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“No refuge”: The woman within/beyond the borders of Henry Adams, Henry James, and others

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"NO REFUGE": THE WOMAN WITHIN/BEYOND THE BORDERS OF HENRY ADAMS, HENRY JAMES, AND OTHERS

by

DUCO C. VAN OOSTRUM

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

"No Refuge": The Woman Within/Beyond the Borders of Henry Adams, Henry James, and Others

by

Duco C. van Oostrum

The dissertation investigates whether there is a place of refuge for women characters within and/or beyond American literary texts written by men around the turn of the twentieth century. Besides major and minor texts of leading American men of letters, Henry Adams and Henry James, the texts also include two Dutch novels, Multatuli's Max Havelaar and Frederik van Eeden's Van de koele meren des doods. In examining these texts, the dissertation seeks for a male feminist practice that does not immediately turn into a male practice of appropriation and violence, I adopt a feminist practice of exposing gender representations in canonical male-authored texts, giving particular attention to the results of their representations for women. The question I ask of them is also a question I ask of my critical practice: is a genuine representation of female characters by male authors possible?

The metaphors of feminism as a "no man's land" and American literature as a "territorial battle" connect issues central in Adams, James, Multatuli, and Van Eeden. The inclusion of the Dutch texts "within" American literature takes place not only on the basis of intertextual links with Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, but also because their preoccupation with gender resembles gender systems in texts of Henry Adams and Henry James. All these male authors share an interest in the representation of women in their literary works. Henry Adams argues in
The Education that there is "no refuge" for modern American women except "such as the male created for himself." After analyzing the Dutch novels, James's The Wings of the Dove, and Adams's Esther, his South Seas letters, and The Education of Henry Adams, I locate these dubious moments of refuge for women within male representation in strategies of idealizations of female alterity, self-reflexivity, exposure of the cultural construction of gender, and silence. Whether these places of refuge for women within the borders of the male texts go beyond already staked out territories into "no man's land" is a question at the heart of the dissertation.
Acknowledgments

The dissertation investigates oceanic crossings between American and Dutch literature and even reaches into the exotic outposts of the South Seas. The actual writing of the dissertation has also been the product of transatlantic travels. The start of the dissertation lay in the initial move from the Netherlands to Rice University. Midway through the project, I returned to the Netherlands to accept a position at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Via electronic computer communication systems, messages about the dissertation kept traveling back and forth through the new link between Rice and Groningen. The completion of the dissertation necessitates also an end to these oceanic crossings, but not without signaling how much this project has been indebted to these travels between home and home.

The germ of the project grew out of Joseph Ward's graduate seminar on Henry James. I am sorry he did not see the completed dissertation. During graduate seminars at Rice University in which we would criticize each others' papers sharply, the dissertation took on a more focused shape. For especially astute readings, I would like to thank Deborah Thompson, Stephen Da Silva, and Mylène Dressler. In particular Colleen Lamos's inspirational reading group, "Theory (Ex)posed," furnished the grounds for the dissertation. I would also like to express my gratitude towards Susan Lurie, Scott Derrick, David Minter, and Richard Wolin. As readers of the dissertation, they were subjected to hurried reading schedules yet still produced perceptive and extremely insightful commentaries.

At the University of Groningen, I am grateful to many colleagues who interrupted busy teaching schedules to read drafts, to help with the
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The project across oceans, however, has never been a solitary quest. Joany and I both decided to attend Rice, and both of us returned to Groningen. At all times, we were working, each in our own way, to redefine borders. Our sons, Nigel and Devon, were born on different sides of the ocean during the work on the dissertation. In many ways, this dissertation is a family project.
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CHAPTER 1
Male Authors and Female Subjects: "No Man's Land" or "Man's Land"?

The woman had been set free....One had but to pass a week in Florida, or on any of a hundred huge ocean steamers, or walk through the Place Vendôme, or join a party of Cook's tourists to Jerusalem, to see that the woman had been set free...Behind them, in every city, town and farmhouse, were myriads of new types,-or type-writers,-telephone and telegraph-girls, shop-clerks, factory hands, running into millions on millions, and, as classes, unknown to themselves as to historians....All these new women had been created since 1840; all were to show their meaning before 1940.

--Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams¹

This passage from The Education of Henry Adams opens Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's three-volume No Man's Land, an analysis of the place of the woman writer in the twentieth century. As the first epigraph to their major study, Gilbert and Gubar find in The Education evidence for the liberation of women from traditional restrictions of patriarchal society. Adams's "the woman had been set free" signals for them a release of women from the nineteenth-century attic to "a room of one's own."² The transition from the confined place within the master's house to an independent female domicile marks the change between the nineteenth-century and the twentieth-century woman writer, according to Gilbert and Gubar. As a result of the increasing independence of women, the twentieth century becomes the site of a battle of the sexes fought in "no man's land." As Gilbert and Gubar explain: "thus both male and female writers increasingly represented women's unprecedented invasion of the public
sphere as a battle of the sexes, a battle over a zone that could only be defined as a no man's land" (4). In this "vexed terrain" of gender struggle in which "scattered armies of men and women all too often clash by day and by night" (xii), Adams occupies a central place at the entrance into No Man's Land.

The phrase "no man's land" is particularly provocative because it implies both a defined territory and a territory which is, by definition, always contested. Both the passage of Henry Adams's The Education and the act of making Henry Adams's words the opening of No Man's Land, I will argue, illuminate how a man can come to take up residence in a feminist study, entitled No Man's Land. Henry Adams writes that "the woman had been set free" and that she was to show her "meaning" before 1940. By observing the release of women and their influence upon society, Adams writes about the condition of women. As a male author, he represents women and writes their meaning. Henry Adams thus defines the territory of "these new women" who are "unknown to themselves" as a new terrain, known to himself. While the "new women" are "free" they move in the enclosed territory of "no man's land." Yet this male definition of the place of women immediately becomes suspect; to what extent is it possible for a male author to represent women? Gilbert and Gubar's choice of Henry Adams as a representative of the new condition of women seems particularly odd because of the nonrepresentation of his wife in his autobiographical The Education of Henry Adams and because of his emphasis on women's traditional place in the home and family. If the bases of No Man's Land are "first, that there is a knowable history and, second, that texts are authored by people whose lives and minds are affected by the material conditions of that history" (xiii), then Adams's history appears to
disqualify him from his epigraphic position in *No Man's Land*. However, by not choosing Adams's well-known metaphor of the Virgin as his model of femininity, Gilbert and Gubar see Adams's representational qualities of "no man's land" in a nontraditional light, and perhaps open another place for Adams's participation in their *No Man's Land*. In a contested terrain and amidst vexed struggle, Adams plays his part in yet uncharted territory.

The two-fold significations of "no man's land" as a demarcated place and as an open and undefined place metaphorically describe the investigation of this dissertation. First, the phrase "no man's land" connotes a specific field within feminist criticism and its relation to male texts. Within the field of feminism, "no man's land" sounds like a battle cry that emphasizes the exclusion of men. The independent participation of women in the public sphere constitutes an arena of struggle between the sexes, and does not ultimately result in a happy marriage or peaceful co-existence. The terrain of Adams's "new women" is uncharted territory in which women have to find their own way, outside the private sphere of the home. This unexplored ground of the turn of the century, in fact, becomes a "woman's land" in which women explore new territories in new female professions (such as Adams's "type-writers") and new responsibilities in the public sphere. In Adams's words, the women enact a ubiquitous occupation of not only America, but of most of the Western world. In a clear parallel to the initial landing of the *Mayflower* of 1620, the new women of the 1900s spread across all oceans in "hundreds of huge ocean steamers" and by sheer numbers take possession of their land in which they will seek to realize their dreams of ultimate liberty. In the late twentieth century, Gilbert and Gubar chart the territory of the twentieth-century woman writer also as one who has to struggle against men in order to find her
independent voice. "No man's land" thus becomes the territory not of men but of women.

Besides the exclusionary definition of "no man's land" in relation to feminism, Adams's inclusion in the feminist study No Man's Land leads to new considerations. While "man" inside the phrase suggests a nongendered terrain in which a battle of the sexes rages, Adams still speaks from the perspective of "man" who is separate from woman. Gilbert and Gubar include Adams as one of the men who argues with "clarity and...often vigorous sympathy" for the cause of the new women and the women's suffrage rights (21). Yet Adams's emphasis on a separation of genders while he speaks for women warrants close scrutiny. In his model of the Virgin in The Education, Adams proposes a femininity that stays within the bounds of home and family, and the female experience with which he shows "vigorous sympathy" resembles more closely the female experience within the doctrine of separate spheres of the mid-1900s in America than the women's crossing into the public sphere around the turn of the century. The emphasis on fundamentally separate spheres would place woman again in her traditional home rather than in "no man's land." The underlying anxiety with which the male authors subject to discussion advocate women's power within the home and for women within the men's definitions of gender systems will be closely examined. The particular battle of the sexes in "no man's land" takes a violent turn when men speak for women; women are appropriated into male definitions and "no man's land" is conquered and once again becomes "man's land."

Paradoxically, when Adams speaks for women's separate experience, he contradicts his claims about essential gender difference. If men and women live in separate worlds, how could Adams then ever voice the "other"
gender? In this crossing of gender, Adams opens up another "no man's land," the "land" between genders. I will investigate the possibilities of a breakdown of fundamental gender difference in the border crossings between genders, and whether a male author's representation of women could present a position that works for women's liberation. When Adams claims that "the woman had been set free," he might have entered himself and the women he writes about into a terra incognita beyond the borders of a gender system of separate spheres. Adams's inclusion in feminism reflects thus the male author appropriating women's territories as well as the instability of gender difference at the moment of appropriating women's concerns. Adams's crossing into "no man's land" thus points to both a moment of demarcation of borders and a crossing of borders.

Like the male author's relation to women's issues, the gender difference of the literary critic in assessing male authors' relation to women's issues is subject to the doubleness of "no man's land." When Gilbert and Gubar open *No Man's Land* with the man Henry Adams, they point to a late twentieth-century preoccupation with writing about gender that goes beyond gender borders yet that remains engaged with the liberation of women. As feminist critics, Gilbert and Gubar claim Henry Adams as sympathetic to the women's cause. For male critics to argue for male authors' sympathy in their representation of women remains subject to strategies of appropriation of the confinement of women. The crossing of male critics into feminist territory takes place in a similarly contested "no man's land." In this dissertation, I examine male authors' representation of women, that is in the males' capacities as both as authors of literary texts and as authors of texts of literary criticism, and question whether men produce readings that take place in "no man's land."
One final location of the "no man's land" of this dissertation is situated at the borders of American literature itself. When Henry Adams stages a female version of an international American dream in which new women land on various continents, he extends the borders of a mythic American literature in which the women fight for an international manifest destiny. In recent criticism on canon formation, critics point out that the borders of American literature themselves are subject to a demarcation of territory that leaves out "American" writers on the basis of an exclusionary definition. The preoccupation with "new women," as Adams demonstrates, plays on an international level, and the inclusion of two Dutch texts in this dissertation foregrounds the delimitation of critical discussion on the grounds of territorial definitions of American literature. In Dutch literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, some male authors engage in a quest to speak for women, similar to that of Henry Adams. With references to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851), the Dutch authors also emphasize a system of separate gender spheres. The comparison of two Dutch novels and works clearly located within the borders of American literature questions the fundamental borders between American and Dutch literature of the turn of the century, and suggests a terrain of discussion within a "no man's land" beyond borders of national literatures.

The dissertation thus investigates the concept of "no man's land" in terms of male authors' and male critics' relation to women's issues and feminism. Is such a male inquiry possible as a strategy of going beyond essential gender difference and exploring new territories of gender criticism, or does such an inquiry remain within the borders of reconstituted gender categories of "woman's land" and "man's land"? On
another level, the dissertation opens the borders of American literature by including two Dutch authors, and now moves beyond traditional borders of national literatures into a "no man's land." Specifically, the dissertation analyzes a number of texts which express a central concern with gender from a male perspective in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, namely Multatuli's *Max Havelaar*, Frederik van Eeden's *Van de Koele Meren des Doods*, Henry James's *The Wings of the Dove*, and Henry Adams's *Esther*, his letters from the South Seas, and *The Education of Henry Adams*.

**Woman's Land**

Historically, these male texts are linked not only because of their dates (from 1875-1914), but also because of their preoccupation with gender in terms of the nineteenth-century doctrine of separate spheres. What is especially striking in these novels and letters is the significant part assigned to women that seems to be in accordance with the powerful role of the woman within the separate spheres doctrine. Historians and literary critics of nineteenth-century American culture describe the extraordinary transition from an entirely male-dominated world to a world of separate spheres that took place in the early nineteenth century. "The Doctrine of Separate Spheres" arose and was intertwined with the demographic transition of the 1820s and 1830s. The bourgeois family separated itself from the workers to form independent households and gave birth to the nuclear family. In the process, the role of the wife became more and more removed from the work force, and she now occupied and was mistress of her "own" home.³ Perhaps the most significant change associated with the
birth of the nuclear family lies in the astonishing decrease in children per family for white women during the nineteenth century: from 7.04 in 1800 to 3.56 in 1900. All these changes, these historians argue, enabled a world of essentially different male and female socio-cultural roles. In *At Odds*, Carl Degler sums up:

One of the hallmarks of the emerging modern family in the early 19th century was the sharply differentiated roles or functions assigned by social custom to wife and husband. Women's activities were increasingly confined to the care of children, the nurturing of husband, and the physical maintenance of the home. Moreover, it was not unusual to refer to women as "the angels of the house," for they were said to be the moral guardians of the family. They were responsible for the ethical and spiritual character as well as the comfort and tranquility of the home. In that role they were acknowledged to be the moral superiors of men. Husbands, on the other hand, the ideology proclaimed, were active outside the home, at their work, in politics, and in the world in general....This sharp division between the roles of husband and wife which contemporaries called their different spheres, is what is meant by the doctrine of the two spheres, or separate spheres. (26)

Degler argues that the primary task of the woman within the family in nineteenth-century America consists of bearing and raising children and of providing a haven in a heartless world for her husband. For Degler, the woman's control over her husband in the private sphere is real; she is the moral superior of "rational" man. This natural moral aspect of woman is also central to Ann Douglas's argument in *The Feminization of American Culture*. In fact, the woman's moral superiority led to a competition in
religious power between the clergy and women. In the doctrine of separate spheres, woman was one step closer to God, and thus she could claim a more natural position of religious authority than the male clergy. Douglas's interesting and important alignment of the discourse of the male clergy and female novelists proves one of the intersections between male and female power, as will be discussed later in the analysis of Henry Adams's *Esther* (1883). Another feature of the doctrine of separate spheres lies in the actual separation of male and female worlds. As Carol Smith-Rosenberg and Nancy F. Cott point out, female communities and friendships became important parts of a woman's life. The "naturalness" of the distinction between male and female worlds enforced separation and formed the basis for a kind of communal power. That these worlds were considered "essentially" (in other words, biologically) different is illustrated in Rosalind Rosenberg's *Beyond the Separate Spheres*. Medical textbooks asserted the dangers for women who intended to study traditional male subject areas such as medicine which, these works claimed, would lead to female infertility and bodily transformations.

In American literature of the mid-nineteenth century, the new powerful role for women within the doctrine of separate spheres was highlighted in the female genre of sentimental fiction. In *The Education*, Adams appears to reiterate that model. He formulates his own theory of womanhood, arguing that in her separate, defined role of mother and moral superior, Woman forms the centripetal force of society. His theory of the role of the Virgin Mary continually situates Woman as a mother who guides her children. He highlights her role as medium in the perpetuation of male power. Yet his adoration and acknowledgment of "female power" conforms to a model of a feminism which was itself under scrutiny in

According to Tompkins, the politics of Stowe's positions are "nothing less than the institution of the kingdom of heaven on earth," and Tompkins argues that Stowe saw her book as "an instrument for bringing about the day when the world would be ruled not by force, but by Christian love" (141). Stowe could envision these radical changes in the world because of the extreme separatist position this theory entails. Up to now, Stowe seems to argue, the world has been governed by males and male values, and in order to produce another world we need to reverse the gender hierarchy; the new world will be based on female values. As Tompkins argues: "The removal of the male from the center to the periphery of the human sphere is the most radical component of this millenarian scheme, which is rooted so solidly in the most traditional values--religion, motherhood, home, and family" (145). For Stowe to envision such a millenarian scheme meant a radical reversal of power in terms of gender.

The political power of the sentimental novel functions through a rhetoric of feeling and emotion which should "influence" the reader, much as the mother should influence her children and husband.8 The primary assertion of this power, paradoxically, comes in the moment of death. It was the death of little Eva which spurred Ann Douglas's interest in sentimental fiction. Both little Eva and Uncle Tom (portrayed as children) have their greatest transforming powers in their struggle with death. Topsy's change serves as a synecdochical representation for the reader's
reaction to Uncle Tom's death. Dying generates power, according to the
formula of the sentimental novel.

All the texts in this dissertation engage with the power of women within
the doctrine of separate spheres and the sentimental formula of influence
and transformational power through death. Van Eeden and Multatuli refer
to Uncle Tom's Cabin as evidence for the liberating force of women. Van
Eeden dramatizes the intense struggle of Hedwig to become the angelic
woman who attains spirituality and benevolence. Only when she has
learned to deny her individual will, her sexual desires, and when she has
suffered deeply does she become the pure woman who is able to transform
the minds of men. In Max Havelaar, the intertextual reference to Uncle
Tom's Cabin calls upon the liberating model of female fiction to bring
about radical political changes. Max Havelaar's protest against the
systematic oppression of the Javanese by their Dutch colonial rulers occurs
through the sentimental fiction of Sajjah and Adinda within the novel. In
contrast to the rational bureaucratic protest by means of forms and official
letters, the heroic deaths of Sajjah and Adinda at the hands of colonial
power will influence the Dutch reader to transform her/his nation's
oppressive policies. Just as Uncle Tom's death causes the downfall of
slavery, Multatuli argues, so will his use of sentimental female fiction,
which is based on feeling rather than rationality and order, liberate the
Javanese from the yoke of oppression. The female characters within the
novel, however, remain subject to dominating male characters, and hardly
voice themselves. The role of Tina, Max's wife, is minor and defined by
the men inside the novel. Stowe's feminine sentimentality appears to serve
in Max Havelaar as a model for political liberation while, ironically,
进一步囚禁女性角色。
In *The Wings of the Dove*, Henry James borrows elements from the sentimental plot of female influence to assert Milly Theale's final power. After she has died, she apparently gains a moralizing control over the male protagonist Merton Densher, who is transformed from the material selfish loafer in the beginning of the novel to a spiritually reborn man at the close of the novel. James further employs the gender construct of the separate spheres to assert gender difference on the basis of morality and feeling. While the women appear powerful in the novel, the sentimental model serves finally, not as a source of liberation for women but rather as a paradigm for delineating gender difference. Paradoxically, in the light of Tompkins's analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the male protagonist becomes powerful because he is able to use categories of gender difference.

Like Van Eeden, Multatuli, and James, Adams's preoccupation with gender in his literary works interacts with the doctrine of separate spheres and models of female sentimental fiction. In *Esther*, he even pseudonymously impersonates a female author to write his own sentimental fiction. This novel, one of the least studied of Adams's works, dramatizes the plight of the female protagonist Esther Dudley as she attempts to preserve her individuality rather than become absorbed into a femininity defined by the men around her. Her struggle for a place in art or in marriage is obstructed by men who are harassing her to fit into a male definition of femininity. In this novel, Adams writes from the masked perspective of woman to delineate a woman's precarious position in male ideals. Moreover, the Reverend Hazard, one of Esther's most persistent suitors, illustrates the tenuous borders between the separate spheres by crossing into female dominions because of his profession. Adams's concern with a woman's role in late nineteenth-century American society
assumes immense personal relevance after his wife commits suicide in 1886. The power of the deathbed scene in sentimental fiction appears to materialize in Adams's life. In his journey to the South Seas, he quests after "archaic woman" in order to be once again able to define a woman's role. His confrontation with the women of Samoa affirms in him an essential gender difference that resembles the American doctrine of separate spheres. In *The Education of Henry Adams*, finally, he uses the deathbed scene from sentimental fiction as an alternative to his "masculine" education and his masculine definition of woman in her appearance as the Virgin. The gap of twenty years in his autobiographical text--the twenty during which he lived with his wife, during which his wife committed suicide, and during which he traveled to the South Seas, signals the missing female voice in *The Education*. Adams thus uses the doctrine of separate spheres in *The Education* to present an image of the powerful woman within the spheres through the Virgin, and he uses an aspect of the formula of sentimental fiction, the deathbed scene, to signal the missing voice of his wife.

These male texts all make explicit and extensive use of the doctrine of separate spheres and models of female sentimental fiction. Yet the analyses in the ensuing chapters of the dissertation indicate that the male versions of female power differ from one of separatist female power such as Tompkins describes in her analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. While a separatist gender critique based on sentimentality produces a powerful place for women, the male authors' appropriation of that female model questions its ultimately liberating power from male domination. Gillian Brown extends the separatist position of Tompkins's reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by arguing that Stowe also critiques the free market system
and wants to replace this system with a system based on domesticity.\textsuperscript{9} This stance produces a powerful criticism of "classic" nineteenth-century American literature, as is, for example, demonstrated in Tompkins's work, yet the position also represents the tradition they describe. Stowe's implicit and explicit call for a reversal of the gender power structure is echoed in Carol Gilligan's \textit{In a Different Voice}. Gilligan's description of a gendered moral development which should be taken into account in law and education also calls for a sentimental gender reversal.\textsuperscript{10} The relationship of James, Adams, Van Eeden, and Multatuli to the sentimental novel, however, seems to indicate that they want "woman" precisely in that separate place; they write women in a protectorate under the final authority of men. An analysis just in terms of separate spheres appears to reconstitute a separate "man's land" and "woman's land."

\textbf{Male Authors in "No Man's Land"}

But aside from a crucial engagement with the position of women and men in the doctrine of separate spheres and sentimental fiction, the male texts in this dissertation also share a preoccupation with questioning such a rigid gender construct. Precisely because these are men concerned with literary definitions of women, their task already presents apparent moments of gender crossings. Multatuli explicitly uses a female literary model to argue against a masculine system of oppression; as artists Van Eeden and James both feel part of a "feminized" masculinity, in which James explores the disjunction between gender difference and sexual difference; Adams cross-dresses as a female novelist, and eventually discovers a female voice inside himself through his encounter with an old
queen on Tahiti. Do these moments and concerns move the male authors into a "no man's land" of gender difference where gender is no longer clearly established in essential binaries but along other lines or even beyond demarcations? Paradoxically, the male authors' location at what are clearly established gender boundaries and, simultaneously, crossings of gender boundaries may offer a fruitful site for feminist criticism. Under the influence of poststructural theory and the critiques by black and lesbian women critics, feminist criticism has sought to go beyond a binary gender construct of men and women. Yet by moving beyond binary gender difference, feminism, Judith Butler has argued, is left without "a female subject" to emancipate:

If it is not a female subject who provides the normative model for a feminist emancipatory politics, then what does? If we fail to recuperate the subject in feminist terms, are we not depriving feminist theory of a notion of agency that casts doubt on the viability of feminism as a normative model? Without a unified concept of woman or, minimally, a family resemblance among gender-related terms, it appears that feminist politics has lost the categorical basis of its own normative claims. What constitutes the "who," the subject, for whom feminism seeks emancipation? If there is no subject, who is left to emancipate?\textsuperscript{11}

What these male texts offer in terms of a feminist analysis is a specificity which must concern itself with the representation of women in the text in relation to the male author. The male authors are still very much subject to a critical reevaluation in the terms suggested by Christine Froula. In "When Eve Reads Milton," Froula argues that "Eve does not speak patriarchal discourse, it speaks her."\textsuperscript{12} By exposing the flawed
representation of female characters in male-authored, canonical, texts, Froula expresses the hope that feminist rereadings will alter oppressive patriarchal authority structures:

But we can, through strategies of rereading that expose the deeper strategies of authority and through interplay with texts of a different stamp, pursue a kind of collective psychoanalysis, transforming "bogeys" that hide invisible power into investments both visible and alterable. (343)

The act of exposing power structures, making unconscious ideological processes conscious, is seen as a way of subverting and changing those power structures. This critical analysis of female portraits in male-authored texts is thus still part of a process of indicating and making conscious "misrepresentations" of female characters. The analysis of the male author representing female characters also moves beyond a binary gender construct but nevertheless intends to move within a feminist practice such as proposed by, among others, Jane Gallop. Rather than a possibly oppressive monolithic definition, Gallop argues, a definition of feminism should itself be "double-voiced":13

The feminist critic thus publishes a truly double-voiced discourse and its irredeemable doubleness prevents any simple resolution to the problem of definition. On the one hand, a theoretical definition of feminist criticism is necessary for its survival; on the other, that very same definition threatens to stifle feminist critical practice. The two voices, separately, assert the two sides of the question, together affording us the double vision necessary "for the survival of us all." (38; Zimmerman 219)
Importantly, the feminist criticism Gallop maps holds on to a both/and position that seeks definitions for strategic and operative purposes with the concomitant problems of territorial demarcation, as well as a feminist criticism which cannot be tied down to a monolithic definition as the "other" of a masculine criticism. While holding on firmly to the masculinity of Multatuli, Van Eeden, James, and Adams and their (mis)representations of women, and at the same time trying to locate a "no man's land" beyond a "stifling" binary representation of gender in the exploration for a new territory, a critical examination of male authors' representation of female characters demands a "double-voiced" practice.

Yet the question remains whether such a "double-voiced" practice of a male critic reading male-authored texts for its (mis)representations of women is able to produce feminist readings. These male authors and the particular texts foreground multiple ways of reading male images of women. Even though all these texts are preoccupied with the representation of women, the authors employ different strategies. In this dissertation, the various modes of female representation will be analyzed in terms of their possibilities as feminist practices, with a special focus on men's relationship to feminism, and the linguistic/cultural cross-dressing of male novelists. When Henry Adams uses the pseudonym Frances Snow Compton in Esther, or when Multatuli writes a female genre, a "truly double voiced" reading might be possible, yet the "no man's land" of feminist criticism may produce other results when applied to male authors and applied by male critics. To what extent can a male practice be "double voiced" if the net result of the analysis remains a "monolithic" masculinity?

From within feminism, men who cross-dress to become part of a female gender location are open to at least two responses. Elaine Showalter
underscores a contemporary danger of men speaking for women. In her analysis of Dustin Hoffman as feminist Dorothy Michaels in *Tootsie*, Showalter elucidates the movie's foregrounding of critical cross-dressing: "The implication is that women must be taught by men how to win their rights. In this respect, Tootsie's cross-dressing is a way of promoting the notion of masculine power while masking it." Showalter's reading stresses that the cross-dress can still be removed and that a true masculinity will reveal itself. At the same time, another reading is possible. Cross-dressing, or drag, according to Judith Butler, reveals not just the genitalia of gender but also the performance of gender. As Butler explains:

As much as drag creates a unified picture of "woman" (what its critics oppose), it also reveals the distinctness of those aspects of gendered experience which are falsely naturalized as a unity through the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence. In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself— as well as its contingency. Indeed, part of the pleasure, the giddiness of the performance is in the recognition of a radical contingency in the relation between sex and gender in the face of cultural configurations of causal unities that are regularly assumed to be natural and necessary.

Those moments which reveal the performance and the spectacle of gender illuminate a myth of originary gender designation. Rather than looking at the gender underneath the dress, gender depends upon the costume, i.e., a repetition of arbitrary codes. Again in the words of Butler: "As the effects of subtle and politically enforced performativity, gender is an 'act,' as it were, that is open to splittings, self-parody, self-criticism, and those hyperbolic exhibitions of 'the natural' that, in their very exaggeration,
reveal its fundamentally phantasmatic status" (146-47). Thus, when we laugh at Dustin Hoffman alias Dorothy Michaels, we are also made aware of the contingency of gender because of its performance. On the one hand, Frances Snow Compton can be unmasked as Henry Adams, and Esther turns out to be a male study of control over women. On the other hand, Adams's mask of Frances Snow Compton and his success of her performance in the rendition of Esther Dudley reveals the "radical contingency in the relation between sex and gender"; Frances Snow Compton subverts a binary gender construct.

However, a difficulty in examining the dress code of men as admission onto the battlefield of "no man's land" lies in the possibility of undressing or unmasking a true masculine identity. In the first essay of the anthology *Men in Feminism*, which also contains Showalter's article, Stephen Heath's contribution "Male Feminism" opens with:

Men's relation to feminism is an impossible one.....--the point after all is that this is a matter for women, that it is their voices and actions that must determine the change and redefinition. Their voices and actions, not ours: no matter how "sincere," "sympathetic" or whatever, we are always also in a male position which brings with it also the implications of domination and appropriation, everything precisely that is being challenged, that has to be altered. Women are the subjects of feminism, its initiators, its makers, its force; the move and the join from being a woman to being a feminist is the grasp of that subjecthood. Men are the objects, part of the analysis, agents of the structure to be transformed, representatives in, carriers of the patriarchal mode; and my desire to be a subject there too in
feminism—to be a feminist—is then only also the last feint in the long history of their colonization. (1) For Heath, feminism is a "no man's land" without men; male appropriation is always also a colonization of a clearly staked-out female domain that are the only subjects in feminism. A double position is only theoretically possible, Heath adds: "Male feminism is not just different from feminism (how ludicrous it would be to say 'female feminism'), it is a contradiction in terms....There is a female impersonation in a man reading as a feminist, whatever else there might be too. To think otherwise is to abstract the personal (and that much modern theory is keen on such abstraction says something politically about the theory)." (28)

However powerful I find Heath's exploration of a new field, his own theoretical exposé leaves him outside the terrain of feminist studies of which he nevertheless appears to be quite knowledgeable. On the one hand, he purposely leaves "no man's land" to women, but on the other hand he has first thoroughly charted the new land. In other words, "no man's land" is not an undefined territory open to new possibilities, not even for gender; on the contrary, this field of gender is the well-structured space, even a colony of the home country (presumably the patriarchy he writes himself into) where feminism can be contained. The men's necessary "exclusion" from this field of cultural criticism must be because their actions inevitably "also" involve "appropriation" and "domination." The crucial "also," I will argue however, points to other interpretative possibilities of explorations than an automatic reconstitution of a patriarchy. In Heath's final assessment of the lessons of feminism for male critics he creates another inside and outside binary. When he reads Adrienne Rich's poems
"A Wild Patience Has Taken Me This Far" and "The Dream of Common Language," Heath feels himself outside of categories. Reading of a world unfit for women or men but where men own the streets: "when did we ever choose / to see our bodies strung / in bondage and crucifixion across the exhausted air" ("WP," 3) where "no-man's-land does not exist" ("WP," 4): "A man's world. But finished" ("Diving into the Wreck," 8). So where am I reading their poems? (29)

Heath concludes: "Maybe the task of male critics is just to read (forget the 'as') and learn silence....Perhaps male feminism should involve a fundamental admiration" (29). After theoretically enclosing and controlling the territory for feminism, he leaves that colony in admiring silence. Men who examine moments of female representation in male-authored texts, according to Heath, engage in appropriation that restructures a patriarchy. Butler's suggestion of cross-dressing as evidence of unstable gender identity is an example of modern theory "abstracting the personal" which says something political about that theory. Heath's theoretical insistence on stable gender identity, though, also functions politically to exclude himself from feminist liaisons.

By staking out his final position on the basis of Luce Irigaray and Adrienne Rich, Heath enacts his own metaphor of appropriation. Using Irigaray's language to theorize himself in an exclusionary position has paradoxically led him to define the field of women and feminism for "others"; rather than man being the object of feminism, his colonization has placed him in a traditional subject position and women in confined object positions. Heath has precisely demonstrated Irigaray's claim that "Any Theory of the 'Subject' has always been appropriated by the 'Masculine.'"17
As Irigaray describes: "When the Other falls out of the starry sky into the chasms of the psyche, the 'subject' is obviously obliged to stake out new boundaries for his field of implantation and to re-ensure--otherwise, elsewhere--his dominance" (136). Staking out these new boundaries involves colonization and making the other subject to the same discourse:

But man only asks (himself) questions that he can already answer, using the supply of instruments he has available to assimilate even the disasters in his history....The really urgent task is to ensure the colonization of this new "field," to force it, not without splintering, into the production of the same discourse. (137)

That Heath now assigns the newly staked-out territory to women actually marks a field in his discourse; he has appropriated Irigaray's "admiration" and Rich's "silence" into tools that allow him mastery.

In Heath's model of men in relation to feminism, men will inevitably appropriate female concerns and reconstitute patriarchal power. Multatuli, Van Eeden, James, and Adams to some extent appear to confirm Heath's rather gloomy claims. James appropriates a sentimental genre to reconstitute a powerful masculinity; Adams appropriates a female novel, Mary S. Emerson's Among the Chosen, to function as competition; Multatuli's use of the sentimental genre as a model of liberation works in the text as an appropriation of female concerns. The final reconstitution of power is still with Havelaar who teaches his wife what it means to be a woman. Heath's lessons of "learning silence" and "admiration" appear to be fully applied by Van Eeden in his admiration for his protagonist, and by Henry James who combines Merton Densher's admiration and idealization for Milly Theale in Merton's appropriation of Milly's death. In The Education, Henry Adams applies the lesson of silence when he leaves a
structural twenty-year gap which "contains" his admiration for his wife. Next to the admiring silence, Adams sets up the Virgin as his idealization of the force of woman. A critical reading of the male texts' portrayals of women on the basis Heath's conclusions would suggest that ultimately the men reassert "man's land," and that a male critic's search for a feminist practice in male authored text is finally "impossible."

In contrast to Heath's ultimate resurrection of inviolable boundaries between men and women to indicate the impossibility of a male feminism, Joseph Allen Boone believes in the necessity of a male feminism and charts a path that does not lead to an ultimate position of admiring silence. His exploration into a "no man's land" of gender studies centers on individual difference within the all-embracing categories of male and female. Just as feminism changed its adherence to a unified category of woman into a commitment to difference among women, Boone differentiates himself from Heath. In his attempt to stake out a territory for himself as a feminist, he reverts to the "me" in "men." Boone demarcates his territory as follows:

In exposing the latent multiplicity and difference in the word "me(n)," we can perhaps open up a space within the discourse of feminism where a male feminist voice can have something to say beyond impossibilities and apologies and unresolved ire. Indeed, if the male feminist can discover a position from which to speak that neither elides the importance of feminism to his work nor ignores the specificity of his gender, his voice may also find that it no longer exists as an abstraction--the case leveled against several of the male contributors to *Men in Feminism*--but that it in fact inhabits a body: its own sexual/textual body. In this regard, the really crucial
question for feminists--male and female alike--is how to formulate terms for presenting the issue of "men and feminism" so as not to limit its possibilities, overdetermine its body, from the onset.\(^{18}\)

For Boone the double position from which to speak offers a site for male feminist investigation. In his article, Boone convincingly demonstrates how issues of male feminism run into the danger of discussing topics along strict gender boundaries. Academic panels on male feminism are divided along gender lines and even essays and responses are structured in gendered pairs. Boone suggests a more thorough examination of masculinities to break a rigid gender binary and to make the construction of a masculinity the topic of a general field of gender studies in which femininity and masculinity are both laden with multiplicity. Boone charts out a five-point plan of "possible narratives" of male feminism. The first two points emphasize a necessary double position, reminiscent of Gallop's call for a "double-voiced" feminism, which allows men work in feminist studies:

1. My first impulse is simply to encourage men to identify with feminism, taking on without fuss the label of "feminist" if that is indeed your interest and true to the work you're producing. If you are offering feminist interpretations, then go ahead (to paraphrase Showalter's advice) and read "as a feminist" and not a "female impersonator": acknowledge both the centrality of feminism and your gender to your practice.

2. Second, men participating in feminism should make their own oppressive structures (ideological, social, psychological) present for critique, rather than hiding them under a veil of abstract musing.

(173)
Concretely, Boone's suggestions allow for other readings of male authors' representation women. As an important tool of examination, Boon offers self-examination and self-reflexivity as avenues for examining male texts next to "regular" feminist readings. By locating self-reflexive moments in its male representation of women in Max Havelaar, Van de koele meren des dood, The Wings of the Dove, Esther, and The Education, the dissertation suggests that the male authors' relation to their female subject moves away from appropriation, mastery, and reconstitution of power to a subversion of appropriation models, an inability of mastery, and a limitation of patriarchal power. By means of a detailed account of the portrait of Hedwig by Johan, the young painter in Van de koele meren des dood, Van Eeden self-reflexively sees the limitations of his representation of women; Reverend Hazard in Esther powerfully critiques Adams's use of a female pseudonym as an attempt at ultimate masculine power over women; when Tina sneezes just as her husband delineates the perfect mythic woman, Multatuli self-mockingly shatters Max's idealization and has the female character voice her disapproval. After analyzing such moments of self-reflexivity, it becomes clear that attempts at mastery and appropriation apparently break down and reverse power structures. Unlike Esther, Among the Chosen is able to represent women; Uncle Tom's Cabin reasserts its different voice in Max Havelaar and disestablishes its patriarchal power structure from within. Boone's suggestions for men reading male-authored texts from a feminist perspective appears to offer practical possibilities for reading the texts under discussion. However, just as I wish to consider both Showalter's warning against impersonation and Butler's jouissance over performance simultaneously, so too do I want to
keep Heath's and Boone's positions side by side, thus sticking to both feminism and gender.

The analysis of the male texts in this dissertation in terms of both masculine power and self-reflexivity remains focused on gender difference within the texts and how the gender construct of the text affects the women characters. Boone is explicitly concerned with questioning men's sexual identity and construction of masculinity as a feminist practice, and regards a critical analysis of sexual difference and gender difference as an implicit feminist practice. Jane Gallop cites Boone as one of a generation of male literary academics influenced by feminist criticism:

A new generation of male literary academics, students of feminist critics, has responded to the power of feminist thought not simply in the co-optive, dismissive mode of their elder brothers but in a way really marked by feminist knowledge. Rather than studying women as a means of mastery, they investigate men, masculinity, and even their own will to mastery. (242)

While Boone correctly questions a generic masculinity "always already" appropriating female voices, the form of a male feminism that has at its aim a pluralization of masculinities does not assume a feminist position by definition. In Out of Bounds, the anthology Boone offers as a politically correct male feminism to counter the incorrect Men in Feminism, the question of whether a focus on the construction of masculinity is a feminist practice remains tenuously unanswered.¹⁹ The female editors, Claridge and Langland, feel rather uncomfortable with their own anthology as they report the result of men writing against patriarchy:

For to write against patriarchy as a male fettered by it does not necessarily result in writing for liberation of gender bondage, a
primary aim of philosophical and practical feminism....Although many male writers are interested in a space or possibility for expression coded as "feminine," they are not necessarily interested in particular women and their plights--or even the general plight of the generic "woman." A male writer may simply need the space of what he or his culture terms the feminine in which to express himself more fully because he experiences the patriarchal construction of his masculinity as a constriction. He may, that is, appropriate the feminine to enlarge himself, a process not incompatible with contempt for actual women. (3-4)

A practice of investigating different masculinities may then also result in another appropriative mechanism, already theorized by Stephen Heath. The profound ambivalence of Claridge and Langland towards the investigation of gendered men and its consequences for feminism warrants close scrutiny. In David Leverenz's fabulous Manhood and the American Renaissance (another revision of Matthiessen's American territorial claim), the focus on male-male relations, however refreshing and truly eye-opening, leaves the woman as a defined category of gender.20 The strife for dominance between men seems to confirm Sedgwick's Between Men, her classic study of male homosocial relations in British literature, in which the female character functions simply to bond the men.21

Christopher Newfield's reading of Dimmesdale's masculinity in The Scarlet Letter suggests a way out of fixed gender boundaries yet also returns to a monolithic femininity. His analysis of male feminization and dominant and submissive masculinities leads him to propose a genuine crossing of gender. Newfield recognizes the possibility of a powerful male feminization: "Men do not only escape but dominate women by feminizing
themselves by affirming their marginality in a way that aligns them socially with women." Dimmesdale, according to Newfield, accomplishes a double position as man and woman. However, this double position is only possible for the man Dimmesdale and not for the woman Hester; he is also "forced" back in his masculine suit by the real woman Hester Prynne. As Newfield argues:

Dimmesdale's function as husband will **not** be underwritten by self-feminization as his ministering activities had been: to be a father is to be a man to Prynne's woman; to be a husband is not to be a woman. In pressing him toward abandoning his post as minister, Prynne makes the woman's role entirely her own, and thereby prevents Dimmesdale from playing that role himself. Here Dimmesdale cannot be both man **and** woman, but must be a man; in the forest Prynne polarizes these roles by occupying one of them—by wearing the skirt in the family. (76)

Prynne's singular femininity destroys Dimmesdale's double gender and dresses him in singular masculinity. By polarizing gender, Prynne "kills" Dimmesdale. While Newfield analyzes heterosexual gendered men in relation to femininity, his result appears to blame women for an oppressed masculinity. What Newfield has clearly proven, it seems to me, is Dimmesdale's complete power over women through his male feminization. An analysis of "gendered" men may resurrect male power and binary gender constructs.

In this examination of male authors' possible representations of women, a focus on male-male relations and gender crossing should take into account the effects of the "gendered man" on the female characters. The emphasis on sexual difference and gender difference plays a central part in
my critical discussion on Henry James. James's exploration of Merton Densher's particular masculinity leads to a "gendered" masculinity which differs from a masculine construct in the binary scheme of a separate spheres doctrine. Yet the women Kate Croy and Milly Theale pay the price so that Densher may attain his gendered masculinity. A focus on the constrictions of masculinity within a binary system may thus once again result in the analysis and reconstitution of a separate "man's land" and "woman's land."

Aside from their mutual preoccupation with gender from the perspective of the doctrine of separate spheres and sentimental fiction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the texts discussed in the following chapters offer a range of possible literary strategies for men to represent women. A woman's text of the sentimental fiction of "woman's land" may be converted into a reconstitution of "man's land" by these male authors, and the analyses will always be concerned with exposing the texts' gender structures in terms of power. Especially in the case of the Dutch texts, little critical attention has been paid to gender, and the analyses seek to establish the importance of gender analysis in Max Havelaar and Van de koele meren des doods. At the same time, moments of male gender crossings and self-reflexivity in these texts make possible readings that move them into the "vexed terrain" of the gender struggle of "no man's land." However, the male-female interactions of appropriation, self-reflexivity, silence, and admiration do not automatically produce liberational models of gender, though they undoubtedly indicate moments of struggle within "no man land."

Beyond the Borders
In addition to Van Eeden's, Multatuli's, James's, and Adams's engagement in the representation of women in relation to borders of gender, the texts also share a resistance to classifications within national borders. The inclusion of two Dutch authors does not imply, of course, that the Dutch texts are "American" texts; rather, the inclusion problematizes the demarcations of an American literature based on national borders, and suggests that thematic, historical, and intertextual links also constitute a legitimate territory for discussion.

The claim for a national American literature, as Donald Pease and others argue, is itself ideologically motivated. F. O. Matthiessen's ground-breaking American Renaissance (1941) still stands as the legitimization of a separate American literature. Rather than treating American literature as a colony of English literature, Matthiessen claims, American literature shares unique "democratic" qualities. It is worth quoting Matthiessen at length because his own project and rhetoric fall within a scheme of establishing and possessing territories on the basis of a shared American culture:

An artist's use of language is the most sensitive index to cultural history, since a man can articulate only what he is, and what he has been made by the society of which he is a willing or an unwilling part. Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Whitman, and Melville all wrote literature for democracy in a double sense. They felt that it was incumbent upon their generation to give fulfillment to the potentialities freed by the Revolution, to provide a culture commensurate with America's political opportunity. Their tones were sometimes optimistic, sometimes disillusioned, even despairing,
but what emerges from the total pattern of their achievement—if we will make the effort to repossess it—is literature for our democracy.24

For Matthiessen, repossessing the culture, given voice to by these five representatives, clearly involves a commitment to the ideas of the Revolution (breaking away from England) and a conscious and unconscious quality of American democracy. As such, the literary project of identifying a separate American literature from British literature fits within the themes of the literature Matthiessen describes, and his work revolts against the oppression of British rule within the academy. The effort to find the "voice" of a nation in ethnic characteristics such as "democracy," given birth to "by the society of which he is a willing or an unwilling part," runs into trouble when the categories of nationality seem part of an innate identity.

What the authors and texts in this dissertation demonstrate is that the categories of national identities are themselves cultural constructions. The international preoccupation of James, Adams, Van Eeden, and Multatuli with which they try to compare their national heritage locates them both within and beyond national borders in a "no man's land" of critical practice. The canonical Americans of this dissertation express resistance to a simple national classification. Henry James's constant search for a national identity finds its expression in his well-known "international theme." He even adopts a national identity outside his America citizenship when he becomes a British citizen in 1915. In The Wings of the Dove and in some of his autobiographical writing, James explicitly dramatizes the constrictions of national identity based on supposedly innate characteristics. Merton Densher's final mastery of Milly Theale comes about through his
categorization of her as "the American girl." Despite Henry Adams's presidential link to America and his central place as an American historian, he resists a monolithic national identity. In his wanderings after his wife's suicide, he spends more time exploring other cultures than his own. During his sojourn on Tahiti he uncovers his "other" national identity as he is adopted into the Teva clan of Tahiti. His new name of Taura-atua i Amo and his identification with his Tahitian grandmother even leads him to claim that he consists of two persons: "one a mere shadowy possibility in Washington; the other an almost equally thin shadow in unknown or uncertain night."25 In his confrontation with Samoan culture, he also tries to resist his American identity by dressing up as a native Samoan. In The Education, moreover, Adams buries his significant other identity in the twenty-year gap to indicate its importance as an alternative to his American persona.

James's and Adams's self-stylized national identities parallel Multatuli's impersonation of the oppressed Javanese and Van Eeden's impersonation of Henry David Thoreau. When Multatuli writes the sentimental fiction of Saigah and Adinda, he also adopts a Javanese identity. Van Eeden's serious effort as a social reformer stems from his reading of Thoreau's Walden. After he has set up his commune Walden at Bussum in the Netherlands in 1898, he embarks on three trips to the United States (1908-9) to construct similar communes in North Carolina. In the traveling back and forth between Holland and the United States, Van Eeden finally settles in Holland, apparently at ease within the confines of the Dutch borders, though imaginatively living in a North American commune.

The resistance to a constricting national identity establishes another link between the texts of this dissertation. Nevertheless, while the authors
attempt to move beyond national borders, they paradoxically are exposed to their entrenchment within national borders. Like Henry Adams on Samoa, Multatuli's attempt to "go native" is thwarted because of his western identity; while Henry James dramatizes the constrictions of national stereotypes, he nevertheless employs them himself in *The American Scene* and elsewhere. The multi-national texts serve to demonstrate how the analyses at once go beyond the outskirts of national literatures, but also stay within the borders of American and Dutch literature.

The Dutch texts are intended to question the national boundaries of this American literary landscape. The textual connection linking Max Havelaar and *Van de koele meren des doods* with Harriet Beecher Stowe already indicates the overlapping of ideas about women between the Dutch and American literary landscape. This inclusion of two Dutch texts in a dissertation on American literature differs from the usual European approach to American literature in that I now read American influence upon European literature rather than the other way around. In addition, the inclusion questions the "outside" view of European Americanists, by suggesting that "inside" America and "outside" America implies clearly separated cultural territories, each with separate cultural identities. The cultural crossings are thus also meant to be "double-voiced"; at one time holding on to territorial definition, while at the same time moving about freely without regard to territorial constraints.

In conclusion, the texts of Adams, James, Multatuli, and Van Eeden are the grounds for a discussion of male authors' and critics' participation in "no man's land." In this male investigation, the analyses of "no man's land"
concentrate on male authors' representation of women rather than on Gilbert and Gubar's focus on the independence of women authors. The interaction between genders in a gender construct of the separate spheres as well as the masculine appropriation of female sentimental models are terrains for investigation into a representation of women within masculine texts. Gilbert and Gubar appropriate Adams's assertion that "the woman had been set free" to signal man's acknowledgment of the independent status of the "new women" of the twentieth-century. I appropriate Gilbert and Gubar's epigraph and Adams's text to argue for another "no man's land" that investigates whether "the woman had been set free" from within the male text. What Gilbert and Gubar leave out from the inside of Adams's text (the ellipses are in abundance) gives the agency of "the woman had been set free" to themselves, the new feminist critics. In Adams's original text, however, the "new women" are types of lost species that he identifies, defines, and captures:

The woman had been set free,—volatilised like Clerk Maxwell's perfect gas;—almost brought to the point of explosion, like steam. One had but to pass a week in Florida, or on any of a hundred huge ocean steamers, or walk through the Place Vendôme, or join a party of Cook's tourists to Jerusalem, to see that the woman had been set free; but these swarms were ephemeral like clouds of butterflies in season blown away and lost, while the reproductive sources lay hidden. At Washington, one saw other swarms as grave gatherings of Dames or Daughters, taking themselves seriously, or brides fluttering fresh pinions; but all these shifting visions, unknown before 1840, touched the true problem slightly and superficially. Behind them, in every city, town and farmhouse, were myriads of
new types, --or type-writers,—telephone and telegraph-girls, shop-clerks, factory hands, running into millions on millions, and, as classes, unknown to themselves as to historians. **Even the school-mistresses were inarticulate.** All these new women had been created since 1840; all were to show their meaning before 1940. (412; underlined parts do not appear in *No Man's Land*)

From within his text, and beyond Gilbert and Gubar's *No Man's Land*, Adams's women come swarming at the reader as sterile insects, moving on hot air, materializing as women without a voice. The independent woman writer of the twentieth century in *No Man's Land* appears in Adams's text voiceless, ephemeral, and unproductive. With their violent appropriation of Adams's textual "man's land" to transform it into "woman's land," Gilbert and Gubar demonstrate their "battle of the sexes" in the "vexed terrain" of "no man's land." My appropriation of Gilbert and Gubar's use of Adams's words illustrates my entrance into "no man's land." My "no man's land," however, seeks a place for women within the male text.

