



PROJECT MUSE®

Radclyffe Hall

Richard Dellamora

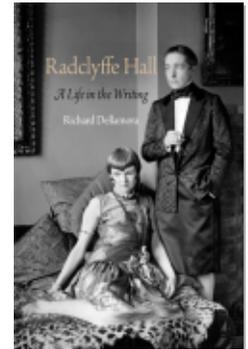
Published by University of Pennsylvania Press

Dellamora, Richard.

Radclyffe Hall: A Life in the Writing.

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Project MUSE.muse.jhu.edu/book/2222.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/2222>

NOTES

Preface

1. Michael Baker, *Our Three Selves*, 43–44.
2. Barbara Low's *Psycho-Analysis* (1920) is a good example of the type.
3. Sigmund Freud, "The Psychogenesis of Homosexuality in the Case of a Woman," in *Complete Works*, 170–72.
4. The theory of sexual inversion attempts to explain same-sex desire in terms of the formula *anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*, the soul of a woman enclosed in the body of a man, and vice versa (Christopher Craft, *Another Kind of Love*, 162).
5. See Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 75–110; and Jay Prosser, *Second Skins*, 135–69.
6. Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism*; Frederick S. Roden, *Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture*; Roden et al., *Catholic Figures, Queer Narratives*; Patrick O'Malley, *Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Gothic Culture*.
7. Sally Cline, *Radclyffe Hall*, 30.
8. "Psychical Research," 4.
9. For a classic study of female teacher-student, mentor-protégé relations, see Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women* (1985). Vicinus revises her view of female same-sex intimacy in *Intimate Friends* (2004). In *Between Women*, Sharon Marcus has argued the normalcy of female friendships earlier in the nineteenth century. For my response to Marcus, see "Friendship, Marriage, and *Between Women*."
10. Francesco Rapazzini, "Elisabeth de Gramont, Natalie Barney's 'Eternal Mate,'" 7.
11. Noël Coward, *Tonight at 8:30*, 175.

Introduction

1. In contrast, consider Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*.
2. Laura Doan and Jay Prosser, *Palatable Poison*, 87.
3. James Strachey, Freud's translator and commentator (of *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*), remarks of the phrase: "The ego is ultimately derived from bodily sensations." Regarding the bodily ego, I follow Prosser's correction of Judith Butler's misreading of Freud's use of the term. Freud believed that the ego necessarily included an awareness of physical embodiment. See Jay Prosser, *Second Skins*, 40–41—hereafter cited in notes and text as Prosser.
4. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies*, xii; Prosser, 21.
5. In the following pages, I frequently refer to Hall as crossgendered or gender-crossing. I do so in order to distinguish her position from that of those who now refer to themselves as transgendered. Transgendered identification currently functions as a term of minority identification. Hall has much in common with contemporary transgendered individuals, but she doesn't present the queer sense of gender described in this paragraph as constituting a particular individual and group identity.
6. Benjamin Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution*, 53–54.
7. See Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*.
8. Neil McKenna, *Secret Life of Oscar Wilde*, xii—hereafter cited in notes as McKenna.
9. Julia Markus, *Across an Untried Sea* (hereafter cited in text and notes as Markus). On Bernhardt as artist, celebrity, and sexual bohemian, see Carol Ockman and Kenneth E. Silver, *Sarah Bernhardt: The Art of High Drama*.
10. Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde*, 112–13.
11. Joy Dixon, "'Love Is a Sacrament.'"
12. Martha Vicinus does a good deal of this work in *Intimate Friends*. See also Alan Bray, *The Friend*.
13. Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*, 6.
14. John Updike has observed that most biographies "are really just novels with indexes" (Peter France and William St. Clair, *Mapping Lives*, 8).
15. Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, ix—hereafter cited in text and notes as Lejeune.
16. A research assistant to Sally Cline, one of Hall's biographers, whom I contacted to ask about which hand Hall wrote with, responded that were Hall naturally left-handed, so to speak, at the time when she was young, she likely would have been forced to write with her right hand. If so, this compulsion is likely to have connected the act of writing with a complex psychic element—one which perhaps incited her to rebellious expression in her writing at the same time that the actual process of composition might have been one fraught with struggle and difficulty. Hall's inclination toward left-handedness is also pertinent to her dyslexia since a disproportionate percentage of dyslexics are left-handed.

17. Lejeune, 27.

18. *Sapphic* is the preferred term for female-female desire in the writing of women who affirm emotional and at times sexual desire between women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the work of Compton Mackenzie indicates, the term also had wide general currency. The reference to such subjects as “lesbian” or “Lesbian” often refers to this usage since Sappho lived on the Greek isle of Lesbos. For Hall, *lesbian* is not a term of choice to refer to a category of sexual identity.

19. Radclyffe Hall, “Forebears and Infancy,” ms, Radclyffe Hall collection, Ransom, 22.4. Hereafter referred to in text as Version 1. Inserted pages in the notebook suggest that Hall wrote the draft while researching her final published novel, *The Sixth Beatitude* (1936).

20. Hall, “Forebears and Infancy,” holograph ms in the hand of Una Troubridge, Radclyffe Hall collection, Ransom, 22.5. Hereafter referred to in text and notes as Version 3.

21. Lee Edelman, *No Future*, 1–31. See also Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 1–21.

22. Hall’s prior success as a novelist in fact made possible the publication of *The Well of Loneliness* and the seriousness with which it was received. In this introduction, however, it is as the author of *The Well* that Hall figures.

23. Written in the mid-1930s, after the beginning of Hall’s affair with a nurse, Evguenia Souline, the passage functions at the conscious level as an homage to the heroic capabilities of nurses. Unconsciously, the passage plays out the shaping fantasy of Hall’s obsessive involvement with Souline, namely, the belief that intimacy with her could save Hall both from what she regarded as the failure of her relationship with Troubridge as well as from writer’s block.

24. Radclyffe Hall, *Michael West*, ms, Radclyffe Hall collection, Ransom, 8.1.

25. That is, she never understood Hall’s deviation from conventional norms of sex and gender.

26. Hall sees intimacy in terms of chains. The notion is the main thematic element in her first published novel, *The Forge* (1924).

27. On the title page of *Michael West*, Hall signs her name as John Radclyffe (*Michael West*, ms., 8.1). John is the pet name given Hall by Batten. Both Batten and Troubridge found Hall’s boyish good looks and manner attractive, and both encouraged her to adopt a masculine style. In this sense, both lovers fostered Hall’s female masculinity. The name John, however, also recalls that of her paternal great-grandfather.

Hall’s surname was Radclyffe-Hall. She eventually adopted the pen name of Radclyffe Hall, an act that affirms her identification both with the patronymic and with her father, whose given name was Radclyffe.

28. Charles Surface was the young male protagonist of Richard Brinsley Sheridan’s classic comedy *A School for Scandal* (1777). In a famous scene at the beginning of Act IV, Charles demonstrates filial loyalty to his uncle and benefactor, Sir Oliver Surface, by refusing to sell a portrait of him.

29. For Solidor, Cahun, and Moore, see Tirza True Latimer, *Women Together/Women Apart*. For the others, see Chapter 5.

30. Compare Jacques Lacan, *Feminine Sexuality*, 36–38.

31. Diana Souhami, *Trials of Radclyffe Hall*, 69. Subsequent page references to Souhami in the text and notes are to this book.

32. J. Hinshelwood, *Congenital Word Blindness* (London: H. K. Lewis, 1917), p. 40, quoted in *Developmental Psychopathology*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, ed. Dante Cicchetti and Donald J. Cohen (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2006), 271. For Samuel Orton, see Judith Felson Duchan, “Getting Here: A Short History of Speech Pathology in America,” online at http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~duchan/history_subpages/samuel_orton.html.

33. See, for example, Thomas G. West, *In the Mind’s Eye*.

34. “Forebears and Infancy,” ms., untitled, Radclyffe Hall collection, Ransom, 22.5. The draft bears no title and seems to be written in part in response to a request for advice to writers. Content is anomalous in relation to the rest of the draft material for this essay. I call this Version 2. Words crossed out in the original are struck through. Words and punctuation in square brackets have been added by myself. Words within curly brackets are additional cancellations within sections already crossed out. I would like to thank Richard Orem, librarian at the Ransom, for proofing and correcting my typescript against the manuscript. The preceding transcription incorporates his suggestions. April 29 and 30, 2003.

