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‘THE NEW WOMANLY MAN’:
CROSS-DRESSING AND GENDER
INVERSION IN JOYCE AND HIS
CONTEMPORARIES

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requirements for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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Casey M. Lawrence

January 2023

ABSTRACT

This thesis, *'The New Womanly Man': Cross-dressing and gender inversion in Joyce and his contemporaries*, explores questions of gender identity and performance by examining depictions of cross-dressing and gender inversion in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, contextualised through close-readings of other modernist texts, genetic criticism, and the historical and cultural context of the early twentieth century.

Chapter 1 compares Joyce's depiction of cross-dressing and sex-change to those in Virginia Woolf's novel *Orlando*. Looking at *Orlando* as a text composed independently of *Ulysses*, I evaluate their respective sex-change scenes, investigate their origins using genetic criticism, and discuss the importance of names and pronouns. I also consider gender ambiguity in the sex-object choice of these 'New Womanly Men' using Otto Weininger's universal law of attraction as a framework. The key argument of this chapter is that Joyce and Woolf differently respond to the rapid scientific and social changes associated with modernism by leaning into the sexological construction of gender (Joyce) or rejecting that medicolegal prescriptivism in favour of a cultural definition based on clothing, language, and behaviour (Woolf).

Chapter 2 reflects on 'modernist womb envy' and compares Joyce's use of a procreative metaphor to Djuna Barnes's novels *Ryder* and *Nightwood*, moving from a metaphorical "womb of imagination" (P 217) to the organ as a site of somatic trauma. Although both Joyce and Barnes present essentialist definitions of 'woman,' Barnes's "third sex" challenges the dominant narrative by making suffering, not biology, the shared burden of womanhood, especially in the case of Doctor O'Connor, whom I argue meets all the criteria of being a trans woman. The medicalisation of gender is foregrounded in my

comparison of how Joyce and Barnes use sexology to transcend social barriers, but in so doing, perpetuate stereotypes based on racist pseudoscience and biologism.

Writing from the perspective of Elaine Showalter's 'hypothetical female reader,' in Chapter 3 I present "Penelope" as a performance of gendered writing that imitates sexual difference by dressing heterosexual male desire in Nora Barnacle's linguistic underpants. I argue that Joyce's 'female voice' is an example of 'sexophonologic schizophræsis,' a Wakeese neologism I define using Aldous Huxley's anti-Freudian novella, "The Farcical History of Richard Greenow." Using feminist theorists Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray as theoretical models, I argue that although the episode has been read as an example of *écriture féminine*, "Penelope" problematises the relationship between body, mind, gender, and language through *unheimlich*, nonmimetic 'authorial cross-dressing.'

Chapter 4 addresses costume and cross-dressing in *Ulysses* using a queer materialist lens. After contextualising *fin-de-siècle* Orientalism and theorising a construction of gender that racially Others the feminine, I discuss Gerty MacDowell as an idealised portrait of Western femininity in "Nausicaa" and the parallel construction of Irish masculinity in "Cyclops," which inform Bloom's cross-dressing and sex-change fantasies in "Circe." Applying cultural materialism and Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity, I discuss these episodes' theatricality and costumes, as well as Joyce's sources, in order to reveal the embeddedness of gender inversion in the modernist *zeitgeist*. Finally, I turn to *Bits of Fun*, an important source for Bloom's transformation fantasy in "Circe," both as a genetic source and as a historical record that captures ephemeral exchanges between real queer people. The implications of this reading, as well as ethical concerns, are covered in my conclusion.

For Rhys

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Abbreviations and Editorial Conventions

References in this thesis to primary texts and select nonfiction are made to the following editions and employ abbreviations adapted from the *James Joyce Quarterly*'s editorial conventions. These sources are cited by page number, unless otherwise specified, for in-text citations:

James Joyce

- FW* Joyce, James. *Finnegans Wake*, 1939, ed. Robbert-Jan Henkes, Erik Bindervoet, and Finn Fordham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Cited by page and line number.
- JJI, JJII* Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Revised edition: New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- JJA* *The James Joyce Archive*, ed. Michael Groden, Hans Walter Gabler, David Hayman, A. Walton Litz, and Danis Rose. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978. Cited by volume and page number.
- LI, LII, LIII* *Letters of James Joyce*. Vol. I, ed. Stuart Gilbert. New York: Viking Press, 1957; reissued with corrections 1966. Vols. II and III, ed. Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking Press, 1966.
- OCPW* Joyce, James. *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*, ed. Kevin Barry, trans. Conor Deane. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- P* Joyce, James. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. 1914. New York: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1968.
- SL* *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking Press, 1975.
- U* Joyce, James. *Ulysses*, 1922, ed. Hans Walter Gabler. New York: Vintage Books, 1986. Cited by episode and line number.
- U-G* Joyce, James. *Ulysses*, 1922, ed. Hans Walter Gabler. New York: Vintage Books, 1986. References to Preface, Foreword, Critical Apparatus, Textual Notes, Historical Collation, or Afterword.

Virginia Woolf

- D1, D2, D3, D4, D5* Woolf, Virginia. *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, ed. Anne Olivier Bell. 5 Vols. Vols 2-5 assisted by Andrew McNellie. London: The Hogarth Press, 1977-84.
- O* Woolf, Virginia. *Orlando: A Biography*. 1928. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1946.
- Room* Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. 1929. Foreword by Mary Gordon. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989.

Djuna Barnes

- N* Barnes, Djuna. *Nightwood*. 1937. Preface by Jeanette Winterson. Introduction by T.S. Eliot. New York: New Directions, 2006.
- R* Barnes, Djuna. *Ryder*. 1928. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1979.

Other Primary Sources

- Limbo* Huxley, Aldous. "The Farcical History of Richard Greenow." *Limbo*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1920, pp. 1-115.
- MK* McAlmon, Robert. *Miss Knight and Others*. 1925. Edited with an Introduction by Edward N.S. Lorusso. Foreword by Gore Vidal. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

Introduction

Category Is: Crisis

We may not know exactly what sex is; but we do know that it is mutable, with the possibility of one sex being changed into the other sex, that its frontiers are often uncertain, and that there are many stages between a complete male and a complete female.¹

–Havelock Ellis

So never judge a book by its cover
Or who you're gonna love by your lover
Love put me wise to her love in disguise
She had the body of a Venus
Lord, imagine my surprise

Dude looks like a lady.²

–Steven Tyler, Aerosmith

In Joseph Strick's 1967 film adaptation of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, protagonist Leopold Bloom is introduced through a series of cross-dressing and gender-bending visuals which emphasise the character's feminine traits alongside his Jewish heritage. Interspersing Bloom's early chapters with those which follow Stephen Dedalus's morning, the film deviates from the structure of the novel, however, the script itself, with a few omissions and alterations made to suit an updated setting, remains faithful to Joyce's original text. With WWII fresh in the public imagination, Strick's decision to modernise the setting by moving the plot from 1904 to the 1960s "may have greatly enhanced its accessibility for the average viewer at the time of its release," writes Margot Norris.³ Strick's film reframes the political conflict of Joyce's novel to focus on anti-Semitism rather than British imperialism, 'updating' its political relevance for a postwar audience. The role of the Jew in modernist literature has received significant scholarly attention over the last several decades. Mia Spiro writes that it has become clear that "Jewish characters become receptacles for a wide range of thematic, social, and political concerns" in modernist novels, ranging from "alienation, victimization, [and] anxiety toward modernization," to "nostalgia, pity, and

repulsion.”⁴ In the film, Stephen’s roommate, the Englishman Haines, introduces the central conflict by commenting, “I don’t want my country to fall into the hands of the Jews. I’m afraid that’s our national problem, just now,”⁵ followed by a quick cut to Bloom in the kitchen of 7 Eccles Street. He is making his wife, Molly, breakfast while dressed in a frilly, floral-patterned apron. This is the great, threatening Jew—and Joyce’s ‘everyman.’ From the first, he is linked to non-traditional gender roles; visually, his floral apron divides him at the midsection—masculine above, feminine below—and socially, he takes on a non-traditional role that destabilises his heterosexual marriage.

In the moments after his introduction, another visual gag is used to solidify the initial presentation of Bloom as a feminine man. With her mouth full, Molly gestures for her husband to retrieve something. Bloom first holds up a brassiere, then a pair of panties, posing suggestively for his wife with each article (Figure 1). Bloom’s implied cross-dressing creates a cohesive visual narrative throughout the film and anticipates the twists of “Circe” episode, in which he fantasises about being dominated by a cross-dressed prostitute while clad in a wig and negligée. The decision to introduce Bloom’s proclivities early through these images maintains cinematic continuity and initiates viewers into how they



Figure 1 Still from Joseph Strick’s “James Joyce’s *Ulysses*,” 1967. Cocking his hip and smiling coyly, Leopold Bloom (Milo O’Shea, right) models women’s undergarments for his wife Molly (Barbara Jefford, left).

can expect Bloom to interact with the world around him as a “finished example of the new womanly man” (*U* 15.1798-9) while reinforcing stereotypes about the ‘femininity’ of Jewish men that are important to the film’s main themes. Because of Strick’s fidelity to the text, deviations, such as the insertion of this underwear modeling scene, become more conspicuous as deliberate interpretive decisions. For example, one of the few lines of dialogue modified from Joyce’s text comes during Bloom’s medical examination. Standing naked in an operating theatre, Dr Dixon declares that Bloom is “about to have a baby” after a gynaecological examination (*U* 15.1810). In Strick’s film, Bloom responds to this diagnosis with, “O, I so want to have a baby,” whereas in *Ulysses*, he says, “O, I so want to be a mother” (15.1817). The focus of this line shifts from wanting to *be a mother*, or inhabit a female role/body, to the desire to *have a baby*, which the cinematic Bloom desperately covets, having lost his only child (the film omits his teenage daughter) at the age of eleven days.⁶ Bloom’s inverted gender identification is muted by the film, despite its emphasis on his femininity via cross-dressing, and is replaced by a socially palatable yearning for reproductive success. Although procreation has historically been tied to gender roles and used to justify binary and hierarchical understandings of ‘sex,’ current scholarship divorces gender expression from assumptions about the reproductive capacity of human bodies based on their clothing or behaviour.⁷

Throughout this thesis, I will explore the ways that cross-dressing and gender inversion are mobilised by modernist writers to question the coherence of social codes during the rapidly changing political, technological, and cultural developments of the early twentieth century, and particularly the sexual anxiety introduced by the emergence of the medicalised figure of the ‘homosexual’ and the changing role of women post-emancipation. *Ulysses* has been chosen as a focal text due to its enduring cultural capital as a ‘degenerate,’

‘radical,’ or ‘obscene’ text both in its historical moment and throughout a century of academic criticism. Strick’s film is one of many examples of an interpretative bind in modernist studies: presentism. Projects that hope to ‘reclaim’ texts from the past must situate their reading in its historical context, as well as their own; Strick’s film, for example, chooses to highlight the more ‘relevant’ themes for its postwar audience, thereby losing some of the novel’s nuance. The scene in which Bloom becomes a woman in “Circe” is dramatised through cross-dressing; rather than a woman taking over the role when Bloom changes sex, Milo O’Shea is given an ill-fitting wig that is clearly not meant to evoke ‘authenticity.’ Moreover, the sadomasochistic elements of the scene are foregrounded as Bella spansks Bloom (accompanied by an exaggerated sound effect), squats on his head, and puts out her cigar in his ear, mitigating the subversive and controversial elements of the source material through the comedic combination of drag and slapstick. Conversely, the impetus of academic criticism to ‘canonise’ texts like *Ulysses* and Djuna Barnes’s *Nightwood* categorises them as ‘highbrow art’ or ‘ahead of their time’ by projecting progressive twenty-first-century values onto them. As Geraldine Meaney writes, a simple distinction “between progressive and regressive cultural politics is not tenable in regard to women’s writing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,” because “New Woman writers were linked with the decadent movement by the conservative press as examples of cultural, national and sexual degeneracy.”⁸ Women writers and aesthetes were regularly reviewed together under such titles as “Literary Degenerates” or “Sex in Modern Literature.”⁹ Although Joyce is neither, his relationship to and depiction of women and queerness makes for a useful comparative baseline to the dominant cultural mythoi surrounding these contested boundaries.

To avoid a teleological version of queer history, in this thesis, I approach the topic of cross-dressing and gender inversion through a historicist lens as well as a queer one, treating modernist novels as historical documents which reflect not only the periods that they depict but also those in which they were written. All texts are products of the time and culture in which they were produced, but, as Cheryl Herr reminds us, should not be considered “unfiltered evidence about the period.”¹⁰ Although a book like *Ulysses* may not reflect the attitudes of its time in ways that are immediately coherent to contemporary readers, it reflects the knowledge available to its author at the time of its composition. Likewise, although it is impossible to reconstruct Joyce’s exact attitudes toward a controversial topic from his fiction alone, it is possible to determine the sources of information he collated into his encyclopedic projects using genetic criticism. Joyce undoubtedly included perspectives that were not his own; the attitudes expressed in Joyce’s fiction vary wildly from page to page let alone episode to episode, attesting to the fact that his fiction was not meant to be didactic but rather a composite picture of societal attitudes. Joyce’s knowledge of queer subcultures and underground networks of knowledge dispersal may have made him more receptive to movements that were otherwise underrepresented in literature. Queer bodies and identities lack representation not because they did not exist at this time or were not visible (for they must have been, since Joyce and his contemporaries knew of them) but because they were either not considered important enough to write about or, conversely, were deemed too salacious to print.

Marjorie Garber writes that “the apparently spontaneous or unexpected or supplementary presence of a transvestite figure in a text (whether fiction or history, verbal or visual, imagistic or ‘real’) that does not seem, thematically, to be primarily concerned with gender difference... indicates a *category crisis elsewhere*, an irresolvable conflict or

epistemological crux that destabilizes comfortable binarity, and displaces the resulting discomfort onto a figure that already inhabits, indeed incarnates, the margin.”¹¹ Being simultaneously male and female, a virgin and pregnant, “demented” but “not feeble-minded in the medical sense,” Jewish and Christian, a lusty sinner and “practically a total abstainer,” among other opposites (*U* 15.1777, 1801, 1796, 1803-4), Leopold Bloom occupies a marginal space that is thematised through his cross-dressing fantasies. Max Nordau, whose book *Degeneration* was the text *en vogue* in 1895, felt that Oscar Wilde’s penchant for “queer costume” represented a “pathological aberration of *racial instinct*” alongside a “*hysterical* craving to be noticed.”¹² The conflation of gender inversion and racial identity was not uncommon at this time; nineteenth-century medicolegal discourses often used the language of race or disease to define and criminalise queerness.¹³ Havelock Ellis, for example, prefaces the first volume of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* with, “the question of sex—with the *racial questions* that rest on it—stands before the coming generations.”¹⁴ In his condemnation of Wilde as an example of degeneration, Nordau feminises him, likens his “rococo modes” to cross-dressing, and compares him to well-known dandies “who [walk] about in lace frills and satin doublet[s].”¹⁵ During the first decade of the twentieth century, degeneration became a catch-all term that permitted the scapegoating of objectionable groups, including Jews, invertes, socialists, decadents, and New Women, who were compared to criminals and animals.¹⁶ Otto Weininger, whose notably anti-Semitic work informs Bloom’s Jewishness, writes in a paragraph about horse breeding (which proposes that breeding “mares by stallions unattractive to them... [results in] extreme nervousness of the progeny”), that “the degeneration of modern Jews may be traced in part to the fact that amongst them marriages for other reasons than love are especially common.”¹⁷ In the context of this onslaught of ‘scientific’ developments in

sexology and racial theory entering the public consciousness at the turn of the century, it is no wonder that Joyce “draw[s] a clear parallel between ... ethnic indeterminacy and Wilde’s sexual indeterminacy,” to quote Margot Backus,¹⁸ when the Citizen declares Denis Breen, a Bloomian parallel, to be “half and half,” “neither fish nor flesh,” and therefore “a pishogue, if you know what that is” in the “Cyclops” episode (*U* 12.1052, 1055, 1058).¹⁹ Bloom is similarly marked as a feminine Jewish man who experiences the essential biological difference—menstruation—as a “mixed middling” who gets monthly headaches “like a totty with her courses” (12.1658-60), introducing Weiningerian anti-Semitic stereotypes into the echo chamber of nationalist heterosexism that characterises “Cyclops.”

Characters that exist between binary categories of identity—including not only Bloom but Virginia Woolf’s titular Orlando, Radclyffe Hall’s Stephen Gordon, Djuna Barnes’s Matthew O’Connor, and Aldous Huxley’s Dick Greenow—frequently emerge from modernist texts as allegorical canaries in the coal mine warning of impending social upheaval associated with, for example, fascism and eugenics. Spiro writes in *Anti-Nazi Modernism* that “despite that which they could not know, the novels [of] Barnes, [Christopher] Isherwood, and Woolf... reveal the historical, cultural, political, and social conditions in 1930s Europe that made the continent ripe for disaster.”²⁰ One hundred years later, we are seeing a similar resurgence in gender-bending characters and queer content alongside a rise in right-wing politics in the West. Queer subcultures have become increasingly visible and mainstream over the past century; appropriated as comedic entertainment for straight Western audiences, televised competitions like *RuPaul’s Drag Race* now form an integral part of our cultural landscape. In “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” Walter Benjamin writes that

To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it “the way it really was.” It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger. Historical materialism wishes to retain that image of the past which unexpectedly appears to man singled out by history at a moment of danger. The danger affects both the content of the tradition and its receivers. The same threat hangs over both: that of becoming a tool of the ruling classes. In every era the attempt must be made anew to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it.²¹

Benjamin’s interest in disrupting traditional historicism’s temporal narrative is second only to his insistence on the urgency of this goal; the past affects the present in ways which, to Benjamin, constitute a real and tangible *danger*. Parallels between the modernist period and contemporary events are increasingly alarming during the time in which I am writing this thesis, creating a sense of urgency in this genre of research. While the world has been grappling with a global pandemic, another epidemic has quietly been taking lives: transphobic violence. Like COVID-19, transphobic violence targets the world’s most vulnerable populations, disproportionately affecting racial minorities and those living in poverty. In October 2020, the year became the deadliest on record for trans and gender-nonconforming individuals worldwide, surpassing the previous record set in 2017, a year notable for President Donald Trump’s inauguration and the Republican Party’s first attempt to ban trans people from serving in the United States military.²² Suicides, nonfatal violence (including domestic violence), and sexual crimes against the trans community have also skyrocketed, galvanised by social media controversies, disinformation campaigns, and a rapid influx of anti-trans legislation from conservative governments. In the US, a record number of anti-trans bills eroding human rights were greenlit under the Trump administration, including those targeting access to public toilets, restricting gender-affirming healthcare, and excluding trans youth from participating in athletics.²³ In the UK, courts ruled to restrict access to puberty blockers for under-16s, significantly limiting NHS

support and medical intervention for trans youth, as a result of ‘Gender Critical’ lobbying from anti-trans ‘feminists’.²⁴

While many have noted the similarities between COVID-19 and the 1918 Spanish Flu, history also seems to be repeating itself when it comes to conservative politics creating an unsafe environment for queer, and particularly gender-nonconforming, people.

Progressive sexological research of the 1920s was curtailed by the rise of fascism and Nazi book burnings, which targeted medical research centres like Magnus Hirschfeld’s *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*, the site of the first gender-affirming surgery in 1926. Alongside Hirschfeld’s research, issues of Maria and Eugene Jolas’s *transition* containing fragments of Joyce’s “Work in Progress” (*Finnegans Wake*) were burned in the infamous *Säuberung* of 1933.²⁵ Publishing experimental modernist texts and artwork gave *transition* a reputation for being anti-traditionalist, and, in the mid-1930s, anti-nationalist, which, at the time of Adolf Hitler’s rise to power, was a dangerous reputation to acquire.²⁶ Among the Allied Powers, the rise of purity culture in the US and the UK similarly criminalised and pathologised supposedly ‘aberrant’ behaviour, targeting cross-dressers and trans people as purveyors of ‘sexual deviancy.’ In the 2020s, there has been an increasing push to ban ‘controversial’ books from schools and libraries, the bulk of which deal with gender, sexuality, race, and anti-fascist politics.²⁷ Extremist groups with ‘far-right’ ideology increasingly target drag performers to justify queerphobic attacks with false claims that gay and transgender people are pedophiles ‘grooming’ children. Following uproar in June 2022 over an all-ages drag show, Republican legislators in Florida, Arizona, Texas, and other US states proposed banning minors from events where performers appear in drag (including family-friendly events and Pride parades), referring to the mere existence of cross-dressing as “disgusting” and “utter perversion” that is akin to “child engagement.”²⁸ A white

supremacy group known as the Proud Boys terrorised the host of a “Drag Queen Story Hour” with slurs and violent imagery in front of Kindergarteners at a library in California amidst the controversy.²⁹ Across the pond, the Council of Europe published a report in 2021 which criticised “the extensive and often virulent attacks on the rights of LGBTI people” in the UK as well as Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Turkey. The report alleges that these attacks “deliberately mis-characterise the fight for the equality of LGBTI people as so-called ‘gender ideology’ and seek to stifle the identities and realities of all those who challenge the social constructs that perpetuate gender inequalities and gender-based violence in our societies.”³⁰

In the context of this ongoing attack on trans people, my project aims to counter the right-wing narrative that gender nonconformance is a recent ‘fad’ by establishing the historical roots of the medicalization and legislation of queer bodies in nineteenth- and twentieth-century sexology as recorded through popular culture. Despite a lack of institutional support (and, indeed, active criminalization), gender-nonconforming individuals of the modernist period thrived in the queer undergrounds of New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. They met covertly in queer cafés, molly-houses, salons, nightclubs, and homosexual balls like those immortalised in *Le Paris Secret des années trente* by Hungarian-French photographer Brassai (Figure 2).³¹ Brassai recalls “the cream of Parisian inverts” attending balls at Magic City in Paris: “every type came, faggots, cruisers, chickens, old queens, famous antique dealers and young butcherboys, hairdressers and elevator boys, well-known dress designers and drag queens... every Albert and André—metamorphosed for this great night into Andrée and Albertine.”³² Those who “possess[ed] the kink”³³ communicated through the back pages of magazines, wrote letters, and spread information by word-of-mouth—sources that are largely ephemeral, and have

been lost, forgotten, or deliberately destroyed. To counteract this cultural amnesia, my thesis explores the historiographical potentiality of modernist novelists' engagement with transgender bodies, turn-of-the-century drag culture, sexology, and networks of queer knowledge dispersal and communication. This project aims to demonstrate the continuous (but nonteleological) existence of gender nonconformance by revealing rich underground subcultures of queer expression and their influence on transatlantic literary modernism. By revisiting canonical literature with a queer lens, the historical continuity of queer experiences in the past can be established with the goal of further increasing the visibility and acceptance of LGBTQ+ people in the present.



Figure 2 Photograph by Brassai (Gyula Halász) published in *The Secret Paris of the 30's*, "Homosexual ball at Magic City, Rue Cognacq-Jay (c. 1932)."

0.1 Critical Cross-dressing

In 1971, famed literary critic and journalist John Gross wrote that “at this hour... there is nothing new to be said” about “the innovation which originally earned *Ulysses* its most widespread notoriety, its sexual and scatological frankness” in his introductory volume on Joyce for the Fontana Modern Writers Series. For Gross, it seemed that the moment had long passed to find anything subversive in Joyce because “in recent years Joyce’s ‘outspokenness’ now looks rather tame” and modernism itself was “a shock-tactic... [that] can never be repeated.”³⁴ Joyceans have repeatedly proved this assessment wrong, finding new subversive potential in Joyce’s work in scholarship spanning decades and continents. Joyce’s work lends itself surprisingly well to being an example of pretty much any literary theory. Dianne Elam writes that scholars “never cease hailing Joyce as the prime example of their theory put into practice, as if his novels [permit] us to look at them through whatever theoretical lens we like,” including structuralism, semiotics, New Criticism, New Historicism, feminist theory, postcolonial studies, queer theory, disability studies, and anything adjacent to poststructuralism, such as Lacanian psychoanalysis and deconstructionism.³⁵ Using whichever critical lens, what is shocking about Joyce has undoubtedly evolved over the last century. While its ‘scatological frankness’ no longer elicits revulsion, other aspects of *Ulysses* remain politically and socially relevant in the 2020s, including the representations of gender expression, biologism, queerness, consent, and cross-dressing that I shall be examining here.

Despite what is colloquially known as ‘the Joyce industry’ producing dozens of volumes annually since the 1950s,³⁶ there has been surprisingly little research addressing cross-dressing in Joyce’s work. While there have been other queer studies of *Ulysses*—

including, notably, Joseph Valente's 1998 edited collection, *Quare Joyce*³⁷—research on Joyce in a queer or feminist context rarely offers more than a paragraph or two on cross-dressing; to date, there has been no full-length project on Joyce and cross-dressing, a gap in the scholarship I hope to address. As Michael Gillespie argued in 2009, the industry has grown considerably in the last several decades, making it impossible to “keep track of” let alone “read, assimilate, and then critique” the sheer volume of work on Joyce, a statement which is equally if not more true in the 2020s.³⁸ In the one hundred years since the publication of *Ulysses*, the novel has been blessed—or perhaps, cursed—with enough criticism to fill entire libraries, to say nothing of *Finnegans Wake*.³⁹ This thesis aims to engage with the relevant criticism of Joyce and his contemporaries without getting too bogged down by the weight of this scholarly tradition and thus does not contain a ‘lit review’ so much as the critical literature is incorporated throughout. While an effort has been made to include the most recent scholarship on the topics at hand, in many cases, my references will be to the originator of a particular interpretation; in the case of queer theory, a significant amount of the relevant scholarship emerged in the 1980s and 90s, after which it fell out of critical fashion.

A lot has changed since the 1990s regarding gender-based scholarship, queer theory, feminism, and trans studies; my thesis will bring twenty-first-century terminology and concepts into conversation with existing criticism, updating and reimagining the arguments of that era. One significant example, which I will discuss at length here, is the second volume of Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's three-volume *No Man's Land*, published in 1989. *Volume 2: Sexchanges* explores the role of women writers from the 1880s through the 1930s with a focus on turn-of-the-century male anxiety over the newfound autonomy of New Women redefining gender roles: “the sexes battle because sex roles change, but, when

the sexes battle, sex itself (that is, eroticism) changes.”⁴⁰ Because many female modernists engaged in cross-dressing (both in literature and in reality) as a means of subverting biological sexual difference and redressing gender inequality, Gilbert and Gubar frame many of their arguments on the basis of metaphorical ‘costumes of the mind.’ Emma Heaney writes that their analysis of Bloom’s transformation into a woman “locates the primary operation of the ‘Circe’ episode as the staging of parody,” noting that, “For Gilbert and Gubar, it is precisely because the subject who is ‘like a woman’ is not a woman that the depiction is a supreme example of the intransigence of patriarchal equations of woman with degradation in *Ulysses*.”⁴¹ They read Joyce’s depiction of Bloom’s sex change fantasy as a misogynistic parody that ‘punches down’: “to become a female or to be like a female is not only figuratively but literally to be de-graded, to lose one’s place in the preordained hierarchy that patriarchal culture associates with gender.”⁴² Their highly influential study has had lasting implications for feminist and queer modernist scholarship despite significant criticism of both their methods and their approach, which is frequently antagonistic, dismissive, and even hostile toward male modernists. It represents one of the very few book-length considerations of cross-dressing and literary modernism.

Since the 1980s, critical discussions of Bloom’s cross-dressing and transgender fantasies have generally fallen into one of two camps; Joseph Valente has named these “the empathetic axis” and “the appropriative axis.”⁴³ Valente defines the ‘empathetic axis’ as a method of mobilizing Bloom’s gender-crossing as “a vehicle whereby the author critiques the pathologically reified and polarized gender arrangements in modern Dublin society,”⁴⁴ citing Joseph Allen Boone and Suzette Henke as participating in this tradition.⁴⁵ The second axis, the strategy represented by Gilbert and Gubar,⁴⁶ reads the scenes of cross-gender identification as purely allegorical—“a strategy for salvaging masculine dominance

through its provisional, ‘festive’ inversion.”⁴⁷ Although Valente’s article demonstrates that the two axes “need not be constructed as mutually exclusive” approaches to the topic and can be seen as complementary “metonymies of one another,” I’ll argue that neither the appropriative nor the empathetic method (nor Valente’s “unified field approach,” which situates Bloom’s “womanly” identification as part of a pseudo-incestuous identification with his daughter Milly) treats the episode as one of *cross-dressing*.⁴⁸ Both the ‘empathetic’ and ‘appropriative’ methodologies frequently suffer from what Marjorie Garber identifies as the “consistent critical desire to look away from the transvestite *as* transvestite, not to see cross-dressing except as male or female manqué, whether motivated by social, cultural, or aesthetic designs.”⁴⁹ This thesis will explore both the nature and significance of cross-dressing—and representations of inversion more broadly—in the work of James Joyce and his contemporaries. Eschewing judgment of whether Joyce was ‘feminist,’ this project sees radical potential not in Joyce’s appropriation of ‘female language’, staging of queer scenes, or creation of culturally subversive ‘obscene’ depictions of sex,⁵⁰ but in what his reconstruction of incongruously gendered language, clothing, and practices says about the performativity of gender in an intersectional modernist context. Tonya Krouse writes that “modernism neither invents sex nor liberates it from repression,” arguing that modernist novels instead mobilise “representations of sex and sexuality as focal points of tension in narrative, and as such, the scene of sex operates as a locus for modernist aesthetics—a crucial point of engagement” with the historical moment, including all its sociocultural baggage.⁵¹ The material conditions of the world that Joyce knew are reflected in his work from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*, but it is in *Ulysses*, which is a focal text throughout this thesis, that Joyce mimetically renders these conditions with attention to the interactions between the material and the metaphorical.

The first three chapters of this thesis engage with representations of cross-dressing and gender inversion primarily as symbolic or metaphorical phenomena that demonstrate the constructedness of binary gender categories. In Chapter 1, for example, I discuss clothing as a representation and a determinant of gender roles across the time periods and cultures explored in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*. I compare the social construction of gender in *Orlando* to Joyce's medicalised configuration of gender, sex, and sexuality as rooted in sexology. In Chapter 2, I extend this argument by discussing how Djuna Barnes's Doctor O'Connor, a character who exists both within and outside of dominant medical discourses, is pathologised as a member of the 'third sex,' a pseudo-clinical classification that predates and anticipates the modern spectrum of gender under the trans umbrella. Barnes's construction of gender as a medical or pathological diagnosis is internally challenged, however, by the shared suffering experienced by gender minorities in her novels. Psychological and somatic suffering is the emblem of the female gender for Barnes, and O'Connor's participation in this tradition dispels easy notions of any clinical categorisation of her gender identity as distinct from cis women's experience.

Garber writes that the introduction of a 'third' gender category simultaneously "questions binary thinking and introduces crisis—a crisis which is symptomized by *both* the overestimation *and* the underestimation of cross-dressing," because the 'third' term is "*not a term,*" let alone "an instantiated 'blurred' sex as signified by a term like 'androgyné' or 'hermaphrodite'."⁵² For Gilbert and Gubar, the 'third sex' is "a revisionary response to male modernists," which reverses "Joyce's and Eliot's grotesque transvestites" from the profane to the sacred, thus appropriating this queer category to elevate modernist women.⁵³ They write that modernist women "persisted in seeking an ontological 'wild free thing,' a third sex beyond gender," in the figure of 'the cross-dresser,' whereas literary men

“express[ed] a nausea associated with the blurring of gender boundaries.”⁵⁴ The ‘third sex’ is thus subsumed by the binary in their reading, becoming an allegory for the well-educated, middle-class, liberal woman who rejects traditional gender roles as part of a modernist aesthetic, rather than an elusively queer term. This logically follows from their argument that modernist men were “disturbed by [their] economic dependence on women... [and] troubled by [these] women’s usurpation of the [literary] marketplace.” Many modernist men were indeed dependent on private patronage, “subsidized by a series of wealthy women or publicized by a set of powerful women,” and Gilbert and Gubar argue that this uneasy dependence—linked to sexual anxiety—manifested in “ferocious misogyny and racism” in their work, as well as derision toward their female contemporaries, who belong to this monstrously ‘unsexed’ third category.⁵⁵

In its historical context, Gilbert and Gubar’s argument aligns with the priorities of 1980s Anglo-American feminism, at times valuing ‘femaleness’ over femininity—shared womanhood over shared values. Invoking the Freudian ‘phallic mother’ and the work of psychoanalyst Robert Stoller, they transform “Leopold-Von-Sacher-Masoch-Bloom” into “the male transvestite [who] uses the degrading apparatus of female costume to convert ‘humiliation’ to ‘mastery’ by showing himself (and the world) that he is not ‘just’ like a woman, he is better than a woman because he is a woman with a penis.”⁵⁶ This use of Stoller only works on the grounds that Bloom is a ‘transvestite,’ whereas, as Keith Booker notes, the text actually indicates that Bloom “physically becomes *female*, not just feminine, vulva and all.”⁵⁷ Booker goes on to write that ‘female’ (a biological classification) and ‘feminine’ (a sociocultural identity) have been considered distinct categories for some time in feminist criticism. His article was published in 1990, and while there have been developments in terminology in the intervening thirty years, this distinction is perhaps even

more pronounced in recent scholarship. Booker argues that Gilbert “is one of those who has never maintained this distinction.”⁵⁸ Toril Moi likewise writes that this blurriness is indicative of a certain “blindness” in Gilbert and Gubar’s work: “[their] refusal to admit a separation between nature and nurture at the lexical level renders their whole argument obscure.”⁵⁹ For Moi, it is clear that it “is in the patriarchal interest that these two terms (femininity and femaleness) stay thoroughly confused. Feminists, on the contrary, have to disentangle this confusion, and must therefore insist that though women undoubtedly are *female*, this in no way guarantees that they will be *feminine*.”⁶⁰ Even for 1989, the framing of Gilbert and Gubar’s arguments is, at the lexical level as well as substantially, outdated, reductive, and essentialist, with contemporaneous scholarship from the early 1990s frequently finding fault.

Emma Heaney writes that “for Gilbert and Gubar, it is for women to explore female debasement and to decouple debasement from womanhood. To find female debasement in a female man [like Bloom] is to redouble the strength of misogynist debasement of the female body.”⁶¹ Gilbert and Gubar count themselves among “a number [of critics who] refuse to be Mollified” by the “feminologist re-Joycings” of Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Luce Irigaray, French feminists whom they accuse of “opting for matter over mind,” thereby aligning themselves with the male avant-garde at the expense of female authors.⁶² Although Joyce’s work “lacks the hostility toward women that marks so much of the work of male modernists,” including D.H. Lawrence and T.S. Eliot, Gilbert and Gubar lump all male modernists together as ‘anti-feminist’.⁶³ For example, they argue that

many feminist modernists were concerned... with a kind of utopian ceremonial androgyny whose purpose was very different from the ritual transvestism Joyce, Moore, Lawrence, Eliot, and Hemingway evoked to maintain or reassert a fixed social order. For in the view of such women as Woolf and Barnes, that social order

was itself fallen. Thus the only escape that they could imagine from the disorder and disease of gender was an escape facilitated by the chaos of transvestism, a symbolic misrule related not to the narrow power of male mastery but to the wholeness and holiness of prehistory.⁶⁴

For Gilbert and Gubar, it would seem that no man is capable of representing femininity (which they refuse to divorce from femaleness) and that only cis women can be trusted to be feminists—and only if they, too, prioritise female authorship over queering or reclaiming texts from the male-dominated canon.

Dividing modernists and their work into arbitrary categories based on assumptions about their genitals is unproductive not only in its binarism and biological essentialism, but because this practice can tell us very little about the work itself, its social impact, or the culture in which it was produced. Gilbert and Gubar's judgments based on these categories, assume, wrongly, that female modernists' work is inherently 'more feminist' than that of their male counterparts—as if no writer in possession of a penis⁶⁵ can have anything important to say about gender. Setting aside the fact that to do so assumes the gender identity of individuals unable to protest, gender essentialism precludes the possibility of internalised misogyny and the pervasive influence of cultural and social norms that produce self-hatred among women and encourage women to act against their own interests. In a later article, Gilbert doubles down on her categorization of modernist men: "To male artists from James to Joyce, Eliot, Lawrence, and Hemingway, it must have seem that the voice of women's linguistic desire, like the speech of her mysteriously alien sexual desire, might be the voice of evil."⁶⁶ Their attempt to 'rescue' female authors from the canon amounts to essentialism that, as Erik Svarny notes, judges "any manifestation of female literary effort [as] intrinsically 'good' in divorce of its contents... a stance which leaves the larger issues of gender and writing unexamined."⁶⁷ For example, Gilbert and Gubar take Huxley's

“Farcical History of Richard Greenow” at face value as an allegory for male modernists’ anxiety surrounding literary women. Missing both the playfulness of the text itself and its indictment of strict gender roles—which leads Dick Greenow’s psyche to fracture into its two gendered halves—their reading celebrates Pearl Bellairs as “a tenaciously successful parasite, cramping her host’s style” who, despite killing the ‘host,’ will “live on through her amazingly successful writing.”⁶⁸ Their idealism regarding women writers, even fictional ones, blinds them to internalised misogyny and gender essentialism.

As I will discuss in Chapter 3, Pearl frequently works against her own interests as a woman in Huxley’s novella. Her didactic, jingoistic pro-war propaganda and her ultra-conservative sentimental fiction, though ‘successful,’ are not aspirational, and preclude any conception of her as a ‘feminist’. It is Dick, not Pearl, who is force-fed like a suffragette, imprisoned for his progressive beliefs, and openly mocked for his sentimental artistic production when he turns to poetry as an outlet for queer desire. In short, Dick experiences the sociocultural ‘position’ of woman and the oppression of patriarchy as a queer, feminine man, from which Pearl is largely sheltered due to her adherence to conservative heteropatriarchal values. Huxley’s farce concludes not with a triumphant usurpation of a misogynistic “literary man,” but with the failure of society to acknowledge the feminine side of a man who is forced to create a dissociative personality to suppress his queer nature. Gilbert and Gubar distort this anticlimax from within the context of ‘the battle of the sexes,’ arguing that “as Dick gradually loses his intellectual potency and becomes little Dick, Pearl (with her fanciful belle airs) increasingly manifests herself as the belle-heir, a twentieth-century inheritor of women’s tradition founded by such precursors as *Jane Eyre*.”⁶⁹ As Svarny demonstrates, however,

It is pointless aligning [Pearl's] hilariously mindless work with what, from the point of view of masculinist discourse, is the genuinely threatening *Jane Eyre*, because in larger terms Huxley's target, as that of many male modernists, is the fear of a sentimental, 'feminised' and commercialized mass culture, which both marginalizes and eradicates 'male' intellectual and literary discrimination.⁷⁰

Svarny goes on to compare the spirit of "Farcical History" to Joyce's imitation of Maria Cummins's *The Lamplighter* in the "Nausicaa" episode of *Ulysses*, which Gilbert and Gubar deride as a parody that "indicts the banality and bathos inculcated in young girls by the pulpy fiction of literary women." They argue that Gerty MacDowell's "girls' school language," which Joyce once described as "namby-pamby jammy marmalady drawsery" (*SL* 246), "both revolts and titillates him, for even as he attacks this vulgar genteel virgin's sentimentality, he gets to transcribe not only her voice but [her] vices."⁷¹ Whether attractive or disgusting, Joyce's mimicry of feminine fiction—the sentimental style attributed to Gerty—is an act of female impersonation which anticipates both Bloom's transformation in "Circe" and Joyce's sustained authorial cross-dressing in "Penelope." Rooted in popular culture and consumption more generally, "Nausicaa" paints a portrait of Irish girlhood that exposes the commercialised construction of gender by flashing its undergarments—the component parts (advertisements, products, novelettes, films) which create a whole 'girl.'

In Chapter 3, I introduce the concept of authorial cross-dressing alongside a Joycean neologism, 'sexophonologicistic schizophrenesis,' to argue that Joyce's adoption of the female voice in "Penelope" perpetuates (and perhaps even creates) stereotypes of femininity by subordinating 'female' speech-language to the 'male' written word. Gilbert and Gubar situate Joyce's imitation of 'women's speech'⁷² as participating in a "patrilinguistic history" which parodies, in order to degrade, "what Hélène Cixous calls 'the old single-grooved mother tongue'."⁷³ Their invocation of Cixous here, however,

undermines their argument; by removing the context of Cixous's call for women to "make the old single-grooved mother tongue reverberate with more than one language,"⁷⁴ which she maintains that Joyce has done, Gilbert and Gubar co-opt feminist advocacy for Joyce as support for their antithetical position. They suggest Joyce's myriad of linguistic strategies in *Ulysses* transform, in their terms, *maternal lingua* into a new *patrius sermo*: "his appropriation of dreams in 'Circe,' his mimicry of music in 'Sirens,' his usurpation of the Mass... in 'Telemachus' and elsewhere, his parodying of female speech in 'Nausicaa' and 'Penelope,' all certainly contribute to the spell of power he created by deriding or disintegrating what Jolas's revolutionaries of the word called 'the primal matter' of the mother tongue."⁷⁵ Writing along Valente's 'appropriative' axis, Gilbert and Gubar "extrapolate Joyce's [misogynistic] vision of woman's place from Bloom's degraded androgyny" by interpreting Bloom's Circean fantasy as an opportunity to "[cast] off his false female costume" in order to "recover his true male potency."⁷⁶ Their reading denies Joyce's novel any radical potential by rendering Bloom's transfeminine identification purely allegorical, neglecting both the conditions from which it arises and the ambiguity of the novel's conclusion.

Fritz Senn warns us that "*Ulysses* refuses to stay put. Once we know what it *is* we are sure to be wrong."⁷⁷ Gilbert and Gubar's claim that Bloom "asserts his proper male mastery by ordering Molly to bring him eggs in bed for his own breakfast" oversimplifies a contentious issue in Joyce studies for the purpose of creating a clear-cut interpretation of Bloom's arc within the novel. Although "Penelope" opens with Molly's confusion "because he never did a thing like that before as ask to get his breakfast in bed with a couple of eggs" (*U* 18.1-2), no such breakfast order appears in the text. Recent scholarship has come to the consensus that Molly has likely misinterpreted her husband's sleepy

mumblings at the end of “Ithaca” about a “roc’s auk’s egg” (17.2328-9), a reading supported by the fact that the Blooms do not have any eggs, owing to drought: “Ham and eggs, no. No good eggs with this drouth” (4.43-4). The argument that Bloom “has taken his place in a patrilineal order” by reversing the morning’s gender roles oddly aligns Gilbert and Gubar with *anti*-feminist readings of the novel, including Barrie Walkley, who contends that Bloom becomes “a different man” whose demand for breakfast indicates he has decided to “pursue coition and conception [of a son]” at the end of the novel.⁷⁸ Like Gilbert and Gubar, who read his cross-dressing as “ritual sexual inversion that... reinforce[s] the sexual/social hierarchy,”⁷⁹ Bloom’s maternal inclinations are a “fraud” resolved by “proper order” being restored when “matriarchy has become patriarchy,” in Walkley’s estimation.⁸⁰ In the tradition of early Joyce scholars like Stanley Sultan and Hugh Kenner, Walkley assumes that Bloom fails in his role as a man for not being “unequivocally masculine,” but that his temporary experience of womanhood in “Circe” will correct this imbalance, replacing a “henpecked husband” with a ‘manly man’ who demands ‘eggs’ from his wife both for breakfast and for the procurement of his patrilineage—the conception of a male heir.⁸¹ Keith Booker writes that while all interpretations of Joyce’s novel are doubtful, the “point is not that Gilbert [and Gubar] derives the wrong meaning” but that any “attempt to reduce Joyce’s text to a fixed meaning seems to follow the mode of interpretation that has long been enforced by the patriarchal authority [they]... oppose.” By denying subversive power to Joyce’s writing, Gilbert and Gubar take on a “male perspective,” foregrounding biological essentialism that is itself a kind of “critical transvestism,” to borrow Booker’s phrase.⁸² Moreover, their use of New Criticism precludes the possibility of interrogating how contemporary social and cultural

forces influenced aspects of Joyce's work, and, as Toril Moi has noted, falls prey to "the traditional patriarchal aesthetic values of New Criticism" as a result.⁸³

0.2 Theoretical Foundation Garments

My approach throughout this thesis combines close-reading and historicity with a particular focus on the field of sexology that emerged at the turn of the century. While I hope to use modern terminology for the most part—for example, choosing 'cross-dressing' or 'drag' over 'transvestism' and 'intersex' over 'hermaphrodite,' some of the terms used to describe queerness in this thesis are taken from contemporary publications, including 'third sex,' 'gender inversion,' 'bisexuality,' and 'degeneration.' These terms should not be confused with their twenty-first-century equivalents; for example, 'bisexuality' and 'inversion' conflate concepts now considered distinct: "biological sex, gender, desire, sexual preference, [and] sexual identity."⁸⁴ In the early twentieth century, 'bisexuality' generally referred to biological or "psychosexual hermaphroditism," i.e., physically or mentally exhibiting characteristics of both binary sexes. Freud used the term "*amphigenic inversion*" to refer to cases where sexual object choice "lacks the characteristic of exclusiveness,"⁸⁵ or 'bisexuality' in the modern sense. However, in its English translation, Otto Weininger's *Sex & Character* explicitly uses 'bisexuality' to refer both to intersexuality and non-monosexual attraction, or "inclination to both sexes."⁸⁶ Thus when Mulligan identifies Bloom as "bisexually abnormal" (*U* 15.1775-6), he conjures an imprecise diagnosis that signals sexual orientation as well as physical dimorphism.

Weininger theorised that all humans are bisexual in the biological sense. Anticipating the discovery of genes, he conjectured the existence of male and female "plasms" passed from parents to children; in healthy men, the masculine plasm, or

“Arrhenoplasm,” supersedes the feminine plasm, or “Thelyplasm,” and vice versa for women.⁸⁷ From this hypothesis Weininger developed a “law of sexual attraction”⁸⁸ that explains why Bloom, possessing an excess of femininity, is sexually unsuited to his wife: “their sexual formulas adding up to one-and-a-half F and only half an M” leads to the nonviability of their male offspring.⁸⁹ Because of his virulent misogyny and anti-Semitism, Joyceans were initially embarrassed when Richard Ellmann revealed Joyce’s borrowings from Weininger (*JJI* 477-8), and many scholars have attempted to rescue Bloom from such charges. Marilyn Reizbaum, for example, contends that Joyce used *Sex & Character* “not to sustain Weininger’s argument, but to expose it.”⁹⁰ Robert Byrnes similarly writes that Joyce parodies Weininger’s ‘quackery’ “in the interest of high comedy,”⁹¹ though Erwin Steinberg has disputed this reading, arguing that Weininger continued to be taken seriously after 1914, attracting a cult-like following in Germany, Austria, and Italy, and becoming associated with the eugenics movement.⁹² A key phrase used to describe Bloom, “womanly man” (*U* 15.1799), comes directly from Weininger (*JIII* 463)—its anti-Semitic and misogynistic origins should not be overlooked. Moreover, Fritz Senn has identified Weininger as the source for Molly as an “amoral... *Weib*” whose “flesh affirms” (*LI* 170), essentialist notions which I interrogate in Chapter 3.

The term ‘third sex’ or ‘intermediate sex’ refers not to a prototypical understanding of nonbinary or genderqueer identity, but a way of explaining homosexuality rooted in biological essentialism (in terms of Karl Ulrich’s ‘Uranian,’ a female psyche confined in a male body⁹³). Edward Carpenter situated the acceptance of an “intermediate sex” at the centre of *Love’s Coming of Age*, his influential 1896 treatise on homoeroticism offering a charitable view of sexual ‘deviance’ simultaneously being endorsed by Havelock Ellis in England and Magnus Hirschfeld, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Ulrichs in Germany.

Michel Foucault has argued that this discourse on homosexuality “made possible a strong advance of social controls” restricting queerness, but also enabled homosexuality “to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or ‘naturalness’ be acknowledged.”⁹⁴ For example, Ellis insisted that “inversion is not a disease or a ‘degeneration,’”⁹⁵ and Carpenter claimed that “men and women of the exclusive Uranian type are by no means necessarily morbid.”⁹⁶ Both advocated for the decriminalization of homosexuality, with Carpenter arguing that “homogenic affection is a valuable social force, and in some cases a necessary element of noble human character.”⁹⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, supposedly ‘deviant’ sexual behaviour was being increasingly pathologised by doctors, psychiatrists, and other liberal intellectuals. Most of these sexologists were contemporaries of Joyce, particularly when he was a medical student in Paris. In a preface to the first edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis* in 1886, Krafft-Ebing wrote that

The poet is the better psychologist [of sex], for he is swayed rather by sentiment than by reason... the poet will not discharge his arduous task without the active cooperation of natural philosophy and, above all, that of medicine, a science which ever seeks to trace all psychological manifestations to their anatomical and physiological sources.⁹⁸

The arduous task of writing *Ulysses* was indeed informed by philosophy and medical science, with extensive research undertaken by Joyce. It has long been known that “Circe” is indebted to Krafft-Ebing; in the 1960s, Stanley Sultan identified that the “classic development of male perversion from passivity to masochism to feminization” in *Psychopathia Sexualis* matches the trajectory of Bloom’s hallucinations.⁹⁹ Krafft-Ebing combined Ulrichs’ theory of Uranianism with Bénédict Morel’s theory of disease to position homosexuality as a hereditary illness. Though Byrnes argues that Krafft-Ebing and

Weininger were seen as “comically Linnaean... quackery” by the end of the psychoanalytic revolution,¹⁰⁰ Joyce may have regarded turn-of-the-century pseudoscience with nostalgia. However, Suzette Henke notes that Joyce flips Krafft-Ebing’s script when it suits him; although Bloom is an “impotent onanist,” he fails to meet any of the qualities Krafft-Ebing associates with such a person, including being “morose, peevish, egotistical, jealous, [and] narrow-minded.”¹⁰¹ Bloom, claims Henke, “triumphs” over these tendencies with his “energetic, compassionate temperament.”¹⁰² In essence, sentiment supersedes biological certainty—nurture overcomes nature.

Richard Brown’s landmark study, *James Joyce and Sexuality*, likewise demonstrates that Joyce’s work was informed by the *fin de siècle* ‘discursive explosion’ on sex identified by Foucault, naming dozens of sexological, psychiatric, and medical sources from this discourse.¹⁰³ More recently, Phillip Sicker has compellingly argued that Gerty MacDowell was inspired by a particularly “provocative illustration” in Havelock Ellis’s *Auto-Eroticism* of a girl sexually stimulating herself in a train station,¹⁰⁴ Ronan Crowley has written about how Bella Cohen fisting Bloom (*U* 15.3086) was inspired by a case of bestiality described by Ellis,¹⁰⁵ and Chris Wells has noted the “ironic borrowing” of the phrase “ambidexterity is also latent” (15.1780) from Ellis as well.¹⁰⁶ This kind of genetic criticism, or the study of a text’s development from source to notes to draft composition, revision, and publication, has been made significantly more accessible by the digitisation of resources in searchable databases and the growing availability of out-of-print texts in online archives. While many of the documents on which Joycean geneticists rely are reproduced in the *James Joyce Archive*, the archive has not been updated since the 1970s. Prior to 2000, there hadn’t been a discovery of a manuscript cache in decades, however, that year the National Library of Ireland bought an important draft of “Circe” formerly owned by John

Quinn, and several subsequent discoveries were made over the next six years.¹⁰⁷ The Quinn draft and the process of genetic criticism will be important to my analysis throughout this thesis.

Early Joyce studies traditionally focussed on ‘the text itself’ rather than extratextual connections in a New Critical approach. A notable exception is Ellmann’s biography, which, as Sam Slote and Wim Van Mierlo note in their introduction to *Genitricksling Joyce*, “unduly influenced critical studies towards explicating Joyce’s texts through the prison-house of biographical events.”¹⁰⁸ I hope to contextualise Joyce’s work amongst that of his contemporaries through comparative close-readings of modernist texts and genetic criticism of Joyce’s sources, as well as to situate Joyce’s work in the historical and cultural context of the early twentieth century without relying too heavily on biography. The strengths and weaknesses of my approach will be discussed in my conclusion. The chapters of my thesis are organised as follows:

Chapter 1, “Orlando/Bloom: New Womanly Men,” compares Joyce’s depiction of cross-dressing and sex-change to those in Woolf’s novel *Orlando*. First addressing the question of authorial ‘influence,’ I argue that Joyce’s influence on Woolf’s novels has been greatly exaggerated in past scholarship. Looking at *Orlando* as a text composed independently of *Ulysses*—that is, pulling it out from under the shadow of “Circe” as a literary ‘predecessor’—I compare their respective sex-change scenes. Turning to the John Quinn draft of “Circe” and a Holograph draft of *Orlando* to demonstrate intentionality, I discuss the importance of names and pronouns, and argue that the retention of the male name for the female character in the case of both Bloom and Orlando establishes a deliberate subversion of social and linguistic gender conventions. Finally, I discuss the gender ambiguity of the sex-object choice of these ‘New Womanly Men’: Molly Bloom,

Bella Cohen (Bello), boyish Sasha, Archduchess Harriet (Archduke Harry), and Marmaduke Bonthrop Shelmerdine, each of whom defies binary gender expectations.

Despite the similarities in their work noted in Section 1.1, I argue that Joyce and Woolf respond to the rapid scientific and social changes associated with modernism in dramatically different ways. Joyce engages with the patriarchal discourses of sexology and psychology, drawing on Krafft-Ebing's models of perversion, Ellis's *Psychology of Sex*, and Weininger's misogynistic and anti-Semitic theories about the biological inferiority of male Jews to stage a performative inversion of sex roles. Harnessing the authority of these patriarchal institutions, Joyce offers medical, legal, psychological, and sexological models of gender a platform for further dispersal while satirising their power within turn-of-the-century intellectual discourse. Woolf, on the other hand, disengages from the medical model, mocking the idea of a scientific 'authority' to prescribe sex. Woolf's novel is an example of the social construction of gender, a feminist theory that proposes that the structural aspects of an environment are responsible for creating and perpetuating gender status. Culturally and temporally determined markers such as clothing, language, and social roles are foregrounded in *Orlando*, which transcends gender and genre in an effort to 'make it new,' whereas Joyce reverts to biologically determined categories of sex to defamiliarise, even as he demystifies, the body as a gendered and racialised object.

Chapter 2, "Other Mothers: Modernist Womb Envy and Gender Essentialism," opens with a reflection on 'modernist womb envy,' or the idea that literary production is the masculine counterbalance to the female role in reproduction. Ezra Pound famously declared the modernist aesthetic an effort to 'make it new,' an open-ended and ungendered activity that he subsequently claimed for men alone. Pound conceptualised originality—the 'making' of something 'new'—as "the phallus or spermatozoid charging, head-on, the

female chaos,” noting the difficulty in “driving any new idea into the great passive vulva of London.”¹⁰⁹ For Pound, the brain could only be imagined as a “great clot of genital fluid” and original thought “an up-spurt of sperm.”¹¹⁰ Stephen Dedalus’s theory of ‘postcreation’ in *Ulysses* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* introduces a similar, if oppositely gendered, procreative metaphor, wherein art is conceived, gestated, and birthed by the artist. Throughout the chapter, I discuss the ‘childbirth metaphor’ as a structural device in Joyce and Barnes’s novels. In “Oxen of the Sun,” the episode set in a maternity hospital, gestation and childbirth are used as metaphors for the development of literary language. However, the woman giving birth in this episode is supplanted by Bloom’s fictional (re)enactment of her labour in “Circe,” which does away with suffering—the condition that, for Djuna Barnes, is the essential component of womanhood.

The second half of Chapter 2 examines Barnes’s conception of feminine suffering, which is not limited to bodies identified female at birth or traditionally feminine. ‘Womanhood,’ in Barnes’s novels, is inclusive of trans and gender-nonconforming bodies like those of Doctor O’Connor and Robin Vote, two members of the queer ‘third sex.’ Unlike “Oxen,” in which Joyce inscribes the (male) canon onto the (female) body, Barnes’s *Ryder* shifts the development of literature away from a metaphorical “womb of imagination” (P 217) to the literal womb as a site of trauma—not only by its possession but, in the case of O’Connor, by its absence. Although both Joyce and Barnes each present essentialist definitions of ‘woman,’ Barnes’s inclusivity of ‘the third sex’ challenges the dominant narrative inasmuch as it makes trauma, not biology, the shared burden of womanhood. The ‘medical’ definitions of gender associated with certain sexologists—namely, Hirschfeld, Carpenter, and Weininger—are foregrounded in my comparison of

how Joyce and Barnes use sexology to transcend social barriers, but in so doing, perpetuate dangerous stereotypes including those based on racist pseudoscience and biologism.

Chapter 3, “Feminine Fiction: Authorial Cross-dressing or *Écriture Féminine*?”, imagines Joyce’s “Penelope” as an exercise in female impersonation, a performance of gendered writing that imitates biological difference. Joyce’s exegesis to Frank Budgen, for example, that “the female breasts, arse, womb and cunt” are formed by “the words *because, bottom..., woman, [and] yes*” (*LI* 170) definitively links ‘woman’ to ‘womb,’ and the vagina to consent. I turn to Stephen Dedalus’s vision of creative genesis and the only art he creates, a poem about a vampire which represents his first foray into drag. He attempts to assume the feminine position and fails because he is incapable of menstruation—the ultimate ‘sign’ of biological difference. When mature as an artist, Stephen will be able to write a woman into existence, period and all, in “Penelope.” Rather than *écriture féminine*, this linguistic construction of a ‘female’ body amounts to ‘sexophonologic schizophræsis,’ a Joycean neologism I examine using Aldous Huxley’s anti-Freudian novella, “The Farcical History of Richard Greenow,” as a case study. Inspired by Joyce’s gloss of “Penelope” and reader-response in *Finnegans Wake*, I write from the perspective of Elaine Showalter’s ‘hypothetical female reader’¹¹¹ to answer the question posed by Christine van Boheemen-Saaf: “Is *Ulysses* ventriloquated through the womb of Molly Bloom?”¹¹² Using feminist theorists Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray as theoretical models, I develop the argument that Joyce problematises the relationship between body, mind, gender, and language through *unheimlich* ‘authorial cross-dressing.’ I conclude by discussing the strategies of writing from the perspective of another gender, arguing that Joyce mimics the style of Nora Barnacle’s courtship letters to masquerade as an ‘authentic’

female voice able to convince a generation of feminist writers that Joyce understood “the real psychology of a woman” better than “the devil’s grandmother” (*LIII* 253).

The material conditions affecting queer and trans lives in the early twentieth century are thus primarily considered in relation to social, medical, psychoanalytical, and linguistic constructions of gender in my first three chapters. In my final chapter, “Clothes Encounters: Costume and Cross-Dressing in *Ulysses*,” I consider the ways in which Joyce constructs ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’ in “Nausicaa” and “Circe.” Putting matter over mind, my analysis addresses costume and cross-dressing in *Ulysses* and the sources Joyce consulted for these episodes through a queer materialist lens. First, I contextualise Joyce’s Orientalist vision, epitomised by ‘Arabian’ costumes and stereotypical images of ‘the East,’ to theorise a construction of gender that racially Others the feminine. I then discuss Gerty MacDowell as an idealised version of distinctly Western femininity constructed from the pages of women’s magazines. Like a collage of make-up ads, she appears to Bloom as the ideal “womanly woman” (*U* 13.435) to complement his façade as a “manly man” (13.210). After he is disillusioned by the discovery of her limp and can no longer project his fantasies onto her blank canvas, Bloom’s fantasies escape into the ‘real world’ of “Circe,” and he is forced to reckon with his hidden desires to become a “womanly woman” himself. By applying cultural materialism and Judith Butler’s concept of gender performativity, I discuss these episodes’ performativity, theatricality, and costumes, as well as the sources Joyce used to festoon Bloom with his fetishes in order to identify the residual, emergent, and oppositional cultural elements which characterise the queer modernist *zeitgeist*. Finally, I examine issues of *Photo Bits* (see Figure 3) and *Bits of Fun*, the main genetic source of the cross-dressing scenes in “Circe,” discovered by Peter Farrer.¹¹³ I discuss the “Confidential Correspondence” column both as a genetic source and as a historical record

DAINTY AND DELIGHTFUL.

THE ART OF FEMALE IMPERSONATION.

In our issue of August 28th we gave a photo of Mr. Julian Eltinge, a young American actor, and another of two young German students, all made up as "ladies," and we then expressed an opinion that there was surely an English boy who could make a better "lassie" than any one of the three foreigners. Since that date, we have received numerous letters, stating what the writers can do and what they can't do in the creation of feminine characters; but it has been left to Mr. C. E. Preston, of 498, Shields Road East, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, to prove personally and by photograph his ability in this particular line of business, as the last pictures herewith show. Now, Mr.

PHOTO BITS.

ment 25 ins.; bust, 43 ins.; hips, 44 ins.; shoes, ladies' small fives; heels, 2½ ins. He wears no artificial paddings, as he says they would hinder him from acrobatic dancing. The photo of the head and shoulders is by the Grand Art Studio, of Byker Bridge End, Newcastle-on-Tyne; the other pictures are by Mr. Campbell Hall, of 116, Shields Road, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, to whom we are indebted for permission to reproduce.

UP TO DATE.

Reporter (at the 'phone): Young Smoother, son of the late Samuel Smoother, the millionaire, will be brought up in court this morning for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. Beggars that his name be kept out of the newspapers for fear of effect upon aged mother, who has weak heart. Shall I get story?

Editor: Sure! Go to mother and see if shock will kill her. We need the news.

MR. C. E. PRESTON
—AS "A REAL LADY" OF TITLE GOES WITHOUT SAYING!

songs, as much as in his exterior appearance, he has shown that he knows her and her ways, her fancies and her foibles, and her dainty little mannerisms. The following personal particulars may interest our readers. The subject of this sketch is about 5 ft. 5 ins. in height; on the stage only, he wears small waist corsets, 6½ ins. in length; waist measure-

A QUIET MOMENT IN A TAMBOURINE DANCE.

Preston is rightly known as a versatile artiste, and as a female impersonator, and international expert dancer, he's there with the goods. A native of canny Newcastle, he has travelled the provinces with great success, and, like the Yankee Julian Eltinge, has captivated his audiences wherever he has appeared, and baffled many of the frequenters of the "Halls" as to his sex. The best proof of his popularity is that the girls themselves have been more than enthusiastic with their applause; so, if he has managed to pass the critical eye of the real article, it stands to reason that there's not much missing in the completeness of his make-up.

Mr. Preston tells us that he hopes shortly to arrange for a Continental tour, when our friends across the Channel will have the opportunity of realizing what an Englishman can do in a line of business that has been exploited by them for so many years. We have no doubt as to the result. Mr. Preston has studied that most entrancing subject—woman—with marked skill and ability; and in his own catchy

THE DIRECTOIRE PERIOD AS ILLUSTRATED BY MR. C. E. PRESTON.

OBEYING INSTRUCTIONS.

Young Dr. Slasher of the Cutemup Hospital was in the habit of staying out late at night. One morning, after a special frolic, he had for a patient an Irish boy, who said there was something the matter with his chest. The doctor laid his ear to the lad's thorax, and told him to say something.

"Phat shill Oi say?" asked the boy.

"You may count," was the reply.

The lad began: "Wan, two, three, four, foive, six, seven—"

When the doctor woke up, the boy was still counting, but in a faint voice: "Tin hundred and sixty-nine, tin hundred and seventy—"

QUITE PREPARED.

Stage Manager: Remember, Bangs, we are depending on your baby to cry lustily in the third scene. Do you think he'll do his part?

Actor Father: He ought to, sir. He's been rehearsing night and day.

MR. C. E. PRESTON
GIVING A "BACK KICK" TO PLEASE THE BOYS IN HIS "SERIO-COMIC" ACT.

Figure 3 "The Art of Female Impersonation," featuring photographs of Mr. C. E. Preston dressed as a "real lady," published in *Photo Bits*, 18 December 1909.

that captures ephemeral exchanges between real queer people. The implications of this reading, as well as ethical concerns, are covered in my conclusion.

Far from discarding a “false female costume” in order to “recover his true male potency,”¹¹⁴ this thesis argues that Leopold Bloom comes into his own as a “new womanly man” (*U* 15.1798-9), having walked a mile in women’s shoes, and finds strength in his subversion of traditional manhood through literal and metaphorical cross-dressing. Though Joyce often relies on a medical model of gender difference, his attention to the performance of social roles and the costumes associated with those roles—particularly when they are ‘misaligned’ with the biological sex of the character wearing them—places him in conversation with modernist women writing on the social construction of gender. Virginia Woolf and Djuna Barnes were chosen for comparison to bring the perspectives of queer women from different geographic and social contexts into conversation. Although I read primarily as ‘a Joycean,’ care has been taken to look beyond Joyce and situate this exploration of cross-dressing and gender inversion in the broader context of modernism, queer history, and gender nonconformance.

¹ Havelock Ellis, *The Psychology of Sex* (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, 1933): 225.

² Aerosmith, “Dude (Looks Like a Lady).” *Permanent Vacation*, written by Steven Tyler, Joe Perry, and Desmond Child. Produced by Bruce Fairbairn (Geffen Records, 1987).

³ Margot Norris, “Updating *Ulysses*: Joseph Strick’s 1967 Film,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 41, no. 1-2, (2003/2004): 81.

⁴ Mia Spiro, *Anti-Nazi Modernism: The Challenges of Resistance in 1930s Fiction* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012): 142.

⁵ In the novel, the line reads, “I don’t want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews either. That’s our national problem, I’m afraid, just now” (*U* 1.666-8). Strick’s script consciously removes “German,” which had very different connotations in a post-WWII political landscape.

⁶ The role of Bloom’s daughter Milly is superseded by her brother Rudy throughout the film. For example, during Molly’s soliloquy, she mentions “what I went through with Rudy” when thinking about the pain associated with childbirth and neonatal death, whereas the novel reads, “what I went through with Milly” in the context of breastfeeding a teething infant (*U* 18.158-9). Similarly, in “Cyclops,” a reference is made to “a son born” as proof of Bloom’s virility, rather than “two children born anyhow” (12.1656).

⁷ See, for example, Ilyssa A. Silfen, *The Reproductive Body: Exploring Reproduction Beyond Gender* (New York: City University, 2014); Maura Ryan, “The Gender of Pregnancy: Masculine Lesbians Talk about Reproduction,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* vol. 17, no. 2 (2013): 119-33; and Claire E. Lunde, Rebecca Spigel, Catherine M. Gordon, and Christine B. Sieberg, “Beyond the binary: Sexual and reproductive health

considerations for transgender and gender expansive adolescents,” *Frontiers in Reproductive Health* vol. 3 (2021): 670919.

⁸ Geraldine Meaney, *Gender, Ireland, and Cultural Change: Race, Sex, and Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2010): 81.

⁹ See Teresa Mangum, “Style Wars of the 1890s: The New Woman and the Decadent,” *Transforming Genres: New Approaches to British Fiction of the 1890s*, ed. Nikki Lee Manos and Meri-Jane Rochelson (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1994): 47-66.

¹⁰ Cheryl Herr, *Joyce’s Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986): 9.

¹¹ Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 17, emphasis original.

¹² Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895): 318, emphasis added, 317. Originating from the Greek word for uterus, in the 1890s, hysteria was understood as a nervous condition that exclusively affected women; see *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. Sander Lawrence Gilman, Helen King, Roy Porter, G. S. Rousseau, and Elaine Showalter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹³ See Joseph Valente, “Ulysses and Queer Theory: a continuing history,” *Ulysses in Critical Perspective*, ed. Michael Patrick Gillespie and A. Nicholas Fagnoli (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006): 88.

¹⁴ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Volume 1: Sexual Inversion* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davies, 1900), x, emphasis added.

¹⁵ Nordau, *Degeneration*, 317.

¹⁶ For degeneration as it relates to racial politics, disability, and criminality in Joyce, see Marion Quirici, “Degeneration, Decadence, and Joyce’s Modernist Disability Aesthetics,” *Joyce Writing Disability*, ed. Jeremy Colangelo (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2022): 131-55.

¹⁷ Otto Weininger, *Sex & Character* (London: William Heinemann, 1906): 27.

¹⁸ Margot Gayle Backus, “‘Odd Jobs’: James Joyce, Oscar Wilde, and the Scandal Fragment,” *Joyce Studies Annual 2008*, ed. Phillip Sicker and Moshe Gold (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008): 132.

¹⁹ The Citizen has here mistaken the word “pishogue,” meaning a magic spell or incantation, with “pithogue,” meaning “‘an effeminate man,’ ‘a dandy,’ ... or (in modern usage) ‘a homosexual’” (see Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaeilge Agus Bearla: An Irish-English Dictionary* [Irish Texts Society, 1927]: s.v. “pithogue”).

²⁰ Spiro, *Anti-Nazi Modernism*, 244.

²¹ Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, (New York: Schocken Books, 1969): 255.

²² “An Epidemic of Violence: Fatal Violence Against Transgender and Gender Non-Confirming People in the United States in 2020” (Human Rights Campaign, 2020). Retrieved from <https://reports.hrc.org/an-epidemic-of-violence-fatal-violence-against-transgender-and-gender-non-confirming-people-in-the-united-states-in-2020>.

²³ For an ongoing list of legislation affecting LGBTQ+ rights in the United States, see the American Civil Liberties Union website: <https://www.aclu.org/legislation-affecting-lgbtq-rights-across-country-2021>.

²⁴ See Libby Brooks, “Puberty blockers ruling: curbing trans rights or a victory for common sense?” *The Guardian*, 3 December 2020, n.p. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/dec/03/puberty-blockers-ruling-curbing-trans-rights-or-a-victory-for-common-sense>. See also Sophie Lewis, “How British Feminism Became Anti-Trans.” *The New York Times*, 7 February 2019, n.p.

²⁵ As part of this intellectual ‘cleansing,’ the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* prioritised burning “ ‘Left,’ democratic, and Jewish literature... [ranging] from Bebel, Bernstein, Preuss, and Rathenau through Einstein, Freud, Brecht, Brod, Döblin, Kaiser, the Mann brothers, Zweig, Plievier, Ossietzky, Remarque, Schnitzler, and Tucholsky, to Barlach, Bergengruen, Broch, Hoffmannsthal, Kästner, Kasack, Kesten, Kraus, Lasker-Schüler, Unruh, Werfel, Zuckmayer, and Hesse. The catalogue went back far enough to include literature from Heine and Marx,” according to historian Karl Dietrich Bracher (Bracher, *The German Dictatorship*. Trans. Jean Steinberg [New York: Penguin Books, 1970]: 325).

²⁶ Jolas’s insistence on printing these materials, as well as printing them in the Futura font family (the designers of which were arrested and forced out of Munich for “cultural Bolshevism” and “national untrustworthiness”), was a political statement and, in hindsight, also an act of artistic anti-fascism (See Tekla Mecsnóber, *Rewriting Joyce’s Europe: The Politics of Language and Visual Design* [Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2021]: 180-1).

²⁷ So far this year, the American Library Association has tracked efforts to ban or restrict 1,651 titles—up from 728 in 2021, and just under 400 in 2020 and 2019—across the United States. Some of the most-banned queer titles include Alison Bechdel’s lesbian memoir *Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic*, George M. Johnson’s

All Boys Aren't Blue, Maia Kobabe's *Gender Queer*, and Alex Gino's *Melissa* (formerly titled *George*), a middle-grade book about a trans girl. Angie Tomas's novel *The Hate U Give* (also known as *THUG*), *Lawn Boy* by Jonathan Evison, Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*, and *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part-Time Indian* by Sherman Alexie were among the top ten most challenged books of 2021. A Tennessee school board made headlines in January 2022 for its decision to ban *Maus*, Art Spiegelman's allegorical graphic novel about the Holocaust, just days before Holocaust Remembrance Day. Other frequently banned or restricted anti-fascist texts include *The Diary of Anne Frank*, Elie Wiesel's *Night*, and Margaret Atwood's cautionary speculative novel, *The Handmaid's Tale* (See "Frequently Challenged Books" [American Library Association, 26 March 2013]. Retrieved from <http://www.ala.org/advocacy/bbooks/frequentlychallengedbooks>).

²⁸ See Mandalit De Barco, "Some lawmakers hope to crack down on drag shows watched by children," *National Public Radio*, 16 June 2022, n.p. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/16/1105544325/drag-shows-children>.

²⁹ See Kim Bellware, "Proud Boys disrupt drag-queen reading event, prompting hate-crime probe," *The Washington Post*, 13 June 2022, n.p. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2022/06/13/proud-boy-drag-queen>.

³⁰ Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination, "Doc. 15425: Combating rising hate against LGBTI people in Europe." Fourat Ben Chikha, rapporteur (Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 17 December 2021). Retrieved from <https://pace.coe.int/en/files/28671>.

³¹ Djuna Barnes's biographer Andrew Field notes that although "Barnes did not often go to the homosexual dance halls and bars" photographed by Brassai, she knew of their existence and depicted them in *Nightwood* as an homage to her friends who risked the danger of these spaces, like Bernice Abbott and Gwen Le Gallienne, who "were carried off in a police raid" of one such venue (Field, *Djuna: The life and times of Djuna Barnes* [New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1983]: 135). Ery Shin likewise evokes Brassai's photographs as representative of the queer underground frequented by modernist characters: "Like the transgendered crowds Brassai observes in *The Secret Paris of the 30's*—the butch women frequenting the lesbian bar Le Monocle, the drag queens dancing the night away at one of the 'big homosexual balls at Magic City' (n.p.)—Dame Musset and Dr O'Connor live in worlds distanced from the norms of the day, where the puritanical mainstream holds sway. Yet this gulf, while sizeable, is far from total. The majoritarian world constantly encroaches on the queer underground in various forms" (Ery Shin, "Djuna Barnes, History's Elsewhere, and the Transgender," *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. 37, no. 2 [2014]: 22-3).

³² Brassai (Gyula Halász), *The Secret Paris of the 30's*. Trans. Richard Miller (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976): n.p.

³³ "Confidential Correspondence," *Bits of Fun*, 7 September 1918.

³⁴ John Gross, *Joyce*. Fontana Modern Masters Series (London: Wm. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1971): 9.

³⁵ Diane Elam, "Theoretical modelling: Joyce's women on display." *James Joyce and the Difference of Language*, ed. Laurent Milesi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 79.

³⁶ See Marvin Magalanger and Richard Kain, *Joyce: The Man, the Work, the Reputation* (New York: New York University Press, 1956): 206 for the origin of "the Joyce industry," the veritable deluge of critical interpretations of Joyce emanating, in the 1950s, largely from the United States.

³⁷ Joseph Valente, *Quare Joyce* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

³⁸ Michael Patrick Gillespie, "Past its Sell-by Date: When to Stop Reading Joyce Criticism." *Bloomsday 100: Essays on Ulysses*, ed. Morris Beja and Anne Fogarty (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009): 215.

³⁹ Wim Van Mierlo writes that "While that body of writing is not all academic—it began with a good number of critical appreciation by Joyce's friends, supporters, and acolytes in literary journals and book-length studies that appeared alongside book reviews and critical notices in the popular press—it is certainly worth reflecting on how academic writing has shaped and guided the reception of Joyce's *oeuvre*. That this is not purely an academic question is contained in the fact that readers ... so often approach through the critics" (Van Mierlo, "Reading Joyce in and out of the Archive," *Joyce Studies Annual 2002*, ed. Thomas F. Staley (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002): 32.

⁴⁰ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2: Sexchanges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): xi.

⁴¹ Emma Heaney, *The New Woman: literary modernism, queer theory, and the transfeminine allegory* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017): 68.

⁴² See Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 333.

- ⁴³ Joseph Valente, "A Child is Being Eaten: Mourning, Transvestism, and the Incorporation of the Daughter in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 34, no. 1-2 (1996/7): 21.
- ⁴⁴ Valente, "A Child is Being Eaten," 21.
- ⁴⁵ See Joseph Allen Boone, "A New Approach to Bloom as 'Womanly Man': The Mixed Middling's Progress in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1982, pp. 67-86 and Suzette Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- ⁴⁶ See Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 332-36.
- ⁴⁷ Valente, "A Child is Being Eaten," 21.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 22.
- ⁴⁹ Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 10.
- ⁵⁰ These angles have been extensively examined in previous scholarship, often to diametrically opposed conclusions.
- ⁵¹ Tonya Krouse, *The Opposite of Desire: Sex and Pleasure in the Modernist Novel* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009): 2.
- ⁵² Garber, *Vested Interests*, 11, emphasis original.
- ⁵³ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 361-2.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 365.
- ⁵⁵ Gilbert and Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 1: The war of the words* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 147.
- ⁵⁶ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 335.
- ⁵⁷ Keith Booker, "The Baby in the Bathwater: Joyce, Gilbert, and Feminist Criticism," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* vol. 32, no. 3 (1990): 450, emphasis original.
- ⁵⁸ Booker, "The Baby in the Bathwater," 464n13.
- ⁵⁹ Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Methuen, 1985): 65.
- ⁶⁰ Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics*, 65, emphasis original.
- ⁶¹ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 69.
- ⁶² Gilbert and Gubar, "Sexual Linguistics: Gender, Language, Sexuality," *New Literary History* vol. 16, no. 3 (1985): 518-19.
- ⁶³ Booker, "The Baby in the Bathwater," 455.
- ⁶⁴ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 363.
- ⁶⁵ The logic of this statement is based on Gilbert's division of writers into categories based on the gender they were assigned at birth, rather than any assumption about the gender identity or presentation of the individuals in question. I do not mean to imply here that every person with a penis is a man or masculine; the reduction of human beings to their sex organs is something I would like to avoid as much as possible in this study, as it does not represent the multitude of human experiences which fall outside of ciscentric points of view.
- ⁶⁶ Sandra M. Gilbert, "Woman's Sentence and Man's Sentencing: Linguistic Fantasies in Woolf and Joyce," *Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury: A Centenary Celebration*, ed. Jane Marcus (London: MacMillan, 1987): 211.
- ⁶⁷ Erik Svarny, "Gender, war and writing in Aldous Huxley's 'Farcical History of Richard Greenow'." *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations*, ed. Angela K. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004): 66.
- ⁶⁸ Gilbert and Gubar, *The war of the words*, 136-7.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 131-2.
- ⁷⁰ Svarny, "Gender, war and writing," 67.
- ⁷¹ Gilbert and Gubar, *The war of the words*, 146.
- ⁷² As Derek Attridge has noted, 'women's speech' as a distinct category has "little evidence for it in attested speech characteristics" (Attridge, "Molly's Flow: The Writing of 'Penelope' and the Question of Women's Language," *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 35, no. 3 [1989]: 555).
- ⁷³ Gilbert and Gubar, *The war of the words*, 259-60.
- ⁷⁴ Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen. *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980): 256. Others, including Derek Attridge and Keith Booker, have pointed out this disingenuity. See Attridge, "Molly's Flow," 556-7, and Booker, "The Baby in the Bathwater," 446-67.
- ⁷⁵ Gilbert and Gubar, *The war of the words*, 260. Attridge identifies the source of *patrius sermo* as Walter Ong's *Fighting for Life*, writing that Gilbert and Gubar are able to "adroitly redefine *patrius sermo* as a

‘father speech’” only by “ignoring Ong’s careful distinction between *patrius* and *paternus*” in another deliberate decontextualization (“Molly’s Flow,” 557n20).

⁷⁶ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 334.

⁷⁷ Fritz Senn, “Righting *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce: New Perspectives*, ed. Colin MacCabe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 27, emphasis original.

⁷⁸ Barrie R. Walkley, “The Bloom of Motherhood: Couvade as a Structural Device in *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1980): 65.

⁷⁹ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 334.

⁸⁰ Walkley, “The Bloom of Motherhood,” 66.

⁸¹ See Stanley Sultan, *The Argument of Ulysses* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964): 320; Hugh Kenner, *Dublin’s Joyce* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1955): 186; and Walkley, “The Bloom of Motherhood,” 62-5.

⁸² Booker, “The Baby in the Bathwater,” 449, 454.

⁸³ Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics*, 67.

⁸⁴ Brenda Helt, “Passionate Debates on ‘Odious Subjects’: Bisexuality and Virginia Woolf’s Opposition to Theories of Androgyny and Sexual Identity,” *Twentieth-Century Literature* vol. 56, no. 2 (2010): 136.

⁸⁵ Sigmund Freud, “Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality,” *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* vol. 7. Trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1974): 282.

⁸⁶ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 29. In the original German *Geschlecht und Charakter* of 1903, Weininger writes, “*es gibt keinen Invertierten, der bloß konträrsexuell wäre. Alle sind von Anfang an nur bisexuell, d.h. es ist ihnen sowohl der Geschlechtsverkehr mit Männern als mit Frauen möglich.*” In 1906, this was translated as, “there are no inverts who are completely sexually inverted. In all of them there is from the beginning an inclination to both sexes; they are, in fact, bisexual” (*Sex & Character*, 29). Weininger’s original wording is slightly more explicit, translating literally closer to “there are no inverts who are purely contrasexual. All begin as bisexual, i.e., it is possible for them to have sexual intercourse with men or with women” (my translation).

⁸⁷ See Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 7-16.

⁸⁸ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 18.

⁸⁹ Robert Byrnes, “Bloom’s Sexual Tropes: Stigmata of the ‘Degenerate’ Jew,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 27, no. 2 (1990): 311.

⁹⁰ Marilyn Reizbaum, “Weininger and the Bloom of Jewish Self-Hatred in Joyce’s *Ulysses*,” *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed. Nancy Anne Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995): 213.

⁹¹ Byrnes, “Bloom’s Sexual Tropes,” 322.

⁹² Erwin R. Steinberg, “Otto Weininger’s ‘Sex and Character’ Was Never ‘Prime Material for a Comedy,’” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 36, no. 3 (1999): 636-8.

⁹³ Ulrichs, a lawyer by trade, defined homosexuality as “*anima muliebris virili corpore incluse*,” his pamphlets (printed 1864-1880) advocating for homosexual definition, etiology, and rights, including same-sex marriage. See Simon Joyce, *LGBT Victorians: Sexuality and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century Archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022): 71-112. Emma Heaney discusses the lasting impact of the conceit of the ‘female soul in a male body’ in *The New Woman* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017).

⁹⁴ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Volume 1: An Introduction. Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1986): 101.

⁹⁵ Ellis, *The Psychology of Sex*, 224.

⁹⁶ Edward Carpenter, *Love’s Coming of Age: A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes* (Manchester: Labour Press, Society, 1896): 126.

⁹⁷ Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex*. 1908. (New York and London: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912): 73.

⁹⁸ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: with Special Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Forensic Study*. 1886. Trans. Franklin S. Klaf (London: Mayflower Books Ltd., 1967): vi.

⁹⁹ Stanley Sultan, *The Argument of Ulysses* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964): 317.

¹⁰⁰ Byrnes, “Bloom’s Sexual Tropes,” 305. Steinberg disagrees with this generalisation; see “Prime Material,” 636-8.

¹⁰¹ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 8.

¹⁰² Suzette Henke, “Joyce and Krafft-Ebing,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 17, no. 1 (1979): 86.

¹⁰³ See Richard Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁰⁴ Phillip Sicker, "Unveiling Desire: Pleasure, Power and Masquerade in Joyce's 'Nausicaa' Episode," *Joyce Studies Annual 2003*, ed. Thomas F. Staley. Austin: University of Texas Press (2003): 92.

¹⁰⁵ From a case study involving a clergyman who observed an Irish girl fisting a horse, Joyce took the following note: "Irish girl / hand up to / elbow in / vulva of / mare" (NLI MS 36,639/4 p. 5v, qtd. Crowley, "Looking at Animals without Seeing Them: Havelock Ellis in the 'Circe' Episode of *Ulysses*," *Humanities* vol. 6, no. 3 [2017]: 83).

¹⁰⁶ Christopher Wells, "Where Do I Put It? James Joyce's Buck Mulligan, Bisexuality, and Contemporary Legislative Practice." *Open Library of Humanities* vol. 6, no. 1 (2020): 16.

¹⁰⁷ In 2001, a draft of "Eumaeus" was sold to a private collector. Two subsequent major acquisitions by the National Library of Ireland in 2002 (the Léon cache) and 2006 (genetically significant *Finnegans Wake* vignettes) renewed hope that more original Joyce documents may continue to be unearthed.

¹⁰⁸ Sam Slote and Wim Van Mierlo, eds. *Genitricksling Joyce*. European Joyce Studies 9 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999): 3.

¹⁰⁹ Ezra Pound, Postscript to *Natural Philosophy of Love*, by Remy de Gourmont. Trans. Ezra Pound (New York: Privately printed for Rarity Press, 1931): 172.

¹¹⁰ Pound, Postscript, 169, 172.

¹¹¹ See Elaine Showalter, "Towards a Feminist Poetics." *Women Writing and Writing About Women*, ed. Mary Jacobus (New York: Routledge, 2012): 22-41.

¹¹² Christine van Boheemen-Saaf, "Joyce, Derrida, and the Discourse of 'the Other'." *James Joyce: The Augmented Ninth*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988): 98.

¹¹³ See Peter Farrer, *Confidential Correspondence on Cross Dressing Pt II 1916-1920* (Liverpool: Karn Publications Garston, 1998): 15-16. Farrer identified a letter from "Cap and Apron" as the source for "Circe" in 1997, three years before the John Quinn draft of "Circe" was acquired by the NLI.

¹¹⁴ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 334.

Orlando/Bloom: New Womanly Men

The gulf between... the most womanly man on earth, and the most manly woman, is just the same as ever: just the same old gulf between the sexes. The man is male, the woman is female. Only they are playing one another's parts, as they must at certain periods.¹

–D.H. Lawrence

It is fatal for any one who writes to think of their sex. It is fatal to be a man or woman pure and simple; one must be woman-manly or man-womanly.²

–Virginia Woolf

In 1920, Vita Sackville-West wrote, “I hold the conviction that as centuries go on... the sexes [will] become more nearly merged on account of their increasing resemblances” and that “cases of dual personality do exist, in which the feminine and the masculine elements alternately preponderate.”³ Sackville-West began dressing as a boy after the Great War because the “unaccustomed freedom of breeches and gaiters”⁴ gave her not only the courage to consummate an affair with Violet Trefusis, but also to express the ‘bisexuality’⁵ that would become the inspiration for Virginia Woolf’s novel *Orlando: A Biography*. Nigel Nicolson, Sackville-West’s son with Harold Nicolson, wrote that “The effect of Vita on Virginia is all contained in *Orlando*, the longest and most charming love letter in literature, in which she explores Vita, weaves her in and out of the centuries, tosses her from one sex to the other, plays with her, dresses her in furs, lace and emeralds, teases her, flirts with her, drops a veil of mist around her.”⁶ *Orlando* is a highly satiric novel which “mobilize[s] cross-historical reverberations by landing its protagonist in different historical settings, bodies, and genders”⁷; through the pen of an occasionally unreliable biographer, the novel catalogues the life of a seemingly unaging protagonist through five centuries of literary, political, and social developments, from the late sixteenth century until the present day,⁸

including the spontaneous transformation of Orlando from a man into a woman and his (later her) love affairs with both men and women.