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4Carl Degler, *At Odds* (Oxford, New York: Oxford UP, 1980), 181. In Degler's words, "this decline in fertility is certainly the single most important fact about women and the family in American history" (181).
6Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982).
7This essay has been so frequently anthologized that this chapter has come to exemplify Tompkins's position.
8Cf. Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Avon, 1977). "[Woman] is of value because she is able to work a kind of religious transformation in man; she represents nothing finally but a state of susceptibility to very imprecisely conceived spiritual values" (52).
14This "definition" of a double voice resembles Jacques Derrida's directions for a deconstructive practice in Positions, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981). Derrida warns against moving beyond hierarchies and oppositions too quickly into a field of multiplicities, and he calls for a "double gesture." Overturning the hierarchy of traditional opposition remains an essential practice of deconstruction. As Derrida explains: "To deconstruct the opposition, first of all, is to overturn the hierarchy at a given moment. To overlook this phase of overturning is to forget the conflictual and subordinating structure of opposition. Therefore one might proceed too quickly to a neutralization that in practice would leave the previous field untouched, leaving none no hold on the previous opposition, thereby preventing any means of intervening in the field effectively. We know what always have been the practical (particular political) effects of immediately jumping beyond oppositions, and of protests in the simple form of neither this nor that" (41).
Laura Claridge and Elizabeth Langland, Out of Bounds: Male Writers and Gender[ed] Criticism (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1990). At the time of Boone's article, the anthology was still unpublished and entitled: "Escaping Patriarchy: Male Inquiry and Feminist Writing." The change in the title already indicates the shift in focus: from man as feminist to men writing gender criticism (but not necessarily feminist).


For this increase in attention to a European contribution to American Studies, see for example: Huck Gutman, ed. As Others Read Us: International Perspectives on American Literature (1991); Theo D'Haen, "Working the American Canon: Reflections of a European Canon-Watcher, Re-Writing the Dream: Reflections on the Changing American Literary Canon, ed. W.M. Verhoeven (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 233-44.
CHAPTER 2

The Dutch Example

CHAPTER 2.1

Sneezes and Lies: Female Voices in Multatuli’s Max Havelaar

At first glance, the choice to look at Max Havelaar with the aim of investigating possible strategies of female representation by male authors might seem absurd.¹ The novel’s explicit purpose is the Dutch colonial exploitation of Indonesia, and gender apparently hardly plays a role. In the cultural crossing from the Netherlands to Java, the battle ground over territory appears man’s land. The Dutch bureaucratic rulers and the native chiefs are all men. Elizabeth Wright who enters the man’s land of Max Havelaar with a specific aim of "decolonizing" the masculinity of the text notes with dismay:

The sexual/textual strategies of the text lie in its embedding strategies, which allow it to be colonized by eight male subjects, who occupy dominant roles as compared to the em-bedded female, be she Countess Tina, bourgeois Mrs. Droogstoppel, the native girl Adinda, or maid. Whether married or not, these females are embedded in the text with the sole function of waiting on their lords and masters.²

In her denunciation of this male text, Wright refreshingly reads the text as one centrally engaged with issues of gender and colonization. By unmasking the masterpiece of the Dutch literary canon as one that advocates male colonization, her reading functions as an act of political intervention (163). Even within the forum and collection of essays on
psychoanalytic readings of "Saïdjah and Adinda," Elizabeth Wright is the only one who asks questions about the text's colonizing (or as I would phrase it, disciplinary) tendencies. While her reading has an overt political aim, she admits that the existence of a "gap" in the text complicates and perhaps even deconstructs the patriarchal voice from within itself. Her location of this gap in the figure of Scarfman, whose gender seems rather ambivalent, would be enriched, however, if the resisting reader were to find more moments of resistance from within the text. It is precisely at these moments of resistance, I will argue, that the masculine colonization process is itself put into question. Furthermore, the moments are central to the narrative and reveal that the link between power abuses in Dutch imperialism and in gender relations opens the text to a different political message.

The thematic parallel of exposing the Dutch culture's oppression of the Javanese in Max Havelaar with the American exploitation of slaves in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin also carries over into a concern with the constructing of gender. In 1875, about twenty years after Stowe's novel, Multatuli uses her novelistic strategies to argue for the liberation of the Javanese. But besides speaking the language of liberation through the voice of an acclaimed female genre, the female characters in Max Havelaar also voice themselves as an oppressed people in a man's world. Multatuli's well-known proclamation at the end of the novel is that he wants to be "read" and "heard": "the more loudly my book is condemned the better I shall be pleased, for so much the greater will be my chance of being heard. And that is what I want!" If female voices can be "heard" in this male discourse, Max Havelaar would offer possibilities for places of refuge for women in male writings, and thus an appropriate text
for this study. I will argue that women in Max Havelaar voice themselves through: one, a marginalized position within the ideology of the separate spheres; and two, through Multatuli's dependence on a female strategy to bring about political change. In both these cases, these female voices question the construction of bifurcated gender difference which the world in Max Havelaar seems to portray.

The construction of gender in Max Havelaar resembles the American doctrine of separate spheres of mid-nineteenth-century America. The differentiation into binaries lies at the heart of the author's attempt at exposing injustices in the colonial system. Multatuli's disagreement with colonialism does not concern itself so much with arguing against differences between the Javanese and the Dutch, as with his concern for an unjust hierarchy between the two. Rather than viewing the colonial system as a relation between rulers and subjects, he advocates a system of justice which emphasizes equality and difference. Havelaar's major battle involves the oppression of the Javanese because of illegal abuses of power, but nowhere does Havelaar argue for a discontinuation of colonialism. This idea of "equal yet different" resonates with the doctrine of separate spheres in which each governs within his or her sphere. In this novel, the two systems of organization, the colonial system and the gender system, are linked through their firm commitment to expose injustices within the system as well as to cherish the fairness of the system.

The progression from an oppressive relationship to an equal relationship in gender organization is most clearly visible in the different marriages of Droogstoppel and Havelaar. In the peculiar structure of the novel, the narrator Droogstoppel serves as the idiotic, ruthless merchant of coffee, whose primary interest in Havelaar's manuscripts lies in their
description of possibilities for extending trade relationships, hence the subtitle of the novel: "Or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company." Droogstoppel's self-serving voice provides the comic narrative frame in between the passionate, yet hopeless, struggles of Havelaar, in which he tries to correct injustices. The structure is complicated because these dominant voices in the novel are mediated through other narrators: Stern, the German apprentice to Droogstoppel, who is transcribing Havelaar's chaotic package; the actual readers of the manuscript at communal reading sessions; and finally Multatuli himself who closes the novel by killing off the two protagonists, the "half-baked dreamer" Havelaar who "now starves with the patience of a marmot in the winter" (320), and Droogstoppel, the "wretched spawn of sordid moneygrubbing and blasphemous cant. Choke in coffee and disappear" (317), Multatuli commands. In the two families, the moneygrubbing realist Droogstoppel and the idealist dreamer Havelaar present the bad and the good exponent of a marriage of separate spheres.

Droogstoppel and Havelaar are engaged in the rational public sphere of business and politics, whereas Droogstoppel's wife and Tina literally occupy the private sphere of the home. The contrast between the portrayal of Droogstoppel's family and Havelaar's family comes to the surface in the space given to their wives in this gender configuration. Droogstoppel does not tell us his wife's name--while he never tires of giving his--and as a result we only know Droogstoppel's wife in terms of the feminine roles of daughter of a wealthy father, wife of Droogstoppel, and mother of Frits and Marie. In the confrontations between Droogstoppel and the readings of Scarfman's parcel, his wife is "naturally" aligned with her children, Frits and Marie. In the Droogstoppel family, only the patriarch speaks, and his
voice silences those of the other sphere. Droogstoppel, of course, presents a more cynical picture of his family than Havelaar as he rails against the romantic portrayal of women, which in turn serves as a denigration of women's experience in the separate spheres:

And later on we're told more lies. "A young girl is an angel." Whoever first discovered that never had any sisters. "Love is bliss." One flies with some object or other "to the end of the earth." The earth has no ends, and that love they talk about is nonsense, too. No one can say I don't live decently with my wife--she is a daughter of Last & Co., coffee brokers--no one can find fault with anything in our marriage. I am a member of "Artis," she has a shawl which cost ninety-two guilders, and yet between us there's never been any talk of such an idiotic sort of love, that won't rest till it lives at the end of the earth. (20)

In Droogstoppel's blatant assertion of patriarchal ideology, his wife remains without a place and a voice; she is not allowed to be an "angel" in the house. For Droogstoppel, marriage functions only to make another business deal and to secure an economic bond with his wife's father. There is no private sphere for her since he so passionately denies and ridicules the female world of love in a doctrine of separate spheres. He transforms the discourse on love into a language of assets and losses; the ninety-two dollar shawl figures as a trope which signals Droogstoppel's possession of his wife and which marks her in clear monetary values.

In the opening chapter, Droogstoppel directs his entire diatribe at the way literature portrays gender relations. When Droogstoppel exclaims that all this "virtue rewarded" business points to "all nonsense and lies!" (22, 23), the reader knows Droogstoppel refers to woman's higher moral
standing in the doctrine of separate spheres. The "all nonsense and lies!" explicitly critiques a literature that advocates a woman's superiority in her sphere, and he tries to deny that literature status in his business world. Yet since Droogstoppel provides an ironic voice in the text, the opening of the novel already indicates that the reader in fact should pay attention to the opposite of Droogstoppel's claims. The ridiculed sentimental genre, in which the role of the woman within her separate sphere dominates the text with an emphasis on feeling, influence, and moral superiority within her sphere, now turns into a model of reading Havelaar's text. Even the actual opening of the novel, the preface, highlights the role of the wife within the doctrine of separate spheres and corrects Droogstoppel's oppressive patriarchal voice. The author dedicates the novel to his wife, "Everdine Huberte, Baroness van Wijnbergen, faithful wife, heroic, loving mother, noble woman" (17). The poet's wife serves a special role in the life of her husband, in which she suffers but in which she also gains the rewards: "the hours of laurels won by the sweat of his genius, and which he lays reverently at the feet of the woman he lawfully loves" (17). Only through her can man become genius, and this author has done so, the quotation informs the reader, because he has acted according to the law of loving one's wife. Droogstoppel's marriage and attitudes towards sentimental literature are thus subject to correction by Havelaar's marriage.

As a contrast to Droogstoppel's wife, Tina has a distinct, separate role in the Havelaar family. However distressed material conditions may be, Tina, as the narrator puts it, always "understands" Max (109); her love transcends economic demands as she has sacrificed her class status in order to live in poverty with her idealist and "neglected genius" Max (89). The
narrator especially praises Tina for her wholehearted devotion to her son, little Max:

For Mrs. Havelaar was a model in caring for her child, and whatever had to be done for or with little Max she did herself, to the great astonishment of many other ladies, who did not approve of a mother being "a slave to her children." (94)

Whereas other women use the colonial subject to advance their own freedom by having a babu, Tina is held up as model of "true womanhood" for recognizing the natural bond between mother and child. Her presence within the family, however, seems solely as a linking device between her husband and child. As Julia Kristeva argues, in this role, the mother perpetuates the Name of the Father as she operates solely as medium in a patriarchy: little Max will become another Max. In the descriptions of the Havelaars, Tina portrays the ultimate woman of the separate spheres. Whereas her husband's demeanor always foregrounds his political idealism, Tina is described in terms of having "a beautiful soul" which places her in a realm of innate goodness. As embellishment for her husband, during the many meetings at the Havelaars, Tina effaces herself as the perfect hostess to Max's guests. This perfect woman, in the eyes of the male creator, is much admired by the narrator, who leaves no opportunity to inform us of Tina's special feminine qualities. In this role of wife and mother, a woman in Max Havelaar can attain heroism and become noble, as the preface phrases the fate of the poet's wife.

Even though her role in the family demands subordination and configuration in relation to Max's role, she at least, contrary to Droogstoppel's wife, has a part and a name. In this structure of separate spheres, then, the gender roles are rigidly defined and constitute a world of
essential differences. Similar to the differences between the Dutch rulers and the Javanese subjects, the identification of differences produces a hierarchical power structure. Both gender and racial differences presumably rest on a "different but equal" doctrine, and Havelaar sincerely believes that while the Javanese may be different, they are also equal citizens under the Dutch administration he represents. Havelaar makes it his quest to live up to the promise of the Dutch to treat the Javanese fairly. In the political rhetoric of Dutch imperialism, Havelaar's professional function as assistant resident is "to protect the native population against exploitation and oppression" (104). All Havelaar does, he argues, is fulfill the objectives of his profession by pointing out to his superiors that the native population is oppressed; Havelaar conducts official complaint sessions during which natives may protest unfair treatment. It is his promise that he will then correct the injustices. But the political and public aspect of this quest subordinates gender difference which also consists of an unequal relationship. In this public sphere of political discourse, the women characters have only marginal space. As I have argued so far, Max Havelaar represents and constructs gender in terms of separate spheres, and the novel actually corrects Droogstoppel's patriarchal oppression with Havelaar's separate but equal marriage. So far, however, only the male versions of women's role have been heard; yet even though their voices are marginal in the text, apparently the female characters ask for a place of refuge outside of a male construction.

At these places in the text, moments of resistance become noticeable in man's land. One of these moments occurs precisely at the height of man's admiration for woman. The actual woman in the text protests the man's mythic woman, when Tina exposes her own idealistic and unequal role as
woman in Max Havelaar as an ideological formation. When Havelaar expounds on his theory of Beauty to his male friends Duclari and Verbrugge, he demands that Beauty imitate Nature in Nature's movement; this movement comes about in the actual moment of "longing for beauty" (152). Havelaar equates Woman with beauty and the divine. As he states: "I maintain that a beautiful woman...comes nearest to the ideal of the divine" (153). In an attempt to simultaneously construct and capture this image, he fantasizes that the women of Arles only have one head between them in order to "gaze at, to dream about, and...to be good for!" (157). By compressing the images in one "dream" woman, Havelaar violates the individual women he has just erected. Only passively, Woman, in Havelaar's ideal amalgamation, performs as an object, and she can be altered to fit his voyeuristic scheme. The gaze frames this woman in an imprisoning structure from which she is to provide pleasure for man. To illustrate his power as gatekeeper over women and to clarify the absolute necessity of physical perfection in order to induce pleasure onto the male watcher, Havelaar has one of the women blow her nose, and argues that such a woman should not "desecrate herself" by having a cold (157). At this timely moment, Tina interrupts the male gaze and shatters the idealistic portrait:

   Just then, as ill-luck would have it, Tina suddenly felt she had to sneeze, and... before she could stop herself, she had blown her nose!

(157)

Tina, to Havelaar's disgust, is not above blowing her nose, and, more importantly, she exposes Havelaar's ludicrous artistic rendition of her gender. That Tina "voices" her objection through a language of the body again indicates her occupation of another sphere and the limitation of that
sphere. Her only way to voice disapproval is by a sign which lies outside powerful male language: her protest of inequality comes through a sneeze, a different language, and one that Havelaar does not control. The separation along gender lines of an uncontrollable female language of the body and logical male language of the mind leaves the woman with a place of refuge to speak her oppression. Especially in what has been termed French feminism, this feminine voice has proven to be effective as a transgression of patriarchal authority. The double-voiced text of Julia Kristeva's "Stabat Mater," for example, subverts a linear masculine conception of Christianity.\(^9\) In Max Havelaar, the sneeze shatters Havelaar's mythic portrait of idealized woman, and within the representational frame of the man, the female character is able to protest her misrepresentation. Through this strategy of a woman examining her portrait painted by the man, Multatuli self-reflexively comments on the possible misrepresentation of female characters in his novel.

Immediately after Tina's sneeze, however, Havelaar embarks on another strategy to take away the woman's place of refuge. At the moment of possible transgression of patriarchal order, Havelaar aligns Tina's rights, which he describes as the right to "physical imperfection" (158), with the rights of the thirteen-year-old girl Si Upi Kete, or "little Miss." The juncture of Tina's sneeze and Upi's story has two implications: First, Havelaar admits that his discussion of Beauty in fact revolves around "rights" and freedoms of people; second, the "rights" in both cases concern the rights of both imperialist and subaltern women; Tina and Upi both belong to the category "woman." Havelaar seems to argue for the advanced state of women's conditions in the civilized Western world as opposed to the primitive Eastern world. By twice interrupting Havelaar's telling, Tina
apparently realizes that Upi's story provides a response to her sneeze and women's rights, and both times she relates Upi to her own rights. The first time occurs when she cuts short one of Havelaar's digressions (which she usually condones): "Well, Max, what's happened to our 'Little Miss' and her beads?" (162). The second time, she sarcastically reminds Havelaar of his demands on an ideal wife who "hadn't yet acquired the right to have a cold" (163).

Specifically directed towards Tina in response to her sneeze, Havelaar tells her the story of "Little Miss." On their trip to inspect the pepper plantations at Taloh-Baleh, Havelaar feels distressed that Upi mimics both her father and Havelaar, that she has no wishes of her own, but that she is clearly chattel property in a male world. As Gayle Rubin argues on the basis of Claude Lévi-Strauss's model of early civilization, women only functioned in terms of economical exchange and had no self-hood whatsoever. Only as a linkage between powerful families or as a gift did the woman have a role. When Havelaar asks Upi questions she responds by either invoking her father's wishes or Tuan Kommandeur's wishes: "As the Tuan Kommandeur shall Decide," and "If my father wishes it" (163). Upi's only language comes from men, and she has no access to a liberating language of the body. In order to elicit a response from Upi and/or just to pass time, Havelaar tells her the story of "The Japanese Stonecutter." In this parable, a stonecutter learns that he should not aspire to be a god but be content with his lowly wages and hard labor. The tale ends as follows:

And he was a stonecutter. And he hewed stones from the rock, with hard labor, and he labored very hard for scanty wages, and he was content. (167)
Despite Havelaar's frustration for Upi's lack of self, the story he tells her functions as a Foucauldian disciplinary mechanism to uphold the patriarchal system which confines Upi in this selfless role. Rather than offering Upi and Tina a language of personal rights, in telling the story of Upi and "The Japanese Stonecutter," Havelaar disciplines both Tina and Upi to be "content" with their lot (both as destiny and location) in the world. To the sneezing Tina, Havelaar's story about Upi seems to imply the message that Tina's lot could be worse. Multatuli's own relationship with Upi makes clear that he was not adverse to obtaining the "right" to another person in this chattel economy. The autobiographical link between Multatuli (Edward Douwes Dekker) and Havelaar on the one hand, and Dekker's wife Tine and Tina on the other, even stresses the disciplinary nature of Havelaar's tale. As E. M. Beekman points out, Dekker lived with Si Upi Keteh in 1843 while he was courting women in Holland. Tine even knew that Upi was her husband's "first woman." The division between the chaste European and the erotic native girl forms a subtext to Havelaar's tale about the place of woman. Havelaar frames woman's experience in a story of civilization which progresses from seeing women as property, such as the native primitive Upi, to the European lady with her home as domain. Tina's house, Havelaar suggests, is preferable to Upi's voicelessness. Yet contrary to Havelaar's parable about knowing your place as a woman, Tina's position as the angel in the house remains extremely vulnerable and subject to dependency on a man. A third woman, Mrs. Slotering, illustrates another woman's place in between the European lady and primitive native girl that upsets the neat binary classification scheme.
Throughout the novel, Mrs. Slotering hovers over the Havelaar premises. First of all, the narrator devotes over four pages to explain Mrs. Slotering's category. As someone of European and native descent, she fits into the ambiguous racial class of liplap (half-caste). While the narrator explains the strict social barriers between native Europeans and those "not born in Europe" and who "have more or less 'native' blood in their veins," he hastens to add that "this distinction has not the barbarous character which prevails in the American status differentiation" (100). Nevertheless, in the same breath he describes the poor level of education of the liplap, and their inability to speak an unaccented Dutch. Mrs. Slotering does not even speak Dutch but only Malay and, thus the narrator implies, Mrs. Slotering could not possibly mix with the European class. Only after digressing on her ambivalent status, the narrator explains her ghostlike presence.

Mrs. Slotering is the widow of Mr. Slotering, the previous assistant resident. Two months before the events in the story, he was mysteriously murdered after trying to expose the Dutch abuses of colonial power in his division. Havelaar's new appointment is actually as a replacement of the dead Mr. Slotering. Yet not only does the dead Mr. Slotering function as a warning to the idealistic Havelaar, Mrs. Slotering's presence is a constant reminder of Tina's vulnerable position. With children and obviously pregnant, her husband's death leaves her without alliances and dispossessed of her comfortable house. Unable to search for a house in her condition, she has humbly to ask the Havelaars for a shack in the back of the premises. Homeless and a refugee, Mrs. Slotering (her name is still only that of her husband; unlike Tina, the reader never learns her first name or family name) holds up a warning mirror to Tina's place of refuge, her home. In a
structure surprisingly similar to Jane Eyre. Tina's angelic position in the house neighbors, not the attic, but the back porch of the exotic madwoman. Like Bertha Mason, Mrs. Slotering reflects what could happen if the angel in the house were to break away from her place within the doctrine of separate spheres. Uncontrollable femininity, like Tina's sneezing protest, runs into the danger of being left without a husband, and thus dispossessed of her place of refuge.

Both in the structure and for the Havelaars, Mrs. Slotering is a riddle. The narrator uses Mrs. Slotering's dismal living conditions as a "digression about digressions" which provides for an opportunity to give the reader "some idea of the layout of Havelaar's house and compound" (185). The digression, however, is central to the conception of unsatisfactory binary systems in the novel. Her status as pregnant widow and liplap defies the narrative's categories of gender and race, and signals the artificiality of either construction. Her behavior is a constant puzzle to the Havelaars, and their interpretations of Mrs. Slotering fit her into traditional categories. When Mrs. Slotering calls for the police to investigate her garden, the Havelaars naturally assume her actions are concerned with lack of food and the exercise of authority:

"You know how fond these native ladies are of exercising authority. Besides, don't forget, her husband was the most important person here, and however little an Assistant Resident may count in reality, in his own division he's king; and she hasn't got used to her dethronement yet. Don't let us rob the poor woman of her little pleasure. Pretend not to notice."

That, Tina certainly did not find difficult; she was not fond of exercising authority. (184-85)
Either Mrs. Slotering is a native lady who exercises power with pleasure contrary to European ladies who, with a sense of fairness and religion, are averse to being authoritarian, or Mrs. Slotering has gone mad because of her "dethronement" as a wife to the assistant resident after the death of her husband. Mrs. Slotering's "monomania" (205), as the Havelaars phrase her strange ways, finally is resolved when Mrs. Slotering tells Havelaar of her husband's murder; she only kept a watchful eye over the compound so that she could protect the Havelaars:

"I have heard that, like my husband, you are opposing abuses that are rampant here, and that is why I don't have a minute's peace. I wanted to keep all this from you, in order not to alarm you and Mrs. Havelaar, and so I simply watched the compound, to make sure no strangers got to the kitchen." (282)

The woman outside of categories actually holds the special status of the Havelaar family in place. Her homelessness creates the home for the gender roles within the doctrine of spheres. The return from this digression about Mrs. Slotering to the story of Upi and Tina shows the actual structural mechanism of holding the binary system in place. Without a man, the woman has no place in the territorial system of gender and colonization. Havelaar's idealized marriage to his wife still leaves the Droogstoppel hierarchy of male and female world in place. The progression for the position of women in civilization from chattel to idealized women provides no place of refuge outside a male representational apparatus. Tina's sneeze only produces noise inside the separate sphere's framework of husband and wife. Her allergic response to Havelaar's architectonics of Beauty still depends on her husband, as Mrs. Slotering's marginal status demonstrates.
After Havelaar's correction of Tina's sneeze, Upi and Tina have the last words in Havelaar's construction of gender. Havelaar frames Upi in the Japanese stonemason's tale and wants to see whether she has learned her lesson well when he asks her upon completion of the story: "And you, Upi--, what would you choose, if an angel from heaven came to ask you what you would like most?" (167). To Havelaar's surprise, however, Upi finds an option the man in the story could not fathom. She responds: "Sir, I should say that he might take me back to Heaven with him" (167). Rather than a world which assigns rigid asymmetrical roles, she opts for one which lies outside of the tale's disciplinary thematic--she chooses another, nonmale world. For the first time, Upi responds for herself, and does not mimic the questions of the man. Significantly, Tina is the only one who responds to this wish for another world which leaves the male audience silent:

"Isn't that perfectly sweet?" asked Tina, turning to her guests, who perhaps thought it perfectly absurd....

Havelaar rose, and wiped his forehead. (167)

Thus, the chapter on Beauty ends with a female desire for a different world, a world in Heaven with perhaps a changed mode of gender conceptions and organization. The world of separate spheres with its emphasis on an alliance of women and religion postulates, in fact, that women occupy a position closer to God. Yet in their wish for an alternative world for female subjects, Upi and Tina still remain within the doctrine of separate spheres. Both Tina's sneeze and Upi's desire to go to heaven belong to the feminine sphere. Moreover, to frame Upi's femininity by her desire to go to Heaven is itself an imposition of Western culture on the Javanese subject.
Tina's sneeze and Upi's desire for Heaven are places in the text where the male author signals a female dissatisfaction with a masculine representation of gender. Through an emphasis on women's language of the body and women's alignment with Heaven rather than the world of business, Multatuli is able to expose female oppression. Tina and Upi's search for a world of gender equality in which differences do not necessarily result in exploitation and oppression parallels Multatuli's political purpose of the novel. In his attempt to expose the inconsistencies between the Dutch rhetoric and the exploitation of the natives, he argues for a relationship of equal differences between the Dutch and the Javanese. Havelaar's written complaints to his superiors about the condition of the Javanese fail because they will not even read nor listen. His logical and correct bureaucratic methods prove inadequate to produce a new world, and, as a result, Multatuli has to search for an alternative language. He finds the model of this alternative political language in women's sentimental fiction. Droogstoppel's tirade against literature as "all nonsense and lies" (19) proves no obstacle to the power of the sentimental fiction he describes. The much celebrated story of Saijah and Adinda is framed around apologetic remarks that it is "a monotonous tale" (244), and at the end Multatuli admits that he has constructed the whole tale out of the word "OUTRAGEOUS!" (280). Nevertheless or perhaps because it is written solely for the purpose of moving the reader, the tale provides an alternative to the rational language of the Dutch administration.

The story focuses on the impossible love between Saijah and Adinda under Dutch imperialism. Within the love story, gender is constituted along classic lines: Saijah moves away after the continued harassment of the native leaders and sets out on a romantic quest for self-actualization. When
he has overcome the obstacles in his path, he returns financially independent and ready to claim his bride. To signal Saijah's maturation in this stereotypical bildungsroman plot, he will marry his true love. Adinda, on the other hand, remains trapped in her father's life and dies along with him. As opposed to Saijah, she cannot escape and embark on a quest of self-development, but is left at the disposal of men; she dies raped and disfigured: "and a little farther away, the body of Adinda, naked, horribly abused" (276); Saijah, by contrast, dies in a heroic suicide: "With open arms he ran on to the broad sword-bayonets, pressed forward with all his might, and by a final effort even pushed the soldiers back, until the hilts of the bayonets grated against his breastbone" (277). Even in his dying moment, he pushes back the bayonets, the real powers of Dutch imperialism. The gruesome ending and the pure and innocent love of Saijah and Adinda form typical elements of the sentimental novel. Sentimental fiction does not seek a realist, detached perspective, but aims for an emotional effect on the reader. The pinnacle of emotional involvement in this formula occurs at the moment of the innocent deaths of the godlike characters.

In sentimental fiction, according to Jane Tompkins, "dying is the supreme form of heroism," and the story of such deaths is compelling, she argues, because the deaths "enact a philosophy, as much political as religious, in which the pure and powerless die to save the powerful and corrupt, and thereby show themselves more powerful than those they save."15 The story of Saijah and Adinda effaces itself in order to produce emotional effect on the reader who will engage in protest to alter the condition of the Javanese people. In her reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Jane Tompkins shows that this emotional focus on love and influence
specifically implies a female aesthetic of the private sphere, and that the novel thus advocates female values over male values. This characteristic of influencing readers belongs to the doctrine of influence which bequeaths women a transforming power over male values. In Ann Douglas's words: "[Woman] is of value because she is able to work a kind of religious transformation in man; she represents nothing finally but a state of susceptibility to very imprecisely conceived spiritual values" (52). Stowe's abhorrence of the slavery system demanded a fiction which would induce abolition and create a different but equal world. As Tompkins asserts: "The true goal of Stowe's rhetorical undertaking is nothing less than the institution of the kingdom of heaven on earth" (97).

This vision of Heaven as a world of spirituality, feeling, and equality contrasts with the religion of the Dutch colonial powers. Droogstoppel gladly listens to reverent Blatherer's legitimation of imperialism. Referring to Israel's Jeremiad, which Droogstoppel unproblematically points out, means "the extermination of the inhabitants of Canaan" (139), Blatherer blathers:

"and such is also the mission of Holland....Cast your eyes upon the islands of the Indian Ocean, inhabited by millions upon millions of the children of the accursed son--the rightly accursed son--of the noble Noah....God is a God of love!....And therefore our Holland has been chosen to save what may be saved of those wretched ones! The ships of our Holland sail the great waters, to bring civilization, religion, Christianity, to the misguided Javanese!" (139-41)

Droogstoppel uses this legitimation of imperialism to continue his interest in the coffee cultivation in Lebak, in spite of Havelaar's package which speaks of exploitation. Again, Droogstoppel's voice structurally functions
as the ironic counterpart to Havelaar's politically correct position. The male vision of religion that calls for a violent Jeremiad contrasts to Stowe's female vision of religion that calls for equality.

The parallel projects of Stowe and Multatuli lead to his appropriation of the sentimental genre with the emphasis on feeling, spirituality, and liberation. When Multatuli cites *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as his legitimation for sentimental fiction, he points to an emotional truth rather than a rational one:

Or--to come down to a level nearer that of my book--may one deny the truth which underlies *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because Little Eva never existed? Shall it be said to the authoress of that immortal plea--immortal not on account of art or talent, but because of its purpose and the impression it makes--shall it be said to her: "You have lied, the slaves are not ill-treated, for...not all of your book is true: it's a novel!?"...Would her book have been read if she had given it the form of a court deposition? (278-79)

As if to dramatize the potent strategy of sentimentality over the impotent strategy of rationality, Multatuli follows the moving story of Saijah and Adinda with the unsuccessful courtlike "deposition" of Havelaar in which he tries to convince his superiors of the exploitation of the Javanese. Moving away from an ineffectual language of letters, Havelaar stresses a liberational language of feeling:

Hence, instead of bare names of persons and places, with dates--instead of a copy of *the list of thefts and extortions which lies before me*--instead of these, I have tried to give a sketch of what may go on in the hearts of poor people robbed of their means of subsistence, or more precisely: I have only suggested what may go on in their
hearts, fearing that I might be too wide of the mark if I firmly
delineated emotions which I never felt myself. (278)
In order to expose the colonial exploitation of the Javanese, Multatuli has
adopted a different language, and has appropriated Stowe’s strategies for
his own political purposes. The "all nonsense of lies" of Droogstoppel now
represents Truth. He exposes his own misrepresentation of the Javanese,
advocating that he only presents their feelings as he sees them, but that he
could not literally represent the feelings of the poor people since he cannot
know them. By making his lies evident, Havelaar appears to speak truth.

What does it mean for Multatuli to have adopted Stowe’s alternative,
feminine discourse? By quoting Stowe, Multatuli places himself in a
separatist female tradition which denies him that place. Perhaps in an
effort to "correct" that error, Peter King denounces Stowe as Havelaar’s
precursor and replaces her with an American male. King’s efforts to
excuse and rewrite Multatuli’s alliance with Stowe implicitly genders the
"proper" literary tradition:

As a political protest it was certainly an exception in Holland where
there had been no Defoes or Swifts to hand down the tradition of
political and religious satire from the seventeenth century. But the
scope of Multatuli’s protest has far less in common with Harriet
Beecher Stowe than with another American polemist probably
unknown to Multatuli.16

King replaces Stowe with W. B. Garrison, editor of The Liberator, who in
1831 concluded his call for the abolition of slavery with "AND I WILL BE
HEARD."17 Why does King feel he has to alter Multatuli’s claims? In spite
of Multatuli’s delineation of his place in a female literary tradition, King
replaces Multatuli’s genealogy to fit an American male tradition. King’s
link between Garrison and Multatuli is nevertheless provocative because of Garrison's explicit connection of antislavery and prowomen rights. King cites N. L. Blake's historical assessment of Garrison: "Many who were sympathetic with the antislavery cause were disturbed by Garrison's insistence that women should have a prominent place in the movement."\(^{18}\) Yet while King touches on Garrison's double interests in women's rights and antislavery, he ignores Stowe as the quintessential exponent of both causes. And Multatuli, of course, does cite Stowe as his maternal literary influence. Whereas Multatuli begins to blur essential gender difference by adopting a feminine discourse, King, as a literary critic, reasserts the essential difference of Stowe's and Multatuli's discourses.\(^{19}\)

As I have argued, gender seems less important for Multatuli than race in \textit{Max Havelaar}, and he distinctly holds on to hierarchical gender relations. But while the world in \textit{Max Havelaar} portrays rigid separate spheres, Multatuli's ability to cross the spheres, to assume a "feminine" discourse, explodes the categorization. By adopting a feminine discourse, Multatuli makes the feminine sphere form the condition of possibility for him to address the maltreatment of the Javanese. The sentimental novel is mostly aimed at female readers, and the female audience of \textit{Max Havelaar} receives particular rebellious impulses. When Droogstoppel suggests that "we could perfectly well do without the story of that Saijah," he encounters the protests of Louise Rosenmeyer: "Apparently Stern told her there's to be some love in it, and girls dote on that sort of thing" (248). Louise Rosenmeyer, in turn, has power over Droogstoppel because of her father's economic influence. Havelaar has to appeal to an alternative discourse instead of the "rational," patriarchal discourse of the ruling Dutch administration. Just as Tina and Upi and Stowe, Havelaar resorts to a
"different voice"\textsuperscript{20} in order to produce a "heaven on earth." To attack the dissymmetry of the Dutch and Javanese on moral and emotional grounds, Multatuli implicitly also attacks the gender dissymmetry he paradoxically helps constitute in his world. His role-switching or "cross-dressing" also undercuts the rigid separate spheres because the rational and the emotional prove now not to be essentially gendered. When Multatuli assumes Stowe's sentimental discourse, he becomes powerful because he "feminized" himself; he has assumed the lower position in the hierarchy.

The dynamics of creating a position while simultaneously undercuts that position parallels the communal reading sessions of Scarfman's parcel. While Multatuli essentializes female and male subjects, he also dismantles these polar oppositions, and the \textit{mis\ en\ abyme} of the reading of the text by Droogstoppel's family produces effects which disintegrate this traditional family structure. In fact, Droogstoppel, with his characteristic acuteness, recognizes the deterioration of his family and blames Scarfman's parcel. He labels this text which displaces the structures in the text from within itself as a "Trojan horse": "That parcel of Scarfman's is a Trojan horse, if ever there was one. Frits is also being corrupted by it" (135). At first Droogstoppel is only concerned about information the text may supply for his coffee broker businesses, but near the end the influence of the text has disrupted his family. This process of demolition in the Droogstoppel family seems to work synecdochically for Multatuli's larger political aim. The effects within the family, however, do not produce a protest march for Javanese liberation but address inequalities within the Dutch family. Not only does his son question Droogstoppel's authority, but his wife, for the first time, finds a niche for political dissent: "Here the reprobate--I mean
Frits--roared with laughter, and Marie began to laugh too. I even thought I perceived the beginnings of a smile on my wife's face" (250).

In Max Havelaar, female voices in a male-authored text can be identified with moments of protests against oppressive systems. Tina's sneeze, Upi's call for Heaven, and Multatuli's own feminization through adopting a female voice of "lies" produce moments of resistance in the man's world of gender and colonial exploitation. While it remains true that this mode of female representation by male authors leaves the woman with "no refuge expect as the male had created for himself," Tina's timely sneeze does emphasize that he is aware of his own possible misrepresentations. Even though Stowe's female language is used to expose oppression, her powerful position is not appropriated into a male definition, as will be investigated in Henry James's The Wings of the Dove. In Max Havelaar, an examination of gender reveals possible strategies for female representation by male authors. Not looking at gender in this one Dutch classic would be absurd.

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1The major studies of Max Havelaar focus either on its literary qualities, especially concerned with the form, or on its historical accuracy, esp. concerned with Multatuli's accusations of abuses of power. Gender apparently plays no role in either case. Major studies include: W. F. Hermans, De raadselachtige Hermans (Amsterdam: Bezige Bij, 1987); A. L. Söteman, De Structuur van "Max Havelaar" (Utrecht: Bijleveld, 1966); J. J. Oversteegen, ed., Multatuli en de kritiek (Amsterdam: Athenaeum, 1970).

2Elizabeth Wright, "Colonizing the Text: Patriarchal Discourse in Multatuli's Max Havelaar; translated into Dutch and published as "De kolonisatie van de tekst; over Multatuli's Max Havelaar," Literatuur in Psychoanalytisch Perspectief: Een inleiding met interpretaties van Multatuli's "Saïdjah en Adinda," ed. H. Hillenaar and W. Schönau (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990), 156. Elizabeth Wright kindly offered me the original English version of the paper to prevent me from translating, appropriating, and/or colonizing her text in a literal manner.

3The status of Max Havelaar in Dutch literature was actually one of the reasons for the organizers to choose this text: "The choice of this text was based on the consideration that the story of "Saïdjah and Adinda" belongs to the Dutch literary canon, that it has a long
reception history, and that it has been translated into many languages," Henk Hillenaar and Walter Schönaar, "Voorwoord," ix. (trans. DvO).

4I do not regard my reading as a corrective of Elizabeth Wright's stimulating and powerful reading. The overturning of established hierarchies is still much needed in the rather authoritative Dutch canon. As Wright admits, her reading is especially meant as an unmasking of the godlike status of Max Havelaar in Dutch literature, which subordinates issues of gender and race.


6Clearly articulated in the afterword, E. M. Beekman, 338-86.


8Julia Kristeva, "Stabat Mater," in The Kristeva Reader, trans. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia UP, 1986), 160-86. The essay is divided into a right side and a left side column. On the right side of her essay, Kristeva analyzes the image of motherhood throughout Western history and focuses on the role of the Virgin Mary. In the left text, she poetically describes her own experience of motherhood. She describes Christian theology as a patriarchy which places a Symbolic order, the lineage of Father-Son onto the natural, Semiotic order of Mother-Child.


11Michel Foucault argues persuasively for the disciplinary functioning of discourse. The goal of these disciplinary mechanisms is to normalize the subjects. He describes a power that not only "says no" but which produces knowledge and power. See especially, Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979).

12Havelaar's narrative corresponds to the one described by Lévi-Strauss in Gayle Rubin's essay.

13In his afterword, E. M. Beekman points out the relationship between the textual Upi and the biographical Upi. "Afterword," in Multatuli, 343, 348-49.

14In Gilbert and Gubar's reading of Jane Eyre Madwoman in the Attic, they stress that Bertha functions as an actual double to Jane (see 359-62). In a male-authored text, Gilbert and Gubar argue, the binary representations of femininity into angels and whores dominate visions of femininity. In Max Havelaar, Mrs. Slotering clearly functions as a foil; yet the structural parallels between Mrs. Slotering and Tina make her also into a double. The danger that Mrs. Slotering represents, however, is not so much her "fierce independence" (77) (a common feature of madwomen, according Gilbert and Gubar), but her unstable category as a mother without a husband and as a half-caste.


16Peter King, Multatuli (New York: Twayne Publ., 1972), 41-42.

17Quoted in King, 42.


19E. M. Beekman also disclaims Stowe as the correct model of influence, and replaces her with the romance tradition of Sir Walter Scott (373-74).
20Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982). According to Gilligan, men and women have distinct different values. In law and in terms of human development, male values have always been evaluated as "correct." Mulletti's practice to use a "different voice" to counter the legal voice neatly fits Gilligan's thesis.
CHAPTER 2.2

"She Was That Awful Danger": Masculine Limits of Female Representation in Frederik van Eeden's Van de koele meren des doods

In Dutch literature, Van de koele meren des doods (1900) occupies a central position in the literature around the turn of the twentieth century. The recent appearance of Jan Fontijn's Tweespalt, a major biography on Van Eeden, has even strengthened Van Eeden's already established place in a Dutch literary canon. As a contemporary of Henry James and Henry Adams, Van Eeden shares with these American authors a concern with representing a woman's life in literature. What makes Van Eeden's novel especially interesting for a study into the representation of female characters by male authors is Van Eeden's own preoccupation with gender and the multiple angles from which Van Eeden views issues of gender. In this chapter, I will be mostly concerned with Van Eeden's double representation of gender as a scientist and as an artist; roles he clearly separates in his life. As one of the first psychiatrists in Holland, Dr. van Eeden built quite a reputation. Yet, as Fontijn so lucidly illustrates, Van Eeden's private life and professional career exhibit many split roles: psychiatrist, social reformer, literary theorist, husband, converted Catholic. In spite of Fontijn's wonderful unstable portrait of Van Eeden, he hardly discusses the split along a gender binary that appears to preoccupy Van Eeden in Van de koele meren des doods. Like the almost absent critical discussions on gender in Max Havelaar, gender remains marginal in Dutch literary criticism on Koele Meren. Part of my project will then be to engender the theatics of gender in these texts, and show
how Koele Meren fits in a system of gender representation that resembles a doctrine of separate spheres in mid-nineteenth-century America. In his idealization of the woman in the doctrine of separate spheres in his psychiatric studies, Van Eeden becomes Heath's ultimate admirer of woman. The representation of a woman in Koele Meren, however, becomes increasingly problematic because of "moments of resistance" in the text that appear to destabilize the gender structure of the separate spheres. The portrait of the woman he has so carefully sketched in his novel, suddenly looks at her own figure. At this moment, the novelist Van Eeden glances at the limits of his creation of femininity.

The preoccupation with gender for both Van Eeden and Dekker is dominantly present in a critical exchange between the two major Dutch authors. After Dekker's death, Van Eeden writes an article eulogizing Dekker's literary achievements. As a fifteen-year-old boy, Van Eeden had read Max Havelaar as his ultimate master text. When Van Eeden sent one of his early plays to Dekker for paternal validation, the response was far from flattering:

I sincerely discourage you to give up solid studies to devote yourself to--isn't it called that way--belles lettres. Jingles, couplets, stories--present in acts or plays or not,--trust me, dear boy, all that is just too childish. It is true that even adults occupy themselves with these matters. But my sweet boy, even amongst adults there are many whose only evidence of maturity is their birth certificate. The time of love and suffering, of virtue rewarded, and of Jack marrying Jill should finally come to an end.

Society has a need for men, people!4
Real men, Dekker screams, should not be concerned with the effeminate esthetics of literature but call for action. By questioning Van Eeden's manhood, Dekker apparently hit a sore spot because Van Eeden's text suddenly turns into a rather nasty fight with which Van Eeden tries to preserve his manhood of action. As I will argue later, one of Van Eeden's splits was precisely around an effeminate and a masculine masculinity. The ending of Van Eeden's obituary interestingly focuses on how women are used in the construction of Dekker's dominating masculinity:

I regret it very much that Douwes Dekker did not understand this Sublime and that he made use of an apparent similarity, by comparing the selling of his works to the act of a woman who sells her body. (26)

Van Eeden exposes the violence of a metaphor that regards a masculine literary product in terms of a female body. According to Van Eeden, a metaphorical language of the Sublime should not be abused to violate women. Van Eeden appears to regard a battle over manhood acceptable, but not over the body of a woman.

His knightly protection of women also shows in his professional career. As a practicing psychiatrist and an avid reformer, Van Eeden idealizes the woman of the doctrine of separate spheres. In 1889, he opens his essay "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme" ("The Case of Women and Socialism") with the statement, "[t]he oppressed in our society are women and workers." In this essay, he argues that because women have been oppressed by men and a male-dominated society, they have been unable to affect the unjust economic conditions of the rational, mechanistic society of the late nineteenth century. As a result, the oppression of women has not only led to an enslavement of women but also to other, related, inequalities.
in all of society, like the immoral exploitation of the work force. By liberating the female power of "feeling" ("gemoed"), Van Eeden proposes, society will be liberated from its injustices. As he explains:

Because the woman carries humanity's moral conscience, her intuitive feeling will give the push for greater movements, before formal deliberation will have come far enough to have explained those movements as necessary. Thus the case of women correlates with social issues. It really is one issue, because socialism is not a new politics, but a new morality and the votes of women can be of as great a power here as those of men. Was it not a woman who gave the strongest push toward the abolition of slavery? (68)

With this reference to the powerful moral force of female influence in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Van Eeden links Stowe's call for the liberation of African-American slaves with the liberation of women. Like Multatuli, Van Eeden stresses that Stowe's success was based on an antirationalistic discourse that makes use of specific feminine qualities such as intuition and higher morality. A society influenced by "humanity's bearers of moral consciousness" can dispel the oppressiveness of scientific thinking and offer the "strongest push" toward the resolution of social injustice. "But we don't know anything," Van Eeden further indicts a masculine rationality, "nothing serves all of our wisdom here--we don't look any further than our immediate future. There is only one guide, our feeling. To determine a goal for the progress of humanity, that science cannot do" (69). Not masculine rationality and science, Van Eeden explains, but feminine feeling represents the only road toward the future of humanity.
While Van Eeden's glorification of women seems a fairly stereotypical rendition of women's nature within the doctrine of separate spheres with its stress on separate gender values, his portrayal warrants closer examination. "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme" is one essay in Van Eeden's Studies, his scientific examination of human nature. As a contemporary of Freud, his early fanatical participation in the new science of human nature, psychiatry, enthusiastically led him to the belief of an idealistic society based on rational principles. As an indication of his ecstatic reception of Thoreau's Walden, he founded his own Walden, a Utopian community in Bussum in 1898. Because of Walden's financial failure in Holland, he attempted his ideas in the United States; yet his three trips in 1908-9 ultimately proved unsuccessful. In light of Van Eeden's history as a social reformer, his call for a society based on feeling rather than rationality in his own "scientific" study may raise some eyebrows. The psychiatrist Dr. van Eeden announces the inadequacy of his science; the man Van Eeden declares his failure to bring about social change and speaks for the importance of woman. Is Van Eeden criticizing himself? Or does he imagine himself crossing gender spheres and speaking "for" women? Earlier in his essay, however, he had delineated his ideal "marriage" of the spheres as one of "volkomen samenleven" (complete living together), of "an ideal joint work force, the woman an intuition of feeling, the man the logical consequences" (64), thereby affirming the man's inevitable location in a sphere of logic and rationality (64). This dilemma between at once attributing qualities to separate genders while at the same time having those qualities within himself puts Van Eeden in an awkward gendered position. Around the same time of "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme" in 1890, he writes in a letter to Van Deyssel that "moral superiority of the woman
could only be observed by a man who had something feminine in him and who could easily be around women."⁷ As Fontijn argues, Van Eeden "considered himself such a man" (281). Van Eeden's statement comes close to a supposed crossing of genders in which he argues from the recognition and position of woman about her superiority; yet at the same time, Van Eeden does not renounce his masculinity at the moment of crossing because he still calls himself a man in possession of certain feminine qualities. Van Eeden's femininity comes from within his manhood.

