex theories in an unsigned piece comes in an article he wrote for the *English Review* in 1913, entitled 'Men and Morals'. Douglas has been complaining about the diminishing gap between the sexes,

This does not apply, of course, to that interesting biological phenomenon, the so-called neuter sex of protean ingredients, where men and women are congenitally assimilated to each other to such an extent that sexual impulses and differences are submerged as regards their outward manifestations. In this ever-increasing section of the populace the sexes may converge as much as they like, for they are not expected to produce physical offspring, though it would be a wise man who could enumerate their spiritual progeny - all they have done towards the amenities of life in the arts and music and letters, while the two type-sexes were engaged in ruder but necessary tasks of fighting, procreating, and reclaiming the waste places of earth. I suspect that the levelling-up system is continually bringing fresh recruits to this neuter contingent. I suspect, further, that a good deal of so-called sex antagonism comes from this quarter; in other words, that the struggle is not so much between men and women, as between the sexless and the sexed.

([Norman Douglas], 'Men and Morals, By a Father', *English Review*, Vol 15 (August 1913) p. 129. For the attribution see Cecil Woolf, *A*

Bibliography of Norman Douglas, p. 156.)

The key phrase here comes when Douglas says that 'sexual impulses and differences are submerged as regards their outward manifestations'. This could mean that the sexual desires are not externalised, or (just about) that the sexual desire is different from the physical 'outward manifestations' of gender. The words 'sexless' and 'sexed' can be taken in their late twentieth century meaning, as referring to acts, or in the more common sense of the time where 'sex' referred to gender. The fighting involves the male and female sexes here, it does not involve the third sex. Very similar language, indeed some of the same phrases, are used by Douglas when he talks about the third sex in *Old Calabria*. Again the central thing to note here is the difficulty of trying to tease meaning from such points in Douglas' writing as this: clear and straightforward it is not.

139. Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*, p. 350.

140. Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*, p. 116.

141. Swinburne was of course the author of sapphics and generally considered an iconoclast. It is perhaps less well known that he punningly condemned people like Symonds as 'Calamites', and wrote brutally of Oscar Wilde - or that he was so fascinated by the Eton flogging block. (Rupert Croft-Cooke, *Feasting with Panthers* (London: W.H.Allen, 1967) pp. 15-92.) In a reference to sodomy in a letter to Watts in 1894, Swinburne talks about 'Mr Soddington Symonds'. (*The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, Vol 4, ed. Cecil Lang (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) p. 74.) However, as Richard Dellamora has noted, his attitude to male homosexuality is more complicated - often he approaches male-male passion through considerations of lesbianism. (Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire. The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990) pp. 69-85.)

142. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Elective Affinities*, trans. R.J.Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) pp. 46-57.

143. Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) pp. 50-66.

144. Douglas Goldring, *Privileged Persons*, pp. 126-127.

145. Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*, Vol 2, pp. 431-434.

146. Norman Douglas, *They Went* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1920) p. 60.

147. Norman Douglas, *They Went*, pp. 73, 77.

148. Norman Douglas, *They Went*, p. 97.

149. Norman Douglas, *They Went*, p. 120.

150. Norman Douglas, *They Went*, p. 237.

151. Francis Lissarrague, 'The Sexual Life of Satyrs', David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin, eds., *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) pp. 53-81;

for the discussion of same-sex practices involving satyrs see pp. 64-65.

152. Norman Douglas, *In the Beginning* (London: Folio Society, 1953) p. 210.

153. Norman Douglas, *Late Harvest* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1946) p. 8.

154. See especially, Norman Douglas, *How About Europe?*, pp. 164-169, 180-183.

155. John Davenport, 'Introduction', Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962) p. 7.

156. Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, pp. 323-325.

157. 'The Art of Fiction XXIV - Aldous Huxley' [Interview], *Paris Match*, Vol 23 (Spring/Summer 1960) p. 76.

158. Edward Nehls, *D.H.Lawrence. A Composite Biography*, Vol 3, (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959) pp. 213-215.

159. Harold Acton, *Memoirs of an Aesthete* (London: Methuen, 1948) pp. 226-227, 383-388; Harold Acton, *More Memoirs of an Aesthete* (London: Methuen, 1970) pp. 141-144, 273-277. Perdita Schaffner, 'Afterword - A Profound Animal', H.D. [Hilda Doolittle], *Bid Me to Live* (London: Virago, 1984) p. 189.

160. Draft of a letter from Frieda Lawrence to the editor of *Time and Tide*, 12th June 1954, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

161. Letter from Frieda Lawrence to Richard Aldington, 29th March 1954, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

162. Douglas Goldring, *Privileged Persons*, p. 139.

163. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, p. 1. Manuscript Roberts-Vasey E233.7. (Warren Roberts, *A Bibliography of D.H.Lawrence*, (2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) p. 482.

164. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 7.

165. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 5.

166. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 5.

167. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 4.

168. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', pp. 6-7.

169. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 217.

170. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 240.
171. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 216.
172. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, pp. 215-216.
173. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, pp. xxviii-xxxix.
174. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, pp. 238-239.
175. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 239.
176. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 240.
177. Letter from Norman Douglas to Reggie Turner, November 1919 in Stanley Weintraub, *Reggie. A Portrait of Reginald Turner* (New York: George Braziller, 1965) p. 193.
178. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 28th October 1920, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Both Daleski and Murry make this point about the 'A Poem of Friendship' chapter in *The White Peacock*. John Middleton Murry, *Son of Woman. The Story of D.H. Lawrence* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1931) pp. 38-39; H. M. Daleski, *The Forked Flame. A Study of D.H. Lawrence* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965) pp. 312-315.

2. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature. 1890-1930* (London: Athlone Press, 1977) and Jeffrey Meyers, *D.H. Lawrence. A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1990). For example, paragraphs from pp. 150-155 of *Homosexuality and Literature* are transferred into pp. 258-259 of the biography of Lawrence. The description of *The White Peacock* on pages 136-139 is close to that in the biography, pp. 69-72. Meyers first developed a very similar argument to the one he used later - it includes some of the same examples - in his article 'D.H. Lawrence and Homosexuality', Stephen Spender, ed., *D.H. Lawrence. Novelist, Poet, Prophet* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) pp. 135-146.

3. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature*, p. 131.

4. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature*, p. 149.

5. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature*, p. 132.

6. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature*, p. 148.

7. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature*, p. 10.

8. F.R. Leavis, *D.H. Lawrence: Novelist* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964) p. 16. In a short review essay 'Shaw against Lawrence' (1955) Leavis makes it clear that while Eliot, Joyce and Lewis are 'concerned with sex; Lawrence is concerned with the relations between men and women'. This makes Leavis's view that human sexuality means heterosexuality clear. In the same essay he calls Lawrence the 'greatest writer of the twentieth century'; a somewhat premature conclusion, perhaps. F.R. Leavis, *Valuation in Criticism and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 112.

9. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume One. An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981) pp. 157-158

10. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume One*, p. 12.

11. On Marcuse see Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and its Discontents. Meanings Myths and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1985) pp. 165-170. The most important text by Henri Marcuse to consider here is his *Eros and Civilisation. A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1987).

12. Sigmund Freud, 'On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol 14, ed. James Strachey et.al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1957) p. 16.

13. Sigmund Freud, 'Repression', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol 14, pp. 146-147.

14. Sigmund Freud, 'Repression', p. 148.
 15. Sigmund Freud, 'Repression', p. 148.
 16. Sigmund Freud, 'Repression', p. 154.
 17. Sigmund Freud, *Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's Gradiva*, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol 9, ed. James Strachey et.al. (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1959) p. 35.
 18. John Worthen, *D.H.Lawrence. The Early Years. 1885-1912* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 50.
 19. D.H.Lawrence, *The White Peacock*, ed. Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) p. 219.
 20. D.H.Lawrence, *The White Peacock*, p. 222.
 21. D.H.Lawrence, *The White Peacock*, pp. 222-223.
 22. Jeffrey Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature*, p. 139. The quotation from the Bible is from II Samuel 1:26, King James Version.
 23. D.H.Lawrence, *The White Peacock*, p. 386. See also the Textual Apparatus to the edition, p. 432.
 24. D.H.Lawrence, *The White Peacock*, p. 386.
 25. Timothy d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest. Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).
 26. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore. Notes from the Somewhat Unconventional Life of Henry Savage* (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1933) p. 102.
 27. Forster wrote in a letter to Edward Joseph Dent of 6th March 1915, after his visit to Greatham, 'Have you read *The White Peacock* by D.H.Lawrence? If not, do not, for you cannot, but read one chapter in it called A poem of friendship [sic], which is most beautiful. The whole book is the queerest product of subconsciousness that I have yet struck - he has not a glimmering from first to last of what he's up to.'
- The suggestion that the text reveals an interest in other men that Lawrence was unaware of consciously can also be discerned in a telling phrase from Forster's letter to the Lawrences after his time at Greatham. This makes it clear - while holding the possibility open - that he was unlikely, to say the least, to accept a further invitation: 'As far as coming again to Greatham, I like Mrs Lawrence, and I like the Lawrence who talks to Hilda and sees birds and is physically restful and wrote *The White Peacock*, he doesn't know why, but I do not like the deaf impercipient fanatic who has nosed over his own sexual round until he believes that there is no other path for others to take, he sometimes interests & sometimes frightens & angers me, but in the end he will bore him merely, I know. So I can't yet tell about coming down.' (My underlining.)
- (*Selected Letters of E.M.Forster. Vol 1. 1879-1920*, ed. Mary Lago and P.N.Furbank, eds. (London: Collins, 1983) pp. 222, 219.)