More than just a love letter to Sackville-West, *Orlando* was, for Woolf, “a way of writing the memoirs of one’s own times” (D3 156-7) and therefore also a way of “piecing together... [the] national culture”⁹ of Britain during the 1920s. *Orlando* both satirises and addresses itself to a culture “that allows published lesbian representation to be fantastical... but not realistic”; that is to say, a culture whose conservative, patriarchal value system may permit the ‘fantasy’ of Sackville-West as the ageless man-turned-woman Orlando but “will not tolerate overt (that is, readily apprehensible) ‘inversion’.”¹⁰ Radclyffe Hall’s *The Well of Loneliness*, published and banned the same year, popularised Havelock Ellis’s term ‘sexual inversion’ in its realistic and serious treatment of lesbianism. Despite being published just months apart and sharing many of the same concerns, *Orlando* largely avoided the backlash that befell *The Well of Loneliness* because, unlike Hall’s provocative novel, which openly uses sexological terms, *Orlando* mitigates many of its potentially controversial scenes through the lens of its bumbling biographer. The narrator frequently admits to his own confusion and ignorance as to the precise facts at hand, avoids the biological reality of the specific anatomy or sex acts involved (the ‘dirty bits’ that authors like James Joyce revealed in), and adds ambiguity to scenes so as to spare his reader from any detail which might cause offense. Hall’s frankness in identifying characters as inverts, as well as its damning line, “she kissed her full on the lips, as a lover,”¹¹ sealed the book’s fate, whereas *Orlando*’s comic absurdity—having as its central premise a protagonist who spontaneously changes sex and who lives for three hundred years—seems to have spared Woolf’s novel from the same. Adam Parkes, for example, argues that because *Orlando* “sets out to make readers laugh” whereas *The Well* “pleads the cause of sexual inversion”

in an “aggressively polemical stance,” Hall’s book was taken more seriously by the court.¹² Judge Chartres Biron’s ruling against *The Well* was made on the grounds that “there was not one word that suggested that anyone with the horrible tendencies described was in the least degree blameworthy” and that the “attractive characters” and “certain acts” were described in “alluring terms.”¹³ Having attended the trial prepared to make a statement against the obscenity charges,¹⁴ Woolf wrote in her diary, “What is obscenity? What is literature? What is the difference between the treatment and the subject?” (*D3* 207). Woolf’s treatment of the subject in the genre of fantasy¹⁵ shrouded, however minutely, the same-sex desire of *Orlando* in its comedic, fantastical elements and was thus able to avoid censorship for its depiction of queer relationships.¹⁶

These queer relationships—and the novel’s articulation of lesbianism in particular—have been the focus of academic criticism of *Orlando* for decades. In the late 1980s, Sherron E. Knopp drew attention to the “critical ambivalence” surrounding the novel and suggested that it was a previously untapped well of potential sapphic readings; her essay on how Woolf negotiates the controversial theme of lesbian love in *Orlando* inspired a new wave of criticism that took cues from the biographical details of Sackville-West and Woolf’s relationship.¹⁷ Critics like Knopp and Elizabeth Meese read *Orlando* as a kind of lesbian-feminist manifesto steeped in biography.¹⁸ In 2006, Victoria L. Smith wrote that the novel’s “complex interplay between the deeply personal and the overtly public and political [necessitates that] any consideration of *Orlando* needs to take biographical and autobiographical issues into account.”¹⁹ Because of this prevalent belief, *Orlando* has been treated largely as a biography of Sackville-West, a ‘love letter,’ and/or a sapphic romance. In a paper on *Orlando* and androgyny, for example, George Piggford sets out to argue that the camp sensibilities of Orlando “[mock] and [ironize] gender norms... in order to

undermine the gender assumptions of their specific [culture],” yet he turns to “photographic representations of Sackville-West [dressed as] Orlando” as the “beginnings of a specifically female tradition of androgynous gender performance.”²⁰ Because Sackville-West “does not appear as a hermaphroditic body dressed in various clothes,” Piggford argues that “the tension between perceived biological sex and the style of self-representation... creates a moment of disorientation” in the images—rather than the text.²¹ Stef Craps laments this treatment by critics, writing, “*Orlando*, far from being an insignificant *jeu d’esprit*, is in fact a radical text, whose subversion of deep-seated and taken-for-granted assumptions about gendered behaviour is suppressed by its reduction to... a mere tribute to Vita.”²²

While I do not mean to suggest that all criticism of *Orlando* has been biographically reductive, there has been a trend toward reading the text as a nonfiction biography, which has, for the most part, little to add to the growing body of scholarship on Woolf’s work. For the text to speak for itself—to be a biography of Orlando, rather than of Sackville-West, and to make sense of its world as more than just that of the ‘truth’ of Woolf’s romantic relationship with her—it *must* be read separately from biography. To do otherwise is to treat *Orlando* as Woolf’s journals and diaries are treated: as historical documents rather than a text valued for its radical subversion of gender norms and literary contribution to the Modernist canon in its historical context. Moreover, reading Woolf without relying on biography necessarily also means challenging the prevailing practice of referring to her work in the mid- to late-twenties as being ‘responses’ to Joyce’s *Ulysses*, a practice which privileges the ‘influence’ of other Modernists (among them Sackville-West, Joyce, and T.S. Eliot) on her work over the text itself, its radicalness, and its parodic representation of British gender norms.

1.1 Under the Influence: Woolf Reading Joyce

Johanna Garvey considers *Orlando* to be the “third stage in [Woolf’s] complex response to James Joyce’s *Ulysses*”²³ after *Jacob’s Room* and *Mrs. Dalloway*, implying, as many others do also, that Woolf was so overcome by *Ulysses* that she wrote *three novels* in order to reckon with it. Reports that Virginia Woolf’s work between 1922 and 1929, one of the most productive times in her career, was influenced by *Ulysses* are often exaggerated in this way. While the publication of *Ulysses* and its prior serialisation are pivotal moments in the trajectory of literary Modernism, to argue that Woolf was so obsessed with Joyce that she spent a decade harkening back to his work is, I believe, to deliberately misread the evidence. Woolf seems to have begrudged Joyce his fame, writing to David Garnett, “I see it is necessary to read Mr. Joyce, so please send *Ulysses*”²⁴ in April 1922. She likely only read *Ulysses* at the urging of T.S. Eliot, and found it not to her taste at all, calling the book “brackish”, “pretentious”, and “underbred” in her diary (*D2* 199); it was not, one might surmise, the sort of book she sought to emulate.

When Woolf received her blue-bound first edition of *Ulysses*, she had already read the first four episodes twice and its next four once in their serialised form. By 1919, she had written a well-known review of them.²⁵ Starting again from the beginning in April with the completed volume in hand, by mid-August, Woolf had reached page 200—just shy of the end of the ninth episode in the original typeset. James Heffernan very persuasively argues that, despite the general academic consensus that Woolf ‘read’ *Ulysses*, she got little further than those first 200 pages, if indeed she read a single word more. On September sixth, eleven days after laboriously reaching page 200, Woolf wrote in her diary, “I finished *Ulysses*” (*D2* 199). Heffernan argues that such a statement, given the timeline and evidence

of her frustration with the text, “can only mean that she had finished *with* it—not that she had read it all.”²⁶ Two hundred pages, nearly all of which she had read before, had taken Woolf more than four months. The remaining 532 pages could not have been consumed in less than a fortnight at such a pace, especially since, as Heffernan reminds us, “she was already overloaded with other tasks.”²⁷ Woolf was attempting to finish *Mrs. Dalloway*, then still a short story, by September second and start a paper on Chaucer by September eighth. She set herself “a daunting syllabus” of reading works by Homer, Plato, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Marlowe, Racine, and Ibsen for that September, a list notable for its absence of Joyce.²⁸ Moreover, her diary entries from this time indicate that from September third to fifth, she was inundated with visitors and not able to get work done on her Chaucer chapter nor read the *Odyssey* (D2 197-8). To have finished reading *Ulysses* in this time would have been a herculean feat, especially for a reader whose first impression of the text was that it was indecent, as well as “monotonous” and “boring”²⁹; yet it persists that Woolf’s diary entry for the sixth of September, “I finished *Ulysses*,” is the definitive word on the matter (D2 199). It would be just like Woolf to omit the word ‘with’ from this remark—she often keeps her diary entries curt, abbreviated, and colloquial. In any case, Woolf herself admits that she did “not read it carefully; & only once; & it is very obscure” (D2 199), so whatever of the book she did skim over in those eleven days is unlikely to have made a lasting impact on her writing. As for influence from the man himself, despite their near-perfect contemporaneity and significant geographical overlap,³⁰ the two writers never met. A few days after Joyce’s death in 1941, Woolf notes in her diary, “Then Joyce is dead: Joyce about a fortnight younger than I am” and recalls when Harriet Shaw Weaver asked the Woolfs to print those “pages [that] reeled with indecency” (D5 352-3). Joyce was

a remote figure to her, filtered through her consumption of his work and word-of-mouth reports from mutual acquaintances, including the glowing praises of T.S. Eliot.

The inclination toward seeing the ‘influence’ of Joyce on Woolf’s work has continued to be a feature of criticism well into the twenty-first century despite all evidence to the contrary, a pattern which has persisted since contemporary reviews of her books. Sam Slote writes that, for example, Louis Gillet, initially very critical of *Ulysses*, wrote his first praises of Joyce’s novel in a 1929 review of Woolf’s *Orlando*, in which he criticised her for “neglect[ing] to acknowledge *Ulysses*’ obvious, in his mind, influence on her novel.”³¹ Gillet is among the first, but by no means the last, reviewers to conclude that “Woolf’s art follows from Joyce but is transposed and *feminised*” and to imply that her work is derivative “because its author is a woman”—a member of the “*sexe imitateur*.”³² While critics are less likely to take such an approach today, they do persist in attributing the invention of certain textual features to Joyce that other Modernists supposedly imitate. This is especially true of those who primarily study Joyce. Joyceans, as diverse as we are, have a tendency toward assuming all roads lead to (and from) Joyce. For example, critics who compare Joyce to Woolf often point out certain similarities between *Ulysses* and *Mrs. Dalloway* as evidence of ‘influence’—or even pseudo-plagiarism.³³ Both are “city novels” that take place on a single day in June; both protagonists wander the city; both novels explore the thoughts of several characters; both contrast inner ‘truth’ with outer ‘reality’; both take their cues from psychology; both employ a stream-of-consciousness technique. Havrena Richter goes so far as to find over a dozen parallels, including that there are “three main characters” (two men, one woman) in each novel, an “emphasis on flowers/blooms,” a “motif of heat” (comparing Blazes Boylan to the heatwave in *Mrs. Dalloway*), and “earth-mother figures” connected to flowers.³⁴ In spite of all these ‘correspondences,’ it is the

psychological aspects of both novels, and their employment of the stream-of-consciousness convention in particular, upon which many scholars stake their claim of resemblance; Joyce, of course, revolutionised the writing of consciousness, introducing a heretofore unseen technique into Modernist literature, did he not?

The short answer is ‘no.’ Despite this prevalent belief, the stream-of-consciousness novel was making its way into the world irrespective of Joyce. Heffernan notes, for example, that “Woolf’s turn to stream of consciousness in her fiction was chiefly prompted by her reading of Dorothy Richardson,” not Joyce.³⁵ Richardson’s novel *Pointed Roofs Pilgrimage* used the technique in 1915, introducing it to English fiction three years before the first serialised episode of *Ulysses* appeared in print; May Sinclair even uses the phrase “stream of consciousness” in her 1918 review of Richardson’s novel.³⁶ Daniel Ferrer has demonstrated that Woolf “got sidetracked” by Sinclair’s review while reading the second episode of *Ulysses*, which appeared in the same issue of *The Little Review*, and argues that it had a profound impact on the “Modern Fiction” essay.³⁷ Anne Fernihough argues that “Woolf’s stream-of-consciousness writing, like *Ulysses*, is dispersed among a range of consciousnesses,” but that the similarities need not be taken as influence.³⁸ Woolf would have been familiar with William James’s *Principles of Psychology* as well as the work of Henri Bergson, whose “notion of *durée* (duration) was a major influence on the cultural climate from which the stream-of-consciousness novel emerged.”³⁹ To say that Woolf “cannibalize[d]” Joyce’s technique in order to solve the “difficult problem... [of] how to connect two unrelated storylines”⁴⁰ is surely unjust to her ingenuity.

While in the process of writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, which was quickly becoming more novel than short story, Woolf herself compared her work to Joyce’s. Writing in her diary after a visit from T.S. Eliot (during which he likely continued to heap praise on *Ulysses*)

that what she was doing was “probably being done better by Mr Joyce” (D2 68-9), she compared their projects as early as 1920, long before the completion of either novel. She wrote that it was “interesting as an experiment” to “[leave] out the narrative, and [try] to give the thoughts,”⁴¹ referring to an early episode of *Ulysses*, and then attempted a similar project, when looked at in these terms. However, that is not to reduce *Mrs. Dalloway* to an “inspired imitation”⁴² of *Ulysses*—a tragic, if common, view of her work. Rather, I agree with Heffernan’s assessment that to finish writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf “had to pretend to forget what Joyce had done,”⁴³ and Carolyn Heilbrun’s argument that “far from imitating Joyce’s work, Woolf must have feared that its masculinist vision would make her own fictive world unacceptable to readers.”⁴⁴ In 1922, Woolf wrote in her diary that she had finally “found out how... to say something in [her] own voice” (D2 186). Heilbrun notes the irony that *Mrs. Dalloway*, the “something” she was writing in her own voice, has been “heard as Joyce’s voice.”⁴⁵ Though perhaps something of the style of *Mrs. Dalloway* was in some way triggered by reading either Joyce or Richardson—Heffernan, for one, believes she was not quite able to avoid absorbing something of *Ulysses*’ first eight episodes—to reduce three (or four, as some include *To The Lighthouse*) of her novels to ‘responses’ to Joyce is a gross oversimplification.

But what of *Orlando*? To be sure, Woolf’s 1928 novel also shares certain characteristics with *Ulysses*, and particularly with the “Circe” episode. In both, the male protagonists become women. Both novels revisit, recapitulate, and reimagine the styles of the English literary canon; Orlando lives through the development of literature from Shakespeare to the present day, meeting and reading many great writers along the way, and Joyce cycles through literary styles in the “Oxen of the Sun” episode as a sustained metaphor for gestation and childbirth.⁴⁶ Where Joyce’s novel uses *The Odyssey* as a

framework, ironically transposing the myth of Odysseus' twenty-year journey home to faithful Penelope over a single day in the life of a man avoiding going home to his unfaithful wife, Woolf creates a new mythology, parodying the conventions of the biography to lend patriarchal authority to a modern fantasy which takes many of its cues from mythology. However, none of these features are unique to Joyce and Woolf. One need not dig deep into the Modernist canon to realise that many of these themes were popular at that time. T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, for example, attempts many of the same gestures—using and reworking mythology, creating a pastiche of literary styles of the past, and even including a character who changes sex, Tiresias.⁴⁷ Gilbert and Gubar assert that *Orlando* is a “radical revision” of both *Ulysses* and *The Waste Land* as “male costume dramas,”⁴⁸ once again determining Woolf's place in the canon in relation to male Modernists. Woolf wrote in *A Room of One's Own* that “No age can ever have been as stridently sex-conscious as our own” (*Room* 99), and, when one considers the massive body of literature by both male and female writers which Woolf was adding to with *Orlando* (including Joyce, Eliot, Hall, Bryher, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Djuna Barnes, Willa Cather, and others), there can be no doubt that she was right.

What makes Woolf's project unique from the many other experimental texts being written and published in this period is its focus on cultural change over time, as elucidated from the perspective of a biographer (or “biomythographer”, as Garvey calls him⁴⁹), an authoritative voice parodied for its lack of authority. As several scholars have noted, Woolf is, at least in part, reacting to—and resisting—her father Leslie Stephen's project as a biographer of “great men.”⁵⁰ I see more of this motive in *Orlando* than I do of Joycean parody, though many scholars have argued that *Orlando* constitutes “Virginia's articulate response to the Bella/Bello episode” of *Ulysses*.⁵¹ It is precisely because I subscribe to the

theory that Woolf did not finish reading *Ulysses*, and was not influenced much, if at all, by anything after episode nine, that the relationship between these two texts is significant. The social and political climate of the interwar years is reflected in both Woolf and Joyce's representations of sex-change and cross-dressing. Woolf's text calls into question the strict gender roles and social norms of English society by illuminating the ways in which they have changed over time alongside more fickle societal conventions such as fashion. For Woolf, the language of sexology, eugenics, and scientific advancement are fashions themselves, and she refuses to engage with these emblems of Modernity in *Orlando* as a way of demonstrating their fleeting importance in the grander scheme of human progress. For Patrick McGee, "it seems possible to read sexual difference in Woolf's work... as a social text, a signifier of the historically-determined relation to patriarchal culture that constitutes her position as a subject."⁵² Joyce, on the other hand, takes up the mantle of modern theories of sexology and psychology—in many ways as farce, but with some of the serious engagement attempted by authors like Radclyffe Hall—as one of the many 'voices' in his novel. Joyce and Woolf's treatment of sexual difference and transition are distinct in that Joyce parodies the language and imagery of the sciences in his fantasy of sex-change whereas Woolf subverts the conventions of biography, with its emphasis on fact, as well as those of other patriarchal institutions, including the medicolegal construction of sex and sexuality, by reorienting sex from the body to the mind, to clothing, and to language.

1.2 Modernist Sex-Changes

The period we now refer to as Modernism, or those years between the turn of the century and the invention of the atom bomb, witnessed tremendous developments in science, technology, and medicine alongside significant social transformation. Among

these changes was a shifting perception of sexuality and gender identity brought about by psychoanalysts, sexologists, and endocrinologists who challenged nineteenth-century confidence in sexual dimorphism, biological gender roles, and the inviolable connection between gender and sex. The medicalisation of sex was well underway by the turn of the century, but, as Michel Foucault recounts, it was with the creation of a material archive of case studies—formed from the work of “Campe, Salzmänn, and especially Kaan, Krafft-Ebing, Tardeir, Molle, and Havelock Ellis”—that sexology truly entered “the discourse of science” as a subject treated as seriously as other medical concerns.⁵³ Up to and including the present day, people who do not conform to the gender binary (intersex and transgender individuals especially) are still routinely viewed voyeuristically and face oppression due to their ambiguous position in the hyper-medicalised system of categorisation which emerged from this period. The fight for the right to determine the extent to which medical establishments should be permitted to access their bodies and to choose what, if any, intervention may be necessary for the well-being of these individuals has been an ongoing public debate in recent years,⁵⁴ but is in many ways based on and steeped in the rhetoric which arose from Krafft-Ebing and company.

The ‘anonymised’ case studies in sexological texts—some of which include potentially identifying details such as a subject’s occupation and location—brought forward for scrutiny the bodies and minds of those who sought help from professionals. In some cases, the thin veil of anonymity was lifted, and photographs or even live demonstrations displayed the bodies of patients to medical audiences or the general public. Magnus Hirschfeld, for example, published photographs of his patients in various states of dress and undress (see Figure 4). In another case, Gerd Katter, who underwent several gender-

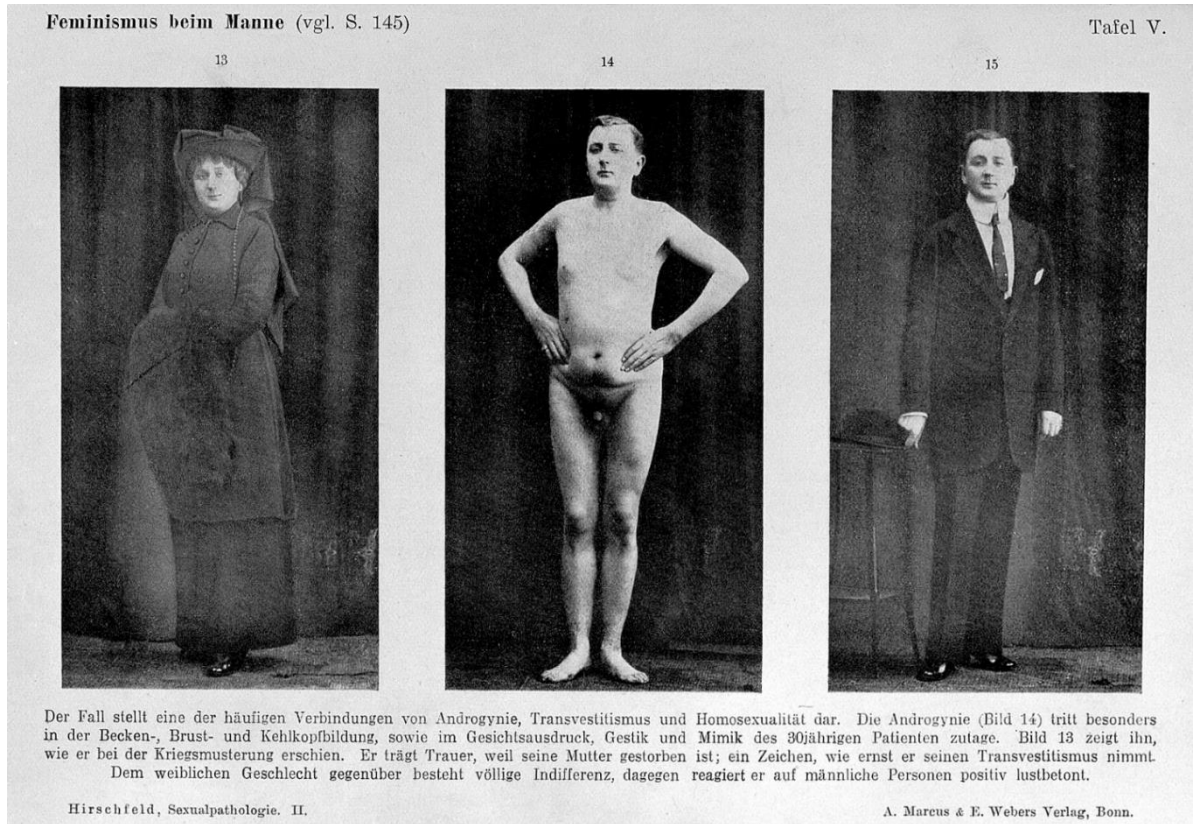


Figure 4 “Feminismus heim Manne,” three photographs from Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie, Sexuelle Zwischenstuden*, Volume 2 (Bonn: Marcus & Weber Verlag, 1918).

Caption reads: The case depicts one of the frequent connections between androgyny, transvestism, and homosexuality. Androgyny (picture 14) is visible above all in the shape of the hips, chest, and Adam’s apple, as well as in the facial expression, gesture, and countenance of the 30-year-old patient. Picture 13 shows him as he appeared at his medical examination for army service. He wears mourning dress because his mother died; a sign of how earnestly he takes his transvestism. He exhibits complete indifference to women, while reacting positively lustfully toward male persons.

affirming operations at Hirschfeld’s *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*, was “occasionally presented to visitors as a ‘demonstration case’—meaning he was brought before medical audiences as a specimen.”⁵⁵ While perhaps ‘consensual,’ the display of Katter’s body to visitors of the institute was exploitative and voyeuristic, much like the photographs included in *Sexualpathologie*. Katter relied on Hirschfeld not only for medical care related to his transition, but also for legal recognition and protection. Hirschfeld advocated for his patients extensively, eventually winning them the right to “transvestite passes” from the Berlin police which would allow patients to present as their preferred gender in public

without being arrested for cross-dressing.⁵⁶ Medical professionals and laymen alike participated in the exploitative voyeurism of patients' bodies, which were turned into objects of fascination. Although occasionally anonymised by blacking out the eyes, photographs of vulnerable, nude patients like those shown in Figure 4—both in sexology and other medical fields—dehumanised the subject and made them the object of the medical (male) gaze. Moreover, pathologising anatomy in this way encouraged “aggressive forms of intervention in which the individuality of the patient all but vanished under the all-powerful medical gaze and left only pathological condition... Patients became ‘letters, numbers, symptoms, fragmented into body parts’.”⁵⁷

This kind of scenario, in which the abnormally-sexed body is placed under the scrutiny of a panel of doctors, is parodied by Joyce in “Circe” when Bloom undergoes his first sex-change. Supervised by “Dr Malachi Mulligan, sex specialist” (*U* 15.1772), Bloom is stripped naked before the medical students of the previous episode, who provide “medical testimony” for the court (15.1773). Although he “*holds his high grade hat over his genital organs*” (15.1786, see Figure 5), Bloom’s vulnerability in the face of this public



Figure 5 Still from Joseph Strick’s film, “James Joyce’s *Ulysses*,” 1967. Bloom (Milo O’Shea) sits naked atop an examination table in an operating theatre with his hat covering his genitalia, being examined by Drs Mulligan and Dixon while the other medical students and Blazes Boylan look on from the gallery. Boylan is not present in this scene in the novel; his presence in the film adds to Bloom’s vulnerability and humiliation during the fantasy sequences.

medical assessment recalls the treatment of patients like Katter, brought before medical audiences as a ‘specimen.’ Buck Mulligan, dressed in the ridiculous costume of a “*motor jerkin, [with] green motorgoggles on his brow*” (15.1775), begins his medical assessment by stating that, “Dr Bloom is bisexually abnormal” (15.1775-6), a phrase that might as well have been pulled straight from the pages of Hirschfeld, Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis or Otto Weininger. He goes on to testify, in increasingly ridiculous detail, that Bloom was

Born out of bedlock [and] hereditary epilepsy is present, the consequence of unbridled lust. Traces of elephantiasis have been discovered among his ascendants. There are marked symptoms of chronic exhibitionism. Ambidexterity is also latent. He is prematurely bald from selfabuse, perversely idealistic in consequence, a reformed rake, and has metal teeth. In consequence of a family complex he has temporarily lost his memory and I believe him to be more sinned against than sinning. I have made a pervaginal examination and, after application of the acid test to 5427 anal, axillary, pectoral and pubic hairs, I declare him to be *virgo intacta*.
(U 15.1777-86)

Chris Wells has noted the “ironic borrowing” of the phrase “ambidexterity is also latent” from Ellis’s observation that “bisexuality would thus in a large number of cases be comparable to ambidexterity.”⁵⁸ With its focus on genital morphology and heredity in the diagnosis of sexual dysfunction, the content, rhythm, and style of Mulligan’s assessment reads as a parody of Ellis’s case studies, such as the patient history for ‘Miss D.’: “Heredity good, nervous system sound, general good health on the whole satisfactory. Development feminine but manner and movements somewhat boyish. Menstruation scanty and painless. Hips normal, nates small, sexual organs showing some approximation toward infantile type with large labia minora and probably small vagina. Tendency to development of hair on body and especially lower limbs.”⁵⁹ Mulligan’s various diagnoses imitate medical discourse but exaggerate its features to come to absurd conclusions. Some of the observations he makes are accurate reflections of Bloom’s mental and physical characteristics—including

his penchant for exhibitionist sexual adventures and onanism, both of which are presented in the “Nausicaa” episode when he masturbates on the beach to the sight of Gerty MacDowell’s underpants—while others are pure fantasy.

The main feature of Mulligan’s testimony is the gynecological exam, which not only constructs a previously unseen vagina for Bloom from which he almost immediately “*bears eight male yellow and white children*” (*U* 15.1821), but also finds an intact hymen. As “a finished example of the new womanly man” and a virgin who is “about to have a baby” (15.1798-9, 1810), Bloom becomes a medical fascination for the gathered crowd, garnering both “*commotion and compassion*” (15.1811). The hyper-specificity of Bloom’s genitalia creates ambiguity for all its precision. Morris Beja writes that “Bloom’s androgyny, like every other serious theme in the novel, is undercut and treated ironically” in this scene.⁶⁰ Upon examination, Bloom is deemed both male and female; virgin and pregnant; “demented” but “not feeble-minded in the medical sense”; Jewish (having the “*fetor judaicus*”, the supposed odour of a Jew) and Christian (being a pregnant virgin); a lusty sinner and “practically a total abstainer”; et cetera (*U* 15.1777, 1801, 1796, 1803-4). These exaggerated features of ‘bisexuality’ transform Bloom into “less an androgynous being than a hermaphrodite or transvestite,” though Beja also notes that his androgyny “is no less real for all that.”⁶¹ Several of these oppositions do reflect the complexities of Bloom’s character, including the confusion of his ethno-religious identity. Though Bloom’s father was Jewish, Judaism is matrilineal, and he nominally practices Christianity. Considered to be Jewish by Christians and Christian according to Jewish conventions, Bloom occupies a liminal space—he does not quite fit in anywhere. These gray areas are exponentially extrapolated in “Circe” to encompass his gender and sexual identities, making him male but also female, a virgin but also pregnant, and later a virgin whore.

Rather than add clarity, the testimonies of the assembled doctors contradict each others' conclusions and raise more questions than they answer. By satirising the kind of medical discourse that was gaining momentum at the time when Joyce was himself a medical student, Joyce "orchestrates the leitmotifs of gender crossing between female stereotypes cultivated by masculine institutions" by turning Bloom into "a test case and sometime parody of an androgyne."⁶² The masculine domains of psychology and sexology, though exaggerated, are represented with considerable knowledge. Joyce's familiarity with, and even respect for, the work of sexologists including Krafft-Ebing and Weininger comes across in his deliberate adaptation of their theories.

In the 1960s, Stanley Sultan identified Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* as a source for "Circe." Finding a common pattern across the cases presented in Krafft-Ebing's work, Sultan noted that the "classic development of male perversion from passivity to masochism to feminization" in the *Psychopathia* perfectly maps onto the trajectory of Bloom's Nighthtown hallucinations.⁶³ Bloom first plays the role of passive cuckold to his wife before succumbing to his masochistic tendencies under Bella's abuse and finally transforming into a woman. The way in which Joyce not only follows this pattern but also, in the words of Robert Byrnes, "festoon[s] Bloom with fetishes and nauseating fixations he garnered from cases in the *Psychopathia*,"⁶⁴ is not so much satirical as it is referential. Fritz Senn, for example, notes that among the episode's "polymorphic turns" are "turns of the psyche, with such authorities as Krafft-Ebing being responsible for parts of the script."⁶⁵ Krafft-Ebing's 'authority' over these scenes may be understood in so far as that his sexological theories were considered scientific fact when Joyce was a medical student, alongside degeneration theory. The term "degeneration," popularised by Max Nordau's 1895 book of that name,⁶⁶ draws on phrenological research and the theory of his mentor

Cesare Lombroso that lawbreaking is a symptom of hereditary atavism.⁶⁷ Nordau expanded this idea of ‘anthropological criminality’ to encompass the mental and moral decline of entire populations. He diagnosed degeneration based on the art, literature, and culture of *fin de siècle* dandies and aesthetes, criticising popular cultural figures including Oscar Wilde⁶⁸ and condemning the kind of art he saw as weakening European bloodlines.⁶⁹

Degeneration theory appealed to the masses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by resonating with the intensifying cultural malaise that accompanied the rapidly changing political and social landscape. It acted as a “catch-all term for behaviors and physical traits outside culturally determined norms” that could be applied as a label at once suggesting “immorality, primitivism, and disability,” which easily allowed the scapegoating of objectionable “racial groups and disabled people” who were thusly conflated with “criminals and animals.”⁷⁰ Eugenics and degeneration underscore much of “Circe,” including the connection between Bloom’s Jewishness, femininity, and dehumanisation upon transforming into a broodmare to be auctioned to the highest bidder. As I discussed in my introduction, Weininger’s anti-Semitic work on degeneration contains a peculiar paragraph about horse breeding and Jewish marriages. He argues that breeding “mares by stallions unattractive to them” results in “extreme nervousness of the progeny,” and goes on to say that “the degeneration of modern Jews may be traced in part to the fact that amongst them marriages for other reasons than love are especially common.”⁷¹ Although Joyce’s note which informs Bloom’s brutalisation at the market, “Irish girl / hand up to / elbow in / vulva of / mare,” comes from Havelock Ellis, the parallel remains troubling.⁷² The conflation of gender inversion, race, and disease or disability was not uncommon in degeneration discourse at this time, but the distinct Weiningerian flavour of Bloom’s dehumanisation in this scene does not reflect positively on Joyce.

Between 1904 and 1914 when Joyce began to compose *Ulysses*, psychiatric and physiognomic models of degeneration were being replaced by psychoanalysis. Though Krafft-Ebing and Weininger were perhaps seen as “comically Linnaean” and “inspired quackery” at this time,⁷³ Joyce may have harbored nostalgia for them as he grew more weary of psychoanalysts—or regarded them as the archetypal turn-of-the-century pseudoscience flooding the intellectual market at a time when his character Leopold Bloom, intensely interested in such discourses, might have been absorbing them. Taking cues from sexology lends authority to the medicalised sections of Joyce’s text while allowing him the flexibility to critique (or even mock) medical institutions more generally. For example, Suzette Henke notes that Joyce deliberately flips Krafft-Ebing’s script when it suits him, namely, that although Bloom is an “impotent onanist” (having masturbated to Gerty McDowell but being unable to complete copulation with his wife), he fails to meet any of the qualities Krafft-Ebing associates with such a person, including being “morose, peevish, egotistical, jealous, narrow minded,” and lacking “energy, self-respect and honour.”⁷⁴ Bloom, claims Henke, “comically triumphs” over these tendencies and his “energetic, compassionate temperament”, “good humor”, and “capacious imagination” help him to eventually “conquer envy and jealousy.”⁷⁵ Whether or not Joyce bought into the theories of Krafft-Ebing and Weininger, he certainly acknowledged and engaged with them. His depiction of sex-change in “Circe” is steeped in medicolegal language, and Bloom is, in many ways, a case study of how the ‘symptoms’ of inversion and perversion would present in an Irish Everyman. Joyce pathologises Bloom, overdiagnoses him, and exposes both the biological specifics of his sex transformation as well as his psychological intricacies, leaving no part of his body or mind private from the reader.

During his sadomasochistic fantasy, Bloom is stripped and invasively examined by doctors; he gives birth before an audience; he is sexually humiliated, abused, and auctioned to the highest bidder. But even before this foray into Bloom's psyche, he eats, defecates, bathes, masturbates, fantasises. In his Preface to the Gabler edition of *Ulysses*, Richard Ellmann states that "Joyce's book invades our privacy. Experiences once considered too intimate for literature, such as going to the toilet, appear as a matter of course" (*U-G* ix). Readers are invited into Bloom's bathroom, first as he relieves himself in the outhouse; then as his "pale body recline[s]... naked" in the bath, introducing Bloom's penis as "the limp father of thousands, a languid floating flower" rising to the surface of the bathwater (*U* 5.567-72); later, in the Blooms' back garden, Bloom and Stephen's "organs of micturition" are rendered visible as they urinate together (17.1186-7). We learn of Bloom's many small ailments, from the "slight constipation of yesterday" (4.509) to his monthly headaches and cramps associated with menstruation. We see Molly crouch over the chamber pot, urinate, and discover her period is "pouring out of [her] like the sea" (18.1123). As a woman, Bloom receives a vaginal exam from Mulligan, and, in a particularly graphic scene inspired by another Ellis case study,⁷⁶ Bello "*bare[s] his arm and plunges it elbowdeep in Bloom's vulva*" (15.3086). Bodies, organs, sex acts, fluids—nothing is off-limits in Joyce's work, a fact that Woolf found unsavory. For Palusci, Woolf's instinctual reaction against the "dog that p's" and "man that forths"⁷⁷ (the first being a very brief occurrence in "Proteus" and the latter perhaps describing Bloom in the outhouse), is representative of how Joyce's "celebration of bodily functions" reminded Woolf of her "exclusion from the world of male writers," being "a sign of Joyce's masculine approach to the body and sexuality."⁷⁸ Woolf's approach, rather than to reveal

the body, is instead to mask it, reorienting gender away from biological facts and toward the mind.

When compared to *Ulysses* in this way, *Orlando* may at times seem prudish in its refusal to undress Orlando's body. Though Orlando does appear naked, her nudity, particularly that which immediately follows her transformation, leaves much to the imagination and offers no guidance to the reader as to what should be imagined. After waking from her supernaturally long sleep, Orlando "stood upright in complete nakedness before us while the trumpets pealed Truth! Truth! Truth!" (O 85). And yet the "truth" revealed to 'us,' the voyeuristic observers suddenly present in the narrative, is merely that "he was a woman" (O 85). Readers are given the absolute bare minimum description of Orlando's body after the transformation:

The sound of the trumpets died away and Orlando stood stark naked. No human being, since the world began, has ever looked more ravishing. His form combined in one the strength of a man and a woman's grace. As he stood there, the silver trumpets prolonged their note, as if reluctant to leave the lovely sight which their blast had called forth; and Chastity, Purity, and Modesty, inspired, no doubt, by Curiosity, peeped in at the door and threw a garment like a towel at the naked form which, unfortunately, fell short by several inches. Orlando looked himself up and down in a long looking-glass, without showing any signs of discomposure, and went, presumably, to his bath. (O 85)

Orlando is not ashamed of her new body and does not cover herself, though Modesty attempts to cover her with a towel. What requires covering is unclear; our curiosity remains unsatisfied. Unlike the explicit treatment of Bloom's body in *Ulysses*, which is sexed male, then female, in its possession of a penis and later a vulva, equating gendered pronouns with genitalia, Orlando's biology is never exposed or pathologised in the same way. The medical gaze, so dominant in other Modernist texts, is utterly denied at this moment of medical curiosity. Chris Coffman writes that, for example, "*The Well of Loneliness* and *Orlando*,

both from 1920's England, engage in a rhetoric that enables them simultaneously to play to and to exceed the official discourses on gender and sexuality of their day (in the case of *The Well*), and even to sidestep them outright (in the case of *Orlando*).⁷⁹ Woolf actively refuses to engage with medicolegal discourses of sex-change even parodically, going so far as to write, "Let biologists and psychologists determine. It is enough for us to state the simple fact; Orlando was a man till the age of thirty; when he became a woman and has remained so ever since" and "let other pens treat of sex and sexuality; we quit such odious subjects as soon as we can" (*O* 86). Rather than playing the 'biologist' or 'psychologist' as Joyce and Hall do, Woolf shirks the responsibility of making a diagnosis onto those professions and instead lays claim to the "simple fact[s]" as biographer. The "simple fact[s]" of Orlando's case, though not simple whatsoever, are left quite ambiguous even before the change of sex complicates the narrative.

Although the narrator perhaps implies that some biological change has taken place after Orlando awakens, the text refuses to confirm or deny any relationship between her body and her gender. From the very onset of the novel, Woolf complicates what seems to be a definitive statement about Orlando's sex: "He—for there could be no doubt about his sex" the novel begins, "though the fashion of the time did something to disguise it" (*O* 1). Craps argues that the narrator "protest[s] too much, creating the very doubt that his words would deny."⁸⁰ The interjection, which interrupts the first line of the novel, destabilises the relationship between sex and the body. What is sex, the text seems to ask, if clothing can disguise what cannot be doubted? What is being disguised here—a penis? Or does the sixteenth-century fashion simply accentuate features that might be deemed feminine, such as Orlando's "shapely legs" (*O* 2)? Orlando's body, as well as his mind—elusive though it often is to the biographer—is in many ways constructed by the clothing draped upon it.

Woolf says as much after Orlando's transformation, attaching great importance to how gender is constructed through clothing:

Her modesty as to her writing, her vanity as to her person, her fears for her safety all seems to hint that what was said a short time ago about there being no change in Orlando the man and Orlando the woman, was ceasing to be altogether true. She was becoming a little more modest, as women are, of her brains, and a little more vain, as women are, of her person. Certain susceptibilities were asserting themselves, and others were diminishing. The change of clothes had, some philosophers will say, much to do with it. Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than merely to keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world's view of us. (*O* 118-19)

Orlando, dressing as a woman, begins to adopt the traits associated with femininity as a matter of course. This, too, at first seems, like the declaration that "there could be no doubt about his sex" from the first page, to be a statement of undeniable fact: clothes determine gendered behaviour. Yet Woolf goes on only a paragraph later to reverse this claim, writing that "The difference between the sexes is, happily, one of great profundity. Clothes are but a symbol of something hid deep beneath. It was a change in Orlando herself that dictated her choice of a woman's dress and of a woman's sex" (*O* 119). The argument, like Orlando's body, is obscured by the trimmings. Clothes both mask gender and produce it; wearing clothing is both a gendered act and influences gendered behaviour. Ambiguity is the law that governs *Orlando*.

Another institution embedded in Modernist depictions of sex change is that of the law itself; legal discourse, like medicine, carries with it a certain authority to define and categorise human beings. Sam Slote, noting the appearance of the legal refrain, "The Truth and nothing but the Truth!" (*O* 83) before the moment of transformation, argues that legal discourse underscores genre in *Orlando*. "Clothes and genre," writes Slote, "rather than testify to any *thing*... engage in a complex interplay of dissimulation."⁸¹ In other words,

although clothes may appear to conceal one thing—the sex defined by the clothes themselves—they may in fact conceal another thing, another sex. Woolf’s biographer notes that “In every human being a vacillation from one sex to the other takes place, and often it is only the clothes that keep the male or female likeness, while underneath the sex is the very opposite of what it is above” (*O* 120). Because Orlando cross-dresses, her clothes cannot be taken as testimony; her body, obscured even when naked, is indeterminate and liable to confuse; her behaviour, seemingly influenced by clothing, is variable; what, then, is the legal truth of Orlando’s gender? Without institutional recognition, Orlando is left in limbo after her return to England. Although, according to the narrator, whether “Orlando was most man or woman, it is difficult to say and cannot now be decided” (*O* 120), it *must* be decided, according to law. Because the society into which Orlando was born male and to which she returns female has not, over the course of several centuries, changed so much as to grant equal rights to both sexes, Orlando’s sex becomes a matter for the law to determine and police.

Orlando’s lawsuit reveals gender to be a legal fiction. How can one person, the text demands of us, have certain rights and privileges in society at one moment only to lose them, despite being the same person, in the next? When Orlando returns to England, she does not, and cannot, assume the legal status of womanhood until her lawsuit is resolved, but nor can she, as a woman, maintain her status of manhood in the meantime. The charges laid against her are either that “she was dead, and therefore could not hold any property whatsoever” or “that she was a woman, which amounts to much the same thing” (*O* 106). Her estates and titles both meanwhile in abeyance pending the outcome of the lawsuit, Orlando, neither legally man nor legally woman in England, is denied the rights of either sex. Woolf was very conscious of the different rights afforded to men and women in Britain

during her lifetime. Writing *A Room of One's Own* at the same time as *Orlando*, she implores her audience of female college students to take advantage of their new hard-won freedoms, reminding them that

there have been at least two colleges for women in existence in England since the year 1866; that after the year 1880 a married woman was allowed by law to possess her own property; and that in 1919—which is a whole nine years ago—she was given a vote... [Most] professions have been open to you for close on ten years now. (*Room* 112)

Though Orlando lives for three hundred years or more, little substantive change is made in the arena of women's rights until the late nineteenth century. The lawsuit's settlement pronounces Orlando's sex to be "indisputably, and without the shadow of a doubt... female" (*O* 163), echoing the first page's assertion that "there could be no doubt about his sex." The law, thus having legislated a rich man into a poor woman (having shrunk her estate considerably through delays and expenses), remits that "The estates which are now desequestrated in perpetuity descend and are tailed and entailed upon the heirs male of my body, or in default of marriage..." and so on in "legal verbiage" with which Orlando is impatient (*O* 163). Though she may, by 1880, be allowed to hold property, and by 1919 have a vote, Orlando as a woman in the twentieth century has fewer rights than when she was a boy in the sixteenth. Orlando, now legally a woman, is reduced by law from subject to object, a vessel, her body defined by the male heirs it may one day produce.

Joyce toys with a similar idea in *Ulysses* immediately prior to the scene where Bloom is inspected by the medical students, his body becoming a legally-regulated object in a courtroom. Accused by Phillip Beaufoy of being "a plagiarist" who "cribbed some of [his] bestselling copy" (*U* 15.822-4), Bloom is put before the court to defend himself.

Twisting the morning events of "Calypso," when Bloom read *Matcham's Masterstroke*,

“envied... Mr Beaufoy who had written it,” thought about how he could “manage a sketch... [or] invent a story,” and finally “tore away half the prize story sharply and wiped himself with it” (4.516-37), Beaufoy reveals the “damning evidence... [of] a specimen of [his] work disfigured with the hallmark of the beast” (15.843-4), faeces, on the stand. Conflating public and private indiscretions, Joyce orients the trial scene to Bloom’s body and the various things that issue from it, bringing his “soiled personal linen” forward as evidence (15.3287). Moreover, the evidence Bloom gives to exonerate himself is to identify himself as female. When Bloom produces the flower sent him by Martha, he tells the police it was “given [him] by a man I don’t know his name” and claims to be “the daughter of a most distinguished commander” (15.739, 778-9), temporarily switching genders with Martha and confusing himself with his wife, Molly. When the medical students do examine his questionably-sexed body, it is for the purpose of providing “medical testimony” (15.1773) in the same court proceedings. That the outcome of this trial is Bloom “*bear[ing] eight male yellow and white children*” who are “*immediately appointed to positions of high public trust*” (15.1821, 1829) stresses the legal importance of progeny and the role that offspring play in assuring or enhancing the social status of the parent. Giving birth seemingly clears Bloom of charges of plagiarism, having produced several heirs who are themselves works of art: “*handsome, with valuable metallic faces, wellmade, respectably dressed and wellconducted, speaking five modern languages fluently and interested in various arts and sciences*” (U 15.1823-6). The octuplet heirs of his body, unlike the son born to him of Molly who died in infancy, are healthy, upstanding citizens, despite being born of his “bisexually abnormal” body.

When Orlando has a son, the birth itself is obscured. Unlike the medical language used to describe Bloom's pregnancy and delivery of the octuplets, the barest facts of Orlando's son's birth are shared with the reader. The text meagrely states that

“It's a very fine boy, M'Lady,” said Mrs Banting, the midwife, putting her first-born child into Orlando's arms. In other words Orlando was safely delivered of a son on Thursday, March the 20th, at three o'clock in the morning. (*O* 192)

The facts of the case, as always, are given: the date and time of the birth precise. Yet nothing whatsoever is told of the labour, or indeed any of the pregnancy at all. The barest hint of labour can be found buried amongst long passages detailing Orlando's taste in literature and music, appearing, “with all its gasps and groans, to fill this page with sound until the moment comes when it is impossible to deny its coming; which the footman has seen coming and the maid-servant; and the reader will have to see too; for Orlando herself is clearly unable to ignore it any longer” (*O* 190). But the reader does not have to see, and indeed does not see, what exactly comes to pass. All happens privately, with the assistance of a midwife—a profession becoming less and less accepted as healthcare practitioners in the eyes of the state, as hospital births started becoming the norm.⁸² Woolf denies access to the labouring female body, denies physicians any power here, rejects the medical support of twilight sleep or forceps to intervene. Though her ability to give birth may suggest something of her anatomy, her sex remains indeterminate to even her husband who asks, “Are you positive you aren't a man?” to which Orlando replies, “Can it be possible you're not a woman?” (*O* 165-66). The matter, by this point in the novel, should have been settled, and was settled, legally, by the court. Yet the couple declare of each other, “You're a woman, Shel!” and “You're a man, Orlando!” after having “guessed, as always happens between lovers, everything of any importance about each other in two seconds at the

utmost” (*O* 161). Language, like clothing in *Orlando*, both determines and is determined by gender; being a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’ is, at least between Orlando and Shelmerdine, a matter of two letters and little else.

1.3 Naming and Androgyny

“The law of gender,” writes Jacques Derrida, “seems to me largely overdetermined and infinitely more complicated whether it is the sexual or grammatical gender [*genre*], or rhetorical technique.”⁸³ Gender is embedded into the very structure of most Western languages. In the case of grammatical gender languages, such as Italian (the language Joyce spoke at home with his children after the family settled in Trieste), all nouns are gendered and given masculine or feminine endings; adding an -o is a typically masculine declension and adding an -a is the feminine equivalent. English, while technically a natural gender language, or a language which distinguishes gender primarily through pronouns rather than noun declension, borrows extensively from both Romantic and Germanic language groups and has acquired its fair share of gendered constructions as a result. Resisting binary gender in writing is not straightforward when pronouns, common nouns, and proper nouns depend on gender declension. Both Joyce and Woolf face this challenge as they attempt to decouple gender and language, with mixed results. One way in which their attempt is similar is that, in the case of both Bloom and Orlando, the sex-change, while marked by a shift in gendered pronouns, is not accompanied by a name change in the narration—a deliberate gesture toward an internal androgyny and consistency of character.

In “Circe,” both Bloom and the brothel madam, Bella Cohen, change sex as part of the phantasmagorical staging of Bloom’s sexual sadomasochism, but it is only Bella, acting as sex object, whose name changes in the stage directions. ‘Bella’ is a feminine-declined

Italian adjective ‘beautiful’; its less common masculine declension is ‘bello.’ Joyce plays on the name of Bella Cohen, who was a real madame in Monto at the turn of the century,⁸⁴ by declining her name in the masculine when she changes sex during Bloom’s masochistic fantasy: Mistress Bella becomes Ringmaster Bello. Talking about this episode has posed a challenge for many scholars. How do we talk about the overall character of Bella Cohen, including the actions of Bello? Which pronouns do we use? The text oscillates; Bella is “she” and Bello “he.” Scholars often resort to the clunky “Bella/o” and “s/he” to avoid the confusion of talking about the same character using different pronouns. Even worse is seeing papers discuss ‘Bloom’ and ‘she-Bloom’ as a way of distinguishing between Bloom of reality and Bloom of fantasy during the sex-change scenes. The issue here is that we, as scholars, keep falling into the same binary thinking that Joyce is acting against. By changing the sex of this character spontaneously, Joyce may have made his text even more difficult to talk about, but, as Oriana Palusci puts it, “Joyce *toys* with the grammar of gender.” It is a playful moment in text, full of confusion and wonder and the possibility of androgyny. Bella “morphs her gender through grammar” and Bloom “has magically (the magic of gender-inflected third person pronouns) been transformed into a female figure.”⁸⁵ But Bloom remains Bloom through this process. Unlike Bella, whose whole identity is changed along with her pronouns and physical sexual characteristics, Bloom’s name doesn’t change. The episode is written in the style of a play, so that the characters are identified by name and pronouns in the stage directions. Palusci, like Gilbert and Gubar before her, draws a comparison between Joyce’s stage directions and William Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*, noting that the bard retains the name of Rosalind when the character is disguised as a boy, Ganymede.⁸⁶ An adolescent boy would have played the part in the seventeenth century: a boy dressed as a girl dressed as a boy, and thus, for at least the

portion of the play, a boy dressed as a boy. Bloom is, alternatively, a man dressed as a woman who briefly becomes a woman dressed as a woman before returning to his male body and attire. Like Rosalind, Bloom's name is maintained across the stage directions, even as *he* becomes *she* in a spontaneous sex-change. One must catch the change in pronoun to even realise the change has taken place:

BLOOM

(bows) Master! Mistress! Mantamer!
(He lifts his arms. His bangle bracelets fall.)

BELLO

(satirically) By day you will source and bat our smelling underclothes also when we ladies are unwell, and swab our latrines with dress pinned up and a dishelout [sic] tied to your tail. Won't that be nice? *(he places a ruby ring on her finger)* And there now! With this ring I three own. Say, *thank you, mistress.* (U 15.3061-9)

Bloom's second sex-change happens between these lines. Bloom at one moment "*lifts his arms*" only for Bello to "*[place] a ruby ring on her finger*" just a few lines later. Palusci notes, somewhat erroneously, that "there is no suggestion of a Leopolda" in "Circe"—that is, no name change to mark the transition from one sex to another.⁸⁷ However, drafts of the episode which came to light in 2001 reveal a new layer to the development of Bloom's sex-change scenes, which at one stage did include a name change.

Dated by the National Library of Ireland as having been written between July and December 1920, the John Quinn draft manuscript of "Circe" is a complete working draft of the episode with extensive in-line and marginal revisions and additions to the text. This manuscript is of particular interest here, because Bloom briefly becomes "Leopoldina" during an exchange with Bello (Figure 6). In fact, Joyce uses the name "Leopoldina" three times, only two of which (one in the dialogue, and one in the stage directions) are crossed out at this level of revision. The draft, transcribed by Danis Rose,⁸⁸ reads:

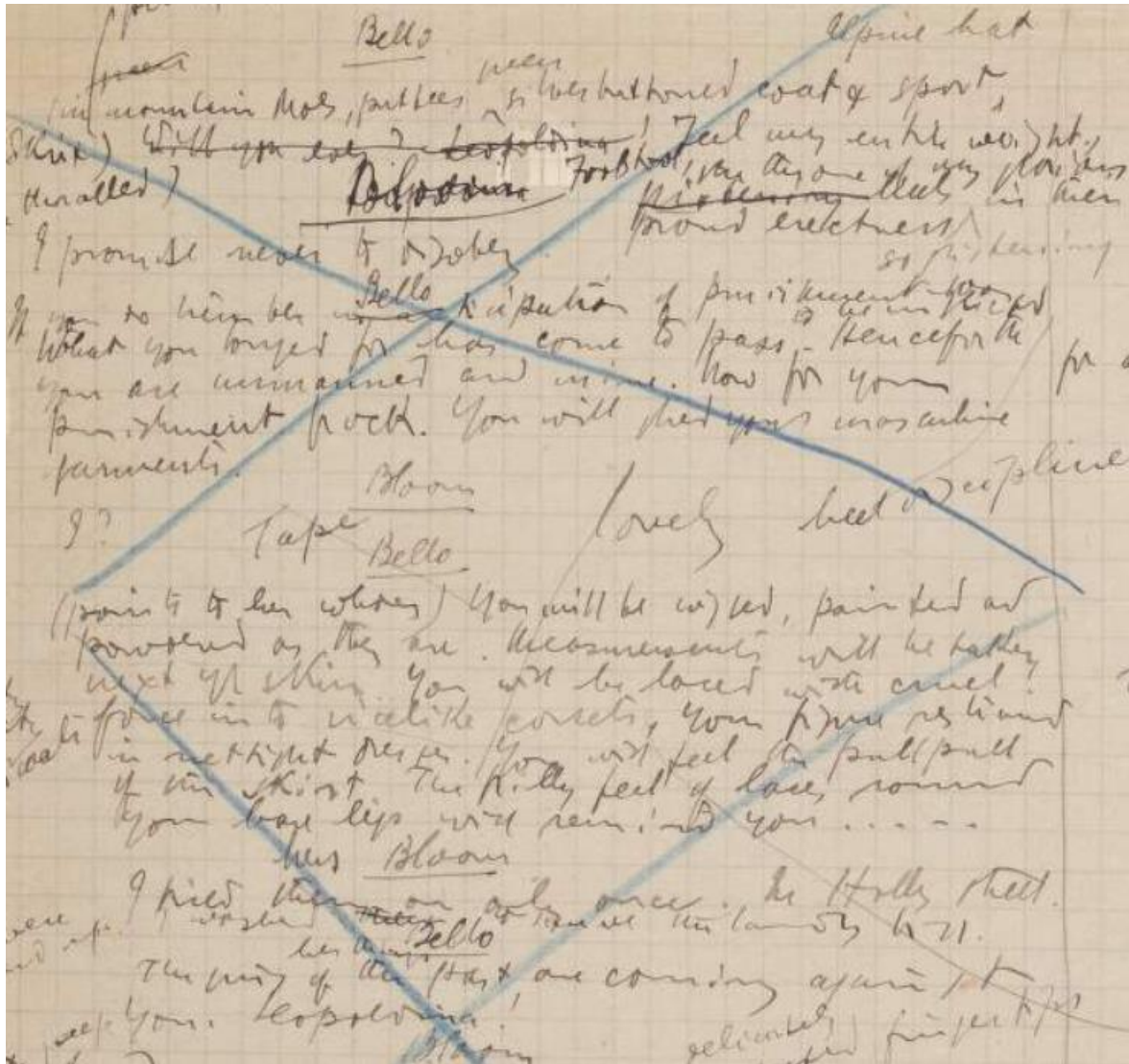


Figure 6 Photoreproduced facsimile version of MS 35,958 (James Joyce's Ulysses: the John Quinn draft manuscript of 'Circe' [Paris, July-December 1920]) at the National Library of Ireland, Department of Manuscripts (cropped).

Bello

(in green mountain shoes, puttees, green silverbuttoned coat Alpine hat & sport skirt places her heel on & grinds it into his neck.) ~~Will you ever?~~ Leopoldina! Feel my entire weight. Footstool, the throne of my glorious glistening heels so glistening in their proud erectness

Leopoldina Bloom

(enthralled) I promise never to disobey.

Bello

If you do tremble in anticipation of punishment heel discipline soon to be inflicted. What you longed for has come to pass. Henceforth you are unmanned and mine. Now for your punishment frock. You will shed your masculine garments.

Bloom

I?

Bello

(points to her whores) You will be wigged, painted and powdered as they are. Tape Measurements will be taken next yr skin. You will be laced with cruel force into vicelike corsets, the absolute outside edge. Your figure restrained in nettight dresses and pretty pretty petticoats. You will feel the pullpull of the skirt. The lovely frilly feel of laces round your bare legs will remind you...

Bloom

I tried ~~them~~ hers on only once. In Holles street. We were hard up. I washed ~~them~~ her things to save the laundry bill.

Bello

The sins of the past are coming against you, Leopoldina!

Although Bloom remains Bloom in the published text, in this early draft of the scene in “Circe,” he appears as Leopoldina three times. Moreover, at this stage in composition, Joyce was referring to Bello, the male persona, using feminine pronouns. What is interesting about this draft is that we can see Joyce’s revision in progress. Joyce very rarely outright deletes things. He moves words around, as with “glistening,” and he adds pages upon pages of new material between every draft, but one of the astonishing things about Joyce’s process is that most of *Ulysses* seems to emerge fully-formed from his brain. His eye troubles meant that he often had problems writing and frequently had to dictate. He composed first in his head, before pen ever touched paper.⁸⁹ But here, Joyce made a major decision not to change Bloom’s identity when he changes sex. Bloom is subsequently (but very briefly) renamed—in the tradition of drag mothers—“Ruby Cohen,” daughter to Bella, at this exact point in the published version of the episode:

BELLO

(Stands up.) No more blow hot and cold. What you longed for has come to pass. Henceforth you are unmanned and mine in earnest, a thing under the yoke. Now for your punishment frock. You will shed your male garments, you understand, Ruby

Cohen? and don the shot silk luxuriously rustling over head and shoulders. And quickly too!

BLOOM

(*Shrinks.*) Silk, mistress said! O crinkly! scrapy! Must I tiptouch it with my nails?

BELLO

(*Points to his whores.*) As they are now so will you be, wigged, singed, perfumesprayed, ricepowdered, with smoothshaven armpits. Tape measurements... [etc.] (U 15.2963-75)

However, by keeping Bloom's surname unaltered in the stage directions, Joyce retains an ambiguity and androgyny that would have been lost in renaming the sex-swapped Bloom "Leopoldina," or even by maintaining "Ruby Cohen" beyond this one instance. Woolf had to make a similar decision when composing *Orlando*. The name Orlando was likely chosen so that it could be morphed into the feminine Orlanda, yet Woolf strayed from this pre-set path in order to aestheticise the androgyny of the character and demonstrate the precarity of fixed gender roles and identities at the linguistic level. Like Joyce, she wrote the name Orlanda down at the crucial moment in the novel when Orlando first becomes a woman—and then struck it out.

In the Holograph draft of *Orlando*,⁹⁰ we can see Woolf struggling with the name and pronoun changes she had so clearly planned: "But as he was now undoubtedly a woman," she writes, "it is necessary to face the fact, & we shall in the future allude to him as her; & ~~alter the masculine o at the end of his name to the feminine a.~~" The deletion of this final phrase removes the explanation for the name change that occurs in the next line of the draft, but which is not included in the final text of *Orlando*: "But while we make these superficial changes we must beg the reader to remember that Orlando ^the man^ & Orlanda ^the woman^ were one & the same person, ~~who had she lived the same life; & that his past was hers;~~ & that the change of sex, though it certainly altered her ^his^ ^the^ future did

nothing whatever to alter her identity. ~~They remained one single person.~~⁹¹ Insertions to the text included above the line as it was originally written are indicated here by carets. One can see Woolf struggling at the moment of transition both with gendered nouns (inserting the edifying “the man” after “Orlando” and “the woman” after “Orlanda”) and with pronouns, which shift from the present “her” to the past “his” before settling on an ungendered “the future” in the draft. In the final printed text, this neutral “the” changes a final time, becoming the neutral pronoun “their” in the corresponding lines of the novel: “The change of sex, though it altered their future, did nothing whatever to alter their identity” (*O* 85-6). What becomes clear, upon seeing this early draft, is that Woolf prioritises the continuity of identity for this character in her revisions. Changing the name of Orlando to Orlanda, though she first considered it a “superficial change,” Woolf ultimately decided was, in fact, too big a change—one which indicates a change in identity. The same portion of the published text reads:

Orlando had become a woman—there is no denying it. But in every other respect, Orlando remained precisely as he had been. The change of sex, though it altered their future, did nothing whatever to alter their identity. (*O* 85-6)

Like Joyce, Woolf opts to retain the name of her hero as he becomes her heroine, maintaining a continuity of identity that reaches beyond sex. To change Orlando’s name to suit her gender and the conventions of gendered language—that an *o* denotes a man, and an *a* denotes a woman, as in the case of Joyce’s Bella becoming Bello—would undermine the playfulness of Woolf’s text, and its conscious attention to androgyny.

At the level of language, Woolf attempts more than the binary reversal of he-into-she that Joyce plays with. Typically, in English, a male pronoun and a female object simply cannot agree. The sentence, “He was a woman” (*O* 85), should make no sense, yet Woolf—

and, to a lesser extent, Joyce—manages to convince readers that such can be, and sometimes simply is, so. Such is the Modernist aesthetic. Language, like gender in the post-suffrage moment, is not as stable as we think, the Modernists tell us. Woolf anticipates a shift in language that is still occurring, still being resisted by certain groups who continue to deny the existence of genderqueer and nonbinary people, in her use of the gender-neutral pronoun ‘they’ to refer to one person. “They remained one single person,”⁹² wrote Woolf, words preserved only in the Holograph draft. The use of “they” as a singular pronoun, though presently popular among the LGBTQ community, remains somewhat controversial. To use ‘they’ as unambiguously as Woolf uses it here—not to refer to Orlando and Orlanda as though they were separate entities, but to clarify, as she does, that they are “one single person”—is a radical act which reimagines grammatical gender as separate from sex and gender presentation. Pamela Caughie writes that, in *Orlando*, “androgyny, transsexualism, and transvestism call into question not just conventional assumptions about sexuality but, more importantly, conventional assumptions about language itself.”⁹³ This can be seen in the pronoun confusion Woolf’s narrator undergoes at the moment of transformation, which embodies a blurring of the boundaries between *he* and *she*:

The change of sex, though it altered their future, did nothing whatever to alter their identity. Their faces remained, as their portraits prove, practically the same. His memory—but in the future we must for convention’s sake, say “her” for “his,” and “she” for “he”—her memory then, went back through all the events of her past life without encountering any obstacle. (*O* 85-6)

Woolf uses “they” here in both the singular and the plural: “their future” and “their identity” remain one and the same, one future and one identity, yet “their faces,” though “practically the same,” are plural. Orlando’s two faces become merged under a single identity, an identity which, the biographer clarifies, is identified as “she” only “for

convention's sake." Woolf here struggles to reconstitute gender as separate from identity and language but does not quite manage it. Though she attempts to make the masculine-declined name Orlando androgynous, she, like Joyce, eventually settles for a complete switch from male to female, with only a few short passages where Orlando uses the truly androgynous or nonbinary 'they.' Woolf intuitively retroactively applies the feminine pronoun to Orlando pre-transition, recalling "her memory" of "her past life" (*O* 86), which not only anticipates one of the struggles for recognition that trans and gender nonconforming persons face today, but also creates a continuity of history for Orlando's character. Joyce seems to attempt something similar when Bello instructs her girls to "examine shis points. Handle hrim" (*U* 15.3102), but this combination of pronouns only further confuses the point. As in "Circe," it is difficult to pinpoint the moment of sex-change due to the ambiguity created by pronoun usage; by using the feminine pronoun to refer to Orlando before she becomes a woman, Woolf fights against both the determinism of language and binary notions of gender. Orlando does not become another person upon becoming a woman, but rather is the same person with different pronouns.

Although the language surrounding gender difference has changed in the decades since, both Joyce and Woolf independently push the boundaries of grammatical and sexual gender using the language available to them. Both force us to see beyond the binary, so that a womanly man and a man-becoming-woman are no longer unbelievable, but indeed part of the grammar of our everyday lives. Many argue that Woolf did so more radically and that her re-envisioning of gender as a porous, androgynous experience does more than simply flip the binary roles that Bloom—or Joyce—cannot quite move beyond. Christine Froula, for example, asserts that Woolf is more revolutionary than Joyce. In her view, Joyce is both supported and constrained by "the tremendous endowment that legacy of the male artist-

story bequeaths him,” whereas in the case of Woolf, “revolution and discontinuity... has to be the very origin of her works” because she is “writing as a woman” in a patriarchal tradition.⁹⁴ A common critique of Joyce is that, despite having the weight of institutional power behind him as a white, male writer,⁹⁵ Joyce never quite pushes the boundaries far enough. Woolf’s destabilisation and denaturalisation of gender represent a sustained effort over the course of her text, whereas Joyce relies on binary oppositions to construct a ‘reversal’ of gender conventions. Garvey notes that to merely “switch (conventional) gender roles, to have woman ‘play’ man and vice versa, is not to cross lines or to move beyond the limits of masculine and feminine.”⁹⁶ Joyce swaps Bloom and Cohen’s sex roles in order to imagine inhabiting the position of women in a patriarchal context, but in so doing reinforces that context. In order to be dominated, Bloom must become a subjugated woman, thus maintaining the subject/object relationship of men and women under patriarchy. The power to dominate, in Bella Cohen’s case, is only given when she is rhetorically masculinised. Joyce pushes up against the limits of what was possible even as a sexological model which posited psychic bisexuality⁹⁷ was gaining momentum.

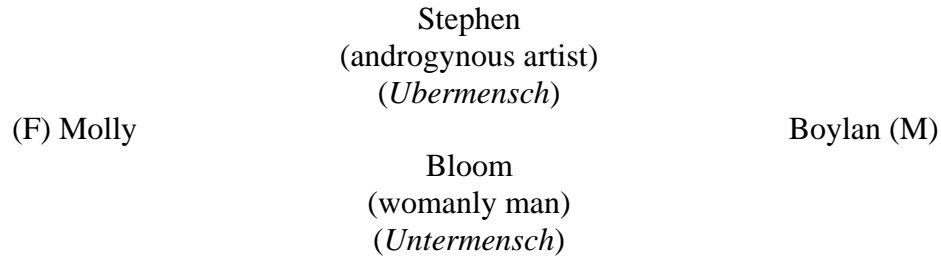
1.4 The Law of Attraction

While Bloom and Orlando might enjoy a sort of androgynous continuity between their differently-sexed selves through the maintenance of their names, Bella Cohen and Orlando’s suitor, Archduchess Harriet, both have their names masculinised when they become male. In the case of Bella becoming Bello, Joyce declines the name in the masculine when her pronouns switch to “he” in the published version, but, as can be seen in the draft, “Bello” predates the pronoun shift. Joyce originally continued to refer to Bello by feminine pronouns even after he was renamed in earlier drafts, for example in the John

Quinn draft of “Circe” (Figure 6). In *Orlando*, the Archduchess Harriet, described in rather unflattering terms (“any other woman with that face... would have thrown her mantilla across her shoulders to hide it” [O 69]), is later revealed to have been Archduke Harry all along when Orlando returns as a woman. Harry, who queerly desires Orlando as both man and woman, reveals that he impersonated a woman in order to woo Orlando under the guise of heterosexuality. Although Orlando briefly feels Lust “[flop], foully and disgustingly, upon his shoulders” for Harriet (O 71), Harry’s affection is ultimately not reciprocated. The marriage proposal is rejected, despite what would seem like a perfect match; where else might an aristocratic woman who had previously been a man find a mate but in an aristocratic man who had masqueraded as a woman? However, Woolf is clear in her message here. Orlando contains within her a natural androgyny; her change from man to woman is as natural and expected as the transition from child to adult. Harry, on the other hand, deceives through gender, dressing as a woman to seduce Orlando. Like Orlando’s transformation, Harry/Harriet confuses the narrator, who admits “The Archduchess (but *she* must in future be known as the Archduke) told *his* story” (O 113, emphasis added). The insides and outsides of the brackets do not agree with each other; “she” is the “Archduke,” but the “Archduchess” tells “his” story, pronouns fighting nouns once more. Moreover, Woolf lampoons the artifice of gender roles through Harry, who is continuously ridiculed by the narrative voice for his lack of gender-coherence. In the guise of Harriet, he is too masculine, but as Harry is too feminine, to participate in a successful heterosexual courtship. A gay man in drag, Harry is painted as ridiculous and over-the-top, performing a role for which he is not fit—that of the heterosexual suitor. Similarly, Bella, like the sorceress Circe in Homer’s *Odyssey* whose role she plays in *Ulysses*, aims to seduce by conforming to her target’s desires; she is, after all, selling a service. She plays out Bloom’s

masochistic fantasies, and while neither Bloom nor Stephen ultimately pay for sex, the prostitutes are compensated for their time and for a lamp Stephen breaks upon his abrupt exit. However, Bella, like Harry, cannot fulfil Bloom's actual needs. While lust nearly leads to a sexual encounter in both cases, what Bloom really wants is his wife: a 'masculine' woman who complements him as a 'feminine' man.

One of the ways in which both Joyce and Woolf come up short in their experimental refashioning of gender is in their depiction of the objects of their protagonists' sexual/romantic desire. Both authors fall into heteronormative and racist tropes of gender 'balance' to govern the sexuality of their characters. In Joyce's case, the idea of balance is taken from *Sex & Character*. Proposing that all humans possess both male and female characteristics in different proportions, Weininger conjectured the existence of male and female "plasms" passed from parents to children which determine the balance of masculinity and femininity. In the ideal man, the masculine plasm, or "Arrhenoplasm," supersedes the feminine plasm, or "Thelyplasm," and vice versa for the ideal woman.⁹⁸ From this hypothesis, Weininger derives a "law of sexual attraction" that he claims universally applies to all animals, including humans: "For true sexual union it is necessary that there come together a complete male (M) and a complete female (F), even although in different cases the M and F are distributed between the two individuals in different proportions."⁹⁹ An ideal male should therefore marry an ideal female, and a 'womanly man' (with an excess of Thelyplasm) best find himself a 'manly woman' of the opposite proportion. Bloom, possessing an equal amount of masculinity and femininity, is sexually unsuited to his wife because "their sexual formulas adding up to one-and-a-half F and only half an M," writes Byrnes.¹⁰⁰ Byrnes maps Weininger's philosophy onto the characters of *Ulysses* thusly:



This mismatch explains the death of their male issue Rudy; according to Weininger, “the strongest and healthiest offspring will result from unions in which there is the maximum of sexual suitability,” whereas disproportionate plasms “produce less fertile offspring.” The Blooms have a healthy daughter because their union produces enough Thelyplasm, but their son fails to thrive because they lack in Arrhenoplasm. Weininger cites such cases (of mismatched plasms) as the cause of “degeneration,” with potential outcomes ranging from birth defects, sudden infant death, miscarriage, sickness, and infertility. He believed these to be especially common among Jewish populations due to a perceived lack of love-matches and a preponderance of “womanly men.”

Whether or not Joyce ‘believed’ Weininger’s theories has been a point of contention in the Joyce community. Joyceans were embarrassed when Richard Ellmann traced the connection between Bloom’s Jewishness and womanliness to Weininger (*JJI* 477-78). *Sex & Character* is both deeply misogynistic and virulently anti-Semitic, assigning vanity, mental vacuity, self-pity and an “absence of an intelligible ego” to women and Jewish men. Weininger asserted that “the most manly Jew is more feminine than the least manly Aryan,” and “the Jew... like the woman, is wanting in personality; his failure to grasp the idea of true society is due to his lack of free intelligible ego.”¹⁰¹ Elsewhere, Weininger clarifies that by ‘intelligible ego,’ he means a soul.¹⁰² Attempting to rescue Bloom from Weininger’s self-loathing anti-Semitism, Marilyn Reizbaum argues that Joyce allowed *Sex & Character* to “supervise his portrait of Bloom not to sustain Weininger’s argument, but

to expose it,”¹⁰³ and Joyce in fact reverses the outcome of sustained femininity in the Jew by having these two “states of mind [Jewishness and womanliness] that destroyed Weininger... save Bloom.”¹⁰⁴ Byrnes similarly argues that Joyce adopts sexologists like Krafft-Ebing and Weininger “in the interest of high comedy” and that he “tropes naturalism by taking the tragic premises of determinism and degeneration, in a Nietzschean reversal of polarity, treating them as comic,” thus freeing him from some of the more damning charges against Joyce.¹⁰⁵ However, Erwin Steinberg disputes this reading, arguing that Joyce’s portrait is not comic, and noting that Weininger’s theories were used to justify anti-Semitism and eugenics in Germany, Austria, and Italy in the lead up to WWII.¹⁰⁶

What is not in doubt is that Joyce uses Weininger—whether ironically or no—to structure Bloom’s sexual relationships and ‘womanly’ nature. Weininger’s definition of a “womanly man” includes being “coquettish in gait and demeanour,” “concerned as to their personal appearance at all times, and about the minutest details of their toilet,” and “anxious to marry... famous women, artists, or poets, or singers and actresses.”¹⁰⁷ Bloom’s mannerisms—his gait, fastidiousness, menstrual symptoms, cross-dressing, and even his marriage to a performer—thus all have Weiningerian precedents.¹⁰⁸ Bloom’s uneasy attraction to Bella Cohen is another example. Although there is nothing to suggest that the historical Cohen was Jewish, she is coded as a Jewish ‘virago’ by the text before her sex-change.¹⁰⁹ Like Bloom, who has “an olive complexion,” Bella’s appearance “signals the exotic (i.e., Jewish) element”¹¹⁰ of her character: “*She has a sprouting moustache. Her olive face is heavy, slightly sweated and fullnosed*” (*U* 17.2003, 15.2746-7). Weininger specifically points to excess facial hair in women as an indication of misbalanced plasms. Under Weininger’s model, Bella should be the perfect partner for Bloom; yet their sadomasochistic scene does not end in coition. Instead, Bloom returns home to Molly, the

supposedly ideal woman, or true F. Molly, whose mother was Jewish (making both she and Milly Jewish in the matrilineal religion), is only somewhat masculine. Like her husband, she fantasises about having a transsexual experience, thinking, “God I wouldnt mind being a man and get up on a lovely woman” as she admires and strokes her thighs (*U* 18.1146-7). Though she doesn’t undergo a transformation, she is seen wearing men’s clothing and imitating male behaviour; Bonnie Kime Scott argues, however, that “Molly’s childhood attempts to urinate, male fashion, are typical experiments, and probably should not be taken as evidence of a desire to be male” so much as an impulse toward having more control of her life than being female allows her.¹¹¹ Feminine clothing restricts her; she thinks, “these clothes we have to wear whoever invented them... you cant do a blessed thing in them in a crowd run or jump out of the way thats why I was afraid when that other ferocious old Bull began to charge” (*U* 18.627-30), in defense of a desire to cross-dress. Cross-dressing for Molly would seem then to be a desire to ‘try on’ the position of men within patriarchy, rather than motivated by an androgynous impulse.¹¹²

Molly’s cross-dressing is inherently tied to an androgynous historical figure, Lady Hester Stanhope, whose letter to Molly appears in her memory immediately before she describes feeling confined and unsafe in long skirts and tight stays. Bloom thinks about Molly in ‘Turkish’ or ‘Arabian’ clothing several times in *Ulysses*; in “Oxen of the Sun” she is “Mrs Moll with red slippers on in a pair of Turkey trunks” (*U* 14.508-9); in “Nausicaa” Bloom recalls a dream where “She had red slippers on. Turkish. Wore the breeches” (13.1240-42); and in “Circe” she appears in Bloom’s fantasy as “a handsome woman in Turkish costume” whose “Opulent curves fill out her scarlet trousers and jacket, slashed with gold” (15.297-9). Colleen Lamos notes that Molly’s “Turkish costumes” recall “the notorious behaviour of her girlhood sweetheart’s real-life model, Lady Hester Stanhope.”¹¹³

Lamos writes that, “leaving England for the middle east in 1810, Lady Stanhope... created a scandal by her licentious ways and habit of cross-dressing. Her adventures in the Orient, where she established herself as a prominent figure among the Turks, made her an international celebrity.”¹¹⁴ In “Penelope,” Molly reminisces about a girlhood friend named Hester who marries a Mr Stanhope who was “years older than her” (*U* 18.624). Michael Begnal notes a number of biographical coincidences which suggest Joyce’s familiarity with Lady Hester’s 1913 biography. Both lived, for a time, in Gibraltar; both sent a dress back to Gibraltar for a friend (“that lovely frock fathers friend Mrs Sanhope send me from the B[on] Marche [in] paris” [18.612]; “Mrs. Fernandez... wore a dress given to her by Lady Hester”¹¹⁵); both participate in pillow fights (“we were fighting in the morning with the pillow what fun” [18.642-3]; “Lady Hester... [caught] up a cushion and [belabored] us with it in glorious fun”¹¹⁶); and so on. Lady Hester Stanhope was notorious for her audacious dressing habits, including wearing loose-fitting trousers while pursuing archaeology in the Middle East.

Both Joyce and Woolf suggest a connection between androgyny and Eastern styles of dress by foregrounding an English noblewoman in ‘Arabian’ garb as a sex beyond gender.¹¹⁷ While I do not mean to suggest that Woolf noticed Joyce’s references to Turkey in *Ulysses* (if she ever read past episode nine), it is interesting that Orlando first becomes a woman while in Turkey and is most androgynous while living among the ‘gipsies’ there, after having “dressed herself in those Turkish coats and trousers which can be worn indifferently by either sex” (*O* 86). Like the English “fashion of the time” (the late sixteenth century, in this case) that “disguises” Orlando’s sex on the first page of the novel, Turkish clothing emphasises her androgyny. While Orlando lives among the ‘gipsies,’ learning their ways of life—milking and herding, collecting brushwood, basket-weaving,

and bird-snaring (*O* 87-8)—her sex is entirely inconsequential. It is only when she must return to the English style of dress, with its restrictive petticoats and stays, that gender becomes an issue. Before alighting the ship back to England, Orlando “has scarcely given her sex a thought,” and she wonders if “the Turkish trousers which she had hitherto worn had done something to distract her,” because “gipsy women, except in one or two important particulars, differ very little from the gipsy men” (*O* 96). It is the dreaded “coil of skirts about her legs” that makes Orlando feel, for the first time, *female*, with all “the penalties and the privileges” (*O* 96) that accompany that status in an English context. The restrictive gender roles in England are in many ways represented by the clothes Orlando is forced to wear as a new Englishwoman, and it is these clothes which make her begin to feel and act in the way social norms dictate she should.

The restrictive gender norms of England extended to the many colonies under British rule at the turn of the century, including the pre-emancipation Ireland into which Joyce was born. Molly’s distrust of feminine clothing in *Ulysses* is one of the many cases where Joyce depicts women turning to male-coded clothing as an escape from the restrictive institutions of both gender and colonial rule. Molly’s Turkish trousers, like those Orlando claims are worn irrespective of sex in the East, represent one of several fantasies Bloom has about masculine women associated with racial Otherness or ‘the Orient’. Bloom is sexually submissive and masochistic; he wants to be dominated, and to give women the power to do so is to remove the restrictions of female-coded clothing. Thus when Bella becomes Bello, he sticks his hands “*deep in his breeches pockets*” (*U* 15.2859-6), a costume change that enables him to exert power over the prostrate Bloom, who begs to be dominated. Bloom is instinctively attracted to cross-dressing and masculine women. His old flame, Josie Breen, appears to him in Nighttown dressed in a “man’s frieze overcoat

with loose bellows pockets” and he indicates a sexual interest in Cissy Caffrey, who the other girls refer to as a “tomboy” (*U* 15.386-7, 13.480). While Bloom cannot have known this to be the case,¹¹⁸ Cissy Caffrey also cross-dresses; Gerty MacDowell describes how Cissy once “dressed up in her father’s suit and hat and [a] burned cork moustache and walked down Tritonville road, smoking a cigarette” (13.276-7).¹¹⁹ This flashback recalls an episode in Nora Barnacle’s childhood where, “she would dress up in men’s clothes, hair tucked under a man’s cap and explore the streets of Galway and Eyre Square.”¹²⁰

According to biographer Brenda Maddox, Nora did this to escape the tyrannical supervision of her abusive Uncle Tom Healy, who “took to walking around Galway at night, swinging his blackthorn stick and looking for Nora”; luckily, Nora “had the height, the swagger, the confidence, and the heavy brows to pass in the dark for a good-sized boy” and was thus often able to evade him.¹²¹ Dressing in trousers gave Joyce’s wife the ability to pass her tormentor in the streets unaccosted, a freedom of movement that for many women would have been unimaginable. For Joyce and Bloom both, there seems to be something attractive about a woman who decides to go where and do what she pleases; Nora followed Joyce, without the promise of marriage, to the Continent, an unthinkable risk for a woman at that time, and one which proved she had a mind of her own.¹²²

In *Orlando*, likewise, cross-dressing is used as a means of escaping the strict expectations of both her sex and her class. To escape from the monotony of aristocratic womanhood, Orlando retreats into her closet “in which hung still many of the clothes she had worn as a young man,” now out of fashion, but which prove “that her petticoats had not lost her the freedom of her legs” (*O* 137). Dressed once again as a man, Orlando moves freely through London after dark, eventually picking up a prostitute in Leicester Square who “roused in Orlando all the feelings which become a man” (*O* 138). Orlando’s

subsequent habit of exchanging “the probity of breeches” for the “seductiveness of petticoats” and enjoying “the love of both sexes equally” makes tough work for her biographer, who admits that an accurate representation of her life during a time when “her sex changed far more frequently than those who have worn only one set of clothing can conceive” would be impossible (*O* 141). Like Nora Barnacle slipping away from her controlling uncle, so too does Orlando evade her biographer and, by frequently changing “from one set of clothes to another,” reclaims the freedom of movement and privacy otherwise denied her (*O* 141). These scenes echo those of an earlier chapter where Sasha, Orlando’s first love, was supposed to “come alone, in her cloak and trousers, booted like a man” to meet him (*O* 31); she stands up their appointment and leaves Orlando to pine for years after the “woman in Russian trousers” (*O* 40) with whom he had been smitten.

Sasha, like Orlando, is ambiguously gendered and indeed seems at times to be not only androgynous but perhaps intersex. Her inability to be sexually determined by sight confuses and arouses Orlando; her body, like whatever Orlando’s fashion “disguise[s]” on the first page, questions the firm boundaries between sexual categories. Orlando is astounded when he first lays eyes upon

a figure, which, whether boy’s or woman’s, for the loose tunic and trousers of the Russian fashion served to disguise the sex, filled him with the highest curiosity. This person, whatever the name or sex... [exuded] extraordinary seductiveness which issued from the whole person. ...When the boy, for alas, a boy it must be—no woman could skate which such speed and vigor—swept almost on tiptoe past him, Orlando was ready to tear his head with vexation that the person was of his own sex, and thus all embraces were out of the question. But the skater came closer. Legs, hands, carriage, were a boy’s, but no boy ever had a mouth like that; no boy had those breasts; no boy had those eyes which looked as if they had been fished from the bottom of the sea. (*O* 16-17)

That Orlando finds this ambiguously-sexed body seductive, regardless of its gender, destabilises heteronormativity along with the many gender norms it contradicts. Sasha's movements and clothing are not feminine, yet she herself becomes, for Orlando, the vision of an ideal woman. Moreover, Orlando objectifies her, breaking her down into 'boy' parts and 'woman' parts. Although the biographer writes that Orlando falling in love with Sasha was a young man doing "but as nature bade him" (*O* 11), Judy Little argues that "No—he did as the spirit of the age bade him," engendering a political context steeped in the rhetoric of "the Elizabethan myth about the lover's nature."¹²³ For though the biographer qualifies that "The age was Elizabethan; their morals were not ours; nor their poets; nor their climate... Everything was different" (*O* 10), the relationship between Orlando and Sasha is doomed by contemporary rhetoric, politics, and institutions. Orlando's fascination with Sasha is rooted in her foreignness and androgynous biological difference, which foreshadow the novel's queer relationship to the Other. Pooja Mittal Biswas writes that Sasha's appeal "is as much a recognition of self as a recognition of other, or rather, it is the same recognition of other-as-self that so bewitched Narcissus when he glimpsed himself in a pond."¹²⁴ Like his initial lust for the Archduchess, bodily-oriented attraction is written as shallow, unfulfilling, and narcissistic, fulfilling what Weininger calls "the ancient 'Narcissus' prototype" of sexual inversion.¹²⁵ Betrayed by Sasha and tricked by the Archduke, Orlando finds her match in the person who, like herself, is rhetorically, rather than physically, sexed: her mirror image, Marmaduke Bonthrop Shelmerdine.

The connection between Orlando and Shelmerdine, though equally spontaneous as the romance with Sasha, is based on some deeper compatibility that Woolf, once again, leaves ambiguous. As though following Weininger's 'universal' law of attraction (though there is no evidence to suggest that Woolf was familiar), Orlando and Shelmerdine are

innately well-suited to each other and, as a result, “A few minutes later they became engaged” (*O* 160). Comic in its rapid changes, *Orlando* refuses to make any definitive claims as characters oscillate between sexual categories, such as when an “awful suspicion rush[es] into both their minds simultaneously”: “You’re a woman, Shel!” and “You’re a man, Orlando!” they each, in turn, declare (*O* 161). Both accusations seem, at first, contradictory. Since the reader is never told in what ways Orlando is a woman after the transformation, we are left to wonder for what reason Shelmerdine makes this observation. Likewise, what leads Orlando to question Shelmerdine’s sex? After some time as Shelmerdine’s lover, Orlando thinks for the first time, “I am a woman... a real woman, at last” (*O* 162), begging the question: What is a woman? What is a man? It is not much later that Shelmerdine asks again, “Are you positive you aren’t a man?” to which Orlando merely replies, “Can it be possible you’re not a woman?” (*O* 165-66). Gender cannot simply be biological, for surely, having married and conceived a child together, the biology (or, at least, the genital morphology) of their bodies would be known. The categories of ‘man’ and ‘woman,’ Woolf implores us to recognise, are unstable, and cannot be tied to mere biological facts.

Despite certain similarities in their projects, which both respond to the rapid scientific and social changes associated with Modernism, *how* they engage with these changes differs greatly between Joyce and Woolf. Although both authors might be seen as “challeng[ing] conventional notions of subjectivity in a way that anticipates the ‘radical epistemological potential’ of feminism,”¹²⁶ the frame by which they challenge this subjectivity is certainly different. Joyce engages with the turn-of-the-century discourses of sexology and psychology to structure his characters’ psychic turns. Using Krafft-Ebing’s model of perversion and Weininger’s law of attraction and anti-Semitic theories about the

biological inferiority of feminine male Jews, Joyce stages a reversal of sex roles that flips the gendered script without quite reaching beyond it. However, there is some redemptive power in Bloom's continued androgynous sensitivity after his Nighttown adventure is concluded; that is, Bloom is not fundamentally changed by the realization that he is bisexual, and is, in fact, stronger for it. By harnessing the authority that medicine, law, and other sciences lend to his writing, Joyce simultaneously offers these discourses a platform for further dispersal and satirises them using their own language. Woolf, on the other hand, outright disengages from the medical model, refusing access to Orlando's ambiguously-sexed body by the institutions which would pathologise it.¹²⁷ The narrative voice is that of biographer whose authority is questioned and mocked throughout; he "peer[s] and grope[s] in the ill-lit, ill-paved, ill-ventilated courtyards" of Orlando's story, trying (and failing) to determine the 'simple facts' of her life (*O* 141). Orlando dismisses the confusing verbiage of the law with impatience and balks at the societal expectations for her sex, choosing instead to dress and act as she likes, heedless of the script altogether. There is no room in Woolf's story for the masculine intervention of scientific discourse; Orlando is pure fantasy, and thus a genre beyond the reach of scientific fact.

Both texts also attempt, in some way, to decouple sex from language and culture. Joyce's precision and specificity, for which *Ulysses* is recognised as unmatched, is in this case a weakness; while Bloom transforms from one sex to another, the reversal reinforces binary notions of gender. Though Bloom remains himself throughout his multiple changes of sex, Bella Cohen does not; her name is declined in the masculine, and for both she and Bloom their sex-change is a mere swapping of pronouns and stereotypical sexual roles. Woolf, on the other hand, refuses to define gender or tie it to any indicator, biological or otherwise. Orlando is a woman because she is a woman, but her gender is always in flux,

always in question; Shelmerdine, likewise, is somehow ambiguous. Orlando maintains internal consistency no matter her perceived sex; she is able to seamlessly glide along the gender spectrum, behaving as the situation demands and experiencing gender across different temporal and cultural contexts. Moreover, she is never more androgynous than when outside of the sociopolitical constraints and physical borders of England; though tied to the culture into which she was born, Orlando experiences true androgyny when living among the ‘gipsies’ of Turkey, for whom gender is inconsequential. Joyce similarly exoticises the androgyny of Molly’s Turkish costume, but also equates gender misalignment with racial Otherness through Bloom, Molly, Cissy Caffrey and Bella Cohen, all of whom are coded as Jewish.

In *Ulysses*, gender is biologically determined—inseparable from physical, and particularly racial, bodily markers that occupied theorists like Weininger. For Bloom’s body to be rendered the object of the masochistic domination it craves, that body must be made biologically female, and its tormentor recoded as male. Bloom is a “womanly man” at least in part because he is Jewish; being already Othered as an oppressed minority in Ireland, he can empathise with those who are differently Othered, or, as Molly puts it, he “understood or felt what a woman is” (*U* 18.1579). In contrast, *Orlando* positions gender as separate from the body, as a role to be played or a costume to be worn. Gender difference is revealed to be a construct by which to control one sex, and Orlando, learning to recognise this fiction, is able to eschew the role into which she has been legislated and deny the patriarchy control over her by cross-dressing. Thus, while Woolf asks us what it might be like to be a woman with the freedom of a man, Joyce simply imagines what it must be like to be a woman dominated by men.

