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Reconsidering the Emergence of the Gay Novel in English and
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Introduction

Responding to a question about "the Love that dare not speak its name" while on trial in April 1895, Oscar Wilde defended same-sex passions from the witness box, citing Lord Alfred Douglas's poem "Two Loves" (1894) (Douglas 297). Although this love might not have dared to speak its name in the face of pervasive social and legal condemnation, it was not for lack of options. Rather, in Wilde's time and in the decades following, names for same-sex love abounded. As scholars and historians of sexuality and homosexuality have shown, the nineteenth century saw the emergence of competing taxonomical and conceptual structures for same-sex desire and sexuality. Concerning the subject of homosexuality, nowhere were the discursive links stronger than between the German- and English-speaking worlds, which took the form of renewed interest in Western traditions of Greek love, the influence of German sexological research into homosexuality on English sexual-reform efforts, and the impact of Oscar Wilde's trials and conviction for acts of "gross indecency" (i.e., sex acts) with other men upon German writers and homosexual subcultures. This dynamic discursive environment provides the backdrop to the first novels explicitly dealing with love and desire between men.

This study reconsiders the "gay" or homosexual novel in German and English. As Gregory Woods writes, "towards the end of the nineteenth century, at very roughly the same time that the existence of 'the homosexual' as a distinct type of individual was being definitely established, the novel started to take over from poetry as the best place in which accessibly to express the quotidian realities of homosexual lives" (*A History of Gay Literature* 136). This shift from poetry to the novel, Woods suggests, was part of larger social and cultural trends and the development of the novel as an art form and as "the pre-eminent 'social' literary medium of the bourgeois-capitalist era" (136). Late nineteenth-century sexological investigation into same-sex sexuality might have played a role. Harry Oosterhuis posits that the self-narration undertaken by homosexual men and women for sexologists, such as the Austrian psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing, utilized the literary genre of the autobiography: "Krafft-Ebing's case histories can be viewed as a specific version of the modern (auto)biographical genre as it originated in the eighteenth century and came to full development in the nineteenth century" (*Stepchildren of Nature* 216).

It is possible that these nonfictional narratives of gay lives led to fictional ones. Although this would be an interesting question, it is not the aim of this study, though, to offer an answer as to why this move from poetry to the novel took place, but rather to explore the themes common to these works.

Claude Summers defines gay fiction as "the fictional representation of male homosexuals by gay male and lesbian writers; the evolution of conceptions about homosexual identity; and the construction, perpetuation, revision, and deconstruction of fictions (including stereotypes and defamations) about homosexuality and homosexuals" (*Gay Fictions* 11). Summers gave this definition in 1990, and yet, for the purposes of this study, it still has mileage. Of course, here I limit it to the novel—and for that matter so does Summers, who discusses mostly novels and a few short stories. Hence, I use a broad definition of the gay novel: it is the genre composed of novels in which men who recognized their same-sex desire (regardless of whether they would ascribe to this or a similar term) gave voice to that desire. It explores the development of identities based on same-sex desire, which have fed into modern gay identities, and it is particularly poised to challenge stereotypes and (mis)conceptions about homosexuals.

The present study focuses exclusively on gay male novels. Some of the earliest works of fiction to thematize female same-sex love and desire, however, did respond to similar discourses, as in the cases of lesbian novels that incorporate and translate into fiction Krafft-Ebing's or Magnus Hirschfeld's scientific concepts and theories, such as Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) or Minna Wettstein-Adelt's *Sind es Frauen? Ein Roman über das dritte Geschlecht* (*Are These Women? A Novel about the Third Sex*, 1901), which she published under the pseudonym Aimée Duc. Nevertheless, gay male novels were responding to distinct, although sometimes complimentary, discourses and stereotypes to their female counterparts. For instance, exploring medical discourse on female sexual inversion, Chiara Beccalossi writes that "late nineteenth-century physicians formulated detailed theories of love and sexual acts between women. Rather than mirroring more sophisticated explanations of male same-sex desires, medical ideas of female same-sex desires had their own rich narratives, and their own multilayered history" (*Female Sexual Inversion* 5). Therefore, an analysis of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century discourses of female same-sex desire in the earliest lesbian novels is beyond this scope of this book, but it is an area which would no doubt yield fruitful further research.