28. I am grateful to Professor John Worthen for answering my enquiries on reviews of *The White Peacock*. None, he believes, correspond to the description of the Middleton review we have from Savage. For his original work on the reception of Lawrence's work in Britain see T.J.Worthen, *The Reception in England of the Novels of D.H.Lawrence from The White Peacock to Women in Love* (M.A. dissertation, University of Kent, 1967) and T.J. Worthen, *D.H.Lawrence: Readers and Audience 1904-1919* (PhD thesis, University of Kent 1969).

29. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore*, pp. 193-195.

30. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore*, p. 72.

31. 'For Middleton was preoccupied with children, and he suffered that nostalgia of lost childhood which is shared by many poets who, at the back of their hearts, regret the fact that, against their wish, they are obliged to "grow up".' Lord Alfred Douglas, 'Introduction' to Richard Middleton, *The Pantomime Man* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1933) p. xx.

32. Frank Harris, *Contemporary Portraits* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1915) pp. 160, 164.

33. Richard Middleton, *Poems and Songs. Second Series* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912) pp. 30-31.

34. 'Edmund Edwinson' [perhaps Reginald Bancroft Cooke], *Men and Boys. An Anthology* (New York: [no publisher's name], 1924). John Addington Symonds is featured in pp. 42-43, Verlaine on p. 44, Edward Carcroft Lefroy on p. 47, John Gambril Nicholson on pp. 50-51, Edmund John on pp. 56-57 and Richard Middleton on pp. 53-55. For the tentative attribution see d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest*, p. 245.

35. Henry Savage, *Richard Middleton. The Man and his Work* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1922) pp. 128-129.

36. Henry Savage, 'Richard Middleton 1882-1911', *English Review* Vol 11 (July 1912) pp. 551-555.

37. The review appeared in *Academy*, Vol 80 (18 March 1911) p. 328.

38. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, Vol 2, ed. George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) pp. 115-116.

39. 'Since, in nearly all such cases, the individual tainted with antipathetic sexual instinct displays a neuropathetic predisposition in several directions, and the latter may be brought into relation to hereditary degenerate conditions, this anomaly of psycho-sexual feeling may be called, clinically, a functional sign of degeneration.' Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to the Antipathetic Sexual Instinct. A Medico-Forensic Study*, trans. F.J.Rebman (New York: Medical Art Agency, [1922]) p. 285.

40. 'Nothing is so prone to contaminate - under certain circumstances, even to exhaust - the source of all noble and ideal sentiments, which arise of themselves from a normally developing sexual instinct, as the practise of masturbation in early years. It

despoils the unfolding bud of perfume and beauty, and leaves behind the course, animal desire for sexual satisfaction. If an individual thus depraved, reaches the age of maturity, there is wanting in him the aesthetic, ideal pure and free impulse which draws the opposite sexes together. The glow of sensual sensibility wanes, and the inclination toward the opposite sex is weakened. The defect influences the morals, the character, fancy, feeling and instinct of the youthful masturbator, male or female, in an unfavourable manner, even causing under certain circumstances, the desire for the opposite sex to sink to *nil*; so that masturbation is preferred to the normal mode of satisfaction ...

'Almost every masturbator at last reaches a point where, frightened on learning the results of the vice, or on experiencing them (neurasthenia), or led by example or seduction to the opposite sex, he wishes to free himself of the vice and re-instate his *vita sexualis* ... For various reasons, however, (neurasthenic complaints, hypochondriacal fear of the results, etc.), the individual is also kept from masturbation. At times, at such circumstances, bestiality is resorted to. Intercourse with the same sex is then near at hand, - as the result of seduction or the feelings of friendship which, on the level of pathological sexuality, easily associate themselves with sexual feelings.'

(Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, pp. 286-288.) It is interesting to compare what Krafft-Ebing says here to the arguments that Lawrence made to Russell in 1915, and which are discussed later in the chapter.

41. Sigmund Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood', *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol 11, ed James Strachey et al (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1957) pp. 63-137.

42. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 130.

43. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore*, p. 106.

44. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore*, p. 220.

45. Edward Nehls, ed., *D.H.Lawrence: A Composite Biography*, Vol 1 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957) pp. 210, 565.

46. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore*, p. 106.

47. In fact, Savage bought the French rights to *South Wind*. Douglas chortled when Savage told him of his failure to place the book in France - Douglas must have tried to place the translation rights himself, and known that such a lack of success would have been the outcome. He would have been delighted to have earned some money. (Cf. Henry Savage, *The Receding Shore*, pp. 242-243.)

48. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 285.

49. For a good account of how the intellectual climate of the 'Apostles' informed one particular novel, Forster's *The Longest Journey*, see Elizabeth Heine, 'Editor's Introduction', E.M.Forster, *The Longest Journey* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), i-xxvi.

50. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 323.

51. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, pp. 320-321. In his paper on Lawrence and Cambridge at the International Research Symposium 'Lawrence in England and Italy', which was held at Corpus Christi College in July 1995, Professor James T. Boulton spoke about his own dealings with Garnett, confirming that the notes Garnett provided for the Cambridge edition of the letters are now known to be misleading.
52. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, p. 5. This manuscript has the Roberts-Vasey number E233.7. (Warren Roberts, *A Bibliography of D.H.Lawrence* (2nd edn Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
53. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 321.
54. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 319.
55. Paul Delany, *D.H.Lawrence's Nightmare. The Writer and his Circle in the Years of the Great War* (New York: Basic Books, 1978) pp. 88-90.
56. Slavoj Zizek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989) p. 13.
57. Edward Nehls, *A Composite Biography*, Vol 1, p. 582.
58. Mark Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue: The Exploratory Imagination of D.H.Lawrence', David Ellis and Ornella De Zordo, eds., *D.H.Lawrence. Critical Assessments*, Vol 2 (Mountfield, East Sussex: Helm, 1992) pp. 179-213.
59. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, pp. 299-300.
60. Colin Clarke, *The River of Dissolution. D.H.Lawrence and English Romanticism* (London: Routledge, 1969).
61. D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*, ed. Michael Herbert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 285.
62. D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*, p. 472.
63. D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*, pp. 472-473.
64. See note 40.
65. D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*, p. 473. For other passages containing references to the war see, for example, D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*, pp. 470, 475.
66. Two stories from what became the volume *The Prussian Officer* were first published in the *English Review*, one of which was 'Honour at Arms', later to be renamed 'The Prussian Officer' ('which Prussian Officer?' said Lawrence (*Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 241)). Its first appearance was, as John Worthen puts it, in a 'heavily cut' version (D.H.Lawrence, *The Prussian Officer and Other*

Stories, ed. John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) p. xxxviii). Douglas recounted what had happened in a letter to E.D.McDonald,

He brought the Prussian Officer in MS to the *English Review*; but I can't tell you in what year; it was before January 1917. I liked it and persuaded the editor to print it. But he found it too diffuse as it stood, and therefore entrusted me with the disagreeable job - I was Asst. Editor - of cutting it down by one-third or thereabouts; otherwise he said he would not put it in.

(Norman Douglas to E.D.McDonald, 5th November 1931, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.)

67. *Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 2, p. 331.