¹ D.H. Lawrence, "Education and Sex in Man, Woman, and Child," *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, 1922 (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2005): 132.

² Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 1929 (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989): 104.

³ Nigel Nicolson, *Portrait of a Marriage: Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson* (London: Weindenfeld and Nicolson, 1973): 105-6.

⁴ Nigel Nicolson, *Portrait of a Marriage*, 112.

⁵ Bisexuality is here being used as it would have been at that time, referring to a dual-sexed or androgynous personality rather than sexual attraction to similar and different genders to one's own. Sigmund Freud, Otto Weininger, and Havelock Ellis are among those who promoted bisexuality as an umbrella term which, according to Brenda Helt, "reflected and propagated the conflation of concepts now understood as distinct: biological sex, gender, desire, sexual preference, sexual identity, and intellectual and artistic superiority" (Helt, "Passionate Debates on 'Odious Subjects': Bisexuality and Virginia Woolf's Opposition to Theories of Androgyny and Sexual Identity," *Twentieth-Century Literature* vol. 56, no. 2 [2010]: 136).

⁶ Nicolson, *Portrait of a Marriage*, 225. See also Harry Blamires, *A Guide to twentieth century literature in English* (London: Methuen, 1983): 307.

⁷ Chris Coffman, "Woolf's *Orlando* and the Resonances of Trans Studies," *Genders* vol. 51 (2010): §24.

⁸ The novel ends exactly at midnight on Thursday, 11 October 1928, the date of its publication.

⁹ Suzanne Raitt, *Vita and Virginia: The Work and Friendship of Vita Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): 20.

¹⁰ Victoria L. Smith, "Ransacking the Language: Finding the Missing Goods in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*," *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. 29, no. 4 (2006): 60.

¹¹ Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 1928 (New York: Anchor, 1990): 146.

¹² Adam Parkes, "Lesbianism, History, and Censorship: *The Well of Loneliness* and the Suppressed Randiness of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*," *Twentieth Century Literature* vol. 40, no. 4 (1994): 434.

¹³ "Alleged Obscene Novel: Proceedings at Bow-Street," *The Times* (10 November 1928): 9.

¹⁴ Although some argue that Woolf was committed to Hall's cause, Parkes suggests that Woolf was less on the side of Hall than against censorship more generally and took the stand in defense of writers like herself and her Bloomsbury friends, rather than out of concern for Hall's work specifically.

¹⁵ The genre of *Orlando* has long been a point of debate. It has been called fantasy, as well as *roman à clef*, *Kunstlerroman*, anti-novel, metafiction, magical realism, (auto)biography, et cetera. See, for example, for discussion of the text as a *roman à clef*: Karen Lawrence, "Orlando's Voyage Out," *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 38 (1992): 268, J. J. Wilson, "Why is *Orlando* Difficult?" *New Feminist Essays on Virginia Woolf*, ed. Jane Marcus (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981): 170, David Roessel "The Significance of Constantinople in *Orlando*," *Papers on Language and Literature*, vol. 28 (1992): 398; as *Kunstlerroman*: Rachel Blau Du Plessis, *Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth-Century Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985): 61; as anti-novel: Wilson, "Why is *Orlando* Difficult?" 173; as metafiction: Beth A. Boehm, "Fact, Fiction and Metafiction: Blurred Gen(d)res in *Orlando* and *A Room of One's Own*," *Journal of Narrative Technique* vol. 22 (1992): 196; as magical realism: Jill Channing, "Magical Realism and Gender Variability in *Orlando*," *Virginia Woolf Miscellany* vol. 67, (2005): 11-13 and Pooja Mittal Biswas, "Queering Time: The Temporal Body as Queer Chronotope in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*," *Anglia* vol. 138, no. 1 (2020): 40; as biography: Elizabeth Cooley, "Revolutionizing Biography: *Orlando*, *Roger Fry*, and the Tradition," *South Atlantic Review* vol. 55 (1990): 71-83, Boehm, "Blurred Gen(d)res," 194, and Woolf herself in various diaries and letters.

¹⁶ See Parkes, 434-461, for a detailed comparison of the two texts and their relationship to censorship.

¹⁷ Sherron Knopp, "'If I Saw You Would You Kiss Me': Sapphism and the Subversiveness of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*," *PMLA* vol. 103, no. 1 (1988): 24.

¹⁸ See Knopp, "If I Saw You," and Elizabeth Meese, "When Virginia looked at Vita, what did she see; or, lesbian: feminist: women—what's the differ(e/a)nce?" *Feminist Studies* vol. 18 (1992): 99-117.

¹⁹ Smith, "Ransacking the Language," 60.

²⁰ George Piggford, "'Who's that girl?': Annie Lennox, Woolf's *Orlando*, and female camp androgyny," *Mosaic* vol. 30, no. 3 (1997): 40.

²¹ Piggford, "Who's that girl?" 48.

²² Stef Craps, "How to Do Things with Gender: Transgenderism in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*," *Image into Identity: Constructing and Assigning Identity in a Culture of Modernity*, ed. Michael Wintle (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006): 175.

²³ Johanna X. K. Garvey, "If we were all suddenly somebody else: *Orlando* as the New *Ulysses*," *Women's Studies: an International Journal* vol. 23, no. 1 (1994): 1.

²⁴ Virginia Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Volume 2: 1912-1922*, ed. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautmann Banks (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976): 519.

²⁵ Better known in its final form, "Modern Fiction," an essay which appeared in *The Common Reader* in 1925, the review was first published unsigned as "Modern Novels" in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 10 April 1919. See Suzette Henke, "Modern Novels (Joyce)," *The Gender of Modernism*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 1990): 642-45.

²⁶ James A. W. Heffernan, "Tracking a Reader: What did Virginia Woolf Really Think of *Ulysses*?" *Parallaxes: Virginia Woolf Meets James Joyce*, ed. Marco Canani and Sara Sulam (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014): 13, emphasis original.

²⁷ Heffernan, "Tracking a Reader," 14.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Vol. 2*, 234.

³⁰ Joyce was born eight days after Woolf, and she outlived him by just over ten weeks. For Joyce's relationship to England, see Gordon Bowker, "Joyce in England," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 48, no. 4 (2011): 667-681. In brief, Joyce and Nora Barnacle were married in London in 1931; he made frequent trips to London and various English seaside towns, including an extended stay in Bognor; Joyce's most consistent patron, Harriet Shaw Weaver, lived in London; and Joyce had ample contact with those involved in the English literary scene, including T.S. Eliot, with whom Woolf was close friends.

³¹ Sam Slote, "Gillet lit le Joyce dans la Woolf: Genre in *Orlando* and *Ulysses*," *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. 27, no. 4 (2004): 28. Gillet wrote that "*Le romancier, dans sa préface, a bien raison de citer ses auteurs, la grande famille des humoristes anglais, de Foe, Swift, Sterne, de Quincey: son livre descend d'eux en droite ligne. Pourquoi omettre M. Joyce, le dernier et l'un des plus grands de cette race puissante? Cet oubli est injuste. Si Ulysse n'existait pas, Mme Virginia Woolf n'aurait pas eu justifier de l'avoir imité*" (Gillet 203, qtd. Slote 28). Gillet also claimed that "*Jamais Mme Virginia Woolf n'aurait écrit ce petit chef-d'oeuvre du Phare [To the Lighthouse] si elle n'avait songé tout le temps à Ulysse*" (Gillet, 221-22, qtd. Slote, 29).

³² Slote, "Genre in *Orlando* and *Ulysses*," 29.

³³ Just six years after Woolf's death, an early Joyce scholar, William York Tyndall, proclaimed Mrs. Dalloway an "imitation" of *Ulysses*, going on to say, "Mrs. Dalloway, [Woolf's] first important work" (already making the bold claim that *The Voyage Out, Night and Day, Jacob's Room* and her other early work is 'unimportant') "is primarily indebted to Mr. Joyce. His three complementary characters, Bloom, Mrs. Bloom, and Stephen, are matched by her Septimus and Mrs. Dalloway. His episode of the Wandering Rocks, in which several minds are linked by the passage through Dublin of the Viceregal cavalcade, is matched by the scene in the park in which she links several minds by a sky-writing airplane" (Tyndall, *Forces in Modern British Literature, 1885-1946* [New York: Knopf, 1947]: 304-5). Tyndall also accuses Woolf of copying Mrs. Ramsay from Molly Bloom, stating that her "stream of consciousness flows from Joyce" (Tyndall, *James Joyce: His Way of Interpreting the Modern World* [New York: Scribner's, 1950]: 38, 42).

³⁴ Harvena Richter, "The *Ulysses* Connection: Clarissa Dalloway's Bloomsday," *Studies in the Novel* vol. 21, no. 3 (1989): 307.

³⁵ Heffernan, "Tracking a Reader," 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ See Daniel Ferrer, "A Mediated Plunge from Joyce to Woolf through Richardson and Sinclair," *Parallaxes: Virginia Woolf Meets James Joyce*, ed. Marco Canani and Sara Sulam (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011): 25-37.

³⁸ Anne Fernihough, "Consciousness as a Stream," *The Cambridge Companion to the Modernist Novel*, ed. Morag Shiach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 77.

³⁹ Fernihough, 68.

⁴⁰ Richter, "The *Ulysses* Connection," 305.

⁴¹ Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Vol. 2*, 234.

⁴² Jacob Isaacs, *An Assessment of Twentieth-Century Literature* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd., 1951): 131.

⁴³ Heffernan, "Tracking a Reader," 23.

⁴⁴ Carolyn Heilbrun, "Virginia Woolf and James Joyce: Ariadne and the Labyrinth," *Hamlet's Mother and Other Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990): 63.

⁴⁵ Heilbrun, "Virginia Woolf and James Joyce," 65.

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- ⁴⁶ See Sections 2.0-2.1 of this thesis for discussion of Joyce's use of the gestation/birth metaphor.
- ⁴⁷ T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, 1922. Ed. Michael North (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2001).
- ⁴⁸ Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar. *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2: Sexchanges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 343.
- ⁴⁹ Garvey, "Orlando as the New Ulysses," 3.
- ⁵⁰ See Juliette Atkinson, "'The Lives of the Obscure' and Virginia Woolf," *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century 'Hidden' Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 252-64.
- ⁵¹ Oriana Palusci, "Modernist Sex-Change on Paper: Gender Markers in Joyce's 'Circe' and Woolf's *Orlando*," in *Parallaxes: Virginia Woolf Meets James Joyce*. Ed. Marco Canani and Sara Sulam (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014): 161. I would also like to note here the strange convention of using Woolf's first name, but Joyce's last, in scholarship comparing their work. Without ascribing malice of forethought to the many authors I have come across who have done this, many of whom may be non-native English speakers, it remains a startling reminder on how differently male and female modernists are treated in academic literature. This project endeavours to administer the same level of respect and authorial distance from all subjects of this study, save perhaps my cousin Bert Lawrence.
- ⁵² Patrick McGee, "Reading Authority: Feminism and Joyce," *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 35, no. 3 (1989): 425.
- ⁵³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1986): 63-4.
- ⁵⁴ See Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004): 6-7.
- ⁵⁵ Michael T. Taylor, Annette Timm, and Rainer Herrn, *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship Since Magnus Hirschfeld* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017): 44.
- ⁵⁶ Although he would go on to coin the term 'transsexualism' in 1923, Hirschfeld was at this time still referring to both cross-dressers and trans people as 'transvestites,' though he did keep this term distinct from homosexuality, writing that the two diagnoses were typically "connected (*Verbindungen*)" (Figure 4). See Taylor et al., *Not Straight from Germany*, 44 for information regarding the "transvestite pass" system arranged between Hirschfeld and the Berliner Kriminalpolizei.
- ⁵⁷ Patrick McDonnell, *Disability and Society: Ideological and Historical Dimensions* (Dublin: Blackhall Publishers, 2007): loc. 1055 of 4616 (Kindle ed.); qtd. Rafael Hernandez, "'Dark Men in Mien and Movement': Blindness and the Body in *Ulysses*," *Joyce Writing Disability*, ed. Jeremy Colaneglo (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2022): 119.
- ⁵⁸ Christopher Wells, "Where Do I Put It? James Joyce's Buck Mulligan, Bisexuality, and Contemporary Legislative Practice." *Open Library of Humanities* vol. 6, no. 1 (2020): 16; Ellis, *The Psychology of Sex*, 321.
- ⁵⁹ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: F.A. Davies, 1897): 235.
- ⁶⁰ Morris Beja, "The Joyce of Sex: Sexual Relationships in *Ulysses*," *The 7th of Joyce*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 263.
- ⁶¹ Beja, "The Joyce of Sex," 263.
- ⁶² Martha Fodaski Black, "S/He-Male Voices in *Ulysses*: Counterpointing the 'New Womanly Man'," *Gender in Joyce*, ed. Jolanta W. Wawczycka and Marlena G. Cocoran. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997): 62-71.
- ⁶³ Stanley Sultan, *The Argument of Ulysses* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964): 317.
- ⁶⁴ Robert Byrnes, "Bloom's Sexual Tropes: Stigmata of the 'Degenerate' Jew," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 27, no. 2 (1990): 303.
- ⁶⁵ Fritz Senn, *Joyce's Dislocutions* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984): 131.
- ⁶⁶ Although Nordau did not coin the term or its German equivalent, *Entartung*, his book gained significant cultural capital in the English-speaking world after its translation. Thanks to Nordau, degeneration was taken seriously as a part of the then-legitimate scientific field of psycho-physiognomy, itself now thoroughly debunked.
- ⁶⁷ In *Degeneration*, Nordau argues that "In the mental development of degenerates we meet with the same irregularity that we have observed in their physical growth period the asymmetry of face and cranium fines, as it were, its counterpart in their mental faculties. Some of the latter are completely stunted, others exaggerated. That which nearly all degenerates lack is the sense of morality and of right and wrong. For them there exists no law, no decency, no modesty" (Max Nordau, *Degeneration* [New York: D. Appleton, 1895]: 18).

⁶⁸ The height of Nordau's popularity in England was coincidentally in 1895, the year of Oscar Wilde's libel trials. Although written prior to the public conviction of Wilde for gross indecency due to allegations of homosexual liaisons, Nordau nevertheless targeted him as an example of a degenerate. Nordau felt that Wilde's penchant for "queer costume" represented a "pathological aberration of racial instinct" (Nordau, *Degeneration*, 318. See also Michael Foldy, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde: Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997]: 75.)

⁶⁹ For degeneration as it relates to racial politics and Joyce's engagement therewith in *Finnegans Wake*, see Marion Quirici, "Degeneration, Decadence, and Joyce's Modernist Disability Aesthetics," *Joyce Writing Disability*, ed. Jeremy Colaneglo (University Press of Florida, 2022): 131-55.

⁷⁰ Quirici, "Degeneration, Decadence, and Joyce's Modernist Disability Aesthetics," 134.

⁷¹ Otto Weininger, *Sex & Character* (London: William Heinemann, 1906): 27.

⁷² NLI MS 36,639/4, 5v, qtd. Crowley, "Looking at Animals without Seeing Them: Havelock Ellis in the 'Circe' Episode of *Ulysses*," *Humanities* vol. 6, no. 3 (2017): 83. See note 76.

⁷³ Byrnes, "Bloom's Sexual Tropes," 305.

⁷⁴ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: with Special Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Forensic Study*. Trans. Franklin S. Klaf (London: Mayflower Books Ltd., 1967): 8.

⁷⁵ Suzette Henke, "Joyce and Krafft-Ebing," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 17, no. 1 (1979): 86.

⁷⁶ Havelock Ellis writes of a clergyman who witnessed an episode of bestiality: "F. was tall, dark, and handsome, but had never made any advances to me, nor had I to her. She was making love to her father's mare after a singular fashion. Stripping her right arm, she formed her fingers into a cone, and pressed on the mare's vulva. I was astonished to see the beast stretching her hind legs as if to accommodate the hand of her mistress, which she pushed in gradually and with seeming ease to the elbow. At the same time, she seemed to experience the most voluptuous sensation, crisis after crisis arriving" (Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* [Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Co., 1906]: 85). For a detailed discussion of this case study and this scene in "Circe," see Crowley, "Looking at Animals without Seeing Them," 83-6.

⁷⁷ Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Vol. 2*, 234.

⁷⁸ Palusci, "Modernist Sex-Change on Paper," 154.

⁷⁹ Coffman, "Woolf's *Orlando* and the Resonances of Trans Studies," §6.

⁸⁰ Craps, "How to Do Things with Gender," 177. Judy Little makes a similar claim, that "the long and complex clause between the dashes protests too much." "If there is no doubt," she asks, "then why such an elaborate assurance that there is indeed no doubt?" (Judy Little, "(En)gendering laughter: Woolf's *Orlando* as contraband in the age of Joyce," *Women's Studies: an International Journal* vol. 15, no. 1-3 [1988]: 183).

⁸¹ Slotte, "Genre in *Orlando* and *Ulysses*," 33, emphasis original.

⁸² See Section 2.1 of this thesis.

⁸³ Jacques Derrida, "Ulysses Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce," trans. François Raffoul. *Derrida and Joyce: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Andrew J. Mitchell and Sam Slotte (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013): 65.

⁸⁴ See John Finegan, *The Story of Monto: An Account of Dublin's Notorious Red-Light District* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1978): 12 and John Simpson, "The Madams of Nighttown; or, a Dublin lupanarology," *James Joyce Online Notes*, n.p. <http://www.jjon.org/jjoyce-s-people/madams>

⁸⁵ Palusci, "Modernist Sex-Change on Paper," 157-8, emphasis added.

⁸⁶ Some scholars have suggested that the name Orlando may have been taken from Shakespeare's play in order to play off the motifs of cross-dressing and gender confusion therein, as Rosalind's love interest is named Orlando. Others, including Palusci, suggest that the name may have been inspired by *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto, for it contains "cross-dressing heroines... feigning a male identity in the Christian army" (Palusci, "Modernist Sex-Change on Paper," 162); however, Garvey believes the name to be "a red herring, a false clue to intertextuality" with *Orlando Furioso*, as "nowhere in diaries of letters does Woolf allude to" that text, and points to an entry where in fact Woolf "admits to her ignorance of Italian literature" (Garvey, "*Orlando* as the New *Ulysses*," 5, referencing *D3* 133).

⁸⁷ Palusci, "Modernist Sex-Change on Paper," 161.

⁸⁸ Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon, eds. "Protodrafts: First draft §1B, Autumn 1920, draft level 3," *The James Joyce Digital Archive*, <http://www.jjda.ie/main/JJDA/U/ulex/q/q1B3d.htm>. Published edition: Danis Rose, ed. *The Dublin Ulysses papers* volume 2. (East Lansing: House of Breathings, 2012): 92-94.

⁸⁹ For more on Joyce's writing process, see Hans Walter Gabler, "Joyce's Text in Progress," *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 213-36; Michael Groden, *Ulysses in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Phillip F. Herring,

Joyce's Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972); Wim Van Mierlo, "Indexing the Buffalo Notebooks: Genetic Criticism and the Construction of Evidence," *Writing Its Own Wrunes For Ever: Essays in Joycean Genetics*, ed. Daniel Ferrer and Claude Jacquet (Tusson: Du Lérot 1998): 169-90; and the many fantastic essays published in *Genitricksling Joyce*, ed. Sam Slote and Wim Van Mierlo (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).

⁹⁰ The original manuscript draft of *Orlando* is held by The National Trust at Knole, Sevenoakes, Kent under the designation NT 3072441. It was presented by the author to Vita Sackville-West in 1928 and bequeathed by Sackville-West to the National Trust for preservation in 1962. The manuscript is comprised of 292 pages dated between 8 October 1927 to 17 March 1928 and inscribed "Vita from Virginia Dec 6th 1928" on the inside cover. <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/3072441>

⁹¹ *Orlando: The Holograph Draft*. Transcribed and edited by Stuart Nelson Clarke, typed by Mary Panayotopoulos (London: SN Clarke, 1993): 109-110.

⁹² *Orlando: The Holograph Draft*, 110.

⁹³ Pamela Caughie, *Virginia Woolf and Postmodernism: Literature in Quest and Question of Itself* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991): 79.

⁹⁴ Christine Froula, "Gender and the Law of Genre: Joyce, Woolf, and the Autobiographical Artist-Novel," *New Alliances in Joyce Studies*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988): 161.

⁹⁵ This reductive assessment of Joyce neglects the ways in which he himself was marginalised, for example in colonial or economic contexts.

⁹⁶ Garvey, "Orlando as the New Ulysses," 7.

⁹⁷ See note 5.

⁹⁸ See Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 7-16 for an explanation of plasmis.

⁹⁹ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Byrnes, "Bloom's Sexual Tropes," 311.

¹⁰¹ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 122, 187-88.

¹⁰² Positing "the existence of an intelligible ego or a soul, as a form of being of the highest superempirical reality. In such a being as the absolute female there are no logical and ethical phenomena, and, therefore, the ground for the assumption of a soul is absent" (*Sex & Character*, 113), for Weininger, men have a soul, whereas women, like animals, are "without any trace of intelligible ego" (178), and therefore have only "a faint idea of her incapacity, a last remnant, however weak, of the free intelligible ego, simply because there is no such thing as an absolute woman" (206) in his theory of 'bisexuality.'

¹⁰³ Marilyn Reizbaum, "The Jewish Connection, Cont'd," *The Seventh of Joyce*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 232.

¹⁰⁴ Reizbaum, "Weininger and the Bloom of Jewish Self-Hatred in Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed. Nancy Anne Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995): 213.

¹⁰⁵ Byrnes, "Bloom's Sexual Tropes," 305, 322.

¹⁰⁶ Erwin R. Steinberg, "Otto Weininger's 'Sex and Character' Was Never 'Prime Material for a Comedy,'" *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 36, no. 3 (1999): 636-8.

¹⁰⁷ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 34-5.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Ralph Robert Joly, "Chauvinist Brew and Leopold Bloom: The Weininger Legacy," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 19, no. 2 (1982): 195-6.

¹⁰⁹ See Austin Briggs, "Is Bella Cohen Jewish? What's in a Name?" *De-familiarizing Readings: Essays from the Austin Joyce Conference*, ed. Alan W. Friedman and Charles Rossman (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009): 54-64.

¹¹⁰ Reizbaum, "Weininger and the Bloom of Jewish Self-Hatred," 211.

¹¹¹ Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984): 173.

¹¹² Molly's transgender fantasies and cross-dressing are discussed in Section 3.3 of this thesis.

¹¹³ Colleen R. Lamos, "A Faint Glimmer of Lesbianism in Joyce," *Quare Joyce*, ed. Joseph Valente (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998): 194.

¹¹⁴ Lamos, "A Faint Glimmer of Lesbianism," 194.

¹¹⁵ Frank Hamel, *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope: A New Light on her Life and Love Affairs* (London: Cassell and Company, 1913): 79, qtd. Michael H. Begnal, "Molly Bloom and Lady Hester Stanhope," *Joyce and Popular Culture*, ed. R. B. Kershner. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996): 67.

¹¹⁶ Hamel, *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope*, 43, qtd. Begnal, "Molly Bloom and Lady Hester Stanhope," 68.

¹¹⁷ See Section 4.1 of this thesis for further exploration of this topic.

¹¹⁸ Unless, as I explore in Section 4.2, Gerty MacDowell's thoughts are a manifestation of 'authorial cross-dressing,' mediated through Bloom's sexual desires and fetishes.

¹¹⁹ Cissy is racially Othered by Bloom and Gerty throughout "Nausicaa" and her brief appearance in "Circe." See my article, "'The link between nations and generations': Cissy Caffrey as Racialized and Sexualized Other in James Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Joyce Studies Annual 2018*, ed. Phillip Sicker and Moshe Gold (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018): 106-121, for further discussion of this theme.

¹²⁰ Brenda Maddox, *Nora: A Biography of Nora Joyce* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988): 29.

¹²¹ Maddox, *Nora*, 29.

¹²² Joyce was inspired by the events of their courtship to write the *Dubliners* story "Eveline" (which has a much less happy outcome). For Nora as model for Molly Bloom, see Section 3.3 of this thesis.

¹²³ Little, "(En)gendering laughter," 186.

¹²⁴ Mittal Biswas, "Queering Time," 47.

¹²⁵ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 35.

¹²⁶ McGee, "Reading Authority," 425.

¹²⁷ I believe this to be a deliberate choice on Woolf's part, considering she previously uses the medical model in *Mrs. Dalloway*, the character of Dr. Bradshaw and his psychiatric treatment of Septimus Smith standing in for the changing medicalised landscape of mental health.

Other Mothers: Modernist Womb Envy and Gender Essentialism

All human beings, Socrates, are pregnant both in body and in soul, and when we come to be of the right age, we naturally desire to give birth.¹

–Diotima

No need for a mother, as long as there is some motherliness: and it is the father, then, who acts the part, who is the mother. Either woman is passive or she does not exist.²

–Hélène Cixous

If Joyce in *Ulysses* writes ancient and modern patriarchy, mythologizes woman and Others the mother, [then] Djuna Barnes in *Nightwood* laughs at Leviticus, brings all the wandering Jews, Blacks, lesbians, outsiders and transvestites together in a narrative which mothers the Other.³

–Jane Marcus

In the previous chapter, I argued that while Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* approaches gender as a social construct built through culturally and temporally determined markers such as clothing, language, and social roles, Joyce's *Ulysses* is unable to uncouple sex and gender and thus ultimately fails to achieve a truly androgynous character in Leopold Bloom. Relying on medical models of sexology as the foundation for Bloom's sexual exploration and transgender fantasies, Joyce simultaneously buys into and mocks the newly medicalised discourses surrounding gender identity and sexuality at the turn of the century, reverting to biologically determined categories of sex during Bloom's medical examination and subsequent sex-change. Joyce uncovers and demystifies the sexual body, but in so doing falls prey to gender essentialism—the prescription of innate, universal qualities based on biological sex as associated with gender. Gender essentialism is rooted in biological determinism, the basic tenant of which Patrice Diquinzio identifies as being that “anatomical and physiological differences—especially reproductive differences—...determine both the meaning of masculinity and femininity and the appropriately different

positions of men and women in society.”⁴ This kind of biologism reinforces the gender binary by adhering to traditional notions of a “natural order” wherein a person’s “social position is a function of [their] genital morphology.”⁵ Biological difference is not ‘the enemy’ of queer scholarship but has instead been conscripted as such in the current arrangement of heteropatriarchal society. Socially-conscious contemporary scholarship acknowledges that biological difference exists without ascribing gendered meaning to particular configurations of body parts, including primary and secondary sexual characteristics.

While applying contemporary feminist criticism to modernist texts can fall perilously close to presentism, it is not necessary to distort the context of Modernism to evaluate the radical potential of texts from this period. The ways in which modernist texts at times *subvert* biological determinism are of particular interest, given that their authors did not have access to the vocabulary with which we now discuss the nuances of gender identity, gender presentation, sexual morphology, and so on. Emma Heaney’s research examining the relationship between Joyce’s depiction of bodies in *Ulysses* and current understandings of gender identity is an example of recuperating affirmative models from the canon. Rather than gendering body parts as male or female, Heaney urges us to consider bodily spectrums of phallicism and penetrability. Reading Joyce’s depictions of embodiment in this way helps to “demystify the ideology that essential characteristics flow from structures, chromosomes, hormones, and organs in either a male or female configuration.”⁶ Leopold Bloom’s assessment of his body in “Ithaca” is an example of anatomically gender-neutral language: “from the pelvic basin over the circumference of the abdomen and umbilicular fossicle along the medial line of nodes to the intersection of the sixth pectoral vertebrae, thence produced both ways at right angles and terminating in

circles described about two equidistant points, right and left, on the summits of mammary prominences” (*U* 17.1439-1445). Although Joyce succumbs to biologism elsewhere in the novel, anatomical terms are here used without ascribing gender. Bloom’s understanding of his own body is at times rooted in biological facts that are unobscured by gender ideology, which makes it possible to discuss how his somatic experience as “a finished example of the new womanly man” (15.1798-9) subverts the cisnormative relationship between body and assigned sex that emerged during the modernist period.

Some have argued that texts from this period can be “difficult to absorb into recuperative critical projects” because of their failure to “offer a definitive way out for the queer”⁷—that is, even so-called ‘radical’ texts from this time fail to decouple gender and sexuality from the historical and cultural oppressions supported by essentialist ideologies like biologism. Djuna Barnes’s work, in particular, is often an attractive target for recuperative projects because it includes a spectrum of queer characters and offers a pseudohistory of the queer subculture of the Left Bank in the 1920s. Daniela Caselli, for example, has argued that Barnes’s radical depictions of the Other are “a gift for cultural historians interested in identity politics,” but that her texts, and *Nightwood* in particular, are also ‘positionless’ in their relationship to the Other, which makes the novel “difficult either to recuperate under an inclusive agenda or to condemn as hiding dubious ideological affiliations.”⁸ Texts which foreground the Other, including Barnes’s *Nightwood*, Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Hall’s *Well of Loneliness*, and Woolf’s *Orlando* create the kind of “genealogy of queer affect”⁹ that Heather Love describes in *Feeling Backward*, even—or especially—when such texts are complicit in perpetuating queer shame, homophobia, offensive stereotypes, and other features contemporary readers may now see as failures. Like many writers of this period, both Joyce and Barnes often rely on essentialist assumptions and

biologism. This is even true of Barnes's most radical and flamboyant character, Doctor Matthew O'Connor.

Doctor O'Connor appears in both Barnes's novels, *Ryder* and *Nightwood*, as a cross-dressing homosexual who acts as an unlicensed gynecologist to first the Ryder clan and then the women of Paris's Left Bank and New York's Greenwich Village. Based on a notorious real-life American expatriate, the character has been described as everything from a "ground-breaking" depiction of "literature's first trans woman," to "pathetic," "predatory," and even, startlingly, comparable to Adolf Hitler.¹⁰ The contrast between these positions emphasises the polarity of the character, whose place in the queer literary canon is highly contested. As a transgender figure, O'Connor is a problematic one, desiring and championing an essentialist view of womanhood which might undermine many of the feminist themes of Barnes's work. For Shari Benstock, O'Connor is just another voice of the patriarchy, his transvestism a "parody of womanhood," and his speeches "parodies of woman's language" through which he "steals her stories and images in order to teach her about herself." O'Connor's performance of the feminine, argues Benstock, is an act of violence against the 'actual' women of *Nightwood*, for whom and over whom he speaks: "gossipy and garrulous, he renders Nora mute."¹¹ Andrea Harris claims that O'Connor is a figure of "the male modernist artist who seeks to usurp the place of the feminine subject for his own" and is unquestionably "a misogynist."¹² Gregory Woods goes perhaps further than either of these two indictments, writing that O'Connor is, "above all, an untrustworthy informant, [and] far too much of a man: deceitful in bed, when dragged-up to be penetrated by men, and deceitful at work, when penetrating women under false pretenses... The problem is that, however sincere and convincing his drag, it still conceals the phallus; however brightly lipsticked his mouth, it still contains a patriarchal tongue."¹³ Highly

critical of a character they view as invading women's spaces and bodies, such criticisms perpetuate transmisogyny by insisting O'Connor—and therefore the person on whom he is based—is a man, a misogynist, and a rapist, categories which demonise trans femininity and womanhood for its very existence.

As Timothy Beck Werth has noted, one need not go paging through Reagan-era literary criticism “to find people who believe that trans women are just gay men in women's clothes.”¹⁴ Such beliefs have been and continue to be foundational to anti-trans rhetoric and legislation throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.¹⁵ In the 2020s, the idea that trans women are perverts involved in an elaborate conspiracy to invade female spaces, such as public toilets, in order to violate cis women is a matter of official policy in some countries.¹⁶ Reading Doctor O'Connor as “a frustrated transvestite... who envies women bitterly because he is not and cannot be one”¹⁷ participates in the same bigotry, reducing O'Connor's experience of womanhood to a predatory desire to covet and control female bodies through medical rape and malpractice (crimes implied by both Harris and Woods, among others). Yet despite the overwhelming body of scholarship which views O'Connor as emblematic of a patriarchal, heterosexist pessimism, she¹⁸ has been the locus of several projects hoping to reclaim her from the margins of modernist literature. Although *Nightwood* is now “probably as familiar to today's students... as Eliot's *The Waste Land* was to a previous generation of readers,”¹⁹ Barnes's texts were once obscure, and certainly sat firmly outside of the ‘mainstream’ literary canon. Rediscovered by queer theorists of the 1990s and early 2000s after decades of being niche texts, Barnes's poetry and novels have led double-lives as risqué lesbian counterculture and semi-canonical modernist literature. Where *Ladies Almanack* “primarily addresses Paris's underground expatriate lesbian community” with its in-jokes, pseudonyms, and hidden secrets for those “in the know” and

thus promptly fell into obscurity,²⁰ *Nightwood* quickly attracted a cult following, becoming part of the camp culture of 1920s Paris and shorthand for a particular queer experience among expatriates for decades to come.²¹ To Susan Sontag, for example, asking “Have you read [*Nightwood*]?” of a young woman was “a classic lesbian pickup line” that she successfully used on her lover Harriet Sohmers in the early 1940s.²² As lesbian romance, autobiografiction, or roman-à-clef, *Nightwood* captures an underexamined facet of queer female life and was promptly taken up by lesbian readers as a testament to their existence.

Laura K. Wallace argues that by appealing both to the audience for whom and about whom it was written and to scholars of Modernism, queer history, and feminist writing, *Nightwood*'s identity-first approach makes the book simultaneously “feel both canonical and radical.”²³ Texts like *Nightwood* allow readers to “enter into a relation with others... to imagine others are reading or have read the same text, and to imagine that another produced it,”²⁴ thus remedying feelings of isolation produced by heteronormative social structures, i.e., creating a “public.” Wallace’s reception study foregrounds Christopher Nealon’s idea of “feeling historical,” a model for queer self-identification that situates “homosexuality as a secret relation to others, rather than a gendered inversion of self,”²⁵ and Heather Love’s “feeling backward.” Both “feeling historical” and “feeling backward” are ways of describing an intimate and personal relationship to queer histories, which, for Love, involves “embracing loss [and] risking abjection” by interacting with the negative emotions—shame, depression, regret—that frequently cling to queer figures.²⁶ For Nealon, “feeling historical” is the ability to “convert the harrowing privacy of inversion into some more encompassing narrative of collective life.”²⁷ Wallace combines these two overlapping articulations of queer experience into a model of “feeling public” grounded in affect studies. To “feel public” is to be able to recognise oneself (or one’s queerness) in art

or literature, and to create communities which validate the affects associated with queerness. Wallace writes: “Connecting to the distant past, you might feel historical; connecting to a secret network of other readers, you might, paradoxically, feel public.”²⁸ Feeling public, then, is not necessarily about being “out of the closet” so much as internally validated and aware of the presence of others, in contrast to emotional isolation.

In *Nightwood*, during a drunken breakdown, Doctor O’Connor laments, “And what am I? I’m damned, and carefully public!” (*N* 173). Carefully public, indeed: like the novel itself, O’Connor leads a delicate double-life. Publicly, she is a doctor, barroom philosopher, the life of every party—and a man. Privately, she lives shrouded in dysphoria-induced shame, neglecting her health and safety, and performing illegal abortions to make ends meet. When these lives overlap, as when Nora enters O’Connor’s squalid apartment to find her wigged and rouged for a gentleman caller, the doctor retreats into her public persona. The doctor’s shame at being made public enacts the affects Love discusses.²⁹ Reclaiming O’Connor as a trans woman forced by the heteropatriarchy to hide herself means accepting her shame, arrogance, self-destruction, illegality, and crassness as facts of queer existence in a particular historical and socioeconomic context. Ery Shin writes that reactions to the text “vary from ignoring those aspects of [Barnes’s] art that induce nervousness to formulaically reducing them to anti-authoritarian gestures.”³⁰ For Shin, “queer modernism need not be a redemptive exercise in contesting patriarchal conceptions of history” in order to be recuperated from the historical margins; rather, the redemptive potential of the text “lies in interrogating Gay Pride’s desire to retrospectively project and excavate positive models.”³¹ *Nightwood* is both a “carefully public” representation of queerness and a problematic text, and reading the novel as such can be rewarding both to academic readers and those for whom and about whom it was written.

Similarly, despite a huge academic and literary following, undeniable admission to the ‘canon,’ and an entire industry producing criticism, translations, and how-to guides to his work, Joyce’s texts are also often problematic for a modern audience. One of the charges that could be levied against *Ulysses*, for example, is its adherence to the gender binary, patriarchal values, and gender essentialism. Some scholars have argued that Joyce’s texts are misogynistic, reducing the biologically female body to its sexual morphology and value to the patriarchy as a vessel of sexual and cultural reproduction. John Bormanis, for example, argues that while Joyce fleetingly represents the thoughts and desires of women in “Penelope,” Molly’s desires are “ultimately subordinated” in favour of Bloom and Stephen’s male desires because they are “potentially threatening to the paternal appropriation of the mother’s body (and thus the process of artistic creation followed by both Stephen and Joyce).”³² For Bormanis, the “misogyny inherent in such a practice” is glaring in *Ulysses*, due to the “elision of women and mothers” throughout the text.³³ Stephen Dedalus is particularly guilty of reducing women to their biological functions and body parts, and because Stephen is an immature self-insert of the author, those views are sometimes projected onto Joyce himself, as Bormanis does. According to Bonnie Kime Scott, “the most defining event for Stephen as an artist is not the meeting of Bloom, but the death of his mother”³⁴; without maternal support, Stephen is unable to create art. Mourning his deceased mother, Stephen repeatedly seeks maternal support from inappropriate surrogate mothers who are unable to fill the void until he is symbolically adopted by Bloom. Suzette Henke writes that Bloom “become[s] more of a *mother* to Stephen than a substitute father,”³⁵ thereby eliminating the need for a female mother altogether. This dislocation of the female reproductive role is what will supposedly allow Stephen to become the artist-God he envisions in “Scylla and Charybdis” that is both an “androgynous

angel [and] wife unto himself” (*U* 9.1052), without confronting the loss of his mother and the subsequent lack of nurturing and affection he desires.

2.1 The Womb of Imagination

Stephen hopes that by excluding femininity and his mother, he can “create his own symbolic and artistic autonomy.”³⁶ However, the death of his mother and his subsequent guilt over refusing her request for him to pray for her prevents Stephen from maturing as an artist. Rather than pursuing aesthetic achievements, he obsessively emulates patriarchal models of formal philosophical speculation, based on various “fathers” of schools of philosophy: Aristotle, Aquinas, Bruno, Vico, etc.³⁷ Perhaps ironically, Stephen’s philosophy aligns most clearly with the metaphors of pregnancy and birth used by Diotima in Plato’s *Symposium*. Diotima argues that “All human beings... are pregnant both in body and in soul” and that the natural desire for immortality is either expressed as sexual reproduction or the production of wisdom: Men “who are pregnant in their bodies turn their attention towards women... securing their immortality, a memory of themselves, and happiness, as they think, for themselves for all time to come through having children; whereas those who are pregnant in their souls... [birth] things that it is fitting for the soul to conceive,” such as virtue, wisdom, philosophy, and poetry.³⁸ Stephen’s adherence to this feminine-aligned philosophy is, however, more complex than it appears, as these conjectures come from a woman who identifies herself as a “spirit-like man”³⁹ and who—depending on interpretation—is either the product of a man’s imagination or, at the very least, filtered through a man’s experiences, as the only account of Diotima comes from Socrates explaining her theories to an assemblage of men. Thus, it is not contradictory that Stephen exclusively identifies with “the purely spiritual, patriarchal institution[s]” of

philosophical debate,⁴⁰ privileging these intellectual pursuits over material considerations, including his own body, but rather suits his inclination toward the appropriation of the female body (and female philosophy) as part of his aesthetic theory of the male artistic impulse.

Despite his rejection of materiality, Stephen's body craves sensation and physical touch: "Touch me. Soft eyes. Soft soft soft hand. I am lovely here. O, touch me soon, now. What is the word known to all men? I am quiet here alone. Sad too. Touch, touch me" (*U* 3.434-6). The question of what is this "word known to all men" will be asked by Stephen again in "Circe" to the spectral manifestation of his dead mother: "Tell me the word, mother, if you know now. The word known to all men" (15.4192-3). The word, being the spiritual, intellectual, artistic *logos* conceived by the soul, is here associated with physical touch and the love of his mother, *amor matris*. Stephen has already answered his own riddle: "Do you know what you are talking about? Love, yes. Word known to all men. *Amor vero aliquid alicui bonum vult unde et ea quae concupiscimus*" (9.429-31).⁴¹ The biological certitude of motherhood, unlike the "legal fiction" of paternity (9.844), overwrites the philosophical and aesthetic concerns of the young artist and leads him into a depressive spiral which abhors the biological realities of sex, birth, and death. Ewa Ziarek, for example, argues that, in *Ulysses*, "the maternal body is equated with aversion, with a paralysis of creativity, a non-productive remainder, a waste infecting and paralyzing language."⁴² The novel opens with reminders of Stephen's "beastly dead" mother juxtaposed with the non-productive female body, the post-menopausal milkwoman: "He watched her pour... rich white milk, not hers. Old shrunken paps" (*U* 1.397-8). The milkwoman is cast as a "wandering crone" and a "witch on her toadstool" (1.404, 401) by Stephen, who further dehumanises her by comparing her to the cow that provided the milk

and reducing her to her secondary sexual characteristics, her non-lactating breasts.

Obsessed with maternal productivity, Stephen projects his desire for maternal nurture/nutrition onto inappropriate surrogates and equates womanhood with motherhood. For Stephen, the milkwoman is not a real woman, but rather a returning symbol of Ireland's sterility as "the old sow that eats her farrow" (*P* 203).⁴³ Disturbing images related to pregnancy and death continue to haunt Stephen's morning, from the "scrotumtightening sea" as a "great sweet mother" (*U* 1.78-80) which threatens the life and virility of Irishmen, to his disturbing vision of midwives walking along the beach: "One of her sisterhood lugged me squealing into life. Creation from nothing. What has she in the bag? A misbirth with a trailing navelcord, hushed in ruddy wool. The cords of all link back, strandentwining cable of all flesh" (3.35-37). The maternal body is made abject through Stephen's associations of pregnancy and childbirth with death, and he cannot separate the desire he has for maternal love and affection from his guilt surrounding the circumstances of his mother's death and his overwhelming fear of dying.

Stephen's subconscious association of the female body and reproduction with death is well-documented and need not be substantially rehashed here.⁴⁴ May Dedalus's corpse is present in Stephen's subconscious throughout the "Telemachiad" and returns as a ghostly apparition in "Circe" that seeks to suck the life out of him, creating a "morbid reversal" of the suckling child and mother.⁴⁵ The maternal body's abjection is continuously associated in Stephen's mind with the biological processes of conception, childbirth, nursing, and death. Remembering his mother on her deathbed, he thinks, "Who brought me into this world lies there" (*U* 9.221-2), associating his birth with her dead body. This association is also made earlier on the beach in "Proteus" when Stephen creates the formulation of "Bridebed, childbed, bed of death" and refashions the maternal body into an "allwombing

tomb” (3.396, 402). Sex, birth, and death are here located in the same space, that of the marriage bed, and Stephen develops an aversion to the family home, his father and siblings, and the material world more broadly in order to compartmentalise his grief. Stephen’s philosophical reflection is continuously intruded upon by the ghostly presence of his mother, whose abject body is conflated with aesthetic decay and corrupted philosophy—that which prevents him from becoming an artist. Following the Scholastic tradition from his formal education,⁴⁶ Stephen bases his conception of procreation on Aristotelian and Thomasian ‘biology’ wherein “the female provides the body, in other words, the material,”⁴⁷ and the soul is provided “not from [a child’s] father, but from God by creation.”⁴⁸ For Stephen, because it was God who “willed me and now may not will me away or ever” (*U* 3.48), he is able to distance himself from his parents Simon (who gave him nothing) and May (who gave him only a body). Art, being a soul’s pursuit of pleasure, rather than the body’s, is thus a purely masculine exercise, and Stephen’s theory of art follows from this premise.

In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen reveals to Davin and Cranly that he believes the soul of the artist experiences “a slow and dark birth, more mysterious than the birth of the body,” and the novel ends with Stephen preparing to “forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race” (*P* 203, 252). This soul-forge for his art is indebted to God as a paternal muse: “Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead” (*P* 252) reads his last diary entry. Stephen’s aesthetic theory, or his philosophy of artistic production, is thus predicated on the language of human reproduction:

—MacAlister, answered Stephen, would call my esthetic theory applied Aquinas. So far as this side of esthetic philosophy extends, Aquinas will carry me all along

the line. When we come to the phenomena of artistic conception, artistic gestation, and artistic reproduction I require a new terminology and a new personal experience. (*P* 209)

This formulation is the culmination of Stephen's five-step development into an artist, or so Stephen would like to believe: a metaphor based on embryology, wherein art is conceived, gestated, and birthed by the artist. Yet Stephen is repulsed by biological reproduction, as established when the mere sight of the word "Foetus" scratched into a student's desk in Cork "startled his blood" (*P* 90).⁴⁹ Like the abject dangling umbilical cords and miscarriages which follow Stephen around in *Ulysses*, his childhood sensitivity to the biological reality of human procreation is implicated in his aesthetic theory, which severs reproduction from pain, blood, and umbilical connections to become a spiritual and mental exercise. While Declan Kiberd argues that, in Stephen's mind, art is "produced mainly by men who feel envious of women's birthing power and who therefore seek a compensatory act of creation,"⁵⁰ it is also an effort to orient reproduction away from biological processes, and especially away from the female-coded body to the male-coded brain. Far from valorizing 'the female' as a Platonic ideal, Stephen's appropriation of traditionally female vocabulary acts as a symbolic matricide that disempowers and negates the female experience in exchange for a fantasy of male self-birth.

Stephen's aesthetic theory is therefore both misogynistic and gender essentialist because it perpetuates biologism and mythologises motherhood as the essential component of womanhood, then exploits that connotation for symbolic resonance. His pseudo-religious declaration in *Portrait* that "O! In the virgin womb of the imagination the word was made flesh" (*P* 217) is invoked again in the reiteration of his aesthetic praxis in the "Oxen of the Sun" episode of *Ulysses*:

Mark me now. In woman's womb word is made flesh but in the spirit of the maker all flesh that passes becomes the word that shall not pass away. This is the postcreation. *Omnis caro ad te veniet*. No question but her name is puissant who aventried the dear corse of our Agenbuyer, Healer and Herd, our mighty mother and mother most venerable and Bernardus saith aptly that She hath an *omnipotentiam deiparae supplicem*, that is to wit, an almightiness of petition because she is the second Eve and she won us, saith Augustine too, whereas that other, our grandam, which we are linked up with by successive anastomosis of navelcords sold us all, seed, breed and generation, for a penny pippin. But here is the matter now. Or she knew him, that second I say, and was but creature of her creature, *vergine madre, figlia di tuo figlio*, or she knew him not and then stands she in the one denial or ignorancy with Peter Piscator who lives in the house that Jack built and with Joseph the joiner patron of the happy demise of all unhappy marriages, *parceque M. Léo Taxil nous a dit que qui l'avait mise dans cette fichue position c'était le sacré pigeon, ventre de Dieu! Entweder* transubstantiality *oder* consubstantiality but in no case subsubstantiality. And all cried out upon it for a very scurvy word. A pregnancy without joy, he said, a birth without pangs, a body without blemish, a belly without bigness. Let the lewd with faith and fervour worship. (*U* 14.292-311)

Stephen's theory of a male "womb of imagination" (*P* 217) overwrites the literal labouring female body in the chapter, that of Mina Purefoy, as "the corruptible flesh born of the mother" is, in the words of Ellen Carol Jones, "transformed by the (male) artist into the incorruptible *logos*."⁵¹ Stephen is here repurposing the Catholic belief in transubstantiation, where the host transforms into the literal flesh of Christ upon ingestion by a true believer, into the artist conceiving the *bon mot*. Prelapsarian Eve, the only mother whose belly is "without blemish" (possessing no navel) and whose labour is "without pangs," is championed as an Aristotelian ideal Mother; Stephen—and, consequently, Joyce, according to some—therefore "repudiates the real mother's womb, while he worships it in its imaginary form."⁵² Enda Duffy writes that it is in "moments such as this... it can appear as if the male poet is envious of the procreative act of the woman giving birth and wishes to equal her power which impresses him so much."⁵³ Stephen, supposedly speaking in the voice of William Shakespeare, declares in the library, "I am big with child. I have an

unborn child in my brain. Pallas Athena!” (*U* 9.785-6), similarly mythologising reproduction—invoking the myth of Athena born from Zeus’s forehead and depicting himself as an expectant God-artist-father. Moreover, the parturition of Shakespeare’s great plays occurs as Stephen “clasp[s] his paunchbrow with both birthaiding hands” (9.877), adding midwife to his row of titles. For Frances L. Restuccia, it is clear that Joyce’s “rejection of the real [biological] womb via Stephen” is what allows him to “to pursue the imaginary womb, the womb of writing” and take on this role, thus manifesting “womb envy,” but only “within the rhetoric of Catholicism.”⁵⁴ For Joyce, at least within *Ulysses*, the creation of art is thus inherently patriarchal, relating to Creation rather than—or in addition to—gestation in the literal sense.

Hélène Cixous argues that “art, religion, and physical gestation [came] to coincide in [Joyce’s] mind” as the “basis of his aesthetic” later than the same thought occurs to Stephen, namely, during the period when *Stephen Hero* becomes *Portrait*—around September 1907.⁵⁵ On 26 July 1907, Nora was delivered of their second child, Lucia, in the same hospital where Joyce was recovering from rheumatism of the joints, and Cixous points to this experience, where both mother and father were confined to bed for several months of convalescence, as the moment where the metaphor began to take hold. While Nora nursed their newborn daughter, Joyce nursed his brainchild, and he believed that he was “[experiencing] the same feelings as an expectant mother.”⁵⁶ Joyce’s earliest known linkage of the language of reproduction to his artistic capabilities is in letters to Nora written two years later. In one such letter, dated 5 September 1909, he implicates her as a collaborator whose fertility nurtures his art:

Guide me, my saint, my angel. Lead me forward. *Everything* that is noble and exalted and deep and true and moving in what I write comes, I believe, from you. O

take me into your soul of souls and then I will become indeed the poet of my race. I feel this Nora, as I write it. My body soon will penetrate into yours, O that my soul could too! O that I could nestle in your womb like a child born of your flesh and blood, be fed by your blood, sleep in the warm secret gloom of your body! (*SL* 169)

The impulse that Lisa Rado identifies as being a “deep-seated desire for identification and union with the mother”⁵⁷ becomes even more pronounced in his later letters, where Joyce no longer sees Nora as the source of his creative fertility, but rather a parallel to his own procreative-maternal instinct. In a 1912 letter to Nora, Joyce describes *Dubliners* as “the child which I have carried for years and years in the womb of imagination as you carried in your womb the children you love, and... fed it day after day out of my brain and memory” (*SL* 203). Rather than being “fed by [Nora’s] blood” in her womb, Joyce’s stories are fed from his thoughts, and this conceptualization reorients procreation from the biological to the metaphorical, just as Stephen will attempt in both *Portrait* and *Ulysses*.

Of course, employing a procreative metaphor for artistic production was neither invented by, nor exclusively used by, Joyce. The childbirth metaphor has been a feature of literature for centuries, if not millennia—take, for example, the male ‘soul pregnancy’ described by Diotima in Plato’s *Symposium*—though Susan Stanford Friedman writes that the metaphor is more “controversial” in a modern context, having been variously taken up and rejected by second- and third-wave feminist theorists and writers over the course of the twentieth century.⁵⁸ Cixous, for example, wrote of the desire to write as a “gestation drive,” or “a desire to live self from within, a desire for the swollen belly, for language, for blood” in “The Laugh of the Medusa,” employing the metaphor in a positive, feminist context.⁵⁹ Friedman’s analysis of dozens of examples between the 1920s and 1980s reveals that female writers often risk implicating themselves in “the metaphor’s dangerous biologism” in order to use it to subvert the “fundamental binary oppositions of patriarchal ideology

between word and flesh, creativity and procreativity, mind and body”⁶⁰ of a kind that Stephen Dedalus espouses. However, the use of the childbirth metaphor can and should be criticised when it participates in the marginalisation of vulnerable groups through biologism. For example, the reduction of the human body to its reproductive processes can be harmful to women and gender-nonconforming individuals in social, medical, and legal contexts. DiQuinzio demonstrates how, by rejecting the biologically determinist notion that “women are destined by nature or biology to be mothers or that mothering behavior is a function of a [biologically created] ‘maternal instinct’,” feminist social constructivism criticises how women’s role in reproduction has historically “[come] to be considered the basis of feminine gender identity.”⁶¹ In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir wrote that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman,”⁶² marking the first formal distinction between biological sex assigned at birth and gender identity—the basis for Judith Butler’s theory of gender performativity, among other important milestones in feminist criticism. Second-wave feminist writers, following suit, pushed back against gender essentialism, arguing that gender differences are socially constructed.⁶³ Mary Ellmann anticipates more recent concerns of materiality and biological reductionism in her critique of the trend in 1968, and critics like Elaine Showalter and Nina Auerbach later demonstrated how the childbirth metaphor simply inverts traditional phallogentric analogies for literary or artistic production, creating a new, equally regressive biologism, centering on the womb.⁶⁴ Auerbach highlighted the metaphor of paternity as literary authority in her review of *The Madwoman in the Attic*, writing the book ignores “an equally timeless and, for me, even more oppressive metaphorical equation between literary creativity and childbirth.”⁶⁵ Auerbach is critical of the way that Gilbert and Gubar construct their analysis of women’s writing upon foundations of literary paternity; they assert that “[in] patriarchal western

culture... [a] text's author is a father, a progenitor, an aesthetic patriarch whose pen is an instrument of generative power like his penis."⁶⁶ Both phallic and maternal metaphors inevitably "exclude one sex from the creative process," writes Friedman, "and in a patriarchal society it is women's creativity that is marginalized."⁶⁷

Considering even just the circle of modernists examined so far by this thesis, the vocabulary of the childbirth metaphor predominates in both fiction and nonfiction from the period and is prominently employed by women. In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf postulates that "when [a] fusion takes place... the mind is fully fertilized and uses all its faculties... Perhaps a mind that is purely masculine cannot create, any more than a mind that is purely feminine," and writes a few pages later, "Some collaboration has to take place in the mind between the woman and the man before the act of creation can be accomplished. Some marriage of opposites has to be consummated."⁶⁸ The consummation and subsequent fertilization of the mind, theorises Woolf, unifies the dual-gendered parts of the brain, both of which are necessary for artistic (re)production. In an epigraph to her book, Monika Faltejskova quotes Djuna Barnes as saying or having written, "I have no children to take care of me; my children are my books,"⁶⁹ and Sylvia Beach, the first publisher of *Ulysses*, wrote on giving up her publication rights: "And after all, the books were Joyce's. A baby belongs to its mother, not to the midwife, doesn't it?"⁷⁰ Although Rado writes that Joyce's implementation is "no ordinary birth metaphor, but rather... a transgressive attempt to write hermaphroditically,"⁷¹ Joyce is one of the few modernists who took it a step further and used the childbirth metaphor as a significant structural device both in *Portrait* and the "Oxen of the Sun" episode of *Ulysses*.⁷² The lack of materiality and nuance in Joyce's use of the childbirth metaphor as a literary device reduces the labouring

body to a hypothetical intellectual experiment, thereby sidelining and disempowering female-coded suffering for the purpose of male literary exaltation.

The “Oxen of the Sun” episode of *Ulysses* is a particularly egregious example of a male artist appropriating the pregnant body for the purpose of metaphorical resonance, using the childbirth metaphor as a structural device for an entire episode set in a Maternity Hospital during Mina Purefoy’s difficult labour and delivery. In 1920, Joyce wrote Frank Budgen a perplexing explanation of the book’s densest episode which, if one can excuse the pun, is itself laborious to read:

...the idea being the crime committed against fecundity by sterilizing the act of coition. Scene, lying-in hospital. Technique: a nineparted episode without divisions introduced by a Sallustian-Tacitean prelude (the unfertilized ovum), then by way of earliest English alliterative and monosyllabic and Anglo-Saxon... then by way of Mandeville... then Malory’s *Morte d’Arthur*..., then the Elizabethan chronicle style..., then a passage solemn, as of Milton, Taylor, Hooker, followed by a choppy Latin-gossipy bit, style of Burton-Browne, then a passage Bunyanesque... after a diarystyle bit Pepys-Evelyn ... and so on through Defoe-Swift and Steele-Addison-Sterne and Landor-Pater-Newman until it ends in a frightful jumble of Pidgin English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel. This progression is also linked back at each part subtly with some foregoing episode of the day and, besides this, with the natural stages of development in the embryo and the periods of faunal evolution in general. The double-thudding Anglo-Saxon motive recurs from time to time... to give the sense of the hoofs of oxen. Bloom is the spermatozoon, the hospital the womb, the nurse the ovum, Stephen the embryo. (*SL* 251-52)

Stanley Sultan illustrated as early as 1964 that the ending lines of Joyce’s description are not only “unsuccessful device[s]” but also “a bit silly.”⁷³ “Babies and foetuses,” Sultan writes, “are constantly being discussed by virtue of the chapter’s basic theme,” but, with the exception of a single line about a Darwinian “missing link of creation’s chain” (*U* 14.858), “there is no vestigial relic of a past anthropological age,”⁷⁴ thus making the chapter unlikely to evoke “periods of faunal evolution in general” (*SL* 252). The “thudding Anglo-Saxon

motive” as oxen hoofbeats is perhaps the most tenuous allusion, and the correlations of Stephen, Bloom, and Nurse Callan with the embryo, spermatozoon, and ovum in the ‘womb’ of the hospital are likewise somewhat of a stretch. Only Stephen’s infantile cry of “Burke’s!” (*U* 14.1391) as the rowdy students leave the hospital can be related back to the metaphor, depicting a ‘birth’ following the conception and gestation of the previous nine parts of the episode.

While it has long been acknowledged that the episode “is structurally, and stylistically, a celebration of procreation,”⁷⁵ newer criticism looks beyond the tired metaphor that Joyce outlines for the “nineparted episode” to include symbolic meaning beyond the gestational. John Gordon, for example, reads “Oxen” as “an episode abounding in evidence as to why it deserves to be taken literally,” and discusses the realism of an episode which is he interprets as a morality drama that reinstates paternal values through its mimetic rendering of the literary canon.⁷⁶ Sam Slote, on the other hand, argues that “Oxen” is “Joyce’s way of reasserting the uncircumventable primacy of maternity back into artistic creation as a redress for Stephen’s matricidal auto-genetics.”⁷⁷ Slote reads Bloom’s empathy and maternal instinct as “corrective to Stephen’s sullen, solipsistic, and matricidal egoism,” noting that Stephen’s desire to “usurp [procreative] creative energy for himself” is rooted in his orthodox Catholic position in regards to Creation and the soul. Bloom, on the other hand, “recognizes the creative in the procreative” and, through his unique multiperspectivalism, opens up a plurality of interpretation that renders the episode’s anti-maternal position less pronounced.⁷⁸ However, the procreative metaphor in “Oxen” is nevertheless one which thoroughly enjoins motherhood and womanhood, participating in gender essentialism on both a symbolic and literal level. The episode reduces the female body to a vessel which carries and delivers the male child while simultaneously obfuscating

a mother's suffering with the howling of drunken college boys, sudden linguistic and narrative shifts, and heavy-handed philosophical speculation.

Reproduction and labour are continuously overshadowed in the episode by masculine-coded textual production,⁷⁹ which is represented by the boisterous male medical students who drown out the agonies endured by Mina Purefoy in the final hours of her three-day labour. Although the style of "Oxen" purportedly "represents the supposed relationship between reproduction and textual production" by depicting the development of literary language as mirroring human gestation, the labouring mother is largely ignored throughout the episode.⁸⁰ Even Slotte's optimistic reading notes that "if maternity is reasserted in 'Oxen,' it is hardly apparent in the account of Mina Purefoy's difficult labours."⁸¹ And indeed, the successful resolution of the labour is attributed to the work of the male doctor rather than the person giving birth. The Dickensian passage describes how "It has been a weary weary while both for patient and doctor," initially equalising their contributions, and goes on to highlight the role of medical intervention: "All that surgical skill could do was done and the brave woman had manfully helped" (*U* 14.1311-13). The (surely ironic) praise given to Mina Purefoy for enduring a horrifically gruelling labour is that she "manfully helped" the doctor deliver the baby, rather than *him* assisting *her*. That her labour is gendered as 'manly' further inscribes this moment with a reversal of the biological and cultural, as has been described by Slotte in his discussion of how recapitulation theory has been applied to "Oxen" in previous scholarship.⁸² The near-superhuman endurance and fortitude of the mother is here equated to masculinity, demonstrating the patriarchal appropriation of female-coded power in the episode. Martha Fodaski Black argues that "the phallogentric power of composing and creating" represented by Stephen's aesthetic theory compensates for "male pussy envy."⁸³ Like its better-known

cousin, the Freudian concept of penis envy, Fodaski Black's accusations of "pussy envy" among the men attending the Purefoy birth encompasses a desire for not only gestational productivity (often described in psychology as "womb envy"⁸⁴) but also for the muscular and sexual power of the vagina itself. Molly Bloom will later speculate that men are "all mad to get in there where they come out of you'd think they could never go far enough up... because there's a wonderful feeling there so tender all the time" (*U* 18.806-9).⁸⁵ As the entry point to the "tender" maternal space of the womb, the vagina is both an object of sexual desire and a mythological embryonic haven for Stephen, Bloom, and the medical students. In a show of patriarchal superiority, these men, as intruders/onlookers at the Purefoy birth, appropriate the suffering of her female-coded anatomy for their own purposes: for Stephen, birth is overwritten by the act of artistic production; for Bloom, the birth inspires one of two distinct transsexual fantasies in which he suffers as 'women' suffer. In the second fantasy, Bloom is assaulted and degraded by sexual predators and suffers under the male gaze, whereas in the first he undergoes medical humiliation during his own version of Mina Purefoy's labour.

2.2 The Bloom of Motherhood

Bloom's first transformation into a female-coded body in the "Circe" episode takes place in a sterile, medicalised setting, where he is stripped naked for an examination at the behest of a kangaroo court. In the operating theatre/courtroom, Bloom is declared to be "a finished example of the new womanly man" who is "about to have a baby" by the medical students who attended the Purefoy birth in "Oxen of the Sun," despite having an intact hymen (*U* 15.1798-9, 1810). Bloom's 'virgin' birth, rather than taking place over three agonizing days, is seemingly finished with one effortless push:

BLOOM

O, I so want to be a mother.

MRS THORNTON

(In nursetender's gown.) Embrace me tight, dear. You'll be soon over it. Tight, dear.

(Bloom embraces her tightly and bears eight male yellow and white children. They appear on a redcarpeted staircase adorned with expensive plants. All the octuplets are handsome, with valuable metallic faces, wellmade, respectably dressed and wellconducted, speaking five modern languages fluently and interested in various arts and sciences. Each has his name printed in legible letters on his shirtfront: Nasodoro, Goldfinger, Chrysostomos, Maindorée, Silversmile, Silberselber, Vifargent, Panargyros. They are immediately appointed to positions of high public trust in several different countries as managing directors of banks, traffic managers of railways, chairmen of limited liability companies, vicechairmen of hotel syndicates.) (U 15.1816-32)

According to Alan Dundes, Bloom's first transformation into a woman here is "more complete" than the second, because of his pregnancy: a real woman, Dundes argues, bears children, and the ideal woman "does not need a man at all to produce a child," like the Virgin Mary.⁸⁶ Bloom's impressive delivery of octuplets with a single push demonstrates the power of his fantasy womb and vagina. Unlike Mina Purefoy, who requires the assistance of a male doctor to deliver a single baby boy after three long days, Bloom's octuplets are born without any medical intervention and all eight are immediately valuable members of society. As John Bormanis writes, "Bloom's hallucinatory mothering of octuplets... symbolically one-ups Mrs. Purefoy's three-day labour and establishes him as the mother *par excellence*."⁸⁷ While the youngest Purefoy will soon be "christened Mortimer Edward after the influential third cousin of Mr Purefoy in the Treasury Remembrancer's office, Dublin Castle" (U 14.1334-6), it is Bloom's sons who are "immediately appointed to positions of high public trust" (15.1829) and whose names are

multilingual representations of their material wealth.⁸⁸ In every way, Bloom's fantasy labour, delivery, and offspring outshine the Purefoy birth of the previous chapter.

Like the milkwoman in "Telemachus," Mina Purefoy also becomes dehumanised as the source of natal nutrition, becoming a cow in the eyes of the medical students: "Drink, man, an udderful! Mother's milk, Purefoy, the milk of human kin, ...milk of madness, the honeymilk of Canaan's land. Thy cow's dug was tough, what? Ay, but her milk is hot and sweet and fattening. No dollop this but thick rich bonnyclaber. To her, old patriarch! Pap!" (*U* 14.1434-9). Here Mina becomes the mythical 'Oxen of the Sun' and disappears from the narrative once the baby is born, while her husband, who was not even present for the birth, is celebrated for his role in the conception: "By heaven, Theodore Purefoy, thou hast done a doughty deed and no botch!" (14.1410-11). Although the focus of the episode is generally on how the drunken medical students, to quote Katherine Mullin, "[map] the modulating language of the episode onto the woman's labouring body"⁸⁹ (and ignore her physical presence in the next room), Bloom is not exempt from the misogyny of the chapter or its resonances even before he performs his re-enactment by delivering the octuplets in "Circe." While Bloom's empathy for Mina Purefoy seemingly validates Molly's belief that he "understood or felt what a woman is" (*U* 18.1579), he nevertheless participates in the degradation of women and female-coded bodies, as when he declares, "Greater love than this... no man hath that a man lay down his wife for his friend" (14.360-2). Rather than giving one's *life* for his friend, as a man in battle might, Bloom offers to metaphorically lay down his *wife*, a single letter change that sacrifices woman for man, female lover for male comradeship. Molly, like Mina, is likened to chattel, passed from one man to the next: from father to husband to son (or to husband's male friend, in this case). Moreover, though Bloom fantasises about becoming a woman, the version of womanhood he enacts during

his Circean hallucinations is reductive, essentialist, and dehumanising. He first becomes the labouring woman under the male gaze of the medical students, then a whore in a cattle-market being sold to the highest bidder. He is assaulted medically, sexually, and physically by hypermasculine authority figures as his position in society in various female-coded roles becomes further degraded, moving from a marriageable virgin (15.1784-7) to the exalted and celebrated new mother (15.1810-17) to a used and abused prostitute (15.2852-3) to a female cow, dehumanised like both Mina and the milkwoman.⁹⁰

Bloom's idea of womanhood seems to revolve around these archetypes, reducing women to very limited roles in society in regard to their value to men: sexual availability, reproductive capacity, and postnatal nourishment. As David Cotter writes in *James Joyce & the Perverse Ideal*, "Bloom's empathy for women... is related to his interest in enacting woman, in becoming woman" but his version of womanhood portrays only one narrative: "woman as victim."⁹¹ For Cotter, it is clear that "Bloom never fully becomes a woman" but is rather "always a man dressed as a woman."⁹² This is because Bloom never really understands what it means to be a woman, or embodies woman as complex and complete. Bloom's re-enactment of the Purefoy birth is a performative staging of an ideal birth scenario steeped in misogynistic bodily essentialism, not a realistic portrayal of labour. In short, he skips the difficult parts; he suffers no contractions, no ring of fire, no vaginal tearing or risk of permanent injury or death. He sacrifices nothing but his own pride, and he suffers no lasting injury to it. Instead, Bloom's labour is what Stephen imagines as a "pregnancy without joy, ... a birth without pangs, a body without blemish, a belly without bigness" (*U* 14.309-11). Like the marble statue of Venus that Bloom checks for an anus in the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode, Bloom's version of womanhood is one which lacks biological wholeness.⁹³

Although Bloom seeks to experience womanhood for sexual gratification, he does so in a way that Cotter describes as “transgressing bounds, and inviting shame [as an] extension and intensification of the masochist’s provocative exhibitionism... doing what he consider[s] to be most shameful, just for the sake of [experiencing] this shame.”⁹⁴ In *Touching Feeling*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick names shame as the affect which “mantles the threshold between introversion and extroversion, between absorption and theatricality, between performativity and—performativity,” thus bridging what she earlier described as the “double-meaning of ‘performative’ as both ‘dramatic’ and ‘non-referential’.”⁹⁵ Bloom’s exhibitionism is organised along what Donald Nathanson calls the “shame/pride axis” of selfhood⁹⁶ in the “Circe” episode, where a theatrical performance of shame (a bad feeling in relation to *identity*) and pride (its positive counterpart) takes centre stage. Sedgwick writes that “shame and exhibitionism are different interlinings of the same glove” and that “transformational shame *is performance*.”⁹⁷ Performing shame for the sake of sexual gratification as part of a performative abjection of femininity is the intended and resulting outcome of Bloom’s fantasy, rather than an attempt to gain a greater understanding of or empathy for women.⁹⁸ Another outcome is the birth of a child whose paternity is certain: a son (or eight) that is Bloom’s and Bloom’s alone.

Barrie Walkley argues that an ancient practice known as “couvade” underlies the whole of *Ulysses*, structuring a very complex book with a simple device in order to provide Bloom with the biological son he desires.⁹⁹ Walkley makes compelling arguments as to where Joyce would have been exposed to the concept of couvade, a practice which has been appeared at various times across diverse cultures spanning Europe, Asia, India, the West Indies, and the Americas:

in societies where the customs are socially sanctioned, the father of the child simulates the confinement of the wife, often behaving as if he were actually giving birth. In its classical form, the husband takes to bed, experiences the contractions of labor, and perhaps even dresses in his wife's clothing. The wife... immediately after delivery gives the baby to the father, who climbs into the bed and replaces the mother.¹⁰⁰

This cultural practice could be seen as influencing Bloom's Circean hallucinations of giving birth. Bloom, as the "new womanly man," not only want to take on a more nurturing parental role, but to more fully participate in the delivery of his child, as though that participation can overcome the uncertainty of paternity. When Simon Dedalus suggests that "the wise child... knows her own father" in the "Hades" episode (*U* 6.53), Bloom is initially reminded of the death of his son: "He is right. Something to hand on. If little Rudy had lived. See him grow up. Hear his voice in the house. Walking beside Molly in an Eton suit. My son. Me in his eyes. Strange feeling it would be. From me" (6.74-77). Simon's idea reappears twice in later parts of the novel. The first occurs when Bloom sees Boylan in "Sirens" and, knowing his wife is about to be unfaithful, questions the paternity of his living child, Milly: "Wise child that knows her father, Dedalus said. Me?" (11.644-5). The second, in "Oxen," occurs to Bloom as he looks at the medical students and thinks, "Now he is himself paternal and these about him might be his sons. Who can say? The wise father knows his own child," reversing the burden of paternity from child to father (14.1062-3). However, Bloom immediately bursts his own bubble, again recalling the death of Rudy: "That youthful illusion of thy strength was taken from thee—and in vain. No son of thy loins is by thee. There is now none to be for Leopold, what Leopold was for Rudolph" (14.1075-7). Bloom's symbolic adoption of Stephen, then, is itself an act of *couvade*: the acknowledgement of a son, regardless of biological paternity. Both Bloom's acts of

couvade fail to produce a son, however, as Stephen leaves the Blooms' home rather than staying the night, and the octuplets remain a figment of his imagination.

Early readings of *Ulysses* sometimes concluded that the Blooms' marriage will be saved through the subsequent conception and birth of a son. Walkley, for example, writes that "the decision has been made and Leopold is a different man," determining that Bloom has decided to "pursue coition and conception [of a son]" by the end of the novel—a textually unsupported fictitious future imagined for the family. His conclusion that Bloom's maternal inclinations are a "fraud" resolved in his Circean hallucinations, which restore order—"matriarchy has become patriarchy"—assumes the natural order of the world is patriarchal, or that Joyce believed it to be so.¹⁰¹ In the tradition of early Joyce scholars Stanley Sultan and Hugh Kenner, Walkley assumes that Bloom fails as a husband (and as a man) for not being "unequivocally masculine," but that his temporary experience of womanhood in "Circe" somehow corrects this imbalance, replacing a "henpecked husband" with a manly man ready to copulate.¹⁰² However, it is also possible to read the series of transformations into woman as failing to produce a son for Bloom because he is unable to truly consider and experience female suffering, despite Joyce's insinuation that he alone is capable of such a feat. Much of Bloom's identity of a character is built around the idea that he empathises with female suffering. For example, he alone considers the materiality of Mina Purefoy's labour:

Dth, dth, dth! Three days imagine groaning on a bed with a vinegared handkerchief round her forehead, her belly swollen out. Phew! Dreadful simply! Child's head too big: forceps. Doubled up inside her trying to butt its way out blindly, groping for the way out. Kill me that would. Lucky Molly got over hers lightly. They ought to invent something to stop that. Life with hard labour. Twilight sleep idea: queen Victoria was given that. Nine she had. A good layer. Old woman that lived in a shoe she had so many children. ... Time someone thought about it instead of gassing about... They could easily have big

establishments whole thing quite painless out of all the taxes give every child born five quid at compound interest up to twentyone five per cent is a hundred shillings and five tiresome pounds multiply by twenty decimal system encourage people to put by money save hundred and ten and a bit twentyone years want to work it out on paper come to a tidy sum more than you think. (*U* 8.373-88)

Although Bloom is nominally concerned with Mina Purefoy's pain, his musings on childbirth quickly become tied to the economic burden of large families. The idea that labouring mothers should be given more pain management is tied to taxes, queen, and country, and then to creating savings accounts for infants. These considerations are tied to his sham labour; he alone experiences no suffering in the delivery, and his children are immediately economically valuable. He even one-ups Queen Victoria, the "good layer" with nine offspring, having had ten children: Milly, Rudy, and the octuplets. Although he supposedly "[feels] with wonder women's woe in the travail that they have of womanhood" (14.119-120), Bloom does away with woe when it is his turn in the childbed—possibly because he believes he could not withstand it: "Kill me that would" (8.376-7). The scene in the maternity hospital and the hallucinatory sex changes of the subsequent chapter erase the living woman giving birth in favour of a fictional enactment of labour that does away with suffering—the condition that, for Djuna Barnes, is essential to her model of womanhood, as experienced by *Ryder's* women, and *Nightwood's* Nora, Robin, and Doctor O'Connor.

Where Joyce's novel "usurps women's space and enacts a repetition of male authorship, producing a bouncing baby boy and erasing women's voices in the process,"¹⁰³ Barnes's books centre women's voices and the material conditions of femininity which, for Barnes, inherently contain suffering. Notably, Barnes's conception of feminine suffering is not limited to bodies that would be identified female at birth or are traditionally feminine, but is instead inclusive of trans and gender-nonconforming bodies like those of Doctor

O'Connor and Robin Vote, both of whom are depicted as members of the queer 'third sex.' Their inversion and the experience of embodied suffering link these two women, as I will continue to explore in this chapter. While Joyce showcases the development of English through a patrilineal canon of styles,¹⁰⁴ Barnes employs a similar technique for *Ryder* that instead creates a matrilineal history of language and literary forms. Taking on a mock-Victorian style for most of the prose, *Ryder* is a parody of a family epic that "incorporates antiquated aesthetic sensibilities" (including parodic reproductions of the styles of Chaucer, Rossetti, Rabelais, Shakespeare, Fielding, and the Holy Bible) "stamped with Barnes's perverse wit and irony."¹⁰⁵ Although the novel, like "Oxen," nods to the male literary canon, the various chapters of *Ryder* also integrate non-traditional literary forms, many of which are female-coded: dreams, poems, letters, bedtime stories, lullabies, and old wives' tales. Barnes's novel also includes illustrations, interludes, interruptions, and even footnotes—experimentation not attempted by Joyce until *Finnegans Wake*. Barnes's work identifies the body as the locus of femininity and female suffering and the prose style is closely tied to the material conditions of *Ryder*'s women. More than just offering a female version of "Oxen's" technique, then, *Ryder* (and, later, *Nightwood*) works to foreground female suffering not as a structural device but as an essential material condition for both theme and plot. Unlike "Oxen," which writes the male literary canon onto the female body, Barnes's texts shift the development of literature away from a metaphorical "womb of imagination" (P 217) to the literal womb as a site of trauma and oppression.¹⁰⁶ Misogyny is written on the body throughout Barnes's oeuvre, from her journalism to her novels, taking the form of force-feeding, sexual assault, harassment, and especially unwanted pregnancies and childbirth. These traumas are physical as well as emotional manifestations of suffering which mark the female body as an inherent site of trauma.

Called a “tragedy of women” by an anonymous reviewer in 1928,¹⁰⁷ *Ryder* is, in many ways, an archive of female suffering through a transitional period in the fight for reproductive rights. Taking place from the mid-nineteenth century to about 1912, the novel fictionalises the unusual circumstances of the Barnes household through several generations of ‘Ryder’ women. Beginning with Cynthia Ryder, mother to fourteen, in childbed, the novel opens with maternal death. Like Stephen Dedalus’s model of “Bridebed, childbed, bed of death” (*U* 3.396), in *Ryder* the marital bed is the location of sex, birth, death, and suffering: “only the canopied bed stood out... a terrible suffering centre without extremities” (*R* 8). Responsibility for the newborn is bestowed on the eldest daughter, Sophia, as Cynthia’s dying request, rather than the father, the “right reckless Jonathan Buxton Ryder” (6). Shouldering generational trauma of maternal mortality, Sophia puts her brother “to the sister breast” (*R* 9) while nursing her own son. These opening scenes, argues Emma Heaney, establish the sacrifice and suffering of childbirth, nursing, and child-rearing as the “emblematic instance[s] of suffering, and this suffering as the peculiar destiny of the female body.”¹⁰⁸ Significantly, female suffering is also introduced in these pages as a direct consequence of female pleasure, rather than male ejaculation. On their wedding night, Jonathan Ryder leaves Cynthia to “disrobe [alone] as becomes a virgin” (*R* 7) only to find her asleep when he returns:

much later, he did come into his courage and did touch her with his arm upon her side, inquiring tenderly how she found sleep now that she was a married woman. And she awoke with a cry and said, “Oh!”—and there we draw the curtain, until she said “Oh!” again, in like manner, all in due time, near unto nine months, the one “Oh!” being the mother to the other. (*R* 8)

Cynthia’s orgasm—if we read her repeated “Ohs” like those of Gerty MacDowell in *Ulysses*—acts as a catalyst for the conception and delivery of her first child, Sophia, as it

will for her fourteenth, the brother that Sophia must nurse after their mother's death. The responsibility of motherhood is passed from mother to daughter in this and a parallel scene, where Amelia Ryder and her husband's mistress, Kate, simultaneously "[scream] their children" into the world (*R* 117). Echoing Cynthia's final labour, Amelia believes she will die in childbed and attempts to bequeath the child to her oldest, Julie, age ten, who wails "on her bed of playful maternity" and "[holds] to her breast a ragdoll" (118). Amelia settles on the name Helen for a girl, and Julie becomes frightened "because it was named" and therefore the role of mother concluded (119).¹⁰⁹ Thankfully, maternal death is avoided in this case by the arrival of Doctor O'Connor, who performs a procedure involving scissors (likely an episiotomy) and delivers a baby boy so bruised as to be mistaken for black (121).

It has been argued that the presence of Doctor O'Connor at the birth of Amelia's son, and all subsequent births in the novel, represents the medicalisation (and thus patriarchisation) of childbirth and the shift from midwifery and homebirths toward hospital births supervised by doctors.¹¹⁰ Hospital births had become much more commonplace by the 1920s, owing to medical propaganda decrying homebirths as unsafe and unsanitary.¹¹¹ In actuality, though the death rate in the overall population began dropping dramatically at the end of the 1880s, childbed deaths began increasing at this time due to improper sanitation and increased surgical interventions performed by poorly trained doctors.¹¹² From the 1880s through the 1930s, there was a steep increase in maternal mortality (plateauing between 1900 and 1935); many of these deaths can be attributed to puerperal fever, a preventable bacterial infection caused by poor sanitisation which accounts for more than 40% of all maternal deaths before the mid-1930s.¹¹³ If Doctor O'Connor is meant to represent the patriarchal institution of obstetrics and the dangers of allowing traditional

female practices like midwifery to fall into the hands of improperly trained men, Barnes has done a poor job of it; O'Connor saves both child and mother in the case of Amelia Ryder, and is called for by the women themselves because Wendell Ryder deems intervention unnecessary: "I am sufficient," he tells his mother, Sophia, when she asks if they should call for a doctor (*R* 118). In *Nightwood*, this same 'doctor' will admit, "The only people who really *know* anything about medical science are the nurses, and they never tell; they'd get slapped if they did. But the great doctor, he's a divine idiot" (*N* 35), thus undermining the authority of institutional medicine.

It is Julie, Barnes's self-portrait in *Ryder* and novel's embodiment of a New Woman, who makes the decision to send for O'Connor, and is also, notably, she who breaks the cycle of continuous female suffering by refusing to become a wife and mother, as per her mother's instruction. Wendell is not "sufficient," and without the surgical intervention of the doctor, Amelia would have died from the obstructed birth. The patriarchy, then, is represented by Wendell, not O'Connor; even Gilbert and Gubar associate the doctor's methods with female-coded healing powers, rather than institutional medicine: "As a gynecologist of sorts, Dr. O'Connor resembles witch doctors and shamans... who have traditionally used women's garb, women's medicinal crafts, and even self-castration as a sign of their dedication to female powers."¹⁴ Miriam Fuchs similarly categorises O'Connor's healing style as in the vein of "ceremonies of pagan priests and medicine men."¹⁵ O'Connor later abandons the penetrative surgical tools associated with the overmedicalization of Western gynecology in *Nightwood*, leading to them becoming degraded relics of the past; "a rusty pair of forceps, a broken scalpel, half a dozen instruments... [and] a catheter" are all that is left of her public persona, having been

overtaken by symbols of femininity, including “some twenty perfume bottles, almost empty, pomades, creams, rouges, powder boxes, and puffs... laces, ribands, stockings, ladies’ underclothing and an abdominal brace” (N 85). In *Ryder* and the first chapters of *Nightwood*, O’Connor “poses as a member of the power structure” of Western medicine, but, as Elizabeth Dolan Kautz has discussed, is unable to truly infiltrate the masculine institution of medicine because both her “medical methods [and] rhetoric [display] an essentially feminine mode of language encapsulated by a thin pretense of traditional masculine order.”¹¹⁶ O’Connor’s natural empathy for other women makes her the perfect midwife, though because of her assigned sex she must masquerade as an obstetrician, a profession available only to men at the turn of the century, just as midwifery was then a female-only domain which O’Connor, as an unrecognised trans woman, is unable to penetrate.

In “Midwives Lament the Horrid Outcome of Wendell’s First Infidelity,” the second instance of maternal death in *Ryder* is revealed in the form of a short poem. Taking place before the arrival of Doctor O’Connor, this is the only place where midwives are discussed in the novel. The unnamed woman whom Wendell has impregnated in an affair “[dies] as women die, unequally / Impaled upon a death that crawls within” (R 93) under the care of midwives who are unable to prevent it. Women’s death, suggests Barnes, comes from within rather than from external forces, and women are therefore “physiologically suited to die” if they follow the “natural” order of procreating with men.¹¹⁷ In the lines that follow, Barnes writes that “men die otherwise, of man unsheathed / But women on a sword they scabbard too” (R 93), making a violence of heterosexual intercourse. The result is that “this girl, untimely to the point / Pricked herself upon her son and passed / Like any Roman

bleeding on the blade” (93). The betrayal of the female body is equated with the betrayal of Julius Caesar by Brutus, but the enemy of woman is her own womb and the child within. When Amelia and Kate go into labour simultaneously, Amelia asserts her belief that her death in childbed is imminent, natural, and inevitable to Julie:

The birds are singing and caring nothing of the matter, and I shall die this time, and there’s no doubt about any of it, my darling. Don’t cry, for you were not a girl when I was a girl, and what can you know? Once I was safe enough and I could not let well enough alone, I just get myself in the way of doom and damnation by being natural. So take warning by my size and don’t let a man touch you, for their touching never ends, and screaming oneself into a mother is no pleasure at all.
(R 117)

Amelia’s warning situates reproductive heterosexual sex as both the “natural” option and simultaneously “the way of doom and damnation.” Homosexuality, by contrast, is the salvation of the female body. Without the risk of pregnancy, the lifestyle depicted by Barnes in *Ladies Almanack* is the safer alternative. This is Barnes’s nihilistic aesthetic and philosophy in action. Biographer James Scott writes that Barnes’s philosophical stance is that “the entire human enterprise is an atrocious but alluring mistake”¹¹⁸ based around the mechanics of procreation:

Never to have been born at all would be the highest good, having been born, to die quickly would be the next preference. Instead, to [Barnes’s] dismay, men fall (very understandably) in love with women who reciprocate; the expression of their love generates more births and hence more deaths. And, to compound the error, life itself is filled with pain, anguish, loneliness, and suffering of every imaginable kind; therefore, even if the life-death cycle could be justified, or at least accepted with equanimity, a person is still faced with the irresolvable fact that [the] journey is not worth the ride.¹¹⁹

This interpretation of Barnes’s queer nihilistic philosophy as a defense of lesbianism based on the risks of childbirth and the medical mistreatment of women in labour relies on biologism and gender essentialism by assuming that all women can become pregnant and

that to avoid pregnancy women should love women instead of men. However, these assumptions can and should be challenged by the arrival of Doctor O'Connor, the woman who could theoretically get a woman pregnant and immediately pronounces Amelia's baby to be "a boy!" after performing the life-saving procedure (*R* 121).¹²⁰ Emma Heaney argues that the "medically underwritten certitude" of biological sex as determined by genital morphology "will be questioned by the words of this same doctor" shortly thereafter.¹²¹ O'Connor's presence in *Ryder* is largely based on her expertise in gynaecology and obstetrics, whereas, by the time of her appearance in *Nightwood*, her role is less medical and more philosophical, calling into question the social and performative aspects of gender identity through her experience of trans femininity.

The Doctor O'Connor of *Ryder* shares many qualities and proclivities with the version of the character which appears in *Nightwood*. Barnes's biographer Andrew Field argues that in *Ryder*, O'Connor "figures in the novel as the sympathetic masculine alternative to the spoiled and totally licentious Wendell Ryder, whose sexual organ houses his mind, spirit, and heart."¹²² O'Connor, in contrast to the patriarchal Wendell, "is only tenuously masculine; in desire and by nature he is a woman," writes Field. Published in the same era as the criticism which describes the doctor as "predatory" and "misogynist," Field's biography of Barnes offers a more charitable view of O'Connor's role in the novel: Acting as "an attendant good spirit to the women of *Ryder*," O'Connor is a foil to Wendell; the masculinity that has been "besmirched" by Wendell is "removed altogether in the alternative, Dr. O'Connor."¹²³ O'Connor is notably gentle with children, labouring women, and animals, even in acts typically associated with violence: "To see that man slap [the] unaccustomed bottom [of a newborn], is a lesson in tenderness" (*R* 155). The Ryder women

consequently view O'Connor as an ideal husband and father, describing her as "as nice and as good a man, and as pleasant spoken, outside the confessional, as one would wish to meet" (155). Amelia and Kate agree that O'Connor is "a man in a million" (155) and try, unsuccessfully, to convince her to take a wife:

"Matthew, it's time that you were assisting at the birth of your own, for never I saw such a man for loving-kindness, and such a way with little things. So if some good woman..." But she got no further, for Doctor Matthew O'Connor had burst into tears. "It's always been my wish," he said, struggling with his emotions, "to be called Hesper, first star of evening." (R 156)

Even here, while being repeatedly identified by the other women as a man (and the ideal man, at that), O'Connor renames herself woman, becoming a re-gendered mythological figure as she exhibits stereotypically female behaviour. The ideal man, father, and husband is, in fact, an infertile woman who covets motherhood.

2.3 The Girl that God Forgot

Hesper, the Greek name for Venus, is a male demigod associated with a female-aligned planet. Since the eighteenth century, the astronomical symbol of Venus (♀) has been the symbol for female, with the symbol for Mars (♂) being coded male, in records of pedigree and animal and plant breeding.¹²⁴ Popularised by the father of modern taxonomy, Carl Linnaeus, in the early 1750s as symbols for biological sex, these characters became nearly universal symbols for masculine and feminine gender identities by the twentieth century. By identifying herself as Hesper, or Venus, O'Connor alludes to the disparity between her biological sex and her gender identity. Mythologically, Venus is Hesperus in the evening and Phosphorus in the morning; the two are half-brothers, sons of the Titaness Eos. In the Roman tradition, Venus is the goddess of love, beauty, desire, and female

fertility. Through the Western amalgamation of the Greco-Roman pantheon, Venus is also associated strongly with the Roman Aphrodite, born from seafoam. As Hesper-Venus-Aphrodite, the doctor joins the ranks of women—not for the first or last time—through her association with the mythical and biological origins of womanhood.