When I use the term "gay novels" to designate the works I have chosen to study, I recognize that I am using the word "gay" anachronistically. The English word "gay" dates, writes George Chauncey, to the 1920s and especially 1930s when it was used in New York gay subcultures (20–21). It may have made it across the Atlantic during World War II because, according to the *OED*, in the late 1940s and early 1950s "gay" appears in British writing. The German equivalent, "schwul," on the other hand, has a much longer history, and thus it would be appropriate to call the four works of fiction on which I have selected to focus here "schwule Romane" ("gay novels"). Paul Derks's research indicates that by 1900 the word "schwul" was

already in wide circulation with the oldest written usage of the term appearing in a Berlin criminological treatise in 1847 (*Die Schande der heiligen Päderastie* 95–96). The term "homosexual" was in usage in both linguistic contexts during this period. The word "Homosexualität" was coined by the campaigner Karl Maria Kertbeny (1824–1882) in 1869 (Tobin "Kertbeny's 'Homosexuality'" 3), and, according to the *OED*, this term found its way into the English language in 1892. This term itself provides an example of the kind of cross-cultural transfer regarding discourses of homosexuality with which this study is concerned.

In terms of scope, this study treats texts of the formative years of the gay novel, revisiting the time of the emergence of the genre to argue for its continued relevance. Since the 1970s, when gay literary studies arose as a field of scholarship, there have been a great number of studies that have focused in part, primarily, or entirely on fiction of this period. Many of these studies discussed openly for the first time homosexuality in the work of established literary figures or rediscovered forgotten early gay-themed literary works. By the 1980s and mid-1990s, a new gay literary canon was being established in studies that include Summers's *Gay Fictions Wilde to Stonewall* (1990), Mark Lilly's *Gay Men's Literature in the Twentieth Century* (1993), Joseph Bristow's *Effeminate England* (1995), and Woods's *A History of Gay Literature* (1998). Since the mid- to late-1990s, scholarship in gay and lesbian literary studies has been, to a large extent, supplanted by queer studies in academia. Nevertheless, critical work on the gay novel genre did not disappear when "queer" came on the scene. This work might be best described as having been incorporated into queer studies. If anything, the field of inquiry in gay and lesbian literature is richer and more diverse than ever before. Important examinations of gay novels have been published within the past decade, such as the 2011 *Cambridge Companion to Gay and Lesbian Writings*, edited by Hugh Stevens. The difference is that the foci of much of this recent work are far narrower than the comprehensive recovery projects of the 1980s and 1990s: take, for example, Norman Jones's *Gay and Lesbian Historical Fiction* (2007), Martin Dines's *Gay Suburban Narratives in American and British Culture: Homecoming Queens* (2010), or Monica B. Pearl's *AIDS Literature and Gay Identity* (2013).

Since such a great deal of scholarly attention has been invested in the emergence of the gay novel, particularly in the 70s, 80s, and 90s, it then must be asked why it should interest us now. The reason, I argue, is simple: because, when approached with a comparative literary and cultural methodology, there are still original interpretations to be made. Unlike many earlier studies, this work does not focus exclusively on fiction from one linguistic or cultural group, neither does it investigate works of fiction from two or more cultural contexts and completely ignore the specificities, the peculiarities, or the inflections of the cultural context in which these works were written. Thus, the contribution of the present study to the field of scholarship lies squarely in its cross-cultural and comparative focus, in its exploration of the transnational legacies and the exchange of knowledge and culture between the German- and English-speaking worlds. This study draws on and links to recent re-

search in related and adjacent disciplines, in particular comparative work in the history of sexuality and sexology (see especially H. Bauer, *English Literary Sexology*; Schaffner, *Modernism and Perversion*; and others), to show how the emergence of the gay novel correlates to broader trends in the development of homosexual identity and culture. This is the "why and how" of the ways in which this study fits into the framework of comparative literary and cultural studies. It is this approach which enables me to make my fresh interpretations of the texts here under scrutiny and arrive at new insights into how the gay novel genre cohered.