Ten years later, Van Eeden changes his scientific perspective, and makes his paradoxical views on women a theme in a novel. In Van de koele meren des doods (1900), Van Eeden delineates, as an artist, the history of woman.⁸ The art of the novel perhaps offers another perspective on "woman" than in the "rational" binary doctrine of separate spheres. Van Eeden thus splits himself into a scientist who had written on women in his Studies, and into an artist who writes about a female heroine. He writes, he conveys to his readers, in order to achieve in his reader an "aesthetics of feelings" ("schoonheids-emotie"). In other words, as an artist, Van Eeden places himself as a man into the position of woman in the doctrine of separate spheres as he tries to affect the soul ("een zielsgebeurtenis"). His paradoxical relation vis à vis women again comes to the surface. Is Van Eeden crossing into the "no man's land" of the feminine sphere, or is the feminine part of his particular masculinity, as he also seemed to argue to Van Deyssel and Douwes Dekker? In other words, if the feminine were part of his masculinity, he would still be one of the real men Dekker screamed for.
As a psychiatrist, Van Eeden's representation of woman paradoxically left him no avenue to bring about the changes in society he advocated. While he could study her and present her characteristics, he could only do so because of his essential otherness to her. Yet to the dismay of Van Eeden, the initial response to the novel was that Van Eeden had represented a cool, detached, and scientific portrait of a woman.\textsuperscript{9} With his angry preface to the second edition in 1904, Van Eeden clarifies that in \textit{Van de koele meren des doods}, he had attempted to write a nonscientific portrait of Woman: "Totally unjustified, this work has been regarded as the psychological study of a more or less pathological case. This is the banal conception of superficially minded readers."\textsuperscript{10} This work is not a "zielkundige studie," the subject of a psychiatrist, but an artistic rendition, Van Eeden emphasizes. He continues the preface by further polarizing the pursuits of the scientist and the artist; the scientist as one only interested in comparisons and facts; the artist, by contrast, spurred by the deeper knowledge of beauty. As Van Eeden emphatically declares: "All the artist's pursuits are directed at reproducing, by means of expression, that beauty of emotion" (5). For the artist, representation focuses on feeling and beauty, an aesthetics of feeling. To eradicate any doubts, Van Eeden instructs the reader according to what paradigm his novel should be read:

This work now has originated in full from artistic motives, and scientific motives have remained utterly strange to it. However much the author failed in the rendition, the intention was no other than the representation, the re-experience, through others, of the personally undergone beauty of emotion. (5)

My stress on Van Eeden's separation of the scientist and the artist serves several purposes. Van Eeden's bifurcation demonstrates how he conceives
of himself as a fundamentally split person, a phenomenon he labels in a
different context in an essay of 1889, "Ons Dubbel-Ik" (Our Double-I).
His "dubbel-ik" revolves around two models of masculinity: the masculinity
of the scientist and of the artist. What makes Van Eeden's case so unique is
that he feels he fundamentally belongs to both categories. In his analysis of
competing models of masculinity, for example, David Leverenz argues that
"[i]n very different ways, American Renaissance writers try to disorient
and convert their readers, especially male readers, from one style of
manhood to another." Van Eeden's concept of dual masculinity, by
contrast, does not attempt to convert the reader "from one style of
manhood to another" but rather searches for coexistence. By emphasizing
this split masculinity along facts or rationality and feeling or emotion, he
"feminizes" the artist in his paradigm of gender roles. Whether Van
Eeden's novelistic experiment presents a genuine crossing of spheres, as
Christopher Newfield suggests is possible in a gender structure of mid-
nineteenth-century America, remains to be seen. Van Eeden's declaration
that his novel presents an artistic rendition ("weergave") of his subject
should then also be read as an alternative approach to his earlier scientific
representation of woman.

Through a reliance on feeling, the artist aligns himself with a female
sphere, but does Van Eeden's "feminization" necessarily imply an escape
from masculinity? Rather than a crossing of spheres, Van Eeden's
feminization may display a divided masculinity that nevertheless remains
entrained in masculinity. In my discussion, I will focus not so much on
male-male relationships as a possible cause for a divided masculinity;
instead, I will examine Van Eeden's "masculine" and "feminine"
masculinity regarding its consequences for women. Does Van Eeden's
triangular gender paradigm explode the rigid gender binary of the doctrine of separate spheres and liberate his Woman from oppression? I will argue that in Van de koele meren des doods, Van Eeden self-reflexively investigates whether, as either male scientist or artist, he can "cross" masculinity and speak "for" woman through a novelistic marriage with his female character. My inquiry into Van Eeden's endeavor to theorize Woman from an artistic perspective occurs on different textual levels; it focuses both on his general portrait of Hedwig and its difference from a scientific delineation, as well as on Hedwig's relationships to doctors and artists in Van Eeden's novel. My focus on self-reflexivity as a way out of rigid gender binaries reflects back on my own critical practice as a man reading as a feminist. I highlight my own masculine role in examining gender constructs in literary texts while at the same time crossing into the other sphere of feminist readings. Van Eeden's cross-examination of these novelistic possibilities of self-reflexivity in terms of gender is also a cross-examination of my own critical practice. I see Van Eeden in the mirror.

Van Eeden's disclaimer to the second edition reveals that perhaps his distinction between psychiatrist and artist might not be as convincing as he had intended. In criticism, the novel has received attention for its psychological portrayal of Hedwig and Van Eeden's own involvement as a psychiatrist. The famous opening of the novel reads indeed like a psychological case study: "The history of a woman. How she sought the cool deeps wherein is deliverance, and how she found it." The sentence offers to reveal the history of a woman, which could mean almost any woman or a particular woman. The sense that Van Eeden controls his general subject for which he needs a specific case to confirm his theory is reinforced and exposed in the following sentence: "Her I name Hedwig
Marga de Fontayna. A Dutch woman, but in her the blood of foreign ancestors" (t.v.o). Van Eeden's naming of his protagonist leaves little doubt as to his complete power over his subject; he believes to be in control. Unlike the elusive control of Ishmael's opening sentence in Melville's *Moby-Dick*, "Call me Ishmael," Van Eeden fills in the general history of woman with his imperative naming power: "Haar naam heet ik," (literally, her name I) in which "haar naam" does not refer explicitly to Hedwig but points back to "a woman" of the previous sentence. Consequently, while Van Eeden's alternative approach as an artist to the subject of Woman promises to give a different representation of woman than that of the scientist, the artist nevertheless writes his subject and controls it as much as the scientist.

In a carefully structured novel, the artist Van Eeden documents the stages in the life of Hedwig whose experience reflects various possible categories of womanhood. It is important to stress how much the plot fixes Hedwig in terms of a doctrine of separate spheres. He sets her in an upper-class home, a "rietjeshuis," and makes her part of a typical bourgeois family. While her father occupies a successful position in the business world, he depends on his wife for guidance, and after her death, the home will fall apart. Her mother's reverence for her father knows no limits. As her ideal counterpart, Hedwig's father loves his wife as a personification of feeling and intuition: "He found continual pleasure in her quiet activities or bright-mindedness being" (5, t.m.). Under mother's protection, the narrator ecstatically exclaims: "This strong and beneficent maternal influence bound the whole family together in living union, in which it was pleasant for strangers to join. The family represented the Dutch upper middle class at
its best" (6). With a summer house in the country, Merwestee, the family embodies an idyllic representation of the bourgeois family.

In spite of this nurturing environment, however, Hedwig grows up unable to stabilize an identity in this family because of conflictual femininities which do not appear to fit societal models of femininity. During a night after a party on the "elzenlaan" when she is twelve, she experiences a sexual awakening in which her "night" personage asserts an "I":

The air sultry, bright stars in the sky. Hedwig clasped an ivy-clad trunk before her in a paroxysm of sad, sweet yearning, stronger than she had ever felt before. Her little arms were pressed around the tree, and her face hidden in the ivy. "I-I! it is I!" she said, and she opened her lips and bit the hairy, knotted ivy stem. Then a caressing sensation of pleasure thrilled her in her back and lower body, and she remained long standing there with fast shut eyes.

(12, t.m.)

Immediately, this night personifies a moment of deep shame which she represses for her family. In the Protestant home, Hedwig cannot pair her sexual experience with her father's Bible readings at the breakfast table. Not comprehending the coexistence of the family's heavenly religion and her newly discovered sexuality, she wavers between seducing boys at parties and intense soul searching moments. Van Eeden's portrait of a young girl growing up in a home produces a radical revision of his scientific image. Contrary to the image of Woman in his Studies, Hedwig does not automatically and "naturally" become an emblem of selflessness, purity, and intuitive religious feeling. In fact, she seems to embody a critique of that portrayal as she manipulates boys into falling in love with
her and constantly feels the desire to fulfill her own desires and assert or find her identity: "Why am I Hedwig and no one else? Why is it?" she asks herself (16).

In a stunning plot development, Hedwig literally and metaphorically kills off the mother of her home. When Hedwig falls seriously ill with typhoid at Merwestee, her mother, while nursing her, acquires the same illness. Hedwig survives and her mother dies. It is as if the image of a nurturing, selfless womanhood has been superseded by a sexual destructive image of womanhood. From this moment onwards, "the history of a woman" becomes the story of Hedwig who tries to find a place for her split conception of herself into a society governed by gender rules. Not allowed anymore to study by herself as her mother had encouraged, she is disciplined in quick succession by the new housekeeper, the religion teacher, and finally a doctor. After Hedwig has seen a naked man, she prays to God about her feelings of desire and disgust for men. The housekeeper, who has eavesdropped on Hedwig's intensely private prayer, decides to act firmly and to call in a doctor. He is the first of many doctors to closely examine Hedwig and pronounce a verdict:

A physician had been consulted, a man who was a complete stranger to her, in whom she felt no confidence, experiencing only shyness and repulsion, and his advice was: "severity and physical punishment." And this was acted upon. She was still in her fifteenth year. Thus her evil was rudely revealed to herself, not as if by a supporting hand, but by a fist that knocks down the stumbling, with the words: "Look, there you are." (40, t.m.)

Contrary to Hedwig's own "I-I! it is I-I!" the doctor formulates her into "you"; "look, there you are." Becoming the object of the gaze of another,
Hedwig becomes the "you" of society who can no longer express her "I." The cruelty of publicizing Hedwig's privacy, of making her individuality subject to a general category, interconnects with Hedwig's resistance to the doctor's conception of womanhood. As punishment for Hedwig's sexual desire, he announces: "Now you will never be able to bear children" (41). To the doctor, sexual desire and motherhood form polar opposites, the one canceling the other. The doctor's verdict reverberates like an eerie prophecy for Hedwig. Because she cannot have both sexual desire and motherhood, the fifteen-year-old Hedwig tries to resolve her dilemma by hanging herself. Yet after her suicide attempt fails, she "awakens" into a new world and decides to renounce sexuality, aiming for an asexual courtly love, an "hoofse liefde."

After her troublesome experiences as a daughter in a family, Hedwig has internalized medieval courtly love as a model for love. She regards her relationship with the lower-class Johan, a young painter, in the country of Merwestee, as a pastoral scene. While Johan falls desperately in love with her, Hedwig has completely internalized the image of courtly love. She enters her medieval fairy tale at a student costume party. Disguised as the knight Frank van Naaldwijk, Gerard Wijbrands, a law student, enacts his own fantasy of courtly, asexual love. Nicknamed "de Onkwestbare" (the Invulnerable) because he has denounced all sex after age fifteen to cleanse himself of his guilt for masturbation, Gerard finds his image of the princess in Hedwig. On their honeymoon to Germany, Hedwig discovers Gerard's total abhorrence for any sexual relationship. As a result of their abstinence, Hedwig falls seriously ill. At the advice of more doctors Gerard finally decides to "sacrifice himself" (172) by actively studying sexuality. His subsequent mechanical approach, however, revolts Hedwig who only
becomes more and more resistant. Doctors advise Hedwig, and their cures vary only in cruelty. Her family doctor tells her that "above all, she ought to resign and submit herself and that then she would pretty soon get used to it" (t.v.o.).

Famous professors massage her body which she only later learns to recognize as sexual abuse. After her last doctor has undressed her and at the same time announced his love for her, Hedwig gives up on the medical profession. The lesson for a woman in marriage, the narrative appears to suggest, is that she must function as a selfless object who sacrifices herself for her husband, where her identity is intricately linked to her body.

For Van Eeden to find the perfect paradigm of femininity for Hedwig, he splits masculinity into an asexual, spiritual component, and the sexual, "feminized" masculinity of the artist. When the pianist Ritsaard enters the scene, a seemingly ideal triangle develops. The adventurer and womanizer Ritsaard offers Hedwig an outlet for her sexuality while Gerard remains the pure husband. In her own configuration, Hedwig labels Gerard her knight and Ritsaard her pirate captain. Even though Gerard views Ritsaard as a "light," "effeminate" (170) man ("de wufte, verwijfde man" (189)), the two men develop a close friendship based on mutual respect. Yet this idyllic scene explodes when Gerard learns of Ritsaard and Hedwig's consummation of their affair. Even Hedwig's desperate suicide attempt does not persuade Gerard to forgive Hedwig and he kicks her out of the house.

After the lessons for a young girl in the home and for a woman in marriage, the next moment in the narrative of "the history of a woman" lies in an extramarital relationship with a man in England. In the continuing story of the degeneration of a "fallen woman," the episode in
England centers on the ideology of motherhood and the powerlessness of a single woman. When Hedwig naively reveals to her British hostess, Lady Clara, that, in spite of appearances, she and Ritsaard are not married, their illusionary world falls apart. No longer is Hedwig allowed to accompany Ritsaard on his frequent musical tours, and it is while she is alone that she bears the child she had so wished for in her marriage. Her daughter Charlotte, however, only lives twenty-three days, and Hedwig collapses. During her troubled marriage with Gerard and also in her relationship with Ritsaard, she imagined a child would resolve all her troubles and fulfill her search for a meaningful life. After the death of Charlotte, Hedwig undergoes such a severe mental shock that she suffers memory loss and loses her identity.

Just as her suicide attempts represent metaphorical moments of death and rebirth, Hedwig's concurrent loss of her child and her identity marks a new stage for Van Eeden's woman in his narrative. Left subsequently outside a marriage, an elopement, and motherhood, the narrative, like Hedwig, appears to lose all purpose and control. Hedwig leaves for Holland to seek out Gerard and offer him her child, who she believes is still alive, to rescue their marriage. In truly Gothic fashion, accompanied by a macabre underground figure whom she holds for her knight Gerard, Hedwig moves through the hell of London, carrying her dead child in a suitcase. Presuming to return to Holland, her guide, Charlie Binkie, takes her instead to Paris, that center of immorality according to Van Eeden. Charlie rapes her (she still thinks he is Gerard) and robs Hedwig of her suitcase, the treasure she had so persistently guarded. After this bizarre sequence of events, Hedwig awakens in the hospital de Salpétière in Paris as Jeanne Fontayne. Childless and raped, Hedwig's dream of realizing both
her desires for motherhood and meaningful sexuality as a woman has been complete ruined.

In this plot-reading of Hedwig as a woman disciplined into structured separate spheres, the conflict between her individuality and a conception of womanhood now moves her into a final category for Van Eeden. No longer defined by her relationship in marriage, in her elopement, or in motherhood, Hedwig, all alone in Paris becomes a drug addict and prostitute. After yet another doctor offers Hedwig an apartment in return for sexual favors and morphine, she ultimate ends up a total wreck in the hospital. There, Sister Paula teaches her the Christian lessons of suffering and renunciation, and Hedwig writes to Gerard, begging his forgiveness. After he has rejected her for one final time, consoling her and paying her off with one thousand franks, and after she rejects Ritsaard one final time, Hedwig returns to Merwestee where she decides to live out her life on the farm of Vrouw Harmsen in service of the community.

The progressive stages of Van Eeden's history of a woman surface fairly plainly. In her childhood, Hedwig develops a desire to be both the asexual image of woman in courtly love and the sexually fulfilled mother. As Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar have argued in their study of female representation in nineteenth-century male-authored texts, women characters are frequently split into angelic Madonnas and devilish whores or femmes fatales.17 Van Eeden's woman wants to be both, and, interestingly enough, he reproduces the female split in his male characters, Gerard and Ritsaard. The idyllic triangle suggests that only a masculinity which itself seems split according to a "masculine" and "feminine" component can adequately fulfill the needs of Van Eeden's woman. While Van Eeden's triangle demonstrates another instance of what Eve Sedgwick
has identified as a homosocial bonding between two men over the body of a woman, the novel foregrounds not so much the suppression of different models of masculinity or male erotics but rather the results of this divided masculinity for women. As Van Eeden's narrative or history clearly dramatizes, Hedwig's dual desire produces insurmountable conflicts in her society, and only when she becomes the angelic Sister who has learned the lesson of renunciation can she re-enter Holland, Van Eeden's Eden.

Hedwig moves from daughter to wife to mistress to prostitute and finally to angel in Van Eeden's paradigm of woman. In the last paragraph of the preface, Van Eeden sums up "het prachtig thema" (the beautiful theme) of his novel:

That the protagonist were a "pathetic" creature by nature and disposition, he denies. Yet she is through extremely delicate and fragile construction much more exposed to harmful influences than the coarse, average person. How it is, in spite of unfavorable changes in fortune, and in spite of the deepest depths, nevertheless possible for the most fragile state of mind to withstand these apparently overpowering and overwhelming influences of our sick society to transform them into salvation, provided that belief and trust in God are kept, that is the beautiful theme of whose magical reality the writer is just as aware as of the inadequacy of his rendition. (6)

While the artist Van Eeden daringly presents a woman's sexuality and exposes the conflictual representation of "scientific" womanhood for a novel in 1900, the ending reasserts the angelic mother of the doctrine of separate spheres, the one who, according to the psychiatrist Van Eeden, can liberate social injustice from society through her femininity. And even
though the novel critiques the array of medical doctors who examine Van
Eeden's woman, how does Van Eeden's history differ? The doctors gaze
and practice upon the naked body of Hedwig, trying to force her into their
conception of womanhood. Yet the novelist Van Eeden also exhibits her
sexuality and body to the reader, and so reproduces the structure of the
doctors' gazes; he molds Hedwig into his portrait of suffering yet content
Woman. And finally, while the psychiatrist Van Eeden sees in Woman the
vehicle for the end to any social injustice, the novelist Van Eeden also uses
Hedwig as a vehicle for his aesthetic theory. As he clarifies in the preface,
through Hedwig's final attainment of an aesthetics of suffering, the author
intends to reproduce in the reader "de zelf ondergane schoonheids-emotie."
Woman becomes the subject for a male aesthetics which both confines her
in another representation of womanhood and paradoxically sublates her in
Van Eeden's aesthetic theory.

If one were to end the analysis only on this textual level, Van
Eeden's novel represents yet another male text that tries to discipline its
unruly female character. Ton Anbeek, for example, sums up the novel as
follows: "The message is clear: Not until after the death of the ego can one
discover one's true self. At that point, Hedwig places herself in the service
of humanity." Anbeek's neglect of any gender analysis notwithstanding,
his reading of "de boodschap" seems indeed "duidelijk," perhaps even too
transparent. Because Van Eeden apparently spells out "the beautiful
theme" of the novel, and because the trajectory of the novel so clearly
demonstrates Hedwig's final progression to her "true self" of unselfishness
in service of humanity, Anbeek's analysis holds up on this level. But, as
Anbeek acutely points out, "Van de koele meren des doods lets itself be
read in a variety of ways," and even though he confines these readings to "de boodschap," I would like read in such a "different way."²⁰

My difference with Anbeek seems to duplicate the Dekker-Van Eeden argument in which Van Eeden would like other possibilities of masculinity than just active men. That my reading now continues searching for alternative models of female representation is perhaps just another instance of male rivalry between Anbeek and myself in which I claim Dutch literature as my territory (as Van Eeden claimed his literary status by "killing off" Dekker). However, ending the analysis here only leaves silence and admiration as a strategy for female representation in male-authored texts. Either men admire, as Van Eeden appears to do, or we keep silent, because even the admiring representation is an ultimate appropriation that violates the purity of women. Here too, my recognition of ultimate masculinity (battling with Anbeek) also should be seen as a moment of self-reflexivity which allows the analysis to continue.

If the theme is so explicit for Anbeek, why does Van Eeden build in the extensive apology at the end of his preface? Of course his self-denouncing retraction follows traditional apologies of artists for the inferior quality of their work; yet Van Eeden's apology occurs in the same sentence in which he asserts his "beautiful theme": "...that is the beautiful theme of whose magical reality the writer is just as aware as of the inadequacy of his rendition." His ending emphasizes both his awareness of the magical reality of the beautiful and the inadequacy of his possibility in rendering that beautiful theme. How can both readings occur simultaneously, one that asserts and one that questions "the beautiful theme"? To arrive at these dual readings, I will delve into the rendition the author consciously calls into question.
Contrary to the rigid gender representation in "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme," the novelist Van Eeden incorporates into his representation some revealing self-reflexive moments which complicate both gender categorizations and representations of his double persona as psychiatrist and novelist. In the battle of the 1880s for a legitimization of literary art in the Netherlands, Van Eeden played an active, albeit somewhat rebellious role. In 1885, he founded the literary journal *De Nieuwe Gids*, and remained editor until 1893. As dissenting voice in the literary group of the "Tachtigers," Van Eeden continually foregrounded the role of the artist in the creation of art, rather than the sterile aesthetics and word-play of "art-for-art's" sake as the other "Tachtigers" (amongst others, Willem Kloos, Albert Verwey, Willem Paap, en Frank van der Goes) preached. For Van Eeden, the novel appears to open up a special interaction between art and the artist.

Around the same time, Henry James actively defines and legitimates the genre of the novel as worthy of literature in "The Art of Fiction" (1884; 1905), and later in his New York prefaces (1908) as a "house of fiction." The special architectonics of this house of fiction, as James famously elucidates, contains "not one window, but a million--a number of possible windows not to be reckoned, rather; every one of which has been pierced, or is still pierceable, in its vast front, by the need of the individual vision and by the pressure of the individual will."21 Contrary to science, the novel allows other views through glimpses of "pierced apertures" if "the individual will" can put enough pressure on them. By writing his novel, Van Eeden wants to watch through more windows than his converging scientific view, and he posts himself as "the watcher" (James, 7).
Through building in self-portraits in his text, Van Eeden enables himself a look at his split personalities in a novelistic framework. The malpracticing doctors suggest at least partial self-portraits, but two characters exemplify Van Eeden's novelistic relationship to his female subject; the young painter Johan, and his friend, the older, dangerously ill and bedridden Joob. From Ritsaard, who stays at Joob's when he visits Hedwig, and from Johan, Hedwig has heard about the artistic genius Joob. She had even read some of his poetry which she had found "strange and unintelligible" (186). When she visits Joob, he immediately recognizes her as the subject of Johan's painting entitled "The Sphinx": "You are the Sphinx, aren't you? Hedwig, the Sphinx. You murdered Johan" (187). Not only does he label her as Johan's artistic portrait, he also blames her for Johan's suicide, accusing her of murder. In a manner similar to Ralph Touchett's detached observations of Isabel Archer in Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady*, Joob continues to observe and judge Hedwig from his perennial deathbed, teaching her while never in danger of actively participating in her education because of his undefined illness. Through Joob, Van Eeden dramatizes his position as observer of Hedwig who nevertheless speaks back to her creator.

Just as she found his poetry "strange and incomprehensible," she also cannot understand Joob's unrelenting positivism in spite of his suffering. But Joob tells her that it is precisely pain and suffering that increases life's value and immediacy; suffering has brought him closer to the mysteries of life. With Hedwig in the midst of the love triangle between herself, Ritsaard, and Gerard, and still shocked by Johan's suicide, Joob extends his lessons to solve the riddle of Hedwig's life, of the Sphinx, for her. In order to have saved Johan's life, he tells her, she ought to have married
him. "Against my will," Hedwig responds, "surely that would have been immoral." To which Joob counters: "Not so immoral as what you did, and what you are going to do now" (188). By sacrificing herself in the "work of art" of marriage, Hedwig would have lived an ideal life in Joob's concept of the perfect marriage:

"A true marriage...a real marriage...is a great work of art, and the best thing in the world....There must be a melting, fermentation in the one and melting in the other, and that, at the same time, and then both young, and then forever, forever, forever, through thick and thin." (189, t.m.)

With little difficulty, one recognizes Van Eeden's ideology of marriage, of "éénwording" in "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialism." But in this instance in the novel, the politics of this marriage surface only too clearly. Joob has just told Hedwig she should have sacrificed herself for Johan, and "the melting" he so passionately refers to in the ideal marriage turns into quite a different operation. So that Johan might have lived and have reached his potential as an artist, her identity would have been sublated into his goal. As Joob explicitly explains to Hedwig: "But the union with another must take place, it's of far greater importance than your individual self" (190). Even though the theory calls for a dual sacrifice in order to become a new beautiful work of art, in practice only the woman should submit. Van Eeden's novelistic "marriage" to his woman, the literal "work of art," operates similarly. As her creator, Van Eeden controls his subordinate subject in an asymmetrical, imaginary marriage.

Yet Joob/Van Eeden expresses some doubts about his theories and Hedwig appears to be his test-case. When Hedwig asks him, "How do you come to be so certain of all this?" (190) and on a later occasion, "Do you
understand everything?" (199), Joob leaves a little opening. He admits: "I may be wrong" (190); and he even calls his views "babbling": "You are right, it's my own fault. I was babbling, for often I am unhappy enough" (199, t.m.). Perhaps the theories do not correspond to a practice and it is Hedwig who is "right." Through the portrait of Joob, a mixture of social scientist, psychiatrist, and artist like Van Eeden himself, Hedwig can speak at her creator. But how can Hedwig be "right" when she is the novelistic creation of Van Eeden, literally a masculine representation of "the history of woman"?

The other self-portrait of Van Eeden the artist perhaps opens a "pierced aperture" that refracts Van Eeden's/Joob's view and enables Hedwig to be "right." In the window of a local bookstore Johan's sketch of Hedwig is displayed and has attracted quite an audience. As I discussed earlier, Joob recognizes her as the subject of this sketch, "The Sphinx." But his identification of Hedwig "as" the Sphinx already makes her the representation of Johan rather than the original image. The equation of Woman with the mythological figure of the Sphinx makes her into that mythic, dangerous Other for men who must solve her riddles. As Teresa de Lauretis formulates in her analysis of desire in narrative:

Medusa and the Sphinx...have survived inscribed in hero narratives, in someone else's story, not their own; so they are figures or markers of positions--places and topoi--through which the hero and his story move to their destination and to accomplish meaning.22 In this novel, for the male artist to "accomplish meaning" and to become the hero, he must solve the riddle of Hedwig "the Sphinx."

But when Hedwig goes to the bookstore and looks at Johan's portrait of her, Van Eeden's portrait of the history of a woman becomes a mis en
abyrne (an endless portrait within a portrait) in which the woman paradoxically looks both at herself and her creator. When Hedwig sees the image of a half-naked figure angrily staring back at her with hidden in the left corner a "rider on a white horse...galloping upwards, spanned by a many-colored rainbow" (139), she contemplates her representation:

She felt no pain at first, the rich coloring and the strange, fantastic mysticism pleased her. But then the meaning dawned upon her, and she understood with terrible clearness. That was her image in Johan's soul, that was how he remembered her; the horseman was Johan himself who had so barely escaped from so awful a danger. She was that awful danger. The annoying little horseman disturbed her more than her distorted image. (122, t.m.)

This defamiliarizing moment exposes Van Eeden's artistic representation of woman and makes his subject return the gaze from the opened window of his house of fiction. According to Fontijn, such a moment where Van Eeden recognizes that "behind such a negative stereotype [of woman] lies an act of male revenge toward that woman, a kind of objectivication of the image of woman occurs" (454). Fontijn's provocative insight, however, does not go on to tell me what an objective portrait might entail. In fact, Van Eeden's objectivication consists of an awareness of ultimate subjectivation. Just like the medical doctors, the artist has disrobed her and publicized her. And through its image of a troubled woman as Sphinx, the artist achieves an aesthetic victory that allows him to ride off happily into the rainbow, escaping the corrupting influences of Woman. She finally only functions in a paradigm that enables the artist mastery or victory over his subject. Again De Lauretis says of the Medusa and the Sphinx:
[T]heir threat is to man's vision, and their power consists in their enigma and "to-be-looked-at-ness" (in Mulvey's word), their luring of man's gaze into the "dark continent," as Freud put it, the enigma of femininity. They are obstacles man encounters on the path of life, on his way to manhood, wisdom, and power; they must be slain or defeated so that he can go forward to fulfill his destiny--his story. (110)

In Johan's portrait, he captures the enigma of femininity in a work of art by placing Hedwig as the object of the gaze. Johan's use for Hedwig, as Joob later specifies, lies in her ability to transform him into a great artist. During one of Hedwig's and Johan's intimate moments, he tells her "that he would become a great artist, and all through her, he said; but that if she deserted him, he should perish" (88).

Hedwig's looking at this portrait of herself, however, undercuts the idea of aesthetic victory for the artist. As a scene of Brechtian Verfremdung, Hedwig's look calls attention to the fictionality of Van Eeden's fiction. It exposes Van Eeden's project as implicated in the politics of masculine representation. When Hedwig comments on her own representation, it is of course still Van Eeden's representation of woman that speaks through her. As such, the scene expresses more a metacommentary on his project for woman as he writes her than as a voice of woman somehow outside the text. It is still Van Eeden's image of woman from within himself. Hedwig's look illuminates her fictionality as she focuses in on the figure of the artist. Initially, she finds herself seduced by her portrait, and the rich colors enamor her. Almost parenthetically, she brushes aside her "distorted image," as if that is to be expected. But by far most disturbing to her in her own portrait is the saintly image of the
smug artist. Why is her misrepresentation linked to the victory of the artist?

Hedwig's agonizing look at the successful artist opens up another examination of Van Eeden's victorious mastery of the "history of a woman." Is Hedwig's "heavenly renunciation" in spite of the "overpowering and overwhelming influences of our sick society" finally "het prachtige thema" of Van Eeden's artistic portrayal of Woman? With his apologetic remark about the inadequacy of his rendition of his theme, Van Eeden may have pointed to the flaws in the construction of that theme. In fact, Hedwig may narrate Van Eeden's inability to achieve the idealistic "éénwording" of genders. Rather than reading Hedwig's lessons from Sister Paula and her decision to live on the farm of Vrouw Harmsen as worldly renunciation, as Anbeek proposes, perhaps these scenes demonstrate quite a different narrative.23 After her disastrous relationships with men have taught her about the men's oppression of women, Hedwig abandons heterosexuality and men altogether and consciously decides to live in the protective female community of Vrouw Harmsen's farm. At Vrouw Harmsen's, Hedwig finds herself at a place "where she felt perfectly unconstrained, and where the respect she commended was purely personal, and not due to either tradition or custom" (150). The artistic operation of men and women fused like elements, thus does not result in Joob's "gloeying" but in a further separation and purification of the elements.

But this reading also does not get outside the mis en abyme of Hedwig's look. That Van Eeden represents gender as always already separated and in conflict still remains subject to his own critique of representation. Van Eeden's conscious inability to cross genders can also
be read as an anxious reassertion of his manhood. In fact, the illustration of binary genders echoes his theme in "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme." His dual masculinity of the "masculinized" scientist and the "feminized" artist does not itself disestablish the binary of the doctrine of separate spheres. Van Eeden's novelistic marriage to Woman, in fact, restabilizes his heterosexual masculinity by incorporating "the feminine." Not only, then, a possible feminist practice, Van Eeden's artistic endeavor to write the history of woman also actually further oppresses "the feminine" as it serves to define his masculinity. While Van Eeden does not clearly write against a patriarchal construction of his masculinity but utilizes the "other" masculinity of the artist to probe even further into the riddle of femininity, he nevertheless maximizes the spectrum of masculinity as he occupies both spheres in this construct of masculinity. The riddle of his Sphinx remains in his power.

What his novelist portrayal of woman has allowed him to see, however, is that women are "the oppressed in [his] society." Not only his scientific paradigm of rational men and intuitive woman, but also his artistic rendition of gender oppresses women as objects for male success. As this dual reading of Van de koele meren des doods demonstrates, Hedwig's oppression by both other characters and the male author is totalizing; the answer to the riddle of the Sphinx is still "man." But perhaps the self-reflexive mechanism of the art of the novel leaves a peephole that offers another look.

Van Eeden's "ergerlijk klein trots ruiterje" ("proud and annoying little horseman") also does not win. By exposing his representation as an inevitable subjective misrepresentation, he nevertheless can continue his "history of a woman" in which a woman filters through as a masculine
representation but also as one who looks back at her image. That reading makes me, the male critic of masculine representation, another "ergerlijk trots ruitertrje" who cannot find a place of refuge left there for women in male authored texts except as created in the space by men themselves. Still that rigid masculine frame of my "portrait of a lady" is at least exposed as a construction of a controlling look; the "ergerlijk trots ruitertrje" clashes head-on into the frame of his own portrait. I do not gallop upwards toward the rainbow, escaping that awful danger, but crash into that left corner of Johan's portrait. "That awful danger" is the danger created by men trying to get outside the frame and leave the portrait of a lady as a true image of womanhood. "She was that awful danger" is the male creation of woman who cannot find refuge outside male representation. The frame of the portrait borders the masculine limits of female representation. While I would like a happy ending to this reading and say that exposing the frame is itself a deconstruction of the rigid gender binary in constructions of gender, I would then still become the "self-congratulatory" critic who masters his subject.24 I would like to stop the infinite regress of the mis en abyme in order also to arrive at moments of "double-voiced" definitions of men giving voice to women while at the same time criticizing that critical practice.

After the Trojan horse of Max Havelaar and the endless mirror of Koele Meren, I will cross oceans to analyze Henry James's portraiture of women. In both Dutch texts, moments of resistance have opened up critical examinations of the representation of female characters. In Max Havelaar, women characters rebel against textual male colonization, and Multatuli's appropriation of sentimental discourse destabilizes a foundation of binary
gender constructions. In Multatuli's representation of female figures, he characterizes female difference through an emphasis on a woman's language and on a woman's body. This mode of difference ("lies" and "sneezes") allows a discourse of political dissent that instigates rebellion in the oppressive structure of the doctrine of separate spheres. By employing Uncle Tom's Cabin as a legitimization, woman's language also becomes the mode for exposing oppression in Dutch colonialism, and as such offers a discourse that calls for a change in the political situation. In Max Havelaar, the representation of femininity is especially concerned with alternative discourses, and views the women's sphere as a possible avenue to bring about liberation. Simultaneously, however, in the few places where women characters voice themselves, they also expose the oppression of being a woman in the structure of the doctrine of separate spheres.

In Koele Meren the question of female representation is far more central than in Max Havelaar. Women characters are not marginal to the thematics of the text (which I demonstrate as being central to all issues, however) because the entire novel deals with a female protagonist. As such, female representation in Koele Meren is also an expression of the idealization of the woman in the doctrine of separate spheres. Van Eeden also uses Harriet Beecher Stowe as an example of the woman's power who lives within her sphere. In an apparent plot of female development, Hedwig moves from one stereotype of woman to another until she finally lives out her life as an angel in the service of "man"kind. The plot itself already exposes the way in which Hedwig is forced into female roles prescribed by her society. In the plot, Hedwig is subject to various disciplinary techniques that finally tame her into an idealized, intuitive and selfless woman. Besides exposing how a woman is not naturally aligned to
her sphere and various roles but that she has to be shaped into those roles by others, the novel also exposes the male author's limits of framing female experience. When Hedwig stares back at her own portrait, she sees her "distorted image" trapped in an artistic frame. In Koele Meren, self-reflexivity functions as a male strategy for representing women that allows a "double-voiced" position, a position that argues the "history of a woman," and one that is self-critical of that portrait of a woman.

In Koele Meren, the woman who has been looked at in her various stereotypical roles, returns the look to expose the trapped voyeur. James will also build a structure from which he can look at his women characters, and he will also appropriate sentimental discourse, citing the influence of Uncle Tom's Cabin. In The Wings of the Dove, James will not only interconnect women to their bodies and to lies, but also characterize women as objects of admiration and idealization. In addition to these strategies, James dramatizes the use of silence as a strategy of female portraiture by male authors. The frame that not only encloses Hedwig but also her masculine creator in Koele Meren will resurface; in Wings, however, the female occupants inside the frame are held captive in man's land.

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1 I will indicate translations as follows: If there are no translations available, I will translate and just cite page number of the original Dutch text. I will cite the only translation of Van de koele meren des doods by citing the page number of the translation; if I have modified the translation, I will use: t.m. (translation modified); if I have not used the existing translation, I will use: t.v.o. (van Oostrum).

2 The novel is discussed in guide book form for "memoreeks," the Cliff Notes of Dutch literature, which should already be enough indication of its ultimate canonical status, Jef van de Sande, Frederik van Eeden. "Van de koele meren des doods," memoreeks (Laren: Walva, 1991). The 1983 paperback edition went through four editions, and a major movie in 1982 also helped popularize the novel. More serious literary views also place the novel in a Dutch literary canon. Major studies include: Ton Anbeek, De naturalistische roman in

3 Van Eeden receives high praise for his portrait of a woman from Hannemieke Stamperius in "Van de koele meren des doods," Opzij 7 (9 September 1979): 47-49. In the Dutch feminist journal, Stamperius opens her article with "Of all the novels with a female protagonist that have been written by men in Dutch literature Van de koele meren is certainly the most beautiful" (47). (t.v.o.)

4Frederik van Eeden, "Eduard Douwes Dekker," Studies 1 (Amsterdam: Versluis, 1905), 17.


7 Letter to Van Deysse, 9 October 1890, qt. in Tweespalt, 281.

8Literally, "of the cool lakes of death," trans. by Margaret Robinson in 1902 as The Deeps of Deliverance. Van Eeden translated the title himself, and the discrepancy between the English and Dutch title, as Fontijn explains, is due to the American publisher's demand (Davis and Company) that the word "death" ought not to appear in the title (Tweespalt, 447).

9Fontijn lists an array of early critics who saw the novel in the first place as "psychiatric case study" (448). Rümke actually analyzes the novel as a psychiatrist.

10Frederik van Eeden, Van de koele meren des doods (Amsterdam: Querido, 1988; 1900; 1904), 5.

11Frederik van Eeden, "Ons Dubbel-Ik," Bloemlezing, 29-37. In this essay, Van Eeden refers to the unconscious life of dreams and hypnosis. Just as easily, however, one can recognize in Van Eeden's concept of "ons dubbel-ik" an attempt to formulate his own split identity and provide a frame-work for discussion. He emphasizes especially that the "dubbel-ik" forms a natural, normal human condition: "Hieruit volgt de waarschijnlijkheid, dat bij elke normale mens de personaliteit niet onvolledig, maar een complex is van twee hoofdgroepen, waarvan de tweede, het bedoelde dubbel-ik, waarschijnlijk de grootste, nog maar zeer onvolledig is bekend" (36).


14Frederik van Eeden, The Deeps of Deliverance, trans. Margaret Robinson (New York: Twayne, 1974), 1. Van Eeden's novel appears as volume 5 in the Twayne Library of Nederlandic Studies. Margaret Robinson's translation of 1902 has been "carefully revised," according to the editor, Egbert Krispyn. Yet while Krispyn notes that Robinson meticulously rewrote sexually explicit passages and that these passages have been restored, the text still abounds in, as I will term them, translated revisions. Even though I realize that the 1902 translation tried to delimit ambiguity as much as possible, the revision of these ambiguities in the Dutch text often severely hampers interpretations of Van Eeden's novel. Wherever possible, I will follow Robinson's translation, but whenever I depart from her translation, I will indicate it. In this opening sentence, I've changed Robinson's
"The history of a woman's life." This demonstrates precisely the revision of ambiguity. The Dutch, "de geschiedenis van een vrouw" translates in English into "the history of a woman." That Van Eeden, as I argue, analyzes the predicament of "woman" in a novel and that Hedwig functions as the embodiment of "woman" becomes more difficult to argue in Robinson's translation. By making "a woman" into "a woman's life" she immediately focuses on in Hedwig rather than on the general category of woman. This becomes especially clear of her translation of the awkward Dutch sentence, "Haar naam heet ik," into the unambiguous, but wrong, "I will call her." As an aside, I find it intriguing that Robinson so quickly translated Van Eeden's novel about "the history of a woman," and that she felt the urge to make the text into a demonstration of, as Krispy phrases it, "the taboo-laden atmosphere of hypocrisy which condemned a naturally sensuous woman like the protagonist of this novel to social ostracism, overwhelming guilt feelings, and eventually, religious sublimation" (intro., unnumbered page). Since Robinson translated the first edition of Koele Meren, the crucial preface is not part of her text.

15"Zij zich vooral schikken en onderwerpen moest en dat dan alles spoedig wennen zou" (174). Robinson did not translate this sentence.

16In "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme," Van Eeden refers to France as probably the most severe case of female slavery and prostitution: "Als een Fransman 'la femme' zegt, dan hebben wij er al genoeg van. Daarin zit tegelijk een lekker behagen, omdat het zijn grootste pretje is, en een enorme geringschatting, alsof hij van een insekt spreekt in plaats van een mens. Dat enkele woord zegt de grote afstand tussen man en vrouw, ontstaan door eeuwenlange vrouwenslavernij, waarvan zich alleen met haar eer kon loskopen" (64).


19Ton Anbeek, Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur tussen 1885 en 1985 (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1990), 74.

20Fontijn appropriately calls Koele Meren "een dubbelzinnig boek" (448), freely translated, an ambiguous book or a book with a "double meaning," which convincingly illustrates another of Van Eeden's doubles.


23Cf. Ton Anbeek. His reading of Hedwig's relationship to Sister Paula again only considers it in terms of "het prachtig thema." Yet interestingly enough, Anbeek unwittingly points to the weakness of his own, ungendered, reading. As he summarizes: "De meeste steun ondervindt zij van een rooms-katholieke verpleegster. Hedendaagse lezers zijn geneigd die passages als nogal kwezelachtig te beschouwen, maar zijn essentieel binnen de boodschap van boek." (74). What Anbeek considers "kwezelachtig" may precisely illustrate Hedwig's and Sister Paula's aversion for the politics of (his) male aesthetics; in fact, these "kwezelachtige" passages appear to fit in a female sentimental tradition Van Eeden so emphatically endorses in "Vrouwenkwestie en Socialisme."

24Deborah Thompson responded to an earlier version of this paper: "So how are you any different from Van Eeden? By going through the whole paper as an unreflective, objective critic, and then making your self-congratulatory and annoying appearance as a final signature to the paper, you become a little horseman." Even though I have taken Deborah's profound criticism to heart, I still don't see a way out of my Lacanian imaginary configuration with Van Eeden.
CHAPTER 3

Annexation and Possession:

The Appropriation of Women in Henry James's *The Wings of the Dove*

When in *A Small Boy and Others*, Henry James recalls his "first experiment in grown-up fiction,"¹ he stumbles upon Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The autobiographer Henry James of 1913 filters his "first" impression of Stowe's novel through a multitude of other visions. Reimagining his past, the seventy-year-old James "gapes" at Miss Mestayer in the Barnum "lecture-room" (89) of the Great American Museum acting, seemingly "scarcely...clad," as "the Countess in 'Love'" (91). While immersed in this portrait of womanly love, James suddenly remembers that he had admired the actress previously as "the Eliza of Uncle Tom's Cabin, her swelling bust encased in a neat cotton gown and her flight across the ice-blocks of the Ohio, if I rightly remember the perilous stream, intrepidly and gracefully performed" (92). Not until then does James substitute *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for *The Initials* as his "first experiment in grown-up fiction." James's process of remembering "the epitome of Victorian sentimentalism"² tellingly illustrates his enduring problematic relationship to American women's fiction. Even in 1913, James circumvents the influence of Stowe's novel, and, while seeming to praise Stowe's novel, turns *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into a childhood narrative that the adult James must outgrow and master.

James expresses his admiration for a literary mother in dubious terms. By first remembering the impact of the novel in his *Autobiography* through the female actress who so strikingly embodies "the Countess in 'Love,'" he immediately sees *Uncle Tom* from the perspective of a male
gaze. He does not confront the "original" Uncle Tom until he has mediated the novel through debased versions of "women's Love." When he finally discusses why **Uncle Tom** became his first experiment in reading grown-up fiction, James does so in entirely different manner than Frederik van Eeden or Multatuli. Van Eeden's admiration for Stowe's novel is an admiration of female power, as he makes the novelist Stowe the model for linking women's rights and socialism. Multatuli adopts **Uncle Tom's Cabin** to find a discourse which enables him to expose abuses of power in Dutch colonialism. Whereas these Dutch authors associate the novel with a female literature of liberation, James expresses his "charmed acquaintance" with Stowe's novel as follows:

There was, however, I think, for that triumphant work no classified condition;...it knew the large felicity of gathering in alike the small and the simple and the big and the wise, and had above all the extraordinary fortune of finding itself, for an immense number of people, much less a book than a state of vision, of feeling and consciousness....Appreciation and judgment, the whole impression were thus an effect for which there had been no process--any process so related having in other cases had to be at some point or other critical; nothing in the guise of a written book, probably ever reached its mark, the mark of exciting interest, without at least having groped for that goal as a book or by the exposure of some literary side. (92)

James's strategy of interpretation surfaces clearly; he stresses the spontaneity and seemingly mindless effort of Stowe's composition. By personifying the book as the actual agent of production ("finding itself"), James denies Stowe as an author; the female author who produces a literary
text is not present in James's assessment, and the spontaneity itself seems to be magically self-generated, denying female creativity. The novel actualizes a fragmented grabbag which just happened to have "the extraordinary fortune of finding itself...much less a book that a state of vision." In other words, as a book, Uncle Tom would not have had the same success; it is through its persuasiveness as "a state of vision, of feeling" that the novel (by extraordinary fortune, as James puns the novel into gross materiality) attains its reputation. As James obsessively emphasizes, Uncle Tom only pretends to be a book ("the guise of a written book"), and in fact ought only to be read, to be measured, in terms of its "effect." This vision, for which there is no "classified condition," only functions in terms of a doctrine of female influence. Contrary to James's meticulous attention to artistic form and the "art of the novel," Stowe disregards any attention to a "literary side," and her book then, if James still wants to call it that, becomes his counterpart. His novels, by implication, are books marked by his classified condition of "the novel"--a genre he feels he legitimated--and encapsulated by literary form. Rather than measured by extrinsic value such as "effect," his novels convey life through intrinsic literary value.

As Paul John Eakin and Leon Edel have convincingly argued, James overcame the crisis in his literary career in 1912 after the commercial failure of his monumental New York edition by writing his autobiography, his Künstlerroman detailing the growth of the artist Henry James. James's condemning praise of Uncle Tom strikingly fits this Künstlerroman-narrative in which James can assert mastery over even the most successful female novelist. The appropriation of Stowe's novel into James's masterplot just as strikingly reflects the plot of The Wings of the
Dove (1902). The all-powerful community of women, "the circle of petticoats" as Merton Densher labels them, finally only seems to function as an influence in Merton Densher's moral growth, his bildungsroman-plot. When he has "outgrown" the women--both Milly Theale and Kate Croy have "sacrificed" themselves for Densher--Densher's lessons are complete and he can assert his rejuvenated power.

What is so striking about Densher's particular appropriation is not only its viciousness but James's meticulous exposure of its operation. This fictionalization of a man battling women for mastery makes a gendered reading of Wings and James's relation to this novel enormously complicated. Like Van Eeden, by showing the disastrous results for women, James critiques and condemns male appropriation and as such epitomizes the male feminist author. Yet what if the critique of male appropriation of female characters itself enacts his strategy of appropriating women? That crucial question for male feminism ended the analysis of Koele Meren and remained tenuously unanswered in a mirror of infinite regress; the double framing of the female character and male author appeared to trap both. The question whether self-reflexivity in the texts of Henry James works as a strategy to liberate female characters from a disciplining frame will be central in this chapter.

The issue of James's relationship to women is of course not new and forms a particular hotbed in recent James criticism. While The Wings of the Dove has played a role in this debate about gender in James, I believe the novel warrants closer scrutiny. Besides rewriting his cousin Minnie Temple into Milly Theale, James dramatizes other forms of a "masculine" appropriation of women. Especially through Milly Theale, Wings crucially confronts and makes use of the codes of sentimental fiction
exemplified by Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and turns them into "masculine" tools. At the same time, Milly Theale's designation as "the American girl" reflects back to "Daisy Miller" and forward to *The American Scene* where James defines and masters "the type." Through his writing of Milly Theale in combination with his sexual dishonoring of Kate Croy, Merton annexes and possesses the women in *Wings*. He transforms his initial passive feminization into a violent masculine possession of women.

Before analyzing *Wings* as exhibiting the mechanics of male appropriation, however, I want to place this reading in the context of recent gender criticism on James. In anthologies centered around the question of male feminist criticism, James exemplifies the author at odds within and beyond traditional male and female designations. In *Out of Bounds: Male Writers and Gender(ed) Criticism* (1990), William Veeder continues his argument about James's sympathy for women and his alliance with the woman question; as Veeder puts it in his discussion of the meaning of masculinity and femininity for James:

"Woman" as a gender construct is a social fate available to persons of either sex. *Everyone* is "feminine" because anyone can be effeminated by the negation force of mortality. The only valid opposition is between those who admit their vulnerability and those who do not. James thus subverts that basic opposition of the sexes upon which patriarchal hegemony is based, for he insists upon lack, "castration," at the very heart of commercial America.

(225)

But in *Henry James and the "Woman Business"* and in numerous essays, Alfred Habegger asserts that James does not subvert "that basic opposition
of the sexes upon which patriarchal hegemony is based" but reasserts the
opposition in order to uphold a "patriarchal hegemony." Through his art,
according to Habegger, James powerfully returns to the law of the Father,
in this case the law of Henry James, Sr. The debate between Veeder and
Habegger about James's relation to gender centers on whether James
exposes and condemns oppressive gender constructions or whether he
reasserts binaries in the service of patriarchy. In John Carlos Rowe's
succinct summary of the standoff:

James has remained an uncanny figure for many American
feminists, who have variously found in his works the exposure of
woman's imprisonment in a patriarchal culture or an estheticism
that rationalizes the social and psychological situation of woman
in contemporary culture. Opposing this impasse in feminism's relation to James to the celebrated
concept of Jamesian ambiguity, Rowe labels James's position as "James's
ambivalence" (91). For Rowe, Jamesian ambivalence centers especially on
James's "uses" of "the other sex" as part of his own literary power for the
sake of engendering his own identity as an Author" (91). While Rowe
does not concentrate on the gender of "an Author," the "engendering of his
own identity," I will argue, sublates the feminine altogether in an enlarged
concept of masculinity.