68. D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*, p. 473.

69. The use of such a relationship triangle is something that we can see being developed in *Sons and Lovers*. This text is usually thought to say little about the theme of Lawrence and same-sex desire. There is, though, the incident included in the full draft, recently published by Cambridge University Press, where Paul tries on Clara's stockings. (D.H.Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*, ed. Helen and Carl Baron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 381.) This could be linked to Angela Carter's brilliant, playful article 'Lorenzo as Closet Queen' where she draws attention to Lawrence's fascination with women's clothing in *Women in Love*. (Angela Carter, *Nothing Sacred* (London: Virago, 1982) pp. 161-168.) In fact, though, the scene in *Sons and Lovers* does not show Paul identifying with a feminine role, wanting to be a woman, rather his trying on the stockings intensifies the heterosexual desire. (The interest in women's fashion in *Women in Love* is probably to emphasise the radical position taken by Ursula and Gudrun in relation to prevailing gender stereotypes, the fact that the stockings can be seen at all implies somewhat shorter skirts than were the norm. (I am grateful to Professor John Worthen for this observation.)) In *Sons and Lovers* the triangular relationship is between Clara, Paul and Baxter. Lawrence said that he wanted to follow George Eliot's practice in her plots of having two couples. (E.T. [Jessie Chambers], *D.H.Lawrence. A Personal Record* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) p. 103.) However, triangular relationships provide a better way of thinking about a number of Lawrence's plots - if one accepts René Girard's argument that such erotic triangles of two men and one woman are a staple of novel plots this is perhaps unsurprising. But following on from Girard's observation, and building on work by Luce Irigaray and Claude Lévi-Strauss, Eve Sedgwick has argued for the examination of the relations between the men in the triangle. (Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).) In *Sons and Lovers* one notes the unconvincing shift from hatred to friendship between the two men, which leads to a scene where they discuss their bodies with some intimacy. (D.H.Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*, pp.448-449.) Further, the novel enacts a 'male traffic in women' as Clara functions as an erotic gift given back to Baxter by Paul. If a triangular structure within a plot involving two couples attains significance in the latter part of *Sons and Lovers*, then it has a major, foregrounded role in the published *Women in Love* text.

70. George Donaldson, ' "Men in Love"? D.H.Lawrence, Rupert Birkin and Gerald Crich', Mara Kalnins, ed., *D.H.Lawrence. Centenary Essays* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1986) pp. 41-67.
71. 'But really it was Ursula it was the woman who was gaining ascendance over Birkin's being at this moment. Gerald was becoming dim again, lapsing out of him.' D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, pp. 266-276.
72. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, pp. 422, 557 (note on 422.25) and 544 (note on 108.21).
73. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 481.
74. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 585.
75. The second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* records the first use in the sexual sense in 1892. Havelock Ellis used the word in this way in *Man and Woman* in 1894.
76. I am grateful to Mark Kinkead-Weekes for helping to date this chapter: it comes from the days after Lawrence's arrival in Cornwall. Since this was on 30 December 1915, it is probable, then, that it dates from the early days of 1916.
77. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 502.
78. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 502.
79. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 503.
80. D.H.Lawrence, *Kangaroo* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950) p. 119.
81. D.H.Lawrence, *The Rainbow*, ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) pp. 18, 120.
82. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 503.
83. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, pp. 504-505.
84. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 505.
85. D.H.Lawrence, *Kangaroo*, pp. 235-287.
86. Letter from Barbara Weekley Barr to Edward Nehls, Friday August 29th (no year, 1953?), Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
87. Jeffrey Meyers, *D.H.Lawrence. A Biography*, pp. 212-214, 416.
88. D.H.Lawrence, *Women in Love*, p. 206.
89. Paul Delany, *D.H.Lawrence's Nightmare*, p. 313.
90. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, p. 49.

91. While he rarely spoke about same-sex desire when discussing these cultures, when the subject did come up there was, at times, a limited level of acceptance for same-sex desire. For example, he says that the 'pornographico' depicting anal sex in an Etruscan tomb painting shows the 'archaic adult innocence of complete acceptance'. (D.H.Lawrence, *Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays*, ed. Simonetta de Fillippis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 125.)

92. As a description of intense male-male relations the language of the King James Version is certainly preferable to Symonds' poetry. In this poem Jonathan says, 'Dearer art though than sister or than mother/ Than moonèd eyes of maidens'. We also have this convoluted narration of an embrace and a kiss,

Thither with David, fleet of foot, and still
 Lest men should mar his purpose, from the hill
 Unto the valley shadows went and ran,
 Large in the lucent twilight, Jonathan.
 There by an ancient holm-oak huge and tough,
 Claspings the firm rock with gnarled roots and rough,
 He stayed their steps; and in his arms of strength
 Took David, and for sore love found at length
 Solace in speech, and pressure, and the breath
 Wherewith the mouth of yearning winnoweth
 Hearts overcharged for utterance. In that kiss
 Soul unto soul was knit and bliss to bliss.

(John Addington Symonds, *Many Moods. A Volume of Verse* (London: Smith, Elder, 1878) pp. 156, 154.)

93. D.H.Lawrence, *David, The Complete Plays of D.H.Lawrence* (London: Heinemann, 1965) pp. 68-154.

94. See especially the appendix 'On Michelangelo's Temperament and its Bearing on his Poetry' in John Addington Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Vol 2 (2nd ed. London: John C. Nimmo, 1893) pp. 381-385. The references to articles by Lombroso are on p. 382.

95. John Addington Symonds, *The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti and Tommaso Campanella. Now for the First Time Translated into Rhymed English* (London: Smith, Elder, 1878). He notes (p. 4 n1) that there is no complete translation into English, and that all previous translations of individual poems, or groups of poems, come from the edition of 1623 prepared by the artist's great nephew. Symonds, though, uses the edition of Cesare Guasti, from 1863. Talking of Michelangelo the younger and his changes to the text Symonds says,

Michelangelo obtained leave to transcribe the Vatican MSS. with his own hand; and after taking pains to collate all the autographs and copies in existence, he set himself to compare their readings, and to form a final text for publication. Here, however, began what we may call the Tragedy of his Rifacimento [Rewriting]. The more he studies his great ancestor's verses, the less he liked or dared to edit them unaltered. Some of the expressed thoughts and sentiments offensive to the Church. In some the Florentine patriot spoke over-boldly. Others exposed the author to misconstruction on the score of personal morality. (pp. 5-6)

There is a note after the reference to the poet's 'personal morality'. It runs thus,

I have elsewhere recorded my disagreement with Signor Guesti and Signor Gotti, and my reasons for thinking that Vardi and Michelangelo the younger were right in assuming that the sonnets addressed to Tommaso de' Cavalieri (especially xxx, xxxi, lii) expressed the poet's admiration for masculine beauty. See, 'Renaissance in Italy, Fine Arts', pp. 521, 522. At the same time, though I agree with Buonarroti's first editor in believing that a few of the sonnets 'risguardano, come si conosce chiaramente, amor platonico virile' [deal with how you establish in a secure way a more virile platonic love], I quite admit - as what student of early Italian poetry will not admit? - that a woman is generally intended under the title of 'Signore' and 'amico'.

He is right to note that early Italian - and particularly early French poetry - was used male forms: for example, in Italian, 'amico' rather than 'amica'. However there is a teasing tone here, and he has managed to include a reference to 'the poet's admiration for masculine beauty'. To avoid the imputation of sexual feeling, or to distinguish the relationship with de' Cavalieri from that with Vittoria Colonna, he talks about Michelangelo's Platonism,

Nothing is more clear than that Michael Angelo worshipped Beauty in the Platonic Spirit, passing beyond its personal and specific manifestation to the universal and impersonal. This thought is repeated over and over in his poetry; and if we bear in mind that he habitually regarded the loveliness of men or women as a sign of eternal and immutable beauty, we shall feel it of less importance to discover who it was that prompted him to this or that poetic utterance. (pp.7-8)

But it is undoubtedly the case, nevertheless, that Symonds responded to Michelangelo's interest in male beauty. He brings that before his readers by pointing out the three sonnets to Tommaso de' Cavalieri. To quote number xxxi in Symonds' translation, it is clear why this poetry would have caught the eyes of those interested in same-sex desire in the late nineteenth century who were seeking ways of putting 'homosexuality' into discourse. In it Michelangelo appears to admit to experiencing same-sex desire, and the difficulties of not giving way to allowing it physical expression,

Why should I seek to ease intense desire
 With still more tears and windy words of grief,
 When heaven, or late or soon, sends no relief
 To souls whom love hath robed around with fire?
 Why need my aching heart to death aspire,
 When all must die? Nay, death beyond belief
 Unto these eyes would be both sweet and brief,
 Since in my sum of woes all joys expire!
 Therefore because I cannot show the blow
 I rather seek, say who must rule my breast,
 Gliding between her gladness and her woe?
 If only chains and bands can make me blest,
 No marvel if alone and bare I go
 An arméd Knight's captive and slave confessed.

This translation comes on p.62.

96. James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance. Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). James M. Saslow, trans, *The Poetry of Michelangelo. An Annotated Translation* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1991).

97. D.H.Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*, p. 476.

98. D.H.Lawrence, *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 74.

99. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 211-212.

100. D.H.Lawrence, *Sketches of Etruscan Places*, pp. liv-lvi. The essay is on pp. 185-189.

101. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance. Studies in Art and Poetry*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) pp. 47-62.