35. Sally Cline is the first biographer to recognize the significance of *Michael West* as an autobiographical account of Hall’s first twenty years (Cline, *Radclyffe Hall*, 19—hereafter cited in notes as Cline).

The novel has a significant relation to a subgenre of crossgendered, autobiographical bildungsromans by women attracted to women who possessed “manly” virtues but without masculine stylization. See, for example, Deborah T. Meem’s discussion of Eliza Lynn Linton’s autobiographical novel, *The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland* (1885) (in “Eliza Lynn Linton and the Rise of Lesbian Consciousness”).

36. *Michael West*, 8.1, Ransom.

37. *Michael West*, notebook 2, 7.5, Ransom, ch. 5. Words crossed out in the original are struck through. Words and punctuation in square brackets have been added by myself.

38. *Ibid.*, ch. 6.

39. Charles Dickens’s *David Copperfield* exemplifies the narrative type.

40. For a theoretical reflection on the impossibility of autobiographical writing, see Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself*.

41. Maggie Magee and Diana C. Miller, *Lesbian Lives*, 61–66.

42. Dean Rapp, “Reception of Freud by the British Press”; Graham Richards, “Britain on the Couch.”

43. Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *Language of Psycho-Analysis*, 328–29.

44. Kenneth Reinhard et al., *The Neighbor*, 29. See also 28—hereafter cited in notes as Reinhard.
45. *Ibid.*, 31. Reinhard further associates *das Ding* with Lacan's rethinking of the concept of "the real" in the 1960s (30–31).
46. Cline, 12.
47. *Michael West*, 8.1, Ransom.
48. Reinhard, 30–31.

Chapter 1. Reading the Poetry

Note to epigraph: *Sussex Daily News*, March 22, 1913. Cited in Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall, *The Forgotten Island*, 83. Subsequent page references to *The Forgotten Island* appear in the text.

1. Markus, 32–35. Cushman and Stebbins exchanged rings and regarded themselves as married.
2. Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Vol. I*, 106–7.
3. Information in the preceding paragraph is from Baker, *Our Three Selves*, 25–27. Subsequent page references to Baker in text and notes are to this book.
4. Between 1906 and 1915, Hall published five books of poetry. Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall is the name that appears on the title page of these books. In this chapter, she is referred to in text and notes as "Hall," the form of her last name that she used in signing her subsequent published work.
5. Souhami, 51.
6. Baker, 33–34; Cline, 61–62; Souhami, 37–41.
7. Hence too the masculinity of the deity of love in the lines cited above.
8. Cline, 73.
9. See Jessica Douglas-Home, *Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse*.
10. Cline, 94, 98–99.
11. Anne Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet*, 3. I discuss the term in Chapter 11.
12. *Forgotten Island*, 58.
13. For linkages to other women, such as Violet Hunt and Dolly Diehl, see Cline (55–56) and Souhami (33–34, 43).
14. For the haunting, consider Daphne Du Maurier's short story "Don't Look Now," in *Don't Look Now*, 3–58. My thinking about the ideal of telepathic communication owes a good deal to conversations with Lysa Lapointe.
15. Other turn of the century writers, such as Vernon Lee and Henry James, were fascinated by questions of personal responsibility in situations in which a ghostly presence seems to incur. Consider Lee's short story "Oke of Okehurst" and Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw* as examples.
16. Sophie Fuller, "Elgar and the Salons," 226, 233.

17. Mark Amory, *Lord Berners*, 67. Alberto Visetti, Hall's stepfather, was also a well-connected voice teacher.

18. Richard Dellamora, "Swinburne, Modern Desire, and the Hellenistic Revival."

19. Lovat Dickson, *Radclyffe Hall at the Well of Loneliness*, 45–46.

20. Frederic W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, 71.

21. Roger Luckhurst, *Invention of Telepathy*, 269–70.

22. *Ibid.*, 274. See also Freud, "A Note on the Unconscious."

23. Luckhurst, 270.

24. Myers has in mind Max Nordau's attack on all three artists in *Degeneration*. The argument in this paragraph owes a debt to Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*, 6–7.

25. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 208.

26. T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace*, xiii. Jackson's book is a study of Antimodernism in American culture between 1880 and 1920. Antimodernism in England shares many features and links with its North American cousin.

27. I attempt to illustrate this distinction in the brief account provided later in the chapter of the antimodernist impulse in new English music in the early years of the century.

28. In addition to her involvement in English music, Woodhouse helped promote national Modernism in new compositions from Spain, France, and the Hungary of Béla Bartók (Douglas-Home, 189).

29. *Ibid.*, 120, 122.

30. See, for example, current discussions of Englishness in the work of Sir Edward Elgar, particularly for the masque *The Crown of India* (Nalini Ghuman, "Elgar and the British Raj"; Deborah Heckert, "Working the Crowd"; Leon Botstein, "Transcending the Enigmas of Biography").

31. Amory, 67 (interpolation mine). Lears has a good deal to say about Roman and Anglo-Catholic Antimodernism (183–215). For the sexual politics of American Antimodernism, an excellent point of reference is Douglass Shand-Tucci, *Boston Bohemia*.

32. Butterworth, who was killed in action during World War I, wrote a song cycle of poems from *A Shropshire Lad*. Another instance occurs in young Herbert Howells's Piano Quartet in A Minor, Op. 21 (1916), an early example of the use of pastoral elements in modern English high musical culture. See the discussion in *Elgar and His World* (66). Howells used a financial award received in recognition of this work, strongly affected by losses experienced in World War I, to edit Tudor and Elizabethan music.

33. The affair with Hoare began in May or June 1913. Cline discusses it best (91–106).

34. The similarity was recognized at the time. See *Forgotten Island*, 78.

35. Walter Pater, *Plato and Platonism*, 90–91. Cited by Stephano-Maria Evangelista, "Narcissism and Romantic Reflections in Pater's *Plato and Platonism*," 6.

36. A. E. Housman, “Introductory Lecture,” in *The Name and Nature of Poetry*, 9–10. The lecture was delivered before the Faculties of Arts and Laws and of Science at University College, London, on October 3, 1892, on the occasion of the appointment of Housman, then thirty-four, as Professor of Latin.

37. Housman, *Name and Nature of Poetry*, 7.

38. Housman, *Shropshire Lad*, 2.

39. Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall, *Songs of Three Counties and Other Poems*, 18.

40. Peter Howarth, “Housman’s Dirty Postcards,” 766–67.

41. Housman, *Collected Poems*, “Additional Poems,” XVIII, 233. The poem was first published in 1937 in Laurence Housman’s posthumous memoir of his brother. The echo of the final line of the poem that appears in the final paragraphs of *The Well of Loneliness* suggests that Hall may have read a privately circulated transcript.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Howarth, 764.

44. “Fruit of the Nispero,” XVI (*Poems of the Past and Present*, 115).

45. In lyric no. LVI, for example, Michael Field focuses on a virginal consciousness that Bradley and Cooper associate with integral selfhood. In passion, however, this sense of self gives way to “the strange, / Deep-severing change / That comes to women when / Elected, raised above / All else, they thrill with love, / The love of gods or men” (*Long Ago*, lxxxv). LVI deals with the betrayal of love between two women that occurs after the marriage of both, but for Field, Sapphic sexual passion always implies a fall from virginity into “strange, / Deep-severing change.” Far from being regretted, this loss is regarded as necessary for the self to engage the full range of human experience.

46. See also Dellamora, *Friendship’s Bonds* (verso of dedication page).

47. Hall, *A Sheaf of Verses*, 108.

48. For more on a doubly sexed Christ, see Chapter 7.

49. Hall, *A Sheaf of Verses*, 38. Souhami reports that on October 2, 1910, Hall, Batten, and George went with “Ladye’s sister-in-law, Nelly Hatch, to a concert at the Albert Hall, where Louise Kirkby-Lunn sang Ladye’s setting of John’s ‘Ode to Sappho’” (52).

50. From “Miscellaneous Poems,” Part 2 of *Songs of Three Counties*, 43, 44.

51. Robert Buchanan, *Fleshly School of Poetry*.

52. Hall, *Poems of the Past and Present*, 22.

53. *Ibid.*, 22–23.

54. *Songs of Three Counties*, 32.