I have selected four texts indicative of the rise of the modern gay novel to draw larger conclusions about the formative environment of this genre in these discursively linked linguistic and cultural contexts. These works of fiction are US-American émigré Edward Prime-Stevenson's short novel, *Imre: A Memorandum* (1906); Thomas Mann's classic of homoerotic longing, *Der Tod in Venedig* (*Death in Venice*, 1912); E. M. Forster's posthumously published, gay bildungsroman, *Maurice* (1913–14; 1971); and Scottish-German John Henry Mackay's *Der Puppenjunge: Die Geschichte einer namenlosen Liebe aus der Friedrichstraße* (*The Hustler: The Story of a Nameless Love from Friedrichstrasse*, 1926), a novel set in interwar Berlin's homosexual subcultures. These are among the earliest works to fictionalize love and desire between men and are some of the most open in dealing with the subject.

I do not claim, however, that my selection is comprehensive. Indeed, I must mention that from this era there are various texts that are not included in this study, or are considered only in passing. Among these are quite a number of German works of fiction: Emerich von Stadion's *Drei seltsame Erinnerungen* (*Three Strange Memories*, 1868), Adolf Wilbrandt's *Fridolins heimliche Ehe* (*Fridolin's Secret Marriage*, 1875), Bill Forster's (pseudonym for Herman Breuer) *Anders als die Andern* (*Different to the Others*, 1904), the anonymously authored novel *Liebchen: Ein Roman unter Männern* (*Darling: A Novel Among Men*, 1908), *Zwischen den Geschlechtern: Roman einer geächteten Leidenschaft* (*Between the Sexes: Novel of an Outlawed Passion*, 1919) by "Homunkulus," and many more. There are English examples as well, such as Forrest Reid's *The Garden God: A Tale of Two Boys* (1905), D. H. Lawrence's "The Prussian Officer" (1914), and A. T. Fitzroy's (pseudonym for Rose Allatini) *Despised and Rejected* (1917). Hence, I have had to reach a compromise between breadth and depth, since the limitations of space prevent me taking a broader selection. No doubt, further investigation with other constellations of novels will provide ever greater insight into the rise of the gay novel.

Imre: A Memorandum, which Prime-Stevenson published under the pseudonym "Xavier Mayne," is the first-person narration of Oswald, a thirty-something Englishman living in Europe, who recounts how, while studying Hungarian in Budapest, he met, befriended, and fell in love with a twenty-five-year-old army lieutenant named Imre von N. *Imre* represents a first in English literature for its happy ending for its two gay protagonists. Although by no means a forgotten work, Prime-Stevenson's novel has received considerably less attention than the others examined here. Much of the scholarship on *Imre* is in the form of overviews of the history of gay

writings, which thus do not provide in-depth discussions of the themes presented in the novel (see Austen, *Playing the Game* 20–27; Levin, *The Gay Novel* 18–21; Fone, *A Road to Stonewall* 195–206; Looby, "The Gay Novel in the United States" 419–22). Notable exceptions, though, are James Gifford's *Dayneford's Library* (1995) ("The Athletic Model" 98–117) and Margaret Breen's essay "Homosexual Identity, Translation, and Prime-Stevenson's *Imre* and *The Intersexes*" (2012), upon whose work I seek to build.

By contrast, scholarly treatments of same-sex desire in Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* abound. Since his diaries and notes began to be published in 1977, Mann's sexuality and sexuality in his fiction have been a regular topic of research. The diaries, writes Hans Rudolph Vaegt, gave Mann's literary reputation "a major boost" ("Confession and Camouflage" 568). "They confirm what sympathetic readers have felt all along: in Mann's work, a homosexual sensibility is struggling to come to terms with itself" (Vaegt 573). In particular, the novella *Der Tod in Venedig*, Andrew Webber writes, "has identified Mann, however ambivalently, as a pioneering modern gay writer" ("Mann's Man's World" 68). In the novella, respected and recently ennobled author Gustav von Aschenbach is swept away by a sudden pang of *Reiselust* sparked by a homoerotically charged exchange of stares with an unknown man near the Englischer Garten in Munich. He departs for the south, eventually arriving in Venice, where he beholds, watches, and eventually falls in love with a teenage boy of unearthly beauty. Much of the early scholarship on homosexuality in the novella and Mann's other works of fiction, for instance, Ignace Feuerlicht's seminal essay "Thomas Mann and Homoeroticism" (1982), Gerhard Härle's groundbreaking *Männerweiblichkeit* (1988), and T. J. Reed's *Death in Venice: Making and Unmaking a Master* (1994), focuses on the relationship between the literary texts and the author's attitudes to and experience of homoeroticism. Although the fact that for Mann same-sex desire was a major impetus in his work and life is an important concern here, this study contributes to recent work, such as Robert Tobin's essay "Queering Thomas Mann's *Tod in Venedig*" (2012), Philip Kitcher's *Deaths in Venice* (2013), and Jeffrey Meyers's *Thomas Mann's Artist-Heroes* (2014), which grants primacy to the text and its portrayal of same-sex passions without constant recourse to how this reflects upon Thomas Mann, and vice versa.