102. D.H.Lawrence, *Sketches of Etruscan Places*, p. 320 (note to 185:19).

103. D.H.Lawrence, *Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Essays*, p. 186.

104. As John Addington Symonds noted in his book on the poet, Whitman responded to the famous male 'couples' in mythological and Biblical narratives. Of Whitman and 'adhesiveness' Symonds says, 'Its pathos and clinging intensity transpire through the last lines of the following piece, which may have suggested the legends of David and Jonathan, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades.' He then quotes the following lines of *Leaves of Grass*,

But when I read of the brotherhood of lovers, how it was with them,
How through life, through dangers, odium, unchanging, long and long,
Through youth, and through middle and old age, how unfaltering, how affectionate and faithful they were,
Then I am pensive - I hastily put down the book and walk away filled with the bitterest envy.

(John Addington Symonds, *Walt Whitman. A Study* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1893) pp. 78-79.)

105. D.H.Lawrence, *Studies of Etruscan Places and Other Essays*, pp. 204-205.

106. Edward Carpenter, *Some Friends of Walt Whitman: A Study in Sex Psychology* (London: British Society for Sex Psychology (Pamphlet 13), 1924).

107. The possibility of a Carpenter influence on Lawrence was first opened up by D.K.Barua in 'An Unacknowledged Source of Some of D.H.Lawrence's Ideas', *The Indian Journal of English Studies*, 10 (1969), 57-70 and subsequently by Emile Delavenay in *D.H.Lawrence and Edward Carpenter. A Study in Edwardian Transition* (London: Heinemann, 1971).

108. Forster wrote of Lawrence in his diary some time after the famous Greatham row, 'After Lawrence's remarks about Carpenter realise with regret that I cannot know him'. Forster's diary for 9th September 1915 cited in Tariq Rahman, 'Edward Carpenter and D.H.Lawrence', *American Notes and Queries*, 24 (Sept/Oct 1985), 18-20.

109. Delavenay is only able to say that it was 'possibly' the enlarged 1906 edition that Alice Dax lent Lawrence. (Emile Delavenay, *D.H.Lawrence and Edward Carpenter*, p. 22.) The essay on the intermediate sex included in the second edition of *Love's Coming-of-Age* had earlier appeared in *The Reformer*; the British Library has an offprint entitled 'An Unknown People', an interesting appropriation of the language used about hidden, far-away cultures. (The first edition is Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming-of-Age. A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes* (Manchester: Labour Press, 1896); the second edition, Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming-of-Age. A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1906). For the chapter on 'The Intermediate Sex' see pp. 114-134.)

110. W.C.Rivers, *Walt Whitman's Anomaly* (London: George Allen, 1913) pp. 69, 23.

111. Frederick Rolfe, *Nicholas Crabbe. Or the One and the Many* (New York: New Directions, 1958). There was also a visual tradition of representing unclothed men by water. This involves Thomas Eakins in America, Henry Scott Tuke in Cornwall and von Gloedden in Taormina. The last is of particular relevance to Lawrence - Lawrence's reaction to von Gloedden's work seems to permeate the strong response to men with boys in the first version of *The Plumed Serpent*, 'Quetzalcoatl'. One thinks of the character of Owen - based on Witter Bynner playing with the young Mexicans: 'He photographed them in all imaginable poses, took nude photographs of those that would let him, on the beach'. (D.H.Lawrence, *Quetzalcoatl. The Early Version of The Plumed Serpent*, ed. Louis L. Martz (Redding Ridge, Connecticut: Black Swan Books, 1995) p. 133.) On the homoerotic in photography generally see Allen Ellenzweig, *The Homoerotic Photograph. Male Images from Durieu/Delacroix to Mapplethorpe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

112. Jessie Chambers, *A Personal Record*, p. 122.

113. D.H.Lawrence, *Study of Thomas Hardy*, p. 7.

114. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 3, ed. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 478.

115. D.H.Lawrence, *The Symbolic Meaning. The Uncollected Versions of Studies in Classic American Literature*, ed. Armin Arnold (Arundel: Centaur Press, 1962) p. 254.

116. 'What does all this mean? It means that the activity of the lower psyche and lower body is polarized by the upper body. Eyes and ears want to gather sexual activity and knowledge. The mind becomes full of sex: and always, in an introvert, of his own sex. If we examine the apparent extroverts, like the flaunting Italian, we shall see the same thing. It is his own sex which obsesses him. ... The upper self is rabidly engaged in exploiting the lower self. A

child and its own roused, inflamed sex, its own shame and masturbation, its own cruel secret sexual excitement and sex curiosity, this is the greatest tragedy of our day.'

(D.H.Lawrence, *Fantasia of the Unconscious and Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) pp. 122-123.)

117. D.H.Lawrence, *The Symbolic Meaning*, pp. 255-256.

118. D.H.Lawrence, *The Symbolic Meaning*, p. 259.

119. D.H.Lawrence, *The Symbolic Meaning*, p. 261.

120. D.H.Lawrence, *The Symbolic Meaning*, pp. 262-263.

121. I am very grateful to Mark Kinkead-Weekes for allowing me to read the final draft of volume two of the Cambridge biography of Lawrence; Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *From Rainbow to Exile. D.H.Lawrence: The Middle Years. 1912-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

122. D.H.Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) pp. 177-178.

123. D.H.Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature*, p. 179.

124. Knud Merrild, *With D.H.Lawrence in New Mexico. A Memoir of D.H.Lawrence* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964) pp. 91-92.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 18 July 1920, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
2. Leo Bersani, *Homos* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995) p. 7.
3. The published volume is [Maurice Magnus], *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion* by M.M. (London: Martin Secker, 1924).
4. Forster, in *Aspects of the Novel* described Lawrence and Douglas as 'A doughty pair of combatants, the hardness of whose hitting makes the rest of us feel like a lot of ladies up in a pavilion.' (E.M.Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, ed. Oliver Stallybras (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976) p. 75.
5. It was reprinted in D.H.Lawrence, *Phoenix II, Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D.H.Lawrence*, ed. Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore (London: Heinemann, 1968) pp. 303-361.
6. The main published texts involved are Richard Aldington, *Pinorman. Personal Recollections of Norman Douglas, Pino Orioli and Charles Prentice* (London: Heinemann, 1954), Nancy Cunard, *Grand Man. Memories of Norman Douglas* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1954), and Norman Douglas' book *Late Harvest* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1946). Frieda Lawrence Ravagli wrote to *Time and Tide* about Cunard's review of the Aldington text. Frieda supported Aldington and praised his depiction of 'this unique group of men in their relationships, with Florence as a centre'. Nancy Cunard replied the following week. (*Time and Tide*, Vol 35 (29th May 1954) pp. 724 and (5th June 1954) pp. 752, 754.) Cunard wrote a long and rabid denunciation of Lawrence on a piece of paper stuck inside the cover of her copy of *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*. The book is now at Austin, and Cunard's outburst ends with the words 'Thank God Lawrence is dead'. Also at Austin is what may well be the first draft of the letter from Frieda to the editor of *Time and Tide* (the final draft is also there). In it she tells the story about Douglas trying to give her a young boy after Lawrence's death cited in an earlier chapter. (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.)
7. Keath Fraser, 'Norman Douglas and D.H.Lawrence. A Sideshow in Modern Manners', *D.H.Lawrence Review*, Vol 9 (1976) pp. 283-295; Jeffrey Meyers, *D.H.Lawrence and the Experience of Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982) pp. 29-49; Howard Mills, '"My best single piece of writing": "Introduction to *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion* by M.M."', David Ellis and Howard Mills, *D.H.Lawrence's Non-Fiction: Art, Thought and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 120-145; Keith Cushman, 'Introduction', *D.H.Lawrence, Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Keith Cushman (Santa Rosa, California: Black Sparrow Press, 1987) pp. 9-26.
8. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, p. 15. Douglas comments in *Plea* that, 'He told me that she had never been able do [sic] deny him anything. It may well be true; and herein I detect the seeds of that habit of reckless expenditure

which proved to be his undoing.' Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus. A Plea for Better Manners* ([Florence]: Privately Printed, 1924) p. 19.

9. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 58.

10. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus. A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 47. Douglas says, though, that 'His zest for work was prodigious, terrific, non-European; it proved him to be what he was, an American', p. 14.

11. Magnus talks about America and his 'enemy' there in a letter to Douglas from the last months of his life. Magnus also makes it clear in the same letter that he was in the New York '1½ years ago'; that is, in early 1919. (Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 15th September 1920, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.) For information on the boyhood trips to Europe see Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, p. 182.

12. Edward Gordon Craig, *Index to the Story of My Days* (London: Hulton, 1957) pp. 275-283. Edward Anthony Craig, *Gordon Craig. The Story of his Life* (New York: Knopf, 1968) pp. 202-213.