Barnes mythologises the origins of humanity in *Ryder* and in *Nightwood*, extending the biological metaphor of the ‘water of the womb’ into a primordial feminine history that is ‘wet’ in both Barnes’s novels. Water and mythology connect *Nightwood*’s two most vulnerable, inverted women upon their first encounter: O’Connor and Robin Vote. In the one instance O’Connor acts in a medical capacity in *Nightwood*, she does so by waking Robin with a splash of water:

The doctor with professional roughness, brought to a pitch by his eternal fear of meeting with the law (he was not a licensed practitioner), said: “Slap her wrists, for Christ’s sake. Where in hell is the water pitcher!”

He found it, and with amiable heartiness flung a handful against her face.

A series of almost invisible shutters wrinkled her skin as the water dripped from her lashes, over her mouth and onto the bed. A spasm of waking moved upward from some deep-shocked realm, and she opened her eyes. (*N* 39)

Patricia Smith writes of this scene that depictions of “a doctor ‘slapping sense’ into a hysterical patient (usually female) or dousing her with a glass of water to ‘snap her out of it’...is familiar to the point of cliché,” but that in this case, “the cliché is inverted into a camp scenario and narrative expectation is disrupted: the patient screams out and the doctor takes the smelling salts himself, turning himself into the damsel in distress.”¹²⁵ The reversal of the role of doctor and patient is one of several inverted parallels between O’Connor and Vote. Although the reason for her collapse is unclear, there is an implication that Robin has somehow left the living world, or at least the world of women. When Felix and O’Connor first enter the hotel room, they find her flung across a bed haphazardly “surrounded by a

confusion of potted plants, exotic palms and cut flowers” (N 37). Robin’s unconscious body is described as having the “perfume... of that earth-flesh, fungi, which smells of captured dampness and yet is so dry, overcast with the odor of oil of amber, which is an inner malady of the sea” and her “flesh [having] the texture of plant life” (N 38). Being paradoxically ‘dry’ and ‘damp,’ her lifeless, corpse-like body occupies a liminal space between floral and faunal, male and female, alive and dead. Like reviving a dying plant, O’Connor ‘waters’ the somnambule to restore her to consciousness and to the waking world.

O’Connor’s method of restoring Robin evokes the myth of Adonis, the mortal lover of Aphrodite. Having been gored by a wild boar during a hunt, Adonis dies in Aphrodite’s arms. She weeps over his face, and where her tears mingle with his blood grows the anemone flower. During the festival of Adonia in ancient Greece, women would plant gardens to Adonis, small pots containing plants that would sprout quickly but soon wither and die in the hot sun, to represent the short life of Aphrodite’s lover.¹²⁶ With Robin in the role of Adonis and O’Connor playing Aphrodite, Greek myth is re-enacted with inverted gender roles. For a time, Robin will rejoin the ranks of heterosexual women to marry and procreate with Felix, though her restoration to the waking world is only temporary, and she will soon return to her sleepwalk. Fuchs writes that Felix “is overwhelmed by the excessive moisture and fecundity that permeate Robin’s bedchamber,” noting that he seems to instantly know that Robin “will one day bear his child” after watching the metamorphosis of Robin and the doctor into Adonis and Aphrodite.¹²⁷ Though the solution to Robin’s condition is simple, for Felix, the act is likened to a magic trick: “Felix now saw the doctor... make the movements common to the ‘dumbfounder,’ or man of magic... the gestures of one who, in preparing the audience for a miracle, must pretend that there is

nothing to hide” (*N* 39). What the doctor hides, in truth, is that she “[snatches] a few drops from a perfume bottle... [dusts her] darkly bristled to chin with a puff, and [draws] a line of rouge across [her] lips” while everyone is distracted by Robin (*N* 39). Borrowing Robin’s cosmetics allows the doctor to complete her transformation into Aphrodite, but because she is observed by Felix, “the whole fabric of magic [began] to decompose,” and ultimately the magic is lost (*N* 39). While restoring Robin to consciousness, the doctor steals from her and appropriates her womanhood, the femininity from which she seems to have been separated.

In *Ryder*, Barnes revises traditional history to not only include, but center, the feminine and the mythological, imagining a matrilineal lineage of memory passed from mother to child. Molly Dance is particularly representative of this aim, having ten children of unclear or unknown paternity whom she raises in a reconstructed version of Christianity that foregrounds the mother. Dance frustrates Wendell Ryder’s paternal imperatives by shirking social expectation, demanding, “Who cares?” when asked the paternity of her youngest child: “He [the father] didn’t, I don’t, and the child won’t have to” (*R* 260). Dance exposes paternity as nothing but the “legal fiction” (*U* 9.844) that Stephen Dedalus proclaims it to be, while simultaneously revealing Wendell’s philosophy of free love to itself be a sham; the only kind of polyamory acceptable to the father is polygyny, wherein the paternity of any children is undisputed. Most offensive of all to Wendell are her assertions that “one man’s thoughts are not worth much more than another’s” (*R* 261) and that men are “as identical as peas in a pod” from the waist down (250). Dance even goes so far as to ask, “how could God hold her responsible, if he made so small a difference in such important instruments?” (250), diminishing phallogocentric ideologies and dissociating fatherhood from the All Father in one fell swoop. Dance’s refusal to abide by the law of the father (Wendell, and God) emphasises the feminist commentary underlying *Ryder*. Dance’s

religious beliefs push her dismissal of patriarchal lore to a whole new level, challenging the most fundamental beliefs of male supremacy through the creation myth. Perhaps ironically, mythological origins of womanhood are juxtaposed in both *Ryder* and *Nightwood* with Christianity, and the traditionally patriarchal institution of Catholicism in particular.

Dance rewrites the entirety of the creation myth, making Jonah the “First Man” and a mermaid-like Eve, “a woman all dressed up in ribbons, and hee-hawing like an ass, which is the siren’s song,” the “First Woman” (R 256; see Figure 7). In Dance’s version, this

primordial Eve lived in a world covered by water until the whale spits out Jonah and the pair beget a series of tribes who would live on land, the first of which is the “tribe of Dance” (R 256). The story features water in highly stylised and symbolic modes, and Shin argues that the “water imagery recalls the fluids of menstruation, the amniotic sac, childbirth, tear ducts, and the like,”¹²⁸ thus recentring the feminine in its fluidity. The climax of Dance’s retelling acts to absolve women of original sin, instead blaming the Fall on man:

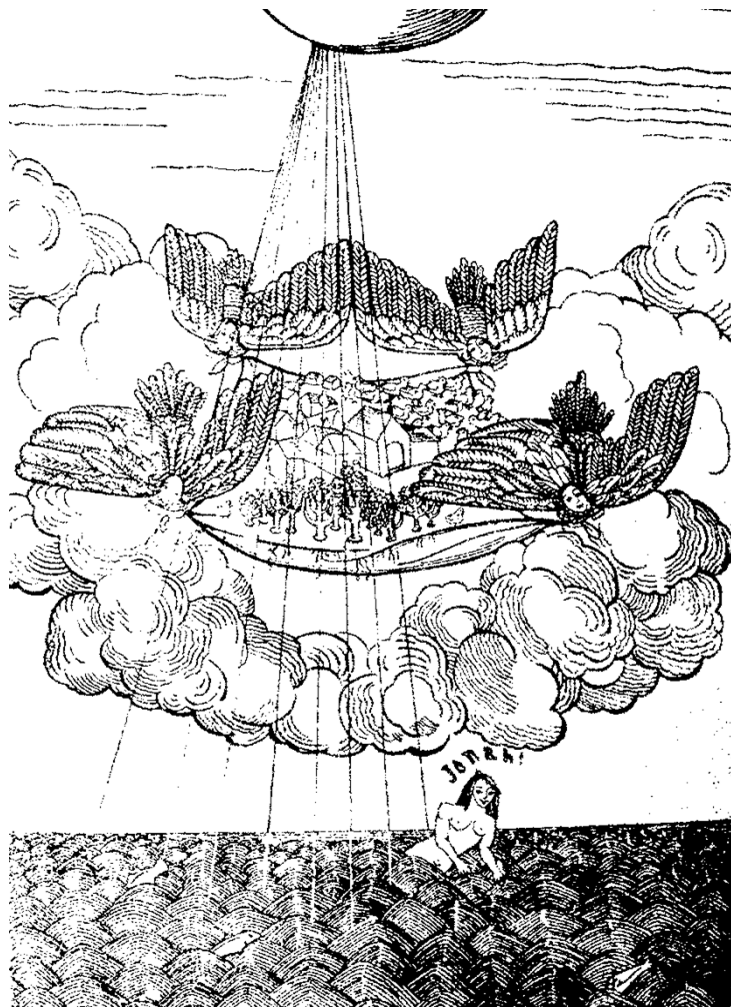


Figure 7 Djuna Barnes’s illustration of the Myth of Dance, meant to accompany Chapter Forty-Four of *Ryder*. Several illustrations had to be left out of the first edition due to censorship in the United States.

Drawn in the style of the woodcuts collected by Pierre Louis Duchartre and René Saulnier in *L’Imagerie Populaire* (1926), the illustration depicts birdlike angels bringing land and civilization to Eve, who swims nude while calling out for Jonah.

“It was an apple, surely, but man it was who snapped it up, scattering the seeds, and these he uses to this day to get his sons by” (*R* 259). The father, then, becomes responsible for damning humanity, and conception, rather than childbirth, is the punishment for his sins. Like in Stephen’s parable, the spitting of fruit seeds becomes a metaphor for ejaculation, and the phallus is made ridiculous by association.

Barnes’s bastardization of the biblical canon, which subverts male-rooted traditions by lampooning their conservatism, is indicative of a larger movement in the works of female modernists. Ellen E. Barry argues that, despite Ezra Pound’s imperative to ‘make it new,’ for many modernists, and especially the men, there was a “modernist terror” of “a world in which the hegemony of bourgeois patriarchal ideology was perceived as being at risk.”¹²⁹ For Barry, it is clear that female modernists responded to this terror by seeking “alternative cultural mythologies”—that is, they found solace in rewriting history to include the Other.¹³⁰ In *Orlando*, for example, Woolf mocks the figure of a patriarchal, all-knowing biographer as a challenge to her own father’s project to immortalise the lives of “great men.”¹³¹ By rewriting history through a bumbling, unreliable narrator, she reveals the biases of a monolithic patriarchy that manipulates which parts of history are recorded, by whom, and through what lens. Barnes’s work similarly demands “a space beyond heteronormative chronology,” forging what Shin calls “a distinctly queer-feminist time-sense... [which] open[s] up history’s elsewhere.”¹³² Barnes, like Woolf, expresses a desire to surpass the limits of “the official record, the history of the father,”¹³³ both in terms of creating a lineage of matrilineal memory and in proposing an alternative Biblical origin. And yet Dance’s revision of history is itself under attack by the novel’s most vulnerable outcast: O’Connor. The doctor’s assertion that “Heredity is absolute and conclusive proof of God and the father” (*R* 263) seems to undermine the strides made by Dance’s new

mythology, giving power to biology and patriarchy. Heredity is also a major theme in *Nightwood*. For Nancy Bombaci, heredity and performativity (in the Butlerian sense) are at constant odds in *Nightwood*, “exert[ing]... force on identity” from two sides.¹³⁴ Barnes, argues Bombaci, is in constant “vacillation between biological and rhetorical constructions of the human subject,”¹³⁵ the former of which often overrides the latter. Though not the first to note such, Bombaci describes how O’Connor’s “gender identity is firmly based on essentialist notions”¹³⁶ and argues that her “transvestism,” while at first appearing to challenge notions of innate sexual identity and strict binary gender norms, is ultimately resolved through biologism. O’Connor covets traditional femininity, from stereotypical gender roles to biological morphology, identifying herself with a tired trope of the “*anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*,” the idea of a female soul trapped in a male body first described by sexologist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in 1862.¹³⁷ Moreover, O’Connor’s Catholicism stands in stark contrast to both Molly Dance’s matriarchal alternative to Christianity and the mystical underworld of the outcasts in *Nightwood*, seemingly asserting patriarchal values in these otherwise subversive spaces.

While the doctor’s relationship with patriarchal institutions may appear to problematise her trans femininity, upon closer inspection it becomes clear that O’Connor’s relationship with Catholic Church—like her relationship with Western medicine—is non-traditional and unstable. From *Ryder*, the doctor’s Catholicism is an integral part of her outlook and her gender identity. O’Connor describes how, upon entering Father Lucas’s church, she “came down the aisle swinging my hips, ...holding my satin robe about my backsides, tripping up to God like a good woman, and me only seventeen and taking on something scandalous for the ways my sins were with me!” (R 172). Appearing before God as “a good woman” in a state of undress, O’Connor presents herself as a woman in the

place one might least expect to find acceptance of a queer body: a church. Camping though she is, O'Connor approaches God unabashedly to confess her sins "with a free heart, once a lady always an acrobat" (*R* 172), linking herself to the circus where she will find herself among the other 'freaks' of *Nightwood*—the space where one might expect to find non-traditional bodies and identities. Her articulation of herself as "the last woman left in this world, though I am the bearded lady" (*N* 107) solidifies her link to the circus and its association with 'gender-freaks,' including the "unsexed" trapeze artist, Frau Mann (*N* 15). Though the doctor claims to be "no herbalist, ...no Rutebeuf, ...not a mountebank, ...no tumbler, neither a friar, nor yet a thirteenth-century Salome dancing arse up on a pair of Toledo blades—try to get any lovesick girl, male or female, to do that today!" (*N* 22), she nevertheless integrates into that space by becoming a stationary funambulist balancing on a tightrope between genders, a persona through which she entertains, awes, and philosophises in Count Onatorio's parlour in Vienna, the *Café de la Mairie du VI^e* in Paris, and Father Lucas's church in San Francisco. The latter, the chronologically first performance of camping hyper-femininity, sets O'Connor up as the paradoxically devout Catholic whose faith upholds the rigid gender norms of the Church while undermining the biological certainty and patriarchal authority of such traditions.

Barnes depicts the theatricality of Catholic ritual in such a way as to reposition religion as a performative enactment of faith. At the turn of the century, self-identified aesthetes and decadents often "regarded the Church as, among other things, a theatre for the articulation of homosexual desire and identity through faith and through ritual."¹³⁸ Ellis Hanson writes that, following the circumstances surrounding Oscar Wilde and the Oxford movement's renewal of catholic values and traditions in the Church of England, "aestheticism of joined hands with Roman Catholic ritualism to create an atmosphere of

[unprecedented] homoerotic exuberance” and that “Anglo-Catholicism, with its attention to ritual and vestments, [thus] acquired a certain gender-bending extravagance and exoticism.”¹³⁹ It is no wonder, then, that by the 1920s, when Barnes was writing her novels, the running joke of Catholicism being a magnet for homosexuals had become demonstrably factual. In *Ryder*, the rites of confession, penance, and communion are portrayed as campy, sexualised gestures and scripts performed by the “Moll” Father Lucas (*R* 172) and Doctor O’Connor. In the confessional, O’Connor delivers a theatrical and somewhat bawdy description of her sins, an account that is titillating to Father Lucas, who begins “breathing hard in the dark of the box” (*R* 173). The confession, which is meant to be a sombre act, instead queers the celibate priest by tempting him with homosexual acts.¹⁴⁰ The rambling confession ultimately amounts to a straightforward account of O’Connor’s sexual encounters with men: “me with my susceptible orbs staring down into and up through the cavities and openings and fissures and entrances of my fellowmen” (*R* 173). O’Connor goes on to confess that her “thundering parts and... appetites... and hungers,” which she likens to “the forbidden fruit still suave in [her] mouth,” are her “anathema,” because she “love[s] the upright father, though [she] say[s] it with tears in [her] drawers” (173). Patricia Smith writes that “this inversion of values and positions—the distinction between sinner and saint, for example, is blurred to the point of illegibility—is also typical of a form of queer discourse, namely camp” and that O’Connor’s camp aesthetic thereby becomes an “unlikely (if not inappropriate) vehicle for the sacred.” She goes on to discuss how, in *Nightwood*, O’Connor’s camp creates a “double discourse whereby its statements can be either dismissed as the supercilious ravings of the marginalised or read as a dangerously subversive if nonetheless absurdly amusing commentary on social values” across her various monologues. Part universal truth and “part egregious if inspired nonsense, designed

to give the impression of authoritative truth through its aphoristic quality,” the monologues “carefully [deploy] hyperbole and [invert] the serious and the trivial as well as the sacred and profane.”¹⁴¹ These inversions, mirroring O’Connor’s struggle with her own identity as a queer devotee of a Church which condemns non-normative expressions of gender and sexuality, create a correlative relationship between the performative rituals of religion and the performance of gender roles.

The contradiction that O’Connor finds in her own existence —knowingly partaking in queer acts that the god to which she devotes herself calls sinful—is rectified when she is re-gendered by a representative of the Church. Although O’Connor acknowledges her ‘maleness’ during her confession by recounting her queer sexual encounters as escapades with “fellowmen,” Father Lucas subsequently pronounces O’Connor female, saying, “Go, my daughter... and love thy fellowmen” (*R* 173). Affirmed by this recognition of her identity in unambiguous language, O’Connor joins the ranks of womanhood with a prayer-like declaration of her absolution:

[I’ll] come to no bad end, for I’m a woman of a few thousand gestures and a hundred words, and they are going one by one into the ranks of the seraphim, and amid the mighty army of the church, and one by one they’ll fly away into forgiveness, stock and shirt and breech, redeemed into the kingdom of heaven, and who am I that I should be damned forever, Amen? (*R* 176-7)

After being identified as His daughter, O’Connor lays herself before God as a woman among women and leaves the church not only absolved of sin, but with a reified gender.

Although by the end of *Ryder* Doctor O’Connor is, by her own account, a “woman of a few thousand gestures and a hundred words” (*R* 176), it is throughout *Nightwood* that her feminine identity becomes fully realised. In order to embrace her femaleness, O’Connor allows her ties to patriarchal medicine to lapse—as illustrated by the “pile of medical

books... water-stained and covered with dust” and the “rusty pair of forceps,” “broken scalpel,” and other gynecological instruments that have been abandoned in favour of collecting the various accoutrements of femininity (N 84-85). Despite retiring from gynecology, O’Connor does not reject Catholicism; instead, she deliberately misgenders (or re-genders) God as reconciliation for being born in the wrong body: “pray to the good God; she will keep you. Personally I call her ‘she’ because of the way she made me; it somehow balances the mistake” (N 159). In retribution for being “born as ugly as God dared premeditate” (N 163), O’Connor chooses to identify God as feminine and matriarchal, not unlike the religion imagined by Molly Dance. This re-gendering can either be seen as a *quid pro quo* attack for the ‘mistake’ of her brain/body ‘misalignment’ or an effort to remake God in *her* own image. Zhao Ng argues that it may be both, categorizing O’Connor as a “hysteric” who “sets up her God and [removes] the pedestal from under his feet, [taking] ironic and critical distance from her own libidinal structure” as she attempts to “even out the botched patches of Creation.”¹⁴² O’Connor also seems to ambiguate Father Lucas’s gender as both “a good man” and “as holy a Bitch as ever trod on the tail of my satins,” once again returning to the implication of the priest as a “Moll,” or a feminised homosexual (R 176, 172). However, after her queer encounter with Father Lucas, O’Connor consistently defines *herself* as female, a shift which continues into *Nightwood* with her self-fashioning becoming an essential component of her philosophical musings and her psychotherapeutic treatment of Nora and Robin.

O’Connor’s repeated references to herself as “the girl that God forgot” are amongst many declarative statements of her gender identity throughout *Nightwood*, building off the moment of self-fashioning in *Ryder* which occurs in the confessional. Like Leopold Bloom, her imagined cisgender female ‘selves’ include configurations of girlhood and womanhood

that conflict with one another; she is simultaneously a girl, an old woman, a bride, a mother, a grandmother, a whore, and a virgin. She asks Felix early in the novel, “Why is it that whenever I hear music I think I’m a bride?”, and he diagnoses her with “neurasthenia,” a nineteenth-century diagnosis of manic depression also called ‘Americanitis’ (N 36).¹⁴³ She admits to Jenny Petherbridge that she married her brother’s widow and adopted their children “to make a mother of himself” (N 80) and joined the army to appease her father, recounting how she thought she would “be shot for man’s meat, but go down like a girl, crying in the night for her mother” in the war (N 81). If she “had to do it again, grand country though it is [to fight for],” she admits that she would rather “be the girl found lurking behind the army” (N 79). She calls herself variously “the Lily of Killarney,” “the last woman left in this world,” “the bearded lady,” “the Old Woman who lives in the closet,” “a lady in need of no insults,” and “an old worn out lioness,” asking of Jenny, “am I not the girl to know of what I speak?” (N 103, 107, 146, 161, 172, 79). When approached by a heartbroken Nora, O’Connor acknowledges that Nora sought her out because she is “the other woman that God forgot” (N 151), each having been rejected by society and finding themselves alone and unloved in that “that priceless Galaxy of misinformation called the mind, harnessed to that stupendous of threadbare glomerate compulsion called the soul, ambling down the most obliterated bridle path of Well and Ill... [in] the holy Habeas Corpus, the manner in which the body is brought for the judge” (N 159-60). Having thus “divorced” herself—separated her mind and soul from her body—O’Connor believes that by realizing the truth of her dislocation, “with propinquity and knowledge... I have damaged my own value” (N 163). Unable to continue living the lie of her body, O’Connor tells an ex-priest that,

the more you go against your nature, the more you will know of it... I've done and been everything that I didn't want to be or do—Lord, put the light out—so I stand here, beaten up and mauled and weeping, knowing I am not what I thought I was, a good man doing wrong, but the wrong man doing nothing much... I have been made so miserable by what you are keeping hushed. I'm an old worn out lioness, a coward in my corner; for the sake of my bravery I've never been one thing that I am. (N 172)

Living as and acting the role of 'the good man,' 'the doctor,' and even 'the homosexual' has done O'Connor irreparable psychic and physical damage. At the end of the novel, she is last seen having a drunken breakdown, hoping "to be recognized" as the "gem" she is, and lamenting that she is still "all in one piece" (N 174). O'Connor is haunted by the belief that in a previous life, she was "possibly a girl in Marseilles thumping the dock with a sailor," but that she "turned up this time as [she] shouldn't have been" (97)—that is, in 'male body' that she does not recognise or claim as her own, and wishes harm upon that body among her final pronouncements of the novel: "If you don't want to suffer you should tear yourself apart" (N 174).¹⁴⁴ The incongruity between sexed body and gendered mind/soul marks the character as, in today's terms, dysphoric.

Despite these overt declarations of womanhood and even a surprisingly modern articulation of the separation of the sexed body and the gendered self, O'Connor's trans femininity has been significantly overlooked in academic readings of the novel; for much of the novel's afterlife as a modernist text, scholars have categorised O'Connor as a homosexual man and cross-dresser rather than as a trans woman. Jane Marcus, for example, characterises *Nightwood* as a rhetorical space where "the symbolic phallus as law is absent," supplanted by the "wayward penis of the outlaw and transvestite."¹⁴⁵ Marcus's analysis follows from Teresa De Lauretis's take on O'Connor as a psychoanalytic expert in

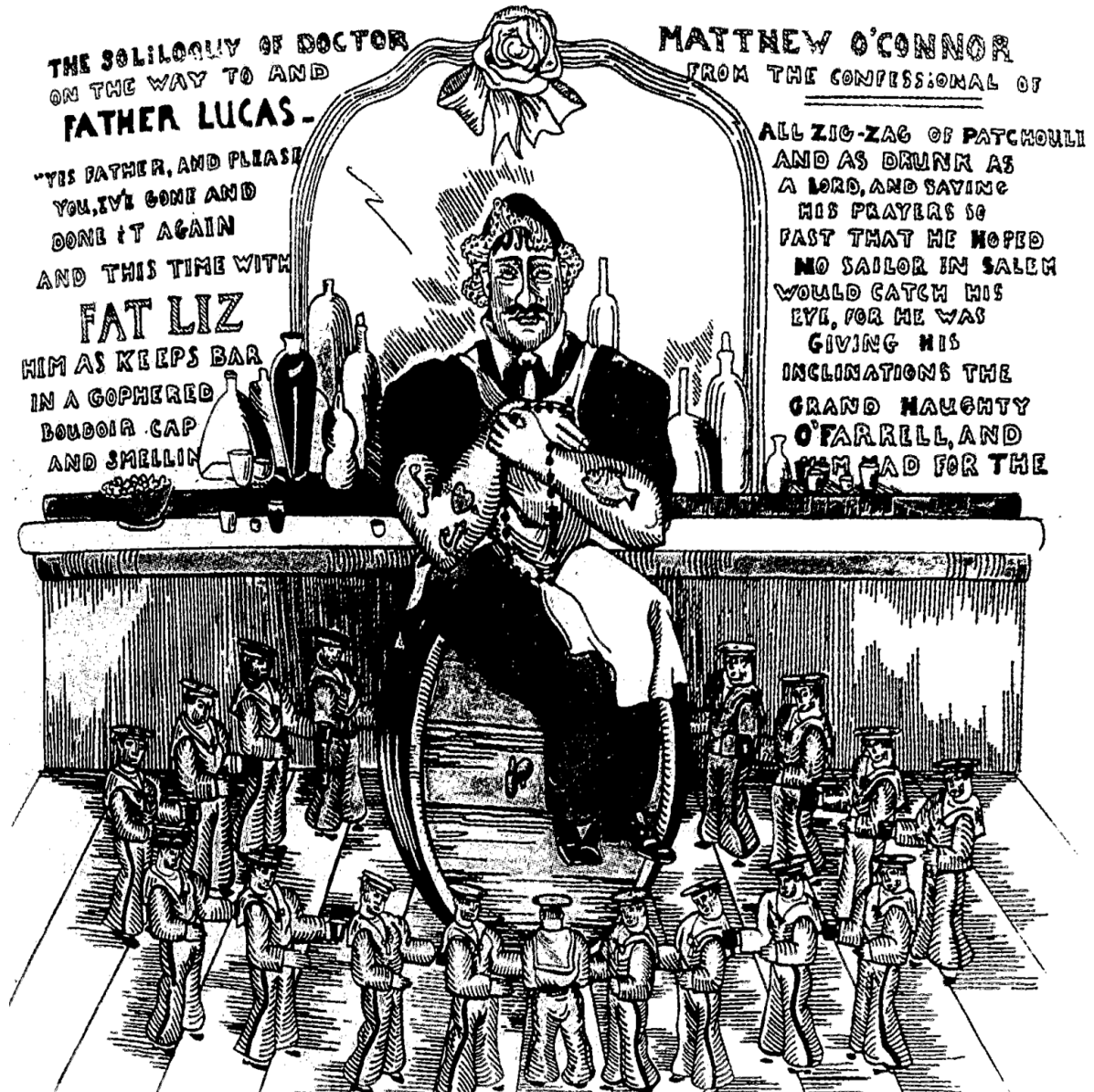


Figure 8 Djuna Barnes's illustration of Matthew O'Connor for the first edition of *Ryder*.

The drawing depicts O'Connor (or possibly Fat Liz¹⁴⁶) holding forth in a bar before a circle of miniature drunken sailors. In the character's hands is a rosary, indicating the importance of religion. The doctor appears to be wearing a collared shirt and tie covered by a white apron. A ruffly bonnet completes the queer attire. These feminine touches contrast sharply with the character's mustache and visible tattoos: a snake, an anchor, a heart pierced by an arrow, and a fish, most of which are common symbols tattooed on sailors. The snake may represent potency and phallic power; the anchor represents stability and may indicate that a sailor has successfully sailed across the Atlantic; and pierced hearts represent the loss a loved one, often a sailor's mother.¹⁴⁷ The fish is an uncommon nautical tattoo with unclear symbology, but may be a nod to the *ichthys*, or 'Jesus fish.'

The text on the drawing reads: The Soliloquy of Doctor Matthew O'Connor on the Way to and from the Confessional of Father Lucas: "Yes father, and please you, I've gone and done it again and this time with Fat Liz him as keeps bar in a gophered boudoir cap and smellin' all the zig-zag of patchouli, and as drunk as a lord, and saying his prayers as fast as he hoped no sailor in Salem would catch his eye, for he was giving his inclinations the grand haughty O'Farrell and him mad for the..."

the tradition of Freud.¹⁴⁸ For Marcus, the expertise is a satirical rendering of the masculine fields of sexology and psychoanalysis emerging in the modernist period, resulting in criticism of these new medical models and the male doctors who practice them. Marcus writes that O'Connor,

like Tiresias in Eliot's "Waste Land," suggests emasculation, not the ancient and powerful life-force of mythical transvestite figures. Barnes's doctor-transvestite is only posing as a gynecologist, and he identifies with the maternal principle. He lampoons all the male sex doctors whose own sexual identity was so troubled, from Otto Weininger to Havelock Ellis... to the Freud of the Fleiss letters.¹⁴⁹

While De Lauretis doesn't go so far as to suggest that O'Connor is a direct parody of Freud or sexology, she instead reads the doctor's monologues as "sustained mediation" Freudian drives.¹⁵⁰ De Lauretis acknowledges the materiality of the doctor as "a queen and quite possibly transsexual," but also reduces her to "that other American pervert, who knows the abject degradation of the ego."¹⁵¹ Monika Faltejskova similarly reads O'Connor's "perception of himself as a woman trapped in a man's body" as being a manifestation of male inadequacy. She describes how the doctor's gender identity is rooted in misplaced penis envy; believing the doctor to be sexually impotent, Faltejskova concludes that a "lack of maleness and masculinity" is being covered up or accounted for through the desire for a 'female role' in reproduction.¹⁵² This interpretation assumes that Doctor O'Connor is an impotent, unfulfilled homosexual man, rather than a trans woman, as this thesis—as well as other recent interpretations, including Timothy Beck Werth, Emma Heaney, and Zhao Ng—proposes.

Setting aside for a moment the doctor's consistent self-identification as a woman in both *Ryder* and *Nightwood*, her bodily sensations are textbook manifestations of gender dysphoria as we understand it today. While Dr. Chris Freeman has been quoted as saying,

“We can’t use phrases like gender dysphoria without a huge asterisk” in regard to characters and people in the past, he agrees that “today, [O’Connor] would be called gender dysphoric.”¹⁵³ For the DSM-5, the diagnostic label of ‘gender identity disorder’ was replaced by ‘gender dysphoria’ to describe “the incongruence between one’s felt gender and assigned sex/gender... leading to distress and/or impairment.”¹⁵⁴ The DSM-5 diagnostic criteria for gender dysphoria in adults can be found in Table 1. Several of O’Connor’s articulations of her gender map onto these criteria. Only two of six of the manifestations are required for a diagnosis of gender dysphoria; O’Connor displays all six. Mirroring the scene in *Ryder* where O’Connor confesses to Father Lucas, one of the best examples of O’Connor as “a woman, struggling to express herself in a man’s shape”¹⁵⁵ also takes place in a church. In this scene, which merits quotation at length, O’Connor recounts exposing her penis to God:

Kneeling in a dark corner, bending my head over and down, I spoke to Tiny O’Toole because it was his turn; I had tried everything else. There was nothing for it this time but to make him face the mystery so I could see him clear as it saw me. So then I whispered, ‘What is this thing, Lord?’ and I began to cry... I was crying because I had to embarrass Tiny like that for the good it might do him.

I was crying and striking my left hand against the *prie-dieu*, and all the while Tiny O’Toole was lying in a swoon. I said, “I’ve tried to seek, and I only find.” I said, “It is I, my Lord, who know there’s beauty in any permanent mistake like me. Haven’t I said it so? But,” says I, “I’m not able to stay permanent unless you help me, O Book of Concealment! *C’est le plaisir qui me bouleverse!* The roaring lion goes forth, seeking his own fury! So tell me, what is permanent of me, me or him?” and there I was in the empty, almost empty church, all the people’s troubles flickering in lights all over the place. And I said, “this would be a fine world, Lord, if you could get everybody out of it.” And there I was holding Tiny, bending over and crying, asking the question until I forgot and went on crying, and I put Tiny away then, like a ruined bird, and went out of the place and walked looking at the stars that were twinkling, and I said, “Have I been simple like an animal, God, or have I been thinking?” (N 140-41)

This scene has been alternately celebrated and criticised by scholars. Marcus reads this moment as evidence that Barnes “privileges the penis,” going so far as to say that it “celebrates the nonphallic penis, the limp member of the transvestite... [masturbating] in church like the Jongleur of Notre Dame doing tricks for the Virgin Mary.”¹⁵⁶ Heaney, on the other hand, sees this scene as “the most complex and significant Barnesian rendering of trans feminine somatic experience,” arguing that “the woman with a penis becomes a figure for the experience of bodily alienation” and thus an anti-Freudian inversion of ‘penis envy’ which reveals that “an index of female embodiment” is part of a universal “transsexual experience.”¹⁵⁷ For Tyrus Miller, the scene “forces transsexual disjuncture between [O’Connor’s] gender identification and the sexed body, thus making sexual identity a fantasy of essentiality, belied by the mistake of the physical body.”¹⁵⁸ Calling herself (and her penis) a “permanent mistake,” O’Connor asks of God whether her male-sexed body, represented by Tiny O’Toole, or her female-gendered soul, what she calls “me,” is what will be “permanent” in the afterlife. Olivia Harris argues that being forced to reckon with this existential question “strengthens [O’Connor’s] relationship with God” rather than straining it, perhaps because “theology itself resists the barriers that define normal and abnormal, acceptable and forbidden, male and female.”¹⁵⁹ Despite a biblical injunction against cross-dressing, for example, the attire of male clergy is often associated with and confused for female garments.¹⁶⁰ O’Connor’s non-normative gender can thus be made legible through her ordination as a pseudo-priest and a contemporary understanding of gender dysphoria.

Table 1 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, fifth edition (DSM-5) criteria for gender dysphoria in adults¹⁶¹

A. A marked incongruence between one’s experienced/expressed gender and assigned gender, of at least six months’ duration, as manifested by at least two of the following:
1. A marked incongruence between one’s experienced/expressed gender and primary and/or secondary sex characteristics (or in young adolescents, the anticipated secondary sex characteristics)
2. A strong desire to be rid of one’s primary and/or secondary sex characteristics because of a marked incongruence with one’s experienced/expressed gender (or in young adolescents, a desire to prevent the development of the anticipated secondary sex characteristics)
3. A strong desire for the primary and/or secondary sex characteristics of the other gender
4. A strong desire to be of the other gender (or some alternative gender different from one's assigned gender)
5. A strong desire to be treated as the other gender (or some alternative gender different from one's assigned gender)
6. A strong conviction that one has the typical feelings and reactions of the other gender (or some alternative gender different from one’s assigned gender)
B. The condition is associated with clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

Both within the confines of the Church and beyond them, Matthew O’Connor demonstrates ample desire to trade her male-coded body parts for feminine equivalents, having “turned up this time as I shouldn’t have been, when it was a high soprano I wanted, and deep corn curls to my bum, with a womb as big as the king’s kettle, and a bosom as high as the bowsprit of a fishing schooner” (N 97). Here she describes desiring specific physical manifestations of her gender rooted in biologism: a higher voice, longer hair, a uterus, and large breasts. She also articulates a desire to socially live as a woman, abiding by traditional gender roles within the confines of a heterosexual marriage:

in my heart is the wish for children and knitting. God, I never asked better than to boil some good man’s potatoes and toss up a child for him every nine months by

the calendar. Is it my fault that my only fireside is the outhouse? And that I can never hang my muffler, mittens and Bandybrook umbrella on anything better than a bit of tin boarding as high as my eyes, having to be brave, no matter what, to keep the mascara from running away? (*N* 98)

Although some critics, including Miller, read O'Connor's "wish for children and knitting" as producing a "representation of femininity [that is a] hyperbolically stereotypical [version] of maternity and domesticity... [that] mark[s] the utter performativity of gender,"¹⁶² it is also the embodiment of the womanhood familiar to rural Americans. This is the version of femininity that O'Connor would have witnessed in her mother and the various women whose babies she delivered in *Ryder*. Marjorie Garber notes that cross-dressers and trans women often emulate the style and behaviour of their mothers, not out of a desire to *become* their mothers, but rather because "they also need, like other 'daughters,' to separate themselves from the notion that 'the mother' is somehow equal to 'woman'."¹⁶³ O'Connor's stereotyped representations of ideal womanhood can be read as a manifestation of this common phenomenon, wherein a trans woman's fashion sense and behavioural cues are 'outmoded,' being based on her subconscious association of womanhood with her mother rather than women her own age. For O'Connor, motherhood *is* womanhood: to be a mother is to be a woman, and for that reason, she covets both the appearance and role of the mother, as well as the biological associations thereof.

O'Connor's gender dysphoria is intrinsically linked to biologism and essentialist notions of womanhood. She maps her gender identity onto the desire for a "womb as big as the king's kettle" and the ability to become pregnant so that she may "toss up a child... every nine months" like Mina Purefoy (*N* 97, 98). In *Ryder*, O'Connor declares that she would even prefer to "die like a woman" after Wendell describes how when a woman "dies in child-bed... she becomes as near to the saints as my mind can conceive... [having] died

at the apex of [her] ability” (R 265). Like the many women who die due to pregnancy complications in *Ryder*, O’Connor’s imagined death “like a woman” is tied to her desire to share in maternal suffering.¹⁶⁴ She desires “a comically distended image of the injurious hole of femininity”¹⁶⁵ in her king’s kettle-sized womb, rather than the more idealised facsimile of femininity demanded by patriarchal society: mute, demure, small, and beautiful. Having seen female suffering first-hand in her medical practice, O’Connor’s predilection is not based on theoretical configurations of ‘ideal womanhood,’ but instead an admiration of, and covetousness for, the lived reality of a female somatic experience. Thus, although the argument has been made that “‘pregnancy envy’ on the part of men is well-nigh universal,”¹⁶⁶ O’Connor’s “compulsive desire for female genitalia”¹⁶⁷ is an immediate and tangible manifestation of gender dysphoria, rather than theoretical jealousy that can be corrected through literary production.¹⁶⁸ Marcus writes that O’Connor’s “womb envy is so strong that it parodies Freudian penis envy mercilessly,”¹⁶⁹ and indeed, Freud’s psychoanalytic models leave no room for the ‘inversion’ of the penis envy/castration anxiety dichotomy that O’Connor exhibits. Throughout his career, Freud wavered between biological essentialism and the idea that sex roles are socio-cultural constructs,¹⁷⁰ whereas O’Connor—acting as both psychoanalyst and patient—demonstrates how one does not necessarily negate the other, and that the desire for a particular biological experience of womanhood may, in fact, reinforce the contemporary understanding of gender as primarily a social experience.

In contrast to Marcus, De Lauretis, and Hayden, who read O’Connor’s dysphoric desire for a ginormous womb as being primarily satirical or a “parody of Freudian analysis [that] veers towards the prophetic,”¹⁷¹ Heaney argues that Barnes instead “repurposes Freud’s theoretical figures to think physical sex beyond assigned sex,” and that *Nightwood*

says something new about the relationship between genitals and sex identity.¹⁷² Although Freud considers “shame... to be a feminine characteristic” that “has as its purpose... concealment of genital deficiency,”¹⁷³ the shame that O’Connor feels is instead for the unwanted presence of a penis. Her somatic experience of womanhood is rendered as “a dispossession of the body, a loss of control over the meanings attached and treatment afforded to bodily structures,” which Heaney argues “defines female experience” regardless of genital morphology.¹⁷⁴ Although labour and childbirth are, throughout much of Barnes’s work, emblematic of women’s suffering and bodily alienation, that pain can be best understood as insufficient agency and autonomy embodied by reproductive choice. O’Connor urgently desires the ability to become pregnant and be a mother, whereas the inverted Robin Vote rejects motherhood when it is thrust upon her.

2.4 The Third Sex

O’Connor and Vote are paralleled throughout the novel as inverted mirror images, neither quite belonging to the waking world. Like O’Connor’s penis “lying in a swoon” at the *prie-dieu* (N 140), Robin is similarly described when she first discovers that she is pregnant: “Leaning her childish face and full chin on the shelf of the *prie-dieu*, her eyes fixed, she laughed, out of some hidden capacity, some lost subterranean humor; as it ceased, she leaned still further forward in a swoon, waking and yet heavy, like one in sleep” (N 51). Both Robin and Tiny O’Toole swoon before the *prie-dieu*, a space where, perhaps ironically, the biological woman is horrified to discover that she can become pregnant, and the biological ‘man’ is horrified that (s)he cannot. That which is unwanted is presented before God; in O’Connor’s case, this is the penis, but in Robin’s, it is her whole experience of womanhood, and her entire body, that she lays at the altar for sacrifice. The shared

trauma of nonautonomy links O'Connor and Vote across the novel as two women who are alienated by their bodies and the reproductive role that those bodies are expected to play in society. When Robin gives birth, the experience is alienating, traumatic and infuriating: "Amid loud and frantic cries of affirmation and despair Robin was delivered. Shuddering in the double pains of birth and fury, cursing like a sailor, she rose up on her elbow in her bloody gown, looking about her in the bed as if she had lost something. 'Oh, for Christ's sake, for Christ's sake!' she kept crying like a child who has walked into the commencement of a horror" (*N* 52). The lack of control Robin has been given over her body has forced her into a feminised position with which she wholeheartedly disagrees. The violent rejection of motherhood both masculinises and infantilises her: she is like "a sailor," a returning archetype associated with queer men, and a genderless "child" upon whom the responsibilities of motherhood should not be conveyed.

Robin Vote's lack of bodily autonomy manifests in shock, anger, and violence against her pregnancy and child. Repeatedly referred to as a child or boy, her gender is much less concrete than O'Connor's, who I have argued exhibits demonstrable gender dysphoria and may thus be identified as a trans woman. Robin's short hair and cross-dressing bespeak to her identity as "a tall girl with the body of a boy" (*N* 50), even while pregnant. Her immature sexuality, body, and behaviour mark Robin as more 'boyish' than either 'manly' or 'womanly.' Judith Butler writes that there are a "myriad and open possibilities of cultural meaning occasioned by a sexed body,"¹⁷⁵ but those possibilities are denied to Robin upon becoming pregnant. By confining her to the role of 'woman' rather than the androgynous, genderfluid experience she enacts in the night, pregnancy causes Robin to disassociate. Her break from reality nearly leads her to kill the infant: "One night, Felix, having come in unheard, found her standing in the centre of the floor holding the

child high in her hand as if she were about to dash it down, but she brought it down gently” (N 52). This brief scene of Robin threatening to destroy the baby is revisited in her relationship with Nora, having seen her “standing in the middle of the room in boy’s clothes... holding the doll... high above her head, as if she would cast it down, a look of fury on her face” (N 156). Faltejskova reads the doll as representing “the child of heterosexual bond and thus... the social acceptability”¹⁷⁶ of a relationship, whereas Benstock argues that by “representing the homosexual female in the doll, Barnes played out the myth of the third sex in which female sexuality is ‘dead’...[according to] the heterosexual code”: Lesbianism is ‘dead,’ says Benstock “because it is not procreative,” and the “correspondence between the unsexed doll and the ambiguously sexed boy-girl can be—and often has been—read as an indictment of homosexuality.”¹⁷⁷ However, Robin’s impulse to destroy the doll can be clearly connected to her desire to kill the son she bore Felix. The doll, for Robin, represents being trapped in a maternal, female role that prevents her from enacting the androgyny afforded to children. O’Connor reveals to Nora that she “should have had a thousand children and Robin... should have been all of them” (N 107). Robin desires to destroy the doll and to *be* the doll, to kill the child and take its place. Rather than a criticism of lesbianism or a mockery of heterosexuality, then, I see the doll as representing an unsexed, androgynous position untethered to real or imagined genitalia, the epitome of the ‘third sex’ described by Doctor O’Connor.

O’Connor introduces the idea of the ‘third sex’ by using the doll given to Nora by Robin as a metaphor for “things past and to come” (N 157). A female child with a doll is at once writing themselves onto the doll, but also mothering it, as when Julie Ryder, age ten, holds “to her breast a ragdoll” while her mother labours (R 118). For O’Connor, the doll is both “the girl who should have been a boy [Robin], and the boy who should have been a

girl [O'Connor]," leading her to the conclusion that "the doll and the immature have something right about them, the doll because it resembles but does not contain life, and the third sex because it contains life but resembles the doll... I am one of them!" (N 157).

Faltejskova writes that "both the doll and the invert are outside the heterosexual gendered binary which determines gender through biological sex."¹⁷⁸ Because it does not "contain life"—it cannot choose its gender for itself—both genders can be equally projected onto it. However, not all inverts are among those considered the third sex by O'Connor. Nora, for example, despite being a lesbian, is not a member of the third sex, which must therefore be defined by more than homosexuality. Although Butler has written that "the lesbian appears to be a third gender, or... a category that radically problematises both sex and gender as stable political categories,"¹⁷⁹ what members of the Barnesian 'third sex' share, more than homosexuality, is an instinct to cross-dress or identify with or as the 'opposite' sex in a way that transgresses the boundaries of the gender binary. Moreover, what is distinct in O'Connor and Vote's relationship to the doll is that both have their external gender presentation inscribed by clothing rather than body parts. Baby clothes were not always gendered in the same way that they are today. Prior to the 1940s, it was very common for infants to be dressed alike in white dresses regardless of sex, making it easier to change cloth diapers, bleach stains, and reuse clothing for siblings. The neutrality of baby clothes, and thus the ambiguity of the sexless doll, inscribes the third sex with a similar ability to shapeshift. As Nora says of nightgowns: "What nation, what religion, what ghost, what dream, has not worn it—infants, angels, priests, the dead; why should not the doctor... wear his dress?" (N 86). The doll, like the human infant, like the priest, is at once both sexes and neither sex, until it is identified as such through cultural and societal determinants.

By connecting the doll and the third sex, Barnes seems to propose the gender is variable, performative, and not tied to biological markers. Barnes's position would seem to resonate with Simone de Beauvoir's assertion that "one is not born a woman but rather becomes one"¹⁸⁰ or Monique Wittig's argument that "what makes a woman is a specific social relation to a man,"¹⁸¹ rather than a purely biologicistic position. In a social construction, gender is not inherent in the infant, but instead assigned and then culturally determined. By unlinking gender and sex, as well as gender and sexuality (which were conflated during the period in the figure of the invert), Barnes disrupts the gender binary by inserting the doll between them. Butler proposes that if "gender is not tied to sex, either casually or expressively, then gender is a kind of action that can potentially proliferate beyond the binary limits imposed by the apparent binary of sex."¹⁸² Anticipating Butler, Barnes's third sex builds on the work of sexologist Edward Carpenter's 'intermediate sex' to imagine gender beyond the binary. The idea of a 'third' or 'intermediate' sex originated with Carpenter, who argued that "we all know men whose almost feminine sensibility and intuition seemed to belie their bodily form."¹⁸³ Describing people "born... on the dividing line between the sexes," Carpenter drew on Ulrich's definition of "Urnings" as people "belonging distinctly to one sex as far as their bodies are concerned but belonging *mentally* and *emotionally* to the other" so as to insist that "beneath the surface of society" there was "a large class" of such "homogenic" types.¹⁸⁴ Barnes, like Joyce, seems to have deliberately incorporated sexological theory into the development of her characters, drawing certainly on Freud and Carpenter if not also on Havelock Ellis, Magnus Hirschfield, and Otto Weininger. The various homogenic types described by Carpenter as members of the third sex appear in *Nightwood* as "outcasts on the margins of society"¹⁸⁵ that transcend social

barriers, but in so doing, may perpetuate dangerous stereotypes including those based on racist pseudoscience and biologism.

Throughout *Nightwood*, inverts and other cultural deviants are depicted as living full and vibrant lives—during the night and on the margins of society. Like in the “Circe” episode of *Ulysses*, the circus is depicted as the location most suitable for explorations of gender and bodily difference. Bella Cohen transforms into Ringmaster Bello to subjugate a feminised Bloom in a sadomasochistic sexual fantasy in just such a location. The publicness and spectacle of the fantasy adds to the experience, because Bloom’s voyeuristic tendencies demand he watch and be watched as he is forced into a penetrable position and is vaginally fisted before an audience.¹⁸⁶ Heaney argues that Barnes’s novels operate on a similar principle, orienting “phallicism and penetrability as the qualities that determine who is feminised and who escapes feminization.” For Heaney, phallicism and penetrability are states which “retain a deep connection to the categories of man and woman, but not to types of genitals.”¹⁸⁷ This reading seems to acquit Barnes of the charge of biologism by maintaining that Barnes’s later work offers a view of womanhood not defined by genital morphology, but rather by female suffering and the somatic trauma shared by ‘freaks.’

Elizabeth Grosz writes that freaks were understood in the twentieth century as “those human beings who exist outside and in defiance of the structure of binary oppositions that govern our basic concepts and modes of self-definition.”¹⁸⁸ Doctor O’Connor recounts two stories of freaks being sexually exploited in the circus, one male and one female, who challenge such a binary. In the first, “Nikka the nigger” is paraded around the Ring “without a stitch on, except an ill-concealed loin-cloth abulge as if with the deep-sea catch, tattooed from head to heel with all the *ameublement* of depravity” (*N* 19). O’Connor spends two pages of the novel describing in detail each of Nikka’s tattoos in an

eroticised pageantry of the Black body. She notes that “just above what you mustn’t mention” is a tattoo that reads “*Garde tout!*” (N 20), drawing attention to his intact genitalia and alluding to sexual prowess. The penis itself is rumoured to read the name “Desdemona” (N 19), which Marcus argues exposes the myth of the Black rapist/killer, looking much like

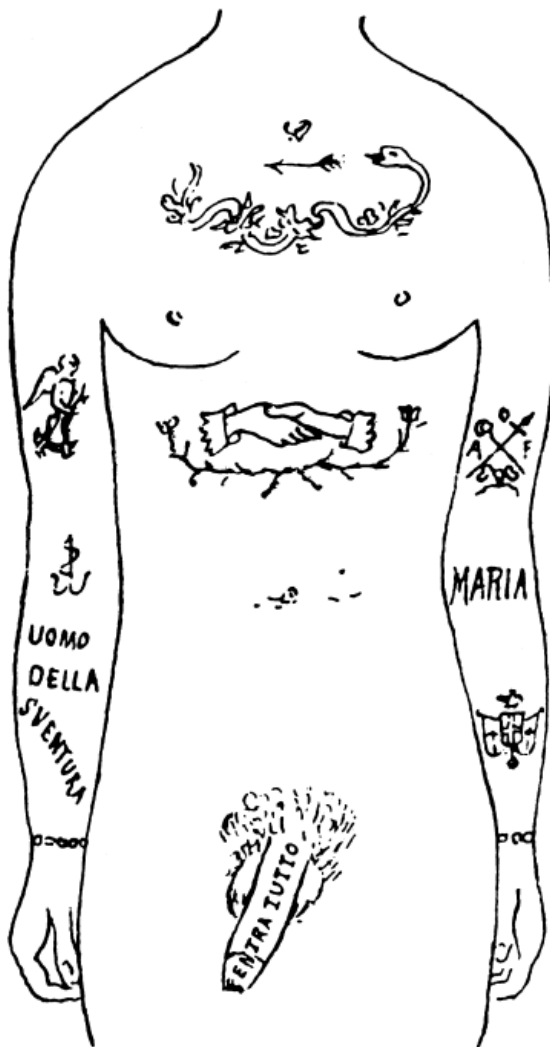


Figure 9 Illustration N.2. of “Tatouages de soldats criminels,” in Cesare Lombroso, *L’Homme Criminel* (Paris: Alcan, 1887).

Lombroso’s drawings of criminals (Figure 9) or Barnes’s illustration of O’Connor (Figure 8).¹⁸⁹ In the second story, Mademoiselle Basquette, “a girl without legs, built like a medieval abuse,” is “snatched up” by a sailor who “had his will” before leaving her “about five miles out of town, so she had to roll herself back [on a skateboard]” (N 29-30). The voyeuristic spectacle of sexual exploitation and rape is tied to the circus (and entertainment more generally) as a liminal space wherein sexual boundaries are repeatedly crossed and social mores violated.

Although Nikka “couldn’t have done a thing... in spite of all that has been said about the black boys” (N 19), his tattoos invite speculation of sexual transgressions fed on racial stereotypes. O’Connor reveals, however, that Nikka’s freakishness is by his own design, as “he loved beauty and would have it about him” (N 20), consenting to tattooing. Basquette,

on the other hand, born disabled, is abused by the circus, by her rapist, and finally by O'Connor, whose story revictimises her by appropriating her story to critique Felix's marginality within their social group as someone with "something missing" (*N* 29).

O'Connor is drawn to the debauchery of the circus as "the bearded lady" despite being "no Rutebeuf, ...not a mountebank, ...no tumbler" etc. (*N* 107, 22) and Felix, likewise, finds himself quite at home amongst other appropriators of royal titles, though he does not know that he, too, is a freak. Felix, somewhat pathetically, seems to not only believe in the truth of his own title, but in the titles of the performers, among them "a Princess Nadja, a Baron von Tink, a Principessa Stasera y Stasero, a King Buffo and a Duchess of Broadback" (*N* 14). Both Felix and O'Connor find affinity with the Duchess of Broadback, Frau Mann, whose moniker is linguistically queer. This 'woman-man,' who introduces the "doctor" and the "baron," is constructed through her costume: "She seemed to have a skin that was the pattern of her costume... The stuff of the tights was no longer a covering, it was herself; the span of the tightly stitched crotch was so much her own flesh that she was as unsexed as a doll" (*N* 16). Drawing attention to the groin, Frau Mann's costume confuses the viewer: she appears naked but without genitals. She is a living doll, "the property of the child" and therefore "the property of no man" (*N* 16). She, as well as O'Connor and various other circus performers, act as "living statues" in the salon of Count Onatorio Altamonte. As Marcus has pointed out, the 'Count' seems to be creating a "museum of soon-to-be exterminated human types,"¹⁹⁰ those who would become targets of the Holocaust: Jews, queers, disabled people, transvestites. Felix feels at home among those with misappropriated royal titles. Mirroring the performers' "splendid and reeking falsification," Felix clings to his title "to dazzle his own estrangement" (*N* 14), untethered from a racial history which marks him as Other even among other Others.

The opening pages of the novel establish Felix as a mistake or freak of nature, born to forty-five-year-old Hedvig, “a Viennese woman of great strength and military beauty” who dies in childbed, and Guido Volkbein, “a Jew of Italian descent... both a gourmet and a dandy,” dead six months prior at age fifty-nine (*N* 3-4). Guido’s description bears significant alignment with Otto Weininger’s antisemitic theories, including that “Judaism is saturated with femininity.”¹⁹¹ Not unlike Leopold Bloom, Guido is feminised and symbolically pregnant: “his stomach [protruded] slightly in an upward jetting slope that brought into prominence the buttons of his waistcoat and trousers, marking the exact centre of his body with the obstetric line” (*N* 4). Repeatedly defined by his “impermissible blood,” Guido’s Jewishness concealed by “the saddest and most futile gesture... his pretense to a barony” (*N* 5). Like the circus performers, Guido adopts a persona: he creates a false title, converts to Christianity, begets a son on a Christian woman, and, to make himself appear more manly, imitates Hedvig’s masculine “goose-step of a stride, a step that... [becomes] dislocated and comic” from Guido (*N* 6). Although Guido aspires toward gentlemanliness “the practice of falsifying identity... sets Felix up as the pathetic believer in signifiers of origin in a company [the circus] that bastardizes them.”¹⁹² Weininger writes that “what is meant by the word ‘gentleman’ does not exist amongst the Jews” and “although his descent is comparably longer than that of the members of Aryan aristocracies, he [the Jew] has an inordinate love for titles.”¹⁹³ Felix’s intergenerational aspiration to gentlemanliness is seemingly doomed to fail due to his confusion over his own origins, just as his son, sickly and weak from birth, suffers from degenerative heredity in the tradition of Weininger and Nordau.¹⁹⁴ When Felix is expelled from the Count’s salon alongside the “living statues,” it as an unintentional and unknowing member of their troupe.

Are Felix, Baron Volkbein, and Frau Man, Duchess of Broadback, members of the third sex? Felix, perhaps not: although he is feminised and Othered for his Jewishness, he remains comfortable with but separate from the other circus folk: “Going among these people, the men smelling weaker and the women stronger than their beasts, Felix had that sense of peace that formerly he had experienced only in museums... He moved with a humble hysteria among the decaying brocade and laces of the *Carnavalet*” (N 14). Felix’s hysteria, despite being questionably feminine, is not freakish enough to establish him as other-gendered. He acknowledges that “the circus was a loved thing that he could never touch, therefore never know” (N 15). Unlike Leopold Bloom, also the son of a convert married to a Christian, he does not seem to experience the same menstrual symptoms, somatic experiences, or transexual fantasies that make Molly Bloom believe her husband “understood or felt what a woman is” (U 18.1579). Felix is paternal both toward his son and toward his wife, Robin, whose childishness he mistakes for “the look of cherubs in Renaissance theatre,” an ageless innocence that reminds him of aristocracy and white-coded antiquity rather than childhood (N 45). Felix’s paternal impulse is deliberate and anchored in primogeniture; his desire for a son is not an urge to nurture, so much as a desire to ensure his own immortality and pass on his barony. On the other hand, although she appears for only a few short pages, Frau Mann may bear at least some of the markers that O’Connor will later attribute to the third sex. Her name challenges gendered language and her body is ambiguously sexed, with the leotard creating a smooth, doll-like groin that perhaps recalls something like *Orlando*’s opening line: “He—for there could be no doubt about his sex” the novel begins, “though the fashion of the time did something to disguise it” (O 1). Like Robin’s boyishness and Orlando’s androgyny, Frau Mann is engendered by clothing, not what that clothing ‘disguises’.

As the unsexed doll/living statue, Frau Mann is both hyper-visible and obscured by her costume and her performance. She is seen, but rarely heard; like many of the characters in *Nightwood*, O'Connor speaks for and occasionally over her. For example, during one of the doctor's monologues she attempts to participate, and fails to gain traction:

“*Ja! das ist ganz richtig—*” said the Duchess in a loud voice, but the interruption was quite useless. Once the doctor had his audience—and he got his audience by the simple device of pronouncing at the top of his voice (at such moments as irritable and possessive as a maddened woman's) some of the more boggish and biting of the shorter early Saxon verbs—nothing could stop him. He merely turned his large eyes upon her and having done so noticed her and her attire for the first time, which, bringing suddenly to his mind something forgotten but comparable, sent him into a burst of laughter... (N 18-19)

Her costume reminds O'Connor of the hypersexualised, tattooed black body of Nikka and the vulnerable, penetrable, disabled body of Mademoiselle Basquette, neither of whom are given voices to express their own suffering. The muteness of Frau Mann, unable to attract the attention due to her as a performer, lends credence to arguments that the “gossipy and garrulous” doctor “parodies woman's language, steals her stories and her images in order to teach her about herself,”¹⁹⁵ being the character who, for some readers, “speaks with masculine authority and the wisdom of a priest, as a narrator and psychoanalyst.”¹⁹⁶ However, Marcus sees otherwise, identifying in O'Connor the beginnings of “a sisterhood under the skin with the victimized,” aligning her not only with Robin and Frau Mann, but to Nikka and Basquette.¹⁹⁷ Ed Madden builds on the idea of *Nightwood* as a sisterhood of Others, but “orient[s] that ‘sisterhood’ around O'Connor's effeminate body—sexologically feminised and performatively feminine—and his Tiresian voice, which advances a recovery of repressed and excluded histories.”¹⁹⁸ Unlike what I have attempted to demonstrate here, Madden hastens to make clear that the doctor is merely ‘feminine’ and not ‘female,’ arguing that reading O'Connor as a woman “is problematic” because she “is not a female

and to read him as a voice of the feminine comes dangerously close to appropriating femininity in order to value the gay male.”¹⁹⁹ To read O’Connor as female, as I have done, necessitates grappling with the problematic aspects of her male privilege when living as a man, her ‘male gaze’ as she makes a spectacle of Nikka and Basquette, and, certainly, her penchant to speak over and for women and other members of the third sex.

One of the ways we might reconcile with a sympathetic view of O’Connor is to turn to Robin Vote as a parallel invert. Though frequently inscrutable, the somnambulist nominates the doctor as a voice for womanhood. One of the few lines spoken by Robin in the novel is in defence of O’Connor against Jenny’s attempt to shame the doctor for commiserating with the woes of cis women. Jenny, the squatter, appropriates Nora’s love for Robin and creates a parodic version of their relationship, coveting that which she does not come by naturally: passion. She sees O’Connor’s interjection into their relationship as criticism and, in response, refuses to acknowledge their shared womanhood, insinuating that it is O’Connor who does not belong among women and should not speak for them:

[Jenny] began to beat the cushions with her doubled fist. “What could you know about it? Men never know anything about it, why should they? But a woman should know—they’re finer, more sacred; my love is sacred and my love is great!”

“Shut up,” Robin said, putting her hand on her knee. “Shut up, you don’t know what you’re talking about. You talk all the time and you never know anything. It’s such an awful weakness with you. Identifying yourself with God!”

...

Then Jenny struck Robin, scratching and tearing in hysteria, striking, clutching and crying. (*N* 82-83)

Emma Heaney reads this scene as Robin coming out in support of Doctor O’Connor’s identity and indeed aligning them as fellow women. She writes that “Barnes punctures Jenny’s attempt to shame Doctor O’Connor when Jenny insists that normative gender roles affix permanently and uniformly to biological sex.”²⁰⁰ Jenny’s attempt to prescribe

O'Connor's gender is disallowed by Robin and her subsequent eruption of violence aligns Jenny with the heteropatriarchy and gender binary, despite attempts to incorporate herself into the queer 'night world.' It is all the more compelling a scene given the reversal, again, of O'Connor's and Robin's roles; the doctor is the novel's "confessor and interpreter... repeatedly called upon to mold words around Robin's uncompromising silence,"²⁰¹ here silenced by Jenny and defended by Robin's interjection. Robin tells Jenny, a cis woman, to "shut up" in order to allow O'Connor, a trans woman, to speak. Rather than speaking over other women, then, the doctor is given Robin's consent to interpret their shared female experience.

That Robin's silence is broken in defense of O'Connor might, if we are generous, be thus taken as a recuperative gesture, an act of kindness in a novel that is at times uncomfortable to read. Scholars working on the text must necessarily reckon with its racial epithets, anti-Semitism, biologism, internalised misogyny, and homophobia. But such is true reading Joyce, other modernists, and indeed most texts written in a different time for a different audience. Race and sex are axes of marginalization that reflect structures of power and social control. These markers of Otherness can be—and often are—problematically represented in texts from this period due to the conflation of sex and gender, such as in the figure of the invert, and the pervasive biologism, homophobia, and racism inherent in contemporary theory, including the work of Noradu and Weininger. Whether in adherence to or in critique of these theorists, both Barnes and Joyce engage with sexology, degeneration, and psychoanalysis in the development of their transfeminine characters. Their positions in relation to these interpretive models, however, differ. As Heaney writes,

Joyce viewed the transfeminine from the vantage of a man and from the distance allowed by the mediation of the sexological text and the vaudeville stage. Djuna

Barnes engages the transfeminine from a terrible proximity of shared feminine experience. *Ulysses* is about men, *Nightwood* is about women. *Ulysses* explores pleasure, *Nightwood* suffering. *Ulysses* addresses feminine plenitude, *Nightwood* feminine lack. *Ulysses* examines the hidden perversions of one everyman; *Nightwood* depicts the manifest perversions of a full cast of degenerates. *Ulysses* examines heterosexuality; *Nightwood* expresses the experience of sexual difference in a world without heterosexuality. *Ulysses* strains toward queerness; *Nightwood* suggests from a narrative that is inscribed within queer desire that there's nothing there but sweeter and deeper suffering.²⁰²

What these comparisons accomplish, I believe, is to complexify a binary relationship between Joyce and Barnes's novels. It is not uncommon in the literature to see *Ulysses* and *Nightwood* split along a binary gender divide when read in conversation: *Ulysses* as a 'male text,' focused on men and reflecting patriarchal privilege, and *Nightwood* as a 'female text' foregrounding female suffering. To read this way is to assign arbitrary categories which add little to the academic conversation—and perhaps even to judge the work based on the author's gender rather than on the merits of the texts as literary and cultural objects. A more interesting way of reading these texts is to discuss how gender—and, in particular, the breakdown of the gender binary through the transfeminine allegory—is represented from these authors' different positions. While some of Heaney's observations in the above quotation are reductive (to say that *Ulysses* is "about men" and *Nightwood* "about women" is a massive oversimplification), taken together as a list, they demonstrate how these two texts, and indeed these two authors, were in conversation with one another long before they were placed side-by-side by literary critics.

Joyce's creation of a 'woman' in "Penelope," as I will argue in the next chapter, can be read as an exercise in female impersonation as well as demonstrating an impulse to control the female (m)Other. His exegesis to Frank Budgen, for example, that the "four cardinal points" of the episode are "the female breasts, arse, womb and cunt expressed by

the words *because, bottom..., woman, [and] yes*” is biologically reductive to the point of conspicuity (*LI* 170). For Joyce, ‘woman’ explicitly signifies ‘womb,’ and the vagina—expressed using a word that the woman herself cannot say—is the root of affirmation. Barnes, conversely, writes the womb as a site of shared trauma, not only by its possession but, in the case of O’Connor, by its absence. Both are biologically reductive definitions of womanhood, though Barnes’s inclusivity of ‘the third sex’ challenges the dominant narrative inasmuch as it makes trauma, not biology, the shared burden of womanhood. Jane Marcus writes that Joyce “writes ancient and modern patriarchy, mythologises woman and Others the mother,” whereas Barnes “laughs at Leviticus, brings all the wandering Jews, blacks, lesbians, outsiders, and transvestites together in a narrative which mothers the Other.”²⁰³ I hope I have demonstrated in this chapter that it is not so clear-cut as a man writing ‘patriarchally’ and a woman writing ‘matriarchally,’ but rather that both these texts have something to offer those who seek to find vestiges of a nonlinear queer past. Both novels challenge prescriptive definitions of sex and sexuality, engage with sexological theories now considered problematic, employ the childbirth metaphor as an image of artistic production that privileges the womb over the phallus, and cross heteronormative boundaries to create what Marilyn Reizbaum calls a “thematics of marginality,” loosely defined as when “the symbols of otherness” are “privileged or highlighted” in such a way that they “take on formal and thematic significance.”²⁰⁴ In short, both *Nightwood* and *Ulysses*, as well as their respective ‘prequels’ *Ryder* and *Portrait*, struggle, as their authors did also, with the limitations of prescriptive sex roles and gender essentialism. By representing the trans feminine in Bloom and O’Connor, both Barnes and Joyce push up against the boundaries of biological determinism, asking readers to consider whether a man can be a mother and what, if anything, defines a woman.

¹ Plato's *Symposium*, trans. Christopher Rowe (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1998): 206c1-2.

² Hélène Cixous, "Sorties," trans. Betsy Wing. *The Newly Born Woman*, ed. Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986): 64.

³ Jane Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus: *Nightwood* as Woman's Circus Epic," *Cultural Critique* no. 13 (1989): 157.

⁴ Patrice Diquinzio, "Exclusion and essentialism in feminist theory: the problem of mothering," *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* vol. 8, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 2.

⁵ Elizabeth A. Grosz, "A note on essentialism and difference," *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct*, ed. Sneja Gunew (New York: Routledge, 2012): 334. See Grosz, 332-5 for a discussion of the differences between the interrelated terms essentialism, biologism, naturalism, and universalism in a feminist context.

⁶ Emma Heaney, "Sexual difference without cisness in *Ulysses*," *Textual Practice* vol. 36, no. 2 (2022): 243.

⁷ Ery Shin, "Djuna Barnes, History's Elsewhere, and the Transgender," *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. 37, no. 2 (2014): 21.

⁸ Daniela Caselli, *Improper Modernism: Djuna Barnes's Bewildering Corpus* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009): 169.

⁹ Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009): 127.

¹⁰ Timothy Beck Werth, "The First Trans Woman in Western Fiction," *The Awl* (10 August 2016): n.p. The comparison with Hitler comes from Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986): 427, in which she writes, "Recognizing the alien in himself, Matthew O'Connor diagnoses the societal illness that has produced such aliens: he is able to articulate the very argument that Hitler will later make in justifying the mass murder of those who do not fit his narrow definition of racial and social perfection." She goes on to say that Hitler identified with the outcast, and his greatest fear was "that these misfits might recognize him as one of their kind," naming O'Connor as an example.

¹¹ Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 266.

¹² Andrea L. Harris, "The Third Sex: Figures of Inversion in Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood*," *Eroticism and Containment: Notes from the Flood Plain*, ed. Carol Siegel and Ann Kibbey (New York: New York University Press, 1994): 239.

¹³ Gregory Woods, "The Other Other or More of the Same? Women's Representations of Homosexual Men," *Difference in View: Women and Modernism*, ed. Gabriele Griffin (London: Taylor & Francis, 1990): 28.

¹⁴ Beck Worth, "The First Trans Woman in Western Fiction," n.p.

¹⁵ In the twenty-first century, the acronym TERF (trans-exclusionary radical feminist) has been used to describe a minority of feminists who seek to exclude trans women from feminism. Referring to themselves as 'gender critical,' TERFs are regarded as transphobic by most feminists for their insistence that trans women are not women and should not be included in women's spaces, though they sometimes include trans men and nonbinary people assigned female at birth (afab) in their female liberation movement. See, for example, Peter Cava, "Activism, Politics, and Organizing," *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves: A Resources for the Transgender Community*, ed. Laura Erickson-Schroth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 567-90. Cava notes that, "When inclusive of trans men, these feminists have often gendered them as women. Conversely, these feminists have tended to perceive transfeminine people as infiltrators of womanhood and women's space" (568). By including afab trans and nonbinary people, regardless of identity, they engage in biologism, reducing womanhood to genital morphology.

¹⁶ See Sophie Lewis, "How British Feminism Became Anti-Trans," *The New York Times* (7 February 2019): n.p. and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) interactive US map depicting anti-trans bills making their way through state legislatures in 2020/2021: <https://www.aclu.org/issues/lgbt-rights/transgender-rights/trans-rights-under-attack-2020> for examples.

¹⁷ Harris, "The Third Sex," 239.

¹⁸ Today, O'Connor might be construed as a trans woman—and, indeed, some authors, including Emma Heaney, choose to use feminine pronouns for the character on this basis. Despite the potential anachronism of using this terminology in the context of modernist texts (when terms like "invert," "bisexual," and "transvestite" stood where we might now write "transgender" or "genderqueer"), I have chosen to follow Heaney's lead and use she/her pronouns whenever possible. Though O'Connor repeatedly refers to herself as female and names herself a woman, it is of course impossible to know how the person who inspired the character, Dan Mahoney, might have self-identified using contemporary language. See the conclusion of this

thesis for a consideration of Mahoney and the literary critic's ethical impetus to retroactively reduce harm through inclusive language.

¹⁹ Marjorie Garber, *Vice-Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995): 159.

²⁰ Shin, "History's Elsewhere," 25.

²¹ See Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 231 and Laura K. Wallace, "'My History, Finally Invented': *Nightwood* and Its Publics," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* vol. 3, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 72-3.

²² Carl Rollyson and Lisa Paddock, *Susan Sontag: The Making of an Icon* (New York: Norton, 2000): 27.

²³ Wallace, "My History, Finally Invented," 73.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁵ Christopher Nealon, *Foundlings: Lesbian and Gay Historical Emotion before Stonewall* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001): 177.

²⁶ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 30.

²⁷ Nealon, *Foundlings*, 8.

²⁸ Wallace, "My History, Finally Invented," 76.

²⁹ Namely, "feelings such as nostalgia, regret, shame, despair, *ressentiment*, passivity, escapism, self-hatred, withdrawal, bitterness, defeatism, and loneliness" (Love, *Feeling Backward*, 4).

³⁰ Shin, "History's Elsewhere," 22.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² John Bormanis, "'In the First Bloom of her New Motherhood': The Appropriation of the Maternal and the Representation of Mothering in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 29, no. 3 (1992): 603.

³³ Bormanis, "First Bloom," 603.

³⁴ Bonnie Kime Scott, *James Joyce* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1987): 89.

³⁵ Suzette Henke, "Joyce's New Womanly Man: Sexual Signatures of Androgynous Transformation in *Ulysses*," *Joycean Occasions: Essays from the Milwaukee James Joyce Conference*, ed. Janet E. Dunleavy, Melvin J. Friedman, and Michael Patrick Gillespie (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991): 57, emphasis original.

³⁶ Benjamin Boysen, "The Mother and the word known to all men: Stephen's struggle with amor matris in James Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Neophilologus* vol. 94, no. 1 (2010): 156.

³⁷ Stephen's philosophical theories and education have been thoroughly annotated and discussed by Joyce scholars over the years. See for example Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Frances L. Restuccia, *Joyce and the Law of the Father* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); and Jean-Michel Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void: The Genesis of Doubt* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991).

³⁸ Plato's *Symposium*, 206c1-209d2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 203a4.

⁴⁰ Boysen, "The Mother," 156.

⁴¹ Boysen notes that the Latin text that Stephen quotes here is a paraphrase from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Contra Gentiles* that "transforms the quotation [through mistranscription] to Aristotle's definition of love or friendship... that stresses that love wills some good for someone" (Boysen, "The Mother," 154).

⁴² Ewa Ziarek, "Working the Limit: (m)other, text and the abject in *Ulysses*," *Images of Joyce Volume Two*, ed. Clive Hart, C. George Sandulescu, Bonnie K. Scott, and Fritz Senn (Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe, 1998): 637.

⁴³ See Bormanis, "First Bloom," 595-6.

⁴⁴ See for example Boysen, 151-163; Mark Morrison, "Stephen Dedalus and the Ghost of the Mother," *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 39, no. 2 (1993): 345-368; Scott W. Klein, "Speech Lent by Males: Gender, Identity, and the Example of Stephen's Shakespeare," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 30, no. 3 (1993): 439-449; Ellen Carol Jones, "Textual Mater: Writing the Mother in Joyce," *Joyce: The Return of the Repressed*, ed. Susan Stanford Friedman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 257-83; and Jacques Trilling, *James Joyce ou l'écriture matricide* (Belfort, France: Éditions Circé, 2001).

⁴⁵ Bormanis, "First Bloom," 596.

⁴⁶ Stephen, like Joyce, was educated beyond the family's means on scholarship at various Jesuit institutions.

⁴⁷ Aristotle, *The Generation of Animals* (London: William Heinemann, 1963): I. 729a.

⁴⁸ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica 1, 2 & 3*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Notre Dame, IN: Thomas More Publishing, 2001): II.ii.26.10.

- ⁴⁹ See Maud Ellmann, "Polytropic Man: Paternity, Identity and Naming in *The Odyssey* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*," *James Joyce: New Perspectives*, ed. Colin MacCabe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 73-104. Ellmann writes of Stephen's aversion to fetuses and navels: "Why, if not because this first scar is a navel, from which the *Foetus* amputates itself? A navel, where the mother's namelessness engraves itself upon the flesh before the father ever carved his signature? For why should such a word, or wound, evoke such dread, if not because the phallus has surrendered to the omphalos?" (Ellmann, "Polytropic Man," 96)
- ⁵⁰ Declan Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Life in Joyce's Masterpiece* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009): 208.
- ⁵¹ Jones, "Textual Mater," 270.
- ⁵² Restuccia, *Law of the Father*, 53.
- ⁵³ Enda Duffy, "Interesting States: Birthing and the Nation in 'Oxen of the Sun'," *Ulysses—En-Gendered Perspectives*, ed. Kimberly J. Devlin and Marilyn Reizbaum (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999): 225.
- ⁵⁴ Restuccia, *Law of the Father*, 94, 18.
- ⁵⁵ Hélène Cixous, *The Exile of James Joyce*, trans. Sally AJ Purcell (New York: David Lewis, 1972): 421.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 422.
- ⁵⁷ Lisa Rado, *The Modern Androgyne Imagination: A Failed Sublime* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000): 56.
- ⁵⁸ Susan Stanford Friedman, "Creativity and the Childbirth Metaphor: Gender Difference in Literary Discourse," *Feminist Studies* vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 50.
- ⁵⁹ Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen. *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980): 261.
- ⁶⁰ Friedman, "Creativity and the Childbirth Metaphor," 51.
- ⁶¹ DiQuinzio, "Exclusion and essentialism in feminist theory," 4.
- ⁶² Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953): 301.
- ⁶³ This forms the basis for feminist social constructivism.
- ⁶⁴ See Mary Ellmann, *Thinking about Women* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968): 2-27; Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (Winter 1981): 187-88; and Nina Auerbach, "Artists and Mothers: A False Alliance," *Women and Literature* vol. 9 (Spring 1978): 3-5.
- ⁶⁵ Nina Auerbach, "Review of *The Madwoman in the Attic*," *Victorian Studies* vol. 23, no. 4 (Summer 1980): 506.
- ⁶⁶ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979): 6. They go on to ask, "If the pen is a metaphorical penis, from what organ can females generate texts?" (*Madwoman*, 7), but offer no alternative.
- ⁶⁷ Friedman, "Creativity and the Childbirth Metaphor," 50.
- ⁶⁸ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, 1929 (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989): 98, 104.
- ⁶⁹ Monika Faltejskova, *Djuna Barnes, T.S. Eliot and the Gender Dynamics of Modernism: Tracing Nightwood* (New York: Routledge, 2010): xi. I have not been able to locate the original source of this quotation; I suspect it is from an unpublished letter.
- ⁷⁰ Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, 1959 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991): 205.
- ⁷¹ Rado, *The Modern Androgyne Imagination*, 56.
- ⁷² See Cixous, *The Exile of James Joyce*, 421-33, and Sidney Fesbach, "A Slow and Dark Birth," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 4, no. 2 (1976): 289-300 for discussion of the embryonic development of Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.
- ⁷³ Stanley Sultan, *The Argument of Ulysses* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964): 292.
- ⁷⁴ Sultan, *The Argument of Ulysses*, 292.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.
- ⁷⁶ John Gordon, *Joyce and Reality: The Empirical Strikes Back* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004): 100-101.
- ⁷⁷ Sam Slote, *Joyce's Nietzschean Ethics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 63.
- ⁷⁸ Slote, *Joyce's Nietzschean Ethics*, 63.
- ⁷⁹ It is notable that the styles and parodies listed in Joyce's letter to Budgen are all men. Although Joyce attends to female-authored texts in other areas of the novel—such as the parodic representation of little magazines, fashion ads, and Maria Susanna Cummins' sentimental novel, *The Lamplighter* (1854), in

“Nausicaa”—his list of authors with which to represent the development of English literary language is incredibly male-dominated, with the possible exception of a snippet resembling Maria Edgeworth.

⁸⁰ Karen Lawrence, “Joyce and Feminism,” *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 250. Although Robert Janusko’s authoritative genetic work on “Oxen of the Sun” extensively investigates both the embryological metaphor and literary styles of the episode, even his thorough and ground-breaking text fails to convincingly tie the two notions together (see Robert Janusko, *The Sources and Structures of James Joyce’s “Oxen”* [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983]).

⁸¹ Slotte, *Joyce’s Nietzschean Ethics*, 63.

⁸² See Slotte, 62-65, for the relationship between cultural life (*bios*) and biological/animal life (*zoös*) in the “Oxen of the Sun” episode of *Ulysses* and Joyce’s other work.

⁸³ Martha Fodaski Black, “S/He-Male Voices in *Ulysses*: Counterpointing the ‘New Womanly Man’,” *Gender in Joyce*, ed. Jolanta W. Wawczycka and Marlena G. Cocoran (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997): 65.

⁸⁴ Arguably, the usurpation of female-coded reproductivity by the male artist/creator extends at least as far back as the Book of Genesis, with the creation of Eve from Adam’s rib. An example contemporary to Joyce would be Carl Jung’s essays on the anima and animus from the 1920s. See also David Weir, “A Womb of His Own: Joyce’s Sexual Aesthetics,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 31, no. 3 (1994): 207-31.

⁸⁵ Suzette Henke has argued that Molly’s speculation that men are “made to get in there where they came out of” is enacts her feelings of longing for “the maternal flesh/sanctuary/nurturance prematurely denied her” by the absence of her mother, and that Molly “understandably envies an unequivocal phallic presence that can penetrate the body of the mother and engender feelings of security and tenderness associated with pre-oedipal bonding” (Suzette A. Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* [New York: Routledge, 1990]: 141).

⁸⁶ Alan Dundes, “Re: Joyce—No Inn at the Womb,” *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 8, no. 2 (1962): 138.

⁸⁷ Bormanis, “First Bloom,” 606n23.

⁸⁸ Nasodoro is Italian for “nose of gold”; Goldfinger is self-explanatory; Chrysostomos suggests “golden-mouthed” after ancient Greek rhetorician, Dion Chryostomos; Mairdorée means “hand of gold” in French; Silversmile is self-explanatory; Silberselber is German for “silver self”; Vifargent is French for “quicksilver,” which in English refers to the element mercury; and Panargyros supposedly approximates “all-silver” in Greek (see Don Gifford, *Ulysses Annotated: Revised and Expanded Edition* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008]: 14, 481). Gifford’s last two translations, while useful, are perhaps incomplete. In the case of both Vifargent and Panargyros, a direct link to money, might be implied. The words “argent” and “argyros” translate to both “silver” and “money,” so Vifargent might suggest someone who makes money quickly and Panargyros someone who has “all money.” Panargyros may get his name from Saints Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of medicine and pharmacy, who were known as the “Anargyroi” (without silver/money) for practicing *pro bono* medicine (see Leslie G. Matthews, “SS. Cosmas and Damian—Patron Saints of Medicine and Pharmacy: Their Cult in England,” *Medical History* vol. 12, no. 3 [1968]: 281-288).

⁸⁹ Katherine Mullin, “Joyce’s Bodies,” *James Joyce (Visions and Revisions: Irish Writers in Their Time)*, ed. Sean Latham (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010): 183.

⁹⁰ For more on Bloom’s dehumanization, see for example Ronan Crowley, “Looking at Animals without Seeing Them: Havelock Ellis in the ‘Circe’ Episode of *Ulysses*,” *Humanities* vol. 6, no. 3 (2017): 73-89.

⁹¹ David Cotter, *James Joyce & the Perverse Ideal* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 137.

⁹² Cotter, *Perverse Ideal*, 137.

⁹³ Humans, Bloom thinks in “Lestrygonians,” are always “stuffing food in one hole and out behind: food, chyle, blood, dung, earth, food: have to feed it like stoking an engine” (*U* 8.929-30). The statues of goddesses in the library museum, on the other hand, consume only ambrosia and produce no excrement. As Luce Irigaray has written, in the case of Greek statues, “women’s genitals are simply absent, masked, sewn back up inside their ‘crack’,” leaving Bloom little to see as he checks Venus’s “mesial groove” (*U* 9.615; Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985]: 26).

⁹⁴ Cotter, *Perverse Ideal*, 137.

⁹⁵ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003): 38, 7.

⁹⁶ See Donald L. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992): 188-89.

⁹⁷ Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, 38, emphasis original.

⁹⁸ See Section 4.3 for my argument concerning Bloom’s performance of (insincere) shame.

⁹⁹ Barrie R. Walkley, "The Bloom of Motherhood: Couvade as a Structural Device in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 18, no. 1 (1980): 55-67.

¹⁰⁰ Walkley, "The Bloom of Motherhood," 55.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 66, 65.

¹⁰² See Stanley Sultan, *The Argument of Ulysses*, 320; Hugh Kenner, *Dublin's Joyce* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1955): 186; and Walkley, "The Bloom of Motherhood," 62-5.

¹⁰³ Johanna X. K. Garvey, "If we were all suddenly somebody else: *Orlando* as the New *Ulysses*," *Women's Studies: an International Journal* vol. 23, no. 1 (1994): 6.

¹⁰⁴ See Kiberd, 212: "The anthology on which he based many of his parodies [in 'Oxen'] was made by William Peacock. Designed to illustrate Darwinian notions of evolution, it was a smug selection of the best that had been thought and said over the centuries in which English developed as a modern language." Alongside Peacock's *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin*, Joyce also relied on Saintsbury's *History of English Prose Rhythm* as a source for this episode (see Janusko, *Sources and Structures*, 57-64).

¹⁰⁵ Shin, "History's Elsewhere," 23.

¹⁰⁶ Note here that Barnes is not exempt from biologism, as equating the womb with female oppression and trauma is perhaps just as problematic as Joyce's outright erasure of the material considerations of womanhood.

¹⁰⁷ "Review of *Ryder*, by Djuna Barnes," *New Republic* (24 October 1928): 282, quoted by Sheryl Stevenson, "Ryder as Contraception: Barnes v. the Reproduction of Mothering," *Review of Contemporary Fiction* vol. 13, no. 3 (1993): 97.

¹⁰⁸ Emma Heaney, *The New Woman: Literary Modernism, Queer Theory, and the Trans Feminine Allegory* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017): 120.

¹⁰⁹ Catherine Scholten argues that prior to about 1930, childbirth was the primary role of a mother, whereas after that time motherhood was reoriented toward "rearing children more than bearing them" (Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society: 1650-1850* [New York: New York University Press, 1989]: 111). In essence, once the child was born and named, the role of mother could be reassigned.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Stevenson, 104.

¹¹¹ See Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*, 105-7 and Nancy Schrom Dye, "History of Childbirth in America," *Signs* vol. 6 (1980): 97-108. Dye argues that the 1920s represent a significant turning point in the public acceptance of hospitalization during childbirth, with obstetric doctors pushing the belief that childbirth is "a surgical procedure" requiring significant intervention ("History of Childbirth in America," 106).

¹¹² Irvine Loudon, "Maternal mortality in the past and its relevance to developing countries today." *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* vol. 72, no. 1 (July 2000): 241S-246S.

¹¹³ Loudon, "Maternal mortality in the past," 242S. Between 1939 and 1948, maternal mortality decreased by 71% in the United States due to better education and mandatory sanitization (Children's Bureau, "Changes in infant, childhood, and maternal mortality over the decade of 1939-1948: a graphic analysis," [Washington, DC: Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, 1950]: n.p.) and the legalization of abortion in the 1960s lead to a further 89% decline in deaths resulting from abortion in the decade following (National Center for Health Statistics, "Vital statistics of the United States, 1973." Vol II, mortality, part A. [Rockville, MD: US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1977]: n.p).

¹¹⁴ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2: Sexchanges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 361.

¹¹⁵ Miriam Fuchs, "Dr. Matthew O'Connor: the unhealthy healer of Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood*," *Literature and Medicine* vol. 2 (1983): 127. Fuchs writes that O'Connor's healing practices, when displayed in *Nightwood*, are "infused with myth" with an "eerie and timeless" quality that evokes the work of Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A student of Magic and Religion* (Fuchs, "the unhealthy healer," 127). She goes on to note that T.S. Eliot, among others, used Frazer as a source, and implies that Barnes may have also.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth Dolan Kautz, "Gynecologists, Power and Sexuality in Modernist Texts." *Journal of Popular Culture* vol. 28, no. 4 (1995): 89, 87.

¹¹⁷ See Heaney, *The New Woman*, 120.

¹¹⁸ James B. Scott, *Djuna Barnes* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976): 20.

¹¹⁹ Scott, *Djuna Barnes*, 20.

¹²⁰ Amelia had been so certain that the baby was a girl that she settled on the name Helen; however, she was also certain that the childbirth would kill her. Instead, she safely delivers the baby boy with the war cry, "Out, monster, this is love!" (R 120).

¹²¹ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 121.