55. Rosa Bracco, *Merchants of Hope*, 196.

56. See the holograph manuscript of her undelivered public address “Ghosts.”

57. Mignon Nevada, letter of June 10, 1918.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Quoted from a news clipping enclosed in *ibid.*

60. For Admiral Troubridge’s involvement with the far-right-wing National Party, see Philip Hoare, *Oscar Wilde’s Last Stand*, 144.

61. I say lesbian rather than Sapphic because in Nevada's reaction one senses, I think, an emerging view that such phenomena as the Allan sensation involved an attack on individuals who were beginning to be understood as constituting a particular minority group, defined in terms of the shared same-sex sexual-object choices of its members.

62. Letter from Chappell & Co. Ltd., June 13, 1918. Lovat Dickson Collection, MG30, D237, vol. 4, folder 11.

63. James Harding, *Ivor Novello*, 67.

64. The name is the same as that of the East End actress whom Dorian Gray becomes infatuated with in Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

65. To this account could be added a discussion of her first efforts at the writing of fiction: unpublished short stories and an incomplete feminist novel set in the Victorian period, *The Cunningham Code* (Cline, 53).

Chapter 2. Psychic Incorporation

1. Hall, letter to Sir Oliver Lodge, July 2, 1918.

2. See Chapter 1; see also Cline, 91–106.

3. For Myers, see Chapter 1.

4. Cited by Jenny Hazelgrove, *Spiritualism and British Society Between the Wars*, 193.

5. "Feda made herself known to young Leonard one evening when she and two other young women were experimenting with table rapping. After receiving messages from both their deceased mothers, the girls were contacted by a Communicator who gave her name as Feda, and explained that she was an ancestress of mine. She had married my great-great-grandfather. My mother had often told me about an Indian girl who married this ancestor, but you know how bored children are by frequently-repeated family history? —I had not taken much notice at the time. After marrying this native girl, my great-great-grandfather, William Hamilton, was not popular in India, and he made arrangements to bring Feda home to England. On the eve of starting home she gave birth to a son, and died. She was then only thirteen. This was about the year 1800" (Gladys Osborne Leonard, *My Life in Two Worlds*, 29–30)—hereafter cited as Leonard in text and notes.

6. The usage is mine. I do not mean *enactment* as the term is used within psychoanalysis.

7. Leonard, 52.

8. Souhami, xix. I discuss dyslexia and Hall in the Introduction.

9. William James, "Notes on Automatic Writing," 555—hereafter cited in notes as James.

10. Alice Johnson, "On the Automatic Writing of Mrs. Holland," 175. Subsequent page references to Johnson in the text and notes refer to this work.

11. Luckhurst, 70–73.

12. *Ibid.*, 264.

13. James, 551; Johnson, 166.

14. Dixon, *Divine Feminine*, 41–44.

15. Hall and Troubridge, “On a Series of Sittings with Mrs. Osborne Leonard,”

340. Subsequent page references to Hall in the text of this chapter, unless otherwise noted, refer to this essay.

16. Laplanche and Pontalis, 455–62.

17. Ormrod, *Una Troubridge*, 52—hereafter cited in text and notes as Ormrod. See also Cline, 116–17.

18. Una, Lady Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 45. Unless otherwise cited, subsequent page references to Troubridge in the text and notes refer to this book.

19. “Twonnie,” is Feda’s version of Batten’s pet name for Hall, “Johnnie,” which Feda found difficult to pronounce. Feda addressed Hall as “Mrs. Twonnie” (344) during the sittings. See also Cline, 66.

20. Because of Hall’s psychic investment in the sittings and because she read the oral version of the essay presented to the Society, I refer to the writing as hers; but the proviso about the collaborative character of the paper needs to be kept in mind. The section on Billy, for example, shows involvement by both women.

21. The date Troubridge gives is incorrect.

22. Early in the affair, Hall had warned Troubridge that she was taking it too seriously (46).

23. *Hall v. Lakin*, partial transcript, 8.

24. Sir Oliver J. Lodge, *Raymond or Life and Death*, 6th ed. Page references to Lodge in text and notes refer to this edition.

25. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 11.

26. In Freud’s “second theory of the psychological apparatus, . . . in the case of psychosis a rupture between ego and reality occurs straight away, leaving the ego under the sway of the id; then, at a second stage—that of the onset of delusions—the ego is supposed to reconstruct a new reality in accordance with the desires of the id” (Laplanche and Pontalis, 372). Laplanche and Pontalis point out the question-begging aspect of this formulation since in it “Freud is obliged to make reality play the part of an actual autonomous force, almost as though it was itself an agency of the psychological apparatus” (372).

27. Cline, 118, 171. Dickson has his doubts: “The prescription which Dr Sachs, the well-known gynaecologist to whom Dr Miller referred Una, gave her is noted down in . . . [her] diary. Medical opinion confirms that this is not for the grave disease of syphilis, but for a gynaecological irregularity. Crichton-Miller would surely have made a thorough physical examination of Una when she became his patient. He said that he could cure her by the use of psychoanalysis and hypnosis. The conclusion to which one is regretfully drawn is that this was a fantasy conjured up by Una’s need to justify to herself and her friends her action in leaving the Admiral for Radclyffe Hall” (55n).

28. Joy Dixon, “Sexology and the Occult.”

29. Craft, *Another Kind of Love*, 34.

30. Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, cited in Prosser, 40.

31. Prosser, 21–27.

32. Vernon Lee, “Deterioration of Soul,” 938. The two women were introduced by the composer Ethel Smyth (Cline, 64). I discuss Lee’s essay in “Productive Decadence: ‘The Queer Comradeship of Outlawed Thought.’”

33. Cited by Kathy Psomiades, “‘Still Burning,’” 24.

Chapter 3. Symbiosis of Publicity and Privacy

1. Jodie Medd provides an exception in a chapter of her 2001 Cornell University doctoral thesis, “Extraordinary Allegations.” Unless otherwise noted, subsequent page references in the text and notes to Medd refer to this work.

2. One of these women was Ethel Smyth, a composer and a friend of Mabel Batten. A devotee of Spiritualism, Smyth was delighted to make Hall and Troubridge’s acquaintance while golfing (Louise Collis, *Impetuous Heart*, 163–64).

3. Baker, 123.

4. “Psychical Research: The Spirits of the Dead,” *The Times*, 4—hereafter cited in the notes as “Psychical Research.” Unless otherwise noted, subsequent page references in the text to *The Times* refer to this article. The association of Spiritualism with female hysteria was a familiar one. For example, in Vernon Lee’s early novel, *Miss Brown* (1884), Anne Brown becomes fascinated with the Russian cousin of her benefactor, Walter Hamlin. Madame Elaguine, or Sacha, is a talented medium (vol. 2, 232, 233). When Anne introduces her to a young doctor, he immediately diagnoses her as a hysterical subject. But when Anne objects that Sacha is not “subject to . . . fits,” he responds, “That’s not what we mean by hysteria. Hysteria isn’t a fit of hysterics; it is a condition of morbid nervous excitability, usually accompanied by a certain loss of will-power. Hysterical subjects are a kind of milder mad men and women; their characters undergo curious modifications. . . . I wonder whether that lady is not a spiritualist,—she looks like it” (Vernon Lee, *Miss Brown*, 2, 254–55).

5. Luckhurst argues that the privileged, philosophical, and scientific backgrounds of the founding members of the Society played a large part in gaining credibility for their interest in mental telepathy and related psychological phenomena.

6. Lodge, viii.

7. Douglas Murray, *Bosie*, 169–70.

8. Hoare, 18.

9. Hoare, 18–21.

10. “Psychical Research,” 4. Baker, 131, notes that Fox-Pitt was Douglas’s former brother-in-law.

11. “Psychical Research,” 4.

12. Baker, 130.

13. Cline, 140. Developments in mid- to late nineteenth-century technology—the telegraph, the telephone, new uses of electricity—suggested by analogy the possibility that one could communicate with the consciousness of another directly and immediately. See Pamela Thurschwell, *Literature, Technology, and Magical Thinking*, 12–13, 25.

14. Published in November 1916, the volume went through six printings in two months.

15. “More important than talking is to get things through with his own people, and to give absolute evidence” (Lodge, 159).

16. Baker, 54, 93.

17. See also Nicky Hallett: “Lesbian masculine identification, afforded in new ways in the early twentieth century, was one means to authorship” (*Lesbian Lives*, 80).