13. Edward Gordon Craig, *Index to the Story of My Days*, p. 277.

14. Edward Anthony Craig, *Gordon Craig. The Story of his Life*, pp. 244-250.

15. Edward Gordon Craig, *Index to the Story of My Days*, p. 278.

16. The file of correspondence of Magnus to Douglas includes the letters from the American counsel in Malta to Douglas. They tell us that Mrs Magnus was living in Elmdale Road, Tyndall's Park, Bristol. Lawrence quotes a letter from the Maltese friend of Magnus, Borg, that she had 'refused' to pay for Magnus' funeral. (D.H.Lawrence, 'The Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47.) The letter from the American counsel in Malta, one Carl R. Loop, says that she had said that 'she could not pay for the expenses of the funeral', which is not the same thing. (Carl R. Loop to Norman Douglas, 10 December 1920 and 28 December 1920.) Lawrence says she later refunded the Maltese, who had at first shouldered the cost.

17. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 11.

18. It appeared weekly from 2 June 1914 to 14 October 1914; the next one after this was 4 November 1914, which is the last the British Library have. There is some internal evidence to suggest the difficulties that the war was causing for the periodical. *The Roman Review. A Weekly Review of Italian Politics, Finance, Literature, Drama, Art and Archaeology* (Periodical, Rome, 1914). Each copy bears the legend, 'Editor Maurice Magnus'.

19. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 12.

20. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 186.

21. Edward Anthony Craig, *Gordon Craig. The Story of his Life*, pp. 299, 310.

22. In a letter to Borg of 10 February 1922, though, Lawrence said 'Poor Magnus, I heard of another nasty bit of swindling he did a few days before he left for Malta'. (*The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 4, ed. Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 188.) He offered a piece that would include Douglas' surviving 1921 letter to him to Knopf for their 1925 *Almanac*. Lawrence wrote to the publisher Blanche Knopf that 'Douglas is frightfully hypocritical in his doddering degeneracy. And Magnus was a thousand times worse than I showed him.' (*The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 5, ed. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) pp. 243-244.)

23. Magnus himself uses the phrase in his memoirs of the Legion. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 2.

24. Georg Simmel, 'The Adventure', *A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1959) pp. 243-258.

25. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift. The Form of Reason and Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D.Halls (London: Routledge, 1990); Claude Lévi Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, trans James Harle Bell et. al. (Boston: Beacon Press 1969); E. Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics* (Maimi: Maimi University Press, 1971); and Jacques Derrida, *Given Time I. Counterfeit Money*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

26. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) pp. 5, 3.

27. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991) pp. 67-90.

28. Indeed the parallels between Magnus and Rolfe run deep; many of the arguments I apply to Magnus also hold for the earlier figure. I will endeavour to show this here.

Frederick Rolfe's life and writing provides one of the most absorbing of literary side-streams - one that fascinated, in their different ways, D.H.Lawrence, Graham Greene and W.H.Auden. (D.H.Lawrence, Review of *Hadrian the Seventh in Phoenix. The Posthumous Papers of D.H.Lawrence* (London: Heinemann, 1936) pp. 327-330; Graham Greene, *Collected Essays* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969) pp. 172-181; W.H.Auden, Introduction to Frederick Rolfe, *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole. A Romance of Modern Venice* (New York: New Directions, 1953) pp. v-ix.) Here was a writer who captured, almost despite his intentions, his gifted, unstable and paranoid character in his writings, and whose life spawned a great literary biography. (The famous text about Rolfe is A.J.A.Symons, *The Quest for Corvo* (1934; London: Quartet Books, 1993). The biographical account that follows draws on the Symons text and on Donald Weeks' *Corvo* (London: Michael Joseph, 1971).) Rolfe was born in 1860 and received little schooling, though he later undertook a vast amount of undisciplined reading. Raised an Anglican, religion soon became an important part of Rolfe's life; he submitted to Rome. His belief that he had a

vocation to the priesthood took him first to St Mary's College, Oscott and then to Scots College in Italy. But his vocation for the priesthood was called into doubt: Rolfe was deeply scarred by this rejection. He held to a belief that he had a vocation, and took a twenty year vow of celibacy as part of the ongoing hope that the 'no' he had received was not final. In need of a way to earn a living he at first tried to live as an artist - painting religious subjects - and then by the pen. A pattern began that was often to be repeated. A meeting, and a certain initial frostiness, would resolve into friendship, a project for artistic collaboration and/or financial support. The demands that Rolfe increasingly placed on the new friend becoming too great a rupture would occur, Rolfe emitting an excoriating denouncement of the other man.

Rolfe's writing career began when he published a number of stories in *The Yellow Book* that were brought together in his *Stories Toto told Me*. ([Frederick Rolfe], Baron Corvo, *Stories Toto Told Me* (London: John Lane, 1898).) The stories are preoccupied with boy saints and their martyrdom, with intimations of a sexual interest on Rolfe's part. That said, this was something that Rolfe found it difficult to recognise himself at this stage. Rolfe's poetry is similar in its concerns - even the most naive of readers must begin to notice an erotic interest in young boys after the *fourth* poem on Saint William of Norwich. (Frederick Rolfe, *Collected Poems*, ed. Cecil Woolf (London: Cecil and Amelia Woolf, 1974) pp. 47-53.) After these stories he wrote a book on the Borgias which was a highly eccentric display of arcane learning: it eschews the use of the word 'poison', and argues that the Borgias did not 'envenom'. ([Frederick Rolfe], Baron Corvo, *Chronicles of the House of Borgia* (London: Grant Richards, 1901).) Gradually Rolfe found his medium: historical novels set in the medieval or Renaissance periods, or fiction that was largely autobiographical in nature, though with a marked tendency to introduce fantasy resolutions to the problems of his life. The most famous of the latter category of novels is *Hadrian the Seventh*, though here the flight into fantasy occurs quickly. The Rolfe-figure, George Arthur Rose, is visited by a bishop and the English Cardinal who recognise his vocation and the way he has held to his belief in it. Rose confesses and becomes a priest. We then move to Rome where Rose is serving in the entourage of the Cardinal at the time of a conclave to elect a new Pope. As there is a stalemate the procedure is described with much care and detail. George Arthur Rose, none other, emerges as Pope, as Hadrian the Seventh. He then sets about reforming the church and solving the problems of a politically riven Europe; this process well under way he is assassinated because of a socialist and a woman (Rolfe approved of neither as a category). The fantasies of others are usually dull affairs, but the force of conviction and a capacity of many readers to identify with the elements of megalomania, demand attention and overwhelm any resistance.

Rolfe's next autobiographical work *Nicholas Crabbe. Or the One and the Many* takes up Rolfe's story. Of course, because of Rose's elevation to the Papacy he needs a new Rolfe-figure: the introduction to the novel revels in the necessary multiplication of the self. The novel tells of Crabbe's hopes and failures in literary collaboration and efforts to get published. It adds a further story-line though - and here we move into the invented - namely a narrative about an attractive young man, Kemp, with whom Crabbe becomes acquainted and who comes to depend upon him. The young man is actually in his twenties but looks fourteen. This is not only an attempt simply to make this kind of object choice more palatable (age-asymmetrical relationships were, we should not forget, less stigmatized at this time than now), but also a means of imagining an

unchanging love, not one with a mentally and physically developing, changing boy. With the failure of this relationship with Kemp and of the literary hopes the one is again left against the many.

The last novel in Rolfe's autobiographical series is *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* - the title of course comes from *The Symposium* and Aristophanes' explanation of human desire. (Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951) pp. 58-65.) Crabbe is now living in Venice, still on the edge of destitution and starvation, at times walking the street by night, or sleeping in his boat. As the reader works through the account of how Rolfe believes that he is a victim not only of Anglican Venice but also of the publishers (these two groups of enemies are eventually linked together), s/he comes to realise that they have been called on to identify with a paranoid. An appeal for a collaborator and publisher is only part of the story, again. This time it is not a young man who looks like a boy but a young girl who becomes devoted to Crabbe after he saves her from the terrible Messina earthquake. Zilda is a thoroughly androgynous figure (Rolfe's oscillation between extremes, particularly between love and hate, for once finds a degree of quiet ambivalence here), and when Crabbe is persuaded to take her on as his servant she becomes Zildo. The novel takes a turn towards a fantasy resolution at the very end. Crabbe is saved from drowning by Zildo, who also offers him the money to put himself back on his feet. But at the same moment a letter arrives with news of an improbably large advance on his next novel: success has come. Zildo reverts to being Zilda and they marry: 'So the Desire and Pursuit of the Whole was crowned and rewarded by Love'. (Frederick Rolfe, *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* (London: Quartet Books, 1993) p. 297.) In fact, the Venice letters suggest that Rolfe may have followed the end of his twenty year vow of celibacy with a period of sexual abandon. (Frederick Rolfe, *The Venice Letters*, ed. Cecil Woolf (London: Cecil Woolf, 1987).) Rolfe died suddenly of heart failure in 1913: in all probability his death was, in fact, related to the hardships of the preceding years.