As a further twist in James's relation to feminism and gender, Eve
Sedgwick maintains that it is precisely James's adherence to a binary
gender system that constitutes his "mistake." In James's vexed friendship
with Constance Fenimore Woolson, his "mistake," as Sedgwick terms it,
"seems to have been in moving blindly from the sense of the good, the
desirability, of love and sexuality, to the automatic imposition on himself
of a specifically heterosexual compulsion. In one of the "bachelor fictions of the period," according to Sedgwick, "The Beast in the Jungle" (1902), written almost simultaneously with Wings and in part a fictionalization of his relationship with Woolson in the light of her suicide, Henry James narrates John Marcher's final awareness of his sexuality as a particular formation of male subjectivity, falling outside a neat binary construction of heterosexual love for May Bartram. Marcher's recognition takes place not through a confrontation with her gravestone, but through the eyes of another man who grieves at the cemetery. Wings narrates the formation of another bachelor; but Merton Densher's road to bachelorhood progresses via a heterosexual possession of women. While Merton attains a masculinity different from that of the traditional patriarchy of American businessmen, his "feminized" masculinity at the end of the novel annexes and possesses women.

In a gendered reading of Wings, Merton's radical transformation through the influence of the dead Milly Theale no longer signifies a moral growth as it did to many previous critics (and still does to some), but Merton Densher's "growth" is now intricately linked to his masculinity. While I will read Densher's changes in terms of his masculinity, my analysis will also focus on the results of this particular masculinity for the two female protagonists. If Merton Densher's masculinity falls outside of a rigid male-female binary, does Merton's liberating gender construct automatically free the female characters from encultured gender roles as well? How different is a gendered reading from a previous moralistic reading of The Wings of the Dove if it cites Densher's "new" masculinity at the end of the novel as a model for nonbinary gender? Though James exposes Merton Densher's attained masculinity to be a cultural
construction, the fact that gender can be "constructed" does not automatically result in a less rigid gender system for Milly Theale and Kate Croy but actually further oppresses them. Only by making use of these women can Merton finally make himself "culturally" masculine. Merton's nonbinary masculinity still defines itself in opposition to the female characters in the text, and actually remains entrenched in an oppressive cultural binary. The similarity, both thematically and structurally, in the appropriation of Milly and Kate, safely reduces their differences and relegates them to a female sphere.

It is at this point that the examination intersects with James's own appropriation of women. Even though James distances himself from the (overly?) sexually active Densher, Densher nevertheless offers a fascinating self-reflexive critique on James. By comparing this novel to similar moments of appropriation of women in James's autobiographical writings, I question if his self-reflexive portrait subverts patriarchal hegemony. At the same time, I will propose a difference between James's autobiographical writings and his novels that complicates gendered readings.

James's renewed possession of Uncle Tom's Cabin in A Small Boy creates a highly suggestive gendered context for the struggle for dominance in The Wings of the Dove. For William Veeder in The Lessons of the Master, for Henry Nash Smith, and for Tony Tanner, the influence of nineteenth-century women's fiction on James proved enormously fruitful because he was able, in the words of Smith, to transform women's "middlebrow" fiction into Jamesian "highbrow" fiction and as such become "Master" of a new literary genre. Because of the asymmetrical gender equation, this interpretation obviously takes on troublesome sexist
overtones. Yet the terminology of James's project of using women's fiction to become Master of literature now appears to expose James's anxiety to outdo the women novelists. What exactly did these "middlebrow" women novelists do to incite such a response from James? By making *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the context for *Wings*, I wish to explore James's reasons both for going back to a highly successful sentimental women's fiction of the mid-nineteenth-century rather than to contemporary women novelists, and for using codes of sentimental fiction in *Wings*.

For a novel which so explicitly thematizes James's own labels for the roles of late nineteenth-century women through its portraits of Kate, James's "New Woman," and Milly, James's "American girl," it may seem incongruous to want to insist upon James's reliance on sentimental fiction. But for all its contemporary concerns, *Wings* closely resembles elements of mid-nineteenth-century sentimental fiction. Jane Tompkins's argument in *Sensational Designs*, for example, stresses that "the removal of the male from the center to the periphery of the human sphere is the most radical component of this millenarian scheme, which is rooted so solidly in the most traditional values: religion, motherhood, home, and family."

The *Wings of the Dove* presents, among other things, the actualization of this "millenarian scheme": a female world in which women control the action, fathers and husbands are either dead or inadequate, and the other male characters are at the mercy of the women. As Gillian Brown reads *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe suggests an alternative organization of society in which women get out of the kitchen and assume control over life outside the home. In *Wings*, the women, having now left the kitchen, proceed to take over the business world: Aunt Maud engages in real estate discussions with Lord Mark in London, and Milly Theale almost owns New York.
And the axis in much of sentimental fiction and especially in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, equally powerfully turns the plot in *Wings*. Like little Eva's transforming death in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Milly's death alters the immoral Merton Densher into a churchgoing figure who teaches Kate lessons in worldly renunciation.

Despite these perfect ingredients—a powerful female community and marginalized men—we receive nothing resembling a Utopian world of female influence. The characters regard one another as objects for personal gain, and nothing indicates a newly envisioned moral aesthetic. In fact, the opposite seems to have occurred since Densher becomes the spokesman for worldly renunciation, teaching a woman the lessons of the sentimental novel. In *Koole Meren*, Hedwig embodies the woman who has learned the lessons of renunciation and has now become the teacher of renunciation; in *Wings*, however, Milly Theale does not teach female renunciation but Merton Densher does. Is this another instance of "the men stepping in to show the women how to do it?"15 By referring back to the clear separation of male and female roles in the doctrine of separate spheres as propagated in sentimental fiction, the "Master" teaches the new women of the late nineteenth century to be more like their mothers. In his novel, James's use of female influence and female power serves not to "get the women out of the kitchen" but to actually send them back into the home. In this case, the codes of sentimental fiction become tools to suppress women and uphold "patriarchal hegemony."

But the situation is more complicated. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the doctrine of separate spheres goes unquestioned and never needs to be explained, as men and women do not fit the theory but embody the doctrine. That James/Densher fits the women and, as I will demonstrate
later, Densher into the doctrine already points to the cultural designation of
gender in Wings. Still, Densher's mastery contradicts the assertion that any
cultural questioning of gender roles automatically subverts patriarchal rule;
Densher does the opposite: because gender roles are cultural designations,
he can mold gender into roles that suppress the women's power and assert
his mastery.

Reading the "Uncut Volume": Merton Densher's Appropriation
of Kate Croy

Book 2 opens with a characterization of the long-legged Merton
Densher as "a person with nothing to do,"16 one who looks vague "without
looking weak" (46). The mutual attraction between Kate and Merton
occurs, as the narrator tells the reader, "under the protection of the famous
law of contraries" (47). As opposed to Merton's having "nothing to do,
Kate's life reverberates with doing. To Kate, Merton's mind complements
her desire for contemplation and thought: "He represented what her life
had never given her, and certainly, without some such aid as his, never
would give her; all the high dim things she lumped together as of the mind"
(47). In this classic division of gender in which woman is linked to the
body and man to rationality, Merton's use and attraction for Kate itself
consists of a traditional binary. Merton reads Kate's difference from him
as a "value" that he must possess: "Merton Densher had repeatedly said to
himself--and from far back--that he should be a fool not to marry a woman
whose value would be in her differences" (47). In a typical complementary
configuration of marriage of man and woman, Merton wants to acquire
Kate's value through marriage. As Merton theorizes: "Having so often
concluded on the fact of his weakness, as he called it, for life--his strength
merely for thought--life, he logically opined, was what he must somehow arrange to annex and possess" (48). By annexing and possessing Kate in his "strength for thought," Merton implies, he both participates in life and possesses life. His strategy of annexing a quality and so possessing it subordinates and disintegrates the wholeness of the object to be "annexed." Merton plans to annex or incorporate Kate into his larger territory of his mind; he will "possess life."

While the famous law of contraries suggests that Merton and Kate complement one another perfectly and would make a perfect pair, the actual scenario reveals both Kate and Merton wanting to possess the other in order to gain individual completion. In Kate's paradigm, Merton would elevate her life into the spheres of the mind while she still holds the reins on her life in which Merton merely plays a part. Merton, by contrast, wants to "annex and possess" life and arrange it into the mind--his domain--and so make her a subordinate part. The intricate romance plot in Wings dramatizes this struggle for dominance between Kate and Densher.

As I have indicated, the struggle between Kate and Densher turns on a familiar nineteenth-century division of femininity and masculinity. The "famous law of contraries" in the case of Kate and Merton almost duplicates the equally famous doctrine of separate spheres. Yet the fact that Kate and Densher struggle for dominance illustrates something quite different from an ideal marriage in the separate spheres doctrine. Rather than a harmonious marriage, in this novel, the masculine and feminine compete with one another. Interestingly enough, that Kate feels she needs Merton's mind to assert female power in the world disrupts the doctrinal division of gender, whereas Merton's need for Kate's body to assert masculine power reinforces the doctrine. Their relationship starts out with
Kate firmly in control and Merton anxiously trying, but unable, to gain power.

Partly because of Kate's dominance over Densher—in combination with the appearance of the male-usurping Aunt Maud Manningham—Merton's long-legged manhood seems dwarfed by women. Kate's control over Densher threatens a clear gender division far more than Densher's later control over Kate. But while Densher appears culturally "feminized"—he is the subordinate in a gender relationship—Densher does not consent in such a role. Densher's discomfort and anxiety about his situation constantly occupies his mind. Even before Milly Theale enters the scene, Merton asks Kate to marry him on his terms, but Kate wants to wait for Aunt Maud's reaction to Merton. In book 6, Merton again asks Kate to marry him "just as I am" but again Kate tells him to wait: "I assure you I see my way" (196). Merton's way is subjected to Kate's way. Her refusal to marry Merton because of his relative poverty puts him in a precarious situation; Merton's lack of money can of course be seen as a "lack" that emasculates him. But especially from the perspective that it is Kate who wants to wait for the prospect of more money and that both Aunt Maud and Milly Theale can supplement this lack, it seems to me that money would only further feminize Merton in such an argument.

What Merton wants from a marriage "just as I am" becomes uncharacteristically explicit for a James novel. From very early on in their relationship, Merton wants to have sex with Kate; only a sexual bond, Merton feels, will put him on top in their relationship. For Kate, just the idea that they are lovers is enough, but Densher wants more. The narrator juxtaposes their thoughts about their affair: "...but meanwhile they had each other, and that was everything. This was her reasoning, but
meanwhile, for him, each other was what they didn't have, and it was just the point" (54). When Merton returns from his trip to America, he obsessively returns to his physical desire for Kate: "His absence from her for so many weeks had such an effect upon him that his demands, his desires had grown; and only the night before, as his ship steamed, beneath summer stars, in sight of the Irish coast, he had felt all the force of his particular necessity" (189). While Kate plots her way for Merton to obtain money, Merton, under the hot pressure of his "particular necessity," plots his way to get Kate.

This different conception of sexuality decisively figures in Merton and Kate's struggle for dominance. In Merton's mind, Kate's capacity for life is interwoven with her body; in his paradigm, a sexual relationship would dispel Kate's power because Kate, literally subjected to Merton, would become part of Merton's spacious mind. With metaphors surrounding his love for Kate, Merton signals his preoccupation with a complete possession and mastery over the subject of Kate. In one such declaration, he compares Kate to an uncut book:

"All women but you are stupid. How can I look at another? You're different and different--and then you're different again....The women one meets--what are they but books one has already read? You're a whole library of the unknown, the uncut." He almost moaned, he ached, from the depth of his content, "Upon my word I've a subscription!" (220)

Only by cutting and reading her uncut pages will Merton master Kate. Merton's contented moaning and aching leave no doubt about his violent sexual desires to cut the pages. His classification of Kate in a library upon which he has a subscription, moreover, puts her back into the category of
Woman; it is just that he still needs to read her "difference" in order to correctly annex her. He only endures his moments of intense marginalization with the prospect of winning the final round. He assesses his situation upon return from America as one in which he, as a man, finally must win:

...it just seemed to blaze at him that waiting was the game of dupes. Not yet had he felt so soundly safely sure. It was all there for him, playing on his pride of possession as a hidden master in a great dim church might play on the grandest organ. His final sense was that a woman couldn't be that and then ask of one the impossible. (189)

The longer he waits and follows her plot, Merton surmises, the more she must, as a woman, give in to his claim on her. Thus, while Merton may appear marginalized and feminized, in reality he feels "so soundly safely sure" as the "hidden master" of the "grandest organ." As the pun on organ suggests, the hidden master turns out to be the most masculine of all men. Meanwhile, Merton will play the game of dupes and impatiently wait.

Kate finally designs a "game" that will enable her to marry Merton: Merton must seduce the terminally ill and enormously wealthy Milly Theale, marry her, and then, after her death, marry Kate. By inheriting Milly's wealth, Merton will have graduated into an acceptable candidate for Kate according to the standards of her guardian Aunt Maud. Merton consents to play but adds the crucial stipulation that he will not produce a direct lie; he will not corrupt his mind. Gradually though, the more he performs his part, the less he feels Kate uphold hers. As the only man in Venice in the companionship of four women, Merton increasingly feels a kept man and completely subjected to Kate's power: "There glowed from
him in fact a kind of rage at what he wasn't having; an exasperation, a
resentment, begotten truly by the very impatience of desire, in respect to
his postponed and relegated, his so extremely manipulated state" (280-81).

In his extremely manipulated state, however, he suddenly finds the
condition to turn the tables on Kate. Only because Kate's plot has worked
so well does she find herself in Merton's power. Just as planned, Milly
apparently has fallen in love with Densher, and she has orchestrated a great
coming-out party as the princess of her Venetian palace, discarding her
black mourning dress for a virginal white one. It is obvious to all around,
and especially to Kate, that while Milly portends to illustrate her capacity
for life to the visiting Sir Luke, the scene in fact demonstrates her
willingness to play her game of life with Merton Densher. Kate and Aunt
Maud take their clue from the impending party and announce that they will
depart immediately after Milly's royal party. This leaves Merton to play
the final part in Kate's plot: denounce his engagement to Kate and either
propose to Milly or accept Milly's marriage proposal. But for Densher,
the denial of his engagement to Kate involves a breach of his gentlemanly
code of honor which he refuses to break. Merton will not lie. Up to now
in Kate's game plan, Merton feels pure in his role because he has not
violated the code of his virginal mind. When Kate tells him, "We've told
too many lies," he responds proudly, raising his head, "I, my dear, have
told none!" (294). Merton's mind resolves the impasse in the game when
he construes his "wonderful idea" to finally annex Kate. If the only means
to continue Kate's plot involves lying, he draws up a contract. In order to
breach his honor, she has to surrender her honor to him.

This bizarre contract arrangement between Kate and Merton further
demonstrates the gendered struggle for dominance. Merton's virginal
mind coincides with Kate's virginal body. Though the dichotomous relationship may seem crude and reductive, the discussion between Kate and Merton leaves no doubt about Merton's gained power over Kate. When he first mentions his need of physical proof for their engagement while he flirts with Milly, he notices a difference in Kate. After he puts to Kate: "I give you proof....You give me none" (293), he observes Kate: "It was the first time since the launching of the wonderful idea that he had seen her at a loss" (293). For the first time, Merton gains a winning edge in their game as Kate now loses her control because of Merton's "wonderful idea." While he forcefully grabs Kate's arm, Merton makes his idea explicit: "I'll tell any lie you want, any your idea requires, if you'll only come to me" (294), and to his surprise she continues listening as he tells her to come to his rooms. It is not so much that Kate will have sex with him, but that his idea, that his plot works which is important to Merton: "Her mere listening in fact made him even understand himself as he hadn't yet done. Idea for idea, his own was thus already, and in the germ, beautiful" (294). His manipulated state enables him to neutralize Kate's plot that apparently so feminizes him.

With disgust at his utter subjection to the four women, he plays his role of gigolo at Milly's party. He expresses his abhorrence as he evaluates his state:

She wanted then, as appeared, the same thing Kate wanted, only wanted it, as still further appeared, in so different a way and from a motive so different, even though scarce less deep. Then Mrs. Lowder wanted, by so odd an evolution of her exuberance, exactly what each of the others did, and he was between them all, he was in the midst. Such perceptions made occasions--well,
occasions for fairly wondering if it mightn't be best just to consent, luxuriously, to be the ass the whole thing involved. Trying not to be and yet keeping in it was of the two things the more asinine. He was glad there was no male witness; it was a circle of petticoats; he shouldn't have liked a man to see him.

(299)

As the subject of manipulation for four women, a "circle of petticoats," Merton feels intensely uncomfortable about his masculinity. And after Susan Stringham asks Merton to assure the great man, Sir Luke, that he takes an interest in Milly, Merton feels even more humiliated: "It was truly a circle of petticoats" (300), he reiterates, as he contemplates having to expose his role to the supreme male witness. His successful feminized performance at the party, however, ensures him of his power over Kate.

When Kate details her plot and Merton's further role, Merton feels he is slowly reading and mastering the uncut pages of Kate's being: "He had compared her once, we know, to a 'new book,' an uncut volume of the highest, the rarest quality; and his emotion (to justify that) was again and again like the thrill of turning the page" (306). And because Kate's plot can only continue if Merton stays after Aunt Maud and her own departure, she subjects herself to Merton's plot: With "I don't like it, but I'm a person, thank goodness, who can do what I don't like" (309), Kate expresses her consent to Merton. As Merton tastes the success of his idea, he further elaborates on his mastery. He reiterates his contract of their mutual sacrifice by telling Kate again: "I'll stay, on my honour, if you'll come to me. On your honour" (311). Kate's coming to him, Merton rationalizes, finally makes him the master of their relationship; he's winning his game. As book 8 closes, Merton plays with Kate and his control:
...he was fairly playing with her pride. He had never, he then knew, tasted, in all his relation with her, of anything so sharp--too sharp for mere sweetness--as the vividness with which he saw himself master in the conflict. "Well, I [Kate] understand."

"On your honour?"

"On my honour."

"You'll come?"

"I'll come." (312)

The emphasis on Merton's violation of Kate's honor to offset the dishonorable lying Merton is to do for Kate reaffirms the mind-body dichotomy of Merton and Kate. Through this idea of exchange, Merton can finally come to "annex and possess" life. When book 9 opens, Merton is alone in his rooms, still savoring the presence of Kate who has just left. Elated, Merton celebrates the success of his idea and his total mastery over Kate. In Merton's contemplation, he has satisfied his craving for life by annexing Kate into an idea of his mind:

It had simply worked, his idea, the idea he had made her accept; and all erect before him, really covering the ground as far as he could see, was the fact of the gained success that this represented....He had in fine judged his friend's pledge in advance as an inestimable value and what he must now know his case for was that of a possession of the value to the full. (312-13)

From an earlier marginalized, feminized status, "the gained success" of his idea, according to Merton, reverses his questionable masculinity. The "inestimable value" of his possession of Kate defines his dominant, "erect" masculinity. In the theater of his rooms, he designs his play over and over again: "He remained thus, in his own theatre, in his single person perpetual
orchestra to the ordered drama" (313). In his mind, he has submitted Kate to his will and thus relegated the dominant Kate firmly to a passive, female role.

Not in the least because at this moment Merton is still to perform his part in Kate's theater, Merton's plot of possessing Kate which serves to define his masculinity requires closer examination. By aligning his masculinity to mastery over Kate's body while maintaining a pure mind, Merton stylizes his masculinity. Even though his concept of masculinity and femininity bifurcates along a mind-body split, Merton's effort to make himself fit the masculine, active pole and Kate the feminine, passive pole indicates the plasticity of these cultural gender roles. Merton first articulates a binary gender construct, and then stylizes himself into the masculine pole. Not coincidentally, Merton's stylized construct matches a gender organization based on essential, biological differences between men and women. In her essay "Women and Honor: Some Notes on Lying," Adrienne Rich delineates the gendered representations of honor in such a split essentialist gender organization. As Rich elucidates: "The old, male ideal of honor. A man's 'word' sufficed--to other men--without guarantee...Women's honor, something altogether else: virginity, chastity, fidelity to a husband. Honesty in women has not been considered important."17 The struggle between Merton and Kate centers on this separation between a language of the body and the mind. Merton's gentlemanly honor defines his masculinity and his self through language. Kate's honor, as both Merton and Kate herself make explicit, interconnects with her body as both representative of herself and as an object of other people's desires. The terrain of Kate and Merton's "game" is precisely located in this dichotomy.
Significantly, in *Wings* women do lie overtly and extensively with impunity, whereas the men profess to speak honestly or at least elude implications in lies by evasion. Lord Mark speaks bluntly; Sir Luke advises; and Densher evades. By contrast, for Kate and Aunt Maud and even Milly, lying proves no obstacle. Rather, sexuality defines Kate's "honor" and control as she has tried to ward off Merton's obvious advances. F. O. Matthiessen claims Merton's reclaimed masculinity "preserves his [Merton's] self-respect." But Merton's reclaimed masculinity depends precisely on violating Kate's honor, which results in her loss of (self)control and Merton's domination. Adrienne Rich clearly describes the woman's position in this separatist gender organization as: "We [women] have been expected to lie with our bodies" (188). In James's novel, "lying" itself elucidates the dichotomy between Kate's and Merton's lying; Merton's precondition marks him active and master, but places Kate in a passive position: she lies with her body. "The special solidity of the contract," as Merton phrases it, lies in the exchange value of one form of lying by another: "The force of the engagement, the quantity of the article to be supplied, the special solidity of the contract, the way, above all, as a service for which the price named by him had been magnificently paid, his equivalent office was to take effect" (313). By categorizing Kate through her "magnificent payment," Merton can now place her in his library; later, he will even test Kate's proper "feminine" behavior; he is master of his theater.

But not quite yet. As Merton recognizes, he still needs to perform "his equivalent office" as part of the contract--lie to and marry Milly Theale. In this new attachment to a woman, Merton's masculinity is again threatened. If Merton acts his role, he will violate his honor and
consequently his masculinity. In addition, his marriage to Milly would reinforce his role as the passive figure in a relationship; this time not only under the control of Kate's masterplot but also Milly's control. How can he avert this renewed threat of emasculation?

Writing the Little American Girl with "His Best Pen":
Merton Densher's Possession of Milly Theale

Merton's sexual assertion of his masculinity through Kate should not be seen apart from his fundamental asexual relationship with Milly Theale; both are violent acts of appropriation. Similar textual metaphors of possession signal the entangled appropriations of Kate and Milly. Just as the reading of Kate's "uncut volume" translates into an act of sexual possession, so does the writing of Milly Theale connote figures of sexual mastery. Merton's relationship to Milly plays a role in his struggle for dominance with Kate Croy. After all, at the end of the novel, Kate observes that Merton dissolves her plot because he is in love with the memory of Milly Theale. Significantly, she points out that Merton's Milly Theale at end of the novel is the memory of the dead Milly and not necessarily related to Milly's actual life. The employment of an image of Milly works to disrupts Kate's plot while he still possesses "life" as "master of his theater." Whereas for Van Eeden and Multatuli the creation of an image of idealized femininity gave voice to the oppressed in social conditions and slavery, in James's discourse the idealized image itself indicates an act of oppression.

By linking Merton's sexual mastery over Kate to his relationship with Milly, James indicates the similarity in the appropriation of the women.
On a different textual level, moreover, through Merton's attachment to Milly, James dramatizes his own appropriation of women in his fiction. Merton's dual use of Susan Stringham's codes of sentimentality to read Milly as well as his idea of Milly as "the American girl" enable him to master the "type," to kill her, as well as paradoxically to uphold his "honor," which is so intricately intertwined with his masculinity. Both Merton's notions of sentimentality and the American girl reflect James's preoccupation with nineteenth-century American women's fiction and the contemporary woman's question. And especially through the widely recognized fictionalization of his cousin Mary (Minnie) Temple, James demonstrates his connection to Merton's endeavor;¹⁹ is James not in love with the memory of his dead cousin?

In subsequent sections of this chapter, I investigate the extent and purpose of James's self-reflexivity; I first want to examine how Merton accomplishes mastery, and how James engages in similar masterplots. Next, I concentrate on moments where Merton's project is exposed as a fundamental violent appropriation of women, which leads to the question whether James's self-reflexivity offers an essential critique and subversion of Merton's and his own appropriation.

After he has been rejected as an acceptable husband for Kate by Aunt Maud because of his lack of money, Merton Densher embraces the opportunity for an extended professional visit to America. For his newspaper, Densher is to convey his impressions of America in a series of letters in "his own little tune" (67). In Densher's formulation of "his mission" (67):

He was to pull the subject up—that was just what they wanted; and it would take more than all the United States together, visit them
each as he might, to let him down. It was just because he didn't nose about and babble, because he wasn't the usual gossip-monger, that they had picked him out. It was a branch of their correspondence with which they evidently wished a new tone associated, such a tone as, from now on, it would have always to take from his example. (68)

By making America into a subject suitable for Merton's high professional standards, he will create a "new tone" that will delimit other possibilities of discussing America; others will always have to refer to Merton's ground-breaking letters. While Merton feels he writes "with deplorable ease" and that writing offers him "innumerable ways of making money," he had always maintained that those ways of making money "were ways only for others" (55). His temporary assignment in America for Fleet Street combines Densher's quest for aesthetic value with a potential source for making money. Like a British version of John de Crèvecoeur and the highly successful Alexis de Tocqueville, Merton Densher is to present America in his letters "from the strictly social point of view" (67). His "letters from America" will confirm his high journalistic standards as well as satisfy Kate's and Aunt Maud's desire for commercial success.

Only retrospectively (as with so many scenes in this novel) does the reader learn of the content of some of these "new toned" letters. When Milly Theale descends from the Swiss Alps to embark on life in London, Susan Stringham reveals that London does not just provide the social life of her old schoolmate and rival Mrs. Lowder, but also the native residence of Milly's British friend Merton Densher. During his long stay in America, he had visited Milly several times, and Milly had tentatively promised to see him in London. In spite of her impression that he took a genuine
interest in her as a person in America, Merton's visits apparently only served his professional need. In his commercial writings, he has employed Milly as a genuine American type which he has classified as "the American girl." Milly, however, views Merton's visits in America as an attachment to her (as London society would regard the frequent visits of a young bachelor to an unmarried woman), but he invents other social customs for America. At Merton's first renewed meeting with Milly in London, the contrasting perceptions of his American visits become apparent. Because Milly had mentioned Merton Densher and because of Merton's and Milly's impromptu reconnaissance at the National Gallery, Aunt Maud and Kate immediately construe Milly's romantic interest in Merton. Aunt Maud magically reopens the previously barred Lancaster Gate for him. During a formal dinner in honor of Milly, Merton imagines he has been called in as an expert on the American Girl and proudly expounds on his subject. After first seeing her again at the National Gallery, Merton recalls his professional employment of "his little New York friend":

Little Miss Theale's individual history was not stuff for his newspaper; besides which, moreover, he was seeing but too many little Miss Theales. They even went so far as to impose themselves as one of the groups of social phenomena that fell into the scheme of his public letters. For this group in especial perhaps--the irrepressible, the supereminent young persons--his best pen was ready. (191)

In this notably phallic construction of the "little Miss Theales," Merton discards Milly's individuality, and makes her the embodiment of a group of "social phenomena that fell into the scheme of his public letters; that group, for which "his best pen" is ready is the singular "American girl."
During the dinner at which Milly herself is absent, Merton is hailed as the inventor of Milly's type:

Mrs. Lowder had made dear Milly the topic, and it proved, on the spot, a topic as familiar to the enthusiastic younger as to the sagacious older man. Any knowledge they might lack Mrs. Lowder's niece was moreover alert to supply, while Densher himself was freely appealed to as the most privileged, after all, of the group. Wasn't it he who had in a manner invented the wonderful creature--through having seen her first, caught her in her native jungle? Hadn't he more or less paved the way for her by his prompt recognition of her rarity, by preceding her, in a friendly spirit--as he had the "ear" of society--with a sharp flashlight or two? (205)

To Merton's embarrassment, Aunt Maud and the others believe him to have written about the individual Milly Theale. As a "dry journalist," he winces in particular because it was "seemingly supposed of him that he had put his pen--oh his 'pen'!--at the service of private distinction. The ear of society?--they were talking, or almost, as if he had publicly paragraphed a modest young lady" (206). For Merton, Milly is only one "creature" of a species in a jungle, a species he invented. That he has "caught" Milly in his description of the species reverses what the dinner guests suppose he has penned. Merton feels embarrassed because his "pen" is not concerned with individuals, which would give the individual credit, but invents groups. His exclamation "oh his 'pen,','" with pen in quotation again emphasizes the power of his instrument. Merton's typology masters the individual. Throughout his contact with Milly, he continues to read her as a "creature" rather than as a person resisting categorization.
In his awkward relationship with Milly, Merton falls back on her embodiment as the American girl. After Kate tells Merton to visit Milly, Merton justly feels compromised. In London, such a visit to an unmarried woman signals a romantic attachment, and since Merton is secretly engaged to Kate, his visit poses ethical problems for him. Yet he quickly dispels his compromising situation when he sees Milly not as he sees Kate--"just the contemporary London female, highly modern, inevitably battered, honourably free" (50)--but as the American girl:

The awkwardness involved in the responsibility so newly and so ingeniously traced for him turned round on the spot to present him another face. This was simply the face of his old impression, which he now fully recovered—the impression that American girls, when, rare case, they had the attraction of Milly, were clearly the easiest people in the world. Had what happened been that this specimen of class was from the first so committed to ease that nothing subsequent could ever make her difficult?

Even though he recognizes that Milly's actions and "ease" are not fundamentally different from how Kate "would have done it" (235), he continues to seek refuge for his own awkwardness and implications in Milly's being the American girl. Milly's "American" value as one of the "easiest people in the world" facilitates Merton's ease, not Milly's.20 In fact, Merton measures Milly according to her effect on his situation, and his categorization stipulates "ease" as one of the predominant qualities of his American girl.

In the companionship of four women in Venice, his position as one interested in Milly only as the American girl becomes almost ludicrous. While Merton recognizes himself as subject of the plot of the "circle of
petticoats," he nevertheless avoids explicit romantic interest in Milly by holding on to her as the personification of his invention:

He continued to see her as he had first seen her--that remained ineffaceably behind. Mrs. Lowder, Susan Shepherd, his own Kate, might, each in proportion, see her as a princess, as an angel, as a star, but for himself, luckily, she hadn't as yet complications to any point of discomfort: the princess, the angel, the star were muffled over, ever so lightly and brightly, with the little American girl who had been kind to him in New York and to whom certainly--though without making too much of it for either of them--he was perfectly willing to be kind in return. (279-80)

His "little American girl" offers him refuge from "discomfort" that any of the others' views may have caused. Being kind to his friend muffles over other ways of seeing Milly, and, according to Merton, provides him still with enough credibility for his involvement with Milly while engaged to Kate.

His credibility crumbles entirely after Kate and Aunt Maud leave, and there seems little opportunity for Merton to uphold his code of honor. His "contract" obliges him to lie about his engagement to Kate, and he is again subjected to a woman's plot. But just as his first idea allowed him to envision sexual mastery over Kate without having fulfilled his part of the contract, Merton clutches to a second idea that outplots Kate and avoids regarding Milly as a person. Immediately after his first idea has so surprisingly "worked," he invokes his second idea of Milly as the American girl as the basis for their awkward relationship. Again Densher is pleasantly surprised to find that his idea works:
It was settled for instance that they were indissoluble good friends, and settled as well that her being the American girl was, just in time and for the relation they found themselves concerned in, a boon inappreciable. If at least, as the days went on, she was to fall short of her prerogative of the great national, the great maidenly ease, if she didn't divinely and responsively, desire and labour to record herself as possessed of it, this wouldn't have been for want of Densher's keeping her, with his idea well up to it--wouldn't have been in fine for want of his encouragement and reminder. (322)

In other words, for what must have been an excruciatingly long twenty days, Merton constantly leads the topic back to Milly as "being the American girl." They discuss the elasticity of the "type," and Merton feels confident about the continued sterile and safe conversation:

All women had alternatives, and Milly's would doubtless be shaky too; but the national character was firm in her, whether as all of her, practically, by this time, or but as a part; the national character that, in a woman still so young, made of the air breathed a virtual non-conductor. (323)

Merton places his second idea as a buffer to block a conductive electricity between Milly and himself. What surfaces so clearly in Merton's dealing with Milly is his complete awareness of his employment of the American girl idea to avoid "shaky," compromising topics. Merton will not lie, and by evading topics which would by contractual obligation force him to lie, he retains his mastery over Kate. In addition, by employing his second idea, he intentionally disregards the person Milly Theale. Even though he knows that anything he does or does not do has immediate consequences for
Milly, he sees Milly's dependence only as an indication of his power; he gloats in his mastery:

And her pass was now, as by the sharp click of a spring, just completely his own—to the extent, as he felt, of her deep dependence on him. Anything he should do or shouldn't would have close reference to her life, which was thus absolutely in his hands—and ought never to have reference to anything else. It was on the cards for him that he might kill her—that was the way he read the cards as he sat in his customary corner. (321)

From his customary, passive corner, Merton conceives that his inactivity may be precisely as powerful and damaging as action. As a man who only lives through his mind, he reasserts an "active" masculinity through his annexation and possession of the lives of women. While he knows his image of Milly as the American girl annexes her life by delimiting her as a person, he holds on to this label to uphold his mastery over Kate. Even as he theorizes that the person Milly is so fragile that her life "was thus absolutely in his hands," and even as his cards reveal that his "doing" (which includes not doing) "might kill her," Merton maintains his confining image of Milly.

Merton Densher kills Milly Theale.21 After Lord Mark has revealed to Milly that Merton and Kate have been engaged all along and Merton's entrance to Milly's palace has been blocked with the words "that the signorina padrona was not 'receiving'" (323), Milly ultimately allows Merton another visit. Apparently, the news of the engagement has devastated Milly and she has, in the dramatic words of Susan Stringham, "turned her face to the wall" (333). Susan passionately implores him to deny the engagement in Merton's meeting with Milly in order to save
Milly's life. But rather than seeing Susan's request as an honest concern for Milly, Merton reads Susan's appeal as a command to him which threatens his masterful masculinity. Not only does Merton view Susan's visit to him as an infiltration in the sanctity of his Venetian rooms, still so full with the memory of his "battle" with Kate, Susan's entrance also subjects him to another woman's plot. As he phrases it in by now familiar terms:

Women were wonderful--at least this one was. But so, not less, was Milly, was Aunt Maud; so, most of all, was his very Kate. Well, he already knew what he had been feeling about the circle of petticoats. They were all such petticoats! It was just the fineness of his tangle. (342)

Nowhere does Merton express a concern for Milly Theale, and Susan's straightforward presentation of Merton's "tangle," "to save her life, you consent to denial" (344), places Milly's life even more firmly "absolutely in his hands." He can deny the engagement and thus save Milly's will to live. The denial, however, threatens Merton's idea of his masculinity. Up to the moment of their final meeting, Merton has maintained his masculinity through invoking his second idea, Milly as the American girl. But since his visit to Milly three weeks after Lord Mark told her of his engagement is structured as a confession scene, his second idea offers him no longer safe refuge. Merton's honor seems doomed.

Yet as book 10 opens back at Lancaster Gate, three weeks after his return from Venice, Merton emerges as a reborn man proudly recounting the beauty of the final scene with Milly. The shocking transition from the close of book 9 to the beginning of book 10 strikingly parallels Merton's first assertion of his masculinity. Book 8 closes with Kate's promise to
come to Merton's room and book 9 opens with Merton's newly gained masculinity after Kate has left. The gap between the books contains Kate's visit to his rooms, but the reader only receives the visit and, more importantly, the meaning of the visit through an elated, erect Merton Densher. The space between book 9 and book 10 guards Merton's visit to Milly in her rooms. The parallel structure stresses the similarity between Kate's violation and Milly's violation. But what exactly allows Merton to once again arise victorious, even though the visit eventually kills Milly?

As he recounts the scene to Kate, he only describes the danger of the twenty-minute meeting in terms of his own "tangle":

"I must tell you moreover that I had no doubt of its really being to give me, as you say, a chance. She believed, I suppose, that I might deny; and what, to my own mind, was before me in going to her was the certainty that she'd put me to my test. She wanted from my own lips--so I saw it--the truth. But I was with her for twenty minutes, and she never asked me for it." (360)

By not having to give her the truth "she wanted from my own lips," Merton does not have to lie and can escape from underneath the "circle of petticoats" unscathed. In spite of Merton's claim that ultimately Lord Mark or even Kate killed Milly, he admits that his refusal to lie is linked to her death. Besides his awareness of her utter dependence on him, he tells a shocked Kate he would have told the truth about the engagement even if it meant killing Milly just to maintain his pure mind:

"Well, if you must know--and I want you to be clear about it--I didn't even seriously think of a denial to her face. The question of it--as possibly saving her--was put to me definitely enough; but to turn it over was only to dismiss it." (359)
That Milly did not rudely force him to tell her the cruel truth, that she did not use her powerful position to jeopardize his honor, becomes to Merton the angelic value of Milly Theale. Because she saves his "honor," Merton transforms his image of Milly. He no longer needs to force Milly into the resisting stereotype of the American girl; he can do with her as he pleases. He metaphorizes Milly into a familiar spiritual, transcendent, and ideal femininity of the literary sentimental tradition.

Merton's process of transformation of Milly from the American girl to the ideal woman of sentimentality revolves around Milly's death. In his discussion of The Portrait of a Lady in The Lessons of the Master, William Veeder lauds James's ability to revise a traditional sentimental deathbed scene, and Susan Mizruchi notes Wings's dependence on deathbed scenes in Uncle Tom's Cabin.22 Little Eva's perfection, innocence, and capacity for life in Uncle Tom's Cabin make her death a tragedy. In the ideology of the sentimental novel, according to Tompkins, "dying is the supreme form of heroism" in which the real power of the character's death, moreover, lies in its ability "to redeem the unregenerate" (127, 128). In The Wings of the Dove, James furthers this rewriting of the deathbed scene by actually omitting it entirely from the novel. The deathbed scene featuring an angelic, dying woman and a confessing, repenting man supposedly occurs between book 9 and book 10; it exists only as a blank space in the novel. Nevertheless, Merton's staged moral growth after Milly's death supplements the deathbed scene by offering his version of Milly's transforming powers. The difference in effect, however, is striking. Whereas in Uncle Tom's Cabin little Eva stages her transcendence in a center of the novel, in The Wings of the Dove a man stages the transcendence of woman after her death.
Omitting the very nature of female power in the sentimental plot leaves the female character defenseless before the interpretations of others. Merton Densher assumes the role of witness, and, rather than Milly changing him, he actually turns her into a sentimental character of influence. As Leo Bersani remarks: "Her [Milly's] effect is most powerful when she is dead, and the nature of her effect is 'inexpressible.'" As the sole witness to the deathbed scene, Merton employs her death to once again assert his mastery.

After reading her as the American girl during her life, Merton now adopts a ready-made text for Milly. Suddenly, Merton starts echoing Susan Stringham's romantic terminology. In order to absolve himself of any guilt in Milly's death, he tells Kate that any action of his would have been useless; the narrator explicitly focuses on Merton's use of Susan's words: "Then he spoke as Mrs. Stringham had spoken. 'She turned her face to the wall'" (357). Merton's alignment with Susan Stringham after Milly's death allows both of them an image of Milly as an angelic being, who transcends the material world.

The "lady-magazinist" Susan Shepherd views the world through a romantic lens; she decides to accompany Milly because she reads Milly as "the real thing, the romantic life itself. That was what she saw in Mildred—what positively made her hand a while tremble too much for the pen" (78). For Susan, Milly represents a princess and one of her own "New England heroines" (128), and as an attendant, Susan will perpetuate that image. After Milly refuses to see Merton, Susan embarks on a mission to reconstitute the old romance plot. In spite of his actions, Susan upholds her idea of the idyllic yet tragic young lovers, Milly and Densher, and when Densher, for his own purposes, adheres to a conception of supernatural
femininity, he establishes a rapport with Susan. Susan now defends Merton's actions to Aunt Maud who has also wholeheartedly adopted Merton. Susan Shepherd becomes another relation he may use:

And he saw again into the bargain what a marvel was Susan Shepherd. She did nothing but protect him--she had done nothing but keep it up. In copious communication with the friend of her youth she had yet, it was plain, favoured this lady with nothing that compromised him. Milly's act of renouncement she had described but as a change for the worse; she had mentioned Lord Mark's descent, as even without her it might be known, so that she mustn't appear to conceal it; but she had suppressed explanations and connections, and indeed, for all he knew, blessed Puritan soul, had invented commendable fictions. (367)

Susan's "commendable fictions" save Merton from complicity in Milly's death. As he retells these fictions about Milly as "some noble young victim of the scaffold, in the French revolution," he even pictures himself in his story as the compassionate witness:

He himself for that matter took in the scene again at moments as from the page of a book. He saw a young man far off and in a relation inconceivable, saw him hushed, passive, staying his breath, but half understanding, yet dimly conscious of something immense and holding himself painfully together not to lose it. (369)

Imagining himself a character who undergoes a sublime experience, he imposes his character's experience unto his own. His belief in his own fiction serves the explicit purpose of convincing other women of his transformed state through the beautiful death of Milly Theale. These
fictions not only offer him respite from Susan Stringham, but, as he tells his story to Aunt Maud, she buys his version of an inexpressible sublime experience:

At present there with Mrs. Lowder he knew he had gathered all--that passed between them mutely as in the intervals of their associated gaze they exchanged looks of intelligence. This was as far as association could go, but it was far enough when she knew the essence. The essence was that something had happened to him too beautiful and too sacred to describe. He had been to his recovered sense, forgiven, dedicated, blessed; but this he couldn't coherently express. It would have required an explanation--fatal to Mrs. Lowder's faith in him--of the nature of Milly's wrong. So, as to the wonderful scene, they just stood at the door. They had the sense of the presence within--they felt the charged stillness; after which, their association deepened by it, they turned together away. (369-70)

The scene meticulously describes Merton's strategy of confrontation with the "circle of petticoats." Both Merton's insincerity and his use of the deathbed scene surface plainly. Merton uses the expected effect of Milly's death on him as evidence for what happened during their final meeting. Through Merton's not speaking, which would have been "fatal to Mrs. Lowder's faith in him," he plays the character of the converted. The telling allows him to enter into a deepened association with Aunt Maud; one in which he, as protagonist, tames the "lioness" Aunt Maud. To Merton's chagrin, Aunt Maud so completely believes Merton's religious conversion that, on a later occasion, she naturally assumes that he will go to church. Bound by his own story, Merton responds, "Why yes--I think I will" (379).
As a ludicrous extension of his code of not lying, Merton finds himself at a loss how to fulfill this promise:

...it suddenly occurred to him that he had just lied to Mrs. Lowder--a term it perversely eased him to keep using--even more than was necessary. To what church was he going, to what church, in such a state of his nerves, could he go?--he pulled up short again, as he had pulled up in sight of Mrs. Lowder's carriage, to ask it. (380)

The purpose for his going to church, then, is again exposed as Merton's way to hold to his masculine conception of honor, and not as part of some genuine religious conversion. Besides, he is only too aware that his use of Milly's death is anything but a matter of religious conversion (to what church indeed "could he go?"). Finally, only not to have lied to Aunt Maud, he enters the church at Brompton Road for the Oratory. Intensely relieved, Merton feels he once again has not violated his honor: "The Oratory in short, to make him right, would do" (380).

The last of the "circle of petticoats" Merton has to defeat is his "own" Kate. Before examining the bizarre sequence of events, it is important to realize that throughout the contact and correspondence with the executors of Milly's estate, Merton corresponds with Susan Stringham. In all probability, his secret agent in America provides information about Milly's will and so puts Merton at an unfair bargaining advantage in his struggle with Kate. As Merton theorizes his "transatlantic commerce":

His correspondence with Milly's companion was somehow already presenting itself to him as a feature--as a factor, he would have said in his newspaper;... [Kate] had put him no question, no "Don't you ever hear?"--so that he hadn't been brought to the
point. This he described to himself as a mercy, for he liked his secret. It was as a secret that, in the same personal privacy, he described his transatlantic commerce, scarce even wincing while he recognised it as the one connexion in which he wasn't straight.

Merton's language still identifies personal relationships in terms of business transactions and texts. Somehow his entanglement parallels the stories, the features, he writes in his newspaper. His pen remains masterful. Like Milly, Kate does not force him to expose his secret because she does not ask for it. While maintaining his honor because he has not lied, he can nevertheless manipulate and use a connection in which "he wasn't straight." When Merton offers Milly's unopened letter to Kate as a mark of his honor, he implicitly proposes an exchange of sacrifices. As tribute to Kate's sacrifice, he offers her "the sacred script" "as a symbol of my attitude" (393). By throwing the letter into the fire, Kate denies that the exchange value of Merton's "sacrifice" somehow offsets her own "sacrifice." But Merton persistently clings to his conception of honor to dominate Kate. By sending Kate another unopened letter, one from a representative of Milly's estate with apparently a handsome inheritance, he tests her femininity. The beauty of a refusal, according to Merton, would have given him Kate on his conditions. His feigned transformation allows him to dismantle Kate's plot; Merton reiterates his terms to marry Kate "as we were," but, as Kate wryly notes, "we shall never be as we were" (403). Merton supposedly refers to the material condition before Milly's gift, yet he may also refer to their presexual relation which is in line with his new vision of femininity. Kate has already returned to her destitute family to help her feminized and emotional father. Yet her newly acquired aesthetic
tastes alienate her from her old surroundings. The return to her family's material condition and her virginity is impossible; Merton's "way" has violated and mastered both.

In this struggle for dominance between a man and a woman, Merton has employed his image of the self-sacrificing, angelic woman to gain mastery over both Milly and Kate. After violating Kate through reading her "uncut pages," he uses his pen to write Milly first as the American girl and then, after her death, as the heroine of sentimental fiction. Using his typology of the American girl to avoid dealing with Milly as a person and using the image of the dead heroine who sacrificed herself for man, Merton renews his possession both of Milly and Kate; he has finally asserted his own masculinity. He has managed to "annex and possess" Kate's "life" into his still immaculate mind. His feminization under that circle of petticoats ultimately leads to the disruption of the women's power; his appropriation of women enables him to claim a dominant, self-stylized masculinity.

**Trapping and Disciplining the American Woman:**

*Henry James's Possession of Women*

By ending with Densher's newly attained power over Kate, *The Wings of the Dove* highlights the development of Merton's masculinity. At the same time, however, the novel apparently stresses that Merton gains his masculinity at the cost of the two major female characters. This conflict of readings between, on the one hand, a Bildungsroman plot and, on the other hand, a plot about appropriation produces such fundamentally contradictory interpretations that I desperately look for the author's intentions to somehow find the "master"plot. That question can be posed as
follows: Does James endorse Merton Densher's way to finally attain a
dominant masculinity, or does he condemn Merton's appropriation of
women for his own purposes? As I have pointed out previously, these
either/or options form much of the battleground of gender criticism of
James. In *Wings*, the female characters apparently find no refuge
whatsoever in the space created for them by the male character whose pen
authors them. *The Wings of the Dove*, however, complicates this either-or
opposition tremendously because of James's own relation to Merton's
"tangle." Not only did James himself feel feminized as an author in a
profession dominated by women (a circle of petticoats?), but even more
explicitly through the direct parallels of appropriation between Merton and
James. On a different textual level, the portrait of Milly Theale is in itself
a rewriting of James's dead cousin Minnie Temple. In addition, Merton's
definition and use of the American girl type duplicate James's
identification of the American girl. Besides the (in)famous Daisy Miller,
James furthers the concept after his own trip and letters from America in
*The American Scene*. And as a final parallel between James and Merton
Densher, Merton's use of a sentimental concept of womanhood in which the
original female power is displaced by a "masculine" interpretation points
forward to James's reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Most analyses of *Wings* recognize in Milly Theale a portrait of Minnie
Temple. For the concerns of this paper, Alfred Habegger's meticulous
examination into James's rewriting of his cousin proves most helpful. In
Habegger's analysis, the parallels between Merton Densher's appropriation
of Millie Theale and James's own use of Minnie Temple become readily
apparent. Habegger notes, for example, that the "real" Minnie Temple was
especially noted for her courageous disagreements with Henry James, Sr:
[She b]oth tacitly and openly...challenged his father's opinions. Not only was she a sterling example of the earnest, restless young woman, a much publicized type in the late 1860s that the Jameses and many other Brahmins tended to frown on, but she denounced the philosopher's ideas to his face.24

Milly Theale, by contrast, sacrifices her will to live for Merton Densher, and as such fits a role prescribed for women by patriarchy.25 It is especially striking that in Notes of a Son and Brother, James's Minnie Temple most resembles Milly Theale.26 After dramatizing Merton's appropriation of the dead Milly Theale for his ends, James appears to put his dramatic study into effect in his own autobiography. Henry James intends Minnie Temple's compassionate letters to William James to convey a tragic desire to live while she faces her own death. Yet as Habegger has convincingly demonstrated, James edited the particular letters to such an extent that they formed their part in the autobiography of Henry James; Minnie Temple serves to plot the growth of young Henry James in which her death signals his maturity.27 Thus, rather than an exposé of Merton's violent appropriation of Milly, James's autobiographical narrative, apparently approving Merton's use of Milly, puts Merton's lessons to use.