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- ¹²² Andrew Field, *Djuna: The life and times of Djuna Barnes* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1983): 139.
- ¹²³ Field, *Djuna*, 139.
- ¹²⁴ See G. D. Schott, "Sex symbols ancient and modern: their origins and iconography on the pedigree," *The British Medical Journal* vol. 331[7531] (2005): 1509-10 and William T. Stearn, "The Origin of the Male and Female Symbols of Biology," *Taxon* vol. 11, no. 4 (1962): 109-113.
- ¹²⁵ Patricia Juliana Smith, "'The Woman That God Forgot': Queerness, Camp, Lies, and Catholicism in Djuna Barnes' *Nightwood*," *Catholic Figures, Queer Narratives*, ed. L. Gallagher, F.S. Roden, and P.J. Smith (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 142.
- ¹²⁶ See Monica S. Cyrino, *Aphrodite* (New York: Routledge, 2012): 96-98.
- ¹²⁷ Fuchs, "the unhealthy healer," 127.
- ¹²⁸ Shin, "History's Elsewhere," 27.
- ¹²⁹ Ellen E. Berry, *Curved Thought and Textual Wandering: Gertrude Stein's Postmodernism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992): 60.
- ¹³⁰ Berry, *Curved Thought*, 60.
- ¹³¹ See Juliette Atkinson, "'The Lives of the Obscure' and Virginia Woolf," *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century 'Hidden' Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 252-64 and Section 1.1 of this thesis.
- ¹³² Shin, "History's Elsewhere," 26.
- ¹³³ Julie L. Abraham, "'Woman, Remember You': Djuna Barnes and History," *Silence and Power*, ed. Mary Broe (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991): 268.
- ¹³⁴ Nancy Bombaci, "Hereditry, Transvestism, and the Limits of Self-Fashioning in *Nightwood*," *Freaks in Late Modernist American Culture: Nathanael West, Djuna Barnes, Tod Browning & Carson McCullers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006): 65.
- ¹³⁵ Bombaci, "Hereditry, Transvestism," 67.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁷ See Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 340.
- ¹³⁸ Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997): 24.
- ¹³⁹ Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism*, 24.
- ¹⁴⁰ See Laura Veltman, "The Bible Lies the One Way, but the Night-Gown the Other: Dr. Matthew O'Connor, Confession, and Gender in Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood*," *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 49, no. 2 (2003): 207-8 for a discussion of a trend of "suspicion about sex in the confession box" present in American literature from this period, stemming from anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiments.
- ¹⁴¹ Smith, "The Woman That God Forgot," 129.
- ¹⁴² Zhao Ng, *Djuna Barnes and Theology: Melancholy, Body, Theodicy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022): 136.
- ¹⁴³ See Greg Daughterty, "The Brief History of Americanitis," *Smithsonian Magazine* (25 March 2015): n.p. Accessed 10 April 2022. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/brief-history-americanitis-180954739/>
- ¹⁴⁴ In desiring to have herself "saved by separation," the doctor compares herself to a Roman Catholic Queen, the sister of Marie Antoinette, Maria Caroline: "Were not the several parts of Caroline of Hapsburg put in three utterly obvious piles?—her heart in the Augustiner church, her intestines in St. Stefan's and what was left of the body in the vault of the Capucines? Saved by separation. But I'm all in one piece!" (N 174) Of all the Catholic figures whose bodily relics have been spread across various churches, the doctor selects the Queen of Naples who famously bore eighteen issue to King Ferdinand I, for the purposes of this reflection.
- ¹⁴⁵ Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus," 157.
- ¹⁴⁶ See, for example, Caselli, 190. Edward Lorusso holds the opinion that the drawing is of Doctor O'Connor. See his introduction to McAlmon, *Miss Knight and Others*, xxi.
- ¹⁴⁷ See *Sailor Jerry*, "Traditional Tattoo Meanings," n.p. Accessed 4 April 2022. <https://sailorjerry.com/en-gb/tattoos/>
- ¹⁴⁸ See Teresa De Lauretis, "*Nightwood* and the 'Terror of Uncertain Signs'," *Critical Inquiry* vol. 34, no. 2 (Winter 2008): 117-129.
- ¹⁴⁹ Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus," 159.
- ¹⁵⁰ De Lauretis, "*Nightwood* and the 'Terror of Uncertain Signs'," 120.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 119, 121.
- ¹⁵² Faltejskova, *Gender Dynamics of Modernism*, 161.
- ¹⁵³ Chris Freeman, professor of English and Gender Studies of Southern California, in conversation with Timothy Beck Werth by phone. Qtd. Beck Werth, n.p.

- ¹⁵⁴ Kenneth J. Zucker, Anne A. Lawrence, and Baudewijntje P.C. Kreukels, "Gender Dysphoria in Adults," *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* vol. 12 (2016): 223.
- ¹⁵⁵ Phillip F. Herring, *Djuna: The Life and Work of Djuna Barnes* (New York: Viking, 1995): 206.
- ¹⁵⁶ Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus," 157.
- ¹⁵⁷ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 138-39.
- ¹⁵⁸ Tyrus Miller, *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction and the Arts Between the World Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 192.
- ¹⁵⁹ Olivia Harris, "'What is this thing, Lord?': Matthew O'Connor and the Queer Theology of the Catholic Church in *Nightwood* (1937)," *Apollon* vol. 10 (2020): 57.
- ¹⁶⁰ Deuteronomy 22:5 reads, "A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garments: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God" (KJV). See Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 28-29 and 210-211.
- ¹⁶¹ Qtd. Zucker et al., "Gender Dysphoria in Adults," 220.
- ¹⁶² Miller, *Late Modernism*, 192.
- ¹⁶³ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 50. By the 1990s, it had become "something of a cliché in the popular analysis of transvestism to attribute the desire to cross-dress as an over-dependency on the mother... are desired not only not to be separated from her but to *be* her, ...[resulting in] the dowdy or dated appearance of some transvestites... who seemed to be dressing according to the styles of their mothers' generation" (Garber, *Vested Interests*, 50).
- ¹⁶⁴ Notable maternal deaths in *Ryder* include Cynthia, Sophia's mother (R 9); Wendell's unnamed mistress who "Pricked herself upon her son and passed / Like any Roman bleeding on the blade" (R 93); and the alternate version of Kate who succumbs to an ectopic pregnancy: "she therefore conceived, one shallow day in fall, in the *tubus Fallopii*, and no phlebotomy nor continually applied febrifuge doing any good, came to her death, for to such refinement had her organs balanced... what could a child do, who had it in him to weigh 9 pounds, and room for less than the full growth of a thumb, but burst the retort, and dying unborn take with him that which had so hemmed him about?" (R 144). *Nightwood* also opens with maternal death, that of Hedvig delivering Felix (N 3).
- ¹⁶⁵ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 100.
- ¹⁶⁶ Dundes, "No Inn at the Womb," 137.
- ¹⁶⁷ Faltejskova, *Gender Dynamics of Modernism*, 158.
- ¹⁶⁸ Alan Dundes writes that "Since men cannot produce with a womb, they must produce with their minds and mouths, namely thoughts and words" ("No Inn at the Womb," 146) and that the male impetus to create is based on feeling "inferior to women because women can bear children and men can not" ("No Inn at the Womb," 137). See Section 2.1 of this thesis.
- ¹⁶⁹ Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus," 164.
- ¹⁷⁰ See Jacqueline Rose and Juliet Mitchell, ed. *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1982).
- ¹⁷¹ Sarah Hayden, "What Happens When a Transvestite Gynaecologist Usurps the Narrator?: Cross-Gendered Ventriiloquism in Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood*," *Cross-Gendered Literary Voices*, ed. Rina Kim and Claire Westall (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 75.
- ¹⁷² Heaney, *The New Woman*, 131.
- ¹⁷³ Sigmund Freud, "Femininity," *New Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003): 160.
- ¹⁷⁴ Heaney *The New Woman*, 141.
- ¹⁷⁵ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990): 111.
- ¹⁷⁶ Faltejskova, *Gender Dynamics of Modernism*, 151.
- ¹⁷⁷ Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 260, 261.
- ¹⁷⁸ Faltejskova, *Gender Dynamics of Modernism*, 152.
- ¹⁷⁹ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 113, discussing Wittig's definition of a lesbian as "something else, a not-woman, a not-man, a product of society, not a product of nature" (Monique Wittig, "One is Not Born a Woman," *The Straight Mind and Other Essays* [New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992]: 13).
- ¹⁸⁰ de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 301.
- ¹⁸¹ Wittig, "One is Not Born a Woman," 20.
- ¹⁸² Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 112.

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- ¹⁸³ Edward Carpenter, "The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Man and Woman," *Love's Coming of Age: A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes* (Manchester: Labour Press, Society, 1896): 131.
- ¹⁸⁴ Carpenter, "The Intermediate Sex," 123.
- ¹⁸⁵ Faltejskova, *Gender Dynamics of Modernism*, 150.
- ¹⁸⁶ See Section 1.2 of this thesis.
- ¹⁸⁷ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 309n1.
- ¹⁸⁸ Elizabeth Grosz, "Intolerable Ambiguity: Freaks as/at the Limit," *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996): 57.
- ¹⁸⁹ Marcus "Laughing at Leviticus," 148.
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 161.
- ¹⁹¹ Otto Weininger, *Sex & Character* (London: William Heinemann, 1906): 187.
- ¹⁹² Heaney, *The New Woman*, 129.
- ¹⁹³ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 188.
- ¹⁹⁴ For discussion of Weiningerian biology, see Section 1.4 of this thesis. Joyce may have based the death of infant Rudy Bloom on Weininger's theories of sexual suitability, which also map conspicuously onto the Volkbein family tree.
- ¹⁹⁵ Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 266.
- ¹⁹⁶ Faltejskova, *Gender Dynamics of Modernism*, 161.
- ¹⁹⁷ Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus," 156.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ed Madden, *Tiresian Poetics: Modernism, Sexuality, Voice, 1888-2001* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presse, 2008): 181.
- ¹⁹⁹ Madden, *Tiresian Poetics*, 181.
- ²⁰⁰ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 135.
- ²⁰¹ Hayden, "Cross-Gendered Ventriloquism," 74.
- ²⁰² Heaney, *The New Woman*, 97.
- ²⁰³ Marcus, "Laughing at Leviticus," 157.
- ²⁰⁴ Marilyn Reizbaum, "A 'Modernism of Marginality': The Link Between James Joyce and Djuna Barnes," *New Alliances in Joyce Studies*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (University of Delaware Press, 1988): 181.

Feminine Fiction: Authorial Cross-dressing or *Écriture Féminine*?

The last word of *Ulysses* [is] yes. It is supposed to be said by a woman. The most curious part of the whole affair is that people believe a woman says it because a man writes it...¹

–Phillipe Sollers

Who in his heart doubts either that the facts of feminine clothiering are there all the time or that the feminine fiction, stranger than the facts, is there also at the same time, only a little to the rere?

Finnegans Wake 109.31-36

The final year of Ireland’s Decade of Centenaries, 2022 ushered in a veritable explosion of work on James Joyce in anticipation of the *Ulysses* centenary on 2 February. Participating in a long history of the reception and interpretation of modernism as the masculine impulse to “make it new,” the centenary celebrations frequently reproduced the myth of the ‘Men of 1922,’² which is a narrow and limiting framework for studying that year that excludes the many female modernists who published major works in 1922, including Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, and May Sinclair. One of the most enduring myths of this outdated version of modernism is that the ‘best,’ or ‘most complete,’ depiction of a modern woman in the twentieth century appears in Joyce’s *Ulysses*: the infamous Molly Bloom. In an article published in *The New Yorker* to mark the centenary, Merve Emre writes that “[it] is probably a betrayal of the feminist literary tradition to pronounce the final episode of *Ulysses*, ‘Penelope,’ the best—the funniest, most touching, arousing, and truthful—representation of a woman anyone has written in English.”³ Far from being a provocative or novel opinion, believing Molly Bloom to be “the best... representation of a woman [ever] written” has been an established ‘feminist’ position for decades, and even Emre’s assertion that Molly Bloom makes the “feminist canon look like

a sewing circle for virgins and prudes” has been a staple response to the final episode since the novel’s publication.⁴ Early reviews from the 1920s painted “Penelope” as obscene, vulgar, and even repulsive, but always as overtly sexual and undeniably, if grotesquely, female. Mary Colum, for example, wrote for *The Freeman* in 1922 that Molly Bloom’s mind is like that of “a female gorilla who has been corrupted by contact with humans,”⁵ and a contemporaneous review in *Sporting Times* called the entire episode “a glorification of mere filth” that was “supremely nauseous.”⁶ Such responses seem to anticipate Judge John Woolsey’s 1933 ruling that “whilst in many places the effect of *Ulysses* on the reader undoubtedly is somewhat emetic, nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac.”⁷ In the century since its publication, the final episode of *Ulysses* has gone through waves of veneration and disavowment from male and female readers alike, producing contradictory and persistently judgemental reviews of the ‘woman’ at the heart of Joyce’s novel.

Although Jeri Johnson, among others, has said that “we will go astray if we read Molly as either a positive or a negative representation of woman,”⁸ in this chapter I propose reading Molly Bloom not as a woman or even a representation of woman, but rather as a man’s idea of Woman constructed out of essentialist reductions. To read “Penelope” in this way is to shirk decades of interpretive scholarship evaluating the episode as *écriture féminine* or as the words of a ‘woman’ that can be psychoanalysed. Molly’s words are, of course, Joyce’s words placed in a mouth created by the very same pen. Although Joyce’s pen is veiled in “feminine clothiering,” I argue that his “feminine fiction” is not just “stranger than the facts” but also *estranged* from the facts, impersonating a female pen in an act of authorial cross-dressing.

The term ‘authorial cross-dressing’ is not common in literary criticism. In fact, it appears incredibly rarely, and nearly always in reference to authors using a penname, such

as “Mary Ann Evans’ authorial cross-dressing as George Eliot.”⁹ It is occasionally used to refer to the “rhetoric of literary masking,” as in Rebecca Tierney-Hynes’ analysis of Aphra Behn’s frame-narrative ‘disguises’ as a form of “authorial cross-dressing.”¹⁰ In her analysis of Yone Noguchi’s *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*, Ina Christiane Seethaler provides the only example I could find of the term being applied the way I will throughout this chapter. Seethaler writes that the “male author’s imitation of a female voice” is an “act of authorial cross-dressing” that overlaps with the novel’s thematic “role-playing and identity-replication.”¹¹ Madeleine Kahn develops a similar concept of “narrative transvestism” as “a theory of the novel as a form which allow[s] its authors to exploit the instability of gender categories,” such as in the case where a “male author plays out, in the metaphorical body of the text, the ambiguous possibilities of identity and gender.” For Kahn, it is thus possible for male writers to “[gain] access to a culturally defined female voice and sensibility [without running the] risk of being trapped in the devalued female realm.”¹² Where my project differs from Kahn, and perhaps more closely aligns with Seethaler, is in my emphasis on performance and Butlerian gender performativity as inherent to authorial cross-dressing. Seethaler argues that some authors “rely on ‘authorial drag’ to achieve authority” within a community to which they do not belong, demonstrating through an analysis of Japanese cultural and literary norms that strict class and gender delineations can be blurred by mimicking the language and style of the Other.¹³ In this chapter, I am asking, is “Penelope” Joyce in drag?

Drag as an artform relies on stereotypes, exaggeration, and essentialism to construct a gendered persona that is both mimetic and *unheimlich*. In drag shows, the shocking incongruence of a ‘male’ body performing hyperbolic femininity often creates a comedic effect; when female impersonation lacks that incongruity—when a drag performer is what

in the industry is called ‘fishy,’ or able to pass convincingly as a ‘biological woman’—the effect can be somewhat different. Namely, the ability of a man to convincingly imitate womanhood destabilises the binary categories of ‘man’ and ‘woman’ by making them legible with less certainty. “Gender,” writes Judith Butler, “is the repeated stylisation of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame.”¹⁴ Rigid gender norms are made flexible within the context of drag performance. If, as Butler says, gender is “what is put on... daily and incessantly” rather than something “natural or linguistic[ly] given,” then drag has the power to “expand the cultural field bodily through subversive performances.”¹⁵ Put another way, “Drag is subversive to the extent that it reflects on the imitative structure by which hegemonic gender is itself produced.”¹⁶ In a 2007 study, Lorraine Carroll develops the concept of ‘rhetorical drag’ to support claims that several supposedly autobiographical American captive narratives were not written by female captives but by male preachers impersonating their voices. Carroll explains that these men imitate the “style in which... a woman would write,” recreating “a set of recognisable and replicated marks” in much the same way that recreating style is “the heart of drag performance.”¹⁷ These ‘marks’ are used to convince the intended audience of a text’s credibility and thus the validity of its message—in the case of Hannah Swarton and Elizabeth Hanson’s captive narratives, a religious message of piety and submissiveness as ‘essential’ female characteristics.

Carroll’s examples of ‘rhetorical drag’ reproduce “an explicitly gendered style” in their captive narratives as part of a “fabrication [which] involves rhetorical choices about diction, direct and indirect discourse, interpolated texts, and (self) characterisation, among other stylistic elements” to help them to ‘pass’ as authentic female first-person narratives and indoctrinate their readers with expectations of Christian femininity.¹⁸ One such captive

narrative makes an appearance at the bookstall in “Wandering Rocks.” Looking for erotica to bring Molly, Bloom “idly [turns the] pages of *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*,” who claimed to have been sexually abused in a Montréal convent (U 10.585-6). The 1836 book was actually anti-Catholic propaganda written by Rev. John J. Slocum, or possibly Monk’s legal guardian, Rev. William K. Hoyt.¹⁹ Jennifer Burns Levin writes that the “abuses in Maria Monk, some of which are quite graphic even for the ‘escaped-nun’ genre, are perhaps... arousing for Bloom” due to his masochism.²⁰ To this, I will add the “erotic postcard” depicting “anal violation by male religious... of female religious” (U 17.1811-12) among the contents of Bloom’s desk drawer as evidence of his interest in the genre more broadly. Burns Levin identifies a “fully illustrated... naughty version” of ‘Monk’s’ text advertised in *Photo Bits* circa 1909, where Joyce may have encountered it among the racy titles which inspired *Sweets of Sin*.²¹ Despite having been exposed as fraudulent, *Awful Disclosures* capitalised on the growing markets for religious erotica and anti-Catholic horror fiction and was reprinted as part of these genres.²² The dangers of reading impersonations such as those posing as the ‘authentic’ voices of Monk, Swarton, and Hanson as historical documents can be easily inferred. In brief, despite being polemical religious documents created under false pretenses, Swarton and Hanson’s narratives have been preserved as valuable artifacts due to the rarity of first-person female writing samples from seventeenth-century America and have been used much like slave narratives—another type of writing from this period often authored or edited by the oppressors—to gain insight into the experience of an oppressed minority. Monk’s book joined the ranks of texts “claim[ing] to uncover the fantastic truth, stranger than fiction” used as “evidentiary weapons” against Catholicism.²³ Even after its falsification came to light, *Awful Disclosures* created a sustained outcry against the treatment of women and children by the

Church which had immediate and lasting consequences. Moreover, narratives like Swarton's and Hanson's were not only used to promote pious behaviour among women, but also to justify atrocities committed against Native Americans in 'retaliation' for the captivity and abuse of white women.

Considering Carroll's 'rhetorical drag' as a model, how can we read the repeated installation of Molly Bloom as "the best... representation of a woman [ever] written"²⁴ as anything other than a problematic appropriation of first-person female narrative? The problem emerges from a desire to consume realism as reality, interpreting realistic characters as 'real people' from whom one can draw moral conclusions, as was the aim of the forgeries discussed by Carroll. In her discussion of the 'escaped nun' genre, Susan Griffin writes that all "narratives, 'fictional' and 'nonfictional' alike, claim to be true" and "in attempting to prove their own veracity... rely on a common standard of evidence."²⁵ This statement can be extended to encompass other genres, including twentieth-century realism. By generating mimesis, realism creates an impression of 'authenticity'. Diane Elam writes Joyce's female characters "call attention to the mimetic stakes of literary representation: when character analysis sets to work, for the most part, it assumes that realistic characters are examples of real women."²⁶ Feminist literary criticism often emphasises the necessity of this very practice because it (re)positions women as subjects, treating female characters as representative of 'women' to evaluate a text's authenticity, progressiveness, or value to feminist discourse. However, doing so neglects an important facet of feminist theory: performativity. An implication of Carroll's work is that any semblance of 'gender' in writing is performative, particularly in texts that attempt mimesis, be they fiction or 'nonfiction'. Elaine Showalter argues that female readers "are estranged from their own experience and unable to perceive its shape and authenticity, in part because

they do not see it mirrored and given resonance by literature.” For Showalter, it is clear that the female reader has been “expected to identify... with a masculine experience and perspective, which is presented as the human one” because there are so “few portraits of the artist as a young woman” compared to the number of male authors she will be required to read throughout her education.²⁷ It is difficult to excavate positive female models from the canon when inundated with examples of authorial cross-dressing, especially when the impersonation is convincing. Diana Henderson writes that “Joyce’s textual impersonation of a woman’s voice... may provoke an uncomfortable, uncanny response through its similarity—at least on the surface, where the creator’s body does not appear—to what Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray laud as the feminine signature.”²⁸ This uncanniness is the *unheimlichkeit* of convincing drag; that is, by successfully impersonating the female voice, Joyce has managed to convince a generation of feminists that woman ‘speaks’ in his text, when in fact, he has merely mimicked her style by dressing his words in her costumes.

Let us consider the episode’s theatricality as an example. Molly is a performer by trade. “Penelope” is thus fittingly populated by snippets of song lyrics, stage directions, and costume changes. Molly interrupts her songs to give herself performance notes on several occasions, such as in “once in the dear deaead days beyond recall close my eyes breath my lips forward kiss sad look eyes open,” and “comes looooves old deep down chin back not too much make it double” (*U* 18.874-6, 895-6). She is the performer, the director, and the vocal coach, putting on the performance of a lifetime. Cheryl Herr reads the monologue as a series of tableaux staged by Molly to present a particular image of herself: “Molly by the Moorish Wall, Molly on promenade with an officer in Gibraltar, Molly on Howth.” These sets, she argues, speak to the episode’s performativity. Herr suggests that it is not a stretch to assume that in an “era of relentless comic cross-dressing... the performer who gives us

this star turn is not necessarily a woman at all”; she asks us to consider the question: “Why not a male performer doing a good imitation of La Duse doing a good imitation of a Dublin Hausfrau with trendily late Victorian ‘excess libido’?”²⁹ As Phillippe Sollers writes,

The last word of *Ulysses* [is] *yes*. It is supposed to be said by a woman. The most curious part of the whole affair is that people believe a woman says it because a man writes it; and if he has a woman say yes, no doubt it is for having experienced all her possible *no*. Which is something. At any rate, the persistency with which Molly’s monologue is taken out and staged on its own in the theatre as a recital by an actress furnishes an additional symptom. No one seems to have thought of having it spoken by a man.³⁰

I have used part of this statement as an epigraph to this chapter because it articulates the inherent contradiction in the consensus that Molly Bloom is a ‘woman’ who says ‘yes,’ but also the performativity of the episode more generally. Staging this episode with a female performer means putting the words of a man into a woman’s mouth, yet when a woman interprets that text and embodies it as a genuine feminine experience, the reaction is one of dismissal and disgust. For example, Declan Kiberd writes that “[as] late as the 1980s, many older readers were still... routinely denying that Molly could have been masturbating. When Fionnula Flanagan performed the soliloquy in this way, scholars in Minnesota walked out in protest, angrily handing back memberships of the James Joyce Foundation like war veterans handing back bravery medals. The very idea of this lonely woman pleasuring herself was too much for them.”³¹ Acting the final lines of “Penelope” as orgasmic—and, in particular, masturbatory—affords Molly an agency and subjectivity that perhaps extends beyond the reach of Joyce’s pen. For the scholars Kiberd describes, Molly’s ‘yes’ was an affirmation that belonged to male readers; Flanagan’s performance had taken away their plaything by speaking of woman’s pleasure.

In an episode known for its ‘yeses,’ it is perturbing that Blazes Boylan is unilaterally associated with the word ‘no.’ Molly begins her account of their sexual liaison in the negative: “no I never in all my life felt anyone had one the size of that to make you feel full up” (*U* 18.149). She then compares their bodies as biological binaries (0/1); women have “a big hole in the middle of us” (18.151-2) and men a “tremendous big red brute of a thing... like a Stallion driving it up into you” (18.144, 152). The violent imagery associated with penetration, alongside Molly’s admission to having kept her eyes closed during the intercourse, reads as acquiescence to an unpleasant task rather than an example of enthusiastic consent.³² Molly’s consent is made more dubious by repeated ‘noes’: “no that’s no way for him has he no manners nor no refinement nor no nothing in his nature slapping us behind like that on my bottom because I didnt call him Hugh” (*U* 18.1368-70). These eight conspicuous negatives begin the paragraph which ends with eight better-known affirmatives, the last three being the infamous “yes I said yes I will Yes” (18.1608-9). Molly’s ‘Yes’ (or, more accurately, Joyce’s ‘yeses’) has been appropriated for a myriad of uses, perhaps most notably by supporters of the 2018 Repeal the Eighth campaign³³ and Senate Bill 967 in California—the 2014 “yes means yes” law.³⁴ To read Molly’s ‘yes’ as belonging to no one but herself means that she is reliant upon no man for her pleasure—which flies in the face of many arguments regarding her decision to have an affair.³⁵

However, while women might like to reclaim Molly’s ‘Yes,’ we must be careful not to give it power over the voices of actual women. Like historians believing for centuries in the authenticity of Swarton and Hanson’s captivity narratives, a century of criticism has been built on the premise that the last lines of *Ulysses* are ‘spoken’ by a ‘woman.’ The comparison to Carroll’s project is all the more jarring given that, like Joyce, these male authors disguised their gender in part by drawing on the “cult of sensibility” that was

popularised in women's novels; in particular, they mimicked 'female style' by imitating "language... directly imported from contemporary seduction novels."³⁶ The imitation of women's fiction is, of course, very prominent in the "Nausicaa" episode. Gilbert and Gubar write that Joyce's imitation of Maria Susanna Cummins's 1854 novel *The Lamplighter*, unlike the "adulatory stylistic tribute to his literary patrilineage" in "Oxen of the Sun," instead "indicts the banality and bathos inculcated in young girls by the pulpy fictions of literary women."³⁷ If we take "Oxen" as an allegory for the novel as a whole—with its rapid regurgitation of the canon representing the development of the English language—it is conspicuous that women are excluded from that canon, as I discussed in the previous chapter. There are no pastiches of Christine de Pisan, Aphra Behn, or Mary Wollstonecraft in "Oxen." There is no Jane Austen, Mary Shelley, George Eliot, or Emily Dickinson on Joyce's roster. Instead, there is only Cummins to represent the "mob of scribbling women."³⁸ Like "Nausicaa," "Penelope" is descended from women's literature, including, writes Suzette Henke, "the language of pornographic fantasy... encoded in a frame of sentimental Victorian fiction."³⁹ I argue that Joyce also borrows from his wife Nora's letters to create the style that has been readily accepted as 'woman's language,' and that Molly and Gerty represent Joyce's attempts at female impersonation, standing in for the female archetypes that govern a heteropatriarchal literary canon. Separated from the rest of *Ulysses*, women remain contained within their respective episodes, breaching the main text only in the dreamscape of "Circe" and the multiperspectival "Wandering Rocks."

3.1 The Devil's Grandmother

In 1966, Robert Martin Adams denounced "Penelope" as "a frightening venture into the unconscious of evil... [that is] deliberately obscene."⁴⁰ The urge to psychoanalyse

Molly and make sense of her ‘unconscious’ mind using Freudian methodologies began in earnest around this time, leaching into early feminist readings of the text as well as the explosion of other critical approaches. As if predicting the way that the text would be received in the coming decades, Joyce parodies the hypermasculine psychoanalytic response to “Penelope” in *Finnegans Wake*, portraying this scholarly attitude toward the text as an act of gender-based violence:

(why, O why, O why?): the cut and dry aks and wise form of the semifinal; and, eighteenthly or twentyfourthly, but at least, thank Maurice, lastly when all is zed and done, the penelopean patience of its last paraphe, a colophon of no fewer than seven hundred and thirtytwo strokes tailed by a leaping lasso—who thus at all this marvelling but will press on hotly to see the vaulting feminine libido of those interbranching ogham sex upandinsweeps sternly controlled and easily repersuaded by the uniform matteroffactness of a meandering male fist? (*FW* 123.4-10)

After leaving her mute for over six hundred pages, Joyce rewards the reader’s patience by having the last episode spoken—or rather, written—in the ‘voice’ of Molly Bloom. Molly’s “vaulting feminine libido” is voyeuristically exposed to the male reader who “will press hotly on” through the Socratic “Ithaca” episode in order to reach her. In essence, readers must conquer the male to reach the female; the pairing of the penultimate and final episodes “epitomises the age-old dichotomy between Man of Reason and the Woman of Nature,” writes Maud Ellmann.⁴¹ Diana Henderson argues that the “male fist” here is not just “the closed hand traditionally symbolic of logic,” but also “the shape of a violent as well as errant (‘meandering’) self-assertion.”⁴² This “male fist” threatens violence against the female-coded text, which can be “sternly controlled and easily repersuaded” by masculine forces. By virtue of its proximity to the “vaulting feminine libido,” the “male fist” also evokes either (or both) Bello’s vicious vaginal fisting of Bloom in “Circe” or a masturbatory image that implicates the reader in the male gaze, objectifying Molly for

sexual gratification in the episode where she is supposedly granted subjectivity for the first and only time. If the male reader is meant to “press hotly on” to reach Penelope with his gaze and fist, what, pray tell, is a female reader supposed to do? The female reader remains hypothetical, unimagined by Joyce as an audience for Molly’s soliloquy.⁴³

The heterosexual male reader who will “press hotly on” is represented in the *Wake* by Duff-Muggli, a deaf-mute academic who compares the final two episodes of *Ulysses* as part of a psychological study of the sexes. Joyce mocks the scholarly impetus to psychoanalyse his character that already dominated the intellectual discourse surrounding *Ulysses* by parodying the supposed impenetrability of scholarly writing. Duff-Muggli, depicted as a mosquito drawn to a lamp,⁴⁴ is the first to name the “paddygoeasy partnership the ulykkhean or tetrachiric or quadrumane or ducks and drakes or debts and dishes perplex,” that is, a mental disorder characterised by belief in a pedagogical relationship between *Ulysses* and statistical analysis as it maps onto the gender binary—“ducks and drakes”—and Morse code—‘dots and dashes,’ which are also inflected as gendered domestic roles, “debts and dishes” (*FW* 123.16-17).⁴⁵ Joyce gives an exact citation for Duff-Muggli’s questionable academic interpretation, “*Some Forestallings over that Studium of Sexophonologicistic Schizophrenesis*, vol. xxiv, pp. 2-555,” and adds an additional citation for comparison to “the wellinformed observation, made miles apart from the Master by Tung-Toyd” (Carl Jung and Sigmund Freud here becoming ‘tongue-tied’): “cf. *Later Frustrations amengst the Neomugglian Teachings abaft the Semi-unconscience, passim*” (*FW* 123.17-22). Joyce writes derisively of Jung, Freud, and psychoanalysis in *Finnegans Wake* in the phrase, “we grisly old Sykos who have done our unsmiling bit on ‘alices, when they were yung and easily freudened” (*FW* 115.21-23). Alice, one of the many faces of the daughter Issy, is here brought under the scrutiny of Jung and Freud, who

are sickos/psychos that threaten the young, frightened girl(s) in their care with psychoanalysis (Sykos... on 'alices). Joyce wrote to Georg Goyert that Jung seemed to have read *Ulysses* "from first to last without one smile" (*LIII* 262), hence "our unsmiling bit," and commented in other letters that he wasn't pleased with Jung's 1930 review of *Ulysses*.⁴⁶ Jung becomes further diminutised as a "jungerl" (*FW* 268n3) and a "Jungfraud" (*FW* 460.20), the latter again combining Jung and Freud, this time as young frauds, *Jungfrau* (lit. 'young woman,' meaning 'virgin' in German) and liars.⁴⁷ For Joyce, Jung and Freud are frauds who use psychoanalysis to turn memories and dreams into lies. As Jacques Lacan has written: "It came quite naturally to [Joyce's] pen to qualify Freud and Jung as Tweedledum and Tweedledee."⁴⁸ Jung wrote to Joyce that

Your *Ulysses* has presented the world such an upsetting psychological problem that repeatedly I have been called in as a supposed authority on psychological matters.

...*Ulysses* proved to be an exceedingly hard nut and it has forced my mind not only to most unusual efforts, but also to rather extravagant peregrinations... The 40 pages of non stop run at the end is a string of veritable psychological peaches. I suppose the devil's grandmother knows so much about the real psychology of a woman, I didn't. (*LIII* 253)

According to Richard Ellmann, Nora refuted the letter's contents, and particularly Jung's suggestion that Joyce understood the female psyche better than "the devil's grandmother," by saying that her husband "knows nothing at all about women" (*JIII* 629). Jung also claimed that *Ulysses* "has no back and no front, no top and no bottom," writing that he underwent a "clarification" when he "started to read the book backwards," starting with "Penelope."⁴⁹ Joyce may be referencing Jung's assessment (which better describes *Finnegans Wake*) when the paleographers indicate that "the words which follow may be taken in any order desired" (*FW* 121.12-13). The text at issue—later revealed to be *Ulysses*—is titled "*a leak in the thatch*," suggesting another iteration of menstruation as

textual genesis, though it is then given the alternate title of “*the aranman ingperwhis through the hole of his hat*,” thus reorienting the text’s production to the male-coded brain (121.11-12). Joyce reveals that “serpentine” illustrations, like those in the *Book of Kells*, drawn by “a righthanded ladywhite,” appear to “uncoil spirally and swell lacertinelazily before our eyes under pressure of the writer’s hand” (121.21-25). Like the “vaulting feminine libido” that is “sternly controlled and easily repersuaded by the uniform matterofactness of a meandering male fist” (123.9-10), the male writer controls the female art. Joyce’s portrait of Duff-Muggli emphasises the divide between the aloof psychoanalyst and the feminine art/text he wishes to pathologise and consume, resulting in cannibalism: “the scholiast has hungrily misheard a deadman’s toller as a muffinbell” (121.34-6).⁵⁰

Through the psychoanalytic framework of Duff-Muggli’s study of *Ulysses*, Joyce parodies the scholarly tradition of Jung and Freud as one which attempts to understand the minds of women—and in this case, the mind of a ‘woman’ who exists at the end of a male pen and whose author “sternly control[s]” her “vaulting feminine libido”.⁵¹ David Spurr observes that “the title of Professor Duff-Muggli’s paper neatly addresses Joyce’s own concerns with phonologism or the conventional primacy of speech over writing, with the problem of sexual identity in writing, and with the schizoid nature of writing as it uneasily combines male and female elements.”⁵² For Hélène Cixous, the episodes after “Circe” each “affirm the power of a place beyond personal identities” though a “shattering schizophrenization.” This is “another genesis,” she writes, the ‘schizophrenia’ of *Ulysses*’ final three episodes having “finish[ed] off and disperse[d] the remainders of theological logocentrism” in preparation for the radical multiperspectivalism of the *Wake*.⁵³ Duff-Muggli’s “*Sexophonologic Schizophrenesis*” is thus an interesting point from which to begin an exploration of Joyce’s gendered writing, for in its very construction Joyce

proposes a problematised relationship between body, mind, gender, and language. Though Joyce was skeptical of Jung, Freud, and psychoanalysis,⁵⁴ his use of schizophrenia as metaphor in *Finnegans Wake* has been extensively documented, especially regarding Issy.⁵⁵ As in Saussurean phonologism,⁵⁶ where speech is privileged over writing, these modes of communication struggle for dominance within the androgynous, disorderly mind of the artist: hence, sexophonologicistic schizophrenesis. Although the etymological root *schizo-* as a “tearing apart or splitting of psychic functions” has been primarily used for schizo-affective disorders since 1908,⁵⁷ Joyce neologises *schizophrenesis* to create a metaphor for the disjuncture between the many gendered ‘selves’ generated through speech and writing. Cheryl Herr has argued that schizophrenesis can be read as a “reading effect” not unlike Alice Jardine’s “gynesis” in this context.⁵⁸ Jardine defines gynesis as “the putting into discourse of ‘woman’... the valorization of the feminine, woman, and her obligatory, that is, historical connotations, as somehow intrinsic to new and necessary modes of thinking, writing, speaking.”⁵⁹ To read with sexophonologicistic schizophrenesis would, if used the same way, imply a ‘bisexual’ activity that bifurcates spoken and written ‘selves’ along gendered lines. Under this model, writing and speaking not only take on gendered qualities but highlight the androgyny of language forms in a framework that privileges the mind, and, in particular, the disordered mind, as the locus of literary androgyny.

Aldous Huxley’s anti-Freudian satire, “Farcical History of Richard Greenow,” is an example of ‘literal’ sexophonologicistic schizophrenesis. Using dissociative gender identity as an allegory for the sexual crisis of the Modernist period, Huxley depicts two writers—Dick Greenow and Pearl Bellairs—who fight for psychic dominance within their shared (male) body. Rooted in psychoanalysis, sexology, and the cognitive and somatic traumas of World War I, the novella satirically stages the gender anxiety embedded in interwar

political upheaval. Dick, an anti-war dandy and failed Oxonian intellectual, represents Modernist progressivism whereas Pearl, a successful woman novelist with prudish, Victorian sensibilities, personifies the sentimentalism and conservatism that he abhors. Like Joyce, who orients *Finnegans Wake* around “the variety of linguistic characteristics associated with schizophrenic speakers,”⁶⁰ Huxley crafts a polyphonic text in which one voice begins to speak and another (differently gendered) voice takes over. The dominant personality for much of the novella is Dick, but Pearl slowly becomes more assertive, periodically taking control of their shared body until finally “a little of Pearl’s thought... slop[s] over into Dick’s mind” (*Limbo* 112) and co-dominance is achieved. For a short time, Dick controls the left side of their body and Pearl the right, using their right hand to continue writing her jingoistic propaganda without Dick’s consent.

Dick suffers “fits of depression, nervous pains, lassitude, [and] anæmia of the will” (64) as he gradually succumbs to the will of his female alter ego, and turns to an amateur psychoanalyst, Rogers, who knows “all about psychology—from books, at any rate: Freud, Jung... and people like that” to rid himself of Pearl (63). Rogers’s book-learned psychoanalysis “satirizes faith in psychoanalysis” as the “weapon of the modern age,” argues Emma Heaney.⁶¹ A series of word associations produce dull answers, from Mother/Dead (would not Stephen Dedalus answer the same?) to the even more banal Fire/Coal and Sea/Sick, until Rogers attempts “a frontal attack on... sex” (*Limbo* 67). “Aunt” produces the “very significant” response of “Bosom,” but “Breast” inspires only “Chicken” (66, 67). Most puzzling for Rogers is that “Woman” produces the answer “Novelist” and “God” evokes “Wilkinson,” for an Oxford student named Godfrey (67-8). Rogers’s conclusion, hinging on these abnormalities, is that in childhood, Dick had “a great Freudian passion for his aunt” and later developed “another passion, almost religious in its

fervour and intensity, for somebody called Wilkinson” (68). Rogers entirely misses the fact that Dick is, by his own admission, “a hermaphrodite, not in the gross obvious sense... but spiritually. Two persons in one, male and female” (37), and, less overtly, an ‘invert’. Dick links these two ‘conditions,’ arguing that the second is explained by the first: “He had been a puzzle to himself for a long time; now he was solved” (37). From the first page of the novella, Dick’s inversion follows the script of Havelock Ellis’s “psychosexual hermaphroditism.”⁶² As a child, Dick covets his sister’s dollhouse, spending hours “peeping through the windows, arranging and rearranging the furniture” (*Limbo* 1-2). When, aged sixteen, Dick finds he has “fallen in love” with his classmate Francis Quarles (10), he takes to writing poetry, “praying with frenzy,” “fasting,” and “[mortifying] the flesh” to discharge these feelings (12). Dick’s passion is abated not through poetry or self-flagellation, but through public shaming; his “ecstatic thoughts” while seated near Quarles at dinner are interrupted by another boy observing that “Pater’s style [is] so *coarse*” (20). Dick experiences an explosive moment of clarity, feeling “shame [tingle] through his body” for the first time (21). Heaney writes that the indictment of homosexuality “retain[s] his appearance of ignorance” of queer acts by being veiled in a critique of Walter Pater’s writing.⁶³ The speech act subordinates writing; Dick’s poem, the outlet for his love, is left unfinished as Dick returns to mathematics. His homosexual urges having been shamed out of existence, when Dick discovers that his body is host to a female writer during the night, he sees it as an explanation for these urges and a safe outlet for the gender difference he has suppressed since childhood.

Dick’s psychological break initially seems a boon, allowing him the freedom to pursue gentlemanly hobbies. He envisions a delightful arrangement to keep the two aspects of his identity separate, never having to acknowledge his female personality’s activities:

He would devote the day to the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, to philosophy and mathematics, with perhaps an occasional excursion into politics. After midnight he would write novels with a feminine pen, earning the money that would make his unproductive male laborers possible. A kind of spiritual *souteneur*... he would sit still and smoke his philosophic pipe while the womenfolk did the dirty work. Could anything be more satisfactory? (*Limbo* 38)

Dick assumes that he is the dominant personality, able to dictate Pearl's role in his life.

However, the war changes the balance of power between Dick and Pearl, just as it changed the societal role of women. At the start of the war, Dick declares himself a conscientious objector while his sister Millicent joins the Ministry of Munitions, "controlling three thousand female clerks with unsurpassed efficiency" (95). Millicent is a highly principled New Woman who relentlessly fights sexist, outdated traditions: "In her fifth term she organized... [a] general strike, which compelled to the authorities to relax a few of the more intolerably tyrannical and anachronistic rules," arguing that it was "an insult to the female sex" to restrict their liberty, as she and her peers were "a college of intelligent women, not an asylum of nymphomaniacs" (46-47). Despite representing a 'traditional' woman, Pearl also begins "invading the sanctities of [Dick's] private life... [and] trampling on his dearest convictions" (62) by taking up a pro-war stance in her "inspiring patriotic articles" (61). No longer "content with her short midnight hours," she desires "the freedom of whole days" (71), becoming active for longer periods despite Dick's attempts "to cast her out" (70). Though he was once their 'voice' and she their silent pen, Pearl's political activities embolden her to betray Dick, even going so far as to possess him at a crucial moment—when he is in court, defending his conscientious objection—and speak on his behalf in order to avoid jailtime that would also restrict *her*. They spend the rest of the war on a farm, with Pearl writing about "the delights of being a land-girl: dewy dawns, rosy children's faces, quaint cottages, mossy thatch, milkmaids, healthy exercise" (89) while

Dick performs the manual labour of his punishment. Dick withers. In 1918, Pearl, now the dominant personality, attempts to register to vote as “a woman over thirty,” newly granted suffrage (101). She and Dick are promptly institutionalised for insanity, stripping away what little control Dick has left.

Dick’s loss of control is exacerbated by a feminising experience he undergoes in the asylum. Refusing to eat “as a protest against [his] unlawful detention” (106), Dick is force-fed, mirroring the treatment being contemporaneously endured by suffragettes. Djuna Barnes subjected herself to force-feeding in 1914 to expose the inhumanity being “faced by scores of women in England.”⁶⁴ In the resulting article, Barnes implicitly genders the experience as “four men” restrain a woman upon a table “pregnant with the pains of the future” and medically violate her body (Figure 10).⁶⁵ At the climax of this torturous event,



Figure 10 Photograph of Djuna Barnes being held down by three men while a fourth, the doctor, forcibly feeds her milk through a tube and funnel (1914), taken for the cover of the 6 September 1914 issue of *New York World Magazine*, in which Barnes’s article detailing the event, “What It Feels Like to be Forcibly Fed,” appears.

Barnes finds herself in “the borderland between the somatic and mental capacity for representation... that is the psyche,”⁶⁶ to borrow Teresa De Lauretis’s phrase; the sexualised violence against her body causes Barnes to disassociate into a realm of collective female somatic trauma:

I saw in my hysteria a vision of a hundred women in grim prison hospitals, bound and shrouded on tables just like this, doctors thrust rubber tubing at interstices of their nostrils and forced into their helpless bodies the crude fuel to sustain the life they longed to sacrifice.⁶⁷

As Emma Heaney covers extensively in *The New Woman*, Barnes’s account demonstrates “similarity between this experience and rape” by foregrounding “the doctors’ violation,” “the feminized condition of hysteria,” “the delicacy of the tissue of the sinus” as a vaginal metaphor, and the “helplessness of the female body [held] prone.”⁶⁸ Undergoing the same procedure, Dick struggles to exhaustion while the “warder, more motherly than ever” restrains him and a doctor “[pushes] the horrors up his nostrils” (*Limbo* 108). Like Barnes, the torture fractures Dick’s already fragile consciousness, his mind suddenly opening into a universal empathetic perspective, experiencing the shared pain of

the millions who had been and were still being slaughtered in the war; he thought of their pain, all the countless separate pains of them; pain incommunicable, individual, beyond the reach of sympathy; infinities of pain pent within frail finite bodies; pain without sense or object, bringing with it no hope and no redemption, futile, unnecessary, stupid. In one supreme apocalyptic moment he saw, he felt the universe in all its horror. (109)

Forced to undergo this implicitly gendered experience causes Dick to identify with his own sex and the psychic and somatic trauma men endured during WWI. As a conscientious objector, Dick sat out the horrors of the war, but was not immune to its cultural impact; as Erik Svarny has pointed out, in the year that “Farcical History” was published, women were granted the vote—and conscientious objectors lost theirs.⁶⁹

Although the limited scholarship on Huxley's novella generally focusses on Pearl as a caricature of Huxley's aunt, popular novelist Mrs. Humphry Ward, the correlation between "Woman" and "Novelist" that causes Dick's anxiety is not only a biographical snub.⁷⁰ Svarny writes that "the real fear that motivates the dualism of the text is not that of women's writing per se, but something perhaps more subversive, the fear that 'creative' literary activity, with its deployment of sensibility and emotion, might be intrinsically 'female'."⁷¹ Huxley needed to reconcile his rational and 'creative' sides at a time when the question of whether artistic identity and heterosexual masculinity are compatible was at issue. This fear of 'feminine' aspects invading the male psyche can be traced back to responses to aestheticism, Pater, and the Wilde trials, with far-reaching implications. Havelock Ellis, for example, whose sexological theories inform Huxley's novella, writes that there are "certain avocations which inverts seem especially called. One of the chief of these is literature."⁷² Dick's inversion and his love for Quarles are essential to his artistic development. Robin Ann Sheets writes that his "moments of [homoerotic] passion coincide with bursts of creativity, thereby suggesting that an aesthetic sensitivity and the impulse to write are the result of same-sex desire."⁷³ Dick abandons his "unproductive male laborers" (*Limbo* 38) of mathematics and philosophy for poetry until his passions—literary and sexual—are securely contained by Pearl. As Christopher Craft writes: "Desire between anatomical males requires the interposition of an invisible femininity" in Ellis's conception of inversion.⁷⁴ Mediated through Pearl, Dick's inversion, a vice "infinitely darker and more horrid" than alcohol, women, or opium (*Limbo* 74), is his darkest shame. More than simple misogyny or envy of female literary success, Huxley's novella can be read as expressing deep-seated homophobia. The sexual crisis of the period is emblematised by the New Woman, the newly medicalised 'homosexual,' and the trans feminine allegory.⁷⁵ However,

these caricatures are highly satirical in the novel, to the point of absurdism: ‘Dick’ is the phallus and ‘Pearl’ the clitoris; Millicent, reminiscent of ‘militant,’ marries a weak man named ‘Hyman’; Dick’s “queer-looking” group of schoolboys includes a boy named ‘Gay’ (7); and his heart is broken when he sends Quarles “a fag with a note” inviting him to tea and is rejected (12).⁷⁶ The novella’s blunt-force allegorical renderings, misogyny, and homophobia make it one of the modernist texts “difficult to absorb into recuperative critical projects.”⁷⁷ Pearl frequently works against both her own interests as a woman and their shared interests as co-inhabitants of Dick’s body, such as when she willing to have them committed to an asylum if it means having longer periods of control. The internal inconsistencies between gender and politics make it hard to recover either Dick or Pearl as a positive feminist model; it is difficult to know who to ‘root for’ in their battle for dominance over Dick’s body when both are, at the core, unlikeable, egotistical misogynists.

3.2 Lectrice Féminine

The desire to find positive feminist models from the male canon is a natural extension of models like Jardine’s “gynesis” or Joyce’s “schizophrensia,” which consider texts through non-traditional lenses. I, for example, read as a woman—specifically, as a queer woman whose defining political memories from her twenties include the legalization of gay marriage in the United States in 2015, the MeToo Movement of 2017, the Irish abortion referendum of 2018, and, most recently, the overruling of *Roe v. Wade* in 2022. It has always been my method, as a woman, to approach texts primarily as a woman reading, which it seems is itself a radical act. Reading as a woman is not necessarily what occurs every time a woman reads and should not be considered the default critical practice of a woman reading. As Carolyn Heilbrun puts it, “we, men, women and Ph.D’s, have always

read [literature] as men. ... We are rooted in our vantage point and require transplanting.”⁷⁸ When reading as a woman, it is the role of the woman reader to resist the urge to identify “with male characters [and authors], against [our] own interests as women.”⁷⁹ Resisting the dominant narrative of male perspective and meaning-making in this way can “bring about a new experience of reading” that “make[s] readers—men and women—question the literary and political assumptions on which their reading is based.”⁸⁰ The ‘universality’ of the male character or reader is a bias that can only be mitigated through a deliberate rejection of these assumptions; however, in practice, feminist criticism is more frequently concerned with “the way in which the *hypothesis* of a female reader changes our apprehension of a given text” than an actual female reader’s apprehension of a text mediated through her lived experience.⁸¹ By adopting the methodology of Elaine Showalter’s hypothetical female reader and using the composite critical lens of Jardin’s “gynesis” and Joyce’s “schizophrenisis,” I hope to demonstrate how one can be skeptical of Joyce’s imitation of the female voice in “Penelope” and “Nausicaa” while acknowledging the success of that imitation and its lasting cultural capital as an example of *écriture féminine*.

Diane Elam writes that Joyce’s female characters have often been judged—especially by feminist critics—for whether they are “*good* women,” including “good feminists.” She says that this is “especially true of Molly, who initially took the stage as either a good earth mother or a bad 30 shilling whore, depending on the critical fashion, and then went on to play an increasing range of feminine, sometimes feminist, roles to mixed moralizing reviews.”⁸² These mixed reviews often include what Elam calls “a kind of moral gynecology” through which she is judged as “insufficiently feminist on the basis of her heterosexual proclivities and male identification.”⁸³ For Gabriele Schwab, it becomes clear from reviewing the literature on Molly Bloom that “the history of her critical

reception has turned out to be more of a documentation of male fears and wishes regarding women than an analysis of her character limited to textual considerations.”⁸⁴ From obscene to earth goddess, stereotypical male fantasy to *écriture féminine*, Molly has been the subject of heated academic debate from the 1920s to the present. David Hayman notes, for example, that Penelope tends to collect the “attitudes we accumulate toward her.”⁸⁵ Put another way by Kathleen McCormick, who traces historical trends in the episode’s reception and interpretation,

[A] common explanation for the critical divergence provoked by Molly has been that particular interpretations may simply be proved to be “wrong” with reference to “the text.” Apparently erroneous readings are explained away as moments of critical “subjectivity” in which critics let their “personal opinions” get in the way of an objective reading of “the text itself.” What is perhaps most interesting about this kind of argument is the way it has been repeated, nearly verbatim, by successive generations of critics.⁸⁶

Any claim to know the ‘objective’ truth about ‘the text itself’ is necessarily steeped in the critic’s experiences, biases, and academic interests, as well as all the sociocultural baggage of the time during which the criticism was produced.⁸⁷ New readings of any contested text are bound to be rejected by those who hold their own interpretations or methodologies dear. Such is even true of *écriture féminine*, a term that became highly mobilised by feminist critics in the 1980s.

Écriture féminine is a term coined by Hélène Cixous to describe a theoretical genre of literary writing which deviates from traditional masculine or patriarchal styles by embodying or inscribing female difference through language. Grounded in Marxism, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Derridean deconstructionism, the theory was explicitly intended as a feminine alternative to male-coded psychoanalytic models of authorship and the mind. *Écriture féminine* is used by French literary theorists including Luce Irigaray and

Julia Kristeva as a way of manipulating psychoanalytic frameworks to deconstruct the way in which women are positioned as Other in the masculine symbolic order and to reassert the value of 'the feminine' as a distinct category of self-expression. Cixous writes that "woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies," correlating the historical repression of female sexual desire to a lack of female-oriented language or feminine textuality.⁸⁸ Although Showalter defines *écriture féminine* as "the inscription of the feminine body and female difference in language and text"⁸⁹ and Nancy Miller writes that *écriture féminine* "privileges a textuality of the avant-garde, a literary production of the late twentieth century,"⁹⁰ it is notable that from the outset Cixous concluded that "there has not yet been any writing that inscribes femininity."⁹¹ Because Cixous wrote her dissertation on Joyce, it has been suggested that she "tailored her notion of *écriture féminine* after Joyce's example"⁹² or that the "Penelope" episode is what inspired "the whole school of *écriture féminine*."⁹³ I believe these to be overstatements. Cixous invokes Molly Bloom in "The Laugh of the Medusa," not as an example of *écriture féminine*, but instead as part of an anti-Lacanian formulation of the feminine as affirming, rather than negating: "we don't want that. We don't fawn around the supreme hole. We have no womanly reason to pledge allegiance to the negative. The feminine (as the poets suspected) affirms: '...yes,' says Molly, carrying *Ulysses* off beyond any book and toward the new writing."⁹⁴ That Molly moves "toward the new writing" by being, in Joyce's words, "*der Fleisch der stets bejaht [sic]*" (*LI* 170), implies that she has not achieved the purpose of *écriture féminine*; not only to "write her self," but also to become "a universal woman subject who must bring women to their senses and to their meaning in history."⁹⁵ It is a tall order, and one which, I'll argue, Molly Bloom is not equipped to fill.

Despite Cixous's insistence on the rarity and importance of a model upon which "woman must write her self," Molly's soliloquy is commonly read as an example of *écriture féminine*. Suzette Henke, for example, has argued that Molly's "lyrical prose-poetry offers a paradigm of *écriture féminine*, as *jouissance* is deferred by a free play of the female imagination over the elusive terrain of enigmatic sexual difference."⁹⁶ More recently, Maryam Najafibabanazar has written that "Molly's narrative can be read... as coming in some ways... from the semiotic and subverting the established disciplines of language use (the symbolic), thus, as an example of *écriture feminine*."⁹⁷ Najafibabanazar builds on Kristeva's distinction between the symbolic and the semiotic (based on Freud's notion of women as 'castrated' or, in Lacan's phraseology, experiencing 'lack') to argue that what female characters lack is "the means of expressing themselves" using phallogentric language⁹⁸; hence Joyce's creation of a semiotic "antilanguage."⁹⁹ Anne Shandler Levitt similarly argues that Molly's thoughts are "manifestations of the various components" of Luce Irigaray's *parler-femme*, adding that "the ability to speak of oneself as part of all womankind, is crucial to the words of both Irigaray and Molly Bloom."¹⁰⁰ Similar to *écriture féminine*, *parler-femme* is a deconstructive technique from the French feminist school that has been translated as "writing (the) body," "woman's speaking," and "speaking (as a) woman."¹⁰¹ It, too, is a subversion of patriarchal discourse through the creation of space for feminine difference. Irigaray writes that "Speaking (as) woman (*parler-femme*) is not speaking of woman... It is not a matter of producing a discourse of which woman would be the object, or the subject."¹⁰² *Parler-femme*, to quote Felicia Kruse, can be understood best as "primarily exhibitiv and active rather than assertive... most accurately described as a shaping of woman's experience—especially but not exclusively her experience of her sexuality—into linguistic form, and as such does not frame arguments

which demand validation in terms of logical truth or falsity.”¹⁰³ Interpretations of Penelopean fluidity as either *écriture féminine* or *parler-femme* rather than as authorial cross-dressing stand in direct contrast to both Irigaray and Cixous, whose constructions are firmly grounded in gynocentric feminist biocriticism, to borrow Showalter’s coinage. They would seem to take seriously Carolyn Burke’s assertion that “women’s writing proceeds from the body, that our sexual differentiation is... our source.”¹⁰⁴ As I discuss in the previous chapter, it is dangerously prescriptive to centre anatomical differences in discussions of female identity and womanhood. However, because *écriture féminine* is primarily understood as an “inscription of the female body and female difference,” feminist criticism from this period pursues it from a “biological perspective [that] generally stresses the importance of the body” as an essential (and therefore, essentialised) component of Cixous, Kristeva, and Irigaray’s critical apparatuses.¹⁰⁵

One of Irigaray’s central theoretical concerns in *This Sex Which Is Not One*, informed by her work as a Lacanian psychoanalyst, is to recover female erotic embodiment from the Lacanian position which privileges the phallus as the “single transcendental signifier” and cis women, consequently, as having ‘lack.’¹⁰⁶ In the same article that positions “Penelope” as an example of *écriture féminine*, Suzette Henke writes that “Molly Bloom has traditionally been excluded from male discursivity because she ‘speaks fluid’” as a “Lacanian ‘woman-creature’.”¹⁰⁷ For Irigaray, the essential feminine in writing “is always fluid,”¹⁰⁸ a term which is now almost universally applied to the “Penelope” episode. Derek Attridge writes that “the emphasis on Penelope’s ‘fluidity’ is much more noticeable in post-*Wake* criticism of *Ulysses*,” remarking on the retroactive influence of ALP’s “riverine associations” on criticism of “Penelope.”¹⁰⁹ Although Henderson, for example, argues that Molly’s verbal logic is based on an “extralogical, associative fluidity...

presented as typically feminine language, both by Joyce and Cixous,”¹¹⁰ Attridge reminds us that the associations between femininity, fluids, and ‘flow’ were not initiated by Joyce.¹¹¹ Moreover, although Cixous has compared female language and embodiment to a biologically resonant ‘flow,’¹¹² she reads Molly thusly:

Molly, wife and adulteress, voyages in her memories. She wanders, but lying down. In dream. Ruminates. Talks to herself. Woman’s voyage: as a *body*. As if she were destined—in the distribution established by men...—to be the nonsocial, nonpolitical nonhuman half of the living structure. On nature’s side of this structure, of course, tirelessly listening to what does on inside—inside her belly, inside her “house.” In direct contact with her appetites, her affects. ...[S]he is the principle of consistency, always somehow the same, everyday and eternal.

Man’s dream: I love her—absent, hence desirable, a dependent nonentity, hence adorable. Because she isn’t there where she is. As long as she isn’t where she is. How he looks at her then! When her eyes are closed, when he completely understands her, when he catches on and she is no more than this shape made for him: a body caught in his gaze.¹¹³

Cixous reads Molly’s absence throughout the day as representative of the patriarchal silencing of woman; that is, she is only ‘desirable’ when ‘absent’ or voyeuristically gazed at without her knowledge or consent. Although the exhibition of Molly’s body—a body caught in the male gaze—is sometimes interpreted as *embodiment*, one of the fundamental aspects of *écriture féminine*, Molly’s body instead functions within the whole of *Ulysses* as Irigaray says ‘woman’ functions on the margins of dominant ideology, that is, “as waste, or excess, what is left of a mirror invested by the (masculine) ‘subject’ to reflect himself.”¹¹⁴

Joyce’s masculine mirror of “Penelope,” the “Proteus” episode, similarly uses associative free-form prose to depict interiority. In the Gilbert schema, the technic of “Proteus” is explicitly listed as “Monologue (male)” as a counterpart to “Penelope” as “Monologue (female).” As Stephen walks along the beach, his thoughts, like Molly’s, stray toward the physical manifestations of sexual Otherness, of biological and cultural markers

of gender that dictate the social roles of men and women. For example, upon seeing a couple out cockle-picking, he mentally undresses the woman to find her “shefiend’s whiteness under her rancid rags” (*U* 3.379). He doubly Others her by referring to her and her male companion as “red Egyptians,” marking them as ‘gypsies’ based on a mistaken belief that migratory peoples like the Romani came to Europe from Egypt (3.370). After Stephen quotes “The Rogue’s Delight,”¹¹⁵ mocks their poverty, and thoroughly sexualises the ‘gypsy’ woman, the scene’s voyeurism is briefly inverted. Noticing her observing him, “A side eye at my Hamlet hat,” Stephen is undressed under her gaze, exposed to her scrutiny just as her ‘whiteness’ was revealed to him: “If I were suddenly naked here as I sit?” (*U* 3.390). Rather than an example of the male gaze, this reciprocal mental disrobing acts as a moment of gender inversion, relating the differently-sexed bodies to one another through shared nakedness, shared vulnerability, shared gazing. Christine Froula reads the moment as having “less to do with sexual desire than with transsexual identification,” noting that by undressing both their bodies, Stephen is uncovering not the sexual body but the “essentials: her female, his male body” in order to compare them.¹¹⁶ Stephen’s x-ray vision does not only penetrate the ‘gypsy’ woman’s clothing but also her skin, seeing biological process he associates with womanhood, menstruation, occurring inside her:

She trudges, schlepps, trains, drags, trascines her load. A tide westering,
 moondrawn, in her wake. Tides, myriad-islanded, within her, blood not mine,
oinopa ponton, a winedark sea. Behold the handmaid of the moon, in sleep the wet
 sign calls her hour, bids her rise. Bridebed, childbed, bed of death, ghostcandled.
Omnia caro ad te veniet [all flesh comes to thee]. He comes, pale vampire, through
 storm his eyes, his bat sails bloodying the sea, mouth to her mouth’s kiss.
 (*U* 3.392-8)

As discussed in the previous chapter, Stephen finds affinity in the menstrual cycle as that which is prefatory to procreation and thus to artistic production. His caveat that the ‘gypsy’

woman's menstrual fluid is "blood not mine" marks an odd dislocation of his theory of artistic gestation. Because Stephen does not menstruate, he is unable to conceive art that will gestate into the great novel he envisions; we see in this passage the origins of the only writing he accomplishes in *Ulysses*, the vampire poem that draws the blood from woman in order to turn it into art. However, because the blood is not his own, nor are the words or even the sentiment; the poem is a collection of clichés and cribbed lines cobbled together into an unoriginal pastiche.

Several sources for Stephen's vampire poem have been identified, including Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and a stanza of "My Grief on the Sea," translated from Irish by Douglas Hyde in *Love Songs of Connaught*: "And my love came behind me— / He came from the South; / His breast to my bosom, / His mouth to my mouth."¹¹⁷ Robert Adams Day

convincingly argues that another probable source is an illustration by William T. Horton, 'All Thy Waves Are Gone Over Me' (Figure 11).¹¹⁸ Stephen's quatrain can be read as a caption for the drawing, which depicts a man "either swimming or drowning... between two great waves," with "two huge wings or sails" rising behind him "like the wings of a bat, since each has five ribs... A more exact description than 'bat sails' could not be



Figure 11 Illustration by William T. Horton, 'All Thy Waves Are Gone Over Me,' in *A Book of Images* (1898)

devised.”¹¹⁹ If Adams Day is correct that Joyce had this picture in mind, Stephen’s poem ‘cross-dresses’ in the sense that, as a trans-mediation of an image into words, it dislocates the aesthetic experience from semiotic to symbolic. The poem acts as the aesthetic object rather than a description or interpretation, in much the same way that authorial drag creates the illusion of an ‘authentic’ first-person narrative that is an ‘original’ object rather than mimicry. The poem is then further mediated as it moves from his initial ‘verbal’ composition, “He comes, pale vampire, through storm his eyes, his bat sails bloodying the sea, mouth to her mouth’s kiss” (*U* 3.398) to its written form, “On swift sail flaming / From storm and south / He comes, pale vampire, / Mouth to my mouth” (7.722-25). The shift from the verbal/third-person to the written/first-person is also a gender transformation, an example of sexophonologic schizophrenesis. Fritz Senn writes that “the female element has evaporated completely, three *hers* have been replaced by *my*... [there] is, in other words, more Stephen and less woman.”¹²⁰ This attempt to write from a female perspective fails to convincingly capture ‘her’ voice, and Stephen himself faults the poem not for its plagiarism¹²¹ but for being unable to accurately portray female desire: “Would anyone wish that mouth for her kiss? How do you know? Why did you write it then?” (*U* 7.711-12). Is Myles Crawford’s nervous, twitching mouth worth kissing? Stephen doesn’t know. His self-criticism acknowledges the lack of an authentic female narrative voice in the poem, going so far as to think of the mouth/south rhyme and, subsequently, the two characters of the poem as “two men dressed the same, looking the same, two by two” (7.715-16). As he struggles to differentiate between the male and female characters, his stilted couplets appear to him like “old men, penitent, leadenfooted, underdarkneath the night” (7.722-24). Stephen can’t help but envision Dante’s three-part rhymes as “approaching girls, in green, in rose, in russet, entwining, *per l’aer perso*, in mauve, in purple... [and] gold” (7.720-22).

In an episode named for the keeper of the wind—and preoccupied with air and language—Stephen’s unoriginal poem weighs him down, whereas Dante’s rhymes are lovely young girls, dressed in complementary colours, stepping lightly, as if floating on air. While we should not judge a twenty-two-year-old poet against Dante Alighieri, Stephen draws this comparison specifically to the *gender* and *clothing* of their rhymes, supporting my argument that the poem is Stephen/Joyce’s first act of authorial cross-dressing.

When Stephen thinks of the awkward “Mouth, south” rhyme in “Aeolus,” he draws the kiss downward, from the mouth to the vaginal opening: “Is the mouth south someway? Or the south a mouth?” (*U* 7.713). His compositional process inverts the male and female figures as it is translated from verbal to written, a kiss morphing into the vampiric consumption of menstrual blood: “mouth to her moomb [womb].¹²² Oomb, allwombing tomb” (*U* 3.401-2). The desire to drink the mother’s blood, not unlike Joyce’s desire to “nestle in [Nora’s] womb ... [and] be fed by [her] blood” (*SL* 169), becomes a symbolic act of transubstantiation, the vampire-son ingesting and thus incorporating the life-affirming ‘female’ fluid of the mother’s body into his own body. Like the “morbid reversal” of the suckling infant at the breast when the ghastly apparition of his mother comes to suck the life from Stephen’s body,¹²³ his vampire devours the *amor matris* discussed in the previous chapter, consuming the blood of the womb in order to assume its fertile power and perhaps even, as Christine Froula writes, “to bring back to life his own buried but ‘undead’ female-identified self, renounced and repressed” and thereby “transsexualize his own body.”¹²⁴ In “Circe,” the episode where transgender fantasy becomes ‘reality,’ Bloom demands that Cissy Caffrey “Speak, woman, sacred lifegiver!” (*U* 15.4648-9) to save Stephen from a confrontation with the law. Cissy, whose adolescent cross-dressing and tomboyishness set her apart from “womanly woman” Gerty MacDowell (13.435), finds herself lacking a

feminine language with which to do so and appeals instead to Private Carr, the incarnation of patriarchal power and colonialism: “Amn’t I with you? Amn’t I your girl? Cissy’s your girl... Police!” (15.4651-2).¹²⁵ As I have previously argued,¹²⁶ Cissy’s failure to intervene is predicated on Bloom’s misapprehension of her ‘lifegiving’ properties; that is, although she is repeatedly described in maternal terms (having “quick motherwit” [13.75]) and as the racial Other (having “gipsylike eyes” [13.36]), Bloom is mistaken when he thinks that she can “understand birds, animals, [and] babies” because her gender, race, and class places her “[in] their line,” that is, lower in the social hierarchy (*U* 13.903-4). Christine van Boheemen-Saaf notes that the “Penelope” episode is “the actual realization of Bloom’s desire [to hear woman speak],” and that Molly’s voice is “literally the voice of blood, the voice of life—life as a sexual instinct and biological continuity.”¹²⁷ Stephen struggles to compose the poem from a female perspective because he lacks his own “wet sign” prefatory to fertility; as a result, his authorial cross-dressing amounts to little more than fumbled plagiarism. While overtly a cannibalistic consumption of femaleness, Stephen’s poem also represents prophetic foreknowledge of “Penelope,” the embodiment of Stephen/Joyce’s platonic Woman that he will one day write into existence. Stephen conceives of a woman lying in bed whose “wet sign,” her period, will “bid her rise.” Molly, of course, will rise from bed when she realises “that thing has come on” (*U* 18.1105).

Stephen’s foreshadowing of Molly’s coming period demonstrates further how her ‘flow’—both her words and her blood—are constructed to epitomise female Otherness. In this case, Molly’s “wet sign” is the biological sign of sexual difference; Julia Kristeva writes that “menstrual blood... stands for the danger issuing from within identity (social or sexual); it threatens the relationship between the sexes within a social aggregate and, though internalization, the identity of each sex in the face of sexual difference.”¹²⁸ Cheryl

Herr contends that “Molly does not menstruate but only *enacts* menstruation because she is ‘actually’ a man, or rather, an undecidable act(or)/(ress)” playing a role.¹²⁹ Indeed, Molly seems dissociated from her period. Like Stephen’s “blood not mine” (*U* 3.394), Molly’s “thing” that has “come on” is not a natural process but is instead associated with the author who has written it into being: “Oh Jamesy let me up out of this pooh” (*U* 18.1128-29). Joyce also inserts a reference to the title of his poetry collection, *Chamber Music*, as Molly urinates into the chamber pot and thinks of a line from a Robert Southey poem: “O how the waters come down at Lahore” (*U* 18.1148). Joyce’s textual presence marks his authority over the text, reminiscent of (and standing in direct contrast to) Stephen’s “artist, like the



Figure 12 Illustration by Richard Hamilton, “O how the waters come down at Lahore” (1988), in pencil and watercolor, based on Sorcha Cusack’s performance as Molly in a 1988 documentary on *Ulysses*

God of the creation... within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails" (*P* 215). Joyce cannot help but assert his dominance over the female text, leaning on the fourth wall just long enough to make his presence known. Although some authors, such as Harry Blamires, describe Molly's period as "nature [intervening] in her monologue,"¹³⁰ others disagree; Lisa Sternlieb, for example, writes that it "is [Joyce's] prerogative, not Molly's body that determines the onset of her 'flow'." Sternlieb suggests that Joyce's "self-conscious entry into his text at this point indicates his desire not to *pretend* to be the natural voice of a natural woman,"¹³¹ that is, his authorial drag is not meant to be 'fishy.' Paul Schwaber similarly writes that this "vaudevillian flash" acts as comic relief, "relaxes the tension, breaking up our suspension of disbelief that we have been following an actual woman's thoughts."¹³² It is possible for readers to suspend our disbelief because of the authenticity of Molly's 'female' voice and the power of suggestion. Katherine Mullin writes that the "epistemological power [of menstruation] is, from one perspective, the reason why Joyce makes Molly begin her period... Menstruation acts as the proof of the unarguable femininity of a female character ventriloquized by a male novelist."¹³³ For Herr, Sternlieb, and Mullin, all of whom write from a feminist position, Molly's period is a sign of biological difference that marks her as Other, creating the "sacred lifegiver" Bloom thinks will rid the world of injustice (*U* 15.4648-9). However, it is a corroded sign; unlike her husband, who has been experiencing sympathy pains whenever he thinks of menstruating women, Molly experiences no premenstrual symptoms prior to discovering that she has gotten her period.¹³⁴ Molly is surprised by her period's arrival, and for good reason: what woman would invite over a new lover on the day she expects her period? She wonders when she'll be able to see Boylan again, "unless he likes it some men do" (*U* 18.1108),

confirming the unintentional timing. Like Stephen's ideal Woman who experiences "pregnancy without joy... birth without pangs, a body without blemish, a belly without bigness" (*U* 14.309-11), Molly's period is blood without cramps, mood without swing, skin without acne, head without ache. Her menstruation lacks any sign or symptom to confirm its biological origin.

In lieu of Molly, Bloom experiences premenstrual symptoms throughout the day. This phantom period pain is directly correlated to Bloom's empathy for women, his latent female identification, and the construction of desirable women in his elaborate fantasy life. He seems to intuitively know when the women of Dublin get their periods, such as when he presumes that Gerty is "Near her monthlies" because she seems "ticklish" (*U* 13.777-8). When Bloom experiences menstrual cramps in "Circe" as one of the first indications that he is transforming into a woman (although he initially mistakes them for indigestion), his symptoms echo Gerty's almost identically: "Bit light in the head. Monthly effect or other... That tired feeling" (*U* 15.209-10). Gerty has been taking "iron jelloids," hoping to get rid of "that tired feeling" associated with premenstrual anaemia (13.84, 86-7).¹³⁵ This is at least the second time Bloom has identified with 'female' maladies associated with menstruation. The unnamed narrator of "Cyclops" gossips that Bloom is laid up "once a month with headache like a totty with her courses" (*U* 12.1659-60), playing into the antisemitic belief that Jewish men experience a menstrual cycle.¹³⁶ Earlier in the day, Bloom thinks that Martha Clifford "Has her roses probably" because she writes that she had "such a bad headache. today." (*U* 5.285, 255), creating the connection between headaches and menstruation that "Cyclops" repeats. Note the errant periods invading Martha's letter, bracketing the word "today." Like her "other wor[l]d" typo (5.245), Martha's invasive periods act as a subtextual, typographic pun.¹³⁷ Molly's narrative, in contrast, is nearly

devoid of periods. Her period comes unexpectedly, without textual preamble. That is, unless we read the episode's lack of punctuation as a sign of menstrual 'flow,' as many scholars have.¹³⁸ The idea that, for Molly, "thinking and menstruating are similar and concomitant processes. She can no more govern the first, by sentence structure or punctuation, than she can the second,"¹³⁹ is old hat despite being nowhere indicated by Joyce. Instead, Joyce demonstrates that menstruation can be predicted by comorbid symptoms such as headache or "that tired feeling," informed by turn-of-the-century gynaecological theory and nineteenth-century "domestic medicine."¹⁴⁰ If we assume Bloom's predictions to be true based on his knowledge of these medical discourses, the percentage of women he comes into contact with throughout the day who are menstruating is extraordinarily high—almost as though deliberately constructed that way!

The coincidence of all this cycle-synching strikes Bloom, who, like Stephen, seems swayed by the idea that the menstrual cycle is related to the lunar cycle, as unusual: "How many women in Dublin have it today? Martha, she. Something in the air. That's the moon. But then why don't all women menstruate at the same time with the same moon[?]" (*U* 13.781-84). In imagining the 'gypsy' woman to be nearing her period as well, Stephen writes her blood as being "a tide westering, moondrawn" that turns her into a "handmaid of the moon" whose "wet sign calls her hour, bids her rise" (3.392-8). Stephen is approaching St. Mary Star of the Sea church in Sandymount as he composes these lines; "Behold the handmaid of the moon," he says of the cocklepicker, transforming her into the Virgin Mary on the eve of the Annunciation: "And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word" (Luke 1:38). From *mer* to *mère* to *Stella Maris*, Stephen plays an associative word game that links untold generations of women, from the Virgin Mary to May Dedalus to the cocklepicker, as if "by successive anastomosis of navelcords,"

to borrow his own phrase (*U* 14.300). The final ‘her’ of his vampire poem is a mixture of these many moon-drawn women; his conflation of rising tides, lunar cycles, and menstrual cycles leads directly into his compositional process, as if the ‘gypsy’s’ menstrual blood attracts the predator Stephen creates to seduce/hunt her. The guilt-ridden “bed of death, ghostcandled” that follows recalls Stephen’s refusal to pray at his mother’s deathbed (3.396). Stephen pulls the poem away from his mother by revising it into a first-person narrative from the perspective of the vampire’s female victim, playing both gender roles in his first act of authorial cross-dressing.

3.3 Putting on Penelope

Stephen’s vampire poem prefigures Joyce’s future writing of “Penelope,” in which he supposedly captures the female voice so authentically that it becomes *écriture féminine*, but also acknowledges that Stephen is unequipped to write such an episode. Stephen, whose experience with women is limited to his dead mother and the embraces of prostitutes, struggles to conceptualise a female point of view. In 1905, Joyce admitted in a letter to Stanislaus that he “[knew] very little about women” (*LII* 95). Because he has not yet been ‘fed on the blood of a woman’ as Joyce will of Nora, Stephen can only cannibalise his mother, vampirically drinking from her womb. Joyce’s development from disinherited male artist to successful female impersonator is a trajectory which, Declan Kiberd notes, is not uncommon. In fact, many of Joyce’s contemporaries produced “a female monologue of real power” in middle age; as examples, Kiberd lists Yeats’s “Crazy Jane” poems as well as Beckett’s *Happy Days*. Kiberd writes that for these authors, including Joyce, it was as if “their feminine element or *anima*, kept under strict control in their earlier years of literary struggle, [could] be suddenly released and brought into full consciousness as a major

source of creativity” but that this “inner female [self], so liberated, may turn out to be obscene, bitchy, [or] even slutty, after so many years of denial.”¹⁴¹ Richard Ellmann writes that

as he grew older, women more and more seemed to [Joyce] as dolls, unfortunately not mindless, to be got up as prettily as possible. In a burst of impatience he told Stuart Gilbert, “*La femme c’est rien.*” When Frank Budgen protested, in the midst of one of Joyce’s now frequent diatribes against women, that in the old days he had at least thought their bodies desirable and provoking, Joyce retorted, “*Macchè!* Perhaps I did. But now I don’t care a damn about their bodies. I am only interested in their clothes.” (*JIII* 631)

This attitude toward women is hard to reconcile with the generally sympathetic portraits of women Joyce created from his earliest stories through *Finnegans Wake*. It does, however, notably highlight his attention to women’s clothing, which is of interest here. To briefly return to Woolf’s *Orlando*, Joyce’s work often seems to subscribe to the idea that “every human being [experiences] a vacillation from one sex to the other... and often it is only the clothes that keep the male or female likeness, while underneath the sex is the very opposite of what it is above” (*O* 120). Clothes may disguise the sexed body which wears them in Woolf’s formulation, but so too do the clothes construct the identity to which that body must adhere. Joyce’s cross-dressing is less about clothing per se than about using the markers of femininity—including clothing, but also biological ‘signs’ and gendered language constructs borrowed from letters, novels, and advertisements—to create the illusion of a female body from which Molly’s voice emerges. Molly’s metonymy of “a body”¹⁴² reinforces her supposed physical presence and reveals that, when Joyce was writing *Ulysses*, he certainly “[cared] a damn” about women’s bodies.

The body of the text is explicitly a physical, erotic, female-coded body in “Penelope.” See, for example, Joyce’s infamous exegesis of Molly to Frank Budgen:

Penelope is the *clou* of the book... It begins and ends with the female word *yes*. It turns like the huge earth ball slowly surely and evenly round and round spinning, its four cardinal points being the female breasts, arse, womb and cunt expressed by the words *because*, *bottom* (in all senses bottom button, bottom of the class, bottom of the sea, bottom of his heart), *woman*, *yes*. Though probably more obscene than any preceding episode it seems to me to be perfectly sane full amoral fertilisable untrustworthy engaging shrewd limited prudent indifferent *Weib. Ich bin der Fleisch der stets bejaht*.¹⁴³ (LI 170)

Joyce links four words to erogenous or procreative body parts, playing into inherently reductive sociocultural assumptions about ‘biological womanhood.’ That ‘woman’ is tied to ‘womb’ is the most damning of these relationships, and perhaps the most revealing; the uterus and its by-products (live births, ‘misbirths,’ and menstrual blood, alongside the various discharges and emissions of the vagina) are what mark Woman as undeniably Other for Joyce—a sexually desirable Other, but an Other all the same. As Len Platt writes, this is “objectification with a vengeance.”¹⁴⁴ Platt argues that “Penelope” is likely to alienate modern readers with its reliance on misogynistic entrenchment in biologism. Molly’s body being framed as ‘flesh that always affirms’ also speaks to Henke’s view that Joyce “invites his readers to approach... [Molly] voyeuristically, as a textual exhibition of feminine sexuality.”¹⁴⁵ Molly’s ‘fleshiness,’ as opposed to her textuality, has long been taken for granted. Readers who “press hotly on” contribute to the pervasive idea that because Molly is female, “the episode... more bodily, less textual than others,” which Jeri Johnson has noted reinforces the stereotype that “woman’s plight [is] to be seen as body against man’s mind.”¹⁴⁶

Here we can see the Neomugglian schizophrehenetic framework once more: if “Ithaca” is the logical male ‘mind’ drifting to sleep, “Penelope” is the sensory female ‘body’ doing the same. Although one headline in “Aeolus” prefigures this juxtaposition, “ITHACANS VOW PEN IS CHAMP” (U 7.1034), the ‘victor’ of the gendered body/mind

conflict is left unclear both in *Ulysses* and Joyce's Wakean gloss. "Pen" is both the text, which correlates to Molly's sexualised body in Joyce's exegesis, and the pen, wielded by Joyce's male fist.¹⁴⁷ But it would be remiss to say that "Ithaca" is a purely mental exercise, fully disembodied and aloof. Take, for example, Bloom's hand. In "Cyclops," Bloom's hand is mocked as a sign of sexual impotence or effeminacy: "Gob, he'd have a soft hand under a hen" (*U* 12.845). The episode which compiles the most violent and unpleasant forms of hypermasculinity positions Bloom as an alternative type of man, the feminine man. The image then returns in "Oxen of the Sun," where Bloom becomes "the meekest man and kindest that ever laid husbandly hand under hen" (14.183-4). As I have previously discussed, this episode rewrites the male literary canon onto the labouring female body, privileging textual flourishes over the woman giving birth. Bloom is again positioned as an alternative to toxic male behaviour, juxtaposed with the boisterous medical students who lack empathy for Mina Purefoy. In "Ithaca," Bloom's hand returns as a confident "firm full masculine feminine passive active hand" (17.289-90). Joseph Allen Boone writes that this 'bigender' hand is evidence of the "culmination of [Bloom's] internalized sexual conflict" being a "reconciliation."¹⁴⁸ During the Ithacan catechism, Bloom accepts his physical and mental androgyny and thus resolves the tension between his masculinity and femininity. Bloom's androgynous parts not only complement each other but are essential to complete the whole. The body does not 'intrude' upon a 'mental' episode: the mental episode takes place within and throughout a body that is an implicit, rather than overt, framing.¹⁴⁹ In contrast, Molly's body is explicitly present throughout "Penelope," just as Bloom's body is candidly exposed in the outhouse and the bath. However, her mind and body are not reconciled; the sexophonologic schizophraxis of the episode, manifesting as narcissistic objectification, transgender fantasies, and phallicism, leads to a disconnect

between Molly's mind and body that can be resolved by reading the monologue as sustained authorial cross-dressing.

The main difference between Joyce's depiction of male and female somatic experience is that Molly lives outside her body, observing it as if a spectator at her one-woman show. Sternlieb observes that there is an "illusion of intimacy between Molly and her reader" because "[we] feel we are inside Molly's mind and bed," but the performativity of the episode constantly destroys that illusion of intimacy: "We are not privileged to be watching her bleed or moan, for her bodily functions and sexuality are always available for public consumption, always part of a staged performance."¹⁵⁰ Molly looks at and touches herself, but in ways that foreground her lovers' experience of her body, rather than her own: "I bet he never saw a better pair of thighs than that look how white they are the smoothest place is right there between this bit here how soft like a peach" (*U* 18.1144-6). Molly's embodiment is predicated on being looked at voyeuristically, her desire for desirability overwriting the pleasure of her own touch. To enjoy touching her thighs, she has to imagine what it would be like to be a man touching them: "God I wouldnt mind being a man and get up on a lovely woman" (18.1146-7). In a psychoanalytic interpretation, Molly exemplifies Freud's view of female sexuality as narcissism. Freud defines narcissism as "the attitude of a person who treats his own body in the same way as otherwise the body of a sexual object is treated; that is to say, he experiences sexual pleasure in gazing at, caressing, and fondling his body."¹⁵¹ Molly's preoccupation with how her body is seen by others is textbook narcissism. However, Freud goes on to say that "complete gratification ensues upon these activities," and thus narcissism "[absorbs] the whole sexual life of the subject."¹⁵² Molly's sexual enjoyment is, in fact, hindered by her externalised relationship to her body and her desire to please her partner. Even orgasm is part of a calculated

performance which Molly is careful to make her look as attractive as possible: “I wanted to shout out all sorts of things fuck or shit or anything at all only not to look ugly or those lines from the strain who knows the way hed take it” (*U* 18.587-90). Molly’s self-consciousness forces her to regulate her sexual responses lest they turn off Boylan. She refrains from expressing her enjoyment vocally by yelling “fuck or shit or anything at all,” but worries that by holding back she will give herself wrinkles (18.589). In his notes for “Penelope,” Joyce writes that Molly is “jealous of men” and “hates women.”¹⁵³ Molly’s internalised misogyny manifests as a lack of self-esteem that forces her to continually perform femininity ‘correctly,’ denying her own desires for the sake of her sexual appeal. Far from being the sexually liberated modern woman, Molly restrains herself for fear of deviating from the script written for her.

Molly’s sexual enjoyment is predicated largely on a transgender fantasy in which she participates in heterosexual intercourse from the ‘male’ perspective. She believes that men have a better sexual experience; for Molly, the “big hole in the middle” of female-coded bodies is a “nice invention they made for women for him to get all the pleasure” rather than the locus of her own pleasure (*U* 18.151, 157). Molly envies “all the pleasure those men get out of a woman” (18.583), an idea she repeats throughout the episode. Her jealousy of the male-coded body and how it experiences sex appears, at first, a classic example of Freudian penis envy, in lines such as “its well for men all the amount of pleasure they get off a womans body were so round and white for them always I wished I was one myself for a change just to try with that thing they have” (18.1379-82). This reading is problematic for two reasons; first, Molly counters her own transgender fantasies by formulating the reverse as punishment: “if someone gave them [men] a touch of it themselves theyd know what I went through with Milly” (18.158-9). Bloom gets “a touch

of it” when he transforms into a woman in “Circe,” but his re-enactment of Mina Purefoy’s labour lacks trauma. Molly thinks that if men could experience childbirth, they might better understand women. But even Bloom, who “[understands] or [feels] what a woman is” (18.1579), passes over the somatic experience of female suffering in favour of a mental accounting of difference during his sex-change fantasy. His brief inhabitation of a female body epitomises the triumvirate virgin-mother-whore without experiencing the reality of those social positions beyond the masochistic pleasure he takes in being degraded. The second reason why a Freudian reading of Molly’s subconscious identification with the ‘male’ sex role is problematic is that, as this chapter aims to demonstrate, she is a manifestation of heterosexual male desire. Joyce is unable to fully commit to the drag performance: he continuously reroutes ‘her’ sexuality to the penis because he is dressing his desire in feminine clothing.

While constructing a desirable woman, Joyce creates a ‘woman’ *who desires*, but whose desire is filtered through a fantasy of assuming the ‘male’ role during heterosexual intercourse. Rather than the receptive partner who enjoys penetration, Molly has not surpassed the ‘phallic stage’ of sexual development, in Freudian terms. She insists, for example, that Boylan made her climax at least twice, yet initially states that she fakes her enjoyment: “no satisfaction in it pretending to like it till he comes and then finish it off myself anyway” (*U* 18.98-9).¹⁵⁴ Henke writes that Molly’s admission of finishing herself—whether referring to sex with Bloom or with Boylan—“pre-empts *The Hite Report*” in its specificity of the faked orgasm.¹⁵⁵ Shere Hite’s study revealed, among other findings, that women feel “great pressure to perform by having orgasms, especially during intercourse,” and that women unable to orgasm from intercourse alone often feel like they have failed at being ‘real’ women.¹⁵⁶ Molly inscribes the ‘vaginal orgasm’ with just such a meaning when

she thinks of Milly preparing to make her sexual debut: “of course she cant feel anything deep yet I never came properly til I was 22 or so” (*U* 18.1050-1). The distinction between ‘coming properly’ during intercourse and the ‘juvenile’ experience of having masturbated “4 and 5 times a day sometimes” to Bloom’s premarital love letters (18.1179) perpetuates the social pressure on women to orgasm ‘appropriately’ based on Freud’s flawed theory of the two types of female orgasm. Freud ascribes a “childish masculinity” to the ‘clitoral orgasm’ that must be repressed and “transferred... to the vaginal orifice” in order to have a healthy adult sex life.¹⁵⁷ Despite his reservations about Freudian psychoanalysis, Joyce seems to have bought into this particular theoretical configuration of the clitoris as a penis substitute. In a letter to Nora Barnacle dated 3 December 1909, Joyce interrogated his partner about her sexual history, including the question of whether any other man had touched “that little cock at the end of [her] cunt.”¹⁵⁸ Emma Heaney writes that Joyce’s apprehension of “the sensate experience of genitals thought to be diametrically opposed in form and symbolic meaning” in these private letters “rescripts the players in the drama of phallicism.”¹⁵⁹ For Heaney, the erectile function of the clitoris ascribes non-cisness to the bodies in Joyce’s ‘dirty letters’, though she notes that the ideology of sexual difference is perpetuated in Joyce’s fiction. Molly’s phallicism does not negate the denigration of women elsewhere in *Ulysses*, nor does it hinge on the comparative sexual function of the clitoris and the penis as biological structures.¹⁶⁰ Crouching over the chamber pot, Molly remembers a time when she achieved a phallic urinary experience: “I remember one time I could scout it out straight whistling like a man almost” (*U* 18.1141-2). Bonnie Kime Scott argues that these “childhood attempts to urinate, male fashion, are typical experiments, and probably should not be taken as evidence of a desire to be male” so much as an impulse toward having more control of her life than being a woman allows her.¹⁶¹

Molly's lack of control can be seen in her indictment of the clothing designed for women and her jealousy of male attire: "clothes we have to wear whoever invented them expecting you to walk up Killiney hill then for example at that picnic all stayed up you cant do a blessed thing in them" (*U* 18.627-9). Molly's desire to 'try on' the position of men within patriarchy, their freedom of movement and symbols of authority is inflected by clothing, not biology. Much like Cissy Caffrey "[dressing] up in her father's suit and hat" (13.276), which "symbolically usurp her father's... authority,"¹⁶² Molly's envy of trousers may be rooted in Nora's girlhood escapades. Brenda Maddox has written about how Nora "would dress up in men's clothes, hair tucked under a man's cap" to evade her uncle's abuse,¹⁶³ just as Cissy is the picture of freedom "[walking] down Tritonville road, smoking a cigarette" (*U* 13.277). Suzette Henke argues that Cissy prefigures Bella Cohen's transformation in "Circe," because her performance of "phallic power" is associated with "the sadistic right to flagellate the effeminate."¹⁶⁴ Cissy wants to give Bloom a spanking "on the beeteetom" (*U* 13.263); Cohen succeeds in doing so, and worse, does so while dressed as 'Bello'.¹⁶⁵ Molly dislikes women's clothing making her vulnerable, such as when Bloom nearly capsized their rowboat: "its a mercy we werent all drowned he can swim of course me no theres no danger whatsoever keep yourself calm in his flannel trousers" (*U* 18.960-1). Angry that Bloom does not recognise the discrepancy in how their respective outfits would facilitate swimming, Molly envisions taking his trousers "down... before all the people and [giving] him what that one calls flagellate till he was black and blue" (18.962-3). David Cotter writes that Molly places "emphasis on [the] inhibition and accessibility... imposed by female fashion" by comparing it to masochism,¹⁶⁶ but so too does she link trousers with sadism and flagellation. Unlike her husband, Molly doesn't enjoy being spanked: "he no manners nor no refinement nor no nothing in his nature

slapping us behind like that on my bottom because I didnt call him Hugh” (*U* 18.1368-70). Boylan’s unrefined nature is revealed when he spanks Molly without consent, but also when he removes his trousers “without even asking permission,” about which Molly is indignant (18.1373). Boylan does not respect her or the “hours dressing and perfuming” Molly put in to look her best (18.147), going as far as to treat her like an animal when angry with her, not unlike Bello whipping Bloom in his masochistic fantasy.