After Christopher Isherwood received the manuscripts for Forster's *Maurice* and his short stories, he anticipated the watershed their publication would represent, saying of scholarship on Forster to John Lehmann that "Unless you start with the fact that he was homosexual, nothing's any good at all" (Moffat, *E. M. Forster* 20). Despite receiving disparaging reviews and dismissive treatment following their posthumous publication, for instance, in Jeffrey Meyers's *Homosexuality and Literature 1890-1930* (1977), *Maurice* and the short story collection *The Life to Come and Other Short Stories* (1972) have come to secure Forster a place in the canon of gay English writers. As a consequence, ever since Robert Martin's seminal essay "Edward Carpenter and the Double Structure in *Maurice*" (1983), a great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to the analysis of this novel. This study brings

a fresh perspective to the text by analyzing it in relation to its American and German contemporaries. The novel is a coming-of-age story, or *bildungsroman*. As Maurice Hall passes through the spheres of home, public school, university, and career, he encounters various discourses relating to his desire and his sexual subjectivity and comes under the influence of two distinct homosexual identities. The protagonist would have been crushed by the weight of societal condemnation had it not been for finding love with Alec, with whom he escapes as an outlaw into the greenwood.

The other three works were all written, if not all published, before the First World War. *Der Puppenjunge*, on the other hand, was penned and appeared after that paradigm-shifting conflict. Therefore, Mackay's first six writings, *Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe* (*The Books of the Nameless Love*), which were published together under the pseudonym "Sagitta" ("arrow") in 1913 and reissued in 1924, might yield a more profitable comparison to *Der Tod in Venedig*, *Imre*, and *Maurice*. Most critical interest in Mackay's homosexual writings is invested in these earlier works (see Jones, *We of the Third Sex* 263–76; Fähnders, "Anarchism and Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany" 117–53; Kennedy, *The Anarchist of Love*; Popp, "Zwischen Wilde-Prozess und Eulenburg-Affäre" 95–97; J. Bauer, "On the Nameless Love and Infinite Sexualities"). I too give these writings some attention, but only in support of my analyses of *Der Puppenjunge*. There are comparatively few studies that investigate the 1926 novel (see Popp, *Männerliebe* 32–40, 156–63; Lücke, "Beschmutzte Utopien" 307–12), which is why it is my main focus here. The themes that are developed in the first six *Bücher der namenlosen Liebe* are brought to fruition in the full-length novel and it is owing to this fact that the novel offers such productive comparisons as well as contrasts to the other three literary texts. The title translates literally as "boy-doll" and is a play on the contemporary slang term for a boy prostitute, "Puppenjunge," which derives from the verb "pupen," to fart (Kennedy, *The Anarchist of Love* 38). The novel comprises two intersecting narratives, treating Berlin's homosexual subcultures and male prostitution from differing points of view. The first of these is that of Günther Nielsen, the "boy-doll" of the title, a teenage runaway who comes to Berlin from a northern German village. In the metropolis, he learns a lesson in social Darwinism: exploit or be exploited. The second point of view is that of Hermann Graff, a man in his early twenties, who arrives in the city on the same day as Günther and who falls in love with the eponymous "boy-doll."

As stated above, the originality of this study lies in its comparative—intercultural and interlinguistic—methodology. This work peers beyond boundaries to offer unique analyses of the novelistic responses to comparable social, scientific, and literary discourses, responses that demonstrate remarkable similarities and often surprising differences. By broadening the scope beyond national literary traditions, this project presents fresh insights into these fictional responses to a unique historical moment.