Merton's professional assignment to America in search for both commercial and artistic success also reproduces James's position. When Merton exclaims that his letters from America will convey a "new tone...such a tone as, from now on, it would have always to take from his example," he describes what happened after James published his successful "Daisy Miller" (1878). Through this short story, James found himself an instant "expert" on the peculiarity of the American girl, and the name Daisy Miller became synonymous with the type of the American girl; in
fact, it set off "a vogue." Typically, she stood for "a free-spirited American girl who collides with orthodox [European] society." In James's work, the frequently employed type of the American girl is often an orphan (as in *Portrait* and *Wings*) or accompanied by a weak, inadequate mother, while her father is either dead or at his business in America. In other words, James triumphantly completed Merton's mission; in one of his financially most successful works, James set a "new tone" in which he "captured" this typical American species; his Daisy Miller became a model others would now always have "to take from his example." But while in most of his novels and short stories he fictionalizes and identifies the plight of "the American girl," in *Wings* he fictionalizes a man identifying the American girl and the disastrous results of this identification for the woman. In this self-reflexive examination, James appears highly critical of his own categorization and the effects it produced; by dramatizing Merton's "capture" of her as a creature of the American girl species, the novel clearly exposes the delimiting and imprisoning effect on Milly as a person.

Yet when James publishes *The American Scene* (1907) after his first visit to America in 1904, he repeats his obsession with the species of the American girl who has now matured into "the American woman." Just as his use of Minnie Temple in his autobiography appears modeled after Merton's use of Milly Theale, James fashions another autobiographical piece, his "letters" from America, after Merton's extended example. In a chapter on Washington, "the city of conversation," he continues his probe about the American girl. While spending a few days at the house of another American man of letters obsessed with the degeneration of American women, Henry Adams, James may have been confronted with the
death of one of his American girls. Marian Adams, Henry Adams's wife and a friend of Minnie Temple, had committed suicide in 1885. To James, Clover was "a perfect Voltaire in petticoats," a typical American girl, very well and freely educated. James had linked Minnie Temple and Clover for their peculiar American "intellectual grace," and had once labeled Clover "the incarnation of my native land." In Washington, the visit to the widower Adams may have spurned James's Adamesque litany on American women. At the same time, his generalizations about American women and his identification of Clover as the American girl also reflect back to the violence of classification in The Wings of the Dove.

In The American Scene, James portrays the relation between husband and wife in terms of a peculiar American "contract." According to James, because the husband has become so enraptured by his professional business life, the American woman finds herself in charge of "two-thirds of the apparent life," and that "she is absolutely all of the social" (346). The results are both unique and detrimental for the American woman. The contract leaves the woman with (too) much unguarded freedom and makes her "the sport of fate" (348). The inadequacy of the American man in social affairs and his lack of discipline offered her, in James's mind, "an end practically so perfidious" (348). James wonders why the American woman accepted the terms of the agreement:

Why need she, unless in the interest of her eventual discipline, have turned away with so light a heart after watching the Man, the deep American man, retire into his tent and let down the flap? She had her "paper" from him, their agreement signed and sealed; but would she not, in some other air and under some other sky, have been visited by a saving instinct? Would she not have said,
"No, this is too unnatural; there must be a trap in it somewhere--it's addressed really, in the long run, to making a fool of me?"

(348)

The particular contract leaves the woman in an unnatural place, subject to "her eventual discipline." James's language about the American woman's position--her sealed "agreement," the "trap," and her being made a fool--echo moments in The Wings of the Dove. But who is it who "traps" the American woman? Who makes her into a "fool?" Both in The Wings of the Dove and in The Portrait of a Lady, the American woman is trapped by a man who wishes to "discipline" her. Particularly in Wings, Milly's American and, in James's assessment, "unnatural" innocence and unlimited freedom make her a ready subject of Merton and Kate's trap. But what Wings also, and perhaps even more persuasively, dramatizes is that Merton's categorization of Milly as the American girl forms Merton's trap to catch the American creature and that his label makes her into a fool. If one were to apply the plot of Wings to James's autobiographical writings about America, James's decree about the American woman serves in itself to "discipline" these unruly, powerful women. When James incessantly generalizes about the American woman, he traps women into a type that obliterates individual women.

James's endorsement of Merton's appropriation of women also reoccurs in James's confrontation with the apex of sentimental fiction, Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. The similarities between Merton's and James's appropriation of sentimentality suggest that while James is intensely aware of the violence of Merton's appropriation, he nevertheless uses Merton's model to confront and master successful women's fiction. As pointed out in the opening of this chapter, through debased theatrical
versions embodying "love," James recalls his debt to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as his first encounter with "grown-up fiction." Stowe's novel is only dealt with in terms of its "effect" and "influence." And when James denies *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the status of a book but claims it is more "a state of vision, of feeling and of consciousness" (94), he measures Stowe's novel only through a female influence of the doctrine of separate spheres. Stowe's novel served as a stepping stone for James to become the master of fiction. The Barnum theater version successfully displaces the powerful and successful female author and female novel with young Henry James "gaping" at a "scarcely clad...Countess in 'Love'" (91). James narrates his childhood experience from the perspective of the now mature author. His return to "Woman as Love" and "Woman as helpmate for Man" safely shelter James from a more open gender structure of the early 1900s. Ideally for James, his freedom-loving American girl and his distraught "unnatural" American woman only turn out to be disguised versions of Woman in the doctrine of separate spheres; his American girl and woman will hear the voice of James's "saving instinct" of true womanhood. But Merton Densher's and James's particular appropriations of sentimentality demonstrate that their version of "true womanhood" does not refer to women but to a masculine appropriation of women; one that displaces the source of female power in the separate spheres doctrine. In Merton's, and by extension James's case, the fact that these men can annex a female sphere to which women can be delegated serves also to make them firmly masculine; yet their "possession" of the female sphere and their need to both make the women "feminine" and the men "masculine" illustrate the instability of the separate spheres. Contrary to Stowe's use of the separate spheres doctrine to find a source of
female power, in the writings of Merton Densher and James, the sentimental serves as a reassertion of male power.

After my comparison of the self-reflexive moments of The Wings of the Dove to later autobiographical texts, it would appear that James, while fully conscious of the mechanics and results of female appropriation, endorses Merton Densher's use of women. In other words, exposing the violence of appropriation does not necessarily imply a critique; in fact, it is almost as if James used Wings itself as a study for his own situation, the lessons of which he applied in his autobiographical writings. His categorization of the American woman after his trip to America, his sentimental use of Minnie Temple, and the rewriting of sentimentality itself in A Small Boy and Notes correspond to Merton's appropriation of women.

"They Must Be": Kate Croy and Milly Theale in James's Novel

But in spite of all these convincing and disturbing analogies between Merton and James, it remains difficult to uphold a one-to-one correspondence between the author and his supposed self-portrait. On the one hand, Merton's multinational education in part resembles James's unconventional education; on the other hand, by making his character a journalist, James appears to distance himself from Merton. In his notebook entry to The Bostonians, James lashes out at the vulgarity of a newspaper man: "I should like bafuer the vulgarity and hideousness of this--the impudent invasion of privacy--the extinction of all conception of privacy." While Merton does not nearly fulfill the "ideal of the energetic reporter" as Mr. Pardon does in The Bostonians, Merton's newspaper pen
does extinguish "all conception of privacy." Merton's sexual activity also appears to differentiate him from his author. Yet James's 1909 preface to the New York Edition presages the plot in Merton's terms: Kate "pays...heroically" (12) and Milly is portrayed as "an unspotted princess" (16). And even though in his Notebooks, James conveys his intention that Merton experience a genuine transformation and thus "lives poor and single and faithful--faithful to the image of the dead" while Kate marries Lord Mark, a close reading does not indicate any such radical moral change. As Sally Sears sarcastically remarks: "the man [Merton Densher] who has tried so hard not to be a brute becomes what is almost worse, a prig." Nowhere is Merton portrayed as anything resembling a role model, and that he seems to become so later to the author curiously disrupts another reading of The Wings of the Dove. From within the novel itself, and thus also from James, other voices contradict and critique Merton's appropriation of female characters. In order to continue reading to uncover dissenting voices from within the novel, I again look for moments of resistance. However, James's scrupulous disciplinary techniques leave fewer apertures than in Max Havelaar or Koele Meren.

James's preoccupation with the novel as legitimate art object and his experimentation with point of view builds in other reflectors besides Merton Densher. The muffled voices in James's autobiographical writings have to be uncovered in James's novel for it to function as a work of art. When James elucidates his "scheme" of Wings, he points to the various "centres" and reflectors in this novel:

Do I ever abandon one centre for another after the former has been postulated? From the moment we proceed by "centres"--and I have never, I confess, embraced the logic of any superior
process—they must be, each, as a basis, selected and fixed; after which it is that, in the high interest of economy of treatment they determine and rule. There is no economy of treatment without an adopted, a related point of view. (11)

The various centers in Wings, as James emphasizes, must be and "determine and rule." Not only Merton holds such a center through his extended point of view, but Kate and Milly also, be it to a significantly lesser degree, occupy a center in Wings. For them to function as centers, James stresses, they have to "be" persons, otherwise the "economy of treatment" goes bankrupt. Thus, contrary to Merton's indirect representation of the two women, in their respective centers in James's house of fiction, the "original" dwells. And when James bemoans the skewed structure of the novel, in the preface he calls the second half "the false and deformed half" (13), the predominant point of view in this "false" second half is, of course, Merton's. In The Search for Form, J. A. Ward acutely observes that in this second half, Merton actively participates in the representation, or what I have called appropriation, of the two women: "Merton Densher's consciousness virtually dominates the second half of the novel....Densher, with his mind so full of both Kate and Milly, functions as an economic means of representing both women."37 In this novel about economic power, as Ward pithily notes, even artistic concerns such as point of view become closely interwoven with issues of purchasing or selling power. Merton's extended point of view signals his "possession" of others in the second half; and his possession is "full of" the women who have possessed him in earlier parts. The structure of the novel allows the undoing of Merton's possession of the women. By reexamining those earlier parts and comparing them to Merton's interpretation of those
moments, the reader receives different "beings" than the ones Merton reads and writes. In the novel, these centers offer the original women Merton appropriates.

Kate Croy's malicious plotting and her willingness to have sex with Merton just to have her way appear to mark her firmly as the evil pole in a split femininity so characteristic of nineteenth-century male fiction. Yet the first book severely undercuts such categorization. From the perspective of Kate's consciousness, the reader witnesses her reluctance to play the role of ambassador for her manipulative father and sister. Paradoxically, her father's weakness completely subjects Kate to his will. The novels opens with Kate waiting for her father, who finally speaks to her from the top of the stairs.

Aunt Maud has offered Kate an "agreement": She will adopt Kate, but in return, Kate has to renounce her family. When Kate offers instead to stay home with her father, to "sacrifice" herself for him, Lionel Croy (perhaps the "real" Lion in the animal kingdom of Wings) orders her to sacrifice herself for the family honor. Not by staying at home, Lionel Croy argues, but by aligning herself with Aunt Maud and marrying rich will she fulfill her family duty. As her father clarifies in a perverse father-daughter speech: "Do you know what you're proof of, all you hard hollow people together?...Of the deplorably superficial morality of the age. The family sentiment, in our vulgarized brutalised life, has gone utterly to pot " (29). Lionel Croy's version of family sentiment sends his daughter out of his house in order to prove her self-sacrificial family instinct. As he tells Kate: "It's just your honour that I appeal to. The only way to play the game is to play it" (30). After her visit to her widowed sister with four children, Kate decides to play the game for her family. Not only has she
proven to "be" an extremely generous person by giving part of her inheritance to her sister, but book 1 presents her as utterly subjected to her father's mysterious power. When Kate later plays the "game" with Merton, she does not play as a representative of powerful femininity, as Merton believes, but she plays for her father.38

What if book 1 were not there? Apparently, it serves no purposes in the plot aside from conveying how Kate was taken up by Aunt Maud. But "Kate's" book does present a different Kate from the materialistic, amoral Kate whom Merton later decides to test. Book 1 also parallels Kate's sheltered life in the (troubled) home to Milly's relative seclusion in the Swiss Alps. Both Kate and Milly decide to "come out" and play the game of life. In the second half of the novel, however, Kate's life becomes part of Merton's mind, and since the second half mostly narrates Merton's point of view, the reader only receives his possession of Kate.

When Milly occupies the center of the novel (part of book 3 and book 5), Merton Densher's appropriation of her is similarly exposed. In her books, she emerges as a powerful character. Contrary to Isabel Archer in Portrait who leaves the books in her dusty dark room only after Mrs. Touchett takes her away, Milly makes the decision herself. Having thrown away her "uncut but antiquated Tauchnit volume" (86), Milly decides no longer to live her life indirectly through other texts but to descend from the Alps and enter the "game" of society. While anxious to fulfill her tentative promise to meet "the so unusually 'bright' young Englishman" (94), Merton Densher, in London, she in no way wants to give him "the air of running after him" (95). In Milly's plot, Susan and Milly will go to London to visit Susan's old rival Maud Manningham, but Milly's ulterior motive is clear: visit Merton Densher.
In London, Milly quickly finds herself amidst a battle between Aunt Maud and Kate over Merton Densher. Suddenly, Milly becomes an informer for Aunt Maud; by closely watching Kate, Milly is to report whether or not Merton has returned from America. Besides Milly's obvious interest in this liaison, she consciously uses her relationship with Kate to extract information from her. In an effort to make Kate confess her secrets, Milly proposes that Kate accompany her to the renowned Dr. Sir Luke Strett. By sharing the secret of her fragile health with Kate and as "proof" of her "special confidence" (142), Milly schemes, Kate will share any secret she harbors. When Kate keeps silent, Milly concludes she does not belong to Merton. As Milly phrases it, Kate "ceased to be Mr. Densher's image" (144). Milly, moreover, seems perfectly aware of her own surplus value for a potential husband. When Lord Mark proposes marriage, she succinctly assesses his possible reasons: "With that there came to her a light: wouldn't her value, for the man who should marry her, be precisely in the ravage of her disease? She mightn't last, but her money would" (267). What these episodes clearly convey is Milly's willingness to play the game of society with as much abandon as the others, and that she is in no way overwhelmed by intricacies of silences and lies in London society. Milly's active role in the earlier part of the novel radically disproves Merton's classification of her as a foreign species.39

What makes it possible then for Merton to cherish his idea of Milly as "the American girl"? In the crucial scene at the National Gallery, an embarrassing triangle develops between Kate, Merton, and Milly. Milly has observed the intimacy of Kate and Merton's "adventure" (187), as Merton labels it, and now realizes she needs to differentiate herself in order to save the propriety of the meeting. Immediately, Milly resorts to
her supposed foreignness; she decides to perform the part of the American girl:

The finest part of Milly's own inspiration...was the quick perception that what would be of most service was...her own native wood-note. She had long been conscious with shame for her thin blood, or at least for her poor economy, of her unused margin as a American girl--closely indeed as in English air the text might appear to cover the page. She still had reserves of spontaneity, if not of comicality; so that all this cash in hand could now find employment. She became as spontaneous as possible and as American as it might conveniently appeal to Mr. Densher, after his travels, to find her. She said things in the air, and yet flattered herself that she struck him as saying them not in the tone of agitation but in the tone of New York. In the tone of New York agitation was beautifully discounted, and she had now a sufficient view of how much it might accordingly help her. (179)

Milly puts on the correct costume to play her part in British society: a flavor of spontaneity and an American tone; these function as Milly's "cash in hand" to make her into the product that appeals to Mr. Densher. Milly's conscious and witty use of her "margin as American girl" normalizes the awkward triangle at the National Gallery. Milly transforms her agitation at seeing Merton and Kate closely together into a "spontaneous" "tone of New York." Milly continues her role to solve the "queer" situation; she proposes lunch at her hotel:

She proposed it as the natural thing--proposed it as the American girl; and she saw herself quickly justified by the pace at which she was followed. The beauty of the case was that to do it all she had
only to appear to take Kate's hint. This had said in its fine first smile "Oh yes, our look's queer--but give me time"; and the American girl could give time as nobody else could. (179)

But "her text" as American girl covers "her page." While Milly plays her role, Merton finds in her performance the confirmation of his American letters. By playing the part of her marginality, as Milly imagines her role-playing, Merton finds the tool to make her marginality cover her "page." In these remarkable passages, Milly exposes the arbitrariness of Merton's category. Yet, as the narrative only too clearly dramatizes, that the category is arbitrary does not make her cultural designation less oppressive.

Significantly, volume 1 closes with Milly contemplating the delimiting consequences of her performance as the American girl. After her renewed meeting with Merton, Milly foreshadows her ultimately fatal bond with him:

> Whatever he did or he didn't Milly knew she should still like him—there was no alternative to that; but her heart could none the less sink a little on feeling how much his view of her was destined to have in common with—as she now sighed over it—the view. (181)

Only on the basis of Merton having the view—by which Milly means the view of Milly Theale only as the American girl—will she have a relationship with him, Milly theorizes. While this basis both facilitates conversation and enables her to keep him in "her power" (181), she nevertheless would like to discuss other matters besides "the scenery in the Rockies" (181). But, as Milly's mind becomes occupied with impending news about her health, she absent-mindedly continues her performance
while volume 1 and Milly's "center" in the novel closes with the
foreboding: "she continued to cling to the Rockies" (182).40

Milly is right; Merton has the view of her. In the "flawed" second half,
Merton's center overtakes other views, and his view of Milly subsequently
becomes the view. With this last look at Milly clinging to the Rockies, the
view propels Milly into the "abysses" (120) she had wanted for herself.
Milly's consent to play her cultural role enables Merton to kill her.

"Really 'Doing' Her": Master James and His Female Subject

The "centers" of Kate and Milly expose Merton's appropriation of the
two women as violent misrepresentations. Contrary to his autobiographical
writings, in this novel James permits glimpses of other views that refract
the mechanics of female appropriation. While the passages in The
American Scene, A Small Boy and Notes warn any reader against equating
self-reflexivity and exposure with self-implication and critique, James's
novelistic structure of Wings builds in other "texts." Merton Densher
reads Kate Croy's "uncut pages" and places her in his library; Merton
writes Milly Theale's "page" first as the American girl and later as the
sentimental heroine. In short, the particular novelistic structure of Wings
as opposed to the first-person narrative of autobiography enables the
reader to view the appropriation of an original character. But even though
this apparently democratic structure opens up other windows in James's
house of fiction, the "original" women remain themselves subject of and
subject to the masterplotting pen of the master himself.

By ending the "centers" with the observation that Kate is victim of her
father's "family sentiment," and Milly victim of her performance as the
American girl and her deep love for Densher, the novel still portrays the women subordinate to their men. While Merton's appropriation is exposed as essentially false, there is no "original" woman to expose this portrait of men-desiring-women as a male appropriation. As his autobiographical writings indicate, James's portrayal of women warrants close examination. Do the "original" Kate and Milly break down the borders of annexation and possession of male appropriation?

William Veeder's intriguing analysis of Isabel Archer as James's fictional self-portrait (captured in the marvelous phrase "The Portrait of a Lad(d)y") proposes to disestablish rigid gender binaries. That James finds "the truest representation of his self in figures of the orphan and women" (95) implies that gender analyses in James do not neatly separate into an analysis of male and female characters, but that the critic must take into account James's apparent desire and willingness to portray himself as a woman. This crossing of genders, in Veeder's argument, aligns James to feminism because James's feminization insists that "gender is socially produced" (99), and as such exposes the gender categories "man" and "woman" as cultural designations available to either group. While I agree that James has great interest in woman, and, especially before his "major phase," fictionalizes himself as a woman, I disagree with his claim that such a gender crossing necessarily aligns the male author with feminism. Even though James's knowledge of women has been praised by numerous female critics, I read James's "knowing" women in terms of annexation and possession, not unrelated to heterosexual mastery.41 As a text from the master's "major phase," The Wings of the Dove displays a use of the feminine that questions the liberating potential of gender crossings.
James's much noted aversion for, as Virginia Fowler phrases it, the "convulsive masculinity" of American business men connects James with a feminine sphere in a strict binary gender structure. But even if James does write against a patriarchal conception of masculinity, his gender does not automatically disrupt the patriarchal binary. In fact, James seems to be the type of male author about whom Laura Claridge and Elizabeth Langland warn their readers in the introduction to Out of Bounds: "He may, that is, appropriate the feminine to enlarge himself, a process not incompatible with contempt for actual women." Rather than being "out of bounds," James's texts forces gender firmly "in bounds." While apparently sympathizing with women, some of these male writers appropriate a feminine sphere only to use it against women. Such an annexation and possession, as I have called the process, lies at the center of The Wings of the Dove. But this process of male appropriation is also not necessarily monolithic. If the writer exposes the violence of the appropriation, as in the dramatization of Merton Densher, labeling the author then as contemptuous "for actual women" becomes problematic. In addition, a representation of "actual women" by a male writer is subject to a critique of male appropriation.

When the older, "mature" James of the New York edition reconceives his project of The Portrait of a Lady by addressing the young Henry James of 1881, he focuses on the difficulty of making a "little" woman the "center" of a novel: "the job will be to translate her into the highest terms of that formula, and as nearly as possible moreover into all of them. To depend upon her and her little concerns wholly to see you through will necessitate, remember, your really 'doing' her." James's identification with Isabel Archer in 1881, as Veecher so acutely notes, is now read by the
older James in 1908 as part of a very different development. If, as I argue, James uses Wings partly as a study for his own appropriation of women (whether as critique or endorsement), the preface to Portrait, written after Wings and The American Scene, reflects his newly attained knowledge of female appropriation. Like James's apparent use of Merton's appropriation of women in his autobiographical writings, James here reads the younger James's identification with Isabel as his "translation" of her, as his "really doing her." Isabel is not a form of "representation of his self" in the preface, but presents a textual exercise intended to master the subject of woman in a novel. As James reads her in 1908, the "original" Isabel Archer actually represents a translated or appropriated woman that fits his art of the novel. James's study of woman, then, can be seen as part of his annexation and possession of woman that serves as his masculine "enlargement"; a masculinity that differs from a materialistic, "convulsive masculinity," but nevertheless firmly locked in a sphere of masculinity safely separated from femininity.

James's reassessment of The Portrait complicates the two portraits of women in Wings. As opposed to Merton's expanded center of consciousness, the reader views the "original" women in their minute centers in the novel. Yet to what extent are the "originals" more accurate or more representative portraits of women than the appropriated women? Making woman the center of consciousness in the novel, as James points out in his preface to The Portrait, is also a male-author strategy of translating and "doing" her. While Milly's and Kate's centers in Wings show them to be different from Merton's view of them, they still remain fatally subjected to men in the "natural" (contrary to the "unnatural" condition of contemporary American women) gender binary of the doctrine of separate
spheres: Kate lives her father's version of family sentiment and Milly's love binds her to Merton. As a result, by praising the "original" view over Merton's view in *Wings*, one may unintentionally reproduce a patriarchal structure of male dominance and female subordination. The interconnection between Merton's sexual mastery over Kate and his textual mastery over Milly thus also works from text to sex. James's textual "doing" of Isabel, Kate, and Milly, his annexation and possession of women, assures his own masculinity.

In two similar moments of resistance in *Portrait* and *Wings*, James appears to expose his masculine power over his female subjects. When Isabel strays from her intended route in London, she experiences a sense of exhilaration and "wantonness of liberty" (272): "The world lay before her--she could do whatever she chose. There was a deep thrill in it all....But Isabel performed the journey with a positive enjoyment of its dangers and lost her way almost on purpose, in order to get more sensations, so that she was disappointed when an obliging policeman set her right again" (273). The law-enforcing policeman ensures that Isabel will not break through the boundaries of his discipline. With this stunning appearance of a policeman, James sets Isabel "right" back on "her very straight path" (490) to Osmond. In her center in *Wings*, Milly feels herself part of a current. But rather than immersed in free flowing water, she notices that the current follows a distinct pattern: "It pressed upon her then and there that she was still in a current determined, through her indifference, timidity, bravery, generosity--she scarce could say which--by others; that not she but the current acted, and that somebody else always was the keeper of the lock or the dam" (166). As the master over his female character, James is "the
keeper of the lock." Even in Milly's "original" center, she is subject to the master.

Henry James's *The Wings of the Dove*, then, offers an important place in gender criticism which focuses on male authors representing female characters. As *Max Havelaar*, *Wings* makes use of a sentimental genre to represent female voices. In addition, however, *Wings* adds a strategy of female representation an actual silencing of women's voices that completely undercuts the sentimental genre's female power. By presenting various "views" of its major female and male characters, the novel dramatizes the violence of Jamesian female appropriation while at the same time enacting this appropriation. In Van Eeden's novel, the uncovering of femininity by the male artist is exposed as a misrepresentation from which the artist himself cannot escape. Though the bottomless portrait seems to reflect its endlessness to me, the critic of male feminism, *Koele Meren* stakes out the boundaries for men engaged in "no man's land".

Yet this novelistic act of self-reflexivity as a means of confession and exposure itself turns into a further oppressive mechanism for women characters in *The Wings of the Dove*. Through the novel's interaction between exposing Merton's self-serving appropriation and hiding James's novelistic appropriation of Milly and Kate, James masterfully defines his masculinity. Like Merton Densher, James can pen his growth as a man through his annexation and possession of women. As director of his theater in his autobiography, James stages the "Countess in 'Love'...with her swelling bust" as his "first experiment in grown-up fiction" in the narrative of his growth as an artist. He has emerged from underneath the
circle of petticoats of women's fiction by translating the powerful women into the lessons of the master.

3Cf. Joanna Russ, How to Suppress Women's Writing (London: Women's Press, 1984). In Russ's analysis of how women's writings are marginalized, ignored, suppressed, and feared, chapter 3 is exclusively devoted to "the denial of agency" (20-24).
9Edel points out that James started "Beast" while reading the final proofs of Wings. Edel also argues that both Wings and "Beast" are in part fictional representation of James's grief for Miss Woolson's suicide.
11Cf. Michael Moon, "Sexuality and Visual Terrorism in The Wings of the Dove," Criticism 28 (Fall 1986): 427-43. Moon builds in a compelling disclaimer to the possible critique that a focus on Densher's masculinity abuses the female characters. The female characters are not "genuine" anyway; he proposes: "The Wings of the Dove is in an important sense a novel without genuine female characters...so relentlessly does the narrative present them only in relation to the phallic" (429). Because the women are portrayed "so relentlessly" in relation to the phallic, I rather focus on their appropriation than on Merton's.

13 Tompkins, 145.


15 Elaine Showalter, Men in Feminism, 119.


18 Matthiessen, 75.

19 Cf. Tony Tanner, Leon Edel, and many others.


21 As opposed to, for example, Susan L. Mizruchi's solution of the murder plot. She states: "Lord Mark kills Milly," The Power of Historical Knowledge: Narrating the Past in Hawthorne, James, and Dreiser (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1988), 221.


23 Leo Bersani, A Future for Astyanax (London: Marion Boyars, 1978), 82.


25 Cf. Habegger, "The Fatherless Heroine and the Filial Son," about the portrait of Minnie Temple in The Portrait of a Lady: "The only way to win respect in the world of the fathers was to take captive the Amazon who had challenged them. James "completed" Minnie in order to make her--and himself--acceptable to the patriarchy" (75).

26 Henry James, Notes of a Small Boy and Others, Autobiography, 239-546.

27 Eakin argues that James ended Notes with Milly's death to signal his own maturity, 120-21. Eakin cites James's "We [William and Henry] felt it [Milly's death] as the end of our youth" (as quoted in Eakin, 120).


29 Woman Question, 180.


31 Edel, 241

33 The editors to the Wings Norton edition stress the analogy in education between Merton and James in a footnote: "Densher's education, cosmopolitan and eclectic like James's own, is central to his characters" (70).
35 Notebooks, 106.
39 Cf. Macnaughton, "Throughout, she [Milly] chooses to interpret and respond to certain events and characters in ways that bring maximum benefit for her, given her possible demise and the options available to postpone it" (98).
40 My interpretation differs importantly from Mizuchi. Whereas I argue that Merton classifies Milly as the American girl and a sentimental heroine, Mizuchi proposes that Milly authors her "cultivation of suffering" (237) which implicates her in her death. I believe Merton reads Milly as the sentimental heroine, and that the close of "Milly's book" indicates both her concern about Sir Luke's verdict and her rejection of a sentimental reading of her illness.
41 See especially Joyce C. Warren, "The Woman Takes Center Stage: Henry James," chapter 8, The American Narcissus: Individualism and Women in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1984). Joyce lauds James's ability to portray "real" women: "James's ability to recognize the other as a separate being enabled him to portray the woman as a person. In all of his novels the female characters are just as real, just as complex, and just as interesting--sometimes more interesting--than the male characters" (252).
42 Fowler, 5.
43 Laura Claridge and Elizabeth Langland, "Introduction," Out of Bounds, 3-4. William Veeder's essay occurs as a discordant voice in this volume. Another result of this volume is that it almost turns into a reappraisal of male writers already occupying the "patriarchal" male canon: Milton, Stern, Blake, Shelley, Keats, Trollope, Browning, Whitman, Collins, Hardy, James, Forster, Frost, Faulkner, and (perhaps to a lesser degree) Durrell.
45 Cf. D. A. Miller, The Novel and the Police (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988). The "obliging policeman" setting Isabel "right again" is another example of an author's "policing" or disciplining characters in a nineteenth-century novel. It is remarkable that James dramatizes his own disciplinary role in relation to his character (Miller's and Michel Foucault's terms) as one of an 'obliging policeman."
CHAPTER 4

No Refuge in Marriage: Henry Adams's Esther and Self-Reflexivity

In the midst of writing The History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison (1884, privately printed; 1889), Adams interrupted his work and wrote Esther (1884). James visited the Adamses in Washington in 1882-83. Lying on the floor, stretched out in his characteristic pose in front of the fireplace, James takes up a favorite topic of Adams and himself: the position of women in America. The ensuing argument lingers in their works, and James's notebook entry of April 8, 1883 that provided the germ to The Bostonians reads: "I wished to write a very American tale, a tale very characteristic of our social conditions, and I asked myself what was the most salient and peculiar point in our social life. The answer was: the situation of women, the decline of the sentiment of sex, the agitation on their behalf."¹ A few months later, on Sept. 24, 1883, Adams ridicules James's knowledge of women to John Hay: "James knows almost nothing about women; he never had a wife."² Of course the anecdote is pure speculation, even though the dates fit wonderfully well, but the men's discussion about the situation of women while Adams's wife plays hostess pinpoints differences between James's and Adams's ideas about women's roles in contemporary American society.³ By interrupting what he then saw as the epitome of American culture, the administration of Jefferson, Adams seems to take up the question of the American woman to show that, as a married man, he knows much if not all about women. Esther thus becomes his case-study of women and marriage on several fronts.
In *The Wings of the Dove*, James dramatizes a male strategy of appropriation that uses the female characters to define a mastering masculinity. The appropriation of women works not only on a textual level of male characters' relation to female characters, but also as an intertextual strategy of a male appropriation of female texts. By silencing the women's voices and supplementing these voices with male interpretation, Merton Densher shapes women into his male-representational apparatus. While the violence of this appropriation is exposed in the text as a strategy of masculine self-stylization, *Wings* is evidently not overconcerned with the plight of the female characters. Unlike Van Eeden's *Koele Meren*, self-reflexivity does not function as a confession of malappropriation and an identification of limits to male portraiture of women. In fact, James applies the lessons of appropriation to master both *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the resisting femininity of Minny Temple in his *Autobiography*. In James's text male strategies of female representation are turned into tools of masculinity rather than as means to represent women outside of male domination. Stephen Heath's and Joseph Allen Boone's strategies for a possible male entrance into the "no man's land" of feminism become antifeminist operations in James. Admiration and idealization become methods for oppressive definition; silence becomes a method that allows denial of agency as well as male supplementation of women's power; self-reflexivity becomes a method for learning an appropriative mechanism; and exposing the social construction of gender actually becomes a method not for liberating gender oppression but for constructing gender oppression. As a male feminist critic, I am placed in an ambivalent position by James that leaves me only to identify and expose his practice of gendering the text as antifeminist. Yet that I nevertheless
continue probing into researching strategies to gain access to feminist "no man's land" structurally resembles Merton Densher's and James's use of appropriative strategies in their "circles of petticoat." Nevertheless, I wish also to hold on to the more fruitful male feminist readings of Max Havelaar and Koele Meren as other possible renditions of strategies of female representation. Even though the structure of my dissertation suggests a story of development (with a rather abrupt stop in the middle with the Jamesian text), I do not want to imply that, after James, male strategies (admiration, silence, self-reflexivity, and a demonstration of the contingency of gender) must always already be read as male appropriative mechanisms of mastery.

In order to go on investigating male-feminist positions after James, I turn to his contemporary and friend Henry Adams. Henry James is wrong about women, according to Henry Adams, and I will investigate Adams's revision of James's vision of women. My preoccupation with Henry Adams and his views of women stems from a double-reading experience of Henry Adams's canonical The Education of Henry Adams. In a first reading, Adams's analysis of power in politics and his acute sense of observation impressed me; The Education offered the lessons of a powerful man who signalled the transition from a stable eighteenth-century to a multiple twentieth-century America. His attention to the Virgin Mary as an example of woman's force, while a fairly stereotypical idealization of woman, seemed also to take account of women's roles in a process of historical transition. But when I learned of the suicide of Marian Hooper, Adams's wife, I reread The Education especially as a man's ultimate silencing of a woman's voice and of denying that woman influence in "his" education. However, the peculiar structure of The Education opened up a
way of returning Clover to the text that made her absence in The Education suddenly a dominating presence. This subjective reading experience in which a woman became present in a man's writing became the germ for this project. The trouble with making my reading experience of Adams a model for a male-author's rendition of female characters was that my interpretation might be far too subjective and not "in" the text at all. Besides, hailing silence as an effective literary strategy of presentation sounds oxymoronic. To counter the criticism that The Education seems more centrally concerned with historical notions of progress and transition, I will reread The Education in terms of other texts by Henry Adams that are preoccupied with "the situation of women." It is unusual to read The Education from the perspective of male feminist strategies and to place it in a context of other texts of Henry Adams crucially concerned with women. Esther, the South Seas letters, and Tahiti (1895; 1901) are generally not acclaimed as Adams's "best" work. Yet in Esther and the South Seas letters, Adams shows how the issues of gender and gender representation are at the heart, not only of his personal life, but also of nineteenth-century and turn-of-the-twentieth-century America. By interrupting his work on the monumental History to write a marginal novel, Esther, Adams indicates how women are at the center of a man's history.

When Esther came out in May 1884, it appeared as written by Frances Snow Compton, the third selection in the American Novel Series, published by Henry Holt. Adams instructed Holt not to advertise the novel because he was anxious to see whether people would read it. It was, as Adams called the peculiar publishing arrangement, his "experiment."

The most striking component of Adams's experiment is his cross-dressing as a female novelist who tries to leave her mark on the America of the 1880s. Adams's
previous anonymous publication of the novel *Democracy* in 1880 had been tremendously popular, especially among the "Five of Hearts" for whom the guessing game about the author became a running joke in their letters (thus, in Marian Adams's marvelous portrait photographs, Clarence King and John Hay were "caught" reading "their" copy of *Democracy*). This time, except for his wife, none of the "Five of Hearts" knew of Adams's novel, and Henry Holt presented it as just another novel in the American Novel Series. For Adams, though, the experiment may have been aimed at testing his knowledge of "women" as a "woman."

Before *Esther*, Adams wrote two other "feminine fictions." The female protagonist of *Democracy* shows the plight of an American woman in the world of Washington democracy. While structurally the novels appear to tell the same story, a woman who has to choose between men of power, the tone and subject of the novels are entirely different. With brutal irony, Madeleine Lee is able to laugh at the men at all times, and the reader smiles along as she debunks the mysticism of American democracy. When she reaches the conclusion that "democracy has shaken my nerves to pieces," there appear numerous alternatives to continue her life. As she suggests to her sister, "I want to go to Egypt." Madeleine Lee's struggles with men in the novel function to expose the political power games and the corruption of American democratic politics. Yet *Esther*, I will argue, is always crucially concerned with the protagonist's plight for herself. She is not the vehicle of parody, but Esther is the subject of the novel. Nevertheless, *Democracy* implicitly also pinpoints gender relations in American politics, where Ratcliffe proposes marriage to Madeleine Lee in order to control both the political (Ratcliffe's domain) and the social scene (Madeleine Lee's domain). A marriage of these male and female spheres,
however, would serve Ratcliffe's dubious political dominance. Dark overtones are also present elsewhere in Democracy; almost in an aside, the narrator gives the reason for Madeleine Lee's unusual quest to uncover American democracy:

She was bent upon getting to the heart of the great American mystery of democracy and government. She cared little where her pursuit might lead her, for she put no extravagant value upon life, having already, as she said, exhausted at least two lives, and being fairly hardened to insensibility in the process. "To lose a husband and a baby," said she, "and keep one's courage and reason, one must become very hard or very soft. I am now pure steel. You may beat my heart with a trip-hammer and it will beat the trip-hammer back again." (7)

In this character sketch, the narrator insists on Madeleine Lee's strong character, implying that such "pure steel" will not easily be bent by the world of "power." Yet in her motivation lies also a moment of deep suffering; the reason why she is able to wander outside the home into the world of politics is because she has no "home" left; her primary roles of wife and mother have already been "exhausted." In spite of these resisting moments, the primary aim of Adams's anonymous publication was to ridicule the political world of Washington, D.C.

In his 1876 lecture at the Lowell Institute on "The Primitive Rights of Women," his other "feminine fiction" before Esther, Adams blames the Christian church for the low status and oppression of women in American society. Henry Adams concerns himself explicitly with the limited place of women in contemporary American society. As he, for example, argues, "The rise of Christianity marked the diminution of women's social and
legal rights both in the old imperial world and in the new Germanic race, which flung itself with all the ardor of its fresh enthusiasm into the ideas of the new religion" (358). This new religion, according to Adams, suppressed women by subtly changing the idea of womanhood:

The Church established a new ideal of feminine character. Thenceforth not the proud, self-confident, vindictive woman of German tradition received the admiration and commanded the service of law and society; not the Hallgerdas, the Brunhildas, the Fredegundas were the women whose acts were chronicled and whose will was obeyed...In reprobation of these the Church raised up, with the willing co-operation of the men, the modern type of Griselda,—the meek and patient, the silent and tender sufferer, the pale reflection of the Mater Dolorosa, submissive to every torture that her husband could invent, but more submissive to the Church than her husband. For her and such as her was the kingdom of heaven reserved, while a fate of a very different kind was in store for the defiant heroine of the heroic age. (359)

What is crucial in this extensive citation is Adams's recognition that women's roles have been shaped and molded to fit an idea. He already argues against the "natural" location of women in a doctrine of separate spheres, suggesting that the men of the Church in combination with the husbands (in fact, men) actually "raised up" "the modern type" of woman in order to assert full dominance. Her rewards for submission would be a better place in heaven. In Democracy, Adams dramatizes how the wanderings of Madeleine Lee are only possible because she has lost her traditional roles. In Esther, the female protagonist will examine the slots that are available to her in nineteenth-century America.
Before he wrote *Esther*, Adams was clearly interested in "the situation of women." Lecturing on the "primitive rights of women" as a historian, he considered himself a specialist and a spokesman for women. Yet what (from already early on) becomes evident is Adams's insistence on his own role in the presentation of women's positions. The Church is not an abstract entity that shapes women into specific types, but consists of clergymen and husbands. The men occupy the tower of a disciplinary Panopticum, and their controlling gazes discipline the women into submissive, docile types. As a male specialist on women, Adams created a strange position for himself, which he acted out on several levels in *Esther*.

Its emphasis on women's roles and religion and its sympathetic portrayal of Esther places the novel in a literary tradition of female authors who emphasize female power. Adams's use of a female pseudonym, Frances Snow Compton, affirms the novel's identification as a "sentimental novel." In this novel, Adams's different voice literally becomes a female author's. Whereas in *Democracy* he had employed an anonymous voice, in *Esther* he writes from underneath a female mask. Not only does Adams literally cross over "no man's land" into female territory, he also makes his infiltration into the female sphere an explicit theme in the novel. Henry James appeared to have made *Wings* a study of male definition at the cost of women; in *Esther*, Henry Adams glances at his own role as a study of men speaking for women. Although the novel dramatizes the formation of a new masculinity which colonizes aspects of the female sphere in order to assert its power, it also polarizes gender along an axis of male spirituality and female materiality, discarding the aggressive male materialist. The potential marriage of this "heavenly" male and "earthly" female supposedly sublates the two genders into a new unity in which the man and
the woman occupy their separate spheres. This conflictual representation of a new "feminine" masculinity (one which "uses" the female sphere to define itself) and a marriage of polar gender identities results in a hard fought battle between the sexes in *Esther*.

In all of its interactions, *Esther* foregrounds the politics of marriage. When Adams scoffs at James for not knowing anything about women, he claims that only through marriage can a man "know" about women. For Adams, the metaphoric dramatization of a marriage plot on different levels provides an in-depth study into "knowing" the situation of women. Moreover, the peculiar publishing arrangement of *Esther*, Adams's pose as a female novelist, and the circumstances of his own marriage combine to make Adams himself (author) the embodiment of this conflict. At every turn in the novel, Adams's self-reflexivity demonstrates his role in the portraiture of his female protagonist, and thus also investigates self-reflexivity itself as a male strategy of female representation. As Esther Dudley searches through a female existence in respectively art, religion, and science, Adams, the "conservative Christian anarchist," historian, and artist wonders if he, as Frances Snow Compton, can create a nonmale dominated space for his subject.

**An Arranged Marriage of Novels**

Two weeks before *Esther* came out, Henry Holt broke his agreement with Adams by advertising the novel, using a hostile review of two novels of the American Novel Series in *Literary World* to evoke interest in *Esther*, a strategy that may well have seemed bizarre to the readers of *The Nation*. 
Another Disagreeable Novel.

Disagreeable novels sometimes go in processions, and just now the new "American Novel Series," lately begun by Henry Holt & Co., seems to have a monopoly of the product....With "Esther," the third in the series, we are not able to compare it, as that work of Hebraistic title has not yet come into our hands.-- Literary World

Of course Holt uses the negative advertisement to evoke interest in this perhaps equally bad novel. But his decision to extract from this quote "another disagreeable novel," rather than the more positive curiosity of the end of the review, also labels Esther. Esther immediately becomes "another disagreeable novel," one that does not have any literary or aesthetic merit. How will the novel do in relation to other disagreeable novels? In his publishing arrangement, the historian Henry Adams aligns his "female" authorship with other women novelists. In testing English criticism, Adams specifically instructs Henry Holt to simultaneously publish Mary S. Emerson's Among The Chosen (1884) as companion volume to Esther.

My object in writing now is to ask you to make another experiment. I want to test English criticism and see whether it amounts to more than our own. As you know, I care very little for readers, and dread notoriety more than dyspepsia; but I like the amusement of a literary conundrum. Can you manage the following experiment?

Can you republish two of the series in England? I should prefer Among The Chosen as the most distinctively American, and as a companion to Esther. I should like to bring them out together, simultaneously, so as to call attention, and to give neither any
advantage over the other. Both should be reprinted without change of title-page or hint of authorship. Both should go in one enclosure to the newspapers and be advertised in the same words and places. No clue or hint should be given that might give one volume an advantage, or offer a stimulus to the critics. Adams thus set the stage for a critical duel between Mary Emerson's novel and his own. The reviewer of The Nation describes Among the Chosen as "a protest against the perversion of natural law, from the full heart of one who has seen its iniquity." Adams probably wholeheartedly agreed with the dangers of the perversion of natural law, since in most of his work he insists on the natural instincts of women and sees the disintegration of their innate qualities as one the main causes for the chaos of his modern world. But why this competitive urge with Mary S. Emerson, the one who has seen "from the full heart" the iniquity of the perversion of natural law? The letter to Holt enacts part of the thematics of Esther: a man's competition with a woman for dominance over an audience. As is the case in the battle between Esther and Reverend Hazard, the man sets the rules for the game in which he can never lose. Adams selects the other novel, cites the stipulations, and then declares that there will be no advantage for either novel. The pairing suggests a heterosexual marriage plot in which the male stages himself as equal but desires dominance.

Yet at the same time, his use of a female pseudonym makes him a female author. Adams's authorship of Esther remained one of his most private secrets. The competition with Mary Emerson as a female novelist is thus not only a heterosexual marriage plot, but also a secret experiment, in which he tests his knowledge of women by becoming a woman. In the competition, Adams strives for dominance. Does Adams want to prove
that he can write more critically acclaimed novels than female novelists, that he, in the words of Elaine Showalter, has "to step in and show the women how to do it." In her compelling analysis of Dustin Hoffman in Tootsie, Showalter reads the cross-dressing of men as female feminists as another way of asserting male dominance: "The implication is that women must be taught by men how to win their rights. In this respect, Tootsie's cross-dressing is a way of promoting the notion of masculine power while masking it." In her reading of the fictional and biographical T. E. Lawrence, Kaja Silverman provides another analogy that can be useful for reading Adams as a sentimental novelist who wants to teach women how to be women. In "White Skin, Brown Masks," Silverman suggests that Lawrence ultimately desired to become so Arabian that the Arabians themselves would look to him as a role model for "Arabianness." Lawrence's desire to be one with the Arab cause while he still represents British imperialism leads to mixed political results; in Britain, Lawrence becomes a hero for British imperialism because of his ability to infiltrate the Arabian movement; in Arabia, Lawrence becomes an enemy spy. When Henry Adams engages in a little "amusement" through the "literary conundrum" of competing with a woman, he may set himself up as a role model for women who advocates their cause while simultaneously furthering a masculine economy. Adams's secret crossing provides a test to see whether, as author of Esther, (s)he can find or create a place of refuge outside male domination. As a married man, Adams seeks the terrain for a woman's space of her own in the structure of marriage.

According to its categorization by the critics, Esther fits the sentimental tradition, and the novel's "failure," could be regarded as Adams's success in producing a female novel. Adams's novel seems to embody stereotypical
critiques of sentimental novels. *Esther* has little literary merit, according to most critics; Otto Friedrich, for example, calls it a "rather pallid novel of ideas."\(^{17}\) Denis Donohue seems to take special offense at the novel's lack of aesthetic and realistic qualities, and as spokesman for a canonical American literature of high literary values, he apologetically tells his readers: "[t]here is no embarrassment in admitting that we read the novels [*Democracy* and *Esther*] chiefly because he [Adams] wrote them."\(^{18}\) After her analysis of the sentimental novel and the female sphere in nineteenth-century American fiction, Jane Tompkins stresses how often she has to defend the sentimental novel against the almighty question, "But is it any good?"\(^{19}\) It is almost as if *Esther* has found its place in this aesthetically disreputable female tradition and can claim its place as a woman's novel.

But not quite. Adams's ability to "experiment" by taking on a woman's role profoundly differs from actually being in a female position. Denis Donohue is partly right; only after Adams was exposed as the "real" author of *Esther* did I read *Esther*. Mary Emerson's novel *Among the Chosen* has suffered a critical death. Who knows whether anybody would have read Frances Snow Compton's novel? That Adams read *Among the Chosen* carefully and paired it next to his text now resurrects Emerson's novel, but places it also in a position of male dependency; as soon as Adams's mask has been torn off, *Esther* works as a male-authored text that asserts dominance. His cross-dressing experiment, his experiment to be a woman means, among other things, that Adams cannot become a woman. Elaine Showalter's warning to be suspicious of male feminist cross-dressers applies with particular force to the "hazardous" wolf in sheep's clothing, the Reverend Stephen Hazard, whose effort to infiltrate a cultural female sphere constitutes one of the major attacks on Esther in the novel. But what
does this suggest, if not that Adams's ambivalent dress-code warrants scrutiny. If this novel asserts the "primitive rights of women," does it immediately follow that *Esther* becomes a late nineteenth-century version of *Tootsie*?

Adams's self-reflexive role of embarking on foreign territory and the implications of this step differ from James's strategy of self-reflexivity. Unlike James, Adams emphasizes the results for women in a male plot, especially detailing the implications of marriage. Adams's strategy of self-reflexivity resembles Van Eeden's strategy in *Koele Meren*. However, whereas Van Eeden discovered that he was enclosed in his own frame of female representation, Adams experiments with extending the limits of masculine representation. In an odd manner, Adams is able to secretly and privately cross over as a woman as well as investigate male strategies of representation inside the text. From within the closet, as it were, Adams can enjoy his private secret as a woman; textually, he can observe the dramatization of a masculine infiltration in the woman's sphere. My reading of *Esther* will examine her/his portrayal of gender, and whether the author, from within his/her split gender, is able to demarcate a place of refuge for women.