Having sketched in Rolfe's career it is possible to draw out a number of points from a clearly large group of complex texts and set of biographical issues that have relevance to what I say about Magnus and for the thesis generally. These include: the failure of this homosexual's homosocial exchanges; the growth of mental illness, of paranoia; issues of language and writing; and the significance of Roman Catholicism in Rolfe's life. While Rolfe insists on his prickliness, his ability to reject others, this masks what is elsewhere shown to be an immense need for friends, expressed in constant appeals for a partner, or an interest in collaboration: in short, a desire to be whole. He writes of Crabbe's 'absence of love, his constant ravening appetite for it'. (Frederick Rolfe, *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* (1993 ed.), p. 10.) If he sought to 'raven' on the money and social position of others he did so because he believed in a world where those who knew him did give their all. (Rolfe called himself, for a period, Baron Corvo: 'Corvus' is Latin for raven, and it was Rolfe's own, personal symbol. While the stems of words for the bird and the form of behaviour are, in fact, different it is an easy move between the animal and 'ravening' behaviour.) Rolfe's demands of his friends were set out through Nicholas Crabbe,

And to all those people who came professing admiration and friendship, he grimly said, 'Actions before words. If you wish me well, employ me: or help me get a proper price for my work, and to become your social equal; and then we will begin to ponder the matter of friendship'.

He failed to understand how anyone could be friendly, who did not act wholeheartedly on his behalf. He could not understand the friendship which does not give as well as take. Further he knew that real friendship can stand any test.

(Frederick Rolfe, *Nicholas Crabbe. Or the One and the Many* (New York: New Directions, 1958) pp. 129-130.) It is also possible to see that the friendships he held up as examples were hardly those of the everyday exchange between men. Rather Rolfe picks out some of the famous male-male friendships that some at the time were using in an attempt to assert the validity of same-sex relations,

Besides his glaucomatic don at Oxford, he had two friends - o god of Love, o Saint Amys and Saint Amyl, o David and Jonathan, o Harmodius and Aristogeiton, forgive the abuse of the term!

(Frederick Rolfe, *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* (1993 ed.), p. 41.) The demands placed on friendship here seem to demand - in an early twentieth century context, at least - that the homosocial admit a homosexual element. Rolfe seems to be refusing to accept any role in society, he remains outside, uncooperative and demanding a different regulation of things.

Perhaps one might pick up on the bird imagery of the 'ravener' sponger to speak of the position in relation to his fellow men that Rolfe does seem to have imagined as ideal. One thinks, in particular, of Hadrian's 'favourite' dream, in which he becomes an angel,

finally His usual and favourite dream of being invisible and stark-naked and fitted with great white feathery wings, flying with the movement of swimming among and above men, seeing and seeing and seeing, easily and enormously swooping.

(Frederick Rolfe, *Hadrian the Seventh* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1950) p. 262.) The freedom envisaged here is one that appropriates the experience of others with a freedom to swoop 'among and above', to see what could not otherwise be seen: he is unconstrained by any social boundaries. There is also an erotic element as the angel is naked and yet invisible. All this contrasts with the confines of an unstable life of poverty and constriction that Rolfe experienced. He holds to a view of social and economic relations, and particularly a conception of male-male friendship, that is markedly at variance with the everyday of his own time. One notes the strange parallel between the bird imagery that is important here and its significance to Lawrence when writing about homosexuality.

But what of Rolfe's persistence in living out what appears to be a continually self-defeating course? What of the elements of paranoia and megalomania? Of course, Freud's explanation for paranoia is one of repressed passive homosexuality. We have seen the way that Rolfe's homosexuality is both visible but also something he kept under control (at least until the Venice days) and so, perhaps, 'repressed'. However one might also take the consideration of paranoia in another direction. I am aware that these questions can be counted psychoanalytically naive, but to what extent is the degree of acceptance of homosexuality in society important to the sustainability of the Freudian causology for paranoia? If no need were experienced to keep these desires at bay in a differently

organised society what would happen to the forms, likelihood and prevalence of illness? Might not Freud have made a link between homosexuality and paranoia that was historically and socially contingent? In making points that suggest that the attitude of society to homosexuality may expose the same-sex desiring subject, as one of its effects, to a greater than necessary chance of suffering from mental illness, I am moving towards the territory established by Deleuze and Guattari, in their *Anti-Oedipus*.

If Rolfe is unable to establish a 'fit' with the society around him this can also be seen in the peculiarity of the texts and their language. The books were never going to earn the money he dreamed of. There is a certain wilful peculiarity in the arcane vocabulary, the strange syntax. Similarly the belief expressed by Hadrian that the invention of the printing press was 'three-times or four-times accursed' hardly suggests that Rolfe had a shrewd head for the difficult turn of the century publishing environment. (This comes from 'The Bull Against the Enemy of the Anglican Race' which had to be left out of *Hadrian the Seventh*. It is printed in Frederick Rolfe, *The Armed Hands and Other Stories and Pieces*, ed. Cecil Woolf (London: Cecil and Amelia Woolf, 1974) pp. 74-80. The quotation comes from p. 74.) The writing was also unable to gain success within the everyday world because of what the editor of *The Yellow Book* Henry Harland called a 'flavour', namely the pederastic vein in the writing. (Cf. Frederick Rolfe, *Nicholas Crabbe*, p. 119.) There is also an effect not only on style but also on form. The 'readjusting' of Rolfe's life through the fantasy element leads to an oscillation between the grimly realistic and the improbable, between the believable autobiographical novel and a fantasy text. Interestingly, there is also the possibility that styles of writing which appear to simply set out the 'facts of a life' have to be recast to represent homosexual experience. This argument can be mounted using A.J.A.Symons' classic *A Quest for Corvo*. The biography is innovative in that it tells both the narrative of Corvo's life and also how the biographer found the information on his subject. But the tone of euphoria that marks the conclusion of Symons' book as all the facts falls into place diverges sharply from the conclusion of the life of its subject. Rolfe dies in penury after much suffering, whereas Symons discovers a rich enthusiast who helps find the remaining, missing parts of the Rolfe story. The Symons narrative comes together in an ordered way, but the Rolfe story ends with him still a marginalized and borderline figure. The biographer's fortunes turn upwards, as his subject sinks away. As I argued in the Introduction, other biographies and autobiographies of homosexuals in the twentieth century have, similarly, been amongst the most innovative in terms of form. In the realm of autobiography one thinks, for example, of Ackerley's *My Father and Myself* and Isherwood's *Christopher and his Kind*. A need to find a different way of representing the homosexual's life can be glimpsed.

But if the society regulated by the homosocial did not appeal to Rolfe then what structures did? Well one must, in particular, mention the Church. Many of those that Yeats termed the 'tragic generation' submitted to Rome and there are strong links between homosexuality and Roman and Anglo-Catholicism. We have seen this when talking about Mackenzie's writing on the 1890s. One might also point to Christianity as offering an alternative organisation of the social, without the competition, the goods getting together, of twentieth century homosociality. To return to the imagery of birds and of flight, one might look at the different conception of the subject in the world set out in the Sermon on the Mount,

Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do

they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?

(Matt. vi, 26 (King James Version).) Frederick Rolfe, one suspects, held to a very similar view of what he expected from the world. The extent of the failure to co-operate with the heterocentric and the homosocially regulated society by this complex borderline psychotic helps open out a number of ways in which, I would argue, the extent of the discontinuity of the homosexual subject with the everyday can be seen: in terms of language, writing, and the social and economic spheres.

While it would be reductive to overplay the possible links between Magnus and Corvo - the latter's behaviour is much more pathological, to begin with - there is a key similarity. Both constantly refused to submit to the prevailing homosocial organisation of society. Their refusal to downplay some of the implications of their homosexuality - its disruption of policed homosociality - shows the extent to which the organisation of society is dependent on a compulsory heterosexuality, and also the structural incompatibility of the homosexual subject with such a society.

29. In Jonathan Fryer's biography of Isherwood he says of Hamilton that he was,

the model for 'Mr Norris', whom Christopher met in the winter of 1930-1931, when Hamilton was working as the Berlin sales representative for *The Times*. Born in Shanghai, of Irish origins, Hamilton had already travelled the world and had been involved in underhand dealings of many kinds. The self-proclaimed intimate friend of both royalty and Communists, he was a walking paradox. He was a Catholic convert with ties to the Vatican, but he campaigned for legalised abortion, along with prison reform and the abolition of the death penalty. He was a friend of the homosexual Irish patriot Roger Casement and, as a homosexual himself, had a taste for rough working-class men. His complete lack of political or moral scruples was counter-balanced by his brilliant conversation, urbanity and grace - no mean achievement for an overweight middle-aged gentleman who wore and ill-fitting wig.