The connection between clothing, flagellation, and dehumanization established in “Circe” recurs across “Penelope,” connecting these two episodes staging male fantasy and desire. When Molly ‘disrespects’ Boylan by using his nickname rather than his given name, she is treated like “a horse or an ass” and smacked on the rear (*U* 18.123). Molly later thinks about how restrictive female clothing makes it impossible to “run or jump out of the way,” which led her to be “afraid when that other ferocious old Bull began to charge” (18.630). Her concern for her safety at the bullfight in La Linea is reminiscent of her liaison with Boylan in ways that are troubling. Molly recalls “the brutes of men shouting bravo toro” alongside the women in “their nice white mantillas ripping all the whole insides out of those poor horses” (18.633), which echoes her description of Boylan’s penis as a “tremendous big red brute of a thing” and intercourse as being “like a Stallion driving it up into [her]... with that determined vicious look in his eye” (18.144, 152-3). Boylan’s violent impulses even cause injury, leaving “the mark of his teeth” on her breasts (18.569). Hsing-chun Chou writes that Molly is positioned as “prey to be hunted and injured” by animalistic Boylan, who treats women like meat.¹⁶⁷ Molly likewise thinks of him, “you might as well be in bed with what with a lion” (*U* 18.1376-7). Boylan’s biting, like the spanking, is nonconsensual and provokes fear: “I had to scream out arent they [men] fearful trying to hurt you” (18.570). Molly associates the word “brute” with Boylan, bullfighters, and actual

beasts, but also with domestic violence and home invasion. She remembers fearing “a big brute” breaking into her home after reading about a “hardened criminal” who “murder[ed] an old woman for her money” in *Lloyds Weekly*, and Bloom subsequently going down to the kitchen “in his shirt with a candle and a poker... frightened out of his wits” when they hear a noise at night (18.993-1003). Bloom, trouserless, armed with an ineffectual poker, stands in contrast to the invading ‘brute’ just as he will allow Boylan, with his “tremendous big red brute of a thing... like iron or some kind of a thick crowbar” (18.144-8), to ‘invade’ Molly’s body, and example of sexual violence veiled in the language of Victorian erotic novels like *Sweets of Sin*.

As if stepping out of a scene from de Kock’s novel,¹⁶⁸ Boylan emerges as “the hero of countless bedroom farces”¹⁶⁹ and Molly his seductive conquest: “I gave my eyes that look with my hair a bit loose from the tumbling and my tongue between my lips up to him that savage brute” (*U* 18.592-4). Like Bloom’s re-enactment of *Ruby: the Pride of the Ring* in “Circe,” Molly’s cuckoldry recreates scenes from *Sweets of Sin* as if by literary metempsychosis. Molly “took off all [her] things with the blinds down after [her] hours dressing and perfuming” (18.147) when Boylan arrives, becoming the “*beautiful woman [throwing] off her sabletrimmed wrap, displaying her queenly shoulders and heaving embonpoint*” (10.615-16). She laments her lacklustre wardrobe and imagines buying “a nice semitransparent morning gown... or a peachblossom dressing jacket,” with Bloom’s money, or having Boylan buy her “one of those nice kimono things” (18.1495-7, 405), not unlike the protagonist spending “*the dollarbills her husband gave her... on wonderful gowns and costliest frillies. For him! For Raoul!*” (10.608-9). Boylan is explicitly linked to Raoul in “Circe” when fantasy-Molly calls out, “Raoul darling, come and dry me. I’m in my pelt” before Bloom is allowed to “apply [his] eye to the keyhole and play with

[him]self” while Boylan/Raoul “[goes] through her a few times” (15.3770, 3788-9).

Frances Restuccia writes that *Sweets of Sin* reflects “the Molly/Boylan/Bloom masochistic *ménage à trois* paradigm” and Molly’s adultery is “a continuation of the plots of these pulp novels.”¹⁷⁰ Molly performs the role that Bloom/Joyce desires of her, that of the unfaithful housewife seduced by the ‘manlier’ man with the bigger penis. Boylan’s “crowbar,” the “tremendous big red brute,” is apparently the largest Molly has ever ‘had’: “I never in all my life felt anyone had one the size of that to make you feel full up” (*U* 18.144-50).¹⁷¹ In “Sirens,” the ‘author’ of *Sweets of Sin* becomes elided with Boylan’s hyperbolically massive penis as he/it knocks at the Blooms’ door: “One rapped on a door, one tapped with a knock, did he knock Paul de Kock with a loud proud knocker with a cock carracarracarra cock. Cockcock” (*U* 11.986-88). Paul de Kock’s suggestive name is a refrain whose appearance generally coincides with Bloom’s fear of sexual inadequacy and Molly’s infidelity.¹⁷² Molly’s submission to Boylan, the picture of male virility and erotic violence, is positioned as her own fantasy, despite enacting Bloom’s desire to be cuckolded.

The contradictory personalities of Molly Bloom—at once a sexually forward and dominant woman, and one who submits to unpleasant and unwanted sex acts—is a result of at least two overlapping and contradictory sources for the episode—Nora Barnacle and James Joyce—creating schizophrenesis. Let us examine a scene that is often overlooked, wherein Boylan stalks Molly and coerces her to lift her skirt for him:

what was he doing there where hed no business they can go and get whatever they like from anything at all with a skirt on it and were not to ask any questions but **they want to know where were you** where are you going I could feel him coming along **skulking after me his eyes on my neck** he had been keeping away from the house he felt it was getting too warm for him so I halfturned and stopped then **he pestered me to say yes** till I took off my glove slowly watching him he said my openwork sleeves were too cold for the rain **anything for an excuse to put his hand anear me drawers**... he did look a big fool dreeping in the rain splendid set

of teeth he had made me hungry to look at them and **beseached of me to lift the orange petticoat** I had on with the sunray pleats that there was nobody **he said hed kneel down in the wet if I didnt so persevering he would too** and ruin his new raincoat **you never know what freak theyd take alone with you theyre so savage for it** if anyone was passing so I lifted them a bit and touched his trousers outside the way I used to Gardner after with my ring hand **to keep him from doing worse** (*U* 18.297-314)

Boylan's behaviour in this recollection is disquieting. As a woman reading these lines, I see a predator. I see coercion. I see fear. I anticipate the victim-blaming if she were to refuse and he took what he wanted anyway. This is not the Molly who "unbutton[s]" Mulvey¹⁷³ or draws Bloom "down to [her] so he could feel [her] breasts" (*U* 18.814, 1607). This is a woman pressured to perform unwanted sexual contact to prevent "worse" from happening to her—a woman who has had a soldier expose his penis to her as a teenager in the street, "pretending he was pissing standing out for [her] to see" because "theyre always trying to show it to [her]" (18.547, 549).¹⁷⁴ Molly agreeing to lift her petticoats and touch Boylan's penis is a coerced response to an awkward situation that begins when she, Bloom, and Milly are out at an open-air fete. Milly, "standing right against the sun" in a thin skirt of "cream muslin," is prematurely exposed to the male gaze: "he could see every atom she had on" (*U* 18.292-3). This 'he,' like many in "Penelope," is ambiguous; is Molly expressing anxiety over a potential incestuous interest Bloom has in Milly, or Boylan's predatory behaviour? The lines prior connect Milly's thin skirt to Gerty MacDowell and Bloom "skeezing at those brazenfaced things on the bicycles with their skirts blowing up to their navels," but then Boylan appears on the scene, "looking slyboots as usual," and "pester[s] [Molly] to say yes" (18.290, 297, 302). She acquiesces to his request not because she wants to consent but to "keep him from doing worse," describing him as "savage" and "so persevering," worrying about a potentially violent outcome if she were to deny him

(18.310-14). Sexual harassment and anxiety underwrite both relationships, with the associative train leading from one man's pursuit to another's, with young Milly caught unawares between them. Am I, the hypothetical female reader, really meant to believe that Molly has initiated this affair of her own free will, engaging Boylan to satisfy her 'ravenous' sexual appetites, in this context?¹⁷⁵

The man who wrote this scene thought it sexy to pursue a woman in the rain, track her down, demand she show him her underwear, and threaten to take what he wanted without her consent—potentially while ogling her fourteen-year-old daughter. That is a male fantasy, not a female one. There are several moments in "Penelope" that reveal, to quote Henke, "a female projection of the male psyche, encumbered with... [the] cargo of [his] sexual fantasy" rather than a 'female' voice.¹⁷⁶ One of the most obvious is when Molly admits to masturbating "with the Banana"¹⁷⁷ but being "afraid it might break and get lost up in [her] somewhere" (*U* 18.803-4). The unlikeliness of this scenario is one of the moments that breaks the immersion of 'female text' and reminds readers—or, at least, the hypothetical female reader—that Molly is the product of authorial cross-dressing. Another of these instances is Molly's list of rape fantasies. Desiring to be "embraced 20 times a day" and "to be in love or loved by somebody," she replaces Bloom ("the fellow you want isn't there") with a lineup of eligible rapists who would take her without hesitation: "a sailor off the sea that'd be hot on for it," "one of those wildlooking gipsies in Rathfarnham... try[ing] to steal our things," "that blackguardlooking fellow with the fine eyes peeling a switch [who could] attack me in the dark and ride me up against the wall without a word," and "a murderer or anybody" are on her list of potential 'lovers' (18.1408-19). While it is by no means uncommon for women to imagine erotic rape scenarios,¹⁷⁸ Molly's are framed not as taboo fantasy but as punishment *for Bloom* for reinforcing restrictive gender roles:

“Im to be slooching around down in the kitchen to get his lordship his breakfast... show them attention and they treat you like dirt” (18.1431-4). The contradictory ‘consensual nonconsent’ of these theoretical encounters is troubling in the context of authorial cross-dressing. What does the imitation of consent mean in an episode of draglike gender performance? Molly ‘consents’ to sex with Boylan, but not to specific acts—spanking and biting—which fall outside the scope of their encounter. She then implies that she would ‘allow’ herself to be raped, or even seek out that experience, in order to punish Bloom. But Molly’s consent (or nonconsent) are themselves fantasies formulated by a male author acting as “a fetishist, not a feminist.”¹⁷⁹ Carroll argues that male-authored prescriptive texts like Maria Monk’s ‘escaped nun’ narrative “present figures of abject female vulnerability and suffering” through images that are “male fantasies of female experience.”¹⁸⁰ Joyce’s impersonation of female consent and desire for eroticised violence can be similarly read as a justification for—or articulation of—a common heterosexual male fantasy, that women secretly enjoy sexual violence. One way for the motherless male artist to overcome “his anxiety about woman’s irreducible otherness, her willful and independent desire” is to identify with what Christine Froula calls the “nightmare-woman,” a “dream of the unfaithful, fictive Molly who is neither Nora nor ‘woman’ but *himself*.”¹⁸¹ Another is to “overmaster” her, just as Gabriel Conroy—another Joyce analogue—longs to rape his wife at the conclusion of “The Dead,”¹⁸² to use sexual violence or the threat thereof as a way of (re)asserting heteropatriarchal power in an episode that, on the surface, appears to centre female desire.

Molly’s sexual fantasies do not belong to ‘her,’ but are instead constructed to satisfy the urges of either the male reader who has “pressed hotly on” to see her “vaulting feminine libido” and/or her husband’s desire to be cuckolded. She repeatedly involves Bloom’s gaze

in ‘her’ fantasies, be they romantic, like “I wish some man or other would take me sometime **when hes there** and kiss me in his arms theres nothing like a kiss long and hot down to your soul,” or dirty talk: “Ill let him know if thats what he wanted that his wife is fucked yes and damn well fucked too up to my neck nearly not by him... theres the mark of [Boylan’s] spunk on the clean sheet... that ought to satisfy him” (*U* 18.104-6, 1510-14).

Molly seems aware that telling Bloom “every scrap” about the affair will “make his micky stand” (18.1515, 1510) and delights in humiliating her husband, fulfilling the central theme of his Circean fantasies. Cixous writes that “Nora was probably the original model for Molly without knowing it” but that “Jim too is the model for Molly: he gives Molly the thoughts that his behaviour might be expected to arouse in a young woman’s mind.”¹⁸³

Nora reportedly once told Budgen that “Jim wants me to go with other men so that he will have something to write about.”¹⁸⁴ Although she addresses him as “Dear Cuckold” in a letter, Joyce was unable to convince his partner to cheat on him, and instead uses Molly as a proxy-adulteress (*JIII* 445). Froula argues that “Joyce attempted to shape the historical Nora Barnacle into something very like the fictional Molly Bloom by dressing her in lingerie and furs, sending her shell cocoa to make her breasts grow, and writing her pornographic letters,”¹⁸⁵ but it is also true that Joyce constructed Molly to be an Ideal Nora, the woman who performs his fantasies as if they were her own.

That Joyce used his own fantasies to fashion Molly’s interiority, rather than “constructing his literary universe on the basis of male fantasies”¹⁸⁶ more generally, is evinced in her consent to Bloom’s fetishes—which are really Joyce’s. Robert Martin Adams once called Molly “a slut, a sloven, and a voracious sexual animal conceived by one of those medieval minds to whom the female can never be anything but a *saccum stercoris*,”¹⁸⁷ and Gilbert and Gubar write that “for Joyce, woman’s scattered logos is a

scatologos,” noting that Molly, like Nora, “is begged to express a calligraphy of shit.”¹⁸⁸

Joyce’s letters to his “dirty little fuckbird” are full of references to “the most shameful and filthy act of the body” (*SL* 185, 181). While on his trip to Dublin in 1909, Joyce implored Nora to

Write more and dirtier... Tickle your little cockey while you write to make you say worse and worse. Write the dirty words big and underline them and kiss them and hold them... under your dear little farting bum. Do more if you wish and send the letter then to me, my darling brown-arsed fuckbird. (*SL* 186)

Joyce, like Bloom, longs to give his partner “a burning lustful kiss on [her] naughty bare bum,” enjoying its “immodest noise[s]” and “bad smell[s]” (184). “I hope Nora will let off no end of her farts in my face,” he writes (185). Although none of Nora’s replies to Joyce’s letters—if extant—are available for comparison, Joyce characterises her correspondence as “worse in one part or two” than his own, despite there being words she will not write—perhaps ‘cunt,’ the word that Molly avoids but Joyce uses liberally. Joyce’s letters are “highly performative,” writes Boheemen-Saaf, and represent “a process of increasing fetishization... stand[ing] in for the absent body of the beloved.”¹⁸⁹ Because of scholarly concerns regarding the ethics of privacy, the Nora-letters are significantly underexamined in Joyce studies.¹⁹⁰ Yet many of the acts we know are described in Nora’s missing replies, including analingus—“I mean the part where you say what you will do with your tongue (I don’t mean sucking me off)” (186)—are clearly incorporated into ‘Molly’s’ fantasies. Seemingly amused by Bloom being the kind of man “thatd kiss a womans bottom... [or] anything unnatural,” Molly nonetheless gleefully indulges his predilection: “if he wants to kiss my bottom Ill drag open my drawers and bulge it right out in his face as large as life he can stick his tongue 7 miles up my hole” (*U* 18.1402-3, 1520-2). Whatever Nora wrote (or

what Joyce wanted Nora to write) seems to have been repurposed into Molly's enactment of Joyce's fetishes.

It is well known that Nora's letters influence, at a minimum, the grammar of "Penelope." Anthony Burgess has said that "sometimes it is hard to distinguish between a chunk of one of Nora's letters and a chunk of Molly's final monologue"¹⁹¹; this is because "Penelope" is a deliberate imitation of Nora's writing style, thus creating the illusion that there is "something unmistakably female"¹⁹² in it. In a 1906 letter, Joyce asks his brother Stanislaus to "notice how women when they write disregard stops and capital letters" (*LII* 173) after a brief interjection by Nora, which reads:

Dear Stannie I hope you are very well I am sure you would be glad to see Georgie now he is well able to run about he is able to say a lot he has a good appetite he has eight teeth and also sings when we ask him where is Stannie he beats his chest and says no c'e piu Nora (*LII* 173)

Joyce's reductive characterisation of 'female' writing based on Nora's style extends her lack of punctuation to all women. In "Penelope," Joyce tries on bits of Nora's grammar just as Bloom tried on Molly's underwear—for the erotic or subversive potentiality. Diana Henderson argues that Molly's imitative style "keeps her the delightful, even childish, but *not* empowered, Other" in *Ulysses*, creating a "patronizing version of the feminine" that asserts Joyce's male literary authority.¹⁹³ Like a cishet man wearing his female partner's clothes, Joyce's authorial cross-dressing attempts mimesis but in so doing hyperbolises what he has deemed the 'essential feminine difference' present in women's (read: Nora's) writing—her sexophonologism. However, unlike the radical stylistic experiments of earlier episodes, "Penelope" is, on the whole, grammatically simple. Maud Ellmann reminds us that "Molly's indifference to the formalities of punctuation," long championed as *écriture féminine*, was not fully developed until the proofs of the episode, "after most of her well-

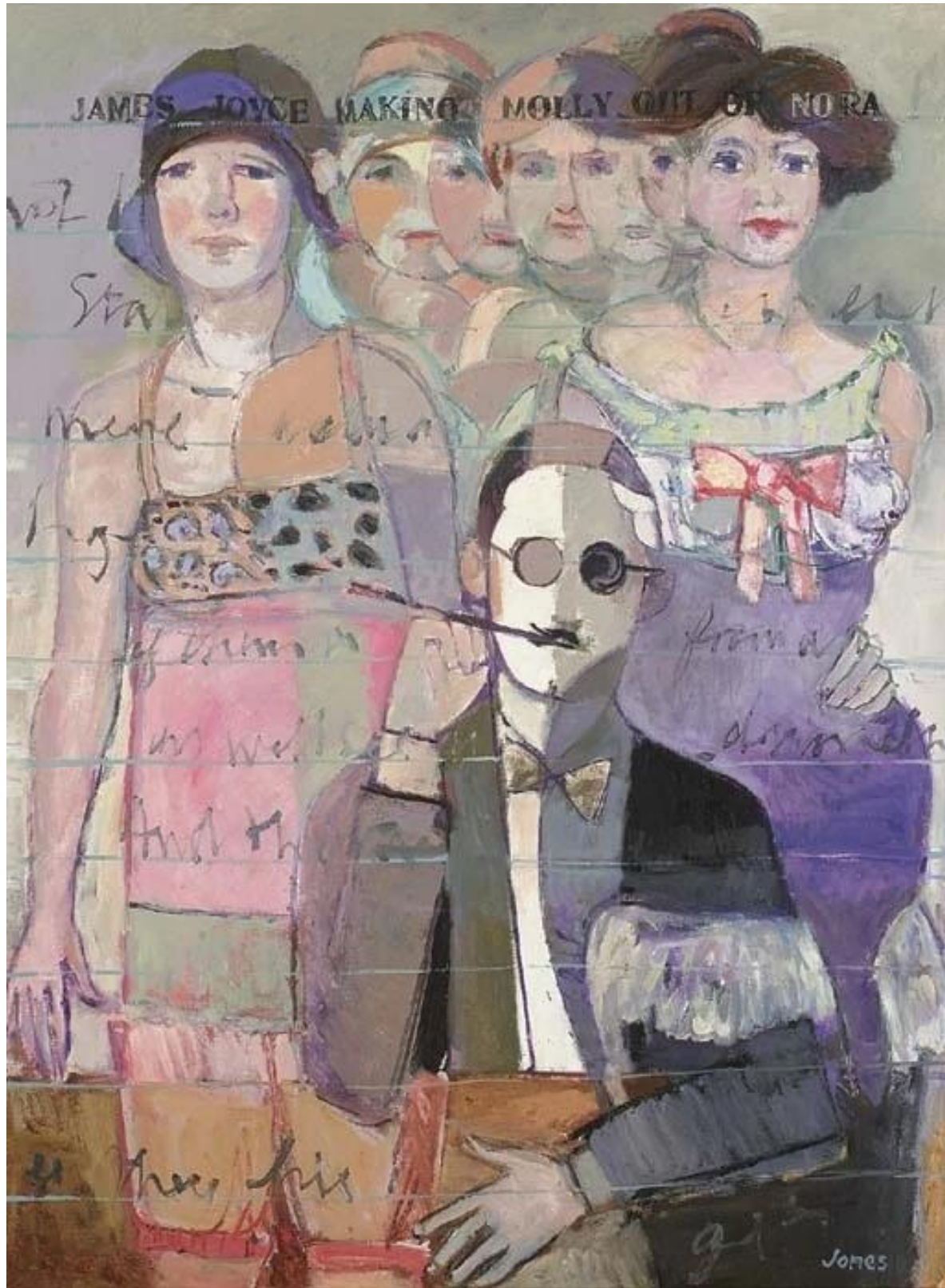


Figure 13 Painting by John Jones, "James Joyce making Molly out of Nora," oil on canvas

formed sentences had been constructed.”¹⁹⁴ Rather than a ‘natural’ fluidity or outpouring of language, “Penelope” can be “characterised by artifice and deliberation,” writes Sue Vice; Joyce’s revision “adds a vertical strand of femininity” to an otherwise ‘horizontal’ narrative¹⁹⁵ that, as Danis Rose and Derek Attridge have previously demonstrated, is easy to punctuate because the episode actually *obeys* the rules of grammar. Once one accounts for missing punctuation, Molly “preserves the logic of ‘because,’ upholding the law of cause-and-effect—a law that [Luce] Irigaray would... associate with patriarchy,”¹⁹⁶ with both syntactical and narrative coherence governed by invisible punctuation.

In the place of full stops, Molly’s repeated capital O’s punctuate the text at key moments. Representative of Molly’s “perpetually receptive vagina/mouth/womb,”¹⁹⁷ the open O stands in direct contrast to the oversized full-stop which ends “Ithaca.” Joyce once called “Penelope” the “indispensable countersign” to “Ithaca” (*SL* 278); the ‘fullness’ of the masculine episode, with its answered questions, scientific explanations, and massive full-stop, is countered by Penelope’s Lacanian feminine lack—orifices, “omissions,” and orthographic obfuscation. Molly’s question, “whats the idea of making us like that with a big hole in the middle of us[?]” (*U* 18.151-2), lends credence to Nora’s assertion that Joyce “[knew] nothing about women” (*JJII* 629). In Ellmann’s words, “the idea that we experience our bodies as donuts or bagels is preposterous”¹⁹⁸; Cixous seems to concur: “We don’t go round and round the supreme hole. We have no *woman*’s reason to pay allegiance to the negative.”¹⁹⁹ By reducing the female body to a ‘supreme hole’ that must be filled, Joyce initiates Molly into the world of feminine “genital deficiency” firmly rooted in his own castration anxiety or fear of sexual inadequacy.²⁰⁰ This moment is reminiscent of Bloom’s comparison between a woman’s body and a flute: “Play on her. Lip blow. Body of white woman, a flute alive. Blow gentle. Loud. Three holes, all women” (*U* 11.1088-9). To

imagine the female body as ‘holey’ and the male body as an assortment of protrusions—including not only Bloom’s penis, but his nose, fingers, and ‘outie’ navel²⁰¹, not to mention Boylan as penis-incarnate—is not only to essentialise gender based on genital morphology, but also to fundamentally misunderstand the relationship between body and the gendered conception of self. As Emma Heaney’s article reminds us, even explicitly cisgender bodies do not adhere to this narrow distinction between the soft, penetrable body coded as female and the hard protrusion assigned male. Heaney writes that “Molly’s desire provokes a bodily alignment with the sensation of phallicism,” though this alignment “does not hinge on having a penis, being recognised as a man, or experiencing herself as a man.”²⁰² Conversely, having received in the mail a “prospectus of The Wonderworker, the world’s greatest remedy for rectal complaints,” which is inserted into the rectum to provide gastric “relief” (*U* 17.1822, 1828), Bloom considers the penetrability of his body, whether as part of his fantasy feminisation (and the fisting of his phantom vagina) or as a nongendered accounting of his anatomy in “Ithaca.”

Bloom’s metaphor comparing Lydia Douce’s body to a flute speaks to his and Joyce’s shared desire to “Ventriloquise” woman, a word which appears a few lines after Bloom tallies her number of penetrable holes (*U* 11.1095). Bloom attempts to sing with his “lips closed,” mimicking both ventriloquism and the cunnilingual contact implied in “Play on her. Lip blow” (11.1095, 1088). This brief excursion into the female mind is predicated on penetrability as well as textuality. It begins “Virgin should say: or fingered only,” which is then connected to “Write something on it: page” (11.1086-7). The virgin is a blank page to be written upon, the instrument through which heterosexual male desire is orchestrated. Bloom moves through an associative highlights reel of holes, blowing, singing, Boylan, and Molly’s other ‘lovers’, culminating in attempted empathy: “Pity they feel. To wipe away a

tear for martyrs. For all things dying, for all things born. Poor Mrs Purefoy. Hope she's over. Because their wombs" (11.1101-3). Female suffering is traced to the womb, which synecdochically replaces the woman in the next line: "A liquid of womb of woman eyeball gazed under a fence of lashes, calmly, hearing. See real beauty of the eye when she not speaks" (11.1104-5). The wandering womb²⁰³ of yesteryear has relocated to the space behind the eyes: the brain becomes a void, vacant, an open vessel echoing with sound, listening blankly. Lydia's holes are ventriloquised by Bloom into consenting to a sexual encounter: "Will? You? I. Want. You. To." (11.1096). Her 'actual' consent to participate in this fantasy is not given.

Lydia Douce, like Molly Bloom and Gerty MacDowell, is what Cixous describes as a "no-body that is dressed up... carefully kept distant, pushed to the side of History and change, nullified, kept out of the way, on the edge of the stage, on the kitchen side, the bedside."²⁰⁴ Women in *Ulysses* are confined to their own episodes, female spheres outside of the male world Bloom inhabits. As Boone has demonstrated, because Bloom's day consists mainly of "contact with groups of men," Dublin's women "exist in a reality largely removed from the text, and when present, they are generally perceived at a distance, objectified through male eyes, or encountered by Bloom when he himself is also alone, dissociated from the male world."²⁰⁵ The relentlessly male world of "Cyclops" is juxtaposed with frilly "Nausicaa," the logical male brain of "Ithaca" countered by the fleshy, sensual "Penelope." One of the dangers of my methodology ('reading as a woman') is that, like Joyce, we run the risk of creating a marginalised space for the female reader and Othering ourselves by separating episodes this way. At the Women's Caucus of the 28th International James Joyce Symposium, the issue was raised that panels like "Women in Joyce" and "Women Reading Joyce" can be seen as sidelining 'women's topics' as outside

of the dominant discourse in Joyce studies. Ariana Mashilker, for example, noted that she is consistently placed on panels about “Women in Joyce” despite her work having a broader focus; her work on Joyce’s aesthetic and the “archetypal feminine” is demonstrated through an analysis of *Ulysses* as a whole, not just of “Penelope” or female characters. Despite very clearly demonstrating that her work focuses on, for example, the philosophical principles of Jakob Böhme, Mashilker’s work is repeatedly shoehorned into ‘women’s panels’.

Similarly, the *Ulysses in 80 Days* reading group’s seminar on “Penelope” featured all female speakers, despite other sessions having gender parity. Christine von Boheemen-Saaf argues that “Penelope” is “the *mise en abyme* of the otherness of *Ulysses*,” being a ‘self-contained’ text that “forms no independent part of the plot.”²⁰⁶ The female reader must be included across the spectrum of Joycean scholarship, lest she become Molly, the “hole in the middle” of the novel, self-contained in an ‘appendix’ and otherwise absent (*U* 18.151).²⁰⁷ Appearing briefly in “Wandering Rocks” as a “plump bare generous arm... [extending] from a white petticoatbodice and taut shiftstraps” (10.251-2), Molly is often discussed, occasionally seen, but rarely—if ever—heard. If “In the buginning is the woid” (*FW* 387.29), the void/word made flesh is Molly’s womb, the empty space behind women’s eyes that Bloom/Joyce fills with his desire, his words.

In the episodes where women do ‘speak,’ they are caught in the male gaze: Bloom’s gaze, or that of the male-assumed reader. In “Sirens,” the ‘music episode,’ woman is an instrument played by a man, silent until he writes notes upon her blank page. As I will discuss in my final chapter, in “Nausicaa,” the ‘painting episode,’ woman is the canvas which man daubs with rouge, and in “Circe,” the ‘costume episode,’ she *is* the costume, put on by Bloom, who “only understands femininity as a masquerade, as a costume that is assumed in order to be seductively discarded.”²⁰⁸ “Penelope” is the only episode without an

'art' in the Gilbert schema; only 'flesh' and 'fat' are given as ciphers, demonstrating the interpretive pigeonholing that Molly, reduced to a body in the male gaze, has endured.

This, writes Cixous, is "Man's dream": a woman who is

absent, hence desirable, a dependent nonentity, hence adorable... How he looks at her then! When her eyes are closed, when he completely understands her, when he catches on and she is no more than this shape made for him: a body caught in his gaze.²⁰⁹

The final episode "is no more, and no less, bodily" than the book-at-large;²¹⁰ it has only been prescribed that embodiment by its readers. As I hope to have demonstrated here, the 'body' that Joyce presents is not the mysterious "animal that micturates once a day, defecates once a week, menstruates once a month and parturiates once a year" (*JIII* 156), as he once described women, but in fact, one of the many fractured portraits of himself, styled as Woman for rhetorical effect. In Boheemen-Saaf's words,

The discourse of the Other is never truly Other. It is always a variant of, and within, the dominant discourse. Thus Molly Bloom cannot, and never does, speak for herself as wholly other. A language of the essentially other, *alias écriture féminine*, is a logical impossibility, based on the hypothesis of an original other (female) identity and the illusion of expressing that in language.²¹¹

Karen Lawrence writes that the "masquerade cannot represent something wholly outside the writer's knowledge, nor wholly outside the dominant discourse," but the difficulty of reconciling these ideas is that Molly "represents *the problem of woman represented by the male pen*, a staging of alterity that reveals itself as masquerade."²¹² Though some have written that Joyce "dared to think his way into a woman's mind,"²¹³ Richard Brown argues that "to see Molly's constructions of masculinity as the productions of a female perspective that is itself 'constructed' through language by a male writer" need not make scholars "psychoanalyse the text as to enable us to see in it aspects of the inevitably various and self-contradictory play of language and gender."²¹⁴ Joyce's female persona cannot be

reckoned with using psychoanalysis alone, for his subversive gender play, like *Ulysses* as a whole, is a linguistic experiment in mimetic imitation that reveals, through its realism, the performativity of gender as embedded in speaking and writing, the modes through which the ‘self’ is expressed.

Like Lydia Douce, Molly is a voiceless echo. At the exact moment when Molly is primed to speak, she instead “ask[s] him with [her] eyes to ask again” before answering (*U* 18.1605). Body language replaces speech: her speech is subordinated, indirectly reported. Even the novel’s infamous final line is not clearly heard; how many times does Molly say “yes”? Once? Three times? The epanalepsis of “yes I said yes I will yes” (18.1608-9), in conjunction with almost one hundred other yesses of “Penelope,” distorts what we can say to ‘know’ about what was ‘said’ on Howth. A similar problem arises with Bloom noting “At four, she said” in “Sirens” (11.187). “Calypso” contains—supposedly—a transcription of the couple’s morning conversation, including the line “O, Boylan, she said. He’s bringing the programme” in response to Bloom’s question, “Who was the letter from?” (4.310-12). Margaret McBride has reconciled this ambiguity by postulating that Molly ‘really’ says “He’s bringing the programme *at four*,” though others, such as Hugh Kenner and Fredrick Wellington, intuit an untranscribed additional conversation in which this information was conveyed.²¹⁵ In either case, Molly’s exact words are left ambiguously mis- or unrecorded, just the vibrant verbal repartee of the Blooms is generally lost to time. Molly wishes she could remember “half of the things [he says] and write a book out of it the works of Master Poldy” (*U* 18.579-80), echoing Bloom’s earlier idea to try co-authoring a sketch for *Tid-Bits*. He recalls jotting down some Mollyisms on his sleeves, having no time for paper: “I used to try jotting down on my cuff what she said dressing” (4.519). Molly, presumably, has said some real zingers that Bloom sought to save. However, unlike

Stephen's vampire poem, written on a torn corner of Deasy's letter,²¹⁶ Molly's brilliance is lost to the laundry: written on clothing, her words are ephemeral, unrecorded. Her speech is rarely transferred to writing, despite being, as Vicki Mahaffey has called her, "a woman of letters." Molly, writes Mahaffey, is "obsessed with letter writing as a form of lovemaking, liberal with letters in her mental orthography, and literal in her approach to foreign words."²¹⁷ It is significant that Molly herself never writes a letter, despite "Penelope" having been originally conceived as a series of letters (*JIII* 501). Instead, the final episode, the "Monologue (Female)" which complements Stephen's "Monologue (Male)," is a silent stream of consciousness. No words are spoken, and certainly none are written down.²¹⁸ There is irony in the fact that Molly's speech is ephemeral and her letters unwritten in an episode that is so *highly* textual, so clearly rooted in Nora's letters.

Remembering days going by "like years [without] a letter from a living soul," Molly gets "so bored" as to attempt epistolary masturbation: "the odd few I posted to myself with bits of paper in them" (*U* 18.698-9). Molly doesn't quite write naughty letters to herself—she sends envelopes filled with "bits of paper"—but her loneliness is expressed through a lack of written contact. Like Nora writing hopefully to her new lover, "Dearest Jim... I notice you have got very silent lately... I feel so lonely to night I dont know what to say it is useless for me to sit down to write when I would prefer to be with you" (*LII* 57), Molly remembers Bloom "writing every morning a letter sometimes twice a day I liked the way he made love" during their courtship (*U* 18.327-8). If letter-writing is 'making love,' it is no wonder that the Molly of 1904 "wish[es] somebody would write [her] a loveletter" and is disappointed that "his wasnt much and I told him he could write what he liked yours ever Hugh Boylan," when in 1888 Bloom's "mad crazy letters" had her touching herself "4 and 5 times a day sometimes" (18.735-6, 1176-9). Janine Utell writes that "the beloved

becomes an object of desire in her absence, a fictional construct herself—a creation that is always a function of the text” in a love letter.²¹⁹ Is “Penelope” a love letter to Nora, as *Orlando* has been called from Woolf to Sackville-West? Or has Joyce written a love letter to himself in the voice of his beloved, continuing the process of, as Mark Shechner argues, Joyce “dictat[ing] letters to himself through Nora,” by coaching her on how to please him?²²⁰ Molly’s self-corrections on the spelling of ‘sympathy’ and ‘nephew,’ “symp~~h~~athy I always make that mistake and new~~w~~p~~h~~ew with 2 double yous,” are orthographic markers that emphasise the episode’s ‘writteness’ as a kind of performativity (18.730-1) which, as Restuccia notes, amount to Joyce ‘loaning’ his pen to Molly “so that she may help carry out his masochistic desire.”²²¹ The visual technique of crossed-out misspellings (“new~~w~~p~~h~~ew”), roman numerals (“with 2 double yous”), prices (“£1 or perhaps 30/-”), corrections (“only 8/6 or 18/6”), abbreviations (“7½d a lb”), and inexplicable capitalisations (“the Banana”) recreate features that exist only in a written mode (*U* 18.730, 731, 1523, 1497, 1554, 803). These jarring, unexpected markers of textuality draw attention to the text of “Penelope” as *text*, a literary production (which has, throughout Joyce’s work, been coded as male) rather than the ‘female’ speech it imitates.

Writing a sexy letter, like writing a novel, is a gendered performance. Before their exchange of ‘dirty’ letters in 1909, Nora wrote Joyce this neatly constructed message:

It seems to me that I am always in your company under every possible variety of circumstances talking to you walking with you meeting you suddenly in different places until I am beginning to wonder if my spirit takes leave of my body in sleep and goes to seek you, and what is more find you or perhaps this is nothing but a fantasy. (*LII* 47)

Unlike her more casual letters, this example was copied from a letter-writing aid. In “Penelope,” Molly remembers “those long crossed letters Atty Dillon used to write” created

with the help of a “ladies letterwriter,” an instructional manual with examples of proper correspondence etiquette (U 18.740-2).²²² Cross-writing²²³ and the use of such a primer are old-fashioned conventions that speak to a particularly Victorian epistolary decorum fraught with gendered expectations. Although Molly implores her friend to “say a few simple words [a suitor] could twist how he liked,” Atty instead copies out stilted, overformal phrases: “acting with precipit precipitancy with equal candour the greatest earthly happiness answer to a gentlemans proposal affirmatively” (18.743-5). Similarly, when Bloom “wrote [her] that letter with all those words in it,” Molly has to pretend she doesn’t understand them: “asking me have I offended you with my eyelids down of course he saw I wasnt [offended]... and if I knew what it meant of course I had to say no for form sake dont understand you I said” (18.318-25). She remembers the word in question, absent from the dictionary, being “written up with a picture of a womans on that wall in Gibraltar,” and worries about “children seeing it too young” (18.325-7). Playing the part of *ingénue*, Molly cannot say (or admit to knowing) the word ‘cunt.’ Nora similarly played up her ignorance for Joyce in their early courtship, writing, “I read that long letter over and over again but could not understand it I think I will take it to you to morrow eve—and perhaps you might make me understand it” (*LII* 52). One can infer the batting of eyelashes. Just as she will write letters to Joyce according to his specifications in 1909—with the dirty words underlined, and specific sex acts described in detail—as early as September 1904, Nora played the role expected of her as letter-writer and recipient.

Joyce cannibalises Nora’s letters to create Molly, but also all the other women of *Ulysses*. More than just “Molly. Milly. Same thing watered down” (*U* 6.87), all of Joyce’s women in some way seem to be wearing Nora’s clothes. Gerty, Cissy, Lydia, Bella, Milly, Martha—each are costumes fashioned out of Nora’s life and letters. For example, Annalisa

Federici has recently demonstrated how Nora's courtship correspondence inform both Martha and Milly's letters.²²⁴ Nora's "Dear Jim I received your letter which I return you many thanks" (*LII* 52) is a very close analogue to Martha's "Dear Henry, I got your last letter to me and thank you very much for it" (*U* 5.241-2), and the postscript of that letter, "excuse writing in haste" (*LII* 52), mirrors Milly's "P.S. Excuse bad writing am in a hurry. Byby" (*U* 4.413). Martha's many omissions, typographical errors, and sign-off with "X X X X" (5.259) are also Nora's. The women of *Ulysses* are portraits of Nora in different life stages: Nora the *ingénue*, Nora dressed as a boy, Nora the chambermaid, Nora being courted, Nora the adulteress. These portraits are of mannequins draped, as Shechner argues, in a profusion of Joyce's fetishes: stockings, drawers, furs, and gloves clamour for attention, compensating for the wearer's lack of internal depth and coherence.²²⁵ Declan Kiberd argues that Joyce's interpretation of Nora's letters may have been coloured by his reading of *Sex & Character*, leading to the incorporation of misogynistic stereotypes. He notes Otto Weininger's belief "that woman has no ability to make the rational distinction which are the basis of logic and principle," and argues that Molly embodies this belief: "Molly's monologue is a compendium of old-fashioned clichés about womanhood, many derived from Weininger, such as the idea that women are incurably self-contradictory."²²⁶ This holds true for other female characters, such as Martha, whose letter is representative of the "polyphony of female voices" across *Ulysses*, including a mirroring of Milly Bloom as dutiful daughter, Bella Cohen as dominatrix, Gerty MacDowell as sentimental virgin, and Molly Bloom as wife and adulteress.²²⁷

Joyce creates Molly Bloom by rewriting Nora into the ideal Woman playing out his fantasies on a public stage. In order to do so, he imitates her voice, gathered from her letters but also a metaphorical transubstantiation of her menstrual blood necessary for his artistic

gestation.²²⁸ Weaving and unweaving her many costumes, Molly is a “fetish made up from the conflation of contradictory qualities”²²⁹ written in the guise of *écriture féminine*. Joyce later attempts to create a “feminine fiction” through Anna Livia Plurabelle, whose plurality as All Ladies Present intensifies the sexophonologic schizophraxis of *Finnegans Wake*. Reading Anna Livia’s ‘mamafesta’ as *écriture féminine* poses similar epistemological problems as those raised in this chapter; unseen, the letter is transcribed and translated by the male pen of her son, Shem, Joyce’s avatar. Written in defence of her husband, this nontext, a *mise en abyme* of the *Wake* itself, is just as “sternly controlled” by the “meandering male fist” as “Penelope,” whose consent is ventriloquised from Yes to Yes. On the selection of the last word in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce said:

In *Ulysses*, to depict the babbling of a woman going to sleep, I had sought to end with the least forceful word I could possibly find. I had found the word “yes,” which is barely pronounced, which denotes acquiescence, self-abandon, relaxation, and end of all resistance. In *Work in Progress*, I’ve tried to do better if I could. This time, I found the word which is the most slippery, the least accented, the weakest word in English, a word which is not even a word, which is scarcely sounded between the teeth, a breath, a nothing, the article *the*.²³⁰ (*JIII* 712)

Spoken by women, both “Yes” and “the” are performances of female submission. Despite their supposed sexual and maternal power, both Molly and Anna Livia are reduced to charming soubrettes who simper and lower their eyes in deference. The ‘mamafesta’ is just another “supreme hole,” a “nothing,” which plays on the Elizabethan slang for vagina. Both “yes” and “the” are nothing-words, female words, vaginal words: Joyce ends where life begins because “theyre all mad to get in there where they come out of” (*U* 18.806). More than just a metaphor, Joyce’s reliance on this biological resonance obfuscates his reliance on sociocultural stereotype, the *unheimlichkeit* of his rhetorical drag becoming less fishy when the body’s biological emissions are demonstrated to be omissions instead.

Whether characters in fiction or the nonfiction ‘selves’ of correspondence and memoir, any semblance of ‘gender’ in writing is necessarily performative. Joyce’s authorial cross-dressing mimics not only the language of woman, but convincingly creates a distorted ‘body’ which menstruates, urinates, and farts for the reader’s delight. Unable to convince Nora to cuckold him in reality, Joyce turns her ‘no’ into Molly’s euphoric and repeated ‘yesses,’ acting out his fantasy of her “acquiescence, self-abandon... and end of all resistance” (*JIII* 712). Molly’s consent, driven by her husband’s and reader’s and author’s desire, is itself a mask, that of “*der Fleisch der stets bejaht*” (*LI* 170). James Van Dyck Card has pointed out, there are a great many more things that Molly dislikes than likes; despite ‘yesses’ outnumbering ‘noes,’ she is largely framed in the negative, but even her many negatives—her hatred of women, unlucky men, cooking, politics, unexpected visitors, rummage sales, and Boylan’s lack of manners—are a series of clichés.²³¹ Devlin sees this repeated stylisation of cliché (the “putting on of ‘womanliness’ that repeatedly puts on ‘manliness’”) as Joyce’s articulation of “one of his canniest critiques of the ideology that produces the oppressive categories themselves.”²³² However, Judith Butler has posed the question, “Is drag the imitation of gender, or does it dramatize the signifying gestures through which gender is itself established?”²³³ In considering “Penelope” as an act of authorial cross-dressing, an alternate (but not incompatible) hypothesis is that Joyce created new clichés of representing women, which might be why so many feminists find subversive potential in the ‘flow’ of “Penelope” as a model for *écriture féminine*. Like a drag queen creating a new style that appeals to women so completely that it is adopted as a standard of femininity, Joyce’s authorial cross-dressing opens up new possibilities of what it means to ‘write gender’ that has had lasting implications for literary theory and practice for over a century.

¹ Philippe Sollers, "Joyce & Co.," *TriQuarterly* vol. 38 (Winter 1977): 114, translated by Stephen Heath.

² Used here in much the same way, and referring to the same people, as the "Men of 1914," which Wyndham Lewis coined in 1937 to refer to himself, Joyce, T.S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound. See Colleen R. Lamos, "The Men of 1914," *The Cambridge History of Modernism*, ed. Vincent Sherry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 487.

³ Merve Emre, "The Seductions of *Ulysses*," *The New Yorker* (7 February 2022): n.p.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/02/14/the-seductions-of-ulysses>

⁴ Emre, "The Seductions of *Ulysses*," n.p. As early as 1928, Molly's soliloquy was praised as "one of the most tremendous summations of life that [has] ever been caught in the net of art" (Rebecca West, *The Strange Necessity* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1928]: 22).

⁵ Mary Colum, "The Confessions of James Joyce," *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage* vol. 1, ed. Robert H. Deming (London: Routledge, 1970): 233.

⁶ Deming, *Critical Heritage*, 191.

⁷ Paul Vanderham, *James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of 'Ulysses'* (London: Macmillan, 1998): 125.

⁸ Jeri Johnson, "Introduction" to the Oxford World's Classics *Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): xxxvii.

⁹ Sean O'Toole, *Habit in the English Novel, 1850-1900: Lived Environments, Practices of the Self* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 70.

¹⁰ Rebecca Tierney-Hynes, *Novel Minds: Philosophers and Romance Readers, 1680-1740* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 77.

¹¹ Ina Christiane Seethaler, "Dressed to Cross: Narratives of Resistance and Integration in Sei Shônagon's *The Pillow Book* and Yone Noguchi's *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*," *Ethnic Studies Review* vol. 34, no. 1 (2011): 189.

¹² Madeleine Kahn, *Narrative Transvestism: Rhetoric and Gender in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991): 6.

¹³ Seethaler, "Dressed to Cross," 190.

¹⁴ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990): 43.

¹⁵ Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* vol. 40, no. 4 (1988): 531.

¹⁶ Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993): 125.

¹⁷ Lorraine Carroll, *Rhetorical Drag: Gender Impersonation, Captivity, and the Writing of History* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2007): 2-3.

¹⁸ Carroll, *Rhetorical Drag*, 3.

¹⁹ Ray Allen Billington identifies the author as Slocum, who claimed he was "called upon [by Hoyt] to write the story of her life, although he insisted that the account was substantially that dictated by Maria Monk" (Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* [New York: Macmillan, 1938]: 101). Kathryn Ann Lindscoog writes instead that the book was written by Hoyt, who was a fanatical anti-Catholic (Lindscoog, *Fakes, Frauds, & Other Malarkey* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993]: 105). Modern reprints regularly list both Hoyt and Slocum as co-authors. Slocum sued the publisher (Harper Brothers) for his share of the royalties; the lawsuit was hindered by the fact that copyright had been granted to Hoyt's associate George Bourne to deprive Monk of any profits, which were diverted to the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church (see Billington, 115n100 and Lindscoog, 105).

²⁰ Jennifer Burns Levin, "How Joyce Acquired the 'Stale Smut of Clubmen': *Photo Bits* in the Early Twentieth Century," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 46, no. 2 (2009): 263.

²¹ Burns Levin, "Stale Smut," 261-63. Burns Levin also notes that the erotic novels advertised in *Photo Bits* were sold from an address similar to that from which Bloom purchased his postcard, at "Box 32, P.O., Charing Cross, London, W.C." (*U* 17.1805). *Photo Bits* advertised a "likely fictional publishing house" at "95, Charing Cross Road, London," from which to purchase erotic books, whereas by the time of *Bits of Fun*, the address had moved to "West Green Road" several miles from Charing Cross ("Stale Smut," 262, 267n29).

²² Susan M. Griffin, "Awful Disclosures: Women's Evidence in the Escaped Nun's Tale," *PMLA* vol. 111, no. 1 (1996): 95-6. Griffin notes the explosion of fictive accounts of "escaped nuns tales" that resulted, a craze that lasted well into the 1850s ("Awful Disclosures," 96).

²³ Griffin, "Awful Disclosures," 97-98.

²⁴ Emre, "The Seductions of *Ulysses*," n.p.

²⁵ Griffin, "Awful Disclosures," 96.

- ²⁶ Diane Elam, “Theoretical modelling: Joyce’s women on display,” *James Joyce and the Difference of Language*, ed. Laurent Milesi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 81.
- ²⁷ Elaine Showalter, “Women and the Literary Curriculum,” *College English* vol. 32, no. 8 (1971): 856.
- ²⁸ Diana E. Henderson, “Joyce’s Modernist Woman: Whose Last Word?” *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 35, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 518.
- ²⁹ Cheryl Herr, “‘Penelope’ as Period Piece,” *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on “Penelope” and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994): 70.
- ³⁰ Sollers, “Joyce & Co.,” 114.
- ³¹ Declan Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Living* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009): 262-3.
- ³² I argue in a forthcoming article provisionally titled “‘sowival of the prettiest’: Women, Work, and Sexual Harassment in James Joyce’s Dublin” (currently undergoing peer review) that the affair may be economically motivated. Using the #MeToo movement as a critical lens, I read Molly as being coercive pressure to perform sexually so that she might be given the opportunity to perform her trade; with Boylan as her manager, Molly’s career prospects are higher. This ‘casting couch’ angle has been little developed in previous scholarship, despite textual support.
- ³³ The Eighth Amendment of the Irish Constitution gave equal priority (“right to life”) to a pregnant person and their foetus, ensuring criminal penalty for abortion. The amendment was repealed in 2018 by referendum.
- ³⁴ In a *New York Times* op. ed., contributors Michael Kimmel and Gloria Steinem mobilise the quotation as a “affirmative declaration of desire... considered so erotic, in fact, that it was banned for more than a decade after publication,” the wording of which is misleading, since it was not Molly’s ‘yesses’ that got *Ulysses* censored, but rather Bloom’s public masturbation in “Nausicaa.” (See Michael Kimmel and Gloria Steinem, “‘Yes’ is Better than ‘No’.” *The New York Times* [4 September 2014]: n.p.)
- ³⁵ I have previously written that to read Molly’s final ‘Yes’ as something other than (just) consent to a marriage proposal, “as a *yes* to herself, a *yes* that belongs to no one but Molly, is to pry that Yes out of the hands of literary critics and claim it for women. Old-school Joyceans want to hoard the Yes, to mythologize the Yes, to raise the Yes upon a marble pedestal out of the reach of ordinary women going about their lives—having sex, urinating, menstruating, masturbating” (Casey Lawrence, “The Whisper Network Won’t Protect Your Students,” *An Injustice! Mag* [7 February 2022]: n.p.).
- ³⁶ Carroll, *Rhetorical Drag*, 14.
- ³⁷ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man’s Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 1: The war of the words* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 146.
- ³⁸ Nathaniel Hawthorne famously attacked Cummins and her novel for being part of the “mob of scribbling women” taking over the American literary scene in 1855. For an exploration of *The Lamplighter’s* complicated publication and reception history in relation to Joyce’s parody, see Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 143-4.
- ³⁹ Suzette A. Henke, “Speculum of the Other Molly: A Feminist/Psychoanalytic Inquiry into James Joyce’s Politics of Desire,” *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* vol. 21, no. 2/3 (Spring 1988): 150.
- ⁴⁰ Robert Martin Adams, *James Joyce: Common Sense and Beyond* (New York: Random House, 1966): 166.
- ⁴¹ Maud Ellmann, “‘Penelope’ Without the Body,” *Joyce, “Penelope” and the Body*, ed. Richard Brown. *European Joyce Studies* 17 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006): 99. See Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: “Male” and “Female” in Western Philosophy* (London: Methuen, 1984), for a comparison of these two archetypes as semantic complements in Western thought.
- ⁴² Henderson, “Joyce’s Modernist Woman,” 518.
- ⁴³ Despite the many women who contributed to the making of *Ulysses*, the female reader is rendered invisible; this attitude can be seen in the commonly reproduced myth that Nora Barnacle never read *Ulysses*.
- ⁴⁴ Duff-Muggli, from *Müggli*, Swiss German diminutive of *Mücke*, meaning mosquito or gnat, has “photosensation under supersonic light control” (*FW* 123.12-13).
- ⁴⁵ These lines also imply a distinctly Irish bent, as “paddygoeasy” evokes “pedagogical” while addressing a “paddy,” the stereotypical term for an Irishman. Further, “tetrachiric,” in addition to being “tetrachoric,” an adjective describing a statistical correlation between variables of inexact measurement, is also “tetracherirkos,” meaning four-handed in Greek, from “tetrarch,” the ruler of one of four provinces in Roman History. Like “quadrumane,” which can also be interpreted as “four-handed,” these terms make it clear that the disorder reaches into all four provinces of Ireland, represented in the *Wake* by MaMaLuJo.
- ⁴⁶ Jung published the review, originally written in 1930, as “*Ulysses: Ein Monolog*” in *Europische Revue* vol. VIII, no. 9 (Berlin, 1932): 547-68. See *LIII* 253.

⁴⁷ The full phrase, “m’m’ry’s leaves are falling deeply on my Jungfraud’s Messongebook” (FW 460.20-1), puts Jung and Freud’s ‘leaves’ in a *Messbuch* (German, ‘missal’) of messages containing *mes songes* (French, ‘my dreams’) as well as *un mensonge* (French, ‘a lie’).

⁴⁸ Jacques Lacan, *The Sinthome: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XXIII*, trans. A. R. Price. Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (Cambridge: Polity, 2016): 64.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Luke Thurston, *James Joyce and the Problem of Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 139. Jung diagnosed Joyce as having “[a] ‘psychological’ style [that] is definitely schizophrenic” while treating his daughter Lucia (JJI 680). Ellman argues that this retrospective diagnosis of Joyce invented shared neurosis to explain the artistic similarities between Lucia’s “schizoid” poems and Joyce’s linguistic experimentation; Jung was, according to Ellmann, “reading Joyce... backward” by starting with Lucia (JJI 680).

⁵⁰ The text’s archival designation, comprised of the scholarly abbreviations (and imitations thereof) “MSS., Bb — Cod IV, Pap II, Brek XI, Lun III, Dinn XVII, Sup XXX, Fullup M D C X C,” that is, “Brek[fast],” “Lun[ch],” “Dinn[er],” and “Sup[per],” confuses the scholar into devouring the manuscript (FW 121.34-5).

⁵¹ As Henderson writes: “At least Joyce frankly acknowledges this desire [to control her], unlike some Joyceans who unwittingly parody themselves when extolling or repressing the sexuality” of Molly Bloom (518).

⁵² David Spurr, “Fatal Signatures: Forgery and Colonization in *Finnegans Wake*,” *Joyce: Feminism / Post / Colonialism*, ed. Ellen Carol Jones. European Joyce Studies 8 (Atlanta: Rodopi/Brill, 1998): 254.

⁵³ Hélène Cixous, “First Names of No One [*Prénoms de personne*]” trans. Deborah Cowell. *The Hélène Cixous Reader*, ed. Susan Sellers, with a foreword by Jacques Derrida (New York: Routledge, 2003): 30.

⁵⁴ In 1919, Joyce refused to undergo psychoanalysis by Jung at Edith Rockefeller McCormick’s expense, despite it leading to the end of her patronage (JJI 466). He lampoons this experience in the *Wake*: “You have homosexual catheis of empathy between narcissism of the expert and steatopygic invertedness. Get yourself psychoanalised!” / —O, begor, I want no expert nursus symaphy from yours broons quadrooms and I can psoakoonaloose myself any time I want (the fog follow you all!) without your interferences or any other pigeonstealer” (FW 522.30-36). However, in 1934, Joyce sought out Jung to help Lucia, who had been diagnosed with schizophrenia. Joyce rejected Lucia’s diagnosis, seeing echoes of his own creative process in her, rather than illness: “Whatever spark of gift I possess has been transmitted to Lucia,” Joyce said, “and has kindled a fire in her brain” (JJI 650).

⁵⁵ See, for example, Jennifer Marchisotto, “The Anti-Erasure of Lucia Joyce: Resignification of Mad Histories in *Finnegans Wake*,” *Joyce Writing Disability*, ed. Jeremy Colangelo (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2022): 200-222; Pingta Ku, “Schizo-Lucia on ‘Jungfraud’s Messongebook’: The Techno-Thanatopolitics of (Mis)Diagnosis,” *James Joyce Journal* vol. 25, no. 2 (2019): 55-82; Cheryl Herr, “The Erratics of Irishness: Schizophrenia, Racism and *Finnegans Wake*,” *Cultural Studies of James Joyce*, ed. R. Brandon Kershner. European Joyce Studies 15 (Amsterdam: Rodopi/Brill, 2003): 117-136; Margaret McBride, “*Finnegans Wake*: The Issue of Issy’s Schizophrenia,” *Joyce Studies Annual* (1996): 145-75; and Shari Benstock, “The Genuine Christine: The Psychodynamics of Issy” *Women in Joyce*, ed. Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980): 169-195. The extensive work on Issy the “Nuvoluccia” (FW 157.24), Lucia Joyce, and mental illness by Finn Fordham, John Gordon, David Hayman, and Patrick McGee should also be kept in mind here. See also Carol Loeb Shloss’s biography of Lucia Joyce, *To Dance in the Wake* (New York: Picador, 2003).

⁵⁶ Saussure’s phonologism is made explicit in his *Course on General Linguistics*: “Language and writing are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first” (Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Wade Baskin [London: Peter Owen, 1959]: 23. Derrida traces this privileging of speech over writing back to Aristotle: “Spoken words are the symbols of mental experience and written words are the symbols of spoken words” (Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976]: 30).

⁵⁷ First introduced by Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler, ‘Schizophrenie’ was defined as a term to describe dementia praecox: “Aus diesem Grunde und weil man von dem Ausdruck *Dementia praecox* keine adjektivischen und substantivischen Weiterbildungen machen kann, erlaube ich mir, hier das Wort *Schizophrenie* zur Bezeichnung des Kräpelinischen Begriffes zu benützen. Ich glaube nämlich, dass die *Zerreissung oder Spaltung der psychischen Funktionen* ein hervorragendes Symptom der ganzen Gruppe sei, und werde dies am anderen Orte begründen.” (Eugen Bleuler, “Die Prognose der *Dementia Praecox* (Schizophreniegruppe),” *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und psychisch-gerichtliche Medizin* vol. 56

[1908]: 436-64, qtd. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. “schizophrenia,” accessed July 27, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/schizophrenia>).

⁵⁸ See Herr, “Erratics of Irishness,” 128.

⁵⁹ Alice A. Jardine, *Gynesis: Configurations of Woman and Modernity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985): 25.

⁶⁰ Herr, “Erratics of Irishness,” 125.

⁶¹ Emma Heaney, *The New Woman: Literary Modernism, Queer Theory, and the Trans Feminine Allegory* (Northwestern University Press, 2017): 55.

⁶² In a letter to Edward Carpenter, Ellis wrote that he recognised two ‘classes’ of inversion: “complete inversion and psychosexual hermaphroditism,” calling both ‘abnormal’ “in the senses in which genius & criminality are abnormal” but not necessarily “[involving] morbidity in any case” (Unpublished letter from Ellis to Carpenter dated 22 January 1894, BL Add MSS 70536).

⁶³ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 52.

⁶⁴ Andrew Field, *Djuna: The life and times of Djuna Barnes* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1983): 53.

⁶⁵ Djuna Barnes, “How It Feels to be Forcibly Fed,” in *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* vol. 2, ed. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005): 461.

⁶⁶ Teresa de Lauretis, *Freud’s Drive: Psychoanalysis, Literature and Film* (London: Palgrave Macmillan: 2008): 66.

⁶⁷ Barnes, “Forcibly Fed,” 462.

⁶⁸ Heaney, *The New Woman*, 104.

⁶⁹ Erik Svarny, “Gender, war and writing in Aldous Huxley’s ‘Farcical History of Richard Greenow’,” *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations*, ed. Angela K. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004): 62.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Robin Ann Sheets, “‘The Farcical History of Richard Greenow’: Aldous Huxley and the Anxieties of Male Authorship,” *Journal of Narrative and Life History* vol. 3, no. 2-3 (1993):199-203 for a thorough account of Mrs. Humphrey Ward’s influence.

⁷¹ Svarny, “Gender, war and writing,” 68. James Hull similarly argues that “The philosopher aspect naturally wants to remain in the saddle, but Pearl represents the hidden, highly emotional and sensitive self of which Huxley is afraid because it threatens the philosopher of uncontaminated thought. Greenow is the schizoid we shall encounter again and again” (James Hull, *Aldous Huxley, Representative Man* [Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004]: 27).

⁷² Havelock Ellis and John Symonds, *Sexual Inversion* (London: Wilson and Macmillan, 1897): 293-4.

⁷³ Sheets, “Anxieties of Male Authorship,” 206.

⁷⁴ Christopher Craft, “‘Kiss Me with those Red Lips’: Gender and Inversion in Bran Stoker’s *Dracula*,” *Representations* no. 8 (1984): 115.

⁷⁵ See Heaney, *The New Woman*, 59-61.

⁷⁶ “Fag” as a slur for gay men may be a slightly tenuous example here, though used this way in America by 1921, in England it was (and remains) common slang for a cigarette. It is possible that the slur “fag” originated with the practice of “fagging” in British public schools, in which younger boys performed (potentially sexual) duties for older boys, which may also be relevant here (see Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, ed. Paul Beale [New York: Macmillan, 1984], s.v. “Fag”). The word “dick” to mean “penis” originated in the military in the 1880s, though was used to mean a male sexual partner from the seventeenth century (Partridge, *Slang and Unconventional English*, s.v. “Dick”). “Pearl” to mean ‘clitoris’ is an image based on the slang “oyster” to refer to the vulva from the nineteenth century (Partridge, *Slang and Unconventional English*, s.v. “Oyster”). In Huxley’s time, an intact hymen membrane was still thought to indicate female virginity.

⁷⁷ Ery Shin, “Djuna Barnes, History’s Elsewhere, and the Transgender,” *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. 37, no. 2 (2014): 21.

⁷⁸ Carolyn Heilbrun, “Millett’s Sexual Politics: A year Later,” *Aphra* vol. 2 (Summer 1971): 39.

⁷⁹ Jonathan D. Culler, “Reading as a Woman,” *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism After Structuralism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982): 51. (43-63)

⁸⁰ Culler, “Reading as a Woman,” 51.

⁸¹ Elaine Showalter, “Towards a Feminist Poetics,” *Women Writing and Writing About Women*, ed. Mary Jacobus (New York: Routledge, 2012): 25.

⁸² Diane Elam, 81, emphasis original. Molly as a “thirty-shilling whore” comes from Darcy O’Brien’s configuration of the character in *The Conscience of James Joyce* as a kind of *vagina dentata* that consumes

her victims through intercourse (O'Brien, *The Conscience of James Joyce* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968]: 211). References to Molly as an 'earth mother' or 'Gea-Tellus' abound in the literature and originates in Joyce's letters.

⁸³ Elam, 81. An in-depth review of critical responses to Molly Bloom would be an encyclopaedic project which would not advance the argument being made in this chapter and will be discussed only briefly. Such a project, encompassing five decades of responses, was carried out by Kathleen McCormick in "Reproducing Molly Bloom: A Revisionist History of the Reception of 'Penelope,' 1922-1970," *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on "Penelope,"* ed. Richard Pearce (University of Wisconsin Press, 1994): 17-39.

⁸⁴ Gabriele Schwab, "Mollyloque" *The 7th of Joyce*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 81.

⁸⁵ David Hayman, "The Empirical Molly," *Approaches to Ulysses*, ed. Thomas F. Staley and Bernard Benstock (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970): 111.

⁸⁶ Kathleen McCormick, "Reproducing Molly Bloom," 18.

⁸⁷ Hence the limitations of New Criticism discussed in Section 0.3 of this thesis.

⁸⁸ Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen. *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980): 245.

⁸⁹ Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* vol. 8, no. 2 (Winter 1981): 185.

⁹⁰ Nancy K. Miller, "Emphasis Added: Plots and Plausibilities in Women's Fiction," *PMLA* vol. 96, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 37.

⁹¹ Cixous, "Medusa," 248.

⁹² Christine van Boheemen, "'The Language of Flow': Joyce's Dispossession of the Feminine in *Ulysses*," *Modernity and its Meditation*, ed. Christine van Boheemen. *European Joyce Studies 1* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989): 72. (62-77)

⁹³ Maud Ellmann, "'Penelope' Without the Body," 100.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 255. Rewriting this argument in "Sorties," Cixous compares the negative/female 'lack' of patriarchal psychoanalytic models to various institutions (including capitalism and religion) and paints female adherence to these norms as performance in the vein of Butlerian performativity: "We women, the derangers, know it only too well. But nothing compels us to deposit our lives in these lack-banks; to think that the subject is constituted as the last stage in a drama of bruising rehearsals; to endlessly bail out the father's religion. Because we don't desire it. We don't go round and round the supreme hole. We have no woman's reason to pay allegiance to the negative. What is feminine (the poets suspected it) affirms..." (Cixous, "Sorties," *The Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wing [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986]: 67).

⁹⁵ Cixous, "Medusa," 245.

⁹⁶ Henke, "Speculum of the Other Molly," 150.

⁹⁷ Maryam Najafibabanzar, "Linguistic Silence and the Alienation of Female Characters in *Ulysses* and *The Blind Owl*," *Primerjalna Knjizevnost (Comparative Literature)* vol. 43, no. 3 (2020): 185.

⁹⁸ Najafibabanzar, "Linguistic Silence," 185.

⁹⁹ Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980): 102.

¹⁰⁰ Annette Shandler Levitt, "The Pattern Out of the Wallpaper: Luce Irigaray and Molly Bloom," *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 35, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 508.

¹⁰¹ See for example, Arleen B. Dallery, "The Politics of Writing (the) Body: *Écriture Féminine*," *Gender / Body / Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*, ed. Alison M. Jaggar and Susan R. Bordo (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989): 52-67; Claudia Reeder's translation of "Des marchandises entre elles" as "When the Goods Get Together" in *New French Feminisms*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabel Courtivron (New York: Schocken, 1981); and Catherine Porter's translation of *This Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), respectively.

¹⁰² Irigaray, *This Sex*, 135.

¹⁰³ Felicia E. Kruse, "Luce Irigaray's *Parler Femme* and American Metaphysics," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* vol. 27, no. 4 (Fall 1991): 465.

¹⁰⁴ Carolyn Burke, "Report from Paris: Women's Writing and the Women's Movement," *Signs* vol. 3, no. 4 (Summer 1978): 851.

¹⁰⁵ Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," 185, 188.

¹⁰⁶ Diana Fuss, "Essentially Speaking: Luce Irigaray's Language of Essence," *Hypatia* vol. 3, no. 3 (1989): 66.

- ¹⁰⁷ Henke, "Speculum of the Other Molly," 149.
- ¹⁰⁸ Irigaray, *This Sex*, 79.
- ¹⁰⁹ Derek Attridge, "Molly's Flow: The Writing of 'Penelope' and the Question of Women's Language." *Modern Fiction Studies* vol. 35, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 553.
- ¹¹⁰ Henderson, "Joyce's Modernist Woman," 519.
- ¹¹¹ While Joyce certainly did not hesitate to outline correspondences in his letters, schema, and various errata, Molly's elemental association is not with water but with earth, becoming a 'Gea-Tellus' figure. See Stuart Gilbert's chapter on "Penelope" in *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Study* (New York: Random, 1955), originally published in 1930, for an elaboration of Joyce's 'earth-mother' archetype. As Jean-Michel Rabaté writes: "Molly est texte et terre avant d'être la « grande mère » des imaginaires trop facilement sollicités" (Rabaté, "Molly Bloom : le « oui » du Féminin-Neutre," *James Joyce: Collection Portraits Littéraires* (Paris: Hachette Supérieur, 1993): 159.
- ¹¹² For example, she writes, "I, too, overflow... my body... [has] felt so full of luminous torrents that I could burst" (Cixous, "Medusa," 246).
- ¹¹³ Cixous, "Sorties," 66-67.
- ¹¹⁴ Irigaray, *This Sex*, 50.
- ¹¹⁵ The same lines of the cant that Stephen quotes here will be repeated in "Circe" to Cissy Caffrey, thus solidifying her association as the racial Other, a 'gypsy' woman: "White thy fables, red thy gan / And thy quarrons dainty is" (*U* 3.381-2, 15.4655-6).
- ¹¹⁶ Christine Froula, "History's Nightmare, Fiction's Dream: Joyce and the Psychohistory of *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 28, no. 4 (1991): 864.
- ¹¹⁷ See Don Gifford with Robert J. Seidman, *Notes for Joyce: An Annotation of James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: Dutton, 1974): 44. Robert Adams Day argues that Stephen "borrows Hyde's metrical pattern, the idea of someone's arrival, the 'south-mouth' rhyme, and the last line (minus the weak initial syllable that throws off the meter and is in any case redundant), but that is all," adding that "Hyde, not his source [the original Irish], is responsible" for the terrible South/mouth rhyme that troubles Stephen in "Aeolus" (Robert Adams Day, "How Stephen Wrote His Vampire Poem," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 17, no. 2 [1980]: 186).
- ¹¹⁸ Joyce, having "read everything that Yeats had written," had a copy of this book of drawings because Yeats wrote its preface (Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, ed. Richard Ellmann [New York: Viking, 1958]: 98; Adams Day, 90). Adams Day notes Yeats's introduction specifically references 'All Thy Waves' twice and repeatedly quotes William Blake. Stephen constantly associates Yeats, Blake, and vampires in "repeated image cluster[s]," argues Adams Day ("Vampire Poem," 189-90).
- ¹¹⁹ Adams Day, "Vampire Poem," 192.
- ¹²⁰ Fritz Senn, "Anagnostic Probes," *Modernity and its Meditation*, ed. Christine van Boheemen. *European Joyce Studies 1* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989): 50.
- ¹²¹ By changing "her mouth's kiss" to "my mouth", the final composition errs dangerously close to Hyde's translation of "My Grief on the Sea" in *Love Songs of Connaught*.
- ¹²² Pre-Gabler editions use the word "womb" here; Gabler restores it to "moomb," a proto-Wakean portmanteau combining mouth and womb.
- ¹²³ John Bormanis, "'In the First Bloom of her New Motherhood': The Appropriation of the Maternal and the Representation of Mothering in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 29, no. 3 (1992): 596. See also Section 2.1 of this thesis.
- ¹²⁴ Froula, "History's Nightmare," 866.
- ¹²⁵ For an exploration of Cissy's tomboyish language, see Jen Shelton, "Bad Girls: Gerty, Cissy, and the Erotics of Unruly Speech," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 50, no. 1 (2012): 263-278.
- ¹²⁶ See Casey Lawrence, "'The link between nations and generations': Cissy Caffrey as Racialized and Sexualized Other in James's Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Joyce Studies Annual* (2018): 108-121.
- ¹²⁷ Christine van Boheemen, "The Language of Flow," 67.
- ¹²⁸ Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1982): 71.
- ¹²⁹ Herr "Period Piece," 74.
- ¹³⁰ Harry Blamires, *The New Bloomsday Book* (New York: Routledge, 1988): 235.
- ¹³¹ Lisa Sternlieb, "Molly Bloom: Acting Natural," *ELH: English Literary History* vol. 65, no. 3 (1998): 776.
- ¹³² Paul Schwaber, "The last word: Molly Bloom," *Myths of Mighty Women* (New York: Routledge, 2018): 149.

¹³³ Katherine Mullin, "Menstruation in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 46, no. 3 (2009): 504. The appearance of Molly's period also, I might add, is reassurance that the affair has not resulted in pregnancy, meaning that the Blooms' marriage is salvageable: "anyhow he didnt make me pregnant" (*U* 18.1123).

¹³⁴ See Herr, "Period Piece."

¹³⁵ Gerty's use of these pills has been contextualised by April Pelt, who discusses how "Widow Welch's Female Pills," a product to which Gerty directly refers, was a known abortifacient advertised as "removing Obstructions, and relieving all other inconvenience to which the Female Frame is liable." Pelt suggests that rather than the passive consumer of advertisements, Gerty is "an agentive reader and interpreter... skillfully decoding and employing [the] illicit subtexts" of ladies' magazine ads in order to "take control of her reproductive health and sexuality" (Pelt, "Advertising Agency: Print Culture and Female Sexuality in 'Nausicaa'," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 48, no. 1 [2010]: 42).

¹³⁶ See Joseph Allen Boone, "A New Approach to Bloom as 'Womanly Man': The Mixed Middling's Progress in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 20, no. 1 (1982): 71.

¹³⁷ See Thomas Jackson Rice, *Joyce, Chaos, and Complexity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997): 98 for use of the period as a "typographical and physiological symbol."

¹³⁸ See Attridge, "Molly's Flow," for numerous examples.

¹³⁹ Mary Ellmann, *Thinking About Women* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968): 75.

¹⁴⁰ See Vike Martina Plock, "Jack the Ripper and the Family Physician: Gynaecology and Domestic Medicine in 'Penelope,'" *Joyce, "Penelope" and the Body*, ed. Richard Brown. *European Joyce Studies* 17 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006): 129-43.

¹⁴¹ Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us*, 261.

¹⁴² Molly refers to herself as "a body" in phrases like "he can never explain a thing simply the way a body can understand" (*U* 18.567). In this case in particular, Molly frames knowledge as entering the body rather than the mind, once more pitting the male-coded brain against her female-coded flesh in a battle of the wits/sexes.

¹⁴³ Literally translated from Joyce's somewhat errant German as 'I am the flesh that always affirms,' this is a reversal of Mephistopheles' statement from Goethe's *Faust*: 'I am the spirit that always denies.'

¹⁴⁴ Len Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Atlanta, GA: Brill, 2022): 225.

¹⁴⁵ Henke, "Speculum of the Other Molly," 149.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, "Introduction," xxxvi.

¹⁴⁷ Jean-Michel Rabaté has previously discussed how Joyce's abbreviation for "Penelope" relates both to the opposition between pen and sword ("Is the Pen Mightier than the Sword?" [*FW* 306.18-19]) and to the episode's textuality. See Rabaté, "Le nœud gordien de « Pénélope »," *James Joyce « Scribble » 1: genèse des textes*, ed. Claude Jacquet. *La Revue des Lettres Modernes, Série James Joyce* 1 (Paris: Minard, 1988): 126.

¹⁴⁸ Boone, "A New Approach to Bloom," 81.

¹⁴⁹ Joyce once called *Ulysses* "the epic of the human body," according to Frank Budgen, who records this explanation: "In my book the body lives in and moves through space and is the home of a full human personality. The words I write are adapted to express first one of its functions then another... If they had no body they would have no mind... It's all one" (Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses' and Other Writings* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972]: 21).

¹⁵⁰ Sternlieb, "Acting Natural," 774.

¹⁵¹ Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," *A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. John Rickman (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957): 104.

¹⁵² Freud, "On Narcissism," 104.

¹⁵³ Phillip F. Herring, *Joyce's 'Ulysses' Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972): 498.

¹⁵⁴ Joyce's notes which combine to make this line, "MB pretends to come" (*JJA* 12:90[t]; BL Add MS 49475-28v), "MB finish it herself" (*JJA* 12:90[i]; BL Add MS 49475-28v), and "She said she liked & didn't" (*JJA* 12:88[aq]; BL Add MS 49475-28r), make this moment more explicit.

¹⁵⁵ Henke, "Speculum of the Other Molly," 157.

¹⁵⁶ Shere Hite, *The Hite Report* (New York: Macmillan, 1976): 62.

¹⁵⁷ Freud, "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality (1905)." *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* vol. 7, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1974): 221.

¹⁵⁸ Qtd. Javier Marías, *Written Lives*, trans. Margaret Jull Costa (New York: New Directions Publishing, 2007): 26.

¹⁵⁹ Emma Heaney, "Sexual difference without cisness in *Ulysses*," *Textual Practice* vol. 36, no. 2 (2022): 255.

¹⁶⁰ As Richard Brown has noted, Joyce marks both the penis and clitoris as ‘buttons’ in *Ulysses*. When Molly handles Lieutenant Mulvey, she “made him blush a little when I got over him that way when I unbuttoned him and took his out and drew back the skin it had a kind of eye in it theyre all Buttons men down the middle” (*U* 18.814-17). Virag warns Bloom in “Circe” to be weary of women’s “bachelor’s button” when he goes off to “Tumble her. Columble her” (*U* 18.2341-2), once more marking the clitoris as a threat to ‘proper’ sexual expression. See Richard Brown, “‘When in doubt do gender’: Constructing Masculinities in ‘Penelope,’ ‘theyre all Buttons men,’” *Joyce Studies Annual* vol. 13 (2002): 147-59.

¹⁶¹ Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984): 173.

¹⁶² Shelton, “Bad Girls,” 268.

¹⁶³ Brenda Maddox, *Nora: A Biography of Nora Joyce* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988): 29. Maddox writes that Nora’s uncle, Tom Healy, “took to walking around Galway at night, swinging his blackthorn stick and looking for Nora” who felt it his responsibility to “try to discipline his adventurous niece.” Nora and her friend Mary O’Holleran would dress as boys to explore Galway without being caught: “Nora had the height, the swagger, the confidence, and the heavy brows to pass in the dark for a good-sized boy. Once they even spotted the dreaded Uncle Tommy; Mary said ‘Good evening’ in a deep, false voice and got away with it” (29). I discussed this connection briefly in Section 1.4 of this thesis.

¹⁶⁴ Suzette Henke, *Joyce’s Moraculous Sindbook* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978): 165.

Joyce’s proclivities are known to mirror Bloom’s, such as when in 1909 he wrote to Nora: “Tonight I have an idea madder than usual. I feel I would like to be flogged by you. I would like to see your eyes blazing with anger” (*SL* 166).

¹⁶⁵ Cissy also prefigures Molly when she exits “Circe” on the arm of Private Henry Carr, resembling Molly with Lieutenant Henry Mulvey; Mulvey is based on a girlhood love of Nora’s and Carr is a caricature of an actor Joyce hired to perform as Algernon Moncrieff in a production of Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of Being Earnest* who claimed he had been underpaid and tricked into making expenses for the show (notably, the purchase of a pair of trousers). See JJII 426-8, 445-52.

¹⁶⁶ David Cotter, *James Joyce & the Perverse Ideal* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 140.

¹⁶⁷ Hsing-chun Chou, “‘I Eat; Therefore I Am’—Molly and Food,” *EurAmerica* vol. 42, no 3 (2012): 478.

Bloom also thinks of women as food, and particularly meat, in the scene at the butcher. He rushes his transaction, hoping to “catch up and walk behind” Woods’s slavey to ogle “her moving hams” (*U* 4.471-2). His downward gaze to “her vigorous hips” (*U* 4.148) is accompanied by a connection to his flagellation kink: “Strong pair of arms. Whacking a carpet on the clothesline. She does whack it, by George. The way her crooked skirt swings at each whack” (*U* 4.150-2). This moment is later echoed in Boylan’s trip to Thornton’s, where he repeatedly looks down a shopgirl’s blouse while fondling fruit. The “fat pears and blushing peaches” (*U* 10.333) become analogous to the girl’s breasts as he flirts with her, equating women with food, although ‘Molly’ does much the same when she touches her thighs: “I bet he never saw a better pair of thighs... how soft like a peach” (*U* 18.1144-6).

¹⁶⁸ Charles-Paul de Kock was a real author of Dutch ancestry who wrote erotic literature in Paris during the mid-nineteenth century. *Sweets of Sin* is not among the many novels he produced but an invented title, although a real novel of de Kock’s, *La Femme aux Trois Corsets* (1878) makes an appearance in the Circean trial sequence: Mrs. Yelverton Barry accuses Bloom of making “improper overtures to [her] to misconduct [her]self” and “offer[ing] to send [her] through the post a work of fiction by Monsieur Paul de Kock, entitled *The Girl with the Three Pairs of Stays*” (*U* 15.1021-4).

¹⁶⁹ David Hayman, *Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983): 49.

¹⁷⁰ Frances L. Restuccia, “Molly in Furs: Deleuzean/Masochian Masochism in the Writing of James Joyce,” *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* vol. 18, no. 2 (1985): 103.

¹⁷¹ This high praise is less extravagant given that her sexual experience is limited to, at most, Mulvey, Gardner, and Bloom, if the former two can even be ‘counted’. Out of fear that she might become pregnant, Molly seems to have abstained from penetrative sex prior to her engagement: “I wouldnt let him [Mulvey] he was awfully put out first for fear you never know consumption or leave me with a child embarazada that old servant Ines told me that one drop even if it got into you at all” (*U* 18.800-3).

¹⁷² Joyce owned a copy of de Kock’s *Le Cocu (The Cuckhold)* while living in Trieste (Richard Ellmann, *The Consciousness of Joyce* [London: Faber and Faber, 1977]: 116).

¹⁷³ See Brown, “When in doubt do gender,” 147-59 for a thorough accounting of Molly’s manual stimulation of Mulvey and how trouser buttons act as a marker of sexual difference.

¹⁷⁴ Bonnie Kime Scott writes that “Molly does not advance the feminist battle against sexual harassment, although she does allow us to glimpse the conditions in which it flourishes,” arguing that Molly and Boylan

explicitly arrange “sexual as well as choral engagements” as part of their business model (Scott, *Joyce and Feminism*, 153).

¹⁷⁵ Even if we read Molly’s affair with Boylan as consensual, she has still settled for this “swell with money that can pick and choose whoever he wants,” because as “a woman as soon as you’re old they might as well throw you out in the bottom of the ashpit” (*U* 18.894-5, 746-7). The dynamic between employer (manager) and employee (performer) is further problematised in light of the #MeToo movement. My forthcoming article, “‘Sowival of the prettiest’: Women, Work, and Sexual Harassment in James Joyce’s Dublin” (currently undergoing peer review), looks at this dynamic more thoroughly than I have room to rehash here. Kimberly Devlin has also discussed the connection between the affair and Molly’s career, glossing the ‘casting couch’ angle in very similar terms to my own (Devlin, “Pretending in ‘Penelope’: Masquerade, Mimicry, and Molly Bloom,” *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on “Penelope” and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994] 80-102).

¹⁷⁶ Henke, *Moraculous Sindbook*, 234.

¹⁷⁷ Richard Brown notes that the arbitrarily capitalised ‘B’ of “Banana,” also appearing in “they’re all Buttons men” (*U* 18.816), “ferocious old Bull” (*U* 18.630), and “your glorious Body” (*U* 18.1176) might “suggest an association between the phallic and the capital ‘B’” (Brown, “When in doubt do gender,” 156). I wonder if, like Joyce’s reductive “four cardinal points” of a woman’s body, the ‘B’ might also be the Bottom or Breasts visually breaching the text, just as the capital ‘O’ is often representative of Molly’s “perpetually receptive vagina/mouth/womb” (Suzette Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* [New York: Routledge, 1990]: 149).

¹⁷⁸ Many studies have been carried out which reflect the frequency of such fantasies among women; see Joseph W. Critelli and Jenny M. Bivona, “Women’s Erotic Rape Fantasies: An Evaluation of Theory and Research,” *The Journal of Sex Research* vol. 45, no.1 (2008): 57-70 for an overview of previous studies, their methods, and conclusions. Erotic rape fantasies should not be confused with an actual desire to be raped.

¹⁷⁹ Frances L. Restuccia, *Joyce and the Law of the Father* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989): 175.

¹⁸⁰ Carroll, *Rhetorical Drag*, 187. See Section 3.0 above.

¹⁸¹ Froula, “History’s Nightmare,” 862, emphasis original.

¹⁸² See Ruth Bauerle, “Date rape, mate rape: A Liturgical Interpretation of ‘The Dead’,” *New Alliances in Joyce Studies: When Its Apeled to Foul a Dephian*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988): 113-125 for Joyce’s use of rape imagery in “The Dead.”

¹⁸³ Cixous, *The Exile of James Joyce*, trans. Sally AJ Purcell (New York: David Lewis, 1972): 86.

¹⁸⁴ Frank Budgen, *Myself When Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970): 188.

¹⁸⁵ Froula, “History’s Nightmare,” 859.

¹⁸⁶ Carolyn Heilbrun, “Virginia Woolf and James Joyce: Ariadne and the Labyrinth,” *Hamlet’s Mother and Other Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990): 70.

¹⁸⁷ Adams, 166. ‘*Saccum stercoris*’ literally translates to “sack of shit,” a phrase which comes from Odo’s advice in the *Collationes* to ‘see’ the vile fluids and excrements which hide beneath the skin of women, to avoid sexual temptation. See Dawn Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2015): 132.

¹⁸⁸ Gilbert and Gubar, *The war of the words*, 232.

¹⁸⁹ Christine Van Boheemen-Saaf, “The Nora Letters as a Source of Joyce’s Performativity,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 45, no. 3-4 (2008): 469.

¹⁹⁰ See Boheemen-Saaf, “The Nora Letters,” 471. One of the few exceptions is Jean-Louis Houdebine, “Joyce-Nora, décembre 1909,” *L’Infini* no. 70 (Summer 2000): 92-99, who discusses the letters as a substitution for sex while the couple are separated, and points to the letter’s performativity as a kind of sexophonologism: “...nous sommes en présence de textes épistolaires qui tendent à fonctionner le plus possible au performatif. Écrire participe ici directement d’un faire, du faire d’un corps sexué, et dans les deux sens, c’est-à-dire comme écriture-lecture : car la lecture de la lettre de l’autre me fait tout autant jouir que de lui écrire une lettre dont je sais qu’elle la/le fera jouir quand elle/il la lira” (97, emphasis original).

¹⁹¹ Earl G. Ingersoll and Mary C. Ingersoll, ed. *Conversations with Anthony Burgess* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008): 51.

¹⁹² Levitt, “Luce Irigaray and Molly Bloom,” 510.

¹⁹³ Henderson, “Joyce’s Modernist Woman,” 520, emphasis original.

¹⁹⁴ Ellmann, “‘Penelope’ Without the Body,” 102.

¹⁹⁵ Sue Vice, “Women’s Voices: The Late Drafts of James Joyce and Malcolm Lowry,” *BELLS: Barcelona English Language and Literature Studies* vol. 7 (1996): 172.