The usual critical reading treats *Esther* as a *roman-à-clef*. Adams has left quite a few marks in the text to suggest such a reading. The description of Esther virtually duplicates Adams's description of his wife, Marian Hooper, in a letter to his friend Charles Milnes Gaskell,20 and Marian's relationship to her father closely resembles Esther's attachment to her father. George Strong bears a striking similarity to Adams's close friend Clarence King, while in a recent book Patricia O'Toole has identified the painter John La Farge as the artist Wharton, Phillips Brooks as Reverend
Stephen Hazard, and Lizzie Cameron as the beautiful orphan Catherine Brooke. Adams's deep affinity to this novel and his refusal to have it reissued because it was so close to him tempt the critic to search for clues. When, three weeks before his wife's suicide, his publisher Henry Holt asked him for further instruction with regard to resurrecting Esther, he passionately refused any further promotion of his novel: "I am particularly anxious not to wake up the critics just now....I never had so many reasons for wishing to be left in peace, as now." Adams's moving description of Esther's depression after her father's death almost eerily prophecies Marian's depression and subsequent suicide after her own father died. Clearly Esther's relevance to Adams's own life invites biographical readings, such as Otto Friedrich's Clover, in which Friedrich suggests that "the whole book, in fact, can be read as a terrible confession and a terrible prophecy."

While such readings are immensely suggestive, they tend to obscure the many differences and discrepancies between Adams's life and the world of the novel, which is essentially concerned with the story of a tyrannical clergyman in pursuit of the rebellious Esther Dudley. Reading the novel only as roman-à-cléf according to a filling in of particular characters forecloses other readings. By making Hazard a fictional representation of the Reverend Phillip Brooks, Adams tries to distance himself from the character whose plight most closely resembles his own predicament. The complicated link between Hazard's quest within Esther and Adams's experiment in writing Esther is undermined when we regard Hazard merely as a dramatization of Phillip Brooks. When we find the "key" to Marian's suicide following the death of her father in Esther's depression following her father's death, we distort and limit Marian's life. What about
Clover's confinement and boredom in her marriage? Why read the suicide as a rational act that necessarily follows a cause and effect paradigm? To reverse the issue, why do we read Esther's depression now only in terms of Marian's depression? When Clarence King read Esther half a year after Marian's suicide, he wanted to reconstruct the plot: "I had the hardihood to say to him that he ought to have made Esther jump into the Niagara as that was what she would have done." But in the novel, after the initial shock of being alone in the world, Esther quite rapidly recovers and "battle[s] like a heroine," according to George Strong.26

In recent articles, Robert Sommer and Nancy Comley have already offered provocative readings of Esther in which gender dynamics are central to their discussion. Neither, however, pays attention to the implications of Adams's self-reflexive position in the publishing arrangement and in the male characters. While Comley reads Esther as a female portrait, Sommer sees in Esther a call for alternative history.27 Without ignoring the connections between biographical and fictional characters, I want to read the novel as a reflection of Adams's ambivalent stance toward male power and its consequences for women.

The Battle of the Spheres: Hazardous Infiltrators

In the opening scene, Esther Dudley and George Strong visit the inaugural sermon of Stephen Hazard in the new Episcopalian church on Fifth Avenue in New York City. Amidst the "masculine," dark paintings of the church, Esther listens to the disembodied voice of Hazard: "the preacher seemed to be made up of two eyes and a voice, so slight and delicate was his frame" (189), the narrator tells us. In his scholarly
sermon, Hazard immediately points to the interrelation of science and religion:

The church now knows with the certainty of science what she once knew only by the certainty of faith, that you will find enthroned behind all thought and matter only one central idea,—that idea which the church has never ceased to embody,—I AM. (190)

Since we all belong to the church, Hazard argues, and since I represent the church, I am master of all. To counter this portrayal of "self" in the universe, the narrator juxtaposes another version:

Most of his flock were busied with a kind of speculation so foreign to that of metaphysics that they would have been puzzled to explain what was meant by Descartes' famous cogito ergo sum, on which the preacher laid so much stress. They would have preferred to put the fact of their existence on almost any other experience in life, as that "I have five million," or "I am the best-dressed woman in the church,—therefore I am somebody." (190)

The metaphysics of Hazard, on one hand, and the materiality of his audience, on the other, present two versions of self that provide the structure for much of the plot. Yet the gendering that goes on here polarizes masculinity either with one extreme—the intellectual, spiritual Hazard—and the other—the economic, material man who defines himself in terms of how much money he possesses. The gendered responses from the parishioners seem equal in terms of their materiality: the man gathers money and counts it while the woman spends it, each a way of establishing an identity. Males and females live in "separate spheres," defined by the dominant gender ideology of nineteenth-century America, each with its particular values. The women in Esther influence their husbands to make
"correct" moral choices, and in their sphere, the home and charity, the women rule. Mothered by other women, Esther learns to be a mother and then practices it by teaching at the Children's Hospital. Besides the involvement in the charity Children's Hospital, Mrs. Murray takes the orphan from Colorado, Catherine Brooks, into her house, and then immediately begins pondering how to get her married. In another exercise of power, Mrs. Murray easily persuades her husband, a wealthy lawyer, to come along with Esther, Catherine, and herself to visit Niagara Falls without asking any questions. In terms both of business, social and practical matters and scholarly, intellectual matters, however, men rule. In addition to Mr. Murray, William Dudley (Esther's father) is a wealthy New York lawyer, whereas George Strong, Wharton, and Stephen Hazard preside over science, art, and religion. To say that gender divides the world of Esther into separate spheres, however, does not mean that the spheres are equal in size and importance, or that the division goes unquestioned, producing no conflicts. Esther's dilemma--to marry or not to marry--hinges on the doubted equality within the spheres: will she have her own space? In the course of the novel the distribution of power is a matter of struggle. Both men and women try to possess Esther, making her the main object in this struggle between male and female power.

Hazard's masculinity, then, differs radically from the masculinity of the economically successful men. In Manhood and the American Renaissance, David Leverenz conceptualizes masculinity along an axis of dominance and submission in which masculinity is staged as a "rivalry for dominance." As Christopher Newfield acutely points out, however, submission in this scenario only serves as a veil for masculine control, and the two forms of masculinity are in fact one. But when Newfield makes "masculine
control" the basis for the oneness in this rivalry for dominance, he slides over the different constructions of masculinity which may both result in a desire for domination. Unlike Dimmesdale in The Scarlet Letter, Hazard never pretends to be a weak and submissive man and engages in an all-out battle for a domination over the town. At the same time, he becomes "feminized," though not through a posture of submission.

After Hazard's inaugural sermon, in which he claims that the community belonged to God or him, his old friend George Strong, as a scientist, an "objective" judge, quickly defines the city for him: "You know that half a dozen women run this city, and my aunt Mrs. Murray, is one of the half-dozen. She is training Esther to take her place when she retires. I want you to know my uncle Dudley and my cousin" (197). In his anxiety, Strong identifies the women who defy Hazard's "I am," and then goes on to suggest that one way to infiltrate this female group is to "know" Esther, who is being trained to be one of the most powerful people in town. One avenue to "know" and possess Esther, and by implication the town, lies in Hazard's particular masculinity. In The Feminization of American Culture, Ann Douglas analyzes the constant flux between the supposedly rigid separate spheres. According to Douglas, one particular site for potential disruption of the spheres consists in the relation between the male clergy and female flock. If women are supposed to have a natural higher morality and stand closer to God than men, and if women are believed to be God's instrument in training and civilizing them, how then can a man lead the women? Ministers, as a result of their professional contacts with the female sphere, find themselves "feminized" or "disestablished" by assuming, as Douglas puts it, the low aesthetic values of a female consumer culture. But contrary to Douglas's analysis, what we see in Esther is a
minister who uses his supposed feminization to reinforce the masculine sphere of leadership and ultimate control. Rather than being made powerless and "disestablished," Hazard infiltrates the female sphere and renders it powerless. In a confrontation between Esther and Hazard, Hazard's "grasp of subjects, though feminine in appearance, was masculine and persistent in reality" (218). When the narrator in Esther describes Hazard's influence as an "impalpable tyranny" (218), he indicates that this type of feminized yet masculine influence usurps or enters the traditional source of power in the women's sphere, thus weakening the women's power.

The threat of an all-powerful female sphere that starts to encroach on the male sphere comes through not only in George Strong's anxiety about the town being run by half a dozen women, but also in the narrator's description of the board meeting of the Children's Hospital, where a half-dozen ladies preside:

The ladies seated themselves in a business-like way round about, and listened with masculine gravity to a long written report on the done or needing to be done on the Children's Hospital. (201; my emphasis)

Even when the ladies go on to argue about the need for a large kitchen and the question of plumbing, the repeated stress on "business-like" (also 202) and the adjective "masculine" suggest that they are crossing the business of their own sphere to enter the male sphere. When the issue to admit the new clergyman as a member of the visiting committee comes up at the female board meeting of the charity group, Mrs. Dyers protest that they do not need another "figure-head":

Every day and every hour of Mr. Hazard's time ought to be devoted to his church. What we want is workers. We have no one to look after the children's clothes and go down into the kitchen. (202)

Mrs. Dyer attempts to ward off the intrusion of Hazard into their female community of the Children's Hospital by emphasizing the separation between the clergyman's role and the women's roles. Following convention, however, Hazard automatically becomes a member of the Children's Hospital, and thus also gains access to Esther, who is the children's teacher. Hazard can enter the female sphere as a clergyman and then destabilize the female community by marrying the Esther who will be one of the "half-dozen." Hazard's power to "mime the feminine" does not stem from male submission or male suffering, but from the colonization of the culturally identified female sphere which forms an integral part of his particular masculinity. On the one hand, Hazard's ability to dress as a minister aligns him with a culturally identified female sphere, showing that gender difference is cultural rather than biological; one is able to stylize gender. On the other hand, Hazard's crossing/feminization does not weaken him but disestablishes this culture's source of female power; his stylization, his "becoming" woman, does not result in a foregoing of masculinity. In fact, quite the opposite occurs. Similar to the oppressive results for women of a masculine stylization of gender in James's *The Wings of the Dove*, Hazard's newly created masculinity covers traditional female places of refuge. Hazard's feminization adds another layer to his masculinity. Hazard does not cross-dress; he overdresses.

The Marriage of Novels
Does Esther's "marriage" to another novel with a female heroine provide another critical direction for reading the novel? This marriage also illustrates the double move thematized in Esther: to read Among the Chosen as a "key" to reading Esther again subordinates the female novelist to a role of support—it sublates her role—while at the same time it exposes the oppressive masculine politics of Adams's novel. At the same time, though, Among the Chosen offers a real feminine text besides Adams's novel. By reading Frances Snow Compton's novel, I can also compare the novels as written by women novelists, addressing women's issues. Among the Chosen takes place in a tyrannical religious community, and, as Levenson points out, "the heroine, like Henry Adams's, is a freethinker."

Mary Emerson's novel offers a fascinating gloss on Adams's novel. In Among the Chosen, the twenty-year-old Rosalie refuses to accept the doctrines of the leader of the community, Father John. In this nineteenth-century Jonestown, the members of the community have given all their personal possessions to their leader, and have to learn to renounce all worldly ties in order to attain a new spiritual salvation. The most contested worldly links that interfere with salvation, according to Father John, are the bonds between husband and wife, mother and child, and father and child. Not surprisingly, the spiritual truth that Father John preaches turns out to benefit only his own worldly ties: he lives in a luxury apartment, selects the most beautiful woman from his community as his secretary, and chooses Rosalie as the perfect bride for his son. Rosalie, as one of the most brilliant and rebellious people of the congregation, must be won for the cause:

He realized how hard it was for him to win this girl, this child who had grown up beneath his hand, the daughter of his most devoted
follower. But he would not give her up; he would never give her up; he would wait and bear with her. The time he felt must come when she would see things in their true light and then she would be his.33

Like Reverend Hazard, Father John has to win his rebellious subject to attain total control over the community. In Among the Chosen, there is no question about Father John's tyranny, and pairing the novel to Esther makes Hazard's project for the assertion of his tyrannical "I am" explicit.

When Madeleine Lee tested American politics in Democracy, she had been a wife and mother and was free to go her own way. In Esther, the female protagonist is at the center as she is being seduced into being a wife and mother. At twenty-five, Esther questions her usefulness as a person in the community; all she does is "tell stories," she complains. Mrs. Murray, however, warns her enigmatically: "Don't let [Mrs. Dyer] worry you about usefulness. One of these days you will have to be useful whether you like it or not, and now you are doing enough if you are only ornamental" (202). Esther's "use," she will learn, is not only linked but determined by her gender. In the novel's plot, it becomes increasingly clear that Esther's use lies in her ability to embellish the life of others; her decorativeness constitutes her utility. As an illustration that women internalize and accept the hegemonic representation of identity for a woman in a patriarchal culture, the doctrine of a female "use" in a patriarchal society is preached to the unbelieving subject by another female. Mrs. Murray advises Esther on her choice of husband, and in Among the Chosen, Rosalie faces her mother's will. When Rosalie rebels against Father John's ordinance that she marry his son Jack, her mother, Petra, tells Rosalie that "[t]here is a use in
store for you, my child, and great blessings" (143). By marrying Jack, Rosalie's life is used to further Father John's grasp over the community.

Perhaps my description of Adams's novel as a war between the sexes seems exaggerated, but most episodes in the novel read like battle scenes. Time and again, we encounter gender conflicts which are not resolved in the novel but widen the trenches between the two parties. Interestingly, in the light of Adams's own reverie in *The Education* of the unitary forces of art, art forms the particular site of struggle in which gender cannot combine to create one Gestalt art object but only produces two incompatible views.

Before the death of Esther's father and--a not unrelated fact--before she has any desire to marry, Esther seeks her usefulness in art. As an artist, she feels, she can both remain herself and give part of her identity to the world through representation. She has her own studio in which she paints portraits. According to the painter Wharton, Esther is at best a "second-rate amateur" (210), whose only remarkable achievement has been a portrait of her father. When Catherine Brooke, a beautiful, fresh country girl from Colorado arrives, however, she immediately becomes a subject of a discussion on art. Esther decides to paint her, but amidst the conflicting advice of Hazard and Wharton, she portrays Catherine not according to her own view but according to Hazard's. The evaluation of the aesthetic quality of the picture, not surprisingly, ends up in a theoretical debate between Hazard and Wharton. Not without irony, the narrator describes the two-staged effacement of the female artist:

It happened that Wharton attacked parts of the treatment for which Hazard was responsible, and when Hazard stepped into the lists, avowing that he had advised the work and believed it to be good,
Esther was able to retire from the conflict and to leave the men fighting a pitched battle over the principle of art. (219) Still, because of this male competition and because Hazard wants to "win" Esther, she is allowed to become one of the professional artists who decorate the church under the supervision of both Wharton and Hazard. Like Hester Prynne's needlework in *The Scarlet Letter*, Esther's art enables her to amass recognition for her own work and to gain financial independence. Wharton draws up the contract:

> I will engage you to paint, under my direction, a large female figure on the transept wall. There are four vacant spaces for which I have made only rough drawings, and you can try your hand on whichever you prefer. You shall be paid like the other artists, and you will find some other women employed there, to keep you company. (221)

The boundaries are clear: Esther must work "under Wharton's direction," following the "rough sketches." Even the models and history of the figure are determined for her; she is to paint St. Cecilia and use Catherine Brooke as her model. Even though she will be paid as if she were an artist, with all these stipulations, she has to find her room in a space defined to her by men.

After Wharton harshly criticizes Esther's sketches of St. Cecilia for being "too weak or sentimental" (223), and Catherine defends them, the issue of representation becomes a discussion of the gender of the artist. Catherine's suggestion that Wharton should let Esther go her own way is immediate countered by Wharton's "...she does not come here to go her own way, Miss Brooke, but to go the right way." The "right way," Catherine shrewdly observes, means the masculine way: "But don't you see that she is a woman, and you are trying to make a man of her?" Wharton's
interesting and Utopian response calls for an androgynous art: "An artist must be man, woman and demi-god" (223). In other words, art should be unified in gender instead of divided, as Catherine proclaims it is. But it is men, of course, who define and recognize what that androgynous art must be. Being a demigod, moreover, is not for everyone. As we discover later, Wharton's version of an androgynous art calls for a specific use of the female by the male artist as he aspires to demigod status. On this point, art, religion, and science converge at the end of the novel.

But in spite of all the preconditions and avowal for a supposed androgyny, Esther does get "her own way." The ensuing "battle over the principle of art" between Hazard, Wharton, and this time Esther is further complicated by Hazard's sexual interest in Esther. The entanglement in a romance plot leads Hazard to "overrule" Wharton, whereupon Wharton recovers by claiming that this female power over a man enables her to go her own way; he had wanted to make the Madonna the central image of the church but Hazard had vetoed it. In this exceptional moment, heterosexual desire paradoxically works to "free" the woman from male rivalry. At the same time, her power over man only occurs in a heterosexual love plot which takes on stereotypical gender relations. Esther can "have her own way" not because of her artistic merit or her claim to justice, but because of her status as object of desire. Wharton's desire to make the Madonna the unifying principle in the church not only echoes Adams's vision of thirteenth-century society in *The Education* and *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*, it also provides a new critical lens for reading the complex representations of gender in *The Education* by juxtaposing and intertwining the issue of art and gender. While Esther seems to embody some of the power Adams associates with the Madonna, her characterization and her
struggle in *Esther* precisely resists the kind of metaphorical use *The Education* seems to offer women.

During the earlier discussion on art and gender, the response to and purpose of art separated sharply along gender lines. When Wharton defends his painting against Catherine Brooke's criticism that it is too "dark," he proselytizes that "the merit of a painting was not so much in what it explained as in what it suggested" (215). The Dutch school, according to Wharton, wants to suggest reality; such a realist painting does not suggest beauty but leads the viewer to contemplate commodities. Catherine's idea of a picture, according to Wharton and Hazard, is blind to the idea of Beauty and only sees "hogs":

"Your idea of a picture," said he [Hazard], "must seem to Miss Brooke like my Cincinnati parishioner's idea of a corn-field. I was one day admiring his field of Indian corn, which stretched out into the distance like Lake Erie in a yellow sunset, when the owner, looking at his harvest as solemnly as Wharton is looking at his picture, said that what he liked most was the hogs he could see coming out of it." (216)

The upper-class men snub Catherine's artistic sense for its base materiality, which again is aligned with male rivalry; aesthetics (beauty) outdo economics (hogs). The parishioner cannot see beauty but only economic details. In this version, uniting the material and the spiritual comes about in a heterosexual bond which combines the separate responses.

The gendering of the purpose of art is dramatized when Esther "has her own way." After she has painted St. Cecilia/Catherine Brooke as she sees her, she senses the immense incompleteness of her own work, which
does not unify the soul and body of the model but gives a "feminine" portrait of Catherine:

"I have not enough soul. My St. Cecilia looks like a nursery governess playing a waltz for white-crayoned saints to dance by." There was a tone of real mortification in Esther's voice as she looked once more at the figure on the wall, and felt how weak it seemed by the side of Wharton's masculine work. (247)

Esther's dissatisfaction with her art may indeed be because, as Nancy Comley argues "she sees herself on the margins of art, more a decorator than a painter" (8). However, the roles that Esther assigns herself and her "correct" taste of art seem internalized concepts of a masculine art that, as Sommer points out, force her "to suppress her natural instincts" (144). Yet to Wharton's credit, he does not see Esther's painting as a failure at all. The masculine version contrasts to the feminine version but they do not merge in a symbolic unity. When Wharton even tries to imagine his "own" St. Cecilia, he admits the irreconcilable difference between Esther's art and his own:

You're quite right! It's not good! It's not handled in large way or in keeping with the work round it. You might do it again much better. But it is you and it is she! I would leave it. I will leave it! If necessary I could in a few days paint it all over and make it harmonize, but I should spoil it. I can draw better and paint better, but I can't make a young girl from Colorado as pure and fresh as that. To me religion is passion. (250)

Despite the condescending tone of Wharton, he recognizes difference: Esther paints Catherine Brooks; he paints a religious, abstract figure. These two versions of art again associate the feminine not only with
smallness but with actuality, materiality and realism, and the masculine with largeness and idealized spirituality which can only be portrayed through untouched diptychs. Interestingly, the response to female art in Esther does not parallel James's response to Uncle Tom's Cabin where he basically denied any conscious artistic merit in the novel; Uncle Tom's Cabin had produced and found itself. Wharton does not deny Esther's agency in the production of art, but acknowledges that she creates "feminine" art. Esther finds her space for female expression, however, in the untouched diptychs which were originally sketched out by Wharton. Her female experience remains within male bounds.

Still, Wharton desperately adheres to the idea that the two should be fused, but the methodology for uniting the two immediately becomes a narcissistic project. Earlier Esther had questioned her "usefulness" in the community, and when Catherine asks Wharton "Does art say that a woman is of no use?" Wharton replies, "I know of nothing useful in life...except what is beautiful or creates beauty" (226). Wharton's obsession with becoming a demi-god in the service of "beauty" (226) duplicates Hazard's and Strong's quest for a spiritual truth. To all these men, finding the ultimate truth involves "using" real women to attain the male demi-god status of being worldly and spiritual at the same time. Before men can reach this near divine status, they must catch and incorporate the girl. In Esther, the dialectical operation of sublating or negating the lesser term in order to attain synthesis or unity turns out to be a compulsive chase after Esther in which she will be absorbed if caught. This horrifying image of the battle of the sexes erupts in Hazard's desire to marry Esther.

From George Strong's first remark to Stephen Hazard that Esther is being trained to be one of the powerful women in the community onwards,
Hazard tries "to win her over" (214). That she is not intimidated by his erudition and rhetoric makes her an especially valuable prey to Hazard. Unlike the other women of his congregation, Esther neither flatters nor reveres the clergyman. Hazard feels that if he can discipline the unruly subject, he will become all powerful over the community: "Leave the thunders of church to me" (296), he tells George Strong. Hazard hopes that through his special powers, Esther will "become, like most converts, more zealous than himself" (294). By catching her, he hopes to sublate and incorporate Esther into his "I am" and, as in a perverse vampire story, make her convert the community. Like Rosalie's mother in Among the Chosen, Esther should preach the doctrine of female renunciation to other women. The special status as clergyman over the congregation, her colleague in the Children's Hospital, and her patron in the arts hardly leaves Esther a place to flee. When Esther paints her first picture of Catherine, we note the subtle powers of Hazard. Like a late nineteenth-century Tootsie, he advises her in an apparently "feminine" way, but he uses this quality to implement his will:

Esther, like most women, was timid, and wanted to be told when she could be bold with perfect safety, while Hazard's grasp of all subjects, though feminine in appearance, was masculine and persistent in reality. Before long, Hazard began to dominate her will. She began at length to be conscious of this impalpable tyranny and submitted to it only because she felt her own dependence and knew that in a few days she should be free. (218)

Hazard's "femininity" proves only another strategy for domination. And when Hazard later lets Esther have "her own way" in the painting of St. Cecilia, he does so to gain her confidence. The narrator prefaces every
friendly act by Hazard to Esther with a remark about Hazard's ulterior motives. During his visit to her at the Children's Hospital, the narrator remarks: "Mr. Hazard had come here this afternoon partly because he thought it his duty, and partly because he wanted to create closer relations with a parishioner so likely to be useful as Mrs. Murray" (213). But when he enters upon an idyllic scene of Esther surrounded by eager children who listen to her stories, Esther's "use" becomes clear to Hazard: "In this atmosphere of charity, where all faiths were alike and all professions joined hands, the church and the world became one, and Esther was the best of allies" (213). Since Esther represents the world, she can play the role of ally between the church (the "I am" of Stephen Hazard) and the world. Yet surely Hazard's words and deeds call into question the intentions of underlying romantic overtures to Esther. His strategic moves in placing himself in a position to win her over resemble battle preparations. He seems far less interested in Esther as a person than as an idea. The moment Hazard attacks comes when Esther is most vulnerable. He uses his religion and ambiguous gender definition in a deliberate ambush, a sneak attack upon her.

To Marry or...?

Although Esther's deep attachment to her father and her mother's early death shelter her for a time from public involvement, after her father becomes incurably ill, he instructs Mrs. Murray to find her a suitable husband. Esther's surrogate mother, expressing her doubts, presents a gloomy picture of marriage: "Why be so anxious? Esther can take care of herself. Perhaps she will marry, but if not, she has nothing to fear. The
unmarried women nowadays are better off than the married ones" (205). And later she remarks: "Women must take their chance. Marriage makes no real difference in their lot. All the contented women are fools, and the discontented ones want to be men" (206). And even her father describes marriage as an imprisonment, a "harness": "Poor Esther!...She has been brought up among men, and is not used to harness. If things go wrong she will rebel, and a woman who rebels is lost" (206). The cynical attitude towards marriage, especially for women in marriage is striking. Mrs. Murray even suggests that "nowadays" positions are open to women that offer them an alternative to the "harness" of marriage, clearly suggesting a change in the traditional concept of women's roles. These comments on marriage are also remarkable because they are spoken from the experience of a married woman and a married man; behind all these voices, the lines imply, the married man Adams recognizes the harness marriage puts on his wife.

After her father dies, and Esther finds herself alone with her grief, the picture of her sudden solitude and vulnerability makes her an almost defenseless candidate for the kind of marriage her father and aunt have described:

At twenty-six to be alone, with no one to interpose as much as a shadow across her path, was a strange sensation; it made her dizzy, as though she were a solitary bird flying through mid-air, and as she looked ahead on her aerial path, could see no tie more human than that which bound her to Andromeda and Orion. (264)

With no one to protect her, the passage emphasizes, her solitary flight makes her dizzy; soon she wants to "tied" to the ground again. Especially during her brief experience with art, both sides of the gender issues at
stake emerge. Esther seems to represent a rebellious female spirit and Hazard a power-hungry man. From a woman's point of view, marriage may not bring happiness for her, as Mrs. Murray reminds us whenever she has the chance. As soon as William Dudley dies, the hunt is on. The stakes are clear: she will either choose the harness of marriage or rebel and "be lost." The death of her father also represents the transition of an economic masculine power to a spiritual masculine power. If Hazard's quest for Esther proves successful, he encompasses and supersedes the old New York money of Dudley.

One of the issues the novel most poignantly raises is whether masculine power can permit or happily coexist with a female space. The answer of a traditional Victorian novel usually goes something like this: "yes, in the symbolic bond of marriage." By scrutinizing such a symbolic bond in Esther, Adams approaches a symbolic operation. Before I look at the romance plot in terms of such a Victorian novel, however, I want to examine the assumptions behind such symbolic representation. Supposedly, the symbol unifies the thing-in-itself with the thing it spiritually represents. Terry Eagleton factitiously describes the symbol as fusing together motion and stillness, turbulent content and organic form, mind and world. Its material body was the medium of an absolute spiritual truth, one perceived by direct intuition rather than by any laborious process of critical analysis....It was a unitary thing, and to dissect it--to take apart to see how it worked--was almost as blasphemous as seeking to analyse the Holy Trinity. All of its various parts worked spontaneously together for the common good, each in its subordinate place.35
The symbol consists of elements which blend together to create a new representation of the world in which all parts function together. In The Education, the Virgin majestically holds all the contradictions and divisions in society together through intuitive and sexual force. Adams's employment of this symbolic operation is, however, one of the things critiqued in Esther. Adams dissects the implications of such a unified force. Eagleton calls such a dissection "blasphemous," and, in Esther, Adams precisely exposes the oppressiveness of religious and artistic world views. The spiritual worlds of the clergyman Hazard, the scientist Strong, and the artist Wharton all need the complementary female material world to establish a unitary order. The plot seems to build toward the perfect culmination of this world in the Victorian symbol of marriage. In the typical ending of a Victorian novel, the marriage of the protagonists symbolizes both social order and personal or psychological order; the ideal world unites the male and female principle. One virtue of Eagleton's somewhat flippant description of the symbol is that he stresses that the hierarchy of the various parts is implicit in the operation of the symbol. Each part "in its subordinate place" works together for the "common good." Esther's refusal to accept a "subordinate place" calls into question whether the world of Adams's Esther is a world unitary and androgynous or divided and gendered. What is the hierarchy within the symbol of marriage of the male and female element? Is there always a power imbalance in unity? Does the failure of marriage leave the characters in a "real" world rather than a "spiritual" one? These questions show that the issue of symbolic unity for Henry Adams is not merely a question of representation in language. For the parties involved, symbolic representation can have real consequences. In the case of Esther, the
parties are male and female human beings whose striving for unity becomes asymmetrical because a particular man also occupies part of the domain designated "female" by the doctrine of separate spheres.

Because of his profession, Hazard, by comforting Esther, can easily come to occupy the void left in her life. When Esther contemplates the afterlife, Hazard asserts his dominance by soothing her and reassuring her of "the victory of spirit over matter, and the peace of infinite love" (265). In Esther's still desolate state, Hazard again enters the Children's Hospital, but this time he does not listen to Esther's stories but usurps her task of storytelling. His control over the children, her territory, is a "wild success" and they beg him for "more and more" stories (266). Hazard's manipulative strategies, designed to win Esther over, turn his declaration of love into a grand imitation of a Petrarchan lover. When Esther declares that she and Catherine will go to Europe for two years, Hazard cries out with overdone pathos:

"Take me with you! What shall I do without you!" He seized her hand and poured out a torrent of broken protests: "I love you with all my heart and soul! Don't leave me alone in this horrible city! I shall die of disgust if you desert me! You are the only woman I ever loved! Ah! You must love me!" (267)

Having "seized" her hand, Hazard ends with a command: "You must love me!" In spite of Esther's feeble arguments to the contrary, she gives in to the idea of feeling herself "really loved" (270) and announces her engagement to her aunt. The narrator continues the hunting metaphor to describe Hazard's "love": "Hazard had wanted her to love him, had pursued and caught her" (270). To Esther, the central issue in her relationship with Hazard revolves around her being loved for herself. Her attraction to
Hazard has nothing to do with his profession, and she believes that their love is private. The next Sunday, however, Hazard publicizes Esther's private struggles to the congregation in a sermon, and turns her, as Esther complains to her aunt, "into a show" (272). Esther's privacy is sacrificed to Hazard's desire to preach his religion. Hazard and George Strong counter her protest by pointing to the higher truth of religion and by instructing her on the importance of renunciation. Through selflessness, the men propose, the material world and spiritual world come together as marriage, happiness, selfhood, and spiritual truths conflate. For Esther to become happy in marriage, George Strong and Hazard must teach her religion. "Faith," George Strong tells her, "means submission. Submit!" (286), leaving unsaid what "Faith" means to Hazard.

Strong's demand for Esther to "submit" in marriage to the belief in the man she marries describes the operation of unifying the gender worlds in Adams's novel of 1884. The search for a truth which unites the material female world with the spiritual male world calls for the renunciation of the female in order to attain the men's quests. Hazard makes Esther's "use" explicit when he tells her that through his "winning" of her, he can curb the unrest in church and become even more powerful. As Hazard tells her: "Let me go out now and announce our engagement! If I did not sometimes shock my parish, I could never manage them." Esther refuses: "But I would rather not be made useful that way" (301). The synthesis of marriage, the unification of male and female, does not create an androgynous higher world, but is a process of "managing" the female world in a male plot. When Hazard again professes his love for her by desperately screaming "You are mine--mine--mine! (303)," Esther sends him away because, she says, "You are killing me" (304). As in Among the
Chosen, the protagonist scorns such a marriage in service of patriarchal domination. When she witnesses another arranged marriage, Rosalie exclaims: "Such a fête! The renunciation of personality--Being as not being--The giving up of self--Love devoid of self.' Rosalie thought they had all gone crazy" (156). In both Adams's and Emerson's novel, marriage does not create a higher sphere for the woman in which she has her own domain, but it kills her. Her harness of marriage will not shelter her or ward off blows but suffocate her.

Catherine Brooke also encounters the operational use of women in men's plots. The lesson Wharton teaches Catherine echoes Hazard's and Strong's lessons to Esther. In each case, the men strive toward an ideal and try to reach it through a woman. The common sense of Catherine sees through the tyranny of men and laughs at these ideals. Given Adams's reverence for the Virgin as a unifying symbol in his later works, it seems odd that he should endorse Catherine's tirade against the "use" of women in the name of men's ideals:

Men are always making themselves ideals and expecting women to follow them...You are all selfish...Then that is the bargain you offer us women. You want us to take you on condition that we amuse you, and then you tell us that if we do amuse you, it will be because you are no longer worth taking. Thank you! I can amuse myself better. When we come home from Europe, I am going to buy a cattle ranch in Colorado and run it myself. (324)

The only place of refuge for women is in the ideals of men, Catherine Brooke asserts. In other words, women's "usefulness" in marriage lies precisely in their being "ornamental," an embellishment in a man's life. Any kind of female experience in such a unification is either killed or
devoured. Catherine Brooke's solution to the men's desires that women fit themselves into their categories is an escape from men altogether. Her place of refuge lies in a cattle ranch in Colorado where she can be herself. In the categories put forth in Adams's "The Primitive Rights of Women," Catherine replaces the submissive, docile woman of the Church with an independent modern American Brunhilde.

For the woman who chooses marriage, her individuality would be consumed. When Esther asks George Strong whether Wharton really cares for her, Strong answers: "I guess he thinks he does....He looks at her as though he would eat her" (325). Esther scoffs at the suggestion that the Church represents anything spiritual and points out that because the church wants female "flesh" to feed its spirituality, the clergyman becomes in fact the most selfish and material of the two.

If you will create a new one [church] that shall be really spiritual and not cry: 'flesh-flesh-flesh,' at every corner, I will gladly join it, and give my whole life to you and it....It must be that we are in a new world now, for I can see nothing spiritual about the church. It is all person and selfish. (332)

The novel ends with Esther's rejection of this marriage proposal, and Esther seems satisfied to wander off alone against the background of the thundering Niagara Falls. Yet even her refusal of Hazard's offer transforms her into a dangerous category in a male plot. George Strong, who had constructed the whole scene for Hazard and Esther and who witnessed their battle, suddenly offers his marriage proposal: "Esther, I meant it! you have fought your battle like a heroine. If you will marry me, I will admire and love you more than ever a woman was loved since the world began" (335). Suddenly, Esther finds herself in of her own fairy
tales or in a Victorian novel where marriage to the prince awaits the battered heroine. Esther has fought admirably, and what better reward for such a woman than that which she has just rejected: marriage. As this novel dramatizes, the conventional romance plot of a Victorian novel traps the woman who has earned the label "heroine" in a unifying closure of marriage. This masterplot "kills" or "devours" the woman in a structure of male development.

Strong's proposal to Esther not only categorizes her as "heroine," but also bonds Strong and Hazard. Through this final twist, Strong turns the battle between Hazard and Esther into one of men bonding together against a resisting woman. George Strong proposes that Esther serve as the woman who makes "truth" possible:

We may some day catch an abstract truth by the tail, and then we shall have our religion and immortality. We have got far more than half way. Infinity is infinitely more intelligible to you than you are to a sponge. If the soul of a sponge can grow to be the soul of a Darwin, why may we not all grow up to abstract truth? What more do you want? (321)

George Strong offers Esther a life in a male plot in which she is both the subject of and subject to abstract truth. The "abstract truth" Strong so passionately refers to is in fact the far from abstract demand that Esther marry Stephen Hazard, renounce her "feminine pride," and surrender herself to these men and their quest for religion and immortality. Esther's rejection of both Hazard's and Strong's marriage proposals simultaneously refutes their versions of religion and immortality. Strong cannot even imagine a different life or purpose for a woman: "What more do you want?" he asks unbelievingly of Esther. With her rejection of Strong,
Esther escapes the clutches of the male trap and wanders off alone, showing George Strong that she wants to be more than a vehicle for male transcendence. Esther's final worlds place her in the traditional woman's sphere of "love": "But George, I don't love you, I love him" (335). Love apparently lies outside the realm of masculine experience in Esther. As a woman, Esther finds herself made use of as a category rather than as an individual self with personal desire. By choosing love as an alternative to male domination, Esther leaves the world of the novel alone.

**Self-Reflexivity as Refuge**

In this novel, there is not a even glimmer of a world in which the female and male unite. Marriage provides no safe haven for women, as the gender worlds are always already divided by competition. This novel about the position of women in America becomes a meticulous analysis of strategies of male power. The search for a transcendent unity in religion, science, and art turns out to be a project of male power which subordinates women. As a cross-dressing novelist, Adams seems to find no role for women outside a masculine architectonics, except one that lies outside art, science, and religion, and one that lies outside this novel. The portraits of Hazard and Wharton powerfully reflect Adams's role as an infiltrator in the woman's sphere, exposing his own violation of women by assuming a female pseudonym and writing a sentimental novel. His strategy of self-reflection in taking on a woman's role, however, turns out to work as a feminist technique. While exposing a masculine power that desires to use women, he dramatizes both the life of a woman struggling to preserve a space of her own and a man struggling to create a nonmale dominated space for his female character. Esther recognizes her difference in
religion, art, and love; realms where her individuality are constantly challenged by men.

The male characters, in turn, dramatize Adams's predicament as a man speaking for women. Adams's pose as a female novelist gives him the illusion of an androgynous art, but as Wharton's quest for male and female unity demonstrates, this crossing may transform Adams into a tyrannical demigod. Hazard's professional utilization of the cultural female sphere, his "feminization," moreover, is part of a structure of male rivalry for dominance. In spite of his apparent rejection of using women to play a role in a masculine representation, he reproduces the structure.

There seems no refuge for women in Adams's world, except in the particular structure he designs for them. In Esther, the woman has a place as he has charted for her. In The Education, he can only suggest to women that they seek a place in a male model of representation: "After the overthrow of the Church, the woman had no refuge except such as the man created for himself." Adams's exhibition of male power in Esther thus keeps women in their confined space while he expresses sympathy for them; his own "feminized" masculinity reveals itself as another form of masculine power which makes use of women.

Nevertheless, Adams's built-in reflectors clearly criticize that operation, and the portrait of a woman seems again to include her male creator. Unlike Koele Meren, however, Frances Snow Compton chronicles a woman's life from her perspective. Only after she has been unmasked does the text operate as male representation. The two readings of showing a woman's life while showing that that portrait is an act of male power go together. Adams's infiltration in the female sphere suggests that the cultural construction of separate spheres may leave different foundations or
ruins for a gender structure, and that Adams erects different spheres again after his experiment is reminiscent of James's *Wings*. But whereas James uses a construction of gender to stylize masculinity and categorize femininity, Adams is reluctant to acclaim his cross-dressing as anything other than a male practice. While the pseudonym is Frances Snow Compton, the exposing signature remains Henry Adams. Robert Sommer's claim that *Esther* indeed offers a feminine perspective misses the crucial double reading. As Sommer suggests:

That Adams should make this exploration from behind a feminine mask is intrinsic to the nature of the exploration; it could not be understood, by himself or by a reader, under a masculine signature. Where that signature appeared, under the title of his *History*, highlight the contrast, for the *History* is nothing if not a masculine work....In this sense, *Esther*, paired with *Democracy*, becomes an alternative history, tracing, and even paying tribute to, those isolated moments of anarchy and their consequential acts of martyrdom within the deterministic order. (143)

Subtly, Esther becomes an male metaphor, the Other to the man of history. Adams recognizes that crossing over the gender binary does not resolve in a dissolution of gender spheres. Esther figures still in a female portrait of male representation; his portrait of her should not be made another use in ideology. Adams's double position of representor and infiltrator, of Frances Snow Compton and Henry Adams, coexist simultaneously. *Esther* is not an "alternative" history, but a novel at the center of his history. By interrupting the writing of his *History* to write *Esther*, Adams places *Esther* within his "masculine work," and builds a text inside the *History* that forces a rereading of "deterministic order."
Adams's blunt statement that James knew "almost nothing" about women because "he never had a wife" suggests his marriage afforded him special knowledge of women. After Adams had meticulously described inherent male oppression for women in the structure of marriage in 1884 in his novel Esther, his wife committed suicide in 1885; she found no refuge.

That ending troubles me. Have I now provided a critical masterplot that leaves Marian Adams no refuge in my agenda?

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3I will refer to Marian Adams with different names. Marian Adams as the wife of Henry Adams; Marian Hooper as her maiden name; Clover as the name that most of her friends used; Adams's wife as the name that is only as her relation to him. I try to use these names in accordance with the proper register.
5The "Five of Hearts" refers to the label the five intimate friends attached to their circle: John Hay, Clara Hay, Marian Adams, Henry Adams, and Clarence King.
6I appropriate this wonderful description of Adams's "other" works from Nancy R. Comley, "Henry Adams's Feminine Fictions: The Economics of Maternity," American Literary Realism 22 (Fall 1989): 3-16.
10As Ernest Samuels reveals, after Henry Adams's embarrassing experience as a journalist while serving his father as private secretary in London during the Civil War, he developed a true publication anxiety. See Henry Adams (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989), 52-54.
11The Nation, May 8 and May 15, 1884.
13The Nation, Oct. 9 1884, 315.
15Showalter, 119.
17Friedrich, 303.
20Henry Adams to Charles Milnes Gaskell, 26 March, 1872. Adams describes Marian Hooper as follows: She is certainly not handsome; nor would she be quite called plain, I think. She is 28 years old. She knows her own mind uncommon well. She does not talk very American. Her manners are quiet. She reads German--also Latin--also, I fear, a little Greek, but very little. She talks garrulously, but on the whole pretty sensibly. And in a letter of May 30 he continues: "My young female has a very active and quick mind and has run over many things, but she really knows nothing well, and laughs at the idea of being thought a blue." This is how Wharton describes Esther Dudley to Hazard in Esther: In the first place, she has a bad figure, which makes answer for a good one. She is too slight, too thin; she looks fragile, willowy, as the cheap novels call it, as though you could break her in half like a switch. She dresses to suit her figure and sometimes overdoes it. Her features are imperfect...She never read a book, I believe, in her life. She tries to paint, but she is only a second rate amateur and will never be any thing more, though she has done one or two things which I give you my word I would like to have done myself. She picks up all she knows without an effort and knows nothing well, yet she seems to understand whatever is said.
21Patricia O'Toole, The Five of Hearts: An Intimate Portrait of Henry Adams and His Friends, 1880-1918 (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1990). See especially 134-36. Ernest Samuels's reading is the most common: "Again it [Esther] was a roman à clef, his wife and a number of his intimates serving as models or supplying traits of character." Ernest Samuels, Henry Adams (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989), 191. Most critics read the novel biographically and will make only slightly different suggestions.
22To John Hay, Adams wrote about Esther as his "melancholy little Esther," and he asks Hay to "let it die."
25Clarence King to John Hay, 4 July 1886, as quoted in O'Toole, 169.
28David Leverenz, 4.
29Christopher Newfield, see esp. 59.
30See especially chapter 1, "Clerical Disestablishment." Douglas argues that the clergy's necessity to abandon a powerful and tyrannical approach to one of influence "disestablishes" the Church's control. My reading of this strategic move to satisfy the female church members, the move from "power to influence" (46), however, does not see this as a decrease in power but as a resurfacing of power. According to Michel Foucault,
this move from a visible tyrannical force to an invisible, personal influence is in fact potentially more powerful and disciplinary that the old regime. See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish (New York: Vintage, 1979).

31 Newfield 58.
32 Letters, 567.
33 Mary S. Emerson, Among the Chosen (New York: Henry Holt, 1884), 34.
34 Another puzzling "limitation" occurs through the constant intertextual echoes of The Scarlet Letter. The minister's wooing of Esther (the "h" is displaced) and the relation between the four characters on "the scaffold" of the four vacant spaces lead to fascinating parallels and differences. Esther's name, George Strong tells Hazard, also comes out of a Hawthorne story, "Old Esther Dudley." I see this as another displaced sign that seems to point to the "key" of the novel but leads to dead ends.
35 Terry Eagleton, Literary Theory: An Introduction (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1983), 22.
CHAPTER 5

Measuring the Virgin: Henry Adams on Samoa

On December 6, 1885, when Marian Adams committed suicide by drinking the photoprocessing chemicals from her dark room, the happy family portrait of the Adams family dissolved into nothingness. Shattered, Henry Adams proclaimed that the photochemicals had killed not only his wife but himself. After 1885, Adams also announced, he lived only "a posthumous existence." To what extent, however, did this surviving Henry Adams differ from the Adams of the years before 1885?

In 1884, with the publication of Esther under the female pseudonym of Frances Snow Compton, Adams had posed as a representative and scholar of women. Before Esther, he had devoted the 1876 Lowell Lecture to "The Primitive Rights of Women," and had made his satirical political novel Democracy (1880) an exposé of the corruption of the male politics of Washington via the female heroine Madeleine Lee. While posing as an expert on the "Woman question," Adams had to confront the reality of his marriage, and Marian Adams's suicide may have critiqued the place he had created for Woman in his gender paradigm. Did Clover's death influence his view on women? The posthumous Henry Adams, however, still lectured on and wrote about women. In The Education of Henry Adams, written thirty years after Marian Adams's death, he made female force the axis of the wheel of history. The Education foregrounds the dominant, yet futile, role of women in his dynamic theory of history. According to Adams's paradigm, the Virgin of the thirteenth-century Church unified society, and medieval society expressed that unity through art, exemplified by the Cathedral of Chartres. As this female force slowly disintegrated, however,
the fragmented, chaotic, multiverse of Adams's twentieth century, signified by the uncontrollable all powerful energy of the dynamo, began to emerge. But how does Adams's journey to the South Seas in 1890 figure in his ongoing obsession with the Woman as force? Did Marian Adams's death revise her husband's theories about women in any way? If so, what role did the Polynesian travels play in his reassessments?

In seeking to weigh the influence of his travels to the South Seas, I will rely mostly on the numerous letters Adams wrote from the Polynesian islands. My revision of Adams through these letters is informed by Adams's own writings, by biographies of and criticism on Henry Adams, and by biographies of Marian Adams.¹ Let me propose the following hypothesis then: first, by visiting the South Seas after his wife's suicide, Adams sought to flee the disrupted gender roles of modern America and transport himself into a primitive culture to study the essence of womanhood, or "archaic woman," that he came to see as unifying society in much of his later work, most notably in Mont Saint Michel and Chartres (1904) and The Education (1907; 1918); and second, that with his literal and metaphorical move to a "primitive" society, he also hoped to understand and master his wife's suicide as well as to escape his past. As opposed to his universalizing history of the Virgin and the Dynamo in The Education, in his letters from the South Seas he narrated his story of confronting a severed gender identity, as he tried to reconstruct a gendered place for his shattered existence after December 6, 1885.

Exchanging modern American womanhood for "archaic gold girls" in Tahiti, Adams abandons a gender structure of separate spheres for an alternative structure he will investigate. The sentimental genre of Esther and his self-reflexive crossing of spheres proved incapable of providing
refuge for women in marriage, and now he searches alternative places of
refuge for women in archaic time. The quest for the "old-gold-girl" seeks
to reestablish his "knowledge of women," now that marriage has turned out
to be a failure. His strategy of crossing over into a women's sphere while
self-reflexively examining his masculine infiltration in the women's sphere
had been a personal failure, and Adams's Polynesian travels are also
investigations into new strategies of representing women. Defining
women, Adams finds himself within the self-reflexive limits of Koele
Meren. His preoccupation with categorizing the "original" woman and
then correcting his modern version of womanhood places him in the
colonizing process similar to Max Havelaar, as Adams transposes images.
By starting anew, Adams entangles himself in proliferating doubles that
resurrect uncrossable gender and cultural boundaries.

Leaving a corrupted and "Americanized" Hawaii, Adams believes he
has finally come face to face with his archaic woman on Samoa. After
another bout of seasickness on his way to Samoa, he jokingly writes to
Elizabeth Cameron that his illness feels like the labor pains of a pregnancy:
"My sensations seem more nearly to resemble that feminine stage of life
than any masculine experience." Writing to Elizabeth Cameron, who had
given birth to her daughter Martha on June 25, 1886, he wonders whether
he is now due to have a baby. His expectation appears to materialize when
Adams and his travel-companion, the painter John La Farge, arrive at
Samoa where they are carried safely onto the shore of Tutuila in the arms
of natives, whom Adams depicts as Greek Gods. The mythic delivery of
the new-born(e) Adams on the Polynesian shore ends his labor. His self-
staged rebirth indicates his ability to mime feminine experience; just as
when he repeatedly noted before that the newly published volumes of his
History felt like his newborns,⁴ he now produces another baby, a new Henry Adams in a new mythic world.