As I explore in part 1, one of the most fundamental affinities between these linguistic and cultural groups is the Judeo-Christian sanction against men lying "with mankind, as with womankind" (Leviticus 18:22, King James Version) which

was codified in law in the United States, Britain, and Germany. This is in contrast to France or Italy where there were no laws forbidding sex acts between men since the Napoleonic Wars (see Sibalis, "Male Homosexuality" 117–18). These secularized and institutionalized religious strictures are to a large extent, one may even say primarily, responsible for catalyzing the counterdiscourses that influence the works of literature. Homosexuality was a "German invention," argues Robert Beachy, owing to several vectors in German society, including the fact that intercourse between men was illegal in the German-speaking lands ("The German Invention of Homosexuality" 804). This may also explain why Greek love defense and justificatory strategies were the pursuit primarily of German and British writers; as Christopher Robinson argues, French contributions to this discourse are "rare" (*Scandal in the Ink* 18, 146).

Chapter 1 examines the influence of religious and legal discourse on the four works of fiction. Responses to this discourse which manifests in all four works of fiction are the exile and travel motifs. In *Imre*, Oswald seems to be a fictional example of the itinerant, turn-of-the-century invert that Yvonne Ivory describes in her essay "The Urning and His Own: Individualism and the Fin-de-Siècle Invert" (2003); however, there is enough that distinguishes him from this figure and enough departure from the homosexual exile and travel motifs to argue that this novel questions the efficacy of escape from religious and legal forces. Oswald finds a new homeland with the man he loves, and they take solace from their togetherness. Although they may not consciously take a stand against a homophobic society in the way that Hermann Graff does at the end of *Der Puppenjunge*, by putting down roots they too subvert these forces. In *Der Tod in Venedig*, travel to "the charming south" (202) ("[dem] lebenswürdigen Süden"; 67) liberates the protagonist from the strict discipline that has ruled his existence. The narrative, however, does not straightforwardly endorse the delight he takes in his liberation; instead as the plot progresses, until the final scene, the narrator increasingly distances himself from the protagonist and begins passing judgment on the extremes to which Aschenbach's desire leads. Liberation does not lead to life, but rather to death. In this way, the novella problematizes the motifs of travel and exile in the south. *Maurice* turns the motif of sexual liberation through travel to and in the Mediterranean lands on its head. Rather than finding freedom in Greece, Clive finds only further repression. Exile is still an important theme in the novel, though, but not to the traditional destinations. Rather than flee with Alec to France or Italy, places where a homosexual man "could share with a friend and yet not go to prison" (183), they become outlaws of the greenwood. Finally, Graff is tempted by the south, but after his short prison sentence as a "sexual offender" he is determined to return to Berlin to wage an individual struggle with societal forces, a struggle which is informed by the author's theories of individualist anarchism which he expounds in the writings that Mackay published under his own name.

Part 2 examines the ways in which, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the classics were mobilized to form an essential counterdiscourse to those which characterized homosexuality as sin, crime, or disease. It was the moment of the Greek love apologia, which achieved its most public invocation in Oscar Wilde's

defense speech of "the love that dare not speak its name" during his trials for acts of gross indecency (Hyde, *Trials* 201). Chapter 2 explores the two responses in German fiction to "Greek love." Often premodern models and ideals were an uncomfortable fit in the modern era owing to the fact that it was believed that if these relations were to remain "heavenly," they must remain chaste. Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* is an ambivalent as well as an ironic treatment of Greek love-inspired relations between a man and a youth—even if the "relationship" occurs only in the fantasy of the protagonist. This treatment problematizes the Hellenic ideals grafted onto Aschenbach's love for Tadzio. The novel *Der Puppenjunge* signals a greater break with legacies of Greek love than Mann's novella. Although it depicts the love of a man for a youth, like classical predecessors, Mackay, in his fiction, rejects Greek love justification. The nameless love, the love of a man for a younger, "is a love, like every other" (289) ("ist eine Liebe, wie jede andere"; 333), and thus requires no historical or philosophic apologia.