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- ¹⁹⁶ Ellmann, “‘Penelope’ without the Body,” 103.
- ¹⁹⁷ Henke, *Politics of Desire*, 149.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ellmann, “‘Penelope’ without the Body,” 102.
- ¹⁹⁹ Cixous, “Sorties,” 67, emphasis original.
- ²⁰⁰ Freud, “Femininity,” *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* vol. 22, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1974): 132.
- ²⁰¹ Heaney reads Bloom’s “bud of flesh” and “languid floating flower” (*U* 5.570-2) as clitoral images, rather than phallogocentric in the cisnormative sense. She writes, “The clitoral bud of the navel and floral opening of the genitals perform a rhetorical recoding of Bloom’s genitals as female” (Heaney, *The New Woman*, 74).
- ²⁰² Heaney, “Sexual difference without cisness,” 257.
- ²⁰³ The outrageous claim that the uterus moves throughout the body causing various ailments in womankind—and particular, hysteria, which gets its very name from the Greek word for uterus—originated in the age of Hippocrates and was later adopted by physicians during the Renaissance, remaining influential during the Enlightenment. Edward Jorden’s 1603 text, *The Suffocation of the Mother*, popularised the theory in Europe. See *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. Sander Lawrence Gilman, Helen King, Roy Porter, G. S. Rousseau, and Elaine Showalter (Berkeley: University of Californian Press, 1993).
- ²⁰⁴ Cixous, “Sorties,” 69.
- ²⁰⁵ Boone, “A New Approach to Bloom,” 69.
- ²⁰⁶ Christine van Boheemen-Saaf, “Joyce, Derrida, and the Discourse of ‘the Other,’” *James Joyce: The Augmented Ninth*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988): 93.
- ²⁰⁷ Maud Ellmann writes, for example, that “Penelope” is “a postscript or appendix rather than a termination: it emerges after Ithaca’s enormous full stop, which Joyce instructed the printers to enlarge, as if to exaggerate the termination” (“‘Penelope’ without the Body,” 98). This view would be confirmed by Joyce himself, who noted in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver that “Ithaca” is the novel’s true end, because “Penelope” has no beginning, middle, or end (*LI* 172).
- ²⁰⁸ Kimberly Devlin, “Castration and its Discontents: A Lacanian Approach to *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 29, no. 1 (1991): 131.
- ²⁰⁹ Cixous, “Sorties,” 66-67.
- ²¹⁰ Johnson, “Introduction,” xxxvii.
- ²¹¹ Boheemen-Saaf, “Joyce, Derrida, and the Discourse of ‘the Other,’” 97.
- ²¹² Karen Lawrence, “Joyce and Feminism,” *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 253-4, emphasis original.
- ²¹³ Anthony Burgess, *Here Comes Everybody: An introduction to James Joyce for the Ordinary Reader* (London: Faber, 1965): 173. This is a common sentiment, of which Burgess is only one example.
- ²¹⁴ Brown, “When in doubt do gender,” 158.
- ²¹⁵ See Margaret McBride, “At Four She Said,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 17, no. 1 (1979): 21-39; Hugh Kenner, “The Rhetoric of Silence,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 14, no. 4 (1977): 382-94; and Fredrick Wellington, “A Missing Conversation in *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 14, no. 4 (1977), 476-9.
- ²¹⁶ Stephen, like Joyce, usually carries library-slips on which to capture moments of brilliance, but substitutes Deasy’s letter because “That’s twice I forgot to take slips from the library” (*U* 3.407).
- ²¹⁷ Vicki Mahaffey, *Reauthorizing Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 175.
- ²¹⁸ Fritz Senn has noted that “Fewer words are spoken in ‘Nausicaa’” than in nearly all other episodes of *Ulysses*. The only exceptions, “the basically silent ‘Proteus’ and ‘Penelope,’” are gendered monologues not unlike the “[t]wo monologues, one indirect, one direct” which comprise “Nausicaa” (Senn, “Nausicaa,” *James Joyce’s “Ulysses”: Critical Essays*, ed. Clive Hart and David Hayman [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974]: 278). The lack of direct speech in the two ‘female’ episodes of *Ulysses* is most revealing; the novel’s women are silent tableaux, carefully staged without speaking, as if their voices might reveal them to be impersonations.
- ²¹⁹ Janine Utell, *James Joyce and the Revolt of Love* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 19.
- ²²⁰ Mark Shechner, *Joyce in Nighttown: A Psychoanalytic Inquiry into Ulysses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022): 73.
- ²²¹ Restuccia, “Molly in Furs,” 116.
- ²²² See John Smurthwaite, “Atty Dillon and the Ladies’ Letterwriter,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 44, no. 2 (2007): 352-4.
- ²²³ The practice of writing on the same sheet twice after rotating the page (thus creating a grid) to save on paper and postal charges.

²²⁴ See Annalisa Federici, "'Dear Henry' / 'Dear Jim' / 'My Dearest Nora': Fictional and Private Language in Joyce," *Language and Languages in Joyce's Fiction*, ed. Serenella Zanoitti. *Joyce Studies in Italy* 21 (Rome: Editoriale Anicia, 2019): 235-38.

²²⁵ See Shechner, *Joyce in Nighttown*, 66-70.

²²⁶ Declan Kiberd, *Men and Feminism in Modern Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1985): 201.

²²⁷ Federici, "Fictional and Private Language," 236. Shari Benstock has also noted these tonal variations, demonstrating the movement from "business prose" to "sexual ploys" with key moments of "chastisement," "sympathetic pleading," confessions, and promises that obfuscate the authorial voice of Martha's letter (Shari Benstock, "The Printed Letters in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 19, no. 4 [1982]: 418-19).

²²⁸ See Section 2.1 of this thesis.

²²⁹ Boheemen-Saaf, "The Language of Flow," 73.

²³⁰ This is Richard Ellmann's translation. The original French reads: "*Dans Ulysse, pour peindre la balbutiement d'une femme qui s'endort, j'avais cherché a finir par le mot le moins fort qu'il m'était possible de découvrir. J'avais trouvé le mot "yes", qui se prononce a peine, qui signifie l'acquiescement, l'abandon, la détente, la fin de toute résistance. Dans le Work in Progress, j'ai cherché mieux, si je pouvais. Cette fois, j'ai trouvé le mot le plus glissant, le moins accentué, le plus faible de la langue anglaise, un mot qui n'est pas un mot, qui sonne a peine entre les dent, un souffle, un rien, l'article the.*" (Louis Gillet, *Stèle pour James Joyce* [Marseille: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1941]: 164-65.)

²³¹ James Van Dyck Card, *An Anatomy of Penelope* (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984): 71-2.

²³² Devlin, "Castration and its Discontents," 89.

²³³ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, x.

Clothes Encounters: Costume and Cross-dressing in *Ulysses*

One evening at the tea table my sister read from a periodical called *Modern Society* about a young man dressed as a girl... Later I had the paper to myself, and, enjoying tremendous excitement, read a page or two of the readers' correspondence on "effeminate men." ...By the time I was fourteen I had got hold of another periodical, *Photo Bits*, which devoted itself almost entirely to encouraging this trait and the pleasures of birching.¹

–D.S., patient of Havelock Ellis

I always wear the most exquisite French lingerie and the smartest shoes, stockings, and gloves. I have been in England nearly two years, and since last Christmas have been living in my own flat... with a girl chum. I go about nearly everywhere, to the theatres, music-halls, Hurlingham, and at homes, and my sex has, so far as I know, never even been suspected—certainly it has not been challenged.²

–A Boy Who is a Girl, *New Fun*

Thus far, the material conditions affecting queer and trans lives during the modernist period have been discussed largely in relation to social, medical, psychoanalytical, and linguistic constructions of gender in this thesis. In this final chapter, I will discuss Joyce's construction of performative 'femininity' and 'masculinity' in "Circe" and "Nausicaa" using a queer materialist lens that takes these conditions into consideration. As noted by Fritz Senn, "Nausicaa" is where readers "enter, for the first time, a predominantly female world."³ Following on the heels of the hypermasculine energy of "Cyclops," Joyce's "dainty exercise in the feminine mode"⁴ marks Bloom's initiation into the 'female sphere'. The back pages of women's magazines are his entry point: from his experience as an ad canvasser, he dons a papier-mâché mask of regurgitated advertisements to facilitate his first transformative fantasy, that of the coy virgin. He then travels to the lying-in hospital to commune with the labouring Mina Purefoy and 'tries on' the role of mother in "Oxen of the Sun," as I discussed in Chapter 2. Finally, he becomes a whore in "Circe," playing the third role in the trifecta of female *dramatis personae*. Bloom's

psychological cross-dressing in these episodes is a theatrical performance that limits ‘femininity’ to stereotypes attached to cultural values both from Ireland and a fetishised version of ‘the Orient’. The last third of *Ulysses* is governed by these *personas*, or ‘masks’; as Kimberly Devlin writes, “femininity and masculinity [are positioned] as cultural constructs, as masquerade, as a function of both artificial self-presentation and encoded interpretation.”⁵ As one of Joyce’s many avatars, Bloom acts as a bridge between these performances of ‘acceptable’ western masculinity and exoticised femininity. However, Bloom’s Jewishness complicates this binary relationship due to the association between racial and sexual difference perpetuated by the turn-of-the-century sexology that frames this thesis.

Sigmund Freud opens his “Femininity” lecture by quoting four lines by Heinrich Heine on the ‘riddle’ of femininity that men continually “[knock] their heads against”:

Heads in hieroglyphic bonnets,
Heads in turbans and black birettas,
Heads in wigs and thousand other
Wretched, sweating heads of humans...⁶

Freud’s reading of Heine implicates the poem in the *fin de siècle* construction of femininity as an Orientalised, unknowable Other. The “impossibility of ‘knowing’ the truth about the ‘dark continent’ of the feminine” places the lecture in a racialised context that obscures, rather than clarifies, his proposed definition of sexual difference.⁷ Freud’s first proposal, that “when you meet a human being, the first distinction you make is ‘male or female?’”⁸, is here eclipsed by a new, more pressing distinction: “Jew or Aryan?” Sander Gilman argues that Freud attempts to avoid this question by aligning himself and Heine, as Jewish men, with his Aryan male audience, positioning the female, rather than the Jew, as the Other from which all men are alienated.⁹ However, Freud is misleading his audience; the

conflation of the female and the racial Other does not belong to Heine but to Freud, having, as Mary Ann Doane argues, ‘castrated’ the stanza.¹⁰ Before the lines Freud quotes, the poem runs, “O solve me the riddle of life / The teasingly time-old riddle,” but rather than Freud’s question, “What is Woman?” the riddle reads: “Tell me, what signifies Man? / Whence does he come? Whither does he go? / Who lives up there upon golden stars?”¹¹ Freud’s lecture dresses femininity in the visual markers of racial Otherness, but this costume, meant to reassure his Aryan audience of their similarities as men, is a transvestic masquerade that feminises the cultural symbols of the ‘dark continent’ while also aligning femaleness with racial Otherness.

As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, clothing has been an important visual indicator of both sex and class across disparate cultures and time periods. For example, in Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando*, the titular character’s ‘Turkish trousers’ are a symbol of her spontaneous sex change with political implications. Adopting a style of dress not unlike the “fashion of the time” (*O* 1) which disguises his sex on the first page, Orlando is endowed not only with the “consummate ordinary sign of *English* cross-dress” as a Knight of the Order of the Garter, but also, Marjorie Garber writes, with an androgynous Orientalism.¹² Orlando experiences both manhood and womanhood during her lifetime, as well as a sliding scale of class and cultural status. Her androgynous trousers, like her unchanged face, are carried from her life as a privileged Duke and Ambassador to her legally-contested and impoverished position as a woman. The “penalties and privileges” of this new role include adherence to a strict gender binarism determined by both culture and class, epitomised by “the coil of skirts about her legs” (*O* 96). Living among a nomadic tribe, Orlando sees how, dressed alike and undertaking the same activities, “the gipsy women... differ very little from the gipsy men” (*O* 96), but her new dress, in direct contrast

to the freedom of their Turkish trousers, poses an immediate hindrance and threat: “these skirts are plaguey things to have about one’s heels. Yet this stuff (flowered paduasoy¹³) is the loveliest in the world.... Could I, however, leap overboard and swim in clothes like these? No! Therefore I should have to trust to the protection of a blue-jacket” (*O* 97).

Moreover, Orlando sells “emeralds and pearls of the finest orient which had formed part of her Ambassadorial wardrobe” to purchase this new, impractical “outfit of such clothes as women then wore” (*O* 87, 96) because the attire deemed necessary to discharge his duties as Ambassador, despite being “worn indifferently by either sex” (*O* 86) in Constantinople, is suddenly inappropriate when Orlando re-enters English society as a lady. She is forced to expend significant wealth to buy clothing ‘deserving’ of respect and safety during her passage home, which draws attention to the unequal standards of gendered clothing as class relations in addition to cultural capital.

Orlando’s fictional Ambassadorship to the Sultan of Constantinople takes place during the reign of King Charles II, when the position was held in reality by the husband of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose published letters are one of the finest travel narratives of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ Although Lady Mary intended the letters to be published as a ‘moral text’—praising the piousness, modesty, and hospitality of Ottoman women—contemporary scholarship foregrounds Lady Mary’s intimate knowledge of their clothing and toilette due to her unrestricted access to female-only spaces such as the Turkish bathhouse, which served as the seat of a social democracy unobstructed by “any distinction of rank by their dress, all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked.”¹⁵ Similar single-sex establishments were common throughout the Near East and North Africa in Lady Mary’s time, and by the 1850s were common throughout the British Empire.¹⁶ In *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom visits “the oriental edifice of the Turkish and Warm

Baths, 11 Leinster street” (*U* 17.338-9), which Joyce (or Bloom) conflates with a different business at Lincoln Place: “the mosque of the baths. Remind you of a mosque, redbaked bricks, the minarets” (5.549-50). The Leinster Street bathhouse had no “oriental edifice,” and the mosque-like Lincoln Place bathswere closed in 1900.¹⁷ Like Lady Mary, Bloom finds public bathing to be “a predominantly feminine” experience where his penis, “a languid floating flower” (*U* 5.571-2), will be “enveloped... [by] the womb-like warmth of the water.” Teresa Breathnach writes that rather than acting as the male-coded colonial power penetrating the feminine East—the relationship typical of Orientalism—Bloom here “becomes orientalized and therefore feminized”¹⁸ in one of the first gender inversions of the novel. Like the more dramatic transformations in “Circe,” the rhetorical (re)coding of Bloom’s body as female in the bath¹⁹ is linked to stereotypical representations of the Orient as a monolith spanning North Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Eastern Europe.

Throughout “Circe,” Bloom and his family are cast in a series of ‘oriental’ roles that exaggerate cultural similarities between Judaism and Islam through cliché costumes and sets. Gerty’s attraction to Bloom in “Nausicaa” is also based on his appearance as a “foreign gentleman,” contrasting her demure poses as the epitome of “winsome Irish girlhood” (*U* 13.1302, 81), and in “Cyclops,” the episode preoccupied with policing masculinity and Irishness, Bloom is targeted for his Otherness on both fronts. Bloom’s complex relationship with his Hungarian-Jewish heritage leads not only to alienation from other Irish men, but from manhood itself and from the male gaze as an instrument of power. Though Bloom exerts his male gaze in “Sirens,”²⁰ it is the male I/eye of the Nameless One which acts as judge, jury, and executioner in “Cyclops,” and in “Nausicaa” Bloom’s gaze is inverted when the sexualised object, Gerty, gazes back. Caught in the gazes of these two traditionally ‘Irish’ gender representations, Bloom’s position as the

Other casts him in the role of the feminised Orient—the penetrable East, where men and women, dressed alike in ‘Turkish trousers,’ are simultaneously unsexed and oversexualised by the colonial gaze.²¹

4.1. Turkish Trousers

Prior to 1900, the bodies of ‘respectable’ Englishwomen were regularly confined by rigid foundation garments that provided both modesty and a ‘feminine’ shape. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Thorstein Veblen writes that turn-of-the-century women’s clothing ensured “the wearer’s abstinence from productive employment,” listing heels, skirts, bonnets, and particularly corsets as objects that “hamper the wearer at every turn and incapacitate her for all useful exertion.”²² Serving primarily as displays of wealth, impractical garments are desirable on a mate because they act as status symbols attached to binary gender roles; in Lacan’s language of sexual display, the corseted female body is an object of masculine ‘parade,’ rather than the subjective feminine ‘masquerade’. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s comparisons between the clothing of English and Turkish aristocracy expose the performativity of these status symbols by attaching social implications to specific garments. The reveal of her stays to the bathing is an infamous example: “I was at last forced to open my skirt and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well, for... they believed I was so locked up in that machine that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband.”²³ In 1741, Lady Mary allegedly repeated this episode with the addition that her host assumed that “the Husbands in England were much worse than in the East; for that they [tied] up their Wives in little Boxes, of the shape of their bodies.”²⁴ Although presented as an amusing anecdote illustrating the locals’ *naïveté*, her account lends credence to her host’s expectations regarding power disparity in

English marriages. Lady Mary expresses how, though she would have liked to spend more time with the ladies and return to the baths, her husband “[resolved] to pursue his journey next morning early” and obliged her to abridge her tourism in spite of her protests.²⁵ Like Orlando’s realisation that she would not be able to swim in women’s clothing, or Molly Bloom’s similar assertion that “all stayed up you cant do a blessed thing” (*U* 18.629),²⁶ Lady Mary presents herself as unable to fully participate or enjoy herself at the baths due to her stays and the will of her husband, which are repeatedly, if unintentionally, linked in her letters as obstacles of freedom.

The representation of Lady Mary’s undergarments as instruments of patriarchy inverts the common depiction of Turkish women as oppressed objects of the male gaze by juxtaposing their naked bodies freely enjoying the female-only bathhouse “in different postures, some in conversation, others drinking coffee or sherbet... negligently lying on their cushions” with Lady Mary in her stiff “travelling habit,” looking on jealously.²⁷ A common theme in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel literature about ‘the Orient’ is the oppression of women and the comparative freedom of their European counterparts. For example, Jean de Thevenot claimed in 1687 that “the Turks do not believe that Women go to Heaven... [and thus] take them only for their service as they would a Horse,”²⁸ and Jean Dumont described in 1696 how there “is no Slavery equal to that of the Turkish Women” and “the Door of the Womens Apartment [Harem] is the utmost limit of [their] Liberty.”²⁹ Such accounts also reported the lascivious treatment of women in harems, despite having no access to them; their sensationalism undoubtedly contributed to the persistent Orientalism that characterised Anglo-Ottoman fetishisation for centuries. Lady Mary’s letters, however, reverse these misconceptions by describing Turkish women’s modest clothing as freeing, rather than oppressive:

no woman... being permitted to go in the streets without two muslins, one that covers her face all but her eyes, and another that hides the whole dress of her head, and hangs halfway down her back; and their shapes are so wholly concealed by a thing they call a *ferigée*... You may guess how effectually this disguises them, that there is no distinguishing the great lady from her slave, and 'tis impossible for the most jealous husband to know his wife when he meets her, and no man dare either touch or follow a woman in the street.³⁰

The veil, traditionally viewed as a symbol of female subjugation, is given new power by Lady Mary. She speculates that the freedom of movement afforded by the “perpetual masquerade”³¹ of the veil makes it easy to move undetected, avoid harassment and assault, and even take extramarital lovers should one choose, due to the ‘liberation’ of anonymity.³² She links this theoretical ability to take lovers to Turkish men’s respectable treatment of their wives, noting that not only were Turkish women allowed to own property in the Islamic world, but they had separate finances to take with them in the event of a divorce, including a mandatory payment from their husband.³³ For these reasons, Lady Mary “look[ed] upon the Turkish women as the only free people in the Empire.”³⁴

Although running contrary to the myth of ‘the Orient,’ Lady Mary’s account makes similarly inaccurate assumptions about the treatment of women and projects the same trope of ‘untameable’ female sexuality onto their bodies as her predecessors. Her letters also frequently edge into the realm of homoerotic fantasy, in which women are not only free to pursue male lovers but to seek pleasures among themselves. Woolf wrote that she was “probably to write about Ly. May Montagu” for this very reason,³⁵ but no such project came about unless one counts *Orlando*.³⁶ Alison Winch argues that “Montagu’s sexuality, her manipulation of language, and her veiled inscription of a Turkish space where her transgressive sexuality is explored” could not be limited to the scholarly pretenses of *A Room of One’s Own*, and that Woolf instead rearticulates the Lady Mary’s queer

Orientalism in *Orlando* to demonstrate “that which has been suppressed and silenced in order to produce heterosexual masculinity as a normalised and naturalised category: in other words, the construction of gender as performance and the cultural production of sex.”³⁷ By depicting female power, independence, and homoeroticism, both *Orlando* and *The Turkish Embassy Letters* complicate the relationship between sexuality and Orientalism, which associates the East with passivity and women in sexual slavery to men. Joyce’s Orientalist vision, on the other hand, is constructed of sets, costumes, and trinkets that lean into these stereotypes, aligning the East “with secretness, with fertility, with luxuriant and seemingly unbounded sexuality, [and] with deep, generative energies”³⁸ that Carol Shloss has argued marks ‘the Orient’ as less of a ‘place’ than a set of references³⁹ from which Bloom fetishises “strange customs” (*U* 5.294) and the Otherness of women.

At the turn of the century, new translations of *A Thousand and One Nights* rekindled European fascination with the Orient by creating, to quote Peter Wollen, “a licentious narrative, with almost no trace of moralism (or even Islam), but full of tales of deviant, transgressive, and bizarre sexuality.”⁴⁰ Alev Lytle Croutier writes that during the first three decades of the twentieth century, “innumerable women were dressing themselves as favorites of the harem, still imagining that in the East women lived exquisite lives of sensual abandon.”⁴¹ Croutier quotes courtesan Liane de Pougy describing Parisian ladies looking “as though they were acting in a fairy tale: Scheherazad, Salome, Salammbo—Oriental ladies from rich harems—sumptuous pajamas, brilliantly-colored and glittering” and a Duchess of Westminster criticising Englishwomen acting “as if they were odalisques trying to fascinate a Pasha, instead of respectable matrons tied to British gentleman whose minds were entirely fixed on guns, dogs and birds.”⁴² Edwardian popular culture was

saturated with these romanticised images of the East; Sergei Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*, for example, entranced Parisian audiences with extravagant productions of *Cléopâtre*, *Schéhérazade*, *Les Orientales*, and *La Tragédie de Salomé*, influencing everything from interior design—Oriental rugs, lush tapestries, heaps of cushions, and hand-painted wallpaper became the *décor du jour*—to perfumes with names like 'Aladdin,' 'Nuit de Chine,' and even 'Minaret' after the Muslim call to prayer,

developed by couturier-cum-

parfumeur Paul Poiret.⁴³ Poiret, in a stroke of marketing genius, capitalised on Parisian Orientalism by creating a line of fragrances and fashions inspired by Léon Bakst's oriental costumes (Figure 14) to build upon his signature uncorseted style.⁴⁴ In 1911, he hosted an *Arabian Nights*-themed soirée, "*La mille et deuxième nuit*," to unveil his designs to three hundred attendees. While Poiret styled himself as the evening's "sultan of fashion," it was his wife, Denise, modeling one of Poiret's *jupe-cullotte* designs, who stole the show when



Figure 14 Costume sketch of "The Blue Sultana," by Russian painter Léon Bakst (Leyb-Khaim Izrailevich Rosenberg) for Diaghilev's *Schéhérazade*. Published in *L'Illustration* n° 4422, 3 December 1927. Watercolour, pencil, and gold ink on paper, 1910

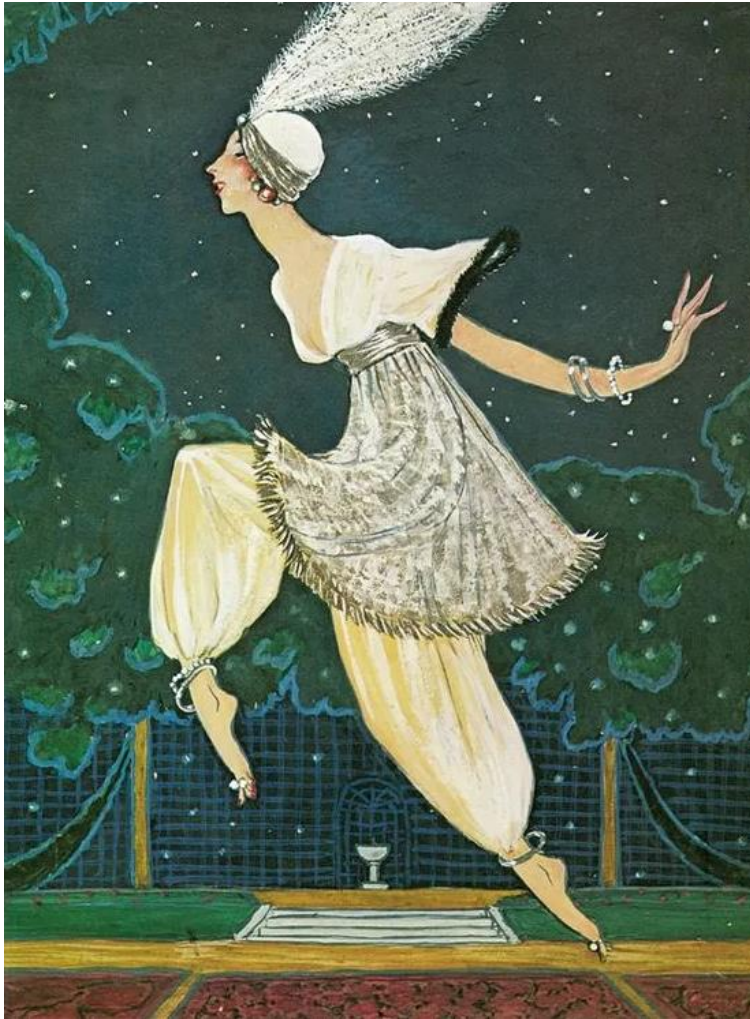


Figure 15 Painting by Georges Lepape, “Denise Poiret at the ‘Thousand and Second Night’ Party,” gouache on paper, 1911

released from a golden cage and chased around the gardens with a whip (Figure 15).⁴⁵ The loose-fitting trousers designed by Poiret were technically in contempt of the law; women were barred in France from wearing trousers without explicit consent from the police between 1799 and 2013, when the Revolution-era decree was officially overturned.⁴⁶ *Haute couture orientale* was extended leniency from this prohibition

because it was worn by upper-class women as leisurewear; in essence, the provocation caused by harem pants was considered subtle enough to be allowable because they were advertised as ‘pyjamas’ and associated with art, theatrical costumes, and fancy-dress parties like Poiret’s ‘Thousand and Second Night’.⁴⁷

Politically, the revitalised Orientalism which inspired Diaghilev, Bakst, and Poiret coincided with the Balkan Wars, which brought Ottoman rule of the Balkans to an end but also set the stage for the July Crisis and the First World War.⁴⁸ European fascination with a disappearing cultural ‘Other’ leading up to the war resulted in Orientalism’s association with various classes of ‘undesirables’: suffragettes, New Women, Jews, artists, dandies,

homosexuals, and particularly ‘transvestites,’ to borrow Hirschfeld’s terminology.⁴⁹ Disavowing both the frivolity of the prewar decorative arts movement and the state-sanctioned cultural capital of the ruling classes,⁵⁰ modernist artists reimagined their roots in ways that expunged these connotations. Wollen writes that modernism “identified its own mythic moment of origin principally with cubism and Picasso” in a “process of purification” that erased the oriental elements associated with Poiret, Bakst, and Matisse, though they “were much more widely known than Picasso or the cubists” in the years 1910-1914 and their influence on prewar modernist art and literature was far greater.⁵¹ When writing “Araby” for *Dubliners* in 1905, Joyce exploited the symbolic resonances of romanticised Edwardian images of the Orient as a shorthand for the gendered colonial gaze that initiates the boy narrator into his disappointing epiphany. By 1914 when he began writing *Ulysses*, and certainly by 1920 when he was writing “Circe” in Paris, the Orient had become, for Joyce, the pivotal locus of cultural, economic, and gender difference in the context of Irish and Parisian modernism. R. Brandon Kershner has described Joyce’s *Ulysses* as “a compendium of Orientalist clichés” with more allusions to *A Thousand and One Nights* than the *Odyssey*, the novel being “complicit with the tradition” of early modernism’s staging of Orientalism as an “intertextual event.”⁵² Kershner is not exaggerating; Orientalism is ubiquitous across Joyce’s *oeuvre*, as has been demonstrated by Kershner, Shloss, and Zack Bowen, among others.⁵³ Rather than repeat their arguments, I will here offer a brief summation as context for how Joyce uses oriental costumes to cross gender boundaries.

In “Proteus,” Stephen recalls encountering Caliph Haroun al-Raschid in his dream: “Street of harlots. Remember. Haroun al Raschid... That man led me, spoke. I was not afraid. The melon he had he held against my face. Smiled: creamfruit smell” (*U* 3.366-8).

Stephen's dream, like his poem foreshadowing Molly's period,⁵⁴ is prophetic. The melon offered to Stephen is Molly and the "plump mellow yellow smellow melons of her rump" (17.2241) that Bloom kisses in "Ithaca." Bloom appears in the costume of al-Rashid in "Circe" when he crosses paths with Stephen in a 'street of harlots,' Monto: "*Bloom, parting them swiftly, draws his caliph's hood and poncho and hurries down the steps... Incog Haroun al Raschid*" (15.4323-5). Like Stephen, Bloom dreams of a mythologised East full of sensual experiences and temptations; in "Calypso," his daydream transforms Dublin into Gibraltar-cum-Baghdad:

Somewhere in the east: ...strange land, come to a city gate, sentry there, old ranker too, old Tweedy's big moustaches, leaning on a long kind of a spear. Wander through awned streets. Turbaned faces going by. Dark caves of carpet shops, big man, Turko the terrible, seated crosslegged, smoking a coiled pipe. Cries of sellers in the streets... The shadows of the mosques among the pillars: priest with a scroll rolled up. A shiver of the trees, signal, the evening wind. I pass on. Fading gold sky. A mother...calls her children home in their dark language. High wall: beyond strings twanged. Night sky, moon, violet, colour of Molly's new garters. Strings. Listen. A girl playing one of those instruments what do you call them: dulcimers. I pass. (*U* 4.84-98)

Although Bloom recognises that his Orientalism is based on a collection of clichés and reality is "probably not a bit like... the kind of stuff you read" (4.99), his impression of the East nevertheless shaped by fiction like Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" as well as 'nonfiction' travelogues created by and for an audience complicit with or sympathetic to the colonial project, including *In the Track of the Sun*.⁵⁵ Bloom borrows the soundscape of Coleridge's poem, a "damsel with a dulcimer"⁵⁶ appearing at just the right moment to distract him from thoughts of his wife's provocative underclothes and who will be seeing them that afternoon.⁵⁷

Jennifer Wicke argues that Molly's garters, worn specifically for her appointment with Boylan, do a lot of heavy lifting for the novel's thematic and political underpinnings: "they help to attach the materiality of Gibraltar to the thigh of Dublin, as it were, hoisting the multiple layers of history and colonial space aloft on consumer fasteners of erotica."⁵⁸ The slide of Bloom's imagination from Ireland to Orient, from Boland's breadvan to "Kubla Khan," depends upon the elasticity of Molly's distant origins and untamed sexuality as the "Queen... in her bedroom eating bread... [with] court cards laid along her thigh by sevens. Dark lady and fair man" (*U* 5.154-6).⁵⁹ Although Bloom fantasises about subjecting Molly to a libidinal economy in which she can be traded to Stephen like imported goods, she wields the power of her sexuality by seeking Bloom's opposite, the "fair" Boylan, to fulfill her needs. Shloss writes that "Molly's equanimity about taking a lover is something no Islamic woman... could have experienced" under the actual laws and customs of the Muslim world.⁶⁰ However, while the Blooms' relationship inverts the power dynamics of traditional Islamic marriage conventions, it adheres to the fashionable but ahistorical Orientalism described above. Eastern women caught in the colonial gaze are contradictory figures, chaste and submissive while simultaneously exuding dangerous sexuality. Like Lady Mary Montagu's proposal of veiled women taking lovers under the protection of anonymity, Bloom's deference to his wife can be read as a response to his fear that he alone is not enough to satisfy her dangerous exotic sexuality and it is she who 'wears the pants' in their relationship.

Accordingly, Joyce's Orientalism can be seen in Molly's recurring appearances wearing Bakst- or Poiret-like 'Arabian' costumes, at moments of sexual tension or gender confusion. In "Oxen of the Sun," she is "Mrs Moll with red slippers on in a pair of Turkey trunks" (*U* 14.508-9), in "Nausicaa," Bloom recalls dreaming of his wife with "red slippers

on. Turkish. Wore the breeches” (13.1240-41), and in “Circe,” her entrance is part of a fantasy that portrays and inverts the distinct power structures of Orientalist stereotypes:

(He looks up. Beside her mirage of datepalms a handsome woman in Turkish costume stands before him. Opulent curves fill out her scarlet trousers and jacket, slashed with gold. A wide yellow cummerbund girdles her. A white yashmak, violet in the night, covers her face, leaving free only her large dark eyes and raven hair.)

BLOOM

Molly!

MARION

Welly? Mrs Marion from this out, my dear man, when you speak to me. *(Satirically.)* Has poor little hubby cold feet waiting so long?

BLOOM

(Shifts from foot to foot.) No, no. Not the least little bit.

(He breathes in deep agitation... spellbound. A coin gleams on her forehead. On her feet are jewelled toerings. Her ankles are linked by a slender fetterchain. Beside her a camel, hooded with a turreting turban, waits. A silk ladder of innumerable rungs climbs to his bobbing howdah. He ambles near with disgruntled hindquarters. Fiercely she slaps his haunch, her goldcurb wristbangles angriling, scolding him in Moorish.) (15.297-17)

Edward Said writes that “[everything] about the Orient... exuded dangerous sex, threatened hygiene and domestic seemliness.”⁶¹ Molly’s Turkish costume is certainly no exception, evoking and enacting Bloom’s desires—particularly his masochism—while subverting matrimonial expectations. The slapping of Molly’s camel foreshadows both Bloom’s masochistic desire to be spanked (and his dehumanisation at the hands of Bello) and her own disgruntlement over Boylan treating her the same way: “one thing I didnt like his slapping me behind... Im not a horse or an ass” (*U* 18.122-23). In her relationship with Boylan, Molly is subjected to sexual violence and dehumanisation in part due to the imbalance of power in their affair as the “Dark lady and fair man” (5.154-6). She, the penetrable East, is colonised by the European phallus. In this scene in “Circe,” however,

those roles are reversed as she dons a costume suggestive not only of great wealth, but of royalty and political power. Enter stage left: Molly, Queen of Sheba.

Molly's Turkish costume reverberates with echoes of Orientalist art, fashion, film, and literature, and particularly invokes Joyce's French influences, including that of Gustave Flaubert.⁶² In June 1922, Ezra Pound wrote that Joyce had "swallowed the Tentation de St Antoine whole."⁶³ Beyond the obviously similar formal features of both novels,⁶⁴ Scarlett Baron has noted parallels between Molly Bloom and Flaubert's Queen of Sheba, whose stylisation bears striking resemblance to Molly's oriental ensemble. Both are corseted in yellow, veiled, bejewelled, and wear "a multitude of rings, though in moving from one text to the other these have migrated from the Queen's fingers... to Molly's toes."⁶⁵ Baron also likens the chain connecting Molly's ankles to the Queen's body chain: "A flat golden chain passing under her chin runs along her cheeks... grazes past her shoulder and cliches over her chest onto a diamond scorpion, which sticks out its tongue between her breasts."⁶⁶ In *La Tentation*, the Queen of Sheba descends from a howdah atop a white elephant; Molly instead is accompanied by a howdah-wearing camel. One may intuit an alternate, complementary source material, such as André Dumas's "*Figures d'Orient*," for the camel, though Flaubert is a more firmly established source for Joyce's Orientalism.

In Dumas's poem, the Queen arrives on a camel adorned with gold and jewels: "*Là, surgit, précédant toute une immense escorte, / Le chameau, chargé d'ors et de joyaux, qui porte / La Reine de Saba.*"⁶⁷ Coincidentally, this stanza follows that of Circe awaiting Odysseus, wearing a silk veil not unlike the "white yashmak, violet in the night," that covers Molly's face: "*dans la nuit bleue, où, sur l'eau calme, glisse / La galère amenant les compagnons d'Ulysse, / Circé rêve... sa cœur a tressailli sous les voiles de soie.*"⁶⁸ Molly asking Bloom if his heart is trembling, "*Ti trema un poco il cuore?*" (U 15.351), is an

allusion to *Don Giovanni*,⁶⁹ but could also echo Circe's "cœur a tressailli." Vincent Deane has identified issues of *L'Illustration*, the newspaper in which the poem appears accompanied by Edmund Dulac's watercolours (Figure 16), as a source for notes Joyce made for *Finnegans Wake* while living in Paris, including "cinégraphist" and "leitmotif... décor idéal" (*JJA* 31:099-100).⁷⁰ While this demonstrates that Joyce read *L'Illustration* in

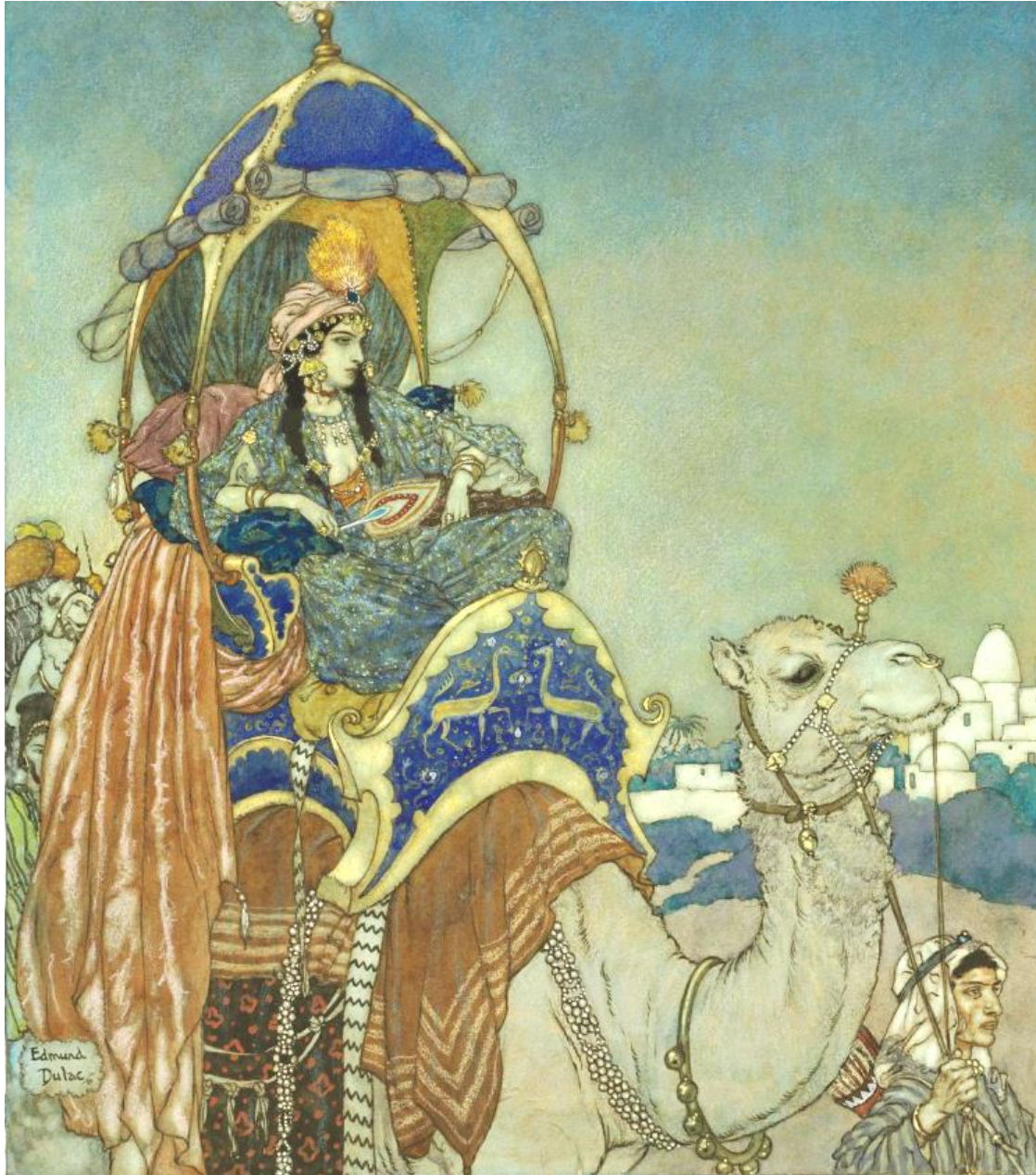


Figure 16 Illustration by Edmund Dulac, "The Journey of the Queen of Sheba," published in *L'Illustration* n° de Noël, 1911, to accompany André Dumas's poem, "Figures d'Orient." Dulac also painted Circe, Salome, and Scheherazade as part of this series. Pen, brown ink, watercolour, and gouache on paper, 1911

1922, there's no surviving evidence that he read the 1911 *numéro de Noël* in which Dumas and Dulac's collaboration appears. However, as tempting as it is to imagine the poem as a previously undiscovered source, even if Joyce was unfamiliar, the image of the Queen of Sheba and Circe as "*Reines d'Enchantement... fleurs vénéneuses, venues / D'un Orient magique aux Cités inconnues / Où la légende avec l'Histoire se confond*"⁷¹ complements the themes and imagery of "Circe." In Joyce's "Circe" notesheets, "Camel man under carpet disgruntled hindquarters" can be found alongside "Circe's Teiresias, her tipster," "Ostrich monocle barelegged," "elephant bagslops," and "flamingo stilts" (*JJA* 12:057).⁷² This menagerie of exotic species was collated from unknown sources. Another grouping of notes provides more of the episode's Orientalist spirit: "arabesque," "mosaic," "anklets," "goatskin," "kohol," and "coin on brow" (*JJA* 12:045).⁷³ Whether borrowing from Dumas or any number of other texts (Orientalism in the interwar years being abundant), it is clear that Joyce does not simply reproduce a single image of the Queen of Sheba from Flaubert, but rather overlaps multiple sources to compose Molly's costume. With decades of assiduous scholarship on Joyce's note-taking available, I will dispense with a general account of his compositional methods. I only note here that, like most of the images that appear in the episode (or reappear, "Circe" being "an interpretive staging ground" for "Wagnerian *leitmotif*," a recapitulation of earlier events in the novel⁷⁴), Molly's Queen of Sheba is comprised of extensive, overlapping intertextual connections that resists straightforward interpretation, both genetically and thematically.

The Queen of Sheba makes two brief earlier appearances which add to the mythos of Molly's costume. In "Cyclops," she appears among the list of "Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity," which also includes "Cleopatra," "Muhammad," "Brian Confucius," and the Buddha (*U* 12.176-198). Historian Joseph Lennon writes that in 1685, Roderic O'Flaherty

“[built] upon earlier pseudohistories of Ireland” to assert “a new, ancient name for Ireland—Ogygia” and thus establish the Phoenician hypothesis.⁷⁵ This hypothesis, popular among some Celtic Revivalists, posits Irish-oriental heritage, turning Calypso’s island, Ogygia, into Ireland, and thus Odysseus, marooned on the Emerald Isle for twenty years by Homer (believed by some to be Phoenician), into an honorary Irishman.⁷⁶ Joyce endorsed the Phoenician hypothesis in a 1907 lecture, in which he alleged the Irish language “is eastern [*orientale*] in origin... identified by many philologists⁷⁷ with the ancient language of the Phoenicians” and that the first mention of Ireland in non-Irish literature is from “a Greek poem of the fifth century before Christ, where the historian repeats the Phoenician tradition” (*OCPW* 110). By turning the Queen of Sheba into an Irish heroine, Joyce unites Ireland and the Orient in their Otherness and untethers both from the authority of British colonial rule and the Catholic Church. The Queen’s other appearance, in “Scylla and Charybdis,” is used primarily to illustrate the xenophobia inherent in the British colonial project but is also linked to the blurring of gender lines through cross-dressing.

Having seen Bloom acting “Greeker than the Greeks” (*U* 9.614-15) at the National Museum, Buck Mulligan’s crude suggestion of homosexuality inspires Stephen to proselytise on Greece, Shakespeare, imperialism, Judaism, wealth, and cross-dressing:

Antisthenes, pupil of Gorgias, Stephen said, took the palm of beauty from Kyrios Menelaus’ brooddam, Argive Helen, the wooden mare of Troy in whom a score of heroes slept, and handed it to poor Penelope. Twenty years [Shakespeare] lived in London and... drew a salary equal to that of the lord chancellor of Ireland. His life was rich. His art, more than the art of feudalism as Walt Whitman called it, is the art of surfeit... Sir Walter Raleigh, when they arrested him, had half a million francs on his back including a pair of fancy stays. The gombeenwoman Eliza Tudor had underlined enough to vie with her of Sheba. (*U* 9.621-31)

Amy Feinstein argues that Stephen’s indictment of Queen Elizabeth I as a “gombeen,” or usurer, references her family’s Irish land holdings and stresses “the anti-British origins of a

term his contemporaries may perceive to be anti-Semitic.” British imperialism, relying on anti-Semitism and shared contempt for the Other, thus “led Irish to resent Jews and moneylenders because of the misdeeds of British royalty and Anglo-Irish landholders.”⁷⁸ The Queen of Sheba, as an ‘Irish heroine,’ undermines British imperialism by uniting Ireland and the Orient as Other and victims of colonialism—and, by extension, of western fashion. Amongst Joyce’s notes on Shakespeare for this section of “Scylla” is a curious item, “Walter Raleigh [sic] wore corsets.”⁷⁹ The accusation of cross-dressing is reinvested in Sir Walter Raleigh’s wealth and status, having “half a million francs on his back including a pair of fancy stays” (*U* 9.629) when he was arrested for plotting against Queen Elizabeth I’s successor, notoriously queer King James I.⁸⁰ Although the Queen of Sheba is tangential here, Stephen’s argument correlates wealth and status in a colonial context with corsets, a foundation garment which both constricts and supports. One might imagine the Queen of Sheba, Helen, and Penelope (mirror images of Molly Bloom) uncorseted, in togas or harem pants, figures of resistance, freedom, temptation, and—as is often the case in *Ulysses*—of cuckoldry.⁸¹

Molly’s appearance here is not, however, a straightforward inversion of gender roles. Though Bloom is “*spellbound*” by her (*U* 15.312), Molly’s power in this scene is distinctly restrained. Baron notes that the “*fetterchain*” linking Molly’s ankles (15.313) conjures not the Queen of Sheba, but Princess Salammbô: “Between her ankles she wore a golden chain to control her pace.”⁸² Flaubert’s novel *Salammbô* positions ankle chains as “a visible testimony...[of] chastity,” and, when the princess’s chain is broken (“Mâtho seized her heels, the golden chain snapped”), the reader is left to “infer what the narrator merely suggests,” writes Baron.⁸³ It is worth noting that Joyce adopted a phrase from *Salammbô*, “*le manteau de Tanit*,” as a metaphor for women’s underwear. In Flaubert’s novel, this

article is a symbol of power and desire that proves fatal to whomsoever touches it. Mireille Dobrzynski argues that the envelopment of Salammbô in the sacred veil acts like a chrysalis on the young virgin as she discovers her sexuality, giving the veil the erotic dimension of both obscuring and revealing sexual desire.⁸⁴ Paul Léon wrote to Frank Budgen on behalf of Joyce:

As regards the Nausicaa chapter you will receive a ponderous volume of some six hundred large pages on the history of what [Joyce] chooses to call 'Le Manteau de Tanit.' He believes that this subject should be treated by you with IMMENSE seriousness, respect, circumspection, historical sense, critical acumen, documentary accuracy, citational erudition and sweet reasonableness. (*LIII* 280)

Although this volume has not been identified, a book by Adrian Beverland on 'draped virginity' and the clothing of Roman prostitutes was part of Joyce's library in Paris.⁸⁵ Léon's letter reveals a missing link between Joyce's well-documented interest in female undergarments, his Orientalism, and the "connection between women's underclothing and their assumption of male responsibilities," to quote Richard Brown.⁸⁶ Brown argues that in the 1920s, Joyce would have been surrounded by rhetoric implicating the "masculinization of women's clothing" in the "change in the power relationships between the sexes."⁸⁷ Such contemporary views can be seen as underpinning the contested boundaries of politicised gender relations explored in "Nausicaa" and "Circe," as well as the contrast between the "Greekly perfect" (*U* 13.89) Gerty MacDowell and Molly, the veiled, exotic *gibraltareña*.

Seductive and enchanting though Molly in Turkish costume may be, her movement is restricted and her sexuality policed the same as if she were wearing petticoats and stays. In fact, an echo of her regular clothes can be found in Bloom's earlier oriental vision; her "white yashmak, violet in the night" recalls the "Night sky, moon, violet, colour of Molly's new garters" (*U* 15.300, 4.96-7). The white veil, a symbol of purity and modesty, is turned

violet, the colour of undergarments worn to impress her lover.⁸⁸ Molly's self-contradictory role of both powerful Queen and fettered odalisque dramatises Bloom's anxiety over her rendezvous and the worst-case-scenario that may result—an illegitimate pregnancy:

BLOOM

I can give you... I mean as your business menagerer.. Mrs Marion..... if you....

MARION

So you notice some change? (*her hands passing slowly over her trinketed stomacher, a slow friendly mockery in her eyes*) O Poldy, Poldy, you are a poor old stick in the mud! Go and see life. See the wide world. (*U* 15.324-30)

The image of the fettered pregnant woman is repeated later when Mina Purefoy is sacrificed during the “camp mass” recapitulation of Buck Mulligan’s black mass from the novel’s opening lines: “*On the altarstone Mrs Mina Purefoy, goddess of unreason, lies, naked, fettered, a chalice resting on her swollen belly*” (15.4691-3).⁸⁹ Because Molly taunts and diminutises “Poldy” while he calls her “Mrs Marion” it appears she is ‘wearing the pants,’ both metaphorically (as a representation of gender roles) and literally, in “*scarlet trousers*” (15.299). However, her power over Bloom, like her ‘pregnancy,’ is make-believe. Molly may be acting out Bloom’s fantasy of female domination, but in the fetish of masochism, the masochist is really the one in control. For example, in “Nausicaa,” Bloom wonders, “Would I like her in pyjamas?” remembering last night’s dream of Molly with “red slippers on. Turkish. Wore the breeches” (13.1240-42). Virag repeats the question in “Circe” with more emphasis on cross-dressing: “have you made up your mind whether you like or dislike women in male habiliments?” (15.2398-9). The double bind of Orientalism obscures the meaning of the question. Rather than just attraction to the sight of women in trousers, there is clearly a symbolic or metaphorical significance underlying the image. On one hand, Bloom might be asking himself if he would like Molly to take a more dominant

role in their sex life. On the other hand, because the role of women in Turkey is more precarious than Lady Mary Montagu imagined, and the ‘freedom’ of harem pants is an illusion—part of Bloom’s tantalising “*mirage*” (15.297)—the opposite may be implied. If, like Joyce asking Nora “to go with other men so that he will have something to write about,”⁹⁰ Bloom gives his consent for Molly’s adultery because it satisfies his masochism, then the gender roles have not been reversed at all and he retains control of her sexuality.

During the late Victorian period and entering the Edwardian, ‘Turkish trousers’ offered women “both modest concealment and ease of movement” while suggesting “the aura of sexual fantasy in a male-centred culture,” according to Garber.⁹¹ Simultaneously ‘liberating’ (at least physically, for ease of movement) and alluring, harem pants occupy a unique position related to women’s rights, coming into and falling out of fashion several times at pivotal moments in feminist history. In the eighteenth century, Lady Mary Montagu was emboldened by her perception of Turkish women’s freedom and emulated her hosts by dressing in an elaborate “Turkish habit,” the components of which she translated into westernised sartorial terms:

The first piece of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, they reach my shoes, and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats... Over this hangs my smock of a fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery... The *antery* is a waistcoat made close to the shape, of white and gold damask, with very long sleeves falling back and fringed with deep gold... My *caftan*, of the same stuff with my drawers, is a robe exactly fitted to my shape and reaching to my feet...⁹²

Lady Mary’s delight over her billowy “drawers” is an example of the cyclical trend of women donning Turkish trousers as an alternative to impractical layers of petticoats. Orlando’s experimentation with unisex clothing among the ‘gipsies’ in Woolf’s novel anticipates—or rather, articulates—the role that they would come to play in women’s liberation. In the 1850s, Turkish trousers enjoyed a brief vogue when American newspaper

editor and temperance advocate Amelia Bloomer lent her name to the ‘bloomer costume,’ loose pantaloons worn under a skirt in lieu of petticoats, which was embraced in 1851 by dress reformers, including Susan B. Anthony.⁹³ Due to their association with the Middle East and the oppression of women in that region, bloomers quickly fell out of fashion again until the 1890s, when the bicycle craze caused a revival in the style as modest female athleticwear. Annie Londonderry, the first woman to cycle around the world, famously donned bloomers for her expedition in 1894, by which time their association with ‘the Orient’ had become less prominent.⁹⁴

Would someone like Molly Bloom wear Turkish trousers outside of her husband’s fantasy? Molly is very concerned about being able to compete with the “little chits of missies they have now singing,” because as a female performer, “as soon as youre old they might as well throw you out in the bottom of the ashpit” (*U* 18.375-6, 746-7). Her anxiety over her diminishing relevance in a competitive industry that relies on sex appeal is expressed through jealousy over Milly’s prospects: “shes in great demand to pick what they can out of her... riding Harry Devans bicycle at night” (18.1025-7). Molly, at thirty-three, has supposedly aged out of the target market for both bicycles and athleticwear. She is a woman who “hates women,”⁹⁵ and is judgemental of female cyclists, their clothing, and their association with New Women, recalling with ire an “old Bishop that spoke off the altar his long preach about womans higher functions about girls now riding the bicycle and wearing peak caps and the new woman bloomers... I suppose theyre called after him I never thought that would be my name” (*U* 18.837-41). The association between Bloom and bloomers is an ironic callback to his underwear fetish, which Molly also connects to bicycles: “hes mad on the subject of drawers thats plain to be seen always skeezing at those brazenfaced things on the bicycles with their skirts blowing up to their navels” (18.289-91).

Wicke has argued that “feminine self-determination” arises from “the nets of fashion and advertisement”⁹⁶ in *Ulysses*; putting down other women to feel attractive, Molly markets herself as a product and projects her desire for desirability onto the images she sees in Bloom’s pornographic collection: “he said I could pose for a picture naked to some rich fellow... would I be like that bath of the nymph with my hair down yes only shes younger or Im a little like that dirty bitch in that Spanish photo he has” (*U* 18.560-64). She regrets the photo Bloom showed Stephen because she “ought to have got it taken in drapery that never looks out of fashion” (18.1303-4); in short, Molly would pose wearing anything or nothing if it advanced her career, but the image she *wants* to project is a timeless Grecian (i.e., western) ‘draped’ femininity rather than exoticism or modern trendiness. Bloomers would not be part of that self-constructed image unless mediated through the gaze of the consumer, be that Bloom or, as I argue elsewhere, Joyce himself.

4.2. Buyer Beware: Manly Men and Womanly Women

Molly’s Turkish costume, constructed of stereotypes written by and for a western male audience, is an instrument of imperialism and patriarchy that reinforces her Otherness and positions her as a product for consumption. As Shloss has argued, Joyce’s Orientalism frequently participates in “the British project of unveiling the veiled and of trespassing with the eyes,”⁹⁷ commodifying the Orientalised body in the twin markets of the colonial and male gazes. Although Shloss writes of Bloom’s erotic postcards, costumes in “Circe” similarly act as ‘packaging’ or ‘branding’ in an economy of sexual exchange. Bloom reproduces the fantasy of his Orientalised wife through the prostitutes by incorporating them into her “*mirage*.” Alluding to Thomas Moore’s *Lalla Rookh*,⁹⁸ he calls Zoe a “dear gazelle,” only for her to leap into the backdrop: “*Gazelles are leaping, feeding on the*

mountains... It burns, the orient, a sky of sapphire, cleft by the bronze fight of eagles.

Under it lies the womancity, nude, white, still, cool, in luxury" (U 15.1324-8). Zoe, her eyes "ringed with kohol," morphs into Jerusalem as "*oriental music is played*" and she sings along with "*odalisk lips,*" but the spell is broken when she identifies herself as "English" (15.1318-19, 1332). Virag subsequently appears to Bloom to judge the suitability of the prostitutes by their attire and has reservations about Zoe because "she is not wearing those rather intimate garments of which [Bloom is] a particular devotee" (15.2314-16). He encourages Bloom to select a woman who better suits his predilections: "Number two on the other hand, she... [is] tightly stayed... I always understood that... glimpses of lingerie appealed to you" (15.2320-24). The language of consumption and imperialism become inseparable as Virag's assessment ends with a call to choose a prostitute and "Columble her" (15.2342), but Bloom's thoughts, mediated as they are through the Virag apparition, return to Molly's Turkish trousers: "Pyjamas, let us say? Or stockingette gusseted knickers, closed?" (15.2402-3). Compared to a prostitute whose slip contains the "*lion reek of all the male brutes that have possessed her*" (15.2017), the "mirage" of Molly, bejewelled, barefoot, and possibly pregnant, with "*Opulent curves [that] fill out her scarlet trousers*" (15.297), is simply too enticing to forget.

Bloom wonders if Molly might look good in bloomers, since she "has something to put in them" (U 13.1244), however, her Turkish outfit in "Nausicaa" is brought to mind by an ad copy that implies its target audience is unattractive or dowdy: "Ladies' grey flannelette bloomers, three shillings a pair, astonishing bargain. Plain and loved, loved for ever, they say.⁹⁹ Ugly: no woman thinks she is" (13.1235-7). In "Cyclops," advertising and tabloid journalism work in tandem to suggest a link between bloomers, infidelity, and the emasculation of the wearer's husband. The men at Barney Kiernan's "giggle over the

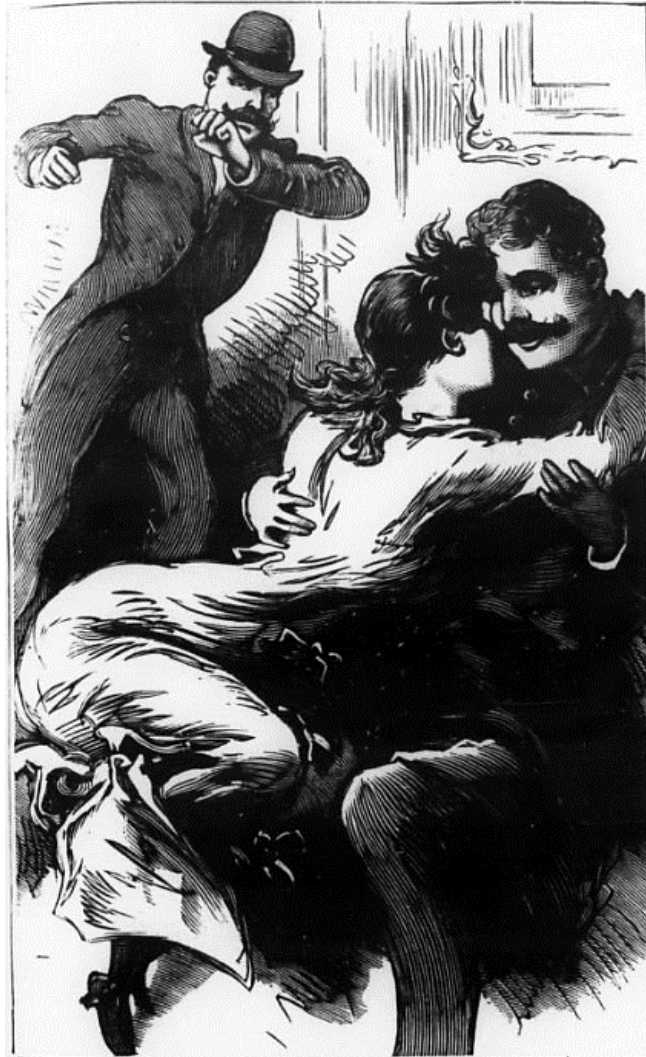
Police Gazette” (12.1165), which contains a depiction of adultery alongside an ad for ‘male enhancement’. The story in question has been identified as “A Policeman Her Lover.”¹⁰⁰

Several advertisements “to enlarge small male organs” (Figure 18) appear in the same issue of the *National Police Gazette* as the story. Joyce quotes both the ad and the illustration’s caption nearly verbatim, making only the addition of the adulteress’s bloomers:

what was it only one of the smutty yankee pictures... Secrets for enlarging your private parts. Misconduct of society belle. Norman W. Tupper, wealthy Chicago contractor, finds pretty but faithless wife in lap of officer Taylor. Belle in her bloomers misconducting herself... (U 12.1168-72)

The barflies’ voyeuristic judgment of the subject of the illustration (see Figure 17; note the resemblance to Bloom, Molly, and Boylan) is a homosocial bonding activity that intentionally excludes Bloom as the oppressed mimic the oppressor’s

rhetoric of Othering. Throughout “Cyclops,” Bloom is mocked using anti-Semitic stereotypes, including questioning his ability to satisfy his wife, who morphs into the



A POLICEMAN HER LOVER.
NORMAN W. TUPPER, A WEALTHY CHICAGO CONTRACTOR, FINDS HIS YOUNG AND PRETTY WIFE SEATED ON THE LAP OF OFFICER TAYLOR.

Figure 17 Illustration for “A Policeman Her Lover,” in the *National Police Gazette* (16 September 1893): 5. Description reads: “Norman W. Tupper, a wealthy Chicago contractor, finds his young and pretty wife seated on the lap of Officer Taylor.”

adulterous “Belle in her bloomers.”¹⁰¹ In another example, Hynes wonders if Bloom “ever put it out of sight” and Power responds that “there were two children born” (*U* 12.1655-6). The citizen alludes to Molly’s extramarital activities (“And who does he suspect [of being their father]?”) and the Nameless One calls Bloom a “mixed middling” who gets monthly headaches “like a totty with her courses” (12.1657, 1658-60), leaning into the anti-Semitic association of Jewish men with menstruation.¹⁰² Despite being rooted in commodity print culture, which is Bloom’s territory, “Cyclops” is an echo chamber of nationalist heterosexism that attacks femininity and cultural difference in its performance of anti-colonial Irish masculinity. For the colonised state to prove itself worthy of self-governance, it must oppress its own women and subjugate the racial Other, thus colluding with the colonial oppressor by reproducing imperial ideology.

What is really at stake in the symbol of the bloomer-wearing adulteress is policing the sexuality and gender of the Other to reposition Ireland as an imperial masculine force rather than the colonised feminine Other itself. Molly imagines her photo being “in all the papers” as Stephen’s “mistress publicly... when he becomes famous” (*U* 18.1365-6), but she, too, would be mocked like the belle in bloomers if her adultery were exposed. Joseph Valente writes that Joyce exploits the *Gazette* story’s resonance with an Irish audience “on account of the iconographical representations of colonial Ireland as a loose woman lifting her skirts for ‘the stranger,’ who of course turned into something of a policeman.”¹⁰³ Throughout “Cyclops,” Irish masculinity is constructed by opposing and commodifying Otherness, clothed in the language of Irish mythology and tabloid journalism. The condescending moral superiority of the barflies over the victims in their scandal sheet is a way of “enlarging [their] private parts” (*U* 12.1169; Figure 18) or asserting the phallic superiority that has been denied them by colonial oppression. Performing a masculinity that

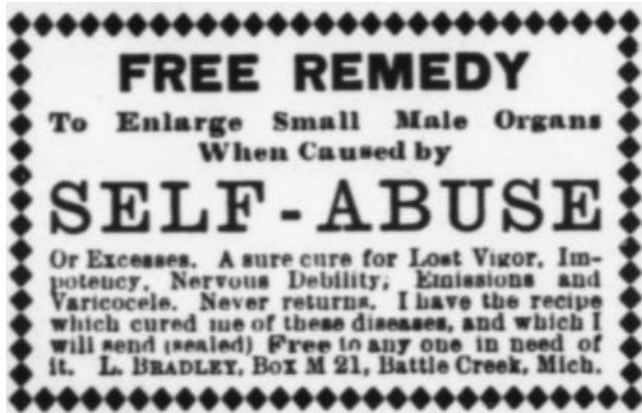


Figure 18 Advertisement in the *National Police Gazette* (16 September 1893) that reads:

FREE REMEDY
To Enlarge Small Male Organs
When Caused by
SELF-ABUSE
or Excesses. A sure cure for Lost Vigor,
Impotency, Nervous Debility, Emissions and
Varicocele. Never returns. I have the recipe
which cured me of these diseases, and which I
will send (sealed) Free to any one in need of it.
L. BRADLEY, Box M 21, Battle Creek, Mich.

is both fragile and toxic, they focus on the erect penis as a metaphor for power (veering toward homoeroticism¹⁰⁴) and deny that power to the Other, Bloom, as a way of preserving it for themselves. They obsess over a post-mortem erection “standing up in [the British soldiers’] faces like a poker” as a symbol of Irish resistance, prefiguring Wyse’s assertion that real men “stand up to [injustice] with force like men” (12.461-2, 1475), and use the occasion to mock Bloom using phallic symbolism, calling him “limp as a wet rag” (12.1479-80)—impotent to resist persecution, and thus un-Irish and un-manly. The phallic I/eye of the “Cyclops” narrator is the male gaze personified, though the objects of this gaze are other men and images of women, not women themselves. The Nameless One and his companions judge without seeing, using the coloniser’s language and rhetoric to construct a mock-epic Irish hero whose masculinity is indisputable. When that performance of masculinity is challenged, it is revealed to be ‘stage Irish’ and a mimicry of British machismo, which embarrasses and therefore enrages the citizen. Examples of ‘proper’ western masculinity, including the genital shaming of ‘male enhancement’ ads like Figure 18,¹⁰⁵ are advertised alongside the smutty pictures and salacious stories aimed at an insecure male audience that can bond over their shared contempt for the Other.

After these scenes of grown men giggling and gossiping over tabloids, the narrative technique “Nausicaa” produces a suitable counterpart in Gerty MacDowell. As Fritz Senn

has noted, “the style of Gerty’s part could easily have found a place as one of the Cyclopien parodies.”¹⁰⁶ If the citizen and his companions are meant to embody an idealised performance of Irish masculinity, Gerty is their female mirror: the finest “specimen of winsome Irish girlhood as one could wish to see” (*U* 13.81). She, too, is engendered through trappings of print culture, Othering, and advertising. Thomas Richards argues that female subjectivity in Victorian England was created through “commodity language,” a discourse that conditions women to become a “site of advertised spectacle” through social conditioning.¹⁰⁷ The spectacle of Gerty is not, however, the same spectacle performed by Molly, despite both having been socialised as women in a colonial setting. Molly’s performance of alterity combines images of a pan-oriental Otherness to generate an image of femininity that is rooted in a fictional, mythologised East. Gerty, on the other hand, is styled like a Greek statue,¹⁰⁸ a symbol of the West’s ancient past and renaissance: “The waxen pallor of her face was almost spiritual in its ivorylike purity though her rosebud mouth was a genuine cupid’s bow, Greekly perfect. Her hands were finely veined alabaster” (*U* 13.87-90). One is reminded of Luce Irigaray’s response to Lacan turning to Bernini’s Saint Theresa in Rome to understand female *jouissance*: “In Rome? So far away? To look? At a statue? Of a saint? Sculpted by a man? What pleasure are we talking about? Whose pleasure?”¹⁰⁹ If Lacan demands we travel to Rome to learn of women’s pleasure,¹¹⁰ Gerty is happy to turn herself into a male-sculpted figure of female sexuality right at home—her pleasure, like Bernini’s statue, is a display *for* male enjoyment as well as being created *by* their enjoyment, a narcissistic reflection of the colonial gaze.

As a “fair... specimen of winsome Irish girlhood” (*U* 13.80-81), Gerty “packages her body in a manner that advertises the *culturally accepted* norm of ‘femininity’,”¹¹¹ writes Garry Leonard. Gerty’s whiteness is repeatedly emphasised to demonstrate her

adherence to western beauty standards: “she went white to the very lips”; “arms that were white and soft”; “waiting with little white hands stretched out” (*U* 13.202-3, 341, 669-70). This whiteness is contrasted in the episode with the racial Otherness of another girl, Cissy Caffrey. Bloom’s sexualises Cissy in a way that is demonstrably racial in nature. He refers to her as “the dark one with the mop head and the nigger mouth,” comparing her to Molly, “Mouth made for that. Like Molly,” and “highclass whore in Jammet’s [that] wore her veil only to her nose” (*U* 13.898-900). As I have previously argued,¹¹² Gerty bullies Cissy through racial Othering in much the same way that the barflies reject Bloom. Gerty has eyes “of the bluest Irish blue” compared to Cissy’s “gipsylike eyes” (13.108, 36), and her “golliwog curls”¹¹³ that “she couldn’t get... to grow long because it wasn’t natural” (13.270, 478) are no match for Gerty’s “crowing glory”: “a prettier, daintier head of nutbrown tresses was never seen on a girl’s shoulders” (13.116, 510). In fear that Cissy will steal Bloom’s attention, Gerty criticises Cissy’s every move, pointing out “the cheek of her” to try to tempt Bloom with “her insignificant [legs]” because he “[has] eyes in his head to see the difference” between her “beautifully shaped legs” and Cissy’s “skinny shanks” (13.503-4, 698, 483-4). Gerty projects her insecurities onto Cissy, whom she must tear down to establish her natural Irish womanliness as superior to Cissy’s disingenuous performance of femininity.

To assert her superiority in the male gaze, Gerty compares her traits as “a womanly woman not like other flighty girls, [the] unfeminine... cyclists showing off what they haven’t got” to Cissy, the “tomboy” (13.435-7, 480). She belittles the “crooked French heels” that Cissy wears “to make her look tall” and hopes that Cissy might trip in front of Bloom (13.485-6). Compared to Gerty’s “neat blouse,” Cissy’s “flimsy blouse” is a poor parody of womanliness, “like a rag on her back” (13.150, 507-8). Targeting Cissy’s body,

hair, and clothing to demonstrate that her femininity is not ‘natural,’ hawk-eyed Gerty even observes “a bit of her petticoat hanging like a caricature” (13.508-9) because Cissy is a “caricature” of womanhood compared to Gerty, the genuine article. Gerty is particularly affronted by Cissy because she delights in subverting gender norms. She whistles, speaks coarsely, smokes cigarettes, plays sports, and is the sort of girl who might wear bloomers on a bicycle. While thinking of various antics that made Gerty “laugh at her,” she reveals that Cissy once “dressed up in her father’s suit and hat and the burned cork moustache” (13.270-7). Cissy was able to ‘put on’ the cultural symbols of masculinity as a mockery of masculinity, but, as Jen Shelton writes, the ridiculousness of her “burned cork moustache” makes her transgressive cross-dressing “palatable even though the joke is on the world of men, for which Cissy... has little respect.”¹¹⁴ Herein lies their critical difference: Gerty respects the ‘world of men’ and her place within it, whereas Cissy does not.

Cissy repeatedly flouts male authority, playacting the dominatrix role that Bloom will later assign to Bella Cohen.¹¹⁵ The episode of Cissy’s cross-dressing is recalled in response to “Cissy saying an unladylike thing” that Gerty would “be ashamed of her life to say,” a threat to spank Bloom on the “beeoteetom” (*U* 13.265, 263). When she appears in “Circe,” as “the link between nations and generations” (15.4648) called to intervene in the argument between Stephen and Private Carr, Cissy sides with the colonial power over the oppressed Irishman to protect her own interests. Cissy, found “in company with the soldiers” (15.4380), thus becomes associated with the very thing that most offends Gerty:

her finebred nature instinctively recoiled... [from] that sort of person, the fallen women... that went with the soldiers and coarse men with no respect for a girl’s honour, degrading the sex and being taken up to the police station. (13.660-64)

Like Bloom's hallucination of Cissy, Gerty willingly colludes in her own objectification to please the male gaze, even when it threatens her subject position. And Bloom is the ideal audience for her self-promotion; as an ad writer, he "produces the seaside girl, Gerty identifies with it, and Bloom consumes the product of that identification," writes Richards.¹¹⁶ It has even been suggested that Gerty's narrative is not 'her' voice, but rather a figment of Bloom's imagination.¹¹⁷

Considering the "Nausicaa" episode's 'meaning' of "projected mirage" in the Linati schema alongside Joyce's statement to Arthur Power that "nothing [happens] between" Bloom and Gerty, the episode having "all took place in Bloom's head,"¹¹⁸ opens the possibility that Gerty is a fantasy pieced together by an ad canvasser—a mediation of authorial cross-dressing through Bloom. David Cotter, for example, argues that Gerty "should be read as a transvestite fantasy" in which Bloom imagines her private thoughts.¹¹⁹ Gerty speaks the language advertising, like Bloom, quoting slogans like "queen of ointments," "so becoming in leaders of fashion," and "the fabric that caresses the skin" (13.90, 111, 724-5). Even her period is constructed out of advertising soundbites: "those iron jelloids she had been taking of late had done her a world of good much better than the Widow Welch's female pills¹²⁰ and she was much better of... that tired feeling" (13.83-87). Another popular 'cure-all' remedy for 'female problems,' Beecham's Pills, used "That tired feeling" in ads circa 1904,¹²¹ and in "Circe" Bloom repeats the slogan: "Monthly or effect of the other... That tired feeling" (*U* 15.2010). Declan Kiberd writes that "Gerty's monologue reads at times like Bloom's male fantasy, but that could simply be because of the real woman's near-total submission to the world of male desire, coded into product advertising and women's magazines."¹²² However, some of Bloom's inner monologue echoes Gerty's in ways that implicate Joyce in authorial cross-dressing without the pretext

of consumerism; when Gerty vindictively imagines Cissy tripping in front of Bloom, she thinks: “*Tableau!* That would have been a very charming exposé for a gentleman like that to witness,” and Bloom later imagines nuns,¹²³ “vindictive too for what they can’t get,” impeding young love “Till Mr Right comes along... *Tableau!*” (*U* 13.486-7, 813-5). The same word is used to capture a scene like a snapshot in both narratives.

Patrick McGee has demonstrated that “whether she lives in the imagination of Bloom or of Joyce,” Gerty is “a marginal style, a purely ideological way of looking at the world that can only be justified by the historical context from which it emerges.”¹²⁴ Throughout the episode, her appearance, personality, and sexual desire are linked to products aimed at her demographic. Rather than Joyce’s ideal Woman, Gerty is Bloom’s ideal Consumer. David Hayman describes Gerty as “a figment of the male imagination even in her own eyes: a product,” arguing that she is “an artificial voice” in a “stereotyped world” of product placement.¹²⁵ The ‘art’ of the episode being “painting” in the schemata, Joyce—and/or Bloom—happily daubs Gerty with lotions and rouge to create a girl like those frolicking on the covers of *Photo Bits*,¹²⁶ packaged for male consumption, her body acting as a mannequin for Bloom to dress in the latest fashions. After all, there is “a touch of the artist about old Bloom” and Gerty is “so slim, so flawless, so beautifully moulded [she] seemed one an artist might have dreamed of” (*U* 10.582-3, 13.582-3).¹²⁷ Like Molly, whose ‘affirming’ flesh is “a male-centred vision of... the perpetually receptive vagina/mouth/womb of pornographic fantasy,”¹²⁸ Gerty is a blank canvas upon which Bloom can project both his masturbatory and occupational fantasies.

Joyce’s portrait of Gerty is an amalgamation of ads from *Lady’s Pictorial*, *Princess Novelette*, *Girl’s Companion*, and *Modern Society*. Each of her lovely features is attributed to a product or regimen from their pages. Dressing “with the instinctive taste of a votary of

Dame Fashion,” her blouse is “electric blue” because it was “in the *Lady’s Pictorial*” (13.148-9, 150-51). Her pale skin is “white as lemonjuice and queen of ointments could make [it] though it was not true that she used to... take a milk footbath,” acting as a testimonial for her toilette routine (13.90-2). Even her “beautiful eyes, a charm few could resist” (13.106-7) are the result of brand loyalty:

Why have women such eyes of witchery? Gerty’s were of the bluest Irish blue, set off by lustrous lashes and dark expressive brows. Time was when those brows were not so silkily seductive. It was Madame Vera Verity, directress of the Woman Beautiful page of the *Princess Novelette*, who had first advised her to try eyebrowline which gave that haunting expression to the eyes, so becoming in leaders of fashion, and she had never regretted it. Then there was blushing scientifically cured and how to be tall increase your height and you have a beautiful face but your nose? (13.107-14)

Although the “Woman Beautiful page” appears

to be a creation of Joyce’s, the products it recommends are from real advertisements.

Harald Beck has identified a 1916 ad as the source for “Eyebrowlin” (Figure 19), noting Gerty’s direct quotation of “used by leaders of fashion,”¹²⁹ and Sabrina Alonso has identified a potential source for the language in “you have a beautiful face but your nose?” (13.114) from an ad for a device worn to “correct... ill-shaped noses” (Figure 20).¹³⁰ Both these advertisements capitalise on female insecurity in the same way that ads in the *National Police Gazette* “for enlarging your private parts” (U 12.1169; Figure 18) offer gender-affirming care to insecure men.




Figure 19 Ad for ‘Eyebrowlin’ published in *Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 29 October 1916, p. 11. Text reads:

“EYEBROWLIN: A Marvellous Eyelash and Eyebrow Grower. Why not improve your appearance by using this marvellous preparation? It is perfectly harmless, and not a dye. It is used by leaders of fashion. “EYEBROWLIN” produces that fascinating expression which is becoming to ladies. A few applications will convince.”

‘Gender-affirming care’ encompasses the many social, legal, and medical interventions that validate a person’s gender identity and lessen the psychological distress of dysphoria. While frequently considered in cases of transgender individuals, cis people also regularly seek and are granted access to gender-affirming care, including hormone replacement therapy, breast augmentation, mastectomy, rhinoplasty, hair removal, penis enlargement, vaginoplasty, fertility treatments, and erectile dysfunction medication. The advertisements marketing ‘ideal’ masculinity and femininity in “Cyclops” and “Nausicaa” veer into the realm of gender-affirming care by preying on the vulnerable emotions attached to dysphoria, which can be experienced regardless of gender identity. Gerty’s fashion magazines are manuals for survival; they promise the ‘secret formula’ for achieving female perfection in a patriarchal system where a woman’s economic and social status precariously depends upon her ability to secure a marriage proposal: “survival of the prettiest” (FW 145.27). Rather than making a mockery of Gerty’s anxious attempts package

YOU HAVE A BEAUTIFUL FACE
But Your Nose?



In this age attention to your appearance is an absolute necessity if you expect to make the most out of life. Not only should you wish to appear as attractive as possible for your own self-satisfaction, which is alone well worth your efforts, but you will find the world in general judging you greatly, if not wholly, by your “looks,” therefore it pays to “look your best” at all times. Permit no one to see you looking otherwise; it will injure your welfare! Upon the impression you constantly make rests the failure or success of your life. Which is to be your ultimate destiny? My new nose-shaper, “Trados” (Model 22), corrects now ill-shaped noses without operation quickly, safely and permanently. Is pleasant and does not interfere with one’s daily occupation, being worn at night. Write today for free booklet, which tells you how to correct ill-shaped noses without cost if not satisfactory.

M. TRILETY, Face Specialist,
585 Ackerman Bldg., Binghamton, N. Y.

Figure 20 “You have a beautiful face but your nose?” advertisement for a ‘nose-shaper’ designed by ‘M. Trilety, Face Specialist,’ published 1 December 1916 in *The Masses*, an American socialist magazine. Public domain image via Wikimedia Commons, recoloured. Joyce may have encountered a similar ad elsewhere.

herself for male consumption, “Nausicaa” yields something more subtle: “a conflation of masculine and feminine modes, via Bloom, the man brave enough to admit his own femininity,” writes Kiberd.¹³¹ If Gerty’s thoughts are really Bloom’s thoughts, he is certainly aware of the pressures put on young women to enhance themselves to compete in the competitive marriage market. This awareness—what Cotter identifies as a “connoisseur’s fascination... [with] signifiers of the feminine”¹³²—is a beneficial skill for an advertiser.

Although Heather Cook Callow considers Gerty and Bloom’s encounter to take place as narrated rather than being a manifestation of Bloom’s desires, she argues that Gerty “uses the discourse in which she has been schooled to express herself, but that discourse has been coded so that [men]... will smile and dismiss its content.”¹³³ Gerty’s “namby-pamby” style (*SL* 246) can be read in this context as a performance of femininity catered to the male gaze or as internalised misogyny rooted in narcissism. Her placement “near the little pool by the rock” even creates a direct parallel with Narcissus which Bloom remarks on: “Saw a pool... Bend, see my face there, dark mirror” (*U* 13.355, 1260). Despite embodying the clichés of girlhood Joyce repeats in *Finnegans Wake*, Gerty insists that she is “not like other... girls” (13.436) and restlessly declares her superiority over her cohort. This anxiety is mollified only by Bloom’s sustained attention to her peepshow: “Gerty could see without looking that he never took his eyes off of her” (13.495). Her apparent omniscience seems to confirm Bloom’s suspicion that women have “Eyes all over them” with which to judge themselves and others, which is why the “Best place for an ad to catch a woman’s eye [is] on a mirror” (13.912, 919-20). Gerty, like Issy, is fixated on “the lovely reflection which the mirror gave back to her,” having practiced her performance of girlhood in her vanity: “she could have a good cry... not too much because she knew how

to cry nicely before the mirror. You are lovely, Gerty, it said” (13.162, 191-3). Like her mirror, Bloom’s gaze confirms her desirability and authorises her feelings of superiority. In rehearsing for this moment, Gerty has prepared herself to be looked at, not listened to, which may be her narration—with its cruelty, vindictiveness, and even racism—does not always align with her portrayal of a sweet, demure virgin.

I argued in the previous chapter that Joyce’s authorial cross-dressing for the pleasure of the male reader leaves no subject position for a woman. Laura Mulvey adopts a similar position regarding the male gaze in film, which she argues limits women’s pleasure to two possibilities: they can either adopt the perspective of the male voyeur or identify with the marketed female image, their “*to be looked-at-ness*.”¹³⁴ Gerty does both. Lacan posits that “the satisfaction of a woman who knows that she is being looked at” is conditional on whether “one does not show her that one knows that she knows.”¹³⁵ Gerty knows about the “not very nice” thing that men sometimes do with “pictures... of those skirt dancers and high kickers” (*U* 13.703-05) and that her swinging leg has the same effect on Bloom, and Bloom knows she knows: “Did she know what I? Course. Like a cat sitting beyond a dog’s jump” (13.908-9). And Gerty knows that Bloom knows she knows. The covert exchange of seeing and knowing generates erotic tension between them:

she leaned back and the garters were blue to match... he could see her other things too, nainsook knickers, the fabric that caresses the skin, better than those other pettiwidth, the green, four and eleven, on account of being white and she let him and she saw that he saw... he had a full view high up above her knee where no-one ever not even on the swing or wading and she wasn’t ashamed and he wasn’t either to look in that immodest way like that because he couldn’t resist the sight of the wondrous revealment half offered like those skirt dancers behaving so immodest before gentlemen looking and he kept on looking, looking (13.716-33)

Mulvey writes that the cinematic assumption of male spectatorship causes female viewers to undergo temporary “trans-sex identification,” though the process “does not sit easily and

shifts restlessly in its borrowed transvestite clothes.”¹³⁶ Gerty, like Bloom, is preoccupied with underwear; both her “*to be looked-at-ness*” and her adopted male gaze are dependant on them. It is because of this fixation that Gerty is sometimes read as a “male-identified”¹³⁷ or a “transvestite fantasy”¹³⁸ beyond the scope of Bloom’s projection. Margot Backus writes that “the hyperbolically feminine Gerty, whose attentiveness to her feminine performance is highly suggestive of drag... seems to pick up on Bloom’s physiological reaction just as he has intuited hers, through some sort of sexualized Uncle Charles principle.”¹³⁹ Gerty’s description of her “her shapely limbs encased in finespun hose,” “wide garter tops,” and dainty knickers are erotic rather than sentimental (*U* 13.170-1). Particular attention and detail are paid to the “intimate garments of which [Bloom is] a particular devotee” (15.2315-16) and the censor forbade mentioning: “As for undies they were Gerty’s chief care... She had four dinky sets with awfully pretty stitchery, three garments and nighties extra, and each set slotted with different coloured ribbons, rosepink, pale blue, mauve and peagreen” (13.171-6). The garters she wears on Bloomsday are “blue to match” her blouse and hat, her stockings “transparent,” and her “nainsook knickers... white” (13.716-26), delicate colours associated with purity, weddings, and the Virgin Mary. John Simpson had noted that “nainsook,” a soft cotton fabric, translates from Hindi as “eyes’ delight,”¹⁴⁰ and they certainly delight Bloom, a connoisseur of fine lingerie.¹⁴¹

Bloom’s peek at Gerty’s drawers conjures a “dream of well-filled hose. Where was that? Ah, yes. Mutoscope pictures on Capel Street: for men only” about which he wonders, “Do they snapshot those girls, or is it all a fake?” (*U* 13.793-6). The same question can perhaps be asked of both halves of “Nausicaa.” Gerty wonders if Bloom is what he seems to be: “Wonderful eyes they were, superbly expressive, but could you trust them? She could see at once by his dark eyes and his pale intellectual face that he was a foreigner, the

image of the photo she had of Martin Harvey, the matinée idol” (13.413-8).¹⁴² Gerty invents a persona for her admirer and casts him as the ‘romantic lead’ in her future; he is her “dreamhusband,” a “manly man,” and, most ironically, the public masturbator becomes a “gravefaced gentleman, selfcontrol expressed in every line of his distinguishedlooking figure” (13.431, 210, 542-3). Bloom similarly projects his desires onto Gerty while painting her with the broad strokes of narcissism, consumerism, and performativity. He compares her to a list of actresses, “Nell Gwynn, Mrs Bracegirdle, [and] Maud Brandscombe,” and knows instinctively that to “See her as she is spoils [it] all. Must have the stage setting, the rouge, costume, position, music” (13.855-7). The pleasure is in the performance, and Bloom knows that Gerty is using all the tools at her disposal to enhance her stage presence. Both Bloom and Gerty are voyeurs in this interaction, but both are also actors playing a role in the fantasy of the other.

It is worth noting that the exchange of erotically-charged glances in “Nausicaa” echoes the birdgirl passage in *A Portrait of the Artist*. Gerty is encountered as she “gaze[s] out towards the distant sea” (*U* 13.406) and the birdgirl similarly stands “midstream... gazing out to sea” (*P* 171). In both scenes, there are “lightclad figures of children and girls and voices childish and girlish in the air” (*P* 171). Both Bloom and Stephen “worship” strangers with their gaze and both women gaze back “without shame,” their pale legs and white underwear exposed from under blue skirts: “Her thighs, fuller and soft-hued as ivory, were bared almost to the hips, where the white fringes of her drawers were like feathering of soft white down. Her slate-blue skirts were kilted boldly about her waist” (*P* 171). Although Gerty would not dare hike up her smart “navy threequarter skirt” so brazenly, Bloom’s “dark eyes fixed themselves on her... drinking in her every contour, literally worshipping at her shrine” nevertheless (*U* 13.154-5, 563-4). However, unlike the

nonreciprocal voyeurism in *Portrait*, “Nausicaa” dramatises an inversion of the male gaze as Bloom takes on the role of Stephen’s birdgirl, a stranger romanticised in the imagination of the lonely adolescent. Like the “outburst of profane joy” in Stephen’s “soul” (*P* 172), Gerty experiences religious ecstasy upon recognising Bloom as “that of which she had so often dreamed... her dreamhusband” (*U* 13.428-31).¹⁴³ The “joy on her face because she wanted him” whether “he had suffered, more sinned against than sinning, or even... if he had been himself a sinner” (13.428-33) positions her as subject, rather than an object, of their exchange. Nevertheless, despite having “coloured like a girl” under her “glance of piteous protest” after his climax, Bloom thinks he “got the best of that” (13.742-3, 786). His version of events is far less romantic than hers, a consensual but unequal exchange.

Rather than finding his true love, Bloom has “made up for that tramdriver” by replacing an earlier infatuation with Gerty (*U* 13.787). The erotic spectacle of Gerty’s legs is but one in a continuum of flashes that he sees throughout the day: “Watch! Watch! Silk flash rich stockings white. Watch! A heavy tramcar honking its gong slewed between... Always happening like that. The very moment. Girl in Eustace street... settling her garter. Her friend covering the display” (5.130-35). Bloom’s gaze reduces a woman to a leg mounting a carriage, her body fragmented into a “Wellturned foot” or a “rich gloved hand” (5.118, 139). Gerty’s legs cause Bloom to recall another pair, the “Thick feet that woman has in the white stockings” in “Lestrygonians”: “Transparent stockings, stretched to breaking point. Not like that frump today... Rumpled stockings. Or the one in Grafton street. White. Wow! Beef to the heel” (8.616, 13.929-32). If we imagine Gerty speaking for herself, she objectifies her body in the same manner, her “wellturned ankle” and “shapely limbs” becoming props with which to pose (13.168-70). Katherine Mullin has compared Gerty, striking a series of “stock poses,” to “a living statue” caught in “freeze-frame” like

the stills of the mutoscope that Bloom remembers: “Mutoscope pictures on Capel Street: for men only. Peeping Tom. Willy’s hat and what the girls did with it” (13.794-5).¹⁴⁴ The mutoscope ‘Kicking Willy’s Hat,’ depicting “girls in short frocks engaged in kicking a hat held high above their heads... [to] display [their] underclothing,”¹⁴⁵ offered something like the “pictures... [of] skirt dancers and high kickers” Bertha Supple’s lodger masturbated with (13.704). In Mullin’s reading, Gerty is implicated in ‘selling sex’ by participating in a peepshow: her innocence is, as Bloom suspects, “a fake” (13.796). Another mutoscope, ‘What the Butler Saw,’ lays the groundwork for the “Circe” fantasy in which Bloom is invited to “apply [his] eye to the keyhole and play with [him]self” while Boylan has sex with Molly (15.3788-9). The voyeuristic possibilities of photography and film are foregrounded in this scene; not only does Bloom ask to “bring two men chums to witness the deed and take a snapshot,” but the ‘deed’ itself is a series of obscene frames: “Show! Hide! Show! Plough her! More! Shoot!” (15.3791-2, 3815-6). Bloom acts as both director and audience of this pornography, ‘shooting’ his sexual rival photographically as a replacement for the Homeric parallel of shooting an arrow. To taunt Bloom, Bello describes Boylan as having “shot his bolt” while Bloom’s “weapon” remains cocked (15.3140). Gerty is barred from viewing these cinematic representations of her own sexuality because they are “for men only” (13.794), but her imitation of the form attests to her undergoing the temporary “trans-sex identification” that Mulvey argues is a consequence of the male cinematic gaze negating the subject position of the female viewer.¹⁴⁶

Regardless of whether “Nausicaa” is narrated by Gerty or by Bloom’s imitation of her voice, the mimicry of “namby-pamby jammy marmalady drawersy” style (*SL* 246) is an act of female impersonation which foreshadows both Joyce’s sustained authorial cross-dressing in “Penelope” and Bloom’s transformation in “Circe.” Kiberd writes, for example,

that his sex-change fantasy enacts “the revenge of his unconscious for what he did to Gerty,” as “a perfect inversion of that scene.”¹⁴⁷ However, the role reversal of Bloom’s sex-change acts not only as a restaging of the male and female roles in their sexual exchange but of colonial power structures, recoding Bloom’s encounter with Gerty as an Orientalist version of “white slave panic.”¹⁴⁸ Bloom is auctioned to “A DARKVISAGED MAN” identified as “Caliph... Haroun Al Raschid” (*U* 15.3110-13), one of Bloom’s many Circean costumes. Bloom’s female alter-ego is a caricature of “winsome Irish girlhood” (*U* 13.81), dolled up by Bello in an outfit that recalls both Gerty and Mary Driscoll, the domestic servant to whom Bloom made sexual overtures¹⁴⁹:

The scanty, daringly short skirt, riding up at the knee to show a peep of white pantalette, is a potent weapon and transparent stockings, emeraldgartered, with the long straight seam trailing up beyond the knee, appeal to the better instincts of the *blasé* man about town. Learn the smooth mincing walk on four inch Louis Quinze heels, the Grecian bend with provoking croup, the thighs fluescent, knees modestly kissing. Bring all your powers of fascination to bear on them. Pander to their Gomorrahan vices. (15.3115-22)

Compared to the “weapon” Bloom supposedly lacks, being “impotent,” “docked,” and “limp as a boy of six’s doing his pooly behind a cart,” a short skirt is a “potent weapon”

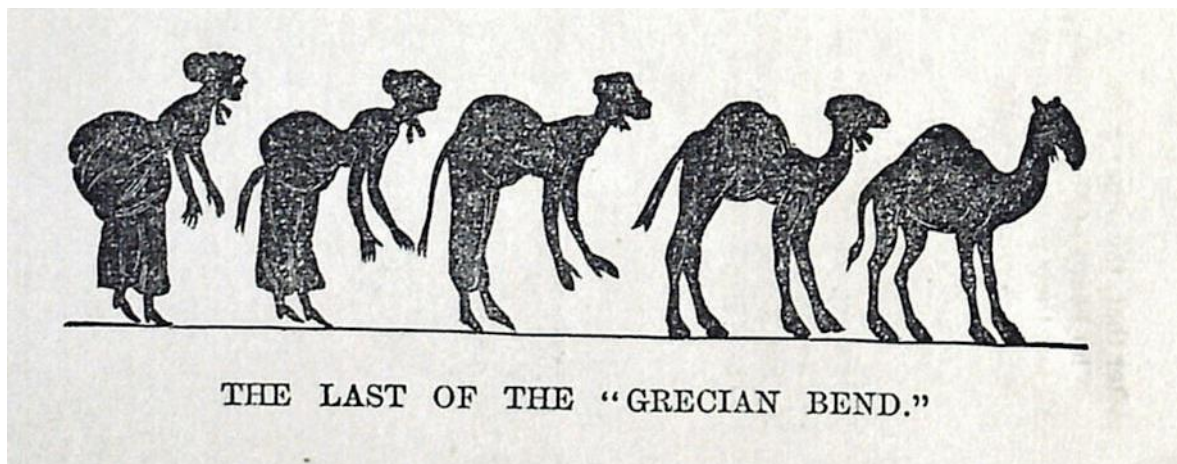


Figure 21 “The last of the ‘Grecian Bend,’” artist unknown. A satirical cartoon in the style of Rudolph Zallinger’s “March of Progress” depicting a woman in bustle progressively stooping until she has ‘evolved’ into a camel, mocking a popular 1860s silhouette which required a “Grecian bend.” The New-York Historical Society Museum and Library, N-YHS General Collections.

(15.3127, 3130-1, 3116). Bello instructs the newly-female Bloom in the womanly “powers of fascination,” teaching her the performative gestures of femininity that Gerty failed to accomplish: a “smooth mincing walk,” “Grecian bend,” and “knees modestly kissing” (15.3119-21). The “Grecian bend” refers to the stance required to compensate for the weight of excessively bustled skirts (Figure 21). The posture is reminiscent of the poses of women in some ancient Greek statues, including the Venus de’ Medici, to suggest modesty despite their nudity. Although her face is “Greekly perfect” (13.89), because Gerty has a limp, she is unable to perform a “smooth mincing walk” and has to subvert the expectations of ‘acceptable’ western femininity, sacrificing her modesty by opening her legs in the hope of ‘pandering’ to Bloom’s “Gomorrahan vices” (15.3122).

In tandem with “Cyclops,” the “Nausicaa” episode demonstrates the cultural capital of gender conformity in a western context and constructs an idealised version of Irish gender norms out of aspects of popular culture, including advertising, theatre, and the smut of both tabloids and early film. These ‘proper’ gender expressions are contrasted with representations of the Other that complement Joyce’s repeated staging of racial difference in “Circe.” Gerty’s friend Cissy, “the dark one” (13.898) who has been known to cross-dress and disrespect patriarchal authority, is continually ridiculed so that Gerty, the feminine Irish beauty, can assert her sexual superiority and despite having a “defect,” which Bloom remarks is “ten times worse in a woman” (13.774). Conversely, Bloom is coded as a “manly man” (13.1302) in Gerty’s eyes, but only inasmuch as he resembles an English actor, for that is about as ‘foreign’ as she can safely imagine. Gendered relations are here mapped onto the relationship between the colonial power and the feminised Other. Where Bloom’s fantasy of Molly in Turkish costume aligns Ireland and the Orient as victims of western imperialism, in “Cyclops” and “Nausicaa,” the oppressed collude in

their own oppression by denying that connection. In effect, the feminine (Gerty, Ireland) aligns herself with the masculine (male gaze, Britain) in order to make a bid for power, but in so doing must debase the Other (Cissy, Bloom, the Orient). As I argue elsewhere in this thesis, Joyce repeatedly installs race and sex, axes of marginalization that reflect structures of power and social control, as parallel markers of Otherness through which to engage the construction of Irish identity. These markers are further exaggerated in “Circe” as masks or costumes donned by various characters in a surreal performance of Otherness.

4.3. *Vice Versa*: Staging Gender Performativity

In September 1920, Joyce wrote to Frank Budgen, “Are you strong on costume? I want to make Circe a costume episode also. Bloom for instance appears in five or six different suits. What a book!” (*LI* 147-8). Bloom’s “five or six different suits” quickly ballooned into dozens of costume changes, often in rapid succession, from the “*youth’s smart blue Oxford suit with white vestslips, narrowshouldered, in brown Alpine hat*” he wears to confront the apparition of his father to the “*flunkey’s prune plush coat and kneebreeches, buff stockings and powdered wig*” (atop an “*antlered head*”) worn while watching Boylan and Molly consummate their affair, with the cross-dressing sequence between (*U* 15.269-70, 3760-61). When Bloom re-enacts his courtship with Josie Breen, it is with a series of quick-changes; as Josie recalls Bloom “look[ing] the part” for a recitation, he ‘changes’ into a “*dinner jacket with wateredsilk facings, blue masonic badge in his buttonhole, black bow and mother-of-pearl studs,*” then is abruptly wearing “*a purple Napoleon hat with an amber halfmoon*” when she remembers another party they attended, swapping her “*man’s frieze overcoat with loose bellows pockets*” for an “*evening frock executed in moonlight blue*” (15.447-8, 450-1, 465, 386-7, 471). At the climax of their

interaction, Bloom is “*in an oatmeal sporting suit*” and the appropriate accessories for a trip to the races, including “*fieldglasses in bandolier and a grey billycock hat*” (15.536-9).

Josie, “*in smart Saxe tailormade, white velours hat and spiderveil,*” is suddenly discarded as Bloom reveals “you had on that new hat of white velours with a surround of molefur that Mrs Hayes advised you to buy... a bit of wire and an old rag of velveteen... she did it on purpose” (15.548-52). Poor Josie has been tricked into buying an inferior outfit and Bloom is immediately distracted by other women—Molly eating a sandwich, two women laughing, a girl with a dog—as Josie “*fades from his side*” (15.577). Their courtship is presented as a cinematic highlights reel, with the rapid rise and fall of his attraction mirroring fashion trends; here and elsewhere, the stage directions’ sartorial terminology, as well as its “occasional tell-tale evaluative epithet,”¹⁵⁰ not only parallels “Nausicaa” in its precision but also in its often cutting or sarcastic register against the unfashionable.

In total, Joyce depicts over ninety costumes in “Circe.” Katie Wales writes that “so many and so detailed are the costume changes... [that] the episode resembles nothing so much as a fashion catalogue.”¹⁵¹ Though mostly describing ‘appropriately’ gendered clothing, some of these costumes are explicitly inverted. Many of the female apparitions are given male articles of clothing, including Josie’s “*man’s frieze overcoat,*” Mrs. Talboys’s “*hard hat, jackboots cockspurred, vermilion waistcoat, [and] fawn musketeer gauntlets,*” Mrs. Keogh’s “*greasy bib, men’s grey and green socks and brogues,*” and Mrs. Dignam in “*her late husband’s everyday trousers and turnedup boots*” (U 15.386, 1058-60, 2923-4, 3841). Minor male characters also occasionally appear in bewildering female attire, such as Richie Goulding wearing “*three ladies’ hats*” or Father Malachi delivering “*camp mass... in a lace petticoat*” (15.499, 4693-5). Other costumes present the suggestion of cross-dressing through association with pantomime stories that push the boundaries of gender

representation. Because “Turkish trousers” were appropriated as women’s leisurewear (and later, athleticwear) after the 1890s, it could be argued that Molly’s ‘pyjamas,’ though *suggestive* of cross-dressing at a time when trousers were not standard womenswear, constitute a nonsubversive extension of accepted gender norms. Such is not the case for other costumes pulled from ‘oriental’ intertexts to the episode, pantomimes including *Aladdin*, *Sinbad the Sailor*, and *Turco the Terrible*.

As Cheryl Herr has previously discussed, turn-of-the-century pantomimes included a “highly codified cast” often consisting of a ‘principal boy’ played by a “well-endowed woman in tights, who made little or no attempt to mask her femaleness” as well as “always [including] a man in the role of ‘dame’.”¹⁵² The repeated references to drag in “Circe” both reproduce its comedic effect and destabilise the offstage codes of gender it exaggerates. As Bloom regresses into his childhood costume, his mother Ellen appears in “*pantomime dame’s stringed mobcap, widow Twankey’s crinoline and bustle, blouse with muttonleg sleeves buttoned behind*” (U 15.283-4). Without the context of pantomime, the costume itself appears to be ‘correctly’ gendered. However, Widow Twankey, Aladdin’s mother, was played by a man in drag,¹⁵³ and this caricature was intentionally nonmimetic: “The [pantomime] dame is never effeminate; she is never merely a drag artist, since she always retains her male identity. The performer is clearly a man dressed as an absurd and ugly woman, and much of the comedy is derived from the fact that he is burlesquing himself as a male actor.”¹⁵⁴ The theatrical reflexivity of the “Circe” episode depends upon this duality, the distinction between ‘costume’ and ‘actor’ upsetting the literary conventions through gender- and race-bending roles like Ellen Bloom as Madam Twankey and Molly’s father, Major Tweedy, “*moustached like Turco the terrible*” (U 15.4612). Like most scenes in “Circe,” this image is a recapitulation of Bloom’s earlier daydream; a “sentry” with “old

Tweedy's big moustaches" is combined with the "big man, Turko the terrible, seated crosslegged, smoking a coiled pipe" (4.85-90). In "Ithaca," Bloom recalls the "grand annual Christmas pantomime Sinbad the Sailor," performed at the Gaiety Theatre in December 1892 and January 1893, that has been referenced throughout the novel (17.422-3). From the first episode, Stephen associates pantomime with his mother: "old feather fans, tasselled dancecards, powdered with musk, a gaud of amber beads in her locked drawer... She heard old Royce sing in the pantomime of Turko the terrible" (1.255-8). Robert Martin Adams writes that in the 1892 production of *Sinbad*, 'Captain M'Turco' was played by an English actor, Edward William Royce: "not that this part was an invariable feature of *Sinbad the Sailor*... but because, as an old Dublin favorite, he had to be worked in somehow."¹⁵⁵ Royce performed the song "Invisibility," quoted by Stephen, in *Turco the Terrible* beginning in 1873 and reprised it for *Sinbad* due to its popularity.¹⁵⁶

Characters like Twankey and Turko were ubiquitous in Edwardian pantomime; by transforming into these archetypes, the 'parent' is filtered through the cultural references of childhood joy—and gender confusion. Although we frequently point to Stephen's Hamlet theory as representative of instability in the parent-child relationship, pantomime further confuses the race and gender of the custodial parent of all three *Ulysses* protagonists. If Bloom, like many cross-dressers, sees his mother as the archetypal 'female,' Ellen Bloom's pantomime costume highlights the falsity of that 'stable' gender representation.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, since Twankey's child, Aladdin, is played by a woman, the gender of the child as well as the parent is destabilised. As Twankey, Ellen produces a "*phial, an Agnus Dei, a shrivelled potato and a celluloid doll*," from the suggestive "*pouch of her striped blay petticoat*" (15.288-9). Herr writes that in a Freudian reading, these "phallic but detached items" make Ellen a phallic mother who, "in the mind of the frightened child, has lost the

phallus in some mysterious way that threatens the child too.”¹⁵⁸ Rather than under her skirt, Stephen’s mother keeps her articles of theatrical femininity—“feather fans, tasselled dancecards... [and] amber beads” —in a “locked drawer” (*U* 1.255-6). These musty items are juxtaposed with the faux-



Figure 22 Illustration by Carl Flint depicting Joyce as a reflection of his mother in a vanity, wearing her hat and feather boa. Mixed media, 1994. Republished in David Norris and Carl Flint, *Introducing Joyce: A Graphic Guide* (London: Icon Books Ltd., 2012): 45.

luxurious, vibrant

Orientalism of *Turco*. A

reminder of May Dedalus’s lost “Phantasmal mirth, folded away,” they trigger Stephen’s ghostly visions (1.263). The Near East is thus a space of confusingly Oedipal sensuality, a colonial commodification like in “Araby” that, when demystified, leads to a loss of childlike innocence. Molly’s dual identity is similarly dramatised, in Bloom’s imagination, through her father’s *Turco* costume; Tweedy appears “*moustached like Turko the terrible, in bearskin cap with hackleplume and accoutrements, with epaulettes, gilt chevrons and sabretache, his breast bright with medals*” (*U* 15.4612-14). An orientalised figure wearing traditionally British emblems of masculinity, Tweedy’s ‘*Turco*’ speaks Hebrew and compares “*medals, decorations, trophies of war, [and] wounds*” with the stage-Irish Citizen (15.4618-23).

Two other appearances of white characters in yellowface are examples of the early Orientalist bent of modernism¹⁵⁹ as well as turn-of-the-century racial performativity: “*twirling japanesily*,” Mrs. Cunningham appears from under an umbrella “*in Merry Widow hat and kimono gown*” and John Eglinton enters a scene wearing “*a mandarin’s kimono of Nankeen yellow, lizardlettered, and a high pagoda hat*” (15.3857-8, 2249-50). Joyce indiscriminately mixes images from China and Japan as Eglinton, mockingly called “the chinless Chinaman! Chin Chon Eg Lin Ton” by Mulligan earlier (9.1129), becomes this bizarre Chinese geisha with “*a pigtail toupee tied with an orange topknot*” (15.2253). Eglinton’s “*pigtail toupee*,” like Cissy Caffrey’s “burned cork moustache,”¹⁶⁰ reveals the comedic inaccuracy of his ‘cultural drag’. His stage-Chinese costume and Cunningham’s stereotypical song and dance align them with the more overtly racist caricatures of minstrels that appeared earlier:

Tom and Sam Bohee, coloured coons in white duck suits, scarlet socks, upstarched Sambo chokers and large scarlet asters in their buttonholes, leap out. Each has his banjo slung. Their paler smaller negroid hands jingle the twingtwang wires. Flashing white Kaffir eyes and tusks they rattle through a breakdown in clumsy clogs, twinging, singing, back to back, toe heel, heel toe, with smackfatclacking nigger lips.

...

They whisk black masks from raw babby faces: then, chuckling, chortling, trumming, twanging, they diddle diddle cakewalk dance away. (15.412-26)

Here, a pair of white actors in blackface imitate the Bohee brothers, black musicians who toured from 1876 through the 1890s.¹⁶¹ Bowen notes the conflict between the historical Bohee brothers and this performance, which implies blackface through their incongruent physical characteristics: “Can Joyce be extending the parody by providing [the brothers] with an underlayer of white skin to make them two white men imitating black men imitating white men imitating blacks?”¹⁶² This impersonation of appropriation squarely

places race in the realm of performativity alongside gender. Impersonation, sexual or racial, is the state of being ‘masked,’ but these masks—like the “*black masks*” hiding the Bohee brothers’ “*raw babby faces*” (*U* 15.425)—reveal more than they occlude. In “Circe,” Joyce’s inversion of what one might think of as fixed prototypical binaries (male and female, black and white, Jew and gentile, parent and child, audience and performer, human and animal) destabilise these oppositions; Herr writes that as the “means of categorization and exclusion, these [binaries] sustained the culture’s power relations, but... must all be recognised as nondefinitive” in *Ulysses*.¹⁶³ In a 1904 letter to Nora, Joyce asked, “Can you not see the simplicity which is at the back of all my disguises? We all wear masks” (*SL* 26-27). These masks are never more visible than on the stage, as what Garber calls a “back-formation: a return to the problem of representation that underlies theater itself.”¹⁶⁴

When Bloom defends his presence in Nighttown—and the insinuation of sexual impropriety—he does so by arguing that Molly, too, would like to see “the exotic” performed, including “Othello black brute,” “Eugene Stratton,” and the “Bohee brothers” (15.408-11). Shakespeare’s portrayal of black masculinity, *Othello*, and the Bohees are linked through Eugene Stratton, a white minstrel player who performed in blackface. Ryan Kerr argues that Stratton’s presence in *Ulysses*, “by way of exposing the contradictions inherent in the dominant colonial ideology, critiques the anti-black essentialism of [minstrel performers] while simultaneously displaying the necessity of recognizing cultural hybridity.”¹⁶⁵ Several scholars, including Hye Ryoung Kil, George Bornstein, and Vincent Cheng have noted Joyce’s deliberate parallels between Jewishness and blackness, a reading which parses Bloom as a symbolic representation of the colonised black subject.¹⁶⁶ However, because Bloom’s familiarity with blackness—like his exposure to ‘the Orient’—is filtered through theatrical representations which are, themselves, stereotyped images, his

representation of black men, the Bohee brothers, is a recapitulation of Stratton's racist caricature. Bloom "does not make a distinction... between black and blackface"¹⁶⁷ and perpetuates stereotypes created through the colonial discourses embodied elsewhere by Father Conmee.¹⁶⁸ Kerr writes that "Conmee and Bloom represent two different symptoms of colonial ideology," and while Bloom attempts to overcome colonial practices, he "still takes part in some colonial discourses."¹⁶⁹ Perhaps drawing on Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter*,¹⁷⁰ which, among its anti-Semitic statements concerning the femininity of Jewish men, declares that "the Jewish race... possesses a certain anthropological relationship with both negroes and Mongolians,"¹⁷¹ Joyce racially Others Bloom as a central component of his feminisation and cross-dressing fantasies, but also as part of his 'anti-hatred' politics. Belonging, as he tells the Citizen, "to a race... that is hated and persecuted" (*U* 12.1467), Bloom's Jewishness is the locus of his empathy for, and identification with, other Others.

Bloom's second excuse for being in Monto similarly ties him to colonial discourses, race, religion, and theatrical cross-dressing. He tells Josie that he has been to the theatre to see *Leah* (*U* 15.496). In "Lotus Eaters," Bloom considers seeing *Leah*, and connects the principal actress to her earlier Shakespearean role: "*Leah* tonight. Mrs Bandmann Palmer... Hamlet she played last night. Male impersonator" (5.194-6). Cross-gender casting was not atypical of Shakespearean productions in 1904; Hamlet had been played by at least fifty actresses by the turn of the century, including Bandmann-Palmer.¹⁷² Garber writes that "it might be contended that transvestite theatre is the *norm*, not the aberration," given its commonality across cultures and time periods.¹⁷³ Bloom's continued speculation, "Perhaps [Hamlet] was a woman. Why Ophelia committed suicide" (5.196-7), adds to a theory already circulating. For example, Eglinton later goads Stephen by saying, "I hear that an

actress played Hamlet... Vining held that the prince was a woman. Has no-one made him out to be an Irishman?" (9.517-20). Best inserts Wilde's *Portrait of Mr W. H.* into the conversation, aligning each of these 'fantastical' models with Stephen's theory of Shakespearean paternity. Stephen's guilt over the death of his mother and Bloom's trauma over his father's suicide both manifest in meta cultural criticism. "Poor papa!" Bloom thinks after speculating about Ophelia's suicide, "How he used to talk of Kate Bateman... And Ristori [playing Leah] in Vienna" (5.197-200). The actresses Bloom recalls, like Stephen recalling his mother watching Royce in *Turco*, link the parent to a gender-inverted theatricality. *Leah* tells the tragic tale of a Jew (Leah) who falls in love with a Catholic (Rudolf) and is betrayed by an apostate (Nathan). Nathan agrees to test Leah's love by bribing her but takes the gold himself and tells Rudolf she renounced him, causing tragedy. Bloom's father was moved by a scene where "old blind Abraham recognises... Nathan's voice! His son's voice... who left the house of his father and left the God of his father" (5.201-5). Bloom's religious guilt, like Stephen's for not praying at his mother's deathbed, amplifies his grief. That both men turn to *Hamlet*, a story in which emotional vulnerability following the death of a parent has "so readily [been] conceptualised as feminine,"¹⁷⁴ brings full circle these associations. Furthermore, this epiphany taking place in a brothel emphasises the episode's Oedipal implications of placing the opposite-sex parent as the source of identity trouble.

By having a grown woman playing the principal boy, the "panto boys in fleshtights" become "immoral" (*U* 15.3246). The feminisation of the panto hero "negated the sexual aspect of the love affair at the heart of so many panto stories" while at the same time "[emphasising] the sexual element" through costume, writes Herr.¹⁷⁵ Minstrel shows established similar "carnival-like liberation from restraint," drawing attention to sexuality

through dances—including “pelvic contortions and bodily abandonment”—that would be seen as improper if performed by white-coded characters.¹⁷⁶ Because the characters in both ‘Arabian’ pantomime and minstrel shows are racially Othered, they need not abide by the codes of sexual conduct imposed on western bodies. Impersonation of the Other distances the western body from sexual impropriety even as, to use Bloom’s words, “the dark sexsmelling theatre unbridles vice” (*U* 15.3321-2). John Finegan writes that Dublin’s red-light district often emulated continental styles, and especially “attempted to copy the ambiance of the celebrated brothels of Paris.”¹⁷⁷ Stephen’s mimicry of Parisian brothels draws clear parallels between theatre, brothel, cabaret, and circus:

Thousand places of entertainment to expense your evenings with lovely ladies... fashionable house very eccentric where lots cocottes beautiful dressed much about princesses like are dancing cancan and walking there parisian clowneries extra foolish for bachelors foreigners... *Demimondaines* nicely handsome sparkling of diamonds very amiable costumed... Enter gentlemen to see in mirror every positions trapezes all that machine there besides also if desire act awfully bestial butcher’s boy pollutes in warm veal liver or omlet on the belly *pièce de Shakespeare*. (*U* 15.3882-3909)

Stephen’s “*marionette jerks*” as he entertains the group with “parleyvoo” (15.3882, 3875) invert the relationship between prostitute and john, “art, meaning, gender, and sale” becoming “scrambled,” to borrow Flynn’s pun.¹⁷⁸ Austin Briggs notes that “we do not speak of ‘performing in bed’ for nothing,” offering the example of Stephen’s pun on the “prologue to the swelling act” in “Scylla” (*U* 9.259).¹⁷⁹ If a brothel is “a place of sexual theater,”¹⁸⁰ as argued by Patrick Parrinder, and theatre inherently challenges the ‘naturalness’ of the act, then sex can be read as the ultimate performance of gender difference. Tonya Krouse writes that “modernism neither invents sex nor liberates it from repression,” arguing that modernists use “representations of sex and sexuality as focal points of tension in narrative, and as such, the scene of sex operates as a locus for

modernist aesthetics—a crucial point of engagement”¹⁸¹ with their historical context—in this case, with the gender anxiety of the interwar years.

The distinction between performer and prostitute has historically been, at best, uncertain. In the 1890s, the word “actress” was used as a “euphemism for ‘prostitute’ in the press,”¹⁸² and as late as the 1940s Simone de Beauvoir argued that “a woman who goes before the public to earn her living is tempted to trade more intimately in her charms,” listings actresses, models, singers, and even taxi drivers as suspect professions.¹⁸³ Bloom’s transformation into a “*charming soubrette with dauby cheeks*” (U 15.2985), says Herr, “underscores the link between the music hall and the kind of business that Bella Cohen does.”¹⁸⁴ That is to say, he ‘becomes’ a female prostitute in this scene, but his “*large male hands*,” like the Bohees’s “*paler smaller negroid hands*,” reveal the disjuncture between actor and role (15.285, 414-15). In Judith Butler’s analysis of de Beauvoir, gender is a “becoming activity,” not a fixed noun but a verb, an “incessant and repeated action.”¹⁸⁵ Examining gender or race¹⁸⁶ as performance rather than a stable, ‘natural’ identity means that there will inevitably be those who ‘fail’ to ‘correctly’ perform identities. Butler argues that a performative gesture is successful when “it *draws on* and *covers over* the constitutive conventions by which it is mobilized,” having little value without norms to mimic.¹⁸⁷ When gender performance *diverges* from how one interprets its appearance, as in drag, the theatricality of the performance becomes visible.¹⁸⁸ Bloom’s “*male hands*” (U 15.285), then, may make visible his engendering, but do not necessarily negate it. Gilbert and Gubar’s formulation of Bloom as “male transvestite [using] the degrading apparatus of female costume to convert ‘humiliation’ to ‘mastery’ by showing... that he is not ‘just’ like a woman, he is better than a woman because he is a woman with a penis,”¹⁸⁹ inscribes Joyce’s text with unwarranted sexist (and transphobic) biologism. Setting aside the fact that

Bloom explicitly has a “*vulva*” in this scene (*U* 15.3089), their argument relies not only on essentialism, but on the demand that femininity be performed ‘correctly’ in order to be read *as* femininity—that is, Gilbert and Gubar, as I demonstrated in my introduction, read Bloom’s costume change as mean-spirited farce rather than *jouissance*.

As noted elsewhere, Bloom transforms into two ‘archetypes’ of women: the mother and the prostitute. Weininger, whose *Sex & Character* informs aspects of Bloom’s identity, positions these archetypes as opposites. The mother is respectable, if “badly-dressed, tasteless, [and] preoccupied,” and men turn to prostitutes because they “require pleasure... from the daughters of joy: Unlike the mother, these think of the pleasures of the world, of dancing, of dressing, of theatres and concerns, of pleasure.”¹⁹⁰ Following the Weiningerian script of the prostitute who “knows the art of love... cultivates it, teaches it, and enjoys it,” Bloom is trained by Bello to “pander to [men’s] Gomorrahan vices”¹⁹¹ using the ‘weapon’ of femininity: clothing (*U* 15.3121-2).¹⁹² Before instruction on *how* to perform as a prostitute, Bello outlines the specific grooming and costuming required to play the part:

BELLO

(*points to his whores*) As they are now so will you be, wigged, singed, perfumesprayed, ricepowded, with smoothshaven armpits... You will be laced with cruel force into vicelike corsets of soft dove coutille with whalebone bust to the diamondtrimmed pelvis.... while your figure, plumper than when at large, will be restrained in nettight rocks, pretty two ounce petticoats... (15.2972-80)

Significantly, Bloom’s “punishment frock” (15.2966) echoes both the performativity of drag and turn-of-the-century women’s fashion. Female impersonation gained popularity alongside a trend toward turning women’s silhouettes into “caricature[s] of voluptuousness,” writes Laurence Senelick. Through the “padded bosom, jutting bustle and towering chignon,” an “artificial” look was effectively “upholstered” onto women’s bodies.¹⁹³ Male fashion of the same period has been characterised as “a century in

mourning for itself,” and it is easy to see how Bloom’s pleasure in creating an “illusion of femininity” by “adopting the gaudy plumage of the opposite sex” emerges in this context.¹⁹⁴ Contrasted with his funeral suit (and Stephen’s Hamletesque mourning attire), the variety and luxuriousness of women’s clothing appeal not only to Bloom’s fetishization of women’s clothing, but the status symbol they represent.

Reinforcing a common anti-Semitic stereotype, Bloom is a spendthrift; one of the major accusations made against him in “Cyclops” is that Bloom is cheap, guilty of “jerrymandering, pack[ing] juries and swindling the taxes off of the government and appointing consuls all over the world to... [sell] Irish industries” (*U* 12.1575-7). Bloom’s justification for trying women’s clothing in the past is that the Blooms were “hard up” and he washed Molly’s clothes “to save the laundry bill... the purest thrift” (15.2987-8). To make ends meet, Bloom bought and sold clothes from a rich divorcée: “Mrs Miriam Dandrade that sold me her old wraps and black underclothes... Didn’t take a feather out of her my handling them. As if I was her clotheshorse” (8.349-53). Bello accuses Bloom of trying on Dandrade’s “secondhand black operatop shift and short trunkleg naughties” and taking her place in her bed with a dozen male lovers (15.2993-4). Like the Weiningerian prostitute, Bloom would suffer untold abuses for the privilege of “[shedding his] male garments” to wear “the shot silk luxuriously rustling” of a “punishment frock” (15.2966-7). Gilbert and Gubar never mention class or Jewishness in their estimation of Bloom; their construction insists that Bloom is “a ‘new womanly man’ whose secret manliness may ultimately seduce and subdue insubordinate New Women.”¹⁹⁵ However, Joyce’s borrowings from Weininger (including the key phrase, “new womanly man”) and his reproduction of stereotypes surrounding supposed “Jewish degeneration” are a “sign of the interimplication of the Jew, the homosexual, and the ‘woman’.”¹⁹⁶ Weininger’s definition

of a “womanly man” encompasses many of Bloom’s mannerisms—his gait, fastidiousness, menstrual symptoms, cross-dressing, and even his marriage to a performer.¹⁹⁷

Bella is coded as a Jewish ‘virago,’¹⁹⁸ which contributes context to her symbolic re-gendering. As noted by Marilyn Reizbaum, her appearance “signals the exotic (i.e., Jewish) element”¹⁹⁹ of her character: “*She has a sprouting moustache. Her olive face is heavy, slightly sweated and fullnosed*” (U 15.2746-7). The Bello sequence “construes all of Bella’s tendencies in a negative, stereotypical fashion” that, as Joseph Boone writes, forges a “domineering, castrating, shrewish” Jewish-coded woman out of insecurity in his own lack of manliness.²⁰⁰ When Bella becomes Bello, his costume repeats almost verbatim Weinginer’s definition of a manly woman: “Manlike women wear their hair short, affect manly dress, study, drink, smoke, are fond of mountaineering, or devote themselves passionately to sport.”²⁰¹ Bello appears with “*bobbed hair... fit moustache rings round his shaven mouth, in mountaineer’s puttees, green silverbuttoned coat, sport skirt and alpine hat*” (U 15.2857-9). Throughout the scene, he is “*puffing cigarsmoke*” until he “*quenches his cigar angrily on Bloom’s ear,*” the first of many assaults on Bloom (15.2931-7). Bello’s “*figged fist and foul cigar*” (15.2942) are the phallic instruments through which Bloom is penetrated: “I’ll make you... suck my thumping good Stock Exchange cigar”; “*he bares his arm and plunges it elbowdeep in Bloom’s vulva*” (15.2893-7, 3089). As violent as these images are, they are images Bloom conjures as part of his masochistic fantasy; a “*cowed*” Bloom declares, “Exuberant female. Enormously I desiderate your domination,” and Bello confirms that “What [Bloom has] longed for has come to pass” (15.2777, 2964-5). Bloom’s performance of nonconsent is continually undermined, as he answers using “Nes. Yo” and obeys Bello’s orders “*with desire, with reluctance*” (15.2766, 2804). Though he puts on a show of unwillingness, Bloom is completely in control of the situation; he even makes sure

Stephen does not overpay for the night's excitement, firmly establishing his position as the well-informed (and sober) consumer of Bella's goods.

Elsewhere in this chapter, I mentioned that although Bloom's sexual fantasies involve masochism, he remains in control. Such is true not only with Molly, fettered odalisque, and Bello, ringmaster/dominatrix, but also during his 'trial,' when Bloom relishes being punished by fashionable upper-class women he has harassed. Mrs. Yelverton Barry, "*in lowcorsaged opal balldress and elbowlength ivory gloves,*" alleges Bloom ogled "her peerless globes" from "the gods"—the cheap seats—while she "sat in a box of the *Theatre Royal,*" and made "improper overtures" for her "to misconduct [her]self" (15.1014-1021). Mrs. Bellingham claims, "*from inside her huge opossum muff,*" that he did the same to her, adding that he "eulogised" her "swelling calves in silk hose" and "other hidden treasures in priceless lace," urging her to "defile the marriage bed [and] commit adultery" as his "Venus in furs"²⁰² (15.1028, 1046-55). To Mrs. Mervyn Talboys, Bloom allegedly sent "an obscene photograph... [of Molly] practicing illicit intercourse with a muscular torero" (15.1065-9) after which

He urged [Talboys] to do likewise, to misbehave, to sin with officers of the garrison. He implored [her] to soil his letter in an unspeakable manner, to chastise him as he richly deserves, to bestride and ride him, to give him a most vicious horsewhipping. (15.1069-73)

The ladies chorus "Me too" and Talboys proceeds to spank Bloom while dressed in 'male' costume: "*hard hat, jackboots, cockspurred, vermillion waistcoat... and hunting crop*" (15.1074-6, 1058-60). Though he elevates flagellation to an exchange of social currency by describing it "a warm tingling glow without effusion" made by "refined birching" (15.1095-6), Bloom's enjoyment of his erotic 'punishment' is best captured in his pleas for forgiveness "*with hangdog mein*" while he shamelessly "*offers the other cheek*" (15.1107-

9). This scene, anticipating Bloom's more explicit inversion with Bella, frames his desire to be spanked through a performance of shame betrayed through gestures of pleasure.

Eve Sedgwick writes that shame “mantles the threshold between introversion and extroversion, between absorption and theatricality, between performativity and—performativity,” thus bridging the “double-meaning of ‘performative’ as both ‘dramatic’ and ‘non-referential’.”²⁰³ However, although scholars, including Sheldon Brivic and Joseph Valente, assert that “women are repositories for [Bloom's] male shame”²⁰⁴ or that his “residual shame at his sexual infractions manifests itself in a sense of class abjection,”²⁰⁵ Bloom's pleasure indicates otherwise. Bloom lacks shame: he puts himself on trial not because he is ashamed of the (real or imagined) transgressions against Gerty, the upper-class ladies, or Mary Driscoll, but because he is in control of a fantasy from which he gets sexual gratification: “(*his eyes closing, quails expectantly*) Here? (*he squirms*) Again! (*he pants cringing*) I love the danger” (*U* 15.1085-6). But there is no real danger, only theatre: “*All the people cast soft pantomime stones at Bloom*” (15.1902). Like his painless birth of octuplets, his sexual fantasies produce no negative consequences simply because they bring him pleasure. Joyce seems to (rightly) suggest that there is nothing inherently shameful about sexual curiosity, kink, fetishism, or questioning gender identity, yet since the 1970s, the tradition of considering sexuality in Joyce's novels “fundamentally perverse”²⁰⁶ has remained startlingly uncontested. In the 2020s, the aspects of Bloom's subconscious that will shock new readers are less likely to be his underwear fetish, cross-dressing, or BDSM, but rather his sexual harassment of women.

Despite Driscoll's accusations appearing credible,²⁰⁷ there's no evidence to suggest that Bloom's other hallucinations occur outside the realm of fantasy, except for cross-dressing. Bloom confesses twice to cross-dressing: first, having “tried [Molly's] things on

only twice, a small prank, in Holles street,” and second, as a “female impersonator in the High School play *Vice Versa*” (U 15.2986-7, 3010-11). The second example harkens back to Joyce’s participation in an 1898 production of *Vice Versa* at Belvedere, though Joyce played the “farcical pedagogue,” not his daughter (P 73). In *Portrait*, the female role is played by Bertie Tallon, a “pinkdressed figure, wearing a curly golden wig and an oldfashioned straw sunbonnet, with black pencilled eyebrows and cheeks delicately rouged and powdered” (P 74). The cross-dressed boy foreshadows Stephen’s encounter with a prostitute “in a long pink gown” (P 100), thus queering his adolescent psychosexual development. Moreover, the prostitute undresses in a room where a “huge doll sat with her legs apart,” echoing the prefect’s question about Bertie: “Is this a beautiful young lady or a doll that you have there, Mrs Tallon?” (P 101, 74). Although Stephen does not explicitly cross-dress himself, he has worn a girl’s shoe: “you were delighted when Esther Osvalt’s shoe went on you: girl I knew in Paris. *Tiens, quel petit pied!*” (U 3.449-50). Joyce is also ‘known’ to have cross-dressed as a child with the Sheehy children, putting on “burlesques of operas or plays” in which he “got up in one of Mrs. Sheehy’s old gowns as Carmen and... sang beautifully” (JJH 53).

In Stephen’s Protean stream-of-consciousness, the memory of wearing Esther’s shoe evokes “Wilde’s love that dare not speak its name. His arm: Cranly’s arm,” which suggests, as many others have argued, an undercurrent of gay panic (3.451). Cranly is often depicted as “womanish” or in juxtaposition with queer figures, including “a woman... small and slender as a boy, and with a falling girdle. Her voice, frail and high as a boy’s” (P 244). This “Bertie Tallon in reverse,” writes Valente, follows the “cultural script of placing the figure of woman between himself and his homosocial counterpart” after queerness is insinuated: “Are you trying to make a convert of me or a pervert of yourself?”

Stephen asks Cranly (*P* 242).²⁰⁸ Bloom seems to have a similarly fraught relationship with Gerald, the boy who “converted” him “to be a true corsetlover” (*U* 15.3009-10). Gerald, like Cranly, is a disembodied but queerly-inflected presence, appearing as “Dear Ger,” “dearest Gerald,” and in a pair of inverted figures, “*Mesdames Gerald and Stanislaus*” (15.2462, 3012, 4355).²⁰⁹ It is from Gerald, who was “fascinated by [his] sister’s stays” that Bloom claims he “got that kink” (15.3011). Gerald is a member of the “cult of the beautiful,” someone who uses “pinky greasepaint and gilds his eyelids” (15.312)—a true female impersonator, who rejects shame and embraces gender difference.

4.4. The Dirty *Bits*

The earliest extant draft of the “Circe” episode from Spring 1920 contains the beginning and the end of the episode as well as five hallucination scenes, two of Stephen’s and three of Bloom’s. Notably, the draft does not contain what Michael Groden identifies as “Bloom’s two most important fantasies,” namely, “his dreams of glory and his transformation into a female slave.”²¹⁰ The barest hint of what will become the circus of sadomasochistic theatre is present in Bloom’s line to Bella Cohen, “Enormously I desire your domination” (*JJA* 14.231), but the scene goes no further. Ronan Crowley has noted Joyce first calls “Circe” the “costume episode” in a 1920 letter in which he asks Budgen to get a hold of *Plain English* by Lord Alfred Douglas, which was mentioned in an August issue of *Bits of Fun*.²¹¹ Bloom’s cross-dressing and domestic punishment fantasies seem to come directly from this “comic paper of a bold type as might be found on our puritan shores... usually entitled something or other Bits, full of mild nudities.”²¹² That Joyce used issues of *Bits of Fun* as a source has been known from Joyce’s correspondence with Budgen, who supplied Joyce with several copies.²¹³ However, until Peter Farrer’s discovery

of “Cap and Apron,” the exact issues available to Joyce and the content therein were unidentified. Farrer, a researcher of transgender history, discovered the letter from “Cap and Apron” years before the Quinn draft of “Circe” was acquired by the National Library of Ireland. The Quinn draft contains a list of phrases that conclusively proves that Joyce used this letter as a source, as well as several others published between 7 August and 9 October 1920. Farrer’s discovery went largely unnoticed until 2009, when several researchers, including Crowley, Jennifer Burns Levin, and Elisabetta d’Erme, began to further investigate the *Bits of Fun* source as a result of the NLI acquisition.²¹⁴

Joyce correctly identifies the magazine throughout *Ulysses* as *Photo Bits*, its title in 1904. A connoisseur of illicit material, Bloom not only collects hardcore pornography but also proudly displays a suggestive *Photo Bits* supplement, *The Bath of the Nymph*, above his bed (*U* 4.369). The Nymph comes to life in “Circe,” listing the kinds of material with which she shares her pages:

THE NYMPH

Mortal! You found me in evil company, highkickers, coster picnicmakers, pugilists, popular generals, immoral panto boys in fleshtights... I was surrounded by the stale smut of clubmen, stories to disturb callow youth, ads for transparencies, truedup dice and bustpads, proprietary articles and why wear a truss with testimonial from ruptured gentleman. Useful hints to the married... Rubber goods. Neverrip brand as supplied to the aristocracy. Corsets for men. I cure fits or money refunded. Unsolicited testimonials for Professor Waldmann’s wonderful chest exuber...

BLOOM

You mean *Photo Bits*? (15.3246-61)

Farrer writes that the Nymph’s “evil company” in *Photo Bits* “conveys entirely the wrong impression” of the paper’s contents in 1904, when there would have been little to offer cross-dressing enthusiasts.²¹⁵ *Photo Bits* became progressively racier over time, with issues circa 1909-1912 resembling the more explicit *Bits of Fun*.²¹⁶ Between 1898 and 1920, the

publication slowly shifted from ‘comic paper’ into a softcore pin-up magazine before assuming its final form as “the worlds first journalistic vehicle for the exposition and discussion of domestic punishment, clothes fetishism and cross-dressing.”²¹⁷ Joyce likely envisaged the hardcore material appealing to Bloom, but that material was not present in the paper until 1909. Jennifer Burns Levin argues that Joyce’s familiarity with *Photo Bits* must have extended beyond the issues of *Bits of Fun* sent by Budgen and that he likely came across the paper during his visits to Ireland in 1909.²¹⁸ *Bits of Fun* and its precursor, *Photo Bits*, printed softcore pornography alongside stories and articles relating to cross-dressing, tightlacing, bondage, masochism, and other ‘kinky’ topics from 1909 onward. Despite the conservative crusade throughout the early twentieth century to ban, confiscate, and destroy ‘immoral’ literature, these publications constitute a relatively unmediated forum that collected and distributed socially taboo material to a market spanning the British Isles and parts of Europe. Papers classified as ‘comic’ magazines generally followed the same format, containing a serial story, “two or more shorter stories, miscellaneous comic pieces, and many photographs [and] drawings” of women in states of undress.²¹⁹

The John Quinn draft manuscript of “Circe,” acquired by the National Library of Ireland in 2000, is particularly revealing not only as an early fragment of “Circe,” but also because of a list of items (Figure 23) that appears at the top of the page containing the “Circe” protodraft I discussed in Chapter 1 (see Figure 6). The protodraft incorporates words from the list to create Bloom’s sadomasochistic punishment fantasy. The list, which is transcribed with its *Ulysses* concordances in Table 2, contains thirty-seven items taken from twenty or more “Confidential Correspondence” letters. Crowley writes that these include letters from “Cap and Apron,” “Not An Irish Rebel,” “A Happy Slave,” and “Corset-Lover,” among others.²²⁰ All but four of the items are incorporated into the draft of

“Circe,” and some, including “Gerald,” are inserted multiple times within the text. Farrer notes the possible connection to an October 1920 letter, “The Boy-Girl,” in which a boy named Gerald is dressed as a girl by his mother’s friends.²²¹ While not a direct quotation from either “Boy-Girl” Bloom’s admission that “It was dear Gerald converted me to be a true corsetlover... He got that kink, fascinated by sister’s stays. Now dearest Gerald uses pinky greasepaint and guilds his eyelids. Cult of the beautiful” (15.3009-13) echoes details of that letter and a reply to it. In reply to “The Boy-Girl,” “Archie” confesses that he has been “caught... dressing in [his] sister’s clothes” and he “[envies] ‘Gerald’ ... for having nice friends,” approving of his cross-dressing.²²² A combination of these letters may have inspired Bloom’s teenage escapades; Bloom’s words replicate the language of both letters involving “Gerald,” including the words “kink,” “female impersonation,” “converted,” “fascinated,” “cult,” and “sister’s clothes,” among others that do not appear in the list.

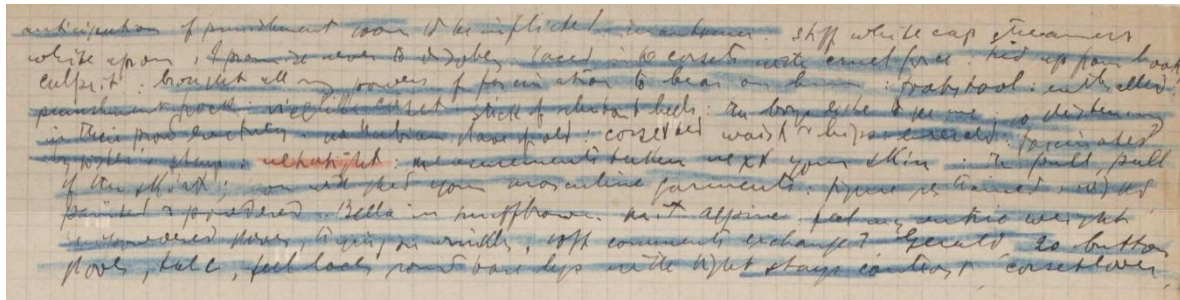


Figure 23 Photoreproduced facsimile version of MS 35,958 (James Joyce’s *Ulysses*: the John Quinn draft manuscript of ‘Circe’ [Paris, July-December 1920]) at the National Library of Ireland, Department of Manuscripts (cropped). This list of items appears above the protodraft of “Circe” on the same page (Figure 6).

Table 2 Phrases from NLI MS 35,958 and their corresponding location in the Gabler edition of *Ulysses*. All items in the list are crossed out in blue unless otherwise indicated.

	NLI MS 35,958	<i>Ulysses</i> location
1	anticipation of punishment soon to be inflicted	Cheek me, I dare you. If you do tremble in anticipation of heel discipline to be inflicted in gym costume. (<i>U</i> 15.2869-70)
2	mantamer	“Master! Mistress! Mantamer!” (15.3062)
3	stiff white cap streamers, white apron, [uncrossed]	<i>She cuffs them on, her streamers flaunting aloft.</i> (15.3846-7)
4	I promise never to disobey	I promise never to disobey. (15.2864)

5	laced into corsets with cruel force	laced with cruel force into vicelike corsets (15.2974-5)
6	tied up from hook	The nosering, the pliers, the bastinado, the hanging hook (15.2891)
7	Culprit [uncrossed]	
8	I brought all my powers of fascination to bear on him	Bring all your powers of fascination to bear on them (15.3121)
9	Footstool	Footstool! Feel my entire weight. (15.2860-1)
10	Enthralled	BLOOM (<i>Enthralled, bleats.</i>) (15.2864)
11	punishment frock	Now for your punishment frock. (15.2966)
12	vicelike corset	laced with cruel force into vicelike corsets (15.2974-5)
13	stick of rhubarb heels	her cobweb hose and stick of rhubarb toe, as worn in Paris (15.2818)
14	the boys like to see me	My boys will be no end charmed to see you so ladylike (15.3081)
15	so glistening in their proud erectness	despot's glorious heels so glistening in their proud erectness (15.2861-2)
16	Nubian slave of old	flutes play like the Nubian slave of old (15.2892)
17	corsetted waist & hips [uncrossed]	
18	emerald	I gave you mementos, smart emerald garters far above your station (15.877) transparent stockings, emeraldgartered (15.3117)
19	fascinated by sister's stays	It was dear Gerald. He got that kink, fascinated by sister's stays. (15.3011)
20	Ulhafight [orange, unlocated]	
21	measurements taken next yr skin	Tape measurements will be taken next your skin (15.2975-6) Even the great Napoleon when measurements were taken next the skin (15.3835-6)
22	the pull, pull of the skirt	Alice will feel the pullpull (15.2981)
23	you will shed your masculine garments	You will shed your masculine garments, you understand, Ruby Cohen? (15.2966-7)
24	figure restrained	restrained in nettight frocks (15.2978)
25	wigged, painted & powdered	As they are now so will you be, wigged, singed, perfumesprayed, ricepowdered (15.2973-4)
26	Bella in snuffbrown suit	
27	Alpine	BLOOM ... <i>in brown Alpine hat</i> (15.270) BELLO ... <i>in mountaineer's puttees... and alpine hat with moorcock's feather</i> (15.2858-9)
28	feel my entire weight	Footstool! Feel my entire weight. (15.2860-1)
29	newpowdered gloves	your... hands will wear fortythreebutton gloves newpowdered with talc (15.3079)
30	trying on	I tried her things on only twice (15.2986)
31	wrinkles	<i>Mrs Keogh, wrinkled, greybearded, in a greasy bib, men's grey and green socks and brogues</i> (15.2923-4)
32	soft comments exchanged	MARION (<i>Softly.</i>) Poldy! (15.346-7) [?]

33	Gerald	Who's dear Gerald? Dear Ger, that you? O dear, he is Gerald (15.2462) It was Gerald converted me to be a true corsetlover... It was dear Gerald. He got that kink (15.3009-11) <i>Mesdames Gerald and Stanislaus</i> (15.4355)
34	20 button gloves	fortythrebutton gloves (15.3079)
35	talc	newpowdered with talc (15.3079)
36	feel laces round bare legs with tight stays contrast	the frilly flimsiness of lace round your bare knees will remind you (15.2981-3)
37	corsetlover	Gerald converted me to be a true corsetlover (15.3010)

Farrer located the first letter from which Joyce took notes for this list, “Cap and Apron” from 7 August 1920, using only the published *Ulysses*.²²³ This was possible because of phrases reproduced nearly verbatim from the source (Table 2, items 1, 4, and 5). There is some evidence to suggest that Joyce had issues of *Photo Bits* when drafting the episode, rather than just the list of notes. For example, the note “anticipation of punishment soon to be inflicted” enters “Circe” as “If you do tremble in anticipation of heel discipline to be inflicted” (*U* 15.2869-70). The original line from “Cap and Apron” reads, “the very approach of her... would overawe him completely and set him trembling with anticipation of punishment and pain soon to be inflicted.”²²⁴ ‘Trembling’ is present in both the source and draft, but not in the intervening note. More interesting still, “heel discipline” replaces the source’s “punishment.” The phrase “heel discipline” appears in other letters from Budgen’s shipment, but not “Cap and Apron.” Budgen recalls *Bits of Fun* as “the official organ of English tight-lacing and heel-drill specialists.”²²⁵ Farrer notes that in *Bits of Fun*, ‘heel discipline’ refers to the fetish of “being trampled on by women in high heels,” but argues that “Joyce thinks of it as the victim having to walk in very high heels,”²²⁶ a punishment inflicted by Cap and Apron: “For an hour she marched me up and down the room in agony... I could only totter along on my high heels with little, dainty, mincing strides.”²²⁷ Ronan Crowley has identified a number of other phrases from an October issue

of *Photo Bits* that Joyce used without intermediary notes; “Flapper Discipline,” a letter outlining punishments for an unruly teen on the “absolute ‘outside edge’ of modern minxdom” which include using the “potent weapon” of forcing her to dress in “a very scanty skirt,”²²⁸ informs Bello’s instruction of Bloom to use a “scanty, daringly short skirt” as a “potent weapon” with which he might “appeal to the better instincts of the *blasé* man about town” (*U* 15.3115-19). Future archival work may bring more instances of Joyce’s use of “Confidential Correspondence” letters to light, but there is clearly extensive influence.

“Confidential Correspondence” is one of the most well-documented distributions of letters on cross-dressing during the early twentieth century. Budgen writes that “the correspondence columns [of *Bits of Fun*] revealed it as the official organ of English tight-lacing and heel-drill specialists,” with every letter having “the authentic saccharine pedantic accent of perversity,”²²⁹ but this description, long taken for granted in Joyce studies, misrepresents the column’s scope and importance. For a decade, contributors wrote to the magazine to share their stories with like-minded individuals—those who “possess the kink.”²³⁰ The content of these letters varied but generally included personal stories and/or giving or soliciting advice on cross-dressing. In these exchanges, anonymity was paramount due to questionable legality. Cross-dressing in public, for example, could make one “liable to punishment,” as the editor warned one writer in September 1912.²³¹ Correspondents generally adopted pseudonyms following advice column conventions. Examples range from the basic “Wearer of Lingerie and Petticoats,” “Lover of Lingerie,” and “Experienced Impersonator” to the coy, “Belt and Braces,” “Experimentia,” and “Man Maid.” Many of the names play with gender, either reinforcing conventions (as “He-Man”) or queering them in names like “Boy-Girl,” “Effeminate Man,” and “A Boy who is a Girl.” One of the few editorial interventions in the “Confidential Correspondence” column was to

redact names and addresses. The letters themselves are presented, at least initially, as unadulterated, though censorship later impacted content. Under the guise of being comic entertainment, “Confidential Correspondence” created a forum for gender-nonconforming individuals, and particularly for cross-dressing men, to connect with like-minded individuals. Many letters begin with a note of gratitude toward the paper to alerting them to the existence of others ‘like them,’ having felt alone before discovering the column. “Confidential Correspondence” was introduced to *New Photo Fun* in October 1911 and continued, with few interruptions, until December 1920. *Bits of Fun* was “fined £30 for sending through the post packets containing indecent articles” in October 1920,²³² leading to Joyce’s urgent request that Frank Budgen send any issues still in his possession to Paris “enclosed in a copy of the *Christian Hero* or some such paper” (LI 148). Joyce’s guidance on concealment is a typical example of the modes of distribution used to move illicit material, which would include *Ulysses* itself in a few years’ time.

Bits of Fun was frequently threatened by ‘social purity’ prior to this indictment. As early as 1913, censorship of the column left readers angry and confused. Notably, the names of female undergarments had to be omitted from letters. “W.P.” writes to *New Fun* in 1915 to express their disappointment that the “Censor [had] been so severe” with their letter. They admit that they “[were] indiscrete enough to mention various articles of feminine underlinen by name,” but note that they “also mentioned the equivalent masculine garments... the names [of which were] quite printable.”²³³ A similar letter complains that they are “somewhat at a loss for words... owing to your censor” although they *do* find the words to explain that “ladies innermost underwear usually consists of two garments—a tunic and a nether garment” and where such articles can be purchased. It is to this letter that the editor finally responds to accusations of censorship, stating, “You do not appear to

understand that the flavour of bitter almonds is permissible in a pudding, but that a pudding composed of the poisonous nut would be injurious and illegal to administer.”²³⁴ Although many letters, including that of “Flapper Quintette,” beg the editor not to “let your old censor get hold of this letter,”²³⁵ at times the letters are notably tamer, and others during which the column was altogether absent. The censoring of ‘obscene’ phrases was one of many strategic moves made by the editor to avoid legal trouble. As a ‘comedic’ paper, the magazine had some freedom to be racy, but what it could get away with was in constant flux; the decline in pin-up photos and relative concealment of the “Confidential” in the back pages alongside the advertisements demonstrate the editor’s anxiety over being deemed ‘pornography,’ a label from which the paper would never recover. There had been numerous clashes over the definition of pornography following the Obscene Publications Act of 1857.²³⁶ The Act’s vagueness made prosecution for ‘obscenity’ dependent on judgements about production, sale, and distribution, in addition to content. In 1907, a case brought against the illustrated magazine *Judy* set a precedent for how the ‘illustrated press’ would be treated under the Act. *Judy*’s proprietor was prosecuted for advertising “dealers in pornography.” *Photo Bits* carried similar advertisements for pornographic book traders, contraceptives, and even abortifacients, though these faded from the back pages after *Judy*’s demise.²³⁷ Subsequent laws prohibiting the mailing of ‘obscene’ material led to distribution problems, but this time the crackdown on ‘pornography’ became such that in December 1920 the paper was shut down for good.

Among the many ways in which the proprietor of *Bits of Fun* sought to protect himself from prosecution are what I’m calling ‘editorial condemnation’ and ‘refusal to participate.’ Of the very few editorial interjections on the “Confidential” pages, most fall into one of these categories. In response to a letter signed “A Woman’s Slave,” for

example, the editor comments that “Our opinion is that if you are such a worm, you deserve all you get.”²³⁸ The letter outlined the writer’s enjoyment of BDSM, including being flogged and forced to do housework while dressed as a woman. By distancing himself from the content of these letters, the editor could print kinky material under the pretense of ridicule or condemnation of the content. By referring to the “longing to masquerade as a girl” as being “the result of a diseased imagination... contrary to the laws of nature,”²³⁹ the editor framed their publication as participating in scientific curiosity using the language of sexology. Similarly, the editor refuses to connect readers throughout the years, despite repeated requests: “Sorry, but we cannot comply with your request. These columns are essentially ‘confidential’.”²⁴⁰ In 1915, the editor explicitly lays out that he “cannot allow [correspondents] to make an appointment through our columns. If any harm came of it[,] we should be to blame.”²⁴¹ By refusing to help create a network, the editor absolves the paper of responsibility. Not to be dissuaded, contributors to the paper quickly found a workaround when it became clear that the editor would not publish real names, addresses, or identifying details in the paper, nor facilitate communication. Occasionally, a letter in the column ends with a request to “make an appointment in the Personal Column of the ‘Evening News’ or ‘Daily Mail’” in order to meet “effeminate readers... situated in London” to “compare notes as to their various kinks.”²⁴² These requests are not censored, and thus must have seemed a permissible solution to the editor.

The language we have today to describe gender variance did not exist for the “Confidential” writers. Without the word ‘cross-dresser’ and ‘transgender’ or even the now-antiquated ‘transvestite’ and ‘transsexual,’ we can only speculate how they would have identified if they had modern terms at their disposal. The writers nevertheless find a language with which to define themselves. Early issues of *Photo Bits* generally refer to

cross-dressers as “effeminate men,” although by 1914 several correspondents begin to protest this terminology because the desire to dress as women does not make them women, or even necessarily feminine. These masculine cross-dressers adopt the term “female impersonation” shortly thereafter, thus distinguishing themselves from those who live as women or wish they could. A letter signed “Effeminate,” for example, expresses the desire to be a girl, being “never happier than when gowned as a woman.”²⁴³ “Only a Boy” likewise longs “to go on a holiday somewhere where [she] could live completely as a girl.”²⁴⁴ From what little information we have from these letters, there begins to be a division that we might see as the differentiation between cross-dressers and trans women, though it is impossible to posthumously interpret the gender identity of these individuals. There are cases, however, where correspondents do explicitly refer to themselves as a specific gender. For example, “Marylebone,” has “always answered to a feminine name” and lived exclusively as a woman for the twelve years prior to her letter.²⁴⁵ Correspondent “A Boy who is a Girl” is likewise explicit about her gender identity. She shares a flat “with a girl chum” and openly lives as a woman, claiming that her “sex has, so far as [she] know[s], never ... been suspected—certainly it has not been challenged.”²⁴⁶ The differentiation between “sex” and “gender” is articulated in this letter, despite the lack of vocabulary with which to describe her transgender experience.

Why did the *Fun* papers print these letters? It would have been dangerous to do so, leaving the editor liable for fines for obscenity. The letters themselves answer this question. Many express excitement over the column’s return after several issues without it. During intervals when the column was absent from the paper, sales may have declined, as it seems to have been very popular among readers. Men and women alike write in to discuss how much they love the column. When there are too few letters to the editor, fake ones take

their place, which are easily spotted. Each tells a formulaic story of an adolescent boy who is sent to live with a female guardian who dresses him as a girl during his formative years. As an adult, the writer continues to lace himself into corsets or wear ladies' underwear, sometimes with the support of an amused wife. The "Confidential" readers quickly pick up on these unrealistic stories—which frequently contain impossible details, such as tightlacing an adult to a 12-inch waist—and they are discontinued when readers write in to complain, thus filling the pages with real letters. Although "A Cynical Reader" writes that "genuine [letters]... are rare" and "fake letters... are many,"²⁴⁷ the mix of fact and fiction may have appealed to a wider audience. The mainstream appeal of the longer, elaborate stories (many of which may were clearly fictional or embellished) is what enabled the personal letters to be published in the first place.

Unlike Nelly Bouverist's "white articles of non-intellectual, non-political, non-topical underclothing" (*U* 17.439-40),²⁴⁸ the drawers of Gerty, Molly, and Bloom have both textual and political relevance. Joyce treats the subject of underwear with "seriousness, respect, circumspection, historical sense, critical acumen, documentary accuracy, citational erudition and sweet reasonableness" (*LIII* 280) by drawing on *Bits of Fun* as his source for Bloom's cross-dressing. Wim Van Mierlo writes that Joyce's sources "aren't just a reflection of the culture surrounding Joyce, they are the culture that Joyce *knew*, the culture that he imitated, incorporated, cannibalized, plagiarized, parodied and critiqued."²⁴⁹ Joyce's sources of performativity, theatricality, and costumes reveal the residual, emergent, and often oppositional cultural elements which characterise the queer modernist *zeitgeist*. The material conditions of the world that Joyce knew are reflected in his work from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*, but it is in *Ulysses*, the focal text of this thesis, that Joyce mimetically renders these conditions with attention to the interactions between the material and the

metaphorical. Rediscovered due to their connection to *Ulysses*, *Photo Bits* and *Bits of Fun* were daring papers which created a network of otherwise isolated individuals. Although the editor occasionally passed judgement, isolated individuals were able to use this forum to work out a common language, pass along tips (such as how and where to discretely buy corsets), and reach out to one another. Intended and framed as ‘comic’ entertainment, these letters open a small gap in the closet door through which we can see the rich and varied lives lived by cross-dressers and transgender people in the early twentieth century. What for some readers were shocking exposés were for others confirmation of their own belonging, proof that they were not alone in the world—and *Ulysses* furthers that connectivity by making that network ‘mainstream.’ Joyce’s everyman wears women’s underclothes not in order to “recover his true male potency”²⁵⁰ after being made to feel unmanly in “Cyclops,” but because it brings him *pleasure*, as cross-dressing brought pleasure to the real writers of “Confidential Correspondence.” Joyce’s everyman exposes genderqueerness as *equally* performative and constructed as ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity,’ often alongside other ‘inalienable’ identities, including race and religion. Leopold Bloom’s boundless curiosity and empathy as a “new womanly man” (*U* 15.1798-9) deals a damning blow to the bifurcated heteropatriarchal society from which he emerges by revealing, if nothing else, that being oneself is the most natural thing in the world.

¹ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* vol. 7 (Philadelphia: F.A. Davies, 1928): 57.

² “Confidential Correspondence,” *New Fun*, 25 July 1914.

³ Fritz Senn, “Nausicaa,” *James Joyce’s “Ulysses”*: *Critical Essays*, ed. Clive Hart and David Hayman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974): 281.

⁴ Declan Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Life in Joyce’s Masterpiece* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2009.): 193-4.

⁵ Kimberly Devlin, “Castration and its Discontents: A Lacanian Approach to *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 29, no. 1 (1991): 131.

⁶ Sigmund Freud, “Femininity,” *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* vol. 22, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1974): 113.

⁷ Sander L. Gilman, “Freud Reads Heine Reads Freud,” *The Jewish Reception of Heinrich Heine*, ed. Mark H. Gelber (Tübingen: Walter de Gruyter, 2013): 80-81.

⁸ Freud, "Femininity," 113.

⁹ Gilman, "Freud Reads Heine Reads Freud," 80-81.

¹⁰ Mary Ann Doane, "Film and the Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator," *Issues in Feminist Film Criticism*, ed. Patricia Erens (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990): 41.

¹¹ Qtd. Doane, "Film and the Masquerade," 42.

¹² Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 311, emphasis original.

¹³ Mistransliterated as "paduasoy" in English due to a false etymological origin of Padua, Italy, *peau de soie* is a luxury textile made of silk woven 'grosgrain' (with a weft thicker than its warp, creating fine transverse ribbing). See George S. Cole, *A Complete Dictionary of Dry Goods and History of Silk, Cotton, Linen, Wool and Other Fibrous Substances*, revised edition (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1892): s.v. "Peau de soie."

¹⁴ See Daniel O'Quinn, *Engaging the Ottoman Empire: Vexed Mediations, 1690–1815* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019): 166.

¹⁵ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Editions, 2013): 101.

¹⁶ See Malcolm Shifrin, *Victorian Turkish Baths* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

¹⁷ Frederick O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981): 57, 142.

¹⁸ Teresa Breathnach, "For Health and Pleasure: The Turkish Bath in Victorian Ireland," *Victorian Literature and Culture* vol. 32, no. 1 (2004): 171.

¹⁹ As previously noted, feminist scholars sometimes read Bloom's "bud of flesh" (navel) and the "languid floating flower" of his penis (*U* 5.570-2) as clitoral images, rather than cisnormative representations of phallicism. For example, Emma Heaney writes, "The clitoral bud of the navel and floral opening of the genitals perform a rhetorical recoding of Bloom's genitals as female" (Heaney, *The New Woman: Literary Modernism, Queer Theory, and the Trans Feminine Allegory* [Northwestern University Press, 2017]: 74).

²⁰ See Section 3.3 of this thesis for Bloom's silencing of Lydia Douce by reducing her and other women to "three holes" (*U* 11.1089).

²¹ The phrase 'colonial gaze' is being used here to encapsulate the structures of representation that act as a vehicle for the propagation of Western imperialism; when directed toward gender relations, the status of women, and the relationships between race and gender among colonial subjects, the colonial gaze acts as a barrier which sustains or reinforces the distance between colonial states and the cultures they attempt to dominate. See Kalpana Ram, "Gender, colonialism, and the colonial gaze," *The international encyclopedia of anthropology*, ed. Hilary Callan (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2018): 2464-70.

²² Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1911): 171. Veblen goes on to condemn corsets as "substantially a mutilation, undergone for the purpose of lowering the subject's vitality and rendering her permanently and obviously unfit for work" (*Leisure Class*, 172).

²³ Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 103.

²⁴ Robert Halsband, ed. *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967): 314n3.

²⁵ Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 103.

²⁶ For Molly Bloom's indictment of female clothing as unsafe, see Section 3.3 of this thesis. Like Orlando, Molly worries about drowning should Bloom's rowboat capsizes (*U* 18.960) and about being gored by bulls (18.630) due to the limited movement possible in stays and skirts.

²⁷ Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 101-2.

²⁸ Jean de Thevenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, vol. 1 (London: H. Clark, 1687): 56-7.

²⁹ Jean Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant: Containing an Account of the Most Remarkable Curiosities in Germany, France, Italy, Malta, and Turkey*. Second Edition (London, 1696): 268.

³⁰ Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 114-15.

³¹ *Ibid*, 115.

³² Note the similarity to Lacan's theory of sexual display. Women having power is a 'masquerade' which, in Lacan's terms, is the symbolic process of 'being' the phallus rather than the 'male parade' of 'having' a phallus. For Lady Mary, power can be found in masquerade because the identity and status of the woman in *ferigée* are unknowable: she could be a slave, the wife of a powerful man, or even a man.

³³ See Heffernan and O'Quinn, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 115n4.

³⁴ Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 116.

³⁵ To Violet Dickinson, July 1908. Virginia Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Volume 1: 1888-1912*, ed. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautmann Banks (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975): 337.

³⁶ Of a fragment that would become part of *Orlando*, Woolf wrote: “Sapphism is to be suggested. Satire is to be the main note—satire and wildness. The ladies are to have Constantinople in view. Dreams of golden domes” (*D3* 131).

³⁷ Alison Winch, “‘in plain English, stark naked’: *Orlando*, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Reclaiming Sapphic Connections,” *Critical Survey* vol. 19, no. 1 (2007): 52-53.

³⁸ Carol Loeb Shloss, “Behind the Veil: James Joyce and the Colonial Harem,” *Joyce: Feminism / Post / Colonialism*, ed. Ellen Carol Jones. *European Joyce Studies* 8 (Atlanta: Rodopi/Brill, 1998): 103.

³⁹ Shloss is here echoing Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, who writes, “In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a topos, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone’s work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these” (Edward Said, *Orientalism* [New York: Random House, 1978]: 177.)

⁴⁰ Peter Wollen, *Raiding the Icebox: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993): 6.

⁴¹ Alev Lytle Croutier, *Harem: The World Beyond the Veil* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989): 194-5.

⁴² Croutier, *Harem*, 195.

⁴³ See Croutier, *Harem*, 193.

⁴⁴ Poiret denied having been influenced by the *Ballets Russes*, but, as Wollen writes: “the huge success of Diaghilev’s *Schéhérazade*... was a precondition for the effect of Poiret’s Oriental fashion,” and it is “hard to believe he knew nothing of it” (Wollen, *Raiding the Icebox*, 3). In fact, it would have been impossible for Poiret to ignore Bakst, because Georges Lepape painted Vaslav Nijinsky in *Schéhérazade* while working on *Les Choses de Paul Poiret* (an illustrated lookbook). Poiret was notably touchy on the subject of ‘influence.’ For example, when it was insinuated by a fashion magazine in 1930 that some of Poiret’s designs were designed by Lepape or another of Poiret’s illustrators, Paul Iribe, Poiret furiously declared, “*Je ne suis pas fâché d’éclaircir ici un point d’histoire, qui vient d’être soulevé par un journal venimeux de Paris, cherchant à insinuer que ‘mon génie personnel’ n’était autre chose que le talent d’Iribe... Je ne peux pas croire qu’il entre sérieusement dans les intentions de Paul Iribe de me contester la paternité de mon œuvre*” (qtd. Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988]: 219).

⁴⁵ Tatjana Petzer, “Veils in Action: The ‘Oriental Other’ and its Performative Deconstruction in Modern Fashion and Art,” *Orientalism, Gender, and the Jews: Literary and Artistic Transformation of European National Discourses*, ed. Ulrike Brunotte, Anna-Dorothea Ludewig, and Axel Stähler (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2015): 256-7.

⁴⁶ Norena Shopland, *A History of Women in Men’s Clothes: From Cross-Dressing to Empowerment* (Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Books, 2021): 101, 137. Shopland notes that special allowance was generally made for activities including exercise, work uniforms, and cycling after the late nineteenth century, but that the decree was invoked on behalf of the *Fédération Féminine Sportive de France* to ban Violette Morris, a butch lesbian (or perhaps transmasculine) athlete, from competing in the 1928 Olympics (Shopland, 137). Although Morris was targeted by the prohibition of women wearing men’s clothing, the outdated decree was undoubtedly used to justify punishing her for her Otherness as a queer Arab who had undergone a ‘cosmetic’ mastectomy (to streamline her body for racing); her alienation from France’s morality laws may have contributed to Morris later becoming a Nazi sympathiser, collaborator, and spy known as “the Gestapo’s Hyena.” See Jason Tochinsky, “Meet the Woman Who Cut Off Her Breasts to be a Better Racer,” *Jalopnik* 13 September 2012, n.p. and Martin Kessler, “Violette Morris: Pioneering Fame Athlete Turned Nazi Spy,” *WBUR: Boston University Radio*, 24 February 2017, n.p.

⁴⁷ See Petzer, “Veils in Action,” 258.

⁴⁸ See Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁴⁹ As I have previously discussed, Magnus Hirschfeld used the term ‘transvestite’ to refer both to cross-dressers and those he would later describe as ‘transsexual’ when he created the diagnostic category in 1923. See Section 1.2 of this thesis and Michael T. Taylor, Annette Timm, and Rainer Herrn, *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship Since Magnus Hirschfeld* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017): 44.

⁵⁰ The *Ballets Russes*, under the patronage of the tsar, emerged from imperial St Petersburg; Poiret's clientele were high society aristocrats; even Henri Matisse was classically trained by Moreau to copy the Masters in the Louvre before painting his sumptuous odalisques.

⁵¹ Wollen, *Raiding the Icebox*, 17.

⁵² R. Brandon Kershner, "Ulysses and the Orient," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 35, no. 2/3 (1998): 292-3.

⁵³ See, for example, Kershner, "ReOrienting Joyce," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 35, no. 2/3 (1998): 259-64 and "Ulysses and the Orient," 273-96; Shloss, "Behind the Veil," 103-14 and "Joyce in the Context of Irish Orientalism," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 35, no. 2/3 (1998): 264-71; and Zack Bowen, "All in a Night's Entertainment: The Codology of Haroun al Raschid, the 'Thousand and One Nights,' Bloomusalem/Baghdad, the Uncreated Conscience of the Irish Race, and Joycean Self-Reflexivity," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 35, no. 2/3 (1998): 297-307. *A Thousand and One Nights* is an even more explicit intertext to *Finnegans Wake*.

⁵⁴ See Section 3.2 of this thesis for Stephen's menstrual clairvoyance.

⁵⁵ The books on Bloom's shelf in "Ithaca" include "*In the Track of the Sun*" (U 17.1395), Frederick Diodati's 1893 travelogue about Japan, China, Ceylon, India, Egypt, and Palestine. Although Bloom does not have a copy of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*, he does have similar volumes, including "*The Secret History of the Court of Charles II*," "[William] Ellis's *Three Trips to Madagascar*," "*Voyages in China* by 'Viator'," and "*Hozier's History of the Russo-Turkish War*" (17.1367, 1374, 1379, 1385).

⁵⁶ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Kubla Khan," *Coleridge's Ancient Mariner, Kubla Khan, and Christabel*, ed. Tuley Francis Huntington (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1914): 36, l.37.

⁵⁷ The line in Coleridge's poem, "beneath a waning moon was haunted / By woman wailing for her demon-lover" ("Kubla Khan," 35, l.15-16) may very well be an undertone of Bloom's escapist fantasy, the "Night sky, moon, violet" (U 4.96) colour of Molly's garters linking his anxiety about her upcoming affair to his daydream. The thought which begins this Oriental interlude, "*Boland's* breadvan delivering with trays our daily but *she* prefers yesterday's loaves" (4.82-3, emphasis added) further connects Boylan and Molly; one cannot help but note the similarity of the names Boland and Boylan.

⁵⁸ Jennifer Wicke, "'Who's She When She's at Home?' Molly Bloom and the Work of Consumption," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 28, no. 4 (1991): 758.

⁵⁹ Molly here appears as a sultana acting as a fortune teller, another Oriental stereotype. Joyce uses this same image to exoticise Kate in *Finnegans Wake* when she is introduced into the children's pantomime in II.1 as the character who "tells forkings for baschfellors, under purdah of card palmer teaput tosspot Madam d'Elta" (FW 221.12-13). Loosely translated from *Wakease*, Kate, as 'Madam Delta,' tells fortunes for bashful bachelors from behind a *purdah*—either a curtain used to physically segregate men and women in Muslim households or a modesty garment that veils the face (a *yashmak*)—by reading palms, tarot cards, and tea leaves. Molly uses a regular deck of cards, rather than tarot, to make her predictions: "he was on the cards this morning when I laid out the deck union with a young stranger neither dark nor fair you met before I thought it meant him... what was the 7th card after that the 10 of spades for a journey by land then there was a letter on its way and scandals too the 3 queens and the 8 of diamonds for a rise in society yes wait it all came out and 2 red 8s for new garments" (U 18.1314-20).

⁶⁰ Shloss, "Behind the Veil," 108.

⁶¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 167.

⁶² See Catherine Flynn, *James Joyce and the Matter of Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 130-44, Tadié Benoît, "The Room of Infinite Possibilities: Joyce, Flaubert, and the Historical Imagination," *Études anglaises* vol. 58, no. 2 (2005): 131-40, and Scarlett Baron, '*Strandentwining Cable*': *Joyce, Flaubert, and Intertextuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), passim.

⁶³ Ezra Pound, "The Paris Letter," *The Dial* no. 72 (June 1922): 623, reprinted in *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1967): 194.

⁶⁴ Both "Circe" and *La Tentation* are written in the imitation of a play script and share other features, such as the parallel masochism of Bloom and Anthony, as well as "the recurrence of similar figures in their respective visions and, more generally, the dreamlike logic of both texts" (Benoît, "The Room of Infinite Possibilities," 137).

⁶⁵ Baron, *Strandenwining Cable*, 156.

⁶⁶ Qtd. Baron, *Strandenwining Cable*, 156.

⁶⁷ André Dumas, "Figures d'Orient," *L'Illustration* n° de Noël (1911): 5, l.13-15.

⁶⁸ Dumas, "Figures d'Orient," l.7-9, 11.

⁶⁹ See Weldon Thornton, *Allusions in Ulysses: An Annotated List* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968): 362.

⁷⁰ See Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout, eds. *The “Finnegans Wake” Notebooks at Buffalo: Notebook VI.B.10* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

⁷¹ Dumas, “Figures d’Orient,” 1.1, 4-6.

⁷² Phillip F. Herring, *Joyce’s ‘Ulysses’ Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972): 320-1, “Circe” notesheet 10.

⁷³ Herring, *Notesheets in the British Museum*, 278, “Circe” notesheet 3.

⁷⁴ See Ronan Crowley, “Fusing the Elements of ‘Circe’: From Compositional to Textual Repetition,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 47, no. 3 (2010): 344.

⁷⁵ Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004): 77.

⁷⁶ See Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 60.

⁷⁷ Joyce’s lecture is here specifically referencing the theories of Charles Vallery (see Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 88-95, for a summary of those theories), which are also referenced in “Ithaca” when Bloom and Stephen compare the Irish and Hebrew alphabets (17.745-60). Shloss has also noted this borrowing, writing that “In the hands of Joyce, Orientalism became part of an anti-imperialist strategy that could buttress a sense of Irish identity founded neither on the English language nor on the expansionism in British rule” (Shloss, “Joyce in the Context of Irish Orientalism,” 267).

⁷⁸ Amy Feinstein, “Usurers and Usurpers: Race, Nation, and the Performance of Jewish Mercantilism in *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 44, no. 1 (2006): 46.

⁷⁹ See the facsimile version of NLI Add. MS 35,639/5A (The James Joyce Papers 2002: “II.i.3 Notebook”) at the National Library of Ireland (1918): 7. <https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000357763/HoldingsILS>

⁸⁰ A popular offensive rhyme inverted the genders of these two monarchs to criticise their respective failings: “*Tandis qu’ Elisabeth fut roi, / L’Anglois fut d’ Espagne l’effroy. Maintenant devise, et coquette, / Regi par la reine Jaquette.*” Abraham Bagnell also notes a Latin version, which compresses the sentiment into two elegant lines: “*Rex fuit Elizabeth, sed nunc regina Jacobus: / Error Naturæ, sic in utroque fuit,*” or “Elizabeth was king, but now James is Queen: / thus has Nature erred in formation of each” (Abraham Bagnell, *Antiquated scrupulosity contrasted with modern liberality* [London: C. & J. Rivington: 1829]: 35).

⁸¹ Fritz Senn, for example, glosses Stephen’s invocation of Helen’s cuckolded husband, Menelaus, as exemplary of “the volatile nature of Joyce’s textures.” Shakespeare’s “betrayal” is tied to a misogynistic refiguring on Helen as a broodmare, the cuckoldry of a nation thus placed on the back (or in the womb) of an unfaithful wife (Fritz Senn, “Joyce’s Different Conjugials,” *Ulysses Polytropos: Essays on James Joyce’s Ulysses by Fritz Senn*, ed. Frances Ilmberger. *European Joyce Studies* 32 [Leiden: Brill/Rodopi, 2022]: 105).

⁸² Qtd. Baron, *Strandenwining Cable*, 157.

⁸³ Baron, *Strandenwining Cable*, 157.

⁸⁴ Mireille Dobrzynski, “Le Zaïmph métamorphique: objet et réification dans *Salammbô*, de Flaubert,” *Cincinnati Romance Review* vol. 23 (2004): 50-51: “*Cet enveloppement de Salammbô dans le voile sacré de la déesse agit comme une chrysalide sur la jeune vierge qui découvre sa sexualité.*” Dobrzynski goes on to note that the veil can be read as both the symbolic hymen and, conversely, the penis (“*selon une perspective psychanalytique de la symbolique du voile, ce dernier constitue également une représentation de l’hymen, partie de l’anatomie (cette fois-ci) propre à la femme,*” ... “*le zaïmph, en hébreu, c’est l’organe mâle*”), which creates a gender/sex incongruity not unlike those explored by Joyce in “Circe.”

⁸⁵ Adrian Beverland, *The Law Concerning Draped Virginity: An Academical Study, Translated for the First Time and Philological and Other Explanatory Notes*, trans. Frances D. Byrne (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1905) is included in Thomas E. Connolly’s list of items in Joyce’s Parisian collection. See John Simpson, “Joyce’s Paris Library,” *James Joyce Online Notes*, n.p. <https://www.jjon.org/libraries/paris-library>

⁸⁶ Richard Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 113.

⁸⁷ Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality*, 113.

⁸⁸ Before encountering “clean bedlinen, additional odours, the presence of a human form, female, hers, [and] the imprint of a human form, male, not his,” in the marriage bed, Bloom observes the aftermath of the affair as a clinical accounting of Molly’s discarded underclothing: “A pair of new inodorous halfsilk black ladies’ hose, a pair of new violet garters, a pair of outsize ladies’ drawers of India mull, cut on generous lines, redolent of opoponax, jessamine and Muratti’s Turkish cigarettes and containing a long bright steel safety pin, folded curvilinear, a camisole of batiste with thin lace border, an accordion underskirt of blue silk moirette, all these objects being disposed irregularly...” (*U* 17.2123-4, 2092-7).

⁸⁹ The “camp mass” scene recycles images from the opening page of *Ulysses*: “*Introibo ad altare diaboli*” is intoned over a shaving bowl-turned-chalice by Father Malachi, while “Reverend Mr Hugh C. Haines Love”

provides the response, likewise perverted: “To the devil which hath made glad my young days” (15.4699-4700). Buck Mulligan’s “yellow dressinggown, ungirdled” (1.2-3) becomes even more feminised as a “lace petticoat and reversed chasuble” on Father Malachi O’Flynn (15.493-4).

⁹⁰ Frank Budgen, *Myselves When Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970): 188.

⁹¹ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 313.

⁹² Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 113, emphasis original.

⁹³ See Gayle Fischer, *Pantaloon and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001): 79–80.

⁹⁴ See Gertrud Pfister and Gerald R. Gems, “Females, Fashion, Freedom: The Emergence of Cycling Sportswear,” *Sportswomen’s Apparel Around the World: Uniformly Discussed*, ed. Linda K. Fuller (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020): 250.

⁹⁵ Herring, *Notesheets in the British Museum*, 498. I argue in Chapter 3 that Molly Bloom is not a self-hating woman but Joyce’s impression of one.

⁹⁶ Wicke, “Who’s She When She’s at Home?”, 759.

⁹⁷ Shloss, “Behind the Veil,” 113.

⁹⁸ Bloom’s “I never loved a dear gazelle” (*U* 15.1323) echoes Thomas Moore’s “I never nurs’d a dear gazelle, / To glad me with its soft black eye, / But when it came to know me well, / And love me, it was sure to die!” (Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance*, 2nd ed. [London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817]: 188). Catherine Flynn, among others, has noted that Joyce is more directly quoting Lewis Carol’s parody of Moore: “I never loved a dear Gazelle / Nor anything that cost me much: / High prices profit those who sell, / But why should I be fond as such?” (Qd. Flynn, *The Matter of Paris*, 132). Flynn argues that Carol’s parody, by pointing out the “mercenary motivations of images of the exotic,” suggests Bloom’s awareness of his participation in a fatal in which the prostitutes devalue their exoticised bodies in a morbid race to the bottom (Flynn, 132-3).

⁹⁹ This phrase arises from Joyce’s note, “when ugly woman is loved is it for ever.” See the facsimile version of NLI Add. MS 35,639/5A (The James Joyce Papers 2002: “II.i.3 Notebook”) at the National Library of Ireland (circa 1918): 11, “Nausikaa,” top margin. <https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000357763/HoldingsILS>

¹⁰⁰ See John Simpson, “Norman W. Tupper and the policeman’s lap,” *James Joyce Online Notes*, n.p.

<https://www.jjon.org/jjoyce-s-people/tupper>

¹⁰¹ Extant notes identified as sources for this passage include “Molly: Police Gazette” and “Her bloomers (M.B.)” (*JJA* 12:007-8), demonstrating the intentionality of the citizen’s conflation of Mrs Tupper and Molly. Joyce likely had a copy of this issue of the *National Police Gazette* at hand, since he not only quotes from the story and illustration caption, but the ad section, which includes six different ads for penis enlargement (Figure 18 is one example).

¹⁰² See Section 3.2 of this thesis.

¹⁰³ Joseph Valente, “The Novel and the Police (Gazette),” *NOVEL* vol. 29, no. 1 (1995): 13.

¹⁰⁴ See Michael Patrick Lapointe, “Irish Nationalism’s Sacrificial Homosociality in *Ulysses*,” *Joyce Studies Annual 2008*, ed. Phillip Sicker and Moshe Gold (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008): 172-202, and Patrick R. Mullen, *The Poor Bugger’s Tool: Irish Modernism, Queer Labour, and Postcolonial History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁰⁵ Figure 18 is a typical example, taken from the issue Joyce used as a source for the Tupper story. Half a dozen similar ads appear in that issue alone; the theme was common, with ads like “Weak Men Made Strong,” “Manhood Restored,” and “Certain Parts of the Body Enlarged” appearing alongside scandalous pictures, crime stories, and sports news (See Guy Reel, *The National Police Gazette and the Making of the Modern American Man, 1879-1906* [New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006]: 201, 165, 113).

¹⁰⁶ Fritz Senn, *Joyce’s Dislocations: Essays on Reading as Translation*, ed. John Paul Riquelme (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984): 175.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990): 216, 206.

¹⁰⁸ Margot Norris writes that Gerty “overdetermines her roles by playing, albeit in reverse, the parts of both Pygmalion and Galatea, transforming her living desiring self into a beautiful frozen sculpture” (Margot Norris, *Joyce’s Web: The Social Unraveling of Modernism* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992]: 178).

¹⁰⁹ Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985): 91.

¹¹⁰ See Jacques Lacan, *Le Séminaire. Livre XX: Encore*, ed. Jaques-Alain Miller (Paris: du Seuil, 1975): 71. Lacan writes, “*Vous n’avez qu’à aller regarder à Rome la statue du Bernin pour comprendre tout de suite*

qu'elle jouit, sainte Thérèse, ça ne fait pas de doute." ("You only have to look at Bernini's statue in Rome to understand immediately that she's orgasming, St. Theresa, there is no doubt about it.")

¹¹¹ Garry Leonard, "The Virgin Mary and the Urge in Gerty: The Packaging of Desire in the 'Nausicaa' Chapter of *Ulysses*," *University of Hartford Studies in Literature* vol. 23, no. 1 (1991): 4-5, emphasis added.

¹¹² See Casey Lawrence, "'The link between nations and generations': Cissy Caffrey as Racialized and Sexualized Other in James Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Joyce Studies Annual 2018*, ed. Phillip Sicker and Moshe Gold (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018): 106-121.

¹¹³ The word 'golliwog' refers to a racist nineteenth-century artifact, "a black doll with fussy hair and a grotesque appearance" (Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, ed., *Ulysses Annotated*, 2nd ed. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989]: 388).

¹¹⁴ Jen