The desire of starting anew to offset his dead existence after his wife's suicide is symptomatic of what Freud describes as "profound mourning":

Profound mourning, the reaction to the loss of a dead person, contains the same feeling of pain, loss of interest in the outside world--insofar as it does not recall the dead one--loss of capacity to adopt any new object of love, which would mean a replacing of the one mourned, the same turning from every active effort that is not connected with thoughts of the dead. It is easy to see that this inhibition and circumscription in the ego is the expression of an exclusive devotion to its mourning, which leaves nothing over for other purposes or other interests.⁵

Adams's instantaneous burning of Marian Adams's letters, his insistence on not wanting to speak about her, and his profound withdrawal into self are all described as symptoms of a "normal" profound mourning. Also normal is Adams's desire to transfer the love for the dead person to a new object, and Adams's journey to seek out the old-gold-girl as replacement for his wife appears an unconscious process of returning to "normal" life. By exploring the world within himself (the mythic woman of the South Seas) rather than living in the "outside" world (of modern womanhood in Washington), Adams cathexes his grief. Yet while Adams transfers his attachment to another object, and thus the travels to the South Seas are on the road to recovery, Adams also establishes "an identification of the ego with the abandoned object," as Freud puts it (159). Freud's description of the pathological condition of melancholia leads to interesting parallels with the case of Henry Adams. As Freud expounds:
Thus the shadow of the object fell upon the ego, so that the latter could hence-forth be criticized by a special mental faculty like an object, like the forsaken object. In this way the loss of the object became transformed into a loss in the ego, and the conflict between the ego and the loved person transformed into a cleavage between the criticizing faculty of the ego and the ego as altered by the identification. (159)

The "cleavage" in Henry Adams seems to be directly related to his "old" and "new" personas. The old persona, I will argue, reestablishes a tie to the old-Washington life through transferring his love for Clover onto Elizabeth Cameron. The new persona, however, becomes an ambivalent mix of the mythic woman within Henry Adams and the actual women on the islands of the South Seas whom he is trying to measure into his idea of archaic woman. With the loss of his wife and the dark shadow she extends over him, Adams needs to repossess the loss within his ego and does so through transference and identification.

The new Henry Adams thus, tries to unite with his imaginary woman, and to return to his archaic mother in preoedipal unity. Adams stresses both the idea of a different, "reborn" Henry Adams and his location in a completely different world. The old Henry Adams of pre-1885 is dead. Before he undertook his journey, he had written to Sir Robert Cunliffe that he wanted to start a "new life": "Once free, I shall begin a new life, in which the old one can hardly have any sequence." The new life would completely rupture the link to the old existence of Henry Adams and his life would develop discontinuously rather than continuously. The idea of a discontinuous new life relates especially to his interest in the study of women. As both a corrective for his previous views of women and a
coming to terms with his wife's suicide, the Polynesian journey promises an alternative approach to the study of women, radically different from his previous examinations. As soon as he lands on the Polynesian island he writes to Elizabeth Cameron that he has embarked on this new life: "I am glad to be dead to the old existence which was a torture, and to forget it, in a change as complete as that of another planet." The other "planet," however, seems suspiciously close to Adams's earlier portrait of primitive society. The new Adams now has been born in the archaic society he used to teach about as an assistant professor of medieval history at Harvard.

In this primitive society, Adams can pursue that monomaniacal goal of his voyage: to study archaic woman "in the flesh" and to somehow rationalize his wife's behavior. Immediately upon arrival in Samoa, Adams reconstitutes his expertise of women. In a letter to Lucy Baxter, he reminds her that the women he encounters on Samoa actually embody his subject area as a professor:

The position of women--or Woman, if you prefer,--in an archaic society, has always interested me, and I have lectured and talked about it until I am tired. I have caught it here alive, and find it just what I did not expect,--the queerest jumble of professor's books rolled together into a practical system, that no one could guess at;--the strangest compound of laxity and strictness, of absolute freedom and rigorous restraint, of charm and repulsion. That he "catches" his former "alive" on the island of Samoa should not be so surprising since Adams and La Farge went to the South Seas in pursuit of the native Polynesian girl. After Adams's close friend Clarence King returned from Hawaii, he had enchanted his friends with stories of the "old-gold-girl." For both Adams and Hay, according to Patricia
O'Toole, "King was an object of veneration," and for Adams to now engage on a King-like adventure made him live like his idealized friend. The image of the Polynesian woman and her professed immorality and indecency was of course a matter of much interest in Victorian culture and King's ravings fit the stereotype. Because King vividly recounted nude native Hawaiian girls, perfectly at ease while playing in picturesque waterfalls, the old-gold-girl came to represent to Adams a woman very different from the neurasthenic American women of the late nineteenth century. The exposure of a purely physical, childlike, worry-free "old-gold-girl" offers Henry Adams a "positive" image of woman as against the "negative" of his wife whose preoccupation with intellectual pursuits, artistic interests, and whose depression after her father's death characterize to Adams all the pitfalls of modern American womanhood.

His letter to Lucy Baxter seems to imply that if he could revise his previous theories about "the position of Woman," he would once again be a professor of women. All he must do is to somehow decipher that "queerest jumble of professor's books" that he only or only he can "guess at." From a native chair, the professor "of Woman," Henry Adams collects his data for his books by closely watching the women on Samoa. A year before Clover's suicide, he had written Esther as Frances Snow Compton and, by masking himself as a woman, "colonized" the woman's sphere, while self-reflexively criticizing his own project. On Samoa, he not only studies "the position of Woman" but also colonizes Samoan culture by writing its ethnography.

As soon as La Farge and Adams are carried onto the island of their dreams and evening falls, Adams writes that both he and La Farge "began to cry out for the sīva," the legendary Samoan dance usually performed
by the village maiden or village princess, the taupo, of the area. Adams writes ecstatically to all his correspondents about the beauty of this dance in which the taupos only wear a waist-cloth, lava-lava or siapas, but he takes pains to assure his readers both that these women are beyond Western standards of morality, and that he does not feel any sexual interest in them, even though, as part of the dance, the taupos will usually kiss the Western guests. During the first months of their stay, La Farge and Adams witness numerous sivas, and Adams rates performances, lectures his readers about differences between "sitting" and "standing" sivas, and comments on the skill of its performers. Especially when he closes "the spectacle" of the dances with the description of its "climax," the pai-pai,"¹¹ he meticulously narrates the movements of a striptease which he watches with a supposedly scientific, disinterested eye. When he writes to the other close friend of Clarence King and member of the "Five of Hearts," John Hay, Adams clearly enjoys competing over the teasing image of the old-gold-girl.

In the pai-pai, the women let their lava-lavas, as they are called, or siapas, seem about to fall. The dancer pretends to tighten it, but only opens it so as to show a little more thigh, and fastens it again so low as to show a little more hip. Always turning about and moving with the chorus, she repeats this process again and again, showing more legs and hips every time, until the siapa barely hangs on her, and would fall except that she holds it. At last it falls; she turns once or twice more, in full view; then snatches up the siapa and runs away.¹²

This narrative account of the pai-pai only occurs in the letter to fellow old-gold-girl hunter John Hay and is absent in the correspondence with Elizabeth Cameron. Perhaps the account so clearly reveals the male gaze that Adams does not want to expose it to Elizabeth Cameron, even though
Adams could have guessed Hay would read the passage to his female guests. Hay reports back to Adams that when he read this letter to Elizabeth Cameron, she was "beautifully scorned."¹³ By writing what to Adams then and to me now seems a striptease (hidden under the colonial defamiliarization of pai-pai) to another man, while the women witness the masculine scene, Adams can perform King's part of adventurous traveller and through King's ideal write his own masculinity.¹⁴

Besides watching these various dances, Adams and La Farge live in a native hut surrounded by village girls, and Adams sends back photographs as proof. The photographs somehow have to make Adams's portrait of his dreamgirls real. Adams's portraits of Samoan women, however, are double exposures. Adams superimposes the image of Clarence King's old-gold-girl and his own archaic woman onto the Polynesian "naiads."¹⁵ The two conflicting pictures emerge when Adams depicts to Elizabeth Cameron the girls sliding down a waterfall.

I wanted to see a real cataract of old-gold-girls, in order to satisfy Clarence King, whose story of the Hilo cataract was received with such incredulity by sceptics at home. In the hills, five or six miles from Apia, is a little waterfall called the Papaseea, or Sliding Rock, because it is a favorite place for the natives to go over. It is a lonely spot in the forest, and one must take one's girls with one, if any sliding is to be done. Fatuleia and Mele drummed up half a dozen girls.¹⁶

The "real cataract of old-gold-girls" must be "drummed up" to confirm Adams's image of the archaic woman. While he snaps "a dozen photographs," he gazes at these "naiads and fauns," as he calls them, of archaic society. Adams is quick to observe to Elizabeth Cameron that,
while the girls wear the "missionary dress of colored calico...of course the cotton, when wet, clung so closely as to show the whole figure, while the colors rather increased the effect of the picture."17 And when he is finally convinced that he has found "the real thing" (316), the real "picture" of the old-gold-girl, he proceeds with his investigation by gathering measurements of these "creatures." He measures the women, produces neat tables, and deduces from these facts the "typical" measurements of an old-gold-girl. To Elizabeth Cameron he sent the following table of comparisons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Fa-a-uli, 63 1/2</th>
<th>Faa-sei, 65 1/2</th>
<th>Pui-pui, 68</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Round chest and arm</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; upper waist</td>
<td>32 1/2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; hips</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; head</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; upper arm</td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; wrist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; calf of leg</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16 3/4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; ankle</td>
<td>10 3/4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; neck</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of foot</td>
<td>9 1/2</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From his data, Adams construes the standard archaic woman and then gleefully announces his conclusions about Woman in archaic society to his various correspondents. By giving form to a standard measurement, Adams attempts to give shape to his imagined woman.

But the Samoan's easy classification as true archaic society is not tailor-fit. Their apparent "instinctive" desire to perform the dances and to cohabit with their Western guests warrants closer examination. The role of
the "anthropologists," La Farge and Adams, should not be underplayed. To the infinite regret of Adams and La Farge, the missionaries had explicitly forbidden the Samoans to dance the *siva*, threatening excommunication by the Church. Upon disembarking on their field of dreams, Adams and La Farge had "urged" the Samoans to perform the *siva*. In another instance, the *taupo* Fauna protests at having to perform the *siva* for the American guests. Yet Adams reports proudly to John Hay that he witnesses the true native Samoans:

> We have had a great *siva* dance at the house of Seumono in defiance of missionary remonstration and even of the women's opposition. Seumono's daughter, Fanua, kicked like a cassowary at being obliged to head the *siva* in the Samoan undress, which is somewhat like that of our ballet-dancers, without waist; but the Samoan society made her do it, and I must say I thought she enjoyed it as much as the other girls did who were less Europeanised.¹⁹

And Aenga, a princess and the *taupo* of Papalii--again at the urging of La Farge and Adams--performs a *siva* of inferior aesthetic beauty according to Adams's expert eye, only to find herself excommunicated from the Church. As Adams notes of other *taupos*: "To amuse us, they, like Aenga, had sacrificed themselves."²⁰ They had sacrificed themselves to conform to the Western image of a Samoan native; Adams had made the Samoan girls into his image of the old-gold-girl.

Adams's confrontation with archaic woman enables him to correct his previous views about "Woman," revise his theories, and "catch" her in his measurements. Not surprisingly in light of the function of women in the doctrine of separate spheres in America, he focuses on the woman's role in marriage, her standing in society, and her activity in public affairs. As
taupo, for example, the Samoan woman led the warriors in war by carrying her village honor, which leads Adams to reflect that "[s]uch a code [in marriage and war] is amusing, and I am greatly amused to find the woman as socially conspicuous here as in America,--perhaps more so, for she is prominent in war as in peace."21 In all of his assessments about womanhood, he instantly universalizes his new knowledge of women to include the American women of the nineteenth century. Even though the sarcastic tone in these letters critiques American womanhood through an exfoliation of Polynesian customs, he always only uses the Samoans as illustration. As for marriage, according to Adams, there are no love marriages except as elopements, but only marriages that ensure the most powerful heritage in terms of joining allegiances and in terms of offspring. As he puts it: "...their real art is social, and they have done what in theory every scientific society would like to do,--they have bred themselves systematically."22 In society, the Samoan woman's highest aspiration would be taupo; as such she functions as exchange object in a patriarchal culture, but with a significant variant that the woman's tie to the father is far stronger than that to her husband. With a heavy dose of irony, he tells Anne Cabot Lodge, for example, that "[e]very married woman here, after a few years residence with her husband, returns to her father with half the children, and lives as she likes. I think the custom will commend itself at once to New York society, not to mention Washington."23 Yet the irony masks Adams's personal stake in the rivalry between husband-wife and father-daughter bonds. Not only does this patriarchal organization reflect Adams's own dramatization of a strong father-daughter tie in which the woman can "live as she likes" while her father is alive in Esther, but this "primitive tie" also explains the strong emotional bond between Marian
Adams and her father. After all, the death of Marian Adams's father, according to Henry Adams and most critics, was the onset of her fatal depression.

But for all Adams's measurements of the Samoan women, he can only catch the old-gold-girl as an ideal animal, an object beyond himself. To him, the Samoan never acquires a humanity he can recognize, and instead he compares them to "cattle," or mythic primitive children with no imagination.\textsuperscript{24} As he concludes from his data to Lucy Baxter:

These must be the true and normal proportions for women. As far as women depart from them, they depart from the ideal animal, for the animal here exists under the most favorable conditions for its development. They are bred for size and figure, too, almost as systematically as we breed cattle.\textsuperscript{25}

In an ultimate application of Darwinian principles (he reexamines Darwin's data about the South Seas and in particular the coral reefs on his journey), Adams has the Samoans fulfill a late nineteenth-century dream of scientific breeding to attain a Utopia. But as he clearly demonstrates, all humanity disappears when one applies "positive" science to breed an "ideal" society. The value of woman in Adams's Samoa can be measured on a scale of "finest marriageable articles," whose worth can be best expressed in a quantity of "mats and pigs." In Havelaar's story about Upi, he stresses Upi's traditional female role as one of chattel. Even though the women do not blindly submit themselves to their husbands, through their complete dependence on fathers the Samoan women, according to Adams, also function within a chattel economy. To show that the woman does not protest or could not protest such material assessment, he claims that the "girl knows her value and is not likely to throw herself away. She has no
passions...."26 Repeatedly, Adams stresses the childlike, emotionless, and purely physical makeup of the Samoans whom he constantly compares to Homer's Greek warriors:

Sentiment or sentimentality is unknown to them.... They are the happiest, easiest, smilingest people I ever saw, and the most delightfully archaic. They fight bravely, but are not morally brave. They have virtues of healthy children,—and the weaknesses of Agamemnon and Ulysses.27

Yet besides their racist content, these characteristic exaggerations perhaps also express Adams's frustration of not being able to start anew as a different "archaic" person in an archaic era. In spite of Adams's idea that he is "becoming more and more Polynesian"28 and as such a specialist on Samoan culture, Adams's theorizations indicate that his excavation of archaic society more adequately measures his own alienation from Samoan culture than the women he measures. From his letters one notes that contrary to his long exposés about Samoan culture and about the position of Woman, to the Samoans he remains an outsider, an alien. Not only does he frequently request the natives to be "native" according to his image, but also, his desire to enter Samoan cultural heritage only produces dead ends. Whenever he asks one of the Samoan chiefs about legends, genealogy, or rituals, Adams receives an unsatisfactory answer; he is "blocked by the reply that what I ask is secret."29 In a letter to Elizabeth Cameron he once again mixes Samoan culture and his idea of archaic society, but his irony reveals his awareness of the conflation. He is convinced that

the Samoans have an entire intellectual world of their own, and never admit outsiders into it. I feel sure that they have a secret priesthood more powerful than the political chiefs, with supernatural
powers, invocations, prophecy, charms, and the whole paraphernalia of paganism. I care too little about these matters to make any searching inquiry, so they may keep their secrets for anything I shall do; but I never imagined a race so docile and gentle, yet so obstinately secret.  

By arguing that his outsider status occurs because the Samoans have not made him part of what he imagines a primitive society should be like, he paradoxically becomes an outsider because of his Western conception of an archaic culture. As a primitive society, Adams reasons, the Samoans must engage in "the whole paraphernalia of paganism," and therefore must keep Adams outside their culture. Adams maps his "archaic" image onto Samoa, and then proclaims himself necessarily different and unable to measure archaic culture.

Rather than illuminating the essence of womanhood, his immediate encounter with his subject as a professor obstructs his view. At the end of their three-month stay at Samoa, the initial enthusiasm about Samoan culture and the old-gold-girl have almost entirely disappeared. There are no more sivas, and taupos no longer occupy the quarters of La Farge and Adams. To Lucy Baxter he tries to rationalize why he has not grasped the essence of archaic womanhood even though he could measure her according to his standards:

My native girls have all abandoned us, or we them. La Farge and I speculate as to the causes of our indifference. When I try to remember that I did think the old-gold-girl a possible emotion in life, I am puzzled to explain why she is not. She is certainly much what I expected her to be, and even a good deal more that I imagined. Physically she is superb. Sometimes she is handsome in
face, but always in figure. She is good-natured, affectionate and companionable. La Farge says that the impassable barrier is coconut oil. Yet we wash ourselves every day with coconut oil in the form of soap and are not troubled by it. I am in the dark about it, and vary between the reflection that La Farge and I are both well past fifty years old, and the counter-thought that the girls really can't get near us; coconut-oil, language, habit of thought and occupations, are all as far from us as they were our great aunts four thousand years ago.31

In this remarkable passage, Adams reiterates his feeling that he has been transported back into time. But by imagining the Samoan women as if "they were our great aunts four thousand years ago," he continues to impose his idea of archaic woman onto Samoan women. Even though they are women, Adams metaphorically argues, their oily substance somehow blocks a relationship with them that would function to purify him. The Samoan woman, covered in coconut oil, slips through his measuring tape.

While Adams self-reflexively observes the limitations of his portrait of archaic womanhood for Samoan women, he transposes this image onto "modern" womanhood. Concurrent with his effort to catch archaic womanhood on the islands of the South Seas, he pursues modern American womanhood by writing letters to his close friend Elizabeth Cameron. To John Hay, Adams admits that one of his lessons from Samoa is that he perhaps lives in an eternal paradox: he can only "see" that which is far away:

Possibly when I get far enough away, so as to be out of sight, I can see it. Just now I feel as though I were badly treated because the Samoans are so blamed amiable and handsome. They've no business
to exist unless they mean something, and they won't let me know what they mean.\textsuperscript{32}

As the distance between Elizabeth Cameron and Adams increases so does the intimacy expressed in the letters. When Adams writes to Elizabeth Cameron about the essence of womanhood, with one hand, he lectures her as a man about what it means to be a woman and, with the other hand, he entreats her to guide his life, professing to be under her feminine power. This dual (and duel with) archaic life, which is really Adams's "new" life, and modern American life, which is really his "old" life, become enormously entangled in Adams's letters. While he confronts and writes the image of archaic woman, he creates a new portrait of the American Elizabeth Cameron. He manipulates her into a role he constructs for her.

Then I must say--what you must understand without saying--that I am something more than dependent on your writing. Now that I am here I find what I expected to find when I came away--that you are my only strong tie to what I suppose I ought to call home. If you should go back on me, I should wholly disappear. Already the charm of tropical life has wiped out the nervous excitement and anxious sleeplessness of Washington. I feel no more worries except seasickness. I enjoy myself, and the sense of living, more than I had done in five years. I am glad to be dead to the old existence which was a torture, and to forget it, in a change as complete as that of another planet.\textsuperscript{33}

The letter shows the multilayered purposes of Adams's journey and his correspondence. Importantly, the letter gives one of the few covert references to Marian Adams's suicide and the effect on Henry Adams. The "five years" points back to the ominous year 1885; for Adams these five
worried years constituted a time in which the classic symptoms of mourning such as "nervous excitement" and "anxious sleeplessness" predominated; he even calls his past existence "a torture." In addition, he reiterates his claim that the old existence is now dead and that the new life has given him a new, and, as he claims, an alien but restful and lively existence. At the same time, he holds on to Elizabeth Cameron as "the only strong tie," or even, as he says later in the same letter, "the only remaining tie." In other words, he makes her a rather duplicitous representative of the "old" Washington life, trying to transfer the old tie to Washington--his wife--around the new distant addressee of his letters.

Elizabeth Cameron recognizes the double bind Adams has tried to wrap around her, and she responds by forcefully denying his dependency on her:

You say I am the only tie binding you to the old life which you hate. Sometimes I think you would rather not have even that one? As for throwing you over, how could I? You are bound to me in no way. You went your way, free as air and I have no claim on you but the claim of the weak on the strong. It is for you to throw me over, not I you. The dependence is wholly one-sided and proved by your going away.34

Adams stages himself as the Petrarchan lover of his Esther, wandering around the world unable to consume his impossible love for the courtly lady who has married a man she does not love. According to Tehan, Elizabeth Cameron had sacrificed herself by giving in to family pressure in her marriage to Senator Don Cameron. Amidst the erotic beauties of the South Seas who regard sex as an insignificant matter, Adams nevertheless restrains and saves himself in order to remain pure for his idealized and unattainable love. But Elizabeth Cameron does not buy his pose. She
claims that it is not she who has power, but Adams, which he proves by his going away. However, her carefully argued resistance to Adams's manipulations indicates that she, like Adams, is not entirely powerless.

Contrary to his claim that the old life can hardly have any sequence in his new life, his correspondence with Elizabeth Cameron bonds the new life explicitly to the old. His desperate dependency on her writing, furthermore, links her to what Adams's sense of "home," or, as he phrases it, what he "ought to call home." In the light of Adams's repeated stress on the powerful role of women within their sphere, the troubled home of Henry Adams depends on the presence of a powerful wife; in this letter, Adams seems to replace Marian Adams with Elizabeth Cameron as that powerful woman.35

In spite of Adams's assertion that "I am glad to be dead to the old existence," the Samoan experience appears not to have changed him at all. His identity crisis upon arrival on the island group stabilized into an ongoing "old" self. The break has not materialized. A fascinating coincidence metaphorically illustrates Henry Adams's experience. Throughout his life, Adams attaches special significance to his name and through the use of anonymous or pseudonymous publications safeguards his private life. Yet as soon as La Farge and Adams land on Samoa, to his surprise, Adams is instantly recognized as a "great man" because of his name. Rather than creating a new identity by taking on a new name on the alien planet, Adams remains himself, and actually cultivates his name for its "worth." As he explains to Anne Cabot Lodge:

Owing to their familiarity with our frigate, the "Adams," the natives caught on to me at once as a great man, and Sewall has cultivated the illusion. We are the first Americans who ever travelled here for
pleasure, without a business object; and this singularity confirms the simple native in his view of us. I am rejoiced to find, for the first time in my life, that my name is worth something to me.\textsuperscript{36} He values his category of chief and as important representative of a different country. Even though he also acquires a Samoan name and feels he attains a Polynesian identity because of it, his Polynesian name "ali Atamu" translates directly as "chief Adams." His name allows the aristocratic Adams to remain aristocratic in his archaic society. Paddling in his canoe, dressed only in the native lava-lava with a shirt, Adams adopts to Polynesian life but remains outside its culture. With great irony, he writes Elizabeth Cameron that "I have adopted the native lava-lava, with a shirt, as my boating costume; the village applauds me every afternoon as I stalk across the green in a flaming red waist-cloth and legs as bare as a Scotch Highlander's."\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{Ali} Atuma turns out to be the old Henry Adams in native disguise. For all of Adams's efforts to "be" Polynesian, the applauding village only stresses his profound alienation. After his initial disorienting seasickness, Adams now canoes steadfastly on the Polynesian waters as a Samoan version of Henry Adams. Just as he did before Marian Adams's suicide, he measures Woman according to his standards, and fails to see differences between his standards and the women's personal lives and interests. His desire for identification with that mythic woman is blocked by the "real" women of Samoa; rather than Adams merging with the woman within, his idea of woman remains utterly beyond actual female experience on Samoa. Adams only sees his own reflection. At one level Adams's overstatements and irony expose his role. When Fa-a-uli allows him to correct his imagined measurements, she also critiques his methodology:
She [Fa-a-uli] looked ten feet high and four feet broad; but a curiosity seized me to know her exact measurements, so I took them. She is only five feet two inches high.[see table]...She let me take all these measurements carefully, only saying with a laugh that I measured her as they did with pigs.  

Even though he humorously exposes his dehumanizing measurements, he remains trapped within his standards. In spite of Adams's desire to become part of a "next world," he remains a fundamental outsider in his own time as opposed to the time and culture of his Samoans. According to Adams, a union between himself and his archaic woman cannot pass the "impassable barrier of coconut oil": "At our last stopping place the muscular maiden announced her strong desire to run off with me. As yet, their raiment of coconut oil has proved an impassable barrier between them and me; for I cannot take a bath every time my beloved touches me." While archaic woman elides his image of woman, he clings to the self-sacrificing, cleansing womanhood of the doctrine of separate spheres. The farther he sails from his home in Washington, the closer he feels to the "modern" womanhood of Elizabeth Cameron. The less he sees Samoan society, the more he sees Elizabeth Cameron as the image of the Victorian angel in the house. When he writes her that "[t]he general formula that you are an angel has become so monotonous that I hate to bore you with it," he embraces the old formula for gender roles of nineteenth-century America. In the new family portrait of 1890, Adams believes Elizabeth Cameron will shelter him in her home and offer a Victorian "haven in a heartless world." In his letters from Samoa, Adams still writes as the shattered Adams of 1885. He uses the encounter with Samoan women to confirm his portrait
of Woman rather than revise it. The "primitive" ati Atuma turns into a reconstructed image of the "modern" Henry Adams of 1885.

Yet his "failure" to become professor of "archaic" woman measures his own colonizing role. For Adams to proclaim himself too distant to the Samoan old-gold-girl and to regard her as part of his mythological past also implicitly exposes his subjective portrait of Samoan culture. Because of Clover's suicide, his idea to contrast "neurasthenic" American womanhood to "healthy" Samoan womanhood fills Adams's own needs. Unable to cross over into the primitive land of archaic woman, Adams remains entrenched in his "old" place. Whereas in Esther he had used a strategy that gave him the illusion of "knowing women" by cross-dressing as a female novelist, his experiences on Samoa do not enable him a look from the other side; in his anthropological observations, he only sees himself inside the frame of his portrait of "archaic gold girls." Unlike Koele Meren, he cannot even give a picture of Samoan women.

In the light of Adams's personal stake in writing about Samoan culture, it is even more surprising that his image of Samoa holds up remarkably well when placed next to ethnographies on Samoa. When Margaret Mead studied the Samoans for nine months in 1925, she confirmed many of Adams's earlier assessments.

In Coming of Age in Samoa (1928; 1973), one of the most famous of anthropological studies, while researching female adolescence, Margaret Mead emphasizes the relative absence of emotions and sentiment in Samoans, the different sexual codes (especially among adolescent girls), and the vast importance of the taupo to the village structure.\textsuperscript{41} By comparing Margaret Mead's data on Samoan girls with Adams's data, I could enter the debate about the "true measurements" of Samoan girls. But
rather, the comparison dramatizes the colonization of Samoan women by Mead, Adams, and myself as it foregrounds the important role of the observer. Mead's classic currently occupies the center stage in a heated debate about anthropology. When Derek Freeman obsessively attacked Mead in 1983 in *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of Anthropological Myth*, the unsettling crisis within anthropology was not so much 'who-is-right?' but the scientificity of anthropology itself. While Freeman's study is extremely controversial and reads like a patriarchal correction of a feminist text, his accentuation of Mead's situation while gathering her data remains powerful. As a young American woman of twenty-three, Mead investigates whether female adolescence constitutes a universal period of conflict in a woman's life, and concludes that on Samoa it does not:

So for the explanation of the lack of poignancy in the choices of growing girls in Samoa, we must look to the temperament of the Samoan civilization which discounts strong feeling. But for the explanation of the lack of conflict we must look principally to the difference between a simple, homogeneous primitive civilization, a civilization which changes so slowly that to each generation it appears static, and a motley, diverse, heterogeneous modern civilization. (114)

Mead's Samoan girls sound like Adams's "great aunts four thousand years ago." By making previously ignored adolescent girls the axis of her story of civilization, Mead reveals the timelessly significant role of women in "primitive" culture. But Mead's writing about the influence of women coincides with her own influence as an academic professional in America.
Margaret Mead "comes of age" in 1925 as one of the first female anthropologists.43

This aside into anthropology serves to expose my purpose in writing about archaic woman. By measuring "primitive" women, both Adams and Mead address the role of women in their American society. That I now measure Adams's writings about archaic woman implicates me in his colonial project. As a male critic influenced by feminist criticism and women's studies, I try to locate a place from which a man can speak about a woman, but, as Adams's project indicates, this effort easily turns into a problematic occupation and colonization. Writing about how Samoan culture influenced Henry Adams's thinking about women still subordinates Samoan women and even continues their objectification. I do not believe I can write their story. But by highlighting the women's previously neglected role in Henry Adams, I not only write a "feminist" revision of Adams, I also appropriate Margaret Mead who finds a voice, "a coming of age," for herself by writing about "others." Through Henry Adams's writings about women, I both want to investigate and expose my role as a man writing about women and find my voice, my place within this territory.


2To John Hay, Sept. 15, 1890, 282.

3To Elizabeth Cameron, Oct. 2, 1890 (serial letter), 287.
4For example, to John Hay he writes: "My only consideration for a month of dry-rot is that Volume III is getting printed; but as I am seasick every time I see a proof, the sense of its being a baby becomes overpowering" (30 Oct. 1887, 89). And to Sir Robert Cunliffe he once again affirms his birth-giving capacity: "I feel as though I had a baby and had got to have three or four more. You can ask all the mamas of your acquaintance whether under such circumstances the subject is one they most enjoy" (10 Nov. 1889, 207).
6To Sir Robert Cunliffe, 27 May 1888, 115.
7To Elizabeth Cameron, 27 Sept. 1890, 285.
8To Lucy Baxter, 4 Nov. 1890, 324.
9O'Toole, 71.
10Serial letter 9 Oct., 290.
11To John Hay, 16 Nov. 1890, 343.
12To John Hay, 343.
14My reading of the striptease reproduces the structure of the male gaze and implicates me as the gazer. Just criticizing Adams for his involvement does not make my rendering of the scene unproblematic. That was clearly revealed to me when I delivered this paper at the Dickens Conference, February 1991 in Riverside, CA. I had cut the passage for considerations of time, but "teased" the audience by saying I had cut it. When I had finished the paper, I was of course asked to read the striptease scene anyway. By reading it at the end, unconnected from the paper, and unproblematized by the critique in the paper, I virtually reproduced the communal John Hay reading scene.
15To Elizabeth Cameron, serial letter, 8 Nov. 1890 (13 Nov.), 332.
16To Elizabeth Cameron, 331.
17To Elizabeth Cameron, 332.
18To Elizabeth Cameron, serial letter, 22 Nov. 1890, 337.
19To John Hay, 16 Oct. 1890, 301.
20To Elizabeth Cameron, 26 Oct, 1890 (serial letter, 30 Oct.), 316.
21To Lucy Baxter, 325.
22To Elizabeth Cameron, 2 Oct. 1890 (serial letter, 12 Oct.), 293.
23To Anna Cabot Mills Lodge, 21 Oct. 1890, 306.
24To John Hay, 346.
25To Lucy Baxter, 325.
26To John Hay, 16 Nov. 1890, 344.
27To John Hay, 346.
28For example, to Elizabeth Cameron he writes: "We [Adams and La Farge] are already old Polynesians. Probably every chief on the islands knows all about us, and would be glad to have us for guests" (338). And later he writes to Mabel Hooper: "I have become very Polynesian" (349).
29To Elizabeth Cameron, 8 Nov. 1890, 330.
30To Elizabeth Cameron, 331
31To Lucy Baxter, 18 January 1891, 398.
32To John Hay, 4 Jan. 1891.
33To Elizabeth Cameron, 27 Sept. 1890, 285.
Elizabeth Cameron to Henry Adams, as quoted in Tehan, 108.

Adams had already tentatively started to substitute Elizabeth Cameron for Clover shortly after Clover's death. Christmas 1885, he wrote to Elizabeth: "This little trinket which I send you was a favorite of my wife's. Will you keep it and sometime wear it to remind you of her?" As quoted in Tehan, 90.

To Elizabeth Cameron, 307.

To Elizabeth Cameron, 24 Jan. 1891, 388.

To Mabel Hooper, 2 Nov. 1890, 322.

To John Hay, 7 Dec. 1890, 362. Even though this sounds as if Adams writes another fantasy about the native desiring the Westerner, Margaret Mead's account of the sexual experimentation of Samoan women proposes an actual scenario. Mead explains that "frequently...an older man, a widower or a divorced man, will be a girl's first lover" (Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization (New York: William and Morrow, 1928; 1973), 49).

To Elizabeth Cameron, 23 Feb 1891 (serial letter, 4 March), 423.

For descriptions of Samoan culture I have mostly relied on Margaret Mead's and Lowell D. Holmes's ethnographies. Adams's discussion of family organization confirms Mead's view, and, in terms of marriage, elopements, divorce, and "under the palm trees" affairs, Mead again reiterates Adams's description.

Two anthropologists had completely opposing views about the "real" Samoa. Lowell Holmes summarizes Mead's and Freeman's positions as follows: "While Margaret Mead described Samoa as a paradise relatively untouched by competition, sexual inhibition, or guilt, Freeman maintains that Samoans are by nature sexually inhibited (even puritanical), aggressive, and highly competitive, prone to jealousy and subject to a whole range of pathological types of behavior including assault, rape, "surreptitious rape," suicide and rape" (13). John Holmes, Quest for the "Real" Samoa: The Mead/Freeman CONTROVERSY AND BEYOND (South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey, 1987).

Freeman's restudy of Samoan culture carries overtones of a patriarchal correction of a feminist text. Freeman's claim that Mead was "duped" by the Samoan girls, but that he acquired the "correct" information and thus "knows" the women better than Mead is questioned by Holmes and others. Mead's radical move to make Samoan female adolescents the subjects of her study because they were so marginal in the culture's political organization disturbs Freeman enormously, and he bases his claim to speak for Samoan culture upon the fact that he is not only a man and so better equipped to study the political organization of the village, but also a chief, adopted into a Samoan family (Cf. Freeman, xiv, xv, and Holmes, 147-48).
CHAPTER 6

Structural Silence as the Female Voice in *The Education of Henry Adams*

"Education had ended in 1871; life was complete in 1890; the rest mattered so little!"¹ The "rest," however, mattered a great deal, especially since that period contains his marriage with Marian Hooper, his novels *Democracy* and *Esther*, his *History*, the death of his wife, his travels to the South Seas, and his romantic interest in Elizabeth Cameron. Adams's characteristic exaggeration about the "rest" of 1871-1890 reveals an intricate structural principle of reading *The Education*. The reader should not blindly accept Adams's crude generalizations (of which there are many), but pay special attention to the "rest" of *The Education*. There is much that is restless in Adams's literary representation of the influences in his life and how education prepared him to meet the demands of the twentieth century. Unsettling was President Grant's announcement of the names of the new cabinet of 1869, after which Adams suddenly found himself without the prospect of a career he naturally assumed to be his and which his education apparently had prepared him for. In an unusual emotional passage, Adams recalls his shock of being not wanted:

To the end of his life, he wondered at the suddenness of the revolution which actually, within five minutes, changed his intended future into an absurdity so laughable as to make him ashamed of it.

(245)

Unsettling was also his subsequent career as professor at Harvard, as historian, and as novelist, where he lectured and wrote about American culture from the sidelines of power. Living across from the White House,
Adams could only witness the powerful role of his grandfathers. But most unsettling was his wife's suicide on December 6, 1885, after which he pronounced himself to be only living posthumously. The "rest" of The Education is to provide a place of rest for himself but also a place of refuge for his wife, to counter the disquieting, dominating forces of American masculine culture. The space of 1871-1890 between "Failure" (chapter 20) and "Twenty Years After" (chapter 21) occupies the center of Adams's work and locates the "rest" of The Education.

In The Education, Adams applies the lessons of previous "experiments" in the literary representation of women from a double perspective. However, The Education is predominantly a male story. Aside from the development of the male protagonist, the sites Adams inhabits are all permeated with male domination. In The Education, Adams has to find a space for himself in education, politics, and war. Nevertheless, variations of other male strategies of writing women abound in Adams's text. Like Max Havelaar, The Education idealizes the force of woman in a traditional role of the doctrine of separate spheres by borrowing from a sentimental tradition. Multatuli co-opts Harriet Beecher Stowe's sentimentality in Uncle Tom's Cabin to find alternative strategies for changing colonial oppression. As an advocate of intuitive female force, Adams positions himself also as a spokesman for women's healing power that is able to cure a sick society. Van Eeden recognizes in women the power to alter unjust social conditions, and Adams hails the Virgin Mother's power to unite a scattered culture. This male portrait of an idealized female figure is exposed novelistically in Van Eeden's Koele Meren; in The Education, Adams leaves no doubts that male representation of women are always misrepresentations, thereby undercutting his portrait of the Virgin.
Besides employing strategies of admiration and self-reflexivity to represent women, Adams appears to have read James closely. By speaking Milly Theale’s deathbed scene, Merton Densher is able to fit Milly into a category of sentimentality and saves his masculinity from corruption. Saving himself causes a woman's death, however. Merton's appropriation of Milly's dying voice signals an especially violent moment of preserving masculinity at the cost of women. Both the deathbed scene and female silence constitute important strategic moments in The Education in which he delineates a place of refuge for women in his text.

My analysis of Henry Adams's obsession with a representation of women, tracing his preoccupation with women from Esther to the South Seas letters to The Education, reads these texts with Marian Adams's suicide in mind. While motives for her suicide remain speculation—an unresolved attachment to her father, manic depression, alienation in a childless marriage, confinement by Henry Adams—she had lived as an upper class woman in nineteenth-century America. For Adams to speak about women or even for a general category of women was always connected to the individual Marian Hooper. In Adams's work, the connection between autobiography and literature fuses with special force in its representation of women. The literary representation of women was not an act of theory, but always linked to real life. My reading of the woman in Henry Adams underwrites Carolyn Porter's suggestion that it "is impossible to overestimate Marian Adams's suicide as a force in Adams's subsequent life."²

Tahitian Education
Adams's desperate travels across every conceivable ocean into the far corners of the world reveal his deep unrest after his wife's suicide. On Samoa, Adams's experience self-reflexively brings home to him his American masculine identity of domination and possession. Trying to make Clarence King's "old-gold-girl" his own, Adams measures the Samoan women only to be confronted by his essential otherness and his ignorance of the Polynesian women; his Samoan name remains Adams.

Whereas the otherness of Samoan women reappears in The Education as the mythic Virgin, the experience with women on Tahiti, by contrast, appears within the structural silence in The Education. The lesson of Tahiti in the education of Henry Adams lies in the double structure of The Education: The story of his public, masculine education and "the rest." Within the rest of The Education, Adams gives voice to a masculine representation of femininity that resists the male portrait of the Virgin. Side-by-side to the voiceless Marian Hooper, Adams rests his Tahitian feminine masculinity and his Tahitian education.

His quest after the "old-gold-girl" takes an unexpected turn on Tahiti. In contrast to on Samoa, Adams acquires a new name, a new royal heritage, and a "feminine" identity. In a formal ceremony, Adams is adopted into the royal Teva family, by the old Queen Ariitaimai:

I was quite upset, last Monday morning, just before they all went away, when the old lady with a certain dignity of manner, drawing a chair near mine, sat down and made me a little formal speech in native words, which of course I did not understand and which Marao, who was in on the secret, instantly translated. The speech was, I believe, the proper, traditional and formal act of investiture,
and conferred on me the hereditary family name of Taura-atua, with
the lands, rights, and privileges attached to it. (452)

With the acquisition of his new name, Taura-atua i Amo, Adams assumes a
new persona whose different voice finds its expression in "the rest," or the
deliberate void of The Education. The voice of Adams's Tahitian identity
is feminine. Already early on in meeting the last royal members of Tahiti,
Adams identifies with the old Queen, whom he later calls his Hinairy
(Tahitian grandmother). The parallel between her story of the
disintegration of Tahiti and her royal family and his own displaced
aristocracy in America presents a recognizable moment of identification.3

When he decides to chronicle the history of Tahiti from the perspective of
its last queen, Adams writes in his letters that he has become Hinairy's
favorite child, telling Adams things "she would never tell them [her
"biological" children]."4

The most striking moment of identification between Queen Ariitaimai
and Henry Adams occurs in the Memoirs of Arii Taimai (1893; 1901).5 In
this obscure text, Adams narrates the rise and fall of native Tahitian rule
from the perspective of Queen Arii Taimai. Amalgamated from the
Queen's translated stories (Adams would usually sleep through the original
telling), Adams has presented himself as "editor" of Memoirs. Yet as the
apex of the feminine voice displacing Adams's Western editorial voice,
Queen Arii Taimai steps in to assume control over the narrative:

At this point, in February, 1846, begins my own story of how I
interposed, as chieftess, to bring about peace, and the submission of
the islanders to French rule. I repeat it in my own words which are
more lifelike than any that an editor could use.6
The woman who steps in to displace Henry Adams from his editorial control differs from Frances Snow Compton's pseudonymous authorship of *Esther*. For one, the name represents a real historical figure, but also the history remains the Queen's, even after Henry Adams has been revealed as "author." With *Esther*, Adams also competed for the female market place and tested his possibilities of crossing spheres. In *Memoirs*, the survival of history and genealogy far outweighs concerns of the market place. According to J. C. Levenson, the privately printed book could not possible interest a Western reading audience, but only "the Polynesian family for whom Adams wrote it." In contrast to *Esther*, the female voice in *Memoirs* assumes control over the male voice and tells the story of Tahiti.

Adams's final assertion of a feminine persona on Tahiti surfaces in his correspondence with Elizabeth Cameron. In the letters from Samoa, he continually tried to write Elizabeth Cameron into his conception of an "old-gold-girl." But when he is on a desperate chase to Paris where they have arranged to meet, Adams suddenly echoes a letter he wrote several months before to Clarence King that detailed the Tahitian "old-gold woman" (466):

They are jolly, obliging, and quite ready to attach themselves. No London girl in her fifth season is readier to snap at a rich elderly nobleman, than an old-gold maiden to jump at a foreign ali with a name for wealth and liberality. They require no life-contracts or settlements. They are willing to be sent home whenever they become superfluous. All they ask is that they should be recognised as a so-called wife for the time-being. In Taiti, I am told, even now they hardly ask so much. My young Telemachuses and Anacharses, born and bred in these islands, tell me that one need only say--Come! I
have not been tempted to say it, nor has La Farge; but I have seen plenty of women, and several handsome ones; not so intimately as in Samoa, but close enough to watch them; and I am still unable to select one I want. (466-67)

To King, the inventor of his exotic girl and the most "masculine" of the three men of the Five of Hearts, Adams boasts once again of his capacity to abstain from sexual involvement with such beautiful creatures. Yet to Elizabeth Cameron, Adams writes as if he is "jolly, obliging, and quite ready to attach" himself:

When the time comes, I want only to say that I am coming back temporarily, for personal reasons, and leave myself free from questions which would require lies. Above all, I want to return quietly and unexpectedly, so that I mayn't be bothered by Historical Societies and invitations which I should decline. Is this morbid? I don't care if it is. If I come back, it will be solely because you have said: Come! I can't give that reason to anyone but you, and any other would be a lie. As you know, I ask nothing even from those I love most. I have no more interest in the world than I had when I came away, and have given it all I have to give. If I return now, I must carry with me some means of filling my time and avoiding ennui, at least as far as that awful malady can be dodged or drugged; and if, after all, anything should happen to interfere with the experiment, I must be able to dart off at a moment's notice to the desert of Gobi. (511-12)

On his way to meet the married American woman, Adams leaves himself utterly to Elizabeth Cameron's control; she governs his coming and going, and he even seems ready to commit himself to any type of attachment like the "old-gold maiden" who requires "no life-contracts or settlements." In
this instance, Adams paradoxically uses his newly acquired Tahitian "feminine" identity to offer himself to the modern American woman. His adoption in Tahitian royal family, the lessons of the maternal queen and his identification with her lead Adams to court femininity in an American context.

The desire to understand his wife's life and death culminates on Tahiti in an identification with feminine experience. He now offers himself as an objectified, passive femininity to signal his internalization of both archaic woman and "old-gold-girl." His earlier masculine appropriation of women only led to a distorted male portrait of woman. His Tahitian identity, however, makes Adams himself the embodiment of appropriated femininity, placing him partly in his wife's role.

Yet Taura-atua i Amo does not supplant Henry Adams. In The Education, Adams dramatizes the result of American and Tahitian education through a double structure which reflects his double personas. His Tahitian identity remains part of an intensely secret and private territory. He instructs John Hay, Elizabeth Cameron, and Clarence King to keep his adoption secret. And after his birth as Taura-atua, he writes to Elizabeth Cameron that he consists of two different "me"s:

But if we ever do reach Europe, where something like neighborhood exists, I shall want to know all about myself, now that myself and I are two different persons; one a mere shadowy possibility in Washington; the other an almost equally thin shadow in unknown or uncertain night. (472)

The me in "unknown or uncertain night" contrasts to the masculine "me" of Washington. When he later writes to John Hay about his tentative return to authorship, he leaves the South Seas journeys outside of his professional
terrain. He enigmatically tells John Hay: "Of course I should not touch the South Seas; I could not without betraying myself" (599).

The two personas of Washington and Tahiti return in The Education in its double structure. Inside the twenty-year silence, Adams voices his representation of women from within his own feminine experience on Tahiti and from the desire to identify with his wife, yet to leave her unappropriated. Whether the "me" of Tahiti in The Education ultimately goes beyond masculinity and represents a moment of gender crossing remains questionable. Elizabeth Cameron rejects Adams's feminine pose and calls him "crude" and a "brute" (558), when Adams wants to more than a "tame cat" (585).9

Inside The Education, Adams's other me offers another approach of representing women in a male text. As a contrast to the dominating force of the Virgin, Adams places the rest of The Education as a resisting force. After Elizabeth Cameron's rejection, Adams's reverence for female force in Mariolatry safely shelters him from another romantic pursuit; through the Virgin Mary, Henry can rest with his Marian. In The Education, Adams confronts the problem of writing the significance of his wife and his feminine identity by leaving a space at the heart of his (auto)biography. By not speaking Marian Hooper's deathbed scene in The Education, Adams resists appropriation and leaves (or makes?) her rest in silence.

The Story of The Education

As a man who so much resists public exposure, and who carefully guards his privacy, Adams's act of writing an autobiography might come as a surprise to his readers. Yet even though Adams appears to narrate his
influence and the failure of his education to prepare himself for the demands of the twentieth century, carefully structured as consecutive episodes in precise chronological order, The Education is anything but a usual autobiography. Paradoxically, the complex motive of the extraordinary act of writing The Education is partly an effort to always guard his privacy. After he has read yet another horrible biography, Thomas Reid's Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Moncton Milnes (1890), Adams exclaims in a letter to his friend Charles Milnes Gaskell: "What should be done with a wretch who kills your soul forever, and piles feather-bolsters on it till eternity becomes immortal struggling for breath and air?...The moral should be that every man should write his own life, to prevent some other fellow from taking it" (3, 527). The act of writing, then, becomes a means of preserving his "life" that otherwise might be corrupted and killed. Writing himself provides an eternal resting point. And he reiterates to Henry James: "The volume is a mere shield of protection in the grave. I advise you to take your own life in the same way, in order to prevent biographers from taking it in theirs" (136). The motive for writing The Education comes to the surface in the peculiar narrative voice of Adams's autobiography and in its literary structure. As a "shield of protection in the grave," Adams construct his Education in such a way that he can keep himself at a distance from the subject of the autobiography. As a protection of his life against other murderous interpretations, The Education also becomes a therapeutic act that forces Adams to read and structure his life. As he tells William James in a telling aside: Then I undertook,—always to clean my own mind,—a companion study of the twentieth century" (6, 92). Rather than writing an autobiography at all, Adams decides to write his biography. The distance
between the author and the literary character, Henry Adams, reveals strategies of writing identities and lives that fit *The Education*'s overall theme of "a study of twentieth-century multiplicity" (5). Through a split perspective from the character Henry Adams and the author Henry Adams, *The Education* investigates modes of being that lie beyond traditional theories of ego formation. His split perspective also allows a different look at the representation and formation of gender.

In the preface to *The Education*, Adams clarifies that his ego document will profoundly differ from other autobiographies. Rather than an exhibitionist performance that "shows" the self, such as JeanJacques Rousseau's autobiography, Adams's focus will be on the relation between the individual and the education he receives (Adams always uses "he"). As Adams famously declares:

Since this time, and largely thanks to him [Rousseau], the *Ego* has steadily tended to efface itself, and, for purposes of model, to become a manikin on which the toilet of education is to be draped in order to show the fit or misfit of the clothes. The object of study is the garment, not the figure. The tailor adapts the manikin as well as the clothes to his patron's wants. The tailor's object, in this volume, is to fit young men, in Universities or elsewhere, to be men of the world, equipped for any emergency; and the garment offered to them is meant to show the faults of the patchwork fitted on their fathers. (7-8)

The model of the manikin serves to drape the character Henry Adams with a proper garment of education which ought to equip him for "any emergency." The writer, who, as author, becomes the father of the manikin, has as its only suit a "patchwork." The model of the manikin is
crucial in relation to Adams's conception of identity. One's education appears to create identity rather than Rousseau's act of "unveiling" his "interior" (7). My constant displacement of reading about the character Henry Adams in the third person incessantly stresses the discontinuous identity between Henry Adams the literary character at this stage in his life and his author Henry Adams who shows the misfit of the manikin's clothes that fail to prepare him for emergencies.