Some responded to the shortcomings of Greek love by reinventing it. The British writers John Addington Symonds and Edward Carpenter did just that, mobilizing their interpretations of Walt Whitman's the "manly love of comrades" (*The Complete Poems* 150) from the "Calamus" cluster of the American poet's *Leaves of Grass* (1855, first edition). Chapter 3 explores the English responses to Greek love. Although it is not likely that Prime-Stevenson had read much, or any at all, of Symonds's or Carpenter's works, he developed a similar vision of same-sex identity and relations to his British contemporaries, one that invokes the past, revives it with Whitman's verse, and mobilizes it to formulate a masculine identity and lifelong bond between adult men. Forster's *Maurice* is influenced by Carpenter's and Symonds's views on Greek comradeship and, in the narrative, contrasts two forms of Greek love: Hellenism, which is represented by the character Clive Durham, and "Uranian" comrade love, represented by Alec Scudder. Robert Martin, in his essay on Forster's novel, discusses the "double structure" of *Maurice*, which is an essential point of reference for this part of my study. My critique of Martin's thesis is that he places Symonds and Carpenter at opposite ends of a spectrum, with the former representing a nineteenth-century Greek love apologia, and the latter a Whitmanian vision. However, I argue that both theorists contributed to the identity and mode of relations which are depicted in Forster's novel. Therefore, *Maurice* trades one set of ideals for another. I also demonstrate how in the novel, sex and sexual desire outside the bounds of a philosophic framework are portrayed negatively.

Part 3 investigates sexology, or the scientific study of human sexuality, as a means through which many homosexual men and women during this era and later were able to assign meaning to their sexual desire. As the writer J. R. Ackerley recounts in his memoir *My Father and Myself* (1968), the label "homosexual" helped him discover where he stood on "the sexual map" (118). Chapter 4 explores the impact of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century research into same-sex sexuality on the German works of fiction. Two schools of sexological thought bear a significant degree of influence on Mann's early fiction. First, the influence of the school

made up of sexologists who regarded homosexuality as indicative of broader mental and physical degeneration, such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing, manifests in *Der Tod in Venedig* in the metaphor which likens homosexuality to cholera and in the casting of Aschenbach, and other characters, as degenerate figures. Second, the school made up of sexologists such as Magnus Hirschfeld, who theorized that homosexual men and women were sexual intermediate types between the ideal male and female types, exercised some influence over Mann. This is evinced by the positioning of the protagonist as an intermediary figure in terms of gender and sex, something which is communicated most overtly through his intermediate "race." In contrast, Mackay's fiction opposes sexual science, considering these theories "false and dangerous" (*Hustler* 158) ("falsch und gefährlich"; *Puppenjunge* 184). *Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe* depict same-sex love beyond the medical and sexological paradigm; nevertheless, science plays a key role in Mackay's autobiographical novella, *Fenny Skaller: Ein Leben der namenlosen Liebe* (Fenny Skaller: A Life of the Nameless Love), which was published with *Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe* in 1913, although this takes the form of the protagonist's negation of this branch of knowledge, empowering him to forge his identity in opposition to these models.

The school of German sexological thought which hypothesized that homosexual men and women represented a third or intermediate sex, a model devised by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in his polemic writings and developed by Hirschfeld, proves indispensable for the English-language works of fiction. Chapter 5 explores the impact of liberationist third-sex platforms on Prime-Stevenson's *Imre* and Forster's *Maurice*. The novels foreground the health and masculinity of their central characters in order to contradict prevailing theories of degeneracy and underpin their portrayals of homosexual subjectivity with the third- or intermediate-sex theory, which is explicit in the former text and implicit in the latter. Prime-Stevenson's novel complements his study *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexuality as a Problem in Social Life* (1908) and, as such, is the fictive component to his effort to educate the general public about homosexuality and therewith bring about social change. The third-sex concept of Ulrichs and Hirschfeld forms the core to his endeavor. Finding its way to England through Symonds, Carpenter, and Havelock Ellis, the third sex is considered by some scholars as absent from Forster's novel (see Fletcher, "Forster's Self-Erasure"; Booth, "Maurice"). I argue here that it is as central to Forster's depiction of Maurice's and Alec's homosexuality as Symonds's and Carpenter's Whitmanian vision, the two being part and parcel with one another.