18. Medd argues the centrality of lesbian scandal to the culture of literary Modernism in “Extraordinary Allegations.”

19. Bart Schultz, “Truth and Its Consequences,” 23. The argument in this paragraph is drawn from Schultz’s important essay.

20. *Ibid.*, 26–27.

21. Ormrod, 103.

22. These factors are especially evident in the parliamentary debate surrounding attempts to define lesbian “gross indecency” in 1921 (Medd, 100–22).

23. See Medd, “Cult of the Clitoris,” 25–26, 47 n39.

24. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, 106; see also Medd, 100–22. The amendment reads as follows: “Any act of gross indecency between female persons shall be a misdemeanor and punishable in the same manner as any such act committed by male persons under section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885” (cited in Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies*, 113)—hereafter cited as Jeffreys in text and notes.

25. The phrase recurs in the agitation against *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928.

26. “Psychical Research,” 4.

27. Hoare, 66.

28. It is an index of the success she achieved that Rebecca West at the end of the decade would describe her as “a personality whom most of us like and admire. . . . She has all the virtues of the English aristocratic type, courage, self-restraint, steadfastness, and a very fine intelligence” (Laura Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism*, 182).

29. The emphasis was on appearance. Billing had a mistress, and Douglas continued to be sexually interested in young men.

30. Hoare, 218.

31. *Ibid.*, 110. “Old Squiffy” is Margot’s husband, Prime Minister Asquith, who had appointed Ross president of the Imperial War Museum.

32. *Ibid.*, 99, 140.

33. “Psychical Research,” 4.

34. Hoare, 125, 123n. He incorrectly identifies Hope as Troubridge’s sister-in-law.

35. Jeffreys, 104.

36. Sharon Marcus, *Between Women*; Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*.

37. See Fred Roden's discussions of this important intervention: "Introduction: The Catholic Modernist Crisis, Queer Modern Catholicisms," and "Michael Field, John Gray, and Marc-Andre Raffalovich: Reinventing Romantic Friendship in Modernity," in *Catholic Figures, Queer Narratives*, ed. Lowell Gallagher, Frederick S. Roden, and Patricia Juliana Smith, 1–18, 57–68.

38. Oscar Wilde, *Complete Short Fiction*, 270 n60.

39. Nicky Hallett, *Lesbian Lives*, 43.

40. *Ibid.*, 44.

41. Baker, 130–131.

42. Troubridge, "The *Modus Operandi* in So-Called Mediumistic Trance."

43. Cited by Doan, 186.

Chapter 4. *The Unlit Lamp*

1. "Female sexuality" is not an ideal phrase; I use it in this chapter because Freud chose it as the title of an influential 1931 essay.

2. Laplanche and Pontalis, 302–4, 308–11.

3. For Hall's interest in the crossgendered bildungsroman, see the Introduction, note 36.

4. Cline, 160—hereafter cited in notes and text as Cline.

5. Sinclair's novels show a preoccupation with this problem. See Terry Phillips, "Battling with the Angel."

6. See Patricia Juliana Smith's discussion of the novel in *Lesbian Panic*, 18–37—hereafter cited as Smith in text and notes.

7. I discuss Hall's psychological research in Chapters 2 and 3.

8. Claudia Stillman Franks offers a naturalist reading of the novel in *Beyond "The Well of Loneliness,"* 47–59.

9. Hall, *The Unlit Lamp*, 122–23. Subsequent page references to this edition of the novel are included in the text and notes.

10. Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 7. Unless otherwise cited, subsequent page references to Vicinus in the text and notes refer to this book.

11. *Ibid.*, 147–48. Vicinus points out that youthful rebellion against the conservative style of the generation of 1840 to 1860 was already growing in the years immediately before the war. This late Edwardian and Georgian mood has connections with attempts at the time to resuscitate the reputation of Oscar Wilde and the cultural heritage of late Victorian Aestheticism and the Decadence as well. See Chapter 3. Consider as well Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Body Politic," 116, 120. Marcus's recent normalizing account of female friendship in *Between Women* focuses on friendship writing for the most part earlier than that discussed by Vicinus in *Intimate Friends*. As

a result, Marcus does not consider aestheticist material from the mid-1860s onward that suggests the sexualizing of female friendship.

12. Freud, “Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes,” *Complete Works*, 19: 244.

13. Freud, “Female Sexuality,” *Complete Works*, 21: 226. Subsequent page references to this essay appear in the text.

14. Ernest Jones, “Early Development of Female Sexuality,” 459—hereafter cited in text and notes as Jones.

15. Joan Riviere, “Womanliness as a Masquerade,” 38. Subsequent page references to the essay appear in the text.

16. Regarding Elizabeth’s desire, see pp. 190–91.

17. May Sinclair, *Feminism*, 16. Subsequent page references to this work appear in the text.

18. Capitals are Sinclair’s.

19. See also pp. 469–70.

20. Vicinus, 27, 28, 29.

21. For the implications of the genre for lesbian and other female protagonists, see Elizabeth Abel et al., *The Voyage In*.

22. The key chapter in this respect is chapter 6.

23. Cited in Vicinus, 37.

24. See Jeffreys.

25. Information on raves in this paragraph is from Vicinus, 187–210.

26. See Psomiades, “‘Still Burning,’” 21–41.

27. Joan finds the status transgression to be just as disturbing as the sexual one.

28. See the Introduction.

29. A boyish look and elements of male attire characterized both heterosexual and homosexual styles among fashionable women in the 1920s. See Doan’s authoritative study, *Fashioning Sapphism*.

30. The case is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

31. Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 41. Subsequent page references to Troubridge in the text refer to this work.

32. Cline, 147, 182. See also *The Unlit Lamp*, 42–43.

33. Robert Browning, “The Statue and the Bust,” in *Poetry*, 148.

Chapter 5. Paris and the Culture of Auto/biography in *The Forge*

1. Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 69.

2. Baker, 156–57.

3. Troubridge reports that Sieglinde was based on “Thora the Fairest of Women, a red dachshund bitch of matchless beauty” (64) that Hall gave her.

4. Souhami republishes an illustration of Hall, Troubridge, and half a dozen dachshunds, which originally appeared in *The Queen*, August 23, 1923 (*Trials of Radclyffe Hall*, facing p. 330).

5. For Sapphism and cross gender in Parisian cabaret culture, see Latimer, *Women Together/ Women Apart*. Barbette became a theatrical phenomenon in England and on the Continent, particularly in Paris, in 1923 and 1924. In 1924, while appearing at the London Palladium, Barbette “was found engaged in sexual activity with another man. His contract was cancelled and he was never able to obtain a work permit for England again.”

In a novel and play that she cowrote and in the early talkie, *Murder!* (1930), Clemence Dane, along with Alfred Hitchcock, plays off Barbette’s celebrity and notoriety in fashioning the effeminate killer, Handel Fane (played by Esmé Percy), a cross-dressing trapeze artist. In the film, Fane murders a young woman who threatens to reveal the fact that he is a half-caste. The police, in the course of their investigation, watch a farce from backstage in which Fane, also an actor, crossdresses first as a woman and subsequently as an English bobby. See Donald Spoto, *The Art of Alfred Hitchcock*, 29–30. Biographical information on Barbette is drawn from [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barbette_\(performer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barbette_(performer)).

Hall had a long, mutually appreciative but also competitive relationship with Dane, a longtime friend of Noël Coward as well as a successful novelist and author of plays in her own right, including *A Regiment of Women* (1917). Hall was disappointed when Dane declined an invitation to dramatize *The Well of Loneliness* for the stage. See Cline, 64, 147, 213, 235, and 277.

6. Barney appears in the novel in the guise of Rosamund Randolph, the “tall, fair woman dressed in white,” who greets the Brents when they visit Ford’s Paris studio in Book 2, chapter 8 (*The Forge*, 107).

7. Of this phase of her youth, Colette writes: “I was not long deluded by those photographs that show me wearing a stiff mannish collar, necktie, short jacket over a straight skirt, a lighted cigarette between two fingers” (68). Page references in the notes and text to Colette are to Colette, *The Pure and the Impure*.

8. Colette corresponded with Hall and Troubridge at the time of publication of *The Well*. See Judith Thurman, *Secrets of the Flesh*, 386–87—hereafter cited in notes as Thurman.

9. Whitney Chadwick, *Amazons in the Drawing Room*, 17—hereafter cited in notes and text as Chadwick.

10. Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 130.

11. For Amalia, the woman who “is a complete human being” is also virile, sexually “the equal of a man” (107).

12. Thurman, 389, 549 n38.

13. Information on Brooks’s career is drawn from Chadwick; Joe Lucchesi, “‘Apparition in a Black Flowing Cloak,’”—hereafter cited in notes as Lucchesi; and Adelyn D. Breeskin’s pioneering exhibition catalog *Romaine Brooks: “Thief of Souls”*—hereafter cited in the text as Breeskin.

14. Cited in Lucchesi, 76.
15. Lucchesi quotes Brooks's unpublished autobiography, 79. See also Meryle Secret, *Between Me and Life*, 244—hereafter cited in notes as Secret.
16. Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Le martyre de saint Sebastien*, 55–72.
17. In her memoir of Hall, Troubridge gives inordinate space to the efforts she made to arrange a meeting between Hall and d'Annunzio in Italy in the 1930s (118–25).
18. Karla Jay, *The Amazon and the Page*, 19–20—hereafter cited in notes as Jay.
19. Jay, chapter 3, “Gynocentricity,” 36–60. On Decadent utopianism, see Dellamora, “Productive Decadence,” 1–18.
20. These works were not included in either of the retrospectives of Brooks's work mounted since 1971.
21. Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 69.
22. The passage includes a sexological touch. In his chapter on female sexual inversion, Havelock Ellis argues that masculine women often find lovers among undersexed, relatively unattractive but otherwise normal women. See Ellis, “Sexual Inversion in Women,” 222.
23. I discuss Freud's concept of the female masculinity complex in Chapter 4.
24. My use of the phrase “female virility” needs to be distinguished from queer cultural analyses in which *virility* is used as a negative term of value. See, for example, Carla Freccero, “Carnivorous Virility, or Becoming-Dog.”
25. Cited in Smith, 40.
26. Virginia Woolf, *Jacob's Room*, 78.
27. W. Somerset Maugham, *The Constant Wife*, 81.
28. Thurman, introduction to Colette, *Gigi, Julie de Carneilhan, Chance Acquaintances*, xiv.
29. Quoted in Secret, 413.
30. She also mentions her and her partner's friendships with Colette, Barney, and Brooks, whom she describes as “the painter of memorable canvases” (83).
31. Ormrod, 137. By recording this information in her diary, which she later put in the hands of her literary executor, Troubridge set the stage for the eventual revelation of this fact.
32. Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 69–76.
33. Thurman, 386. Troubridge was also the first translator of Colette's fiction into English (Baker, 194).
34. Lejeune, 27. See the discussion of Lejeune in the Introduction.

Chapter 6. Una Troubridge and Gender Performativity in *A Saturday Life*

1. Percy Reginald Stephensen et al., *The Sink of Solitude*.
2. For a detailed discussion of the image, see Doan, 185–86. Doan reproduces the photograph (fig. 13, following 94).

3. Ibid., 185.

4. Cline, 186.

5. Ibid., 172–73.

6. Later, Coward would draw on Hall's relationship with Batten and Troubridge in his Spiritualist farce, *Blithe Spirit* (1941). See the discussion in Terry Castle, *Noël Coward and Radclyffe Hall*, 82–95 (hereafter cited in notes as Castle).

7. Ibid., 20–21.

8. Baker, 164; Castle, 19, 20–21.

9. For Hall and Troubridge's friendship with Colette, see Chapter 5.

10. Grace Spencer, letter to Radclyffe Hall, January 23, 1927—hereafter cited in notes as Spencer letter to Hall, unless otherwise indicated.

11. See the discussion of Myers in Chapter 1.

12. See Luckhurst, 270–76.

13. Hall, *A Saturday Life*, 99. Subsequent page references to this edition appear in the text.

14. Hall broaches this problem directly in *The Forge*. See my discussion in Chapter 5, which contextualizes the problem in relation to Woolf's recently published novel, *Jacob's Room* (1922). The specific phenomenon of the emptiness of the modern upper-middle-class male is foregrounded in both novels.

15. Woolf, "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown."

16. Freud, "The Psychogenesis of Homosexuality in the Case of a Woman." Originally published in German in 1920, the essay was published in English translation by Barbara Low and R. Gabler in 1920 and 1924.

17. I discuss the relation between her thinking and Freud's in the 1920s both in the Preface and in Chapter 4.

18. Suzanne Raitt, *May Sinclair*, 135, 170–71.

19. Hall, *The Forge*, 216. See the discussion of artistic impersonality in Chapter 5.

20. Within psychological research, this something was believed literally to be the ether, an electromagnetic medium through which brain waves were transmitted (Luckhurst, 87–88).

21. Hall, *'Twixt Earth and Stars*, 7.

22. See my discussion in "The Sapphic Culture of Michael Field and Radclyffe Hall."

23. Hall, *A Sheaf of Verses*, 108.

24. See May Sinclair, *Feminism*; also Dellamora, "Female Adolescence in May Sinclair's *Mary Olivier*."

25. Cited in Amory, 102. Lord Berners, Woolf, and Coward inhabited a small world: for example, *London Calling!* "included the controversial satirical sketch 'The Swiss Family Whittlebot,' which roused the enmity of the three Sitwells, and ignited flames of recrimination and self-advertisement, fanned on both sides, that continued to smoulder for years to come" (Noël Coward, *Plays: One*, 2). Subsequent references to Coward in text and notes refer to this volume.

26. As with Hall in *The Forge*, Coward plays on characteristics possibly shared between himself and the character he plays.

27. On the homosexual connotations of classical piano playing, see Kevin Kopelson, *Beethoven's Kiss*.

28. Coward, 97. "Pawnie" = Pansy? Nonce?

29. His name suggests a number of meanings. Tom = a Tom? (Florence has a habit of taking flings with young men), a tomcat? Also short for tomboy, slang for a boyish, young female subject of same-sex desire. Veryan = very young? varying? sexually flexible?

30. Nicky's defective pianism and "temperament," a term frequently associated with artists and homosexuality, suggest that homosexuality may be a more appropriate telos for him than the heterosexuality that he has diffidently reached for with "Bunty," a nickname suitable for a female sporting type.

31. Thurman, *Secrets of the Flesh*, 171—hereafter cited in notes as Thurman.

32. Lucey, *Never Say I*, 110—hereafter cited as Lucey in text and notes.

33. Thurman, 182.

34. Sinclair, *A Defence of Idealism*, 8.

35. The term specifically refers "to those upper-class women and courtesans whose sexual tourism brings them to places in which they might find working-class women to pick up" (Lucey, 92).

36. Troubridge, *Such Was Life*. Date of composition not known but likely the early mid-1920s.

37. Troubridge continued to toy with typescripts of essays collected under this title as late as 1962.

38. Ormrod, 13.

39. Troubridge, "Nijinsky, 1913," in *Such Was Life*. The faun is a frequently visited figure in Sapphic writing and sculpture of the nineteenth century. Colette's first significant appearance on stage was in the role of a faun (Thurman, 163–64). Troubridge's sculptural investigation of Nijinsky took place at a time when she was in analysis as a result of symptoms associated with underlying incompatibilities in her marriage. She began her studies of Nijinsky a few days after an "epoch making visit" to her analyst, Dr. Hugh Crichton-Miller on January 23, 1913. According to Troubridge's biographer, "It may well be that Miller had discussed 'inversion' with her and that she had gained spontaneous insight into her own latent nature" (Ormrod, 52).

40. Troubridge, "Clothes," in *I Remember*, 3.10, 5.

41. Troubridge, "Hero Worship," in *I Remember*, 3.9, 5.

42. Troubridge, "My Teachers," in *I Remember*, 3.9, 6–7.

43. Troubridge, "Clothes," 3.10, 5.

44. *Ibid.*, 5, 6.

45. Troubridge, "My Teachers," 3.9, 5.

46. Troubridge, "Christmasses" [*sic*], in *I Remember*, 3.10, 6.

47. *A Saturday Life*, notebook no. 1, cover, 8.3, Ransom.

48. *Ibid.*, inside cover, verso.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *A Saturday Life*, notebook, inside cover, verso, 8.2.

51. According to the outline, Sidonia is born in 1887, the same year in which Troubridge was born.

52. Female Victorian writers who today might be termed heterosexual frequently indicated their sexual ambivalence about male-female sex by creating domestic situations involving two women and a child. A leading example is the Italian idyll of Aurora Leigh and Marian Earle that occurs at the beginning of Book VIII of Elizabeth Barrett's *Aurora Leigh* or of Margaret Oliphant's posthumously published short story, "A Story of a Wedding Tour." See Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh*, 261–62; Glennis Stephenson, *Nineteenth-Century Stories by Women*, 403–27.

53. Cline, 218, 393 n47.

54. Spencer, letter to Radclyffe Hall, January 30, 1927. Spencer speaks of Mrs. Ogden as a "vampire mother."

55. Spencer letter to Hall, January 23, 1927.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Animal-rights protection has long been of special interest to subjects of female-female desire. Consider, for example, the work of Frances Power Cobbe, a leading Victorian feminist, in this area (Susan Hamilton, "Still Lives" and "Pets and Scientific Subjects").

Chapter 7. Catholicism, *Adam's Breed*, and the Sacred Well

1. For Hall's interest in this novel in portraying life within a working-class, immigrant, Roman Catholic community, see my comments in the Preface.

2. I have in mind Stephen Arata, Ellis Hanson, Richard Kaye, Patrick O'Malley, Richard Rambuss, and Frederick S. Roden. Douglass Shand-Tucci also speaks to the point. Patricia Juliana Smith was an excellent collocutor in developing the argument of the paper on which this chapter is in part based.

3. In the aftermath of *The Well of Loneliness* trials, Douglas was pathetically eager to meet Hall and Troubridge (Baker, 284–85).

4. Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis and Other Writings*, 92—hereafter cited in notes and text as Wilde.

5. Baker, 207; Wilde, 5.

6. David Hilliard, "Unenglish and Unmanly."

7. John Bloxam, "The Priest and the Acolyte." See Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism*, 310–11; and Brian Reade, *Sexual Heretics*, 47.

8. Souhami reports that as an adolescent Hall hung "a large wooden crucifix" on her bedroom wall (22).

9. Neither Hall nor Troubridge disclosed the sexual character of their relationship to their confessors. To do so would have been to subject themselves to the Church's view of the sinful character of their tie. Wilde's deathbed conversion came at a moment for him when sexual ties to other men were literally no longer possible.

10. Bray, *The Friend*, 289–90.

11. John Henry Newman, "A Letter Addressed to His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk," 133. The statement is quoted in an article by Garry Wills, "High Fidelity," 40. Subsequent page references to Newman in the text refer to this work.

12. See Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*.

13. In summer 1875, Wilde, traveling in Italy, sent Newman a copy of a new poem, "Rome Unvisited," in which Wilde refers to the pope as "the only God-appointed King." On his first visit to Rome in 1877, Wilde was granted an audience with Pius IX, who hoped he would convert to Roman Catholicism (Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde*, 55, 70—hereafter cited in notes as Ellmann).

14. Newman's practice prompted Charles Kingsley's notorious broadside: *What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?* in which Kingsley writes: "So far from thinking truth for its own sake to be no virtue, he considers it a virtue so lofty, as to be unattainable by man, who must therefore, in certain cases, take up with what-it-is-no-more-than-a-hyperbole-to-call lies; and who, if he should be so lucky as to get any truth into his possession, will be wise in 'economizing' the same, and 'dividing it,' so giving away a bit here and a bit there, lest he should waste so precious a possession" (Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, 334). For more on the principle of reserve in relation to religious belief, see Patrick R. O'Malley, "Epistemology of the Cloister."

15. Frederick S. Roden, "Introduction: The Catholic Modernist Crisis," 2—hereafter cited in notes as "Crisis."

16. Raffalovich and John Gray, who became a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, fashioned their own particular form of celibate marriage. See Roden, "Michael Field, John Gray, and Marc-Andre Raffalovich."

17. "Crisis," 4, 5; quoted from George Tyrrell, *Notes on the Catholic Doctrine of Purity* (1897), "printed at a Jesuit press 'For Private Circulation'" and prefaced "by a letter from the Jesuit provincial at the time, Fr. Francis Scoles, addressed to Superiors" (4).

18. Ruth Vanita, "'Uncovenanted Joys.'" Vanita argues that Mirrlees, in her modernist novel *Madeleine: One of Love's Jansenists* (1919), portrays the *Précieuses*, members of the circle of bluestockings around the seventeenth-century French novelist Madeleine de Scudery, as protagonists in a communal Sapphic tragedy that parallels the experience of their contemporaries, the Jansenists, a heretical Roman Catholic group (89–91). Mirrlees's linkage of sexual with religious heterodoxy makes her novel cognate with Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*. By the same author, see also "Tragic Love and the Ungendered Heart."

On the importance of heresy, see "Heresy and Humanity," Jane Harrison's inaugural lecture for the Cambridge Society of Heretics (1909), published in Jane Ellen

Harrison, *Alpha and Omega*, 27–41. In the essay, Harrison writes: “The gist of heresy is free personal choice in act, and specially in thought” (28). Subsequent page references to Harrison in the notes, unless otherwise noted, are to this essay. See also Shanyin Fiske, *Heretical Hellenism*, 1–3—hereafter cited in notes as Fiske.

19. Camille Cauti, “Michael Field’s Pagan Catholicism,” 181; quotation on 184.

20. Roden, *Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture*. Page references to this work are cited as Roden, *Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture*, in the text and notes.

21. On Harrison’s account of the Eniautos-Daimon, see Fiske, 167–68.

22. Cited in Cauti, 187. Cauti cites Vanita’s discussion of this poem in *Sappho and the Virgin Mary*, 133–34.

23. See Gere’s discussion of Harrison’s resuscitation of “the original Great Goddess” (*Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*, 89–91).

24. Fiske, 167–173.

25. Harrison, “The Head of John the Baptist,” 218.

26. “The Soul of Man under Socialism” (1891), in Wilde, *The Artist as Critic*, 289.

27. Dellamora, *Masculine Desire*, chapters 5, 9 et passim.

28. Cited in Herbert Muschamp, “The Dionysian Drama of Today’s Design,” 41.

29. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

30. Wilde, 165. On Wilde and Christ, see John Albert, “The Christ of Oscar Wilde,” and Stephen Arata, “Oscar Wilde and Jesus Christ.”

31. Richard Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, 36–37; Karma Lochrie, “Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies,” 187–88.

32. Thanks to Patricia Smith, in conversation, in Los Angeles, July 1999. On the Holy Spirit, see Roden, “Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture,” 126, 164 n13.

33. Although the critical literature focuses primarily on Gian-Luca, the novel begins and ends with his grandmother. In the final paragraphs, Hall signals as her primary concern Teresa’s inability to acknowledge, even to herself, her love for her grandson.

34. Hall, *Adam’s Breed*, 91. Subsequent page references to the novel appear in the text.

35. See James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Book 3, chapter 5, 666–76.

36. At fifteen, Gian-Luca also attracts the attention of a sexually ambiguous young bohemian, who flirts with the boy in Wildean fashion. He also invites Gian-Luca to pose as “a sort of John the Baptist” (120) for an artist friend. There is a Caravaggesque connection here in view of the painter’s numerous, strongly homoerotic images of adolescent John the Baptists. Gian-Luca rejects the young man’s overtures in a way that suggests that Gian-Luca will refuse conscious awareness of homoerotic desire. Of the protagonists of Hall’s three religious novels, he is the only one who lacks a strong, not to say passionate, same-sex attachment. In *Adam’s Breed*, the great passion of Teresa’s life is for her daughter, Olga.

37. The painting is in a sense a contemporary of Hall. Lionello Venturi identified it as a work by Caravaggio in 1912. Its authenticity was questioned by M. Marangoni in 1922–23 and by H. Voss in 1924, but today the authenticity of the work is “universally acknowledged” (*Age of Caravaggio*, 308).

38. Ingrid D. Rowland, “The Battle of Light with Darkness,” 10. Unless otherwise noted, references to Rowland in the notes refer to this article.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Age of Caravaggio*, 271.

41. Rowland, 10. For additional commentaries on the painting, see *Caravaggio: The Final Years*, 100–103; *Age of Caravaggio*, 306–10, 271–76; and John Gash, *Caravaggio*, 80. In another essay, Rowland points out that in the desperate final years of his life, Caravaggio became more and more interested in touch, both in painterly action and in viewer’s sensation. Caravaggio, Rowland writes, tests “the capacities of slick oil on rough canvas to awaken . . . the whole range of our sense of touch” (“Radiant, Angry Caravaggio,” 10).

42. The standard article on the novel focuses on this term within a context of “chivalric masculinity and English nationalism” (Claire Buck, “‘Still Some Obstinate Emotion Remains,’” 193).

43. For the most explicit reference to the impact on Gian-Luca of mass casualties on the Western Front, see p. 369.

44. Hugh Walpole, “Nobody,” 257.

45. Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature*, quotations on 195.

46. According to Troubridge, Visetti made “improper advances” to Hall (Souhami, 19).

47. Ellmann, 465; Souhami, 186.

48. Roden, *Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture*, chapters 2 and 3.

49. Quoted in *ibid.* 79. See also Shand-Tucci, *Art of Scandal*, 223. Ruth Vanita first became aware of the Sapphic interpretation of Marian desire in Victorian male Aestheticism as a result of reading Walter Pater’s essay on Leonardo da Vinci in this volume (*Sappho and the Virgin Mary*, 1, 62–82).

50. Lines 471–74; quoted in Roden, *Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture*, 44.

51. Roden, *Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture*, 44.

52. Roden, “Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Religious Culture,” 231.

53. A woman because, metaphorically, the body lactates; metaphorically too, a male lover, since semen is milky in color.

54. See Christopher Lane, *Burdens of Intimacy*.

55. Ed Madden has also made this point in “*Well of Loneliness*,” 164.

56. Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 447. Subsequent page references to the novel occur in the text. I discuss the demand for justice as an aspect of the genre of apocalypse in “Tony Kushner and the ‘Not Yet’ of Gay Existence.”

57. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 145.

Chapter 8. *The Well of Loneliness* as an Activist Text

1. For a consideration of the topic in updated terms, see Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 1–21.
2. Marcus, 11.
3. Bray emphasizes that the essential aspect of friendship is that it is a form of “voluntary kinship” (*The Friend*, 104), that is, a close relationship that exists independently of blood ties. He also points out, however, that strong friendships were often pulled into the system of alliance by means of marriage to the sister or another female relation of one’s friend.
4. Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 113, 111. Subsequent page references to Vicinus in the text and notes refer to this book unless otherwise noted.
5. Cited in Vicinus, 113.
6. A case in point is provided in Vicinus’s essay on the romantic triangle that developed between Katharine Bradley, Edith Cooper, and young Bernard Berenson (“‘Sister Souls’: Bernard Berenson and Michael Field”).
7. Cline, 41–42.
8. Karla Jay, *The Amazon and the Page*, 51–52, 121–25; Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*. Capitalized, *Lesbian* at this date signifies adherents of the ancient Greek poet and lover of women, Sappho, who conducted a school for unmarried young women on the isle of Lesbos.
9. Both Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud use the term *homosexual* to refer both to those whom Hall, following Ellis and Richard von Krafft-Ebing, refers to as sexual inverts as well as, more generally, to subjects of same-sex desire.
10. Cited in the transcript of the trial on appeal of Jonathan Cape, publisher of *The Well of Loneliness*, and Leopold Hill, Friday, December 14, 1928, 7. Subsequent page references to the transcript are referred to as Appeal in the text and notes.
11. Graham Richards, “Britain on the Couch.”
12. Dickson, 139.
13. Troubridge, *Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall*, 103.
14. Dickson, 138.
15. Quoted in *ibid.*, 133.
16. In point of fact, Andrea, Troubridge’s daughter by marriage, often seemed to be regarded by Troubridge and Hall as an incidental fact whose impact on their life together was to be minimized to the greatest degree possible.
17. Dickson, 142.
18. *New Statesman*, August 25, 1928, 614–15.
19. *Ibid.*, 602.
20. Jonathan Cape, letter to Radclyffe Hall, June 27, 1928.
21. Radclyffe Hall letter to Jonathan Cape and Harrison-Smith, Inc., June 29, 1928.
22. Baker, 208, 209.

23. Hall, letter to Gerard Manley Hopkins. Quotations in the following two paragraphs refer to the same letter.
24. Reprinted in part in Doan and Prosser, 52–54.
25. Hall, letter to Gerard Manley Hopkins, August 13, 1928.
26. *The New Statesman* makes this point (September 1, 1928, 636).
27. Information in the paragraph is from Baker, 226–28, 232.
28. HO144/22547; *The New Statesman*, November 24, 1928. Hall set the record straight in a letter from her solicitor that appeared in the issue of December 1.
29. HO144/22547. [memo of October 9].
30. *Ibid.*
31. Doan, ix.
32. HO45/15727.
33. Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 149. Subsequent page references to the novel appear in the text.
34. J. B. Melville, *Speech*, 12. Unless otherwise noted, citations from Melville in the text refer to this document.
35. In recent years, this perception has become widely shared. See, for example, Latimer's discussion of Havelock Ellis on this point in *Women Together/Women Apart*, 90–92.
36. Appeal, 59.
37. Within the context of *The Well of Loneliness* as a myth of heroic sacrifice, Stephen's treatment of Mary may be regarded as a test of the faith of the beloved in the couple's love. Mary fails this test and in that way vindicates Stephen's position in Book 5. Cf. Ruth Vanita: "Stephen's pretended infidelity [with Valerie Seymour] is a test that Mary fails" ("Tragic Love and the Ungendered Heart," 147). In other words, Mary chooses to renounce her love for Stephen.
38. Freud, "The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman," *Complete Works*, 18:157.
39. Heather Love comments on Hall's implicit subversion of her idealization of Morton (*Feeling Backward*, 108–14).
40. The immediate reference is to young Stephen's feeling of revulsion when she unexpectedly receives a proposal of marriage from Martin Hallam early in the novel. In context in Inskip's argument, however, it sounds as though Hall rejects the institution of heterosexual marriage. In rebuttal, Melville points out the highly idealizing representations of the marriage of Williams, the old groom at Morton, and his wife and the marriage of Stephen's servant, Adèle, to Jean late in the novel (chapter 49).
41. Troubridge, diary, August 9, 1928.
42. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1928.
43. Cline, 286–308.
44. *Ibid.*, 291–92, 303–305. Much earlier, St. John had been in love with Violet Gwynne. Shortly before her marriage to Gordon Woodhouse, St. John wrote him a letter of warning: "I can talk to you unreservedly about her. I feel in a hundred

ways now that she loves you—but not a bit as most women love men” (Douglas-Home, 35).

45. See Baker, 276–78.

46. Hall, letter to Jonathan Cape and Harrison-Smith Inc.

47. On Egan, see Adrian Woodhouse, *Beresford Egan*.

48. Email message to the author, August 20, 2010.

49. Kathryn Bond Stockton, “Cloth Wounds,” 53–54.

50. Cline, 377.

51. Vicinus, 9.

52. Hall, *Your John: The Love Letters of Radclyffe Hall*, 32. Subsequent page references to the letters appear in the text.

53. Minor emendations based on the manuscript of this letter at the Ransom Center have been incorporated into the text.

54. “Open” to the public, that is, not to other partners.

55. Mrs. Havelock Ellis, *New Horizon in Love and Life*, 68.

56. In her essay “Semi-Detached Marriage,” Mrs. Ellis supported the principle of open marriage (23–31).

57. Information regarding Gramont and Barney is from Francesco Rapazzini, “Elisabeth de Gramont, Natalie Barney’s ‘Eternal Mate.’” Page references to Gramont and Barney in the following paragraphs refer to this article. See also Rapazzini, *Elisabeth de Gramont: Avant-Gardiste*.

58. Cline, 252, 258, 295.

59. Coward, *Tonight at 8:30*, 175.

60. John Lahr, *Coward the Playwright*, 36.

61. *Ibid.*, 34. Coward took the role of Essendine in the original production.

62. *Catherine Opie*, v–vi, viii, x.

63. Regarding himself, Coward appears to have preferred the earlier model. Graham Payn, his lover and life partner, observes that Coward collected around himself a small group, comprised mainly of women, who constituted his “family.” Coward involved and depended upon members of this group in both his professional and personal life (Graham Payn, *My Life with Noël Coward*, 223).

Chapter 9. From Sexual Inversion to Cross Gender in “Miss Ogilvy Finds Herself”

1. Hall, *Your John*, 50–51. Subsequent page references to the letters appear in the text.

2. Ellis, “Sexual Inversion in Women,” 222.

3. The essay was published both in German and in English in the same year, the translation provided by Barbara Low, a leading mediator in England of Freudian psychoanalysis. See Freud, *Complete Works*, 18:146.

4. Prosser, 21.

5. Consider, for example, the letter to “Dear Theresa” that begins Leslie Feinberg’s *Stone Butch Blues*, 5–12.
6. Baker, 188–89.
7. Prosser, ch. 4. See also Heather Love, *Feeling Backward*, 116–19, 181 n6.
8. Hall, Author’s Forenote, *Miss Ogilvy Finds Herself*. Subsequent page references to this book appear in the text.
9. Mrs. Ellis, 55.
10. Similarly, in *Degeneration*, Max Nordau sees the nineteenth-century artists and philosophers whom he condemns as simultaneously atavistic and decadent.
11. Foucault, “Madness, the Absence of Work,” 294.
12. Claire Buck provides an excellent analysis of problematic aspects of the attempt by writers such as Hall and Woolf to recuperate “Englishness” in face of the demands of the twentieth-century imperial nation-state, including its regressive gender politics (“‘Still Some Obstinate Emotion Remains’”).
13. Dixon, “Sexology and the Occult,” 430.
14. Dixon, 416, 419, 431, 422, 423, 430.
15. Dixon, 433 n91; cf. Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 260.
16. Jeffreys, 106.
17. Edward Carpenter, *Selected Writings*, 1:217.
18. Cited in Jeffreys, 113.
19. Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas*, 15.
20. Virginia Woolf, *Women and Writing*, 58–60.
21. Freud is commenting on responses to the outbreak of World War I (Freud, *Complete Works*, 14:306).
22. Barbara Godard, “Luce Irigaray,” 368.

Chapter 10. After Economic Man

1. Coward, *Diaries*, 47.
2. Coward’s drama of a naval shipwreck, *In Which We Serve*, won the Oscar for best picture in 1942. Coward produced, codirected, scripted, and provided the musical score for this film.
3. Sinclair, *A Defence of Idealism*, 240–89, 337. Subsequent page references to this work appear in the text and notes. Hall likely knew Sinclair’s book firsthand since it appeared at the height of Hall’s interest in speculative psychology. Sinclair’s ongoing experiments in these years in modernist feminist fiction, her familiarity with psychoanalytic concepts of sublimation and the unconscious, and her unique position in England as a woman writing serious texts in philosophy commended her work to Hall’s attention. Although Hall became a personal friend only in the 1920s, she may have met her early in the new century at the home of her literary and possibly intimate

friend, Violet Hunt. See Cline, *Radclyffe Hall*, 55–57, 101. I am indebted to Suzanne Raitt’s analysis of Sinclair’s philosophical idealism in *May Sinclair*.

4. Sinclair argues analogically that, just as a dreamer is able to observe projections of herself in the personages of a dream, so also a universal consciousness may be able to subsume all other existent consciousnesses. See Sinclair, 334–39.

5. Radclyffe Hall, “The Rest Cure—1932,” in “*Miss Ogilvy Finds Herself*”. Subsequent page references to the story appear in the text.

6. Cline, *Radclyffe Hall*, 7.

7. Information on Underhill in this paragraph is drawn from Dixon, “Dark Ecstasies.” Used with permission.

8. On the combination of Roman Catholicism with pagan naturalism in Michael Field’s poetry, see Chapters 1 and 8.

Chapter 11. Oneself as The Other

1. Troubridge, *Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall*, 115.

2. Hall, letter of November 3, 1935, *Your John*, 140. Subsequent references to Hall in this chapter refer to this work, unless otherwise noted.

3. Hall, *Emblem Hurlstone*, notebook 1.

4. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 103. Subsequent references to Anacreontism in the text refer to this work, pp. 102–16.

5. Emblem’s appointment in Venice parodies the famous meeting that Winckelmann was scheduled to have with the young writer Wolfgang von Goethe. Unfortunately, however, turning back en route, Winckelmann met his death at Trieste, where he was murdered by a stranger, Francesco Arcangeli. Traditionally, this death has been read as the result of a sexual tryst gone awry. Walter Pater recounts the story in *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873); see the discussion of Winckelmann in Dellamora, *Masculine Desire*, 109–16. For a study of the relationship between Hellenistic culture and the invention of modern sexualities, see my essay, “Greek Desire and Modern Sexualities.”

6. Cline, 320n.

7. In Hall to Souline, Letters, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

8. Hall, *Emblem Hurlstone*, notebook 1.

9. For example, the poem, “Invitation to the Voyage.”

10. This pattern of triangulated desire is familiar from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s discussion of male homosocial desire in *Between Men*. Hall presents it with a knowing, psychoanalytic edge.

11. *Emblem Hurlstone*, large notebook. The page has been struck through with a single line in blue. Ellipses in the quotation are mine, indicating crossed-out words in the manuscript.

12. In *Casablanca*, Rick Blaine (Humphrey Bogart) must forgo renewing his affair with Ilsa Lund (Ingrid Bergman) because of her loyalty to her husband, Victor Laszlo (Paul Henreid), a fugitive Czech Resistance leader long sought by the Nazis.

13. Quotation modified in accordance with the original manuscript.

14. Ormrod, 215.

15. Michael Powell, *Edge of the World*, 325—hereafter cited in notes as Powell. In contrast to the remoteness of these islands off the northwestern tip of Scotland, Hall explores the catastrophe of what might be termed the near exotic.

16. C. A. Lejeune, cited in the introduction to Powell, xiii.

17. Hall, *The Sixth Beatitude*, 3, 85—hereafter cited in text and notes as *SB*.

18. Souhami, 308.

19. *SB*, 65, 32, 31.

20. *The Sixth Beatitude*, typescript, 97–98; also *SB*, 1936, 91–92.

21. The novel draws on May Sinclair's suggestion that women have a special relation to what Sinclair calls "the Life-Force" (*Feminism*, 30–31). Hall proposes that this relation is compatible with the transgression of conventional norms of sex and gender. I discuss Sinclair in Chapters 1 and 10.

22. The potent father in the novel is the unnamed young sailor who is Ermie's father.

23. In context, the phrase refers to Sapphists. Hall uses it in the letter of July 31, 1934, in which she gave Souline the bad, though to be anticipated, news that Troubridge intended to squelch the affair before it began. The citation has been modified to accord with the manuscript.

24. The suggestion is a commonplace in commentary by Sinclair and other English writers who were writing under Freud's influence. See Low, *Psycho-Analysis*, 91–93.

25. The parallel to spring lambing in Powell's book is the August sheep running (231). Both Hall and Powell work these scenes into the dramatic structure of their respective works, Hall by juxtaposition and Powell, who intercuts the community ritual with the secret rendezvous of the film's young lovers, by montage: "The Run has now a definite purpose. It changes the tempo at the proper moment, it creates unique atmosphere, it provides a shield for the meeting of the lovers, by its contrast of busy action with complete calm. It is no longer only [ethnographic,] pictorial and instructive, it is dramatic—and a necessary part of the film" (234).

26. Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (A), 470.

27. On Mary as a model for subjects of female same-sex desire, see Vanita, *Sappho and the Virgin Mary*, 14–36.

28. Richard Wagner, *Ring of the Nibelung*, 325.

29. Technically speaking, Greek pastoral is late, that is, a product of Hellenistic culture; but to Hall it was "primitive." A good example of the "sweetbitter" eros that Hall found in Sappho's verse may be found in Hall's "Ode to Sappho" in *A Sheaf of Verses*, 36–38. I discuss the poem in Chapter 1.

30. Anne Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet*, 3—hereafter cited in notes as Carson.

31. The argument in these two paragraphs follows Carson, 7–10.

32. Troubridge, *Day Book*, entry for February 26, 1943.

33. Baker, 316, 182, 183, 186.

34. Ormrod, 236.

35. Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 171–72.

36. Cline, 369–70; Souhami, 381–83.

37. Doan and Prosser, 54.

38. This representation contradicts Troubridge’s claim that “John had never been in any doubt that *The Well of Loneliness* contained all that she had to say on . . . [the] subject [of sexual inversion]; that she had never for a moment contemplated . . . any return to that aspect of nature” (Troubridge, *Life of Radclyffe Hall*, 171).