Claud Cockburn ... dared not introduce new people to Hamilton, even those who had heard of his notoriety, since he knew that within a matter of days they would be stung for cash, lured by some attractive-sounding bogus business proposition, or find themselves summoned in the middle of the night to stand bail for their new friend.

Jonathan Fryer, *Eye of the Camera. A Life of Christopher Isherwood* (London: Allison and Busby, 1993) p. 82. See also Christopher Isherwood, *Mr Norris Changes Trains* (London: Hogarth Press, 1935). In this novel, rather than being homosexual the Hamilton-figure is made a sado-masochist.

30. Norman Douglas, *D.H. Lawrence and Maurice Magnus. A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 48. It was precisely this attitude to giving which Douglas held that Lawrence would not comprehend - 'A little intuition would have convinced anybody but a novelist-creditor that Magnus was too generous for this world'. (Norman Douglas, *D.H. Lawrence and Maurice Magnus. A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 33.)

The suggestion that Lawrence was purely an aggrieved creditor is too simplistic - but Douglas was perhaps right in general terms to see issues around money and generosity as key to Lawrence's encounter with Magnus.

31. Frieda Lawrence, *Not I, But the Wind* (London: Heinemann, 1935) p. 93.

32. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 10.

33. For example, Mills compares Lawrence and Douglas' accounts of Magnus talking about his mother. On the assertion by Douglas that he simply changed the subject whenever this was raised, Mills comments that this is 'yet another instance of Douglas' attempt to portray Magnus being thwarted by the impulse to ink in heavily a simple self-caricature'. (Howard Mills, 'My best single piece of writing': "Introduction to the Foreign Legion by M.M.", p. 144.)

34. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 11.

35. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 13.

36. Norman Douglas, *Alone* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1921) pp. 134-135.

37. Norman Douglas, *Alone*, p. 137.

38. Norman Douglas, *Alone*, p. 135.

39. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, pp. 20-21.

40. Goldring quotes a number of letters he received from Magnus in his book *The Nineteen Twenties*. They mainly concern plays, and their translation, to which Magnus devoted his time towards the end of his life. A number of his translations appeared posthumously - it is impossible to know if this line of work would have alleviated some of Magnus financial difficulties. Goldring gives the following explanation of the relations between Magnus and Lawrence. Again issues of money and sexuality are linked:

Poor Magnus was almost everything that Lawrence disliked and disapproved of. He was a decayed "gentleman", incapable of earning his living, always in debt, always borrowing money, and homo-sexual into the bargain. Lawrence on the other hand had all the financial self-respect and scrupulous honesty in money matters which are among the basic virtues of the thrifty working-class.

(Douglas Goldring, *The Nineteen Twenties. A General Survey and Some Personal Memoirs* (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1945) pp. 204-210). The quotation comes from pp. 204-205.)

41. For Douglas' attempts to get hold of the Russian Memoirs, and their subsequent loss in the post, see the letters from Norman Douglas to Grant Richards of 14 October 1921, 21 December 1921, 15 January 1922, 8 April 1922 and 15 January 1923, Harry Ransom

Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

42. Norman Douglas to Grant Richards, 4 October 1921, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

43. Norman Douglas to Grant Richards, 4 October 1921, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

44. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 28 October 1920, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

45. Norman Douglas to Grant Richards, 6 February 1922, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

46. Lawrence wrote to Secker in November 1925, 'You know you may not print the Douglas letter entire - it is his property. - Will you go through my letter, and leave out what is best left out, and put in what needs to be put in. Make it all right. Make it shorter.' (James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey, eds, *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 5, p. 340.)

47. Norman Douglas to D.H. Lawrence, 26th December 1921, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

48. *The New Statesman*, Vol 26, No 669 (20 February 1926) p. 579. The complete text of Lawrence's letter, a model of its kind, can also be found in *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 5, pp. 395-397.

49. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 16.

50. Maurice Magnus, "Dregs: A Foreign Legion Experience by An American", Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, title page.

51. Keith Cushman, 'Introduction', D.H.Lawrence, *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Keith Cushman, p. 8.

52. Douglas added two footnotes to his reprinting of his essay on Magnus and Lawrence in *Experiments*. It appears that 'a mass of literary material' by Magnus did reach Douglas eventually, including an incomplete book of Prussian memoirs. The title is 'The Unspeakable Prussian - Personal Experiences before the War - by an American Resident' - Magnus again signs himself as an 'American'. Norman Douglas, *Experiments* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925) p. 245.

53. Keith Cushman, 'Introduction', D.H.Lawrence, *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Cushman, p. 8.

54. *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 5, p. 232.

55. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 17.

56. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 24.

57. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 9 May 1920, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

58. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47a.

59. D.H.Lawrence, *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Keith Cushman, p. 140. 'I did such a "Memoir" of Maurice Magnus, to go in front of his horrid *Legion* book.' *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 4, p. 191.
60. Keith Cushman, 'Introduction', D.H.Lawrence, *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Keith Cushman, p. 8.
61. D.H.Lawrence, *Memoir of Maurice Magnus*, ed. Keith Cushman, pp. 140-147.
62. 'I have personally put in a good deal of work on the manuscript.' Martin Secker, *Letters from a Publisher. Martin Secker to D.H.Lawrence and Others* (London: Enitharmion Press, 1970) p. 22. On Lawrence giving Secker permission to make cuts see *The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 5, p. 24.
63. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 6.
64. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 42.
65. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', pp. 66-67.
66. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 107.
67. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 68.
68. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 57.
69. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p. 102.
70. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', p.70.
71. Maurice Magnus, '"Dregs": A Foreign Legion Experience by an American', pp. 97, 161-3.
72. D.H.Lawrence, *The Lost Girl*, ed. John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) p. 63.
73. D.H.Lawrence, *The Lost Girl*, p. 104.
74. Cf. Kenneth Lewes, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988) pp. 38-39.
75. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 189, 195.
76. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, pp. 187, 187, 189, 190, 201.
77. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 233.

78. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 215. Richard Aldington also noted this physical characteristic of Turner, 'With a wave of the hand, which I always felt must have been copied from Oscar, and that strange "flapping" of his eyelids due to some small eye trouble he refused to have treated, he would condole with me on belonging to a dull generation.' (Richard Aldington, *Pinorman*, p. 75.)
79. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 215.
80. Richard Aldington, *Pinorman*, pp. 178-179.
81. D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, p. 241.
82. John Worthen, *D.H.Lawrence* (London: Edward Arnold, 1991) p. 71.
83. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 1.
84. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 1.
85. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 1.
86. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 2.
87. Lawrence's reference to Douglas comes in a letter to Compton Mackenzie of 12 September 1920. The footnote saying that the 'amico' was Maurice Magnus is in *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, Vol 3, ed. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 594 n3. On Douglas actually being away with René, see Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas. A Biography* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976) p. 282.
88. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47a.
89. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', pp. 5-6.
90. Howard Mills, '"My best single piece of writing": "Introduction to *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion* by M.M."', p. 127.
91. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', pp. 9-10.
92. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 9.
93. Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, p. 12. Douglas says that when he met Magnus again in 1917 (around the time he had to leave England after being arrested) it was Magnus who looked after him,

He was pretty flush just then, and I on my beam ends and altogether run down. He installed me in his apartment, cleared out of his own bedroom and gave it to me, bought me a new outfit and fed me like a prince. There I stayed, putting on flesh again; and I have only to add that from that day onwards till his death there was nothing he would not do for me; he seemed to delight in anticipating my smallest wishes.

(Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, pp. 12-13.)

94. For Douglas discussion of the deployment of what he calls the 'novelist's touch' in the *Memoir* see Norman Douglas, *D.H.Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: A Plea for Better Manners*, pp. 32-33.
95. Edward Nehls, 'D.H.Lawrence: The Spirit of Place', *The Achievement of D.H.Lawrence*, ed. Frederick J. Hoffman and Harry T. Moore (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953) pp. 268-290.
96. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 11.
97. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 12.
98. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 13.
99. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 13.
100. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 14.
101. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 15.
102. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 15.
103. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 15.
104. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 19.
105. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 20.
106. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 23.
107. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 23.
108. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 24.
109. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 24.
110. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 9 May 1920, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
111. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 31a.
112. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 28 October 1920, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
113. Maurice Magnus to Norman Douglas, 15 September 1920, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
114. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 29.
115. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 29.
116. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47a.
117. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47.
118. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 57.
119. Martin Secker, *Letters from a Publisher*, p. 25.

120. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47a.
121. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 47a-48.
122. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 48.
123. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', pp. 48-49.
124. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 49.
125. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', pp. 49-51 (the manuscript has no page 50).
126. D.H.Lawrence, 'Memoir of Maurice Magnus', p. 53.
127. Rebecca West, *D.H.Lawrence* (London: Martin Secker, 1930) pp. 28-29.

Notes to the Conclusion

1. Diana Fuss, *Identification Papers* (London: Routledge, 1995) pp. 9-10.
2. *Edward II* (UK, Derek Jarman, 1991); *Caravaggio* (UK, Derek Jarman, 1986); *Sebastiane* (UK, Derek Jarman, 1976). On *Edward II* see also Derek Jarman, *Queer Edward II* (London: British Film Institute, 1991).
3. The National Lesbian and Gay Survey, *Proust, Cole Porter, Michelangelo, Marc Almond and Me. Writings by Gay Men on their Lives and Lifestyles* (London: Routledge, 1993) p. 110.
4. Compton Mackenzie, *Extraordinary Women* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1986) p. 201.
5. Compton Mackenzie, *Extraordinary Women*, p. 85.
6. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (London: Virago, 1982) pp. 22-23, 207.
7. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, p. 77.
8. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, p. 438.
9. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, pp. 207-208.
10. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, pp. 185, 393.
11. The discussion that follows draws on Michael Baker's excellent account of the events surrounding the publication of *The Well of Loneliness*. Michael Baker, *Our Three Selves. A Life of Radclyffe Hall* (London: GMP, 1985) pp. 201-257.
12. Cf. Phyllis Grosskurth, *Havelock Ellis. A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1980) pp. 398-400.
13. In her diary entry for Friday 31st August 1928 Woolf wrote of a visit from Forster, 'One night we got drunk, & talked of sodomy, & sapphism, with emotion - so much so that next day he said he had been drunk ... He said he thought Sapphism disgusting partly from convention, partly because he disliked that [sic] women should be independent of men.' (*The Dairy of Virginia Woolf*, Vol 3, ed. Anne Olivier Bell and Andrew McNeillie (London: The Hogarth Press, 1980) p. 193.)
14. The Obscene Publication Act of 1959 changed the law on a defense on the grounds of artistic merit - hence the kind of questioning of expert literary witnesses undertaken in the trail concerning Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1960. Cf. C.H. Rolph, ed., *The Trail of Lady Chatterley. Regina v. Penguin Books Limited* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990).
15. The fate of the book in America was somewhat different. The American publisher that had been lined up - Knopf - withdrew at the last moment. It was taken on by Covici Friede. When court proceedings were initiated the novel could continue to be sold, copies moved in large numbers. The first trail went against Covici

Friede, but the appeal, this time, was successful.

16. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Six* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967) pp. 147-149.

17. In the list of people depicted in *Extraordinary Women* given by James Money, Hall does not appear. In fact Mackenzie's sojourn on Capri gave him many real-life figures to draw upon. Cf. James Money, *Capri. Island of Pleasure* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986) pp. 291-292.

18. Cf. Clive Fisher, *Cyril Connolly. A Nostalgic Life* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

19. Cyril Connolly, 'The Vulgarity of Lesbianism. *Extraordinary Women* by Compton Mackenzie.' *The New Statesmen*, Vol 31, No 800 (Saturday 25th August 1928) p. 614.

20. Cyril Connolly, 'New Novels. *The Well of Loneliness* by Radclyffe Hall, *Vasco* by Marc Chadbourne, *Pas de Quatre* by Basil Creighton, *Far Enough* by Helen Ashton', *The New Statesmen*, Vol 31, No 800 (Saturday 25th August 1928) pp. 614-615.

21. *The New Statesmen*, Vol 31, No 800 (Saturday 25th August 1928) p. 602.

22. Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Six*, p. 148.

23. For an account of the writing, publication and reception of *Some Limericks*, from which some of the details in the following pages are taken, see Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas. A Biography* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976) pp. 367-70.

24. Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks. Collected for the Use of Students, & Ensplendour'd with Introduction, Geographical Index, and with Notes Explanatory and Critical* ([Florence]: Privately Printed, 1928) p. 13.

25. Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 17.

26. Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, pp. 18-19.

27. Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 15.

28. Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 11.

29. For example, 'There was a young student of John's, / Who wanted to bugger the swans. / But the loyal Hall-Porter / Said "Pray take my daughter! / The birds are reserved for the dons".' (Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 73.)

30. For example: 'There was a young man of Peru, / Who was hard up for something to do. / So he took up his carrot / And buggered his parrot, / And sent the results to the Zoo.' (Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 37.) An example of a limerick along with one of Douglas' mock-serious notes can also be provided: 'There was an old man of Brienz, / The length of whose cock was immense. / With one swerve he could plug / A boy's bottom in Zug / And a kitchen-maid's cunt in Coblenz.' The note runs, 'A gargantuan implement in truth, seeing that the distance from Brienz to Zug is 58 Kilometres, and to

Coblentz immeasurably greater. If the author of this poem was not stretching a point, somebody else was plainly stretching a penis. The Swiss, for the rest, do not seem to be favoured in this respect (G. Westlake, F.R.S., *Penis Measurements in the Alps*, London, 1889, plates V to XXI)' (Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 53.) After checking the British Library catalogue, one is shocked to record that Douglas made up the reference here.

Perhaps the most intelligent of the limericks deals with psychoanalysis and gender: 'The girls who frequent picture-palaces/
Set no store by psycho-analysis./ And though Mr Freud/
Is greatly annoyed,/ They cling to their old-fashioned phalluses.' (Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 80.)

31. Norman Douglas, *Some Limericks*, p. 78.

32. Quoted in Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, p. 169.

33. 'The Art of Fiction XXIV - Aldous Huxley' [Interview], *Paris Match*, Vol 23 (Spring/Summer 1960) p. 76.

34. D.H.Lawrence, *Phoenix. The Posthumous Papers of D.H.Lawrence* (London: Heinemann, 1936) p. 175.

35. Lawrence said of the Douglas text, 'But then I think the limericks are just indecent. Why didn't Douglas keep them out of the post? - so bad for everybody else.' (*The Letters of D.H.Lawrence*, Vol 7, ed. Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 142.)

36. As far as the paintings go see especially 'Men Bathing' which features a number of naked male swimmers: it can perhaps be linked to a tradition of representing male nudes by water, particularly in photography. We have already seen, in respect of 'Quetzalcoatl', that Lawrence can be placed in relation to this line of writers and artists. (D.H.Lawrence, *Paintings of D.H.Lawrence*, ed. Harry T. Moore, Jack Lindsay and Herbert Read (London: Cory, Adams and Mackay, 1964) p. 90.) For the quotation from the third version of *Lady Chatterley* see D.H.Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* ([Florence], Privately Printed, 1928) p. 167.

37. Mackenzie's description suggests that an equivalence between an early homosexual style and the behaviour of birds was not only the product of Lawrence's fevered imagination:

With all the practice I have had in trying to convey odd characters from life to the printed page I have no hope of being able to evoke Collingwood Gee. He was at this date [1899] twenty-four years old but mentally he had remained fourteen, and was as completely homosexual as anybody I have known. From some entail or trust he was to inherit a lot of money when he reached a certain age, and for this reason his father could not disown him. He lived at home but he had a mysterious studio in Brook Green where he did poker-work, and very good poker-work too. I never saw Collingwood Gee in anything but a very short tail coat with which he seldom wore a top-hat but nearly always a bowler, and with his small face, sharp nose and very bright dark eyes he used to remind me of a bird, the resemblance heightened by his walk which was more like a bird's hop than a walk.

(Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times. Octave Two* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963) pp. 253-254.)

The description of 'Little Mee' in *Aaron's Rod* fits Gee far better than Magnus. The descriptions of Magnus hardly suggest that he was small of feature - even if he was not tall - and he certainly was not as 'Rich as Croesus' and yet miserly with his money. (D.H.Lawrence, *Aaron's Rod*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 217. For the claim that Mee 'is drawn from Maurice Magnus' see the note to p. 215:1 on pp. 324-325.)

38. George Chauncey, *Gay New York. Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995) pp. 1-8.

39. 'Do not ask who I am and do not ask me to remain the same: leave it to our bureaucrats and our police to see that our papers are in order. At least spare us their morality when we write.' Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock, 1972) p. 17. To the references to 'our bureaucrats and our police', Foucault might have added ones to 'our biographers and our examiners'.

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Images

The painting by Collingwood Gee of Lawrence reading *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in Florence in 1928 is in the Art Collection at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

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