Part 4 explores the conflict in novels between foregrounding images of homosexual masculinity and "queer" images which dates from this period, largely in response to the Oscar Wilde trials in 1895, and which is common to both cultural contexts. *Der Tod in Venedig* demonstrates that some writers in Europe were willing to consider the affirmative aspects of Wilde's legacy (another of these writers was André Gide), whereas *Der Puppenjunge* shows that other writers wanted to distinguish themselves from the effeminate Wildean stereotype. Novels in English are less nuanced, reacting, to varying degrees, against this model. They foreground

masculine homosexuality and offer their homosexual readers images in contrast to the prevailing stereotypes.

Chapter 6 considers the responses in English-language fiction to Oscar Wilde in the wake of his "queer moment," his trials for acts of gross indecency, which assisted, according to Alan Sinfield's *The Wilde Century* (1994), the effeminate model of homosexuality to cohere. The English novels, on the whole, react to the Wildean homosexual model by foregrounding masculine images of homosexual identity. The more unalloyed of these is found in Prime-Stevenson's *Imre*. In Oswald's discourse on homosexual history, he argues that "the Race-Homosexual" is judged by the "Normalists" for its "countless ignoble, trivial, loathsome, feeble-souled and feeble-bodied creatures" (86). They are the most visible, and thus the stereotype is modeled upon them; however, the vast majority of homosexual men are perfectly "normal," and many are even exceptionally manly, they are "the extreme of the male," "its supreme phase, its outermost phalanx" (86). More subtle in its depiction of homosexual masculinity is Forster's novel. In contrast to *Imre*, where the Wildean figure is rejected and despised, in *Maurice* the representative of Wildean homosexuality, Risley, is an important, although minor, character. He is the "child of light" who helps Maurice along his way toward forging an authentic homosexual identity (see Summers, *E. M. Forster* 148; Summers, *Gay Fictions* 88).

In Germany, in the early decades of the twentieth century, Oscar Wilde's writings experienced a literary rebirth. As a result, as Yvonne Ivory, Wolfgang Popp, and Robert Vilain argue in their respective studies of Wilde's influence in Germany, his impact on German writers, especially homosexual ones, was profound. Chapter 7 explores the ways in which this influence is manifest in the two works of German fiction. Mann's novella is an ambivalent exploration of dandy-aestheticism as rebellion, one which pits against each other what *Der Tod in Venedig* characterizes as the masculine and feminine impulses in artistic creation. The reader might expect Mackay's fiction to be friendly to Wilde's legacy for no other reason than for the apparent debt he owes Wilde for his designation of same-sex love as "the nameless love" ("die namenlose Liebe"). And his novel does indeed attest to the importance of the Wilde scandal in formulating homosexual stereotypes in Germany. And yet, the effeminate model of homosexuality associated with Wilde is repudiated in *Der Puppenjunge*. When narration is distanced, the depiction of effeminate minor characters is neutral, but when the narrator's and Hermann Graff's perceptions merge, effeminate figures seem threatening.

This was the time when "the Love that dare not speak its name" began not merely to dare, but to demand to speak its name. It was the period during which the gay novel emerged. The four works of fiction which I examine here demonstrate that reaching an audience could pose a challenge to speaking about this love. *Imre: A Memorandum* was published privately and under a pseudonym, whereas *Maurice* remained unpublished until 1971. *Der Tod in Venedig* escaped censure, from mainstream critics at least, on account of its ambivalence, and *Der Puppenjunge* appeared during the interwar years when a whole continent of gay and lesbian writ-

ings briefly opened, but none of his nameless love books carried the author's name until after his death (Kennedy, *The Anarchist of Love* 22). These four works extended discursive limits and broadened the images and motifs with and through which to discuss and depict love and desire between men. Despite setbacks, the effects of this groundbreaking work would be felt by later writers as well as readers. The gay novel has changed much since the beginning of the last century and has gone through many transformations, from post-Second World War protest novels, to pulp fiction of the 50s and 60s, to the liberation of the 70s and beyond. Indeed, so too have the discourses of male same-sex desire which this study examines. And yet both the gay novel and the discourses are still with us.