The split between the two Henry Adamses repeats itself in the structure of The Education. In his early life, Adams is divided between the business world of urban Boston on Beacon Street in winter, and the rural, pastoral world of his grandparents' house in Quincy during the summer. The double experiences exist next to one another in opposing chapters. The three chapters on his childhood contrast with the subsequent three chapters of his American and European education. And the most decisive turn in the book comes in the middle when Adams moves from a description of the failures of his education to "a starting-point for a new education at fifty-five years old" to study the power of multiplicity (315). In the binaries that have appeared to structure the manikin's life in halves, Adams finds himself drifting between men and women, public and private, activity and passivity, participant and observer, politics and humanities, America and Europe, generalizations and chaos, Virgin and dynamo.13 Time and again, Adams "finds himself" somewhere, "drifts" from one position to another, and even offers himself for sale to anybody who could possibly find him useful (cf. 253). Like "Bartleby the Scrivener," Adams takes on a dead life of copying law in the law office of Horace Gray; there, Adams informs his students: "He would have remained for life, his attempt at education in treason having, like all the rest, disastrously failed" (105). Especially after
serving as his father's private secretary in England, Adams finds himself part of a thirty-something crowd of men looking to get married until "they could find employment" (198). Moving away from Boston, he waits in Washington, D.C., for a call to political office, and when that fate does not befall him, he lands a reluctant career as assistant professor of medieval history at Harvard University in an appropriately entitled chapter "Chaos."14 Upon the rejection of a political career, the manikin Adams points to a structural principle in The Education: "He had made another total misconception of life,—another inconceivable false start" (245). He starts his new career with another split in halves:

So, at twenty-four hours' notice, he broke his life in halves again in order to begin a new education, on lines he had not chosen, in subjects for which he cared less than nothing; in a place he did not love, and before a future which repelled. (274)

Dressed in a patchwork, the manikin has not become president, as the little boy had naturally assumed to be his destiny when he grew up on the steps of the White House. The scenario of The Education with its emphasis on binaries, halves, and fashioned identity make Adams the embodiment of his own story: a transition from aristocratic unitary eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century America to a democratic, chaotic twentieth century of Power. After education has "failed," Adams presumes with renewed energy to study the relations of force after witnessing the gigantic dynamos at the Chicago Exposition of 1893. Hugging the dynamos of uncontrollable force, the second half of the book tries to demystify these anarchical powers (cf. 316). In Seeing and Being, Carolyn Porter convincingly argues for the dual perspective of Adams as a participant in the cultural transition and as an observer or chronicler of cultural change.
To Porter, this double position leads Adams into a false illusion of detached power:

Adams's effort to teach reaction in *The Education*, I would suggest, constitutes a final attempt to exert influence, and as such indicates his awareness that however loudly he might protest that he is not responsible, he has accepted responsibility for the historical developments he pretends merely to watch; as speaker, he must accept responsibility. (201)

The story of *The Education* thus cannot create a narrative in which he objectively describes the latest fashion of his manikin without, as it were, fashioning himself as author. By writing his biography, Adams, however much he claims to resist it, sets up "sequences and stories" that explain his own writing; after all, in this story the manikin does reveal himself by knitting the patchwork around himself. This story of *The Education* is a man's land that takes place in a masculine world of education, war, and politics. While the plot appears to resist a bildungsroman plot of development, "this story of education" (293) features the development of a male protagonist.15

In my rendition of this story, women scarcely figure. According to Gene Kortez, women hardly play a part at all in the education of Henry Adams: "the feminine principle,' the generative and emotive force he attributed to women, plays a part, though a relatively insignificant one, in the thematic structure of the book."16 However, women perform a crucial part in *The Education* of halves and fashioning identities; I would like to suggest that the representation of women is itself split according to binaries and ultimately outside of halves. My previous story of *The Education* recounts a reading that serves the explicit purpose of safeguarding his life
from other biographers; Adams will fashion his own life rather than have others remove the garment. But what Carolyn Porter's reading accurately reveals is that the patchwork does not cover Adams's involvement in the life he depicts, but shows his ultimate implications in the constitutions of a twentieth-century American culture. In Adams's attempt not to put on a self-exhibitionist show like Rousseau's, Adams also reveals his obsession with masculine power.

Virgin Power

As a contrast to masculine power, Adams offers Virgin power. In this most obvious representation of women in The Education, Adams's concept of female force has an ambivalent status within a feminist discourse. Adams flees toward his concept of the Virgin after Elizabeth Cameron's rejection. Otto Friedrich's proposal that the Virgin figures to a significant extent as a compensation for his wife seems entirely justified. Yet whether the Virgin represents an alternative female voice to a dominant masculine voice needs careful attention. Gregory Jay asks important questions about Adams's use of the Virgin as a possible mode of female representation:

Is this another example of phallogocentrism, in which Woman is fetishized as an irrational mastery whose unknowability is part of her seductive design? Is his fidelity to the Queen, like Dupin's, a ruse of patriarchy? Or is Adams genuinely attempting to value woman as something other than the negative mirror that returns speculative man to himself?

Even though my answers to these questions will differ from Jay's conclusion, the questions focus importantly on the male use of women in
Adams's text. In Jay's text, Adams's Virgin represents an "outlaw" who subverts a divine paternal world from within itself.¹⁹ In a variation of Jay's argument, Jackson Lears maintains that Adams's critique of twentieth-century America consumer society and Adams's escape in alternative systems like the idealization of female Force in the Virgin resist accommodation in a consumer society and offer a powerful modernist critique:

A unified framework of meaning was possible only if one abandoned logic and common sense, accepted the absurdity at the heart of existence, and chose to make an irrational leap of faith in the Infinite. This was the only lasting synthesis for the dialectic between Dynamo and Virgin.²⁰ Significantly, Lears locates the possibility of protest in Adams's configuration of female power, metaphorically expressed through the Virgin. Lears's reading warrants close scrutinizing because it locates female power as a means of protest within Adams's text. Like the discourse of protest in Max Havelaar, Lears finds an alternative discourse to male co-optation in the female voices of Adams's Virgin. In Mont Saint Michel and Chartres, Adams had postulated the Virgin as a force that united divergent energies. The magnificent cathedral and its expressive stained glass in honor of the Virgin Mary gave evidence of her unifying force in society.

In the thirteenth century, Adams argues, this harmonious unity between men and women came about through the Force of Woman, symbolized in the Virgin. Paradoxically, Adams sees the Virgin as a sexual force:
She was Goddess because of her force; she was the animated dynamo; she was reproduction--the greatest and most mysterious of all energies; all she needed was to be fecund. (356)

Man worshipped this force, produced great art, and the Virgin gave him meaning to life. Adams thus acknowledges a force of vast importance in "woman," and even assigns her a position morally superior to man. Through this mystification or "male idealization" of woman, he postulates "woman" into a role of motherhood which emphasizes reproduction, her centripetal force uniting the family as well as constituting a symbol of male fecundity and/or creativity. Adams adores the cathedral of Chartres because it illustrates the possibility of man's creative powers. On many occasions in The Education, women's power is acknowledged, but in rather dubious terms. When he is in Rome, his sister leads him through the mazes of Rome, and Adams embarks on another "experiment":

Women have, commonly, a very positive moral sense; that which they will, is right; that which they reject, is wrong, and their will, in most cases, ends by settling the moral. She [his sister] was the first young woman he was ever intimate with,--quick, sensitive, willful, or full of will, energetic, sympathetic and intelligent enough to supply a score of men with ideas,--and he delighted to give her the reins;--to let her drive him where she would. It was his first experiment in giving the reins to a woman, and he was so much pleased with the results that he never wanted to take them back. In after life he made a general law of experience,--no woman had ever driven him wrong; no man had ever driven him right. (83-84)

In a law of gender, Adams classifies women with innate honesty and superior will, and he gladly assumes a passive role around women. As
morally superior beings, they can bestow ideas upon men and transform the men into higher spheres. In R. P. Blackmur's words: "Women, for Adams, had instincts and emotion and could move from the promptings of the one to the actualities of the other without becoming lost or distraught in the midway of logic and fact."\textsuperscript{21} The force he attributes to women in \textit{The Education} pervades his letters as well, and Adams's law seems to have become a mode of life for him in "after life" (life after Marian Hooper's suicide). Especially towards Elizabeth Cameron, Adams maintains his masculine inferiority. In a letter to Elizabeth Cameron around the time that he was sending privately printed copies of \textit{The Education} to his friends for proof corrections, he starts "You are a woman, therefore superior to me, and you can keep your head in crowds. Mine wobbles" (136).\textsuperscript{22} While his admiration seem entirely genuine, Adams also makes use of his law of women's superiority and men's inferiority as a pose that shows his radical "anarchistic" tendencies to upset the regular order of the world. In \textit{The Education} he cherishes his "trick of affirming that the woman is superior" (410). Lears reads in Adams's reversal of gender hierarchies a brilliant form of protest against masculine logic of early twentieth-century American culture. In \textit{Mont Saint Michel and Chartres}, Adams had opened the door to such a reading. As Adams postulates:

True it was, although one should not say it jestingly, that the Virgin embarrassed the Trinity; and perhaps this was the reason, behind all the other excellent reasons, why men loved and adored her with a passion such as no other deity has ever inspired; and why we, although utter strangers to her, are not from getting down on our knees and praying to her still. Mary concentrated in herself the whole rebellion of man against fate; the whole protest against divine
law; the whole contempt for human law as its outcome; the whole unutterable fury of human nature beating itself against the walls of its prison-house, and suddenly seized by a hope that in the Virgin man had found a door of escape.23

In a structure outside the Trinity, according to Adams, the Virgin assumes a power that protests the divine law from within itself. As such, the Virgin becomes a figure of anarchy and rebellion. As Adams gazes upon the Virgin of Chartres in *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*, his imagination carries him back to twelfth-century France. In the portraits of the Virgin, he emphasizes her dominating, ulterior power. Not only does she embody traditional feminine qualities such as motherhood, the Virgin of Chartres stands out for her wealth (428), her intelligence and mastery of science (427), her leadership role in battle (427), and her exquisite taste (418). In Chartres, the Virgin even occupies a room of her own outside the Trinity (433) as she absorbs the Trinity (431). In her renditions, her son is never more than five years and the cathedral seems entirely her own as indication of a complete reversal of power between the Trinity and the Virgin. In Adams's words: "The church is wholly given up to the Mother and the Son. The Father seldom appears; the Holy Ghost rarely" (435). Yet contrary to the claims of Jay and Lear's, the Virgin, while on the margins of the Trinity, never disappears from its structure. Part of Adams's point about intermingling the images of religion with images of royal power, where the Virgin is modeled after the queen (and vice versa, as Adams argues), is that power moves in waves in a set system. While the twelfth century reveres the Virgin, the "puritan reformers" three hundred years later are able to reverse the hierarchy and the Trinity absorbs the Virgin. As
Adams had already argued in 1876, the Church created another image of womanhood that was less challenging to the Trinity.

In spite of Lear's provocative argument for the effective voice of protest against modernity through the Virgin, she does not seem to function outside a powerful, law-giving discourse. In The Education, the Virgin is stability versus the instability of anarchic force of the Dynamo. In the well-known chapter "The Dynamo and the Virgin," Adams sets up an entire paradigm to explain a cultural shift from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. The terms of Adams's veneration for the Virgin fit suspiciously well within the traditional doctrine of separate spheres: morally superior, intuitive, and especially emphasizing motherhood and reproduction. As a representation of women in the text, the Virgin works as a male idealization that appears to offer space exclusively within a masculine structure. While the men, Lear and Jay, passionately argue for Adams's "feminine" unsettling power, their effort to reposition Adams's masculinity takes little account of feminism itself.24

Within feminism, the image of the Virgin also remains an ambivalent figure for the destabilization of a masculine structure. Julia Kristeva in "Stabat Mater" analyzes the liturgy "Stabat Mater" as a male construction which serves to repress and suppress woman. The patriarchy, male power, perpetuates itself through a denial of the dependency on the mother. In Christianity, she only serves as the medium, as "the idealization of the relationship that binds us to her" (which Kristeva calls "primary narcissism"), but not as an individual human being.25 The genealogy of power in Christianity, the construction of the Trinity, moves from the father to the son while the Virgin Mary only serves as "link" to power. Kristeva calls this genealogy the "Name," the symbolic construct of
language which tries to "tame the maternal" (162). "Stabat Mater" (the sorrowing mother) functions in this construction as the representation of the Symbolic mother. In Christian mythology she reenacts each stage in the transference of power. In Kristeva's words: "Indeed, mother of her son and daughter as well, Mary is also, and besides, his wife: therefore actualizes the threefold metamorphosis of a woman in the tightest parenthood structure" (182). She becomes an "ideal totality that no individual woman could possibly embody" (193). All these aspects of the Virgin Mary form a "clever balanced architecture" (200) created by male ideology to contain the maternal:

A skillful balance of concessions and constraints involving feminine paranoia, the representation of virgin motherhood appears to crown the efforts of a society to reconcile the social remnants of matrilinearism and the unconscious needs of primary narcissism on the one hand, and on the other the requirements of a new society based on exchange and before long on increased production, which requires the contribution of the superego and rely on the symbolic paternal agency. (181-82)

While Kristeva juxtaposes the male suppression of the maternal in a column on the right side of the page with unrestrained feminine writing on the left side, her writing of the maternal experience does not get outside the Name. Her giving birth falls in precisely those categories made available through the paternal discourse of the Symbolic: daughter, wife and mother. Adams seems close to Kristeva in wishing to highlight the Virgin's role in the Church that appears to challenge the very foundations of the church; carefully writing the Virgin as a sexual being, Adams hopes the Virgin presents a "door of escape" from patriarchal order. As Kristeva points
out, the repressed qualities of the Mother "find their outlet in the arts—painting and music—of which the virgin necessarily becomes both patron saint and privileged object" (174). Adams's adoration of this art would then precisely open the door to an alternative feminine discourse.

Although it seems possible to write Adams within a specific feminist tradition, it causes all too familiar problems of representation. Once again, the alternative discourse of women as the Other to men remains trenched within a gender binary that appears to close off the door to an escape. Adams can only observe, be led, and admire passively, as the women have to take charge of him, because his essential otherness disqualifies him from idealized motherhood. As a crucial difference between Kristeva and Adams, Kristeva narrates her "true" feminine experience of giving birth, while Adams could never offer a juxtaposing column next to his Symbolic one. This is not to say that Adams does not try. Adams enters the delivery room of the Virgin and witnesses her giving birth:

In correct theology, the Virgin ought not to be represented in bed, for she could not suffer like ordinary women, but her palace at Chartres is not much troubled by theology, and to her, as empress-mother, the pain of child-birth was a pleasure which she wanted her people to share. The Virgin of Chartres was the greatest of all Queens, but she was also the most womanly of women. (408)

Contrary to Kristeva, Adams has only the Symbolic available to narrate the "essential" moment of woman in both Kristeva's and Adams's discourse. He remains a witness, who can ultimately not "share" the Virgin's pleasurable pain; instead, his Otherness to her makes her "the most womanly of women." All men can offer her as witness is the gift of art that presents the Virgin's pain as pleasure. Yet the Virgin's power to incite
man to creativity leaves her passive. As Adams explicitly phrases his escape: "In the Virgin man had found an escape" (my emphasis). The cathedral of Chartres comes to represent the power of man through the objectification of woman. The woman in this theory, in Virginia Woolf's terms, once again serves as a "looking glass" which reflects "the figure of man at twice its natural size." 26 Dressed in his masculinity, a representation of women based on admiration and idealization works narcissistically, and Adams only sees his image of woman in the Virgin.

"No Refuge" in Writing

Besides aligning Adams with a feminist cause through his concept of the Virgin, Gilbert and Gubar trace his sympathy for feminism in Adams's writings about the problems of the "new women" of twentieth-century America. Adams observes a change in the places available for women in his America and generalizes about the overall condition of the American woman. According to Adams: "After the overthrow of the Church, the woman had no refuge except such as the man had created for himself" (414). After the era of the Virgin, Adams proposes, the woman could only occupy a space already designated for her by men. American women have fallen victim to a concept of womanhood which makes the American woman, like the American man, a failure:

She had failed even to hold the family together, and her children ran away like chickens with their first feather; the family was extinct like chivalry. She had failed not only to create a new society that satisfied her, but even to hold her own in the old society of Church
or State; and was left, for the most part, with no place but the theatre or streets to decorate. (410)

The failure of the traditional role in the extended family has led to the demise of American women, according to Henry Adams; her only tasks are as decorative embellishments. The references to this loss of tradition and loss of place might actually position his wife as a "failed" American woman. When the woman had to find her own way outside family, Adams observes, the "result was often tragic, but that was no new thing in feminine history. Tragedy had been woman's lot since Eve" (413). Henry Adams's explanation that Marian Adams's tragedy was the result of a loss of place probably functions at least in part as a defense mechanism that allows Adams to master his mourning; yet the childless marriage must have hurt them both. "All women wanted children," Marian Adams wrote to her niece, and she asked her father not to record births in his letters.27 Her strong relationship to her father, furthermore, ultimately was the onset of her severe depression after his death. She died a few months later. Yet this representation of Adams's wife is not in The Education; only Adams's insistence on a woman's central role in the family figures prominently.

Another interpretation of "no refuge" stresses not women's entrapment in a role prescribed by men, but that women's refuge lies within a self-fashioning of identity. The woman had actually lost her traditional place of refuge and was now "free." When Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar cite Adams's release of women, they imply his sympathy with the "new types": their appropriation and omissions from the passage, however, are crucial:

The woman had been set free,—volatilised like Clerk Maxwell's perfect gas;—almost brought to the point of explosion, like steam.

One had but to pass a week in Florida, or on any of a hundred huge
ocean steamers, or walk through the Place Vendome, or join a party of Cook's tourists to Jerusalem, to see that the woman had been set free; but these swarms were ephemeral like clouds of butterflies in season blown away and lost, while the reproductive sources lay hidden. At Washington, one saw other swarms as grave gatherings of Dames or Daughters, taking themselves seriously, or brides fluttering fresh pinions; but all these shifting visions, unknown before 1840, touched the true problem slightly and superficially. Behind them, in every city, town and farmhouse, were myriads of new types,—or type-writers,—telephone and telegraph-girls, shop-clerks, factory hands, running into millions on millions, and, as classes, unknown to themselves as to historians. Even the schoolmistresses were inarticulate. All these new women had been created since 1840; all were to show their meaning before 1940. (412; underlined parts do not appear in No Man's Land)

By carefully deleting Adams's references to women as hot air, sterile insects, and inarticulate schoolmistresses, Gilbert and Gubar set the American woman free from Adams's denigrating representation. When Adams offers a place of refuge for women in his text, it is not when women have been "set free," but in the traditional role of matriarch. At his most radical, Adams suggests that the matriarch should also rule outside the home, but only as a reflection of men, such as the Virgin. The "free" American woman, however, finds herself categorized as a "type" who still occupies little room of her own. In the text of The Education, women still inhabit a man's land, where the manikin fashions himself and where the women are fashioned. Adams's textual women can only occupy "no man's land" after a violent appropriation by feminist critics. Only women could
make Adams fit a feminist discourse through a co-option of Adams's language. If I were to omit crucial passages in a defense of Adams's feminism, I would justly be accused of veiling Adams's masculine power, and my defense of him would fit in an established old-boys network of male canonical criticism. The discovery of a place of refuge for women in a man's text may be fashioned by women themselves through a "war of the words."^28

With characteristic self-mockery, Adams appears to have been aware of his restrictive portrait of women, and like Esther, The Education contains self-reflexive exposures that reveal the male portrait of women as one of misrepresentation. While the ideal portrait of the Virgin and the failure of the American woman receive ample attention in his general frame of the manikin's education, Adams undercuts his aggrandizing male theorization:

The woman who is known only through a man is known wrong, and excepting one or two like Madame de Sévigne, no woman has pictured herself. The American woman of the nineteenth century will live only as the man saw her; probably she will be less known than the woman of the eighteenth; none of the female descendants of Abigail Adams can ever be nearly so familiar as her letters have made her; and all this is pure loss to history, for the American woman of the nineteenth century was much better company than her grandmothers. (329)

With unqualified vigor, Adams denounces any generalizations he may construe for women. Referring to his grandmother, Adams notes that female writing more adequately represents women than any man could possibly do. The picture of American women as the nineteenth-century men saw her, moreover, shows her as "a tender flower" and possessing sex
only in terms of "sentiment" (357). Adams appears to adhere to an argument of the suffragettes for the women's vote that "no man could speak for a woman." 29 In a speech of 1888, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had said: "Thus far women have been the mere echoes of men...The true woman is as yet a dream of the future." 30 What Adams seems to bar from his self-reflexive criticism are the proliferating female authors of nineteenth-century America. As a novelist who employed a sentimental genre in Esther, Adams's omission raises questions as to the general validity of his summing up. Adams's self-reflexivity thus in part writes female representation back into failed male portraits by denying women writers a place at all. His self-reflexivity or, as Jay phrases it, his "disciplinary self-reflexivity," once again unveils his masculinity (206). As Adams writes later, from the male, she [the American woman of the nineteenth century] could look for no help" (413).

"Silence Is the Only True God"

Death, silence, and art open up a space of refuge for women inside The Education. By reading The Education as a shuttling back and forth between binaries that provide no ultimate synthesis except in chaos or anarchy, a reader misses "the rest." "The rest mattered so little" has been carefully structured inside The Education to provide an alter(native)-Ego reading of Adams's (auto)biography. For the contemporary reader, The Education is a different book than for the original selected reader, who received one of the one hundred privately printed copies in 1907. Asking his readers for proof corrections and any deletions of offensive passages, Adams had sent out copies to his closest friends and colleagues. Properly
respecting aristocratic greatness, Adams had dispatched the first copy to Theodore Roosevelt, who gleefully told him that he would never return the copy to Adams (cf. 6, 288). Adams would from then on use Roosevelt's refusal as a recommendation for his book and as a hint that the recipients could keep it. For William James, Elizabeth Cameron, Henry James, Henry Cabot Lodge, Clara Hay and others the events between 1871-1890 were common knowledge. Upon Henry James's death, a tormented Adams writes to Elizabeth Cameron:

Harry's death hits me harder than any stroke since my brother Charles's death a year ago. Not only was he a friend of mine for more than forty years, but he also belonged to the circle of my wife's set long before I knew him or her, and you know how I have clung to all that belonged to my wife. I have been living all day in the seventies. Swallow, sister! sweet sister swallow! indeed and indeed, we really were happy then. (6, 724)\(^31\)

The seventies mark an entire common ground when the circle of friends was still whole. After forty years, deaths transport him to an emotional realm, where he has swallow to hold back his tears. By leaving out the happy seventies and the destructive eighties in The Education and by labeling those decades "the rest," Adams's original recipients could read the silence in between chapters 21 and 22.\(^32\) Even Adams's contemporaries were well aware of what was left out because Marian Adams's death, as Ernest Samuels has documented, had been front page news (200-203). In fact, labeling this moment silence seems a misnomer because Adams has so carefully grafted the gap at the center of the book that paradoxically the silence is written. For the contemporary reader the structural silence must also be written in order to read the rest of The Education.
The Education is one of the only literary works that actually carries his signature. Reluctantly, he finally gave his approval for posthumous publication to Ferris Greenslet; he qualified his approval immediately:

Please bear in mind that, for reasons personal to myself, I do not want publication. I prefer the situation as it stands. Under no circumstances will I bind myself to publish or to help publication. If you drop the matter altogether, I shall be best satisfied. (6, 723)

Until the very end, The Education remained a personal text; he felt ambivalent about publishing his private life to the world. On March 1, 1916, he sent a corrected copy to Henry Cabot Lodge complete with an editor's preface to which Adams added Lodge's initials, which has served as the basis of the contemporary text of The Education. To many of its readers, Adams's fear that the book might be too personal certainly seems not reflect a reading experience; in most of the literary criticism on The Education, Adams poses as the detached intellectual whose disassociation from contemporary life provides him with a bird's-eye mocking, restless view of American power.

One method of restoring Adams's privacy to the text would be to read Marian Adams as secretly encrypted into the text where she would resonate with full power. The phrase "accidental education" (81) reverberates with such force not only with its reference to "accident" but also because of the moments it describes. Contrary to the formal education he investigates, Adams learns that the only useful education consists of "accidental education." That education refers to instances outside the overall structure of hope and failure, and the "accidents" occur in moments of art and death. Upon accidentally listening to Beethoven, German education becomes a success after all, not because of its rigid, dull, and tedious university system
but because it has opened a door to art for him. In his first experiment in giving the reins to a woman, his sister guides his accidental education tour of Rome. Nineteen years later, his sister Louisa gives him a macabre lesson in accidental education when, after a car-cab accident she dies of acute tetanus. In "chaos" (chapter 19), the moving description of her accidental death has led several critics to suggest that Adams not only memorializes his sister's death, but his wife's as well. 35 "The last lesson" is the lesson of death. Adams writes: "Flung suddenly in his face, with the harsh brutality of chance, the terror of the blow stayed by him thenceforth for life, until repetition made it more than the will could struggle with; more than he could call on himself to bear" (268; emphasis mine). The encapsulated reference to his wife's death and the effect on him come to the surface as he describes with horror and incredulity his sister's deathbed struggles:

Death took features altogether new to him, in these rich and sensuous surroundings. Nature enjoyed it, played with it, the horror added to her charm, she liked the torture, and smothered her victim with caresses. Never had one seen her so winning. (268)

In surroundings filled with "the Italian joy of life" (268), nature executes her sentence. In these horrid instances, death affords no rest for the victim.

In art, veiled references to his wife abound. After the imaginary existence in the South Seas letters, the veiled Rock Creek Memorial stands monumental in The Education. Adams had commissioned Augustus Saint-Gaudens to erect a memorial for his wife, leaving very few directions, and had himself left for the South Seas. 36
When he finally sees the completed statue, Adams reads the statue as a mirror, mystically reflecting the watcher's questions. As one of the oldest lessons of art, Adams expounds, the "interest of the figure was not in its meaning, but in the response of the observer....Like all great artists, St. Gaudens held up the mirror and no more" (307). And later when Saint-Gaudens guides him to the see the Cathedral of Amiens, Adams reiterates: "one sees what one brings" (359). The idea of art as a mirror signals the importance of a reader's response to his work of art, The Education, but Adams's idea also suggests that juxtaposing the Rock Creek Memorial and The Education reflects the artistic purpose of both. Thus, Adams passionately refuses any label to the mystical statue because that would immediately assign a meaning to the statue. After Saint-Gaudens's death, his son requests Adams's letters to his father. In his response to Homer Saint-Gaudens on 24 January 1908, Adams comes close to unveiling the secret of the Memorial:

I have only one favor to ask of you in return. Do not allow the world to tag my figure with a name! Every magazine writer wants to label it as some American patent medicine for popular consumption--Grief, Despair, Pear's Soap, or Macy's Mens' Suits Made to Measure. Your father meant it to ask a question, not give an answer; and the man who answers will be damned to eternity like the men who answered the Sphinx. (6, 109)

The question the figure was made to ask was, in part, why did Marian Adams commit suicide? The popular name tags "grief" and "despair" label such an answer, which somehow immediately prevents the onlooker from asking other questions. My particular favorite name tag, Macy's Mens' Suits Made to Measure, which shows Adams missed his calling as a
scriptwriter for advertisements, betrays a wider implication. The ungendered, hooded figure in bronze seems entirely covered with a blanket. By draping the figure with Macy's Men's Suits Made to Measure, Adams links his manikin of The Education to the veiled statue. The suit of the manikin corresponds to the fashioned identity of the individual. Not in the unveiling of dress does identity become visible but in the veiling lies the essence of identity. With one hand touching the lower face on the right side, the figure appears lost in contemplation. Only the face, neck, part of the right side, breast and shoulder, and the lower right arm are not veiled underneath the "suit," and the figure's eyes and mouth are closed. The dark shadow inside the hood permits no light from underneath the veil. Veil and figure appear as one, and an unveiling would destroy the figure.\(^37\) Importantly, the entire figure, both its cover and its face, is ungendered. "The figure is sexless," Adams explains to Roosevelt.\(^38\) The memorial eventually serves as a grave for Marian and Henry, and the monument strangely unites the two in one figure that seems beyond gender division. His private Tahitian identity and his public presidential identity may join Marian in the statue. In the memorial, Adams sees his own manikin whose patchwork fashioned an ego that meant to ask questions. These questions juxtapose the many answers Adams provides in The Education. Martha Banta, however, reads a suggestion beyond question and answer in the statue, Silence:

Unnamed, unspecified in its intentionality of meaning, unappropriated to any particular signification of religion, patriotism, philosophy, or emotion, it is a figure which forbids interpretation. In its silence it simply is, and is therefore Presence, the greatest of all force, one whose imaginative scope is without scale. (504)
Banta's terms of description reinforce the connection between the silence in The Education and the statue. If the gap in The Education speaks silently, Marian Hooper returns in the text "unappropriated" and her absence becomes "presence."

When Elizabeth Cameron describes the statue to him while he is on Tahiti, Adams's response parallels the statue to a religious aesthetics of silence: "If the statue is half what you describe it, I can be quite contented to lie down under it, and sleep quietly with her. At the end of all philosophy, silence is the only true God" (3, 481). Writing from the perspective of Taura-atua, Adams sees silence and the statue as places where Marian and he rest together; it refuses to categorize, and generates the questions that must be asked by the reader through an insistent refusal to "name" the operation of art. In The Education, the silence about the particular woman of Adams's education, also leaves that person nameless. By making this silence her name, Adams leaves her and his questions to speak for themselves.

Marian Adams's suicide appears at the onset of these questions. Adams's strategy of refusing to offer categorical answers contrasts to his personal tentative explanations about the failure of the American woman who had been given (too much) freedom (by men). This structural silence, however, "sets the woman free" in Henry Adams. As I have argued in previous chapters, the moment of a woman's death paradoxically afforded her singular power in the sentimental woman's literature of the nineteenth century. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, little Eva's transformational powers in the education of men, as Douglas and Tompkins argue, lies in her deathbed scene. By not granting her textual appearance of the deathbed scene, Adams appears to silence her transformational powers. However, in a
strict binary gender system, men's giving voice to women leads to insurmountable problems of representation, problems that Henry Adams was well aware of after his "sentimental novel with a masculine difference," Esther. Moreover, Henry James's The Wings of the Dove precisely illustrates Merton's violent appropriation of Milly's deathbed scene. Merton Densher's interpretation kills Milly's particularity in a gender construct that shapes Merton's masculinity. In order not to violate Marian Hooper, Adams structures her deathbed scene in a signifying silence that resonates throughout the text. Together with Adams's feminine masculine identity of Taura-atua, the structural silence holds Marian Hooper. In his employment of a strategy of structural silence, Adams creates a non male dominated place of refuge in his male-authored text. In his chapter on silence (chapter 23), Adams drifts after John Hay to the Nile. In 1872 he had made virtually the same tour on his honeymoon with Clover.41 The Education remains silent about his honeymoon journey, but Adams expresses his confrontation with his past in terms of silence and the Sphinx: "What was his view about the value of silence? One lay in the sands and watched the expression of the Sphinx" (335). The questions of the memorial are the questions of silence in The Education.

The structural silence in The Education works, Hayden White acutely observes, as one of the "rules of exclusion [that] systematically operated in the construction of the text."42 Again, Adams leaves a hint in the text that the reader pay particular attention to structure and absences in tracing the story of education:

The secret of education still hid itself somewhere behind ignorance, and one fumbled over it as feebly as ever. In such labyrinths, the staff is a force almost more necessary than the legs; the pen becomes
a sort of blind-man's dog, to keep him from falling into the gutters. The pen works for itself, and acts like a hand, modeling the plastic material over and over again to the form that suits it best. The form is never arbitrary, but is a sort of growth like crystallization, as any artist knows too well; for often the pencil or pen runs into side-paths and shapelessness, loses its relations, stops or is bogged. Then it has to return on its trail, and recover, if it can, its line of force. The result of a year's work depends more on what is struck out than on what is left in. (361)

The form of The Education is clearly marked in the middle with "what is struck out." Using a metaphor in which the pen becomes the agent of artistic creation, Adams shapes a reading for The Education that has to take account of its silence. In the wild wanderings of the pen, the "side-paths," "shapelessness," "loss of relations" or in the "stops," the rest of The Education is written. While within this silence Adams frames a place of refuge for his wife in the text, structural silence nevertheless also works as a silencing of his wife. The form is still Adams's and, as Stephen Heath argues, always already subject to appropriation. When Heath uses silence as a strategy of not entering the feminist territory of "no man's land," he paradoxically conquers the field and asserts his masculinity. Adams still frames his wife's experience in his text, and leaves alternative stories also silent.

In his relationship to his wife, Adams did speak for her sometimes, and Adams may try to bury that story of male appropriation in the gap of silence. Adams's biting response to the assertion by John Hay and others that Mrs. Henry Adams had written Democracy illustrates his attitude toward Clover's intellectual capabilities: "My wife never wrote for
publication in her life and could not write if she tried."43 In another instance, Henry Adams denies Marian Adams publicity. When Clover attained success with her photography and was asked to publish the portraits of the Bancrofts, Henry, perhaps in an act of jealousy, wrote a letter of refusal, using "we" in the letter: "We have declined Mr. Gilder's pleasing offer. You know our modesty. . . . As for flaunting our photographs in The Century, we should expect to experience the curses of all our unphotographed friends."44 Notwithstanding Henry Adams's protection of his aristocratic privacy in which he did not want to "flaunt" photographs of his circle, Marian Adams could speak for herself.

Photography presented a way for Marian Adams to speak in her own voice. In the conflict of gender representation between Marian and Henry, Marian's most provocative challenge to Adams's vision of the proper place of women came in her pursuit of photography. Initially, both Henry and Marian developed an interest in photography as "simple amusement"; however, Clover's expertise and superior technical skills increasingly enabled her to find "a room of her own." Eugenia Kaledin even claims that her photography challenged Adams's project as a historian by seeing Clover's photography as her attempt to "record American history with her camera" (188). The initial idea of the publication of Clover's Bancroft portraits included an accompanying essay by Adams. Adams's refusal indicates his resistance to the idea of a joint history, and his hesitancy to grant his wife any more recognition than as accomplished saloneuse.

The issue of photography itself was one of the terrains of changing gender roles. At first, photography and the camera belonged to the female sphere as an instrument of delicacy and amusement. In addition, picture development occurred in the home, and women could perfect their art at
home. Yet the increasing recognition and specialization of photography turned this female art into one of the challenges to the doctrine of separate spheres. As Jane Gover elucidates: "photography afforded a unique solution for women, one that combined domesticity with a profession."\textsuperscript{45} For Adams to supplement the Bancroft photographs in the reputable \textit{The Century} would have implied an admission of Clover's professional and independent career. The debate in late-nineteenth-century America, whether photography was art or merely an automatic mechanism, assumes gender specific considerations. Was the belittling of photography an attempt to counter women professionals? If, as Walter Benn Michaels argues, photography came to be seen as a marking of the world, as a "kind of writing," then Clover's photography threatens the superiority of Adams's writings.\textsuperscript{46} By obtaining a professional career within the home and by achieving public recognition, Clover seems on the verge of crossing her "proper" sphere. She can leave her mark on the world with her photographs, her art, rather than by producing children. All these factors subvert Adams's conception of the natural force of the Virgin, and when Clover, in Kirstein's words, "turned with deep, and even desperate, interest to photography as self-expression or self-vindication, aiming at a technical proficiency not less than professional" (41), she would become the animated force, dismantling a rigid gender system. By drinking the photo-chemicals in her own dark room, she ended her life.

This partial filling in of the questions of silence raises other issues in the representation of women characters by male authors. At the end of an analysis on \textit{The Education}, I am writing Marian Hooper. As a male critic, I now appropriate her life and am engaged in a particular instance of male co-option. Yet leaving the silence as silence in \textit{The Education} appears to
me, however powerful, another mystification of women. When he interprets the statue and silence as the Sphinx, Adams reconstructs a portrait of woman which already appeared in Koelé Meren. In these male texts, the answer to the riddle of the Sphinx is still man.

Yet in its combination of male strategies of the representation of women, The Education becomes a particular forceful text for a male feminist critic. The Education moves from an attempt to speak for women to a denial of that possibility and even to final resignation at the limits of a masculine representation of femininity. Adams's woman in full force is undercut by his self-reflexivity, and only in death and in silence does a woman emerge. On the final page, Adams cites Hamlet's dying words, "the rest is silence" (467). In the rest of The Education, Adams desperately tries to delineate a space for his wife that shows her influence on Henry Adams and that shows her life beyond Adams's written text. Inside the rest lies also Taura-atua, Adams's "feminine" identity. As a resistance against an all-empowering monolithic masculinity, Adams produces an alternative resting place that points to both his own gender trouble and to Marian Hooper's questions. After having traveled wildly like a displaced refugee across the globe, always in search of refuge, his passionate clinging on to an effort to resist male appropriation lets the woman in Henry Adams finally rest in silence together.

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2Carolyn Porter, Seeing and Being: The Plight of the Participant Observer in Emerson, James, Adams, and Faulkner (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan UP, 1985), 180.
5Carolyn Porter points out that the last name on the title page of Memoirs, Tauraatue i Amo, is actually the name Henry Adams was given during the adoption ceremony. See "Gender and Genealogy: The Matter of Tahiti," unpublished paper, Modern Language Association conference, 1988, section on "Henry Adams and the Act of Writing Modern times," (11). This indicates another merging between the Queen and Henry Adams.

6Henry Adams, Tahiti: Memoirs of Arii Taimai e Marama of Eimeo, Territor of Toorarai, Territor of Tahiti, Tauraatue i Amo, Memoirs of Marau Taaroa, Last Queen of Tahiti (New York: Scholars' facsimiles and Reprints, 1947; original 1893; 1901), 181.


8Cf. letter to Clarence King, 464.


10To Charles Milnes Gaskell, 17 Aug. 1891.

11To Henry James, 6 May, 1908.

12To William James, 9 Dec. 1907.

13As for my exfoliation of the gender binary in The Education, various critics have also explored other binaries as the basis for their study. Some of the clearest examples: J. C. Levenson focuses on the art of the detached intellectual as well as on the practical work of the teacher/historian (esp. 343); Carolyn Porter notes the illusionary double of participant and observer; Elizabeth Stevenson, Henry Adams (New York: MacMillan, 1955) already argues for Adams desire to function as an active force in American society contrary to the passive role he appears to play (an argument expanded by David R. Contosta, Henry Adams and the American Experiment (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980); William Merrill Decker's recent study The Literary Vocation of Henry Adams (Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 1990) again highlights the distinction between detached observer and committed author who advocates change, signaling a reversal of binaries of traditional Henry Adams criticism; John Carlos Rowe, Henry James and Henry Adams: The Emergence of a Modern Consciousness (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1976) uses Adams's trope of eighteenth-century man and nineteenth-century man to give force to his argument about an epistemic change in the history of consciousness.

14An ex-student of his, William Caleb Loring, writes that Adams should not have called his career at Harvard a failure because "I am not the only student who got more education from Henry Adams's courses in History than from the rest of his college course and the whole of it. I think John Fiske was right and that in taking Failure for his professorship in Harvard college Henry Adams was wrong" (Loring to Henry Adams, undated letter [Dec. 1917], qt. in Letters, 6, 776).

15J. C. Levenson provides a detailed account of Adams's various transformations on the basis of a superb close reading. As Adams's major biographer, Ernest Samuels offers a full account of Adams's life, and as such, seems to provide an analysis of The Education. In spite of the avowed commitment not to read The Education as an autobiography, most criticism on The Education inevitably falls back on the exciting detective work of searching for clues about the text in Henry Adams's life. My reading is no different.


18Gregory S. Jay, America the Scrivener: Deconstruction and the Literary Subject (Ithaca: Cornell UP 1990), 213. Jay's refreshing reading of The Education places Adams's text at the heart of a post-structuralist world. In this citation, Jay links Adams's use of the Virg

19Cf. "The "unity" of the Middle Ages is not "Unity," the Virgin no Center but an outlaw. She is a logos in the sense of a gathering of forces, but not in the sense of a divine paternal world" (234). While Jay engages in reading that is meant to destabilize oppositions from within, using the Virgin as metaphor returns him, in my reading, into Derrida's festishization of another idealized woman. As a paradigm for reading Adams's deconstruction of history, the metaphor of the "outlaw" loses its femininity outside his metaphoric paradigm.


22To Elizabeth Cameron, 7 May 1908.


24Martha Banta suggests an intriguing alternative to the men's reading. In her extensive study of images of American women, Imagining American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History (New York: Columbia UP, 1987), she concludes that the Virgin as well as the Dynamo fit contemporary representations of American women: the Virgin as the ideal picture of the protecting Angel and the Dynamo as force and militant victory. Both, according to Banta, are "two essential sexless female types" (484).


26Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (New York: Harvest, 1957), 35.


28"War of the Words" is the title of vol. 1 of Gilbert and Gubar's No Man's Land.

29Alice Henry, qt. in Carl Degler, At Odds, 357.


31To Elizabeth Cameron, 1 March 1916.

32Cf. Earl N. Harbert, The Force So Much Closer To Home (New York: New York UP, 1977): "the small number of readers who received copies of The Education in 1907, all of whom were well acquainted with the author, could be expected to know already the facts of history and inheritance in the Adams family" (148).

33To Ferris Greenslet, 18 Feb. 1916.

34When I taught The Education for the first time to an eager group of second-year Dutch university students in 1993, I was surprised at their responses. They were not so much bothered with Adams's difficult vocabulary or with the innumerable names, dates, and events, but many of them were annoyed with Adams's use of the third person, which not only estranged them but which also signaled his supreme arrogance and distance.

35See, for example, Decker 64-65.

36Ernst Scheyer suggests that Adams had learned his lessons about giving artists directions, after the horrid experience with H. H. Richardson. Particia O'Toole in The Five of Hearts: An Intimate Portrait of Henry Adams and His Friends, 1880-1918 (New


York: Clarkson, 1990), argues convincingly that because of the continual bickering both with his wife and Richardson, Adams felt that his house on 1603 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., neighboring John Hay's, never lived up to his idea of it (153-4). Of course the fact that it was completed a month after Marian Adams's suicide when it was supposed to be their dream house made Adams flee from his house for entire periods of the year. Cf. Ernst Scheyer, The Circle of Henry Adams: Art & Artist (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1970), 165-72.

37 For wonderful photographs of the memorial see Lincoln Kirstein (essay) and Jerry L. Thompson, Memorial to a Marriage (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, Abrams, 1989).

38 To Theodore Roosevelt, 16 Dec. 1908, 6, 198.

39 To Elizabeth Cameron, 17 May 1891.

40 Cf. Jacques Derrida, Of Grammatology, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1976). In his discussion of the implicit hierarchy of speech and writing in the "violence of the letter," Derrida discusses the power of not-naming. As soon as anthropologist Lévi-Strauss has tricked his subjects into revealing their proper names to him, he gains a controlling power over them. I read Adams's resistance to name Marian Hooper as a resistance to violently supplementing her "proper" name (cf. 111).

41 O'Toole argues that the emphasis on Marian Adams's depression upon her first extended absence from her father is overdone (21).

42 Hayden White, "Method and Ideology in Intellectual History: The Case of Henry Adams," Modern European Intellectual History, ed. Dominique LaCapra and Steven C. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1982), 294. Cf. also B. L. Reid, "the most astonishing of Adams's elaborate strategies of structure is a negative act: the decision to leave a gap of a full twenty years in the narrative" (22).


44 Letter to John Hay, 6 January 1884, as quoted in Kaledin, 191.


46 Walter Benn Michaels, The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1987), 220. Michaels does not discuss the gendered conception of photography, and his effort to thematize the issue of marking one's existence in the world seems predominantly a female quest. His reading of the "Yellow Wallpaper," for example, generalizes the particular feminist issues.
CONCLUSION

Within/Beyond the Borders of "No Man's Land"

With Henry Adams's aesthetics of silence, the dissertation also rests. In a variety of male-authored texts of the turn of the twentieth century, two Dutch novels, two American novels, six volumes of letters, and an (auto)biography (and all the other texts that serve to illustrate the major texts), men write obsessively about their representation of women. They voice their women through a number of strategies: male idealization, self-reflexive representation, exposure of a cultural construction of a gender system, and silence. Even though the effort to make the women in these authors into veritable female characters always runs into trouble of male representation, the enduring commitment to resist appropriation and nevertheless acknowledge the women within and beyond opens a door for entrance into "no man's land."

The strategies of my representation of women in male-authored text have sought to open up a space for men to "do" male feminist criticism rather than being passively led by the female guides. The Dutch novels expose an uncultivated terrain for feminist studies, where gender criticism on male-authored texts hardly exists. While my analyses foreground issues of representation, they also uncover new directions for Dutch literary criticism. By showing the intertextual link between an American woman's text, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the male texts Max Havelaar and Van de Koele meren des Dood, I place marginal Dutch canonical literature next to American literature. My readings argue that these Dutch texts are both within and beyond the borders of American literature because of their intertextuality and their similar treatment of gender in late-nineteenth-
century American male literature. Multatuli's Max Havelaar, an icon in a Dutch literary tradition, finds in the genre of Uncle Tom's Cabin an alternative feminine voice to the dominant oppressive masculine voice of Dutch imperialism. By using a female voice to protest inequalities in the relationship between the Dutch and the oppressed Javanese, Multatuli aligns women within his text with a female discourse of protest; paradoxically, the women characters in Multatuli's novel voice their own protest at their subjection to a delimiting male representation. In Van de koele meren des doods, Van Eeden crucially examines the masculine representation of women and investigates whether a man can ever portray women fairly. When his female protagonist stares back at her portrait in the novel, the male author is trapped within the limits of his representation. While the self-reflexive awareness of his misrepresentation of woman offers a strategy of exposing male violation, self-reflexivity itself only exposes that the woman within the text lies beyond the male novelist's techniques.

Multatuli's strategy of adopting a sentimental genre to voice protest and to signal liberation from oppression and Van Eeden's strategy of exposing the limits of masculine representations of women are put to a quite different use in Henry James's The Wings of the Dove. As one of the "Masters" of American literature, Henry James's multiwindowed perspectives on gender challenge a liberation of gender roles. Even though James meticulously demonstrates that gender is culturally constructed, he also shows the application of that malleability by dramatizing how masculinity uses feminine categories for self-definition and oppression of women. As a practice of male feminist criticism, my exposure of James's violent appropriation and annexation of women in The Wings of the Dove and in some of his autobiographical writings serves to illustrate that a
focus on the instability of gender does not automatically produce results that liberate female characters. In other words, in my work, I cannot use my crossing into a female field of studies as a self-explanatory gesture that automatically generates a feminist criticism.

The extensive section on Henry Adams reveals Adams's struggles with genuine representations of women in his texts. By being forced to revise his vision of women from a theoretical perspective to a deeply personal one after his wife's suicide, Adams is at all times aware of the link between a textual figure of "woman" and the real women in his life. In his career, Adams employs a variety of strategies that insist on an effort to leave women a place of refuge in his male texts. Through use of a female pseudonym, he positions himself as a woman in order to experience the oppression he himself imposes on women and marriage in Esther. After his wife's suicide, Adams reevaluates his knowledge of women. During his cathartic journey to the South Seas, he discovers or creates a woman within himself that provides him with an (alter)native-Ego. In The Education, finally, he conceives a place of refuge for a binary gender system in the textual structure of silence that leaves an unappropriated space for the "real" woman of his text, contrary to the written idealized image of the Virgin. In all of these texts, Adams simultaneously builds in self-reflexive moments that expose his role in the formations of places of refuge for women. In spite of this preoccupation and commitment, Adams's places of refuge are still those designed from within himself, and are subject to his subjective frame; the women remain beyond his texts. Yet in the constant interplay between the women within and the women beyond his texts, Adams engenders a possible male feminist strategy that remains double-voiced.
Adams's double-voiced position illustrates my own practice in this dissertation, but with a qualification. Only through an unaffected enduring commitment does Adams come to occupy his epigraphic entrance into *No Man's Land*. Paradoxically though, in affirming Adams's place in *No Man's Land*, I have appropriated Gilbert and Gubar's text and co-opted a feminist text as my own. While my textual analyses, theoretical implications, and the limits of my masculine representation may be a battleground for feminist analysis, my attempt to inhabit a place within the "no man's land" of feminist studies is sincere. The limitation of this project to the study of mostly canonical men within their national borders was a self-imposed prerequisite before also moving into the territory of female texts. In addition, because of the different lens through which I have examined the male-authored texts and the different contexts in which I read them, my arguments do not necessarily reaffirm a canonical male literature. By passionately staking out my place within feminist studies, I am firmly committed to start the "rest" of my work.\footnote{This declaration of faithfulness to my subject is not without irony. The project now seems reinscribed into a traditional heterosexual marriage plot in which the man promises to be faithful. Thus, rather than a male feminist position that destabilizes stereotypical gender organizations and offers the promise of "resistance," the resisting practice is immediately co-opted in the old structure. But then again....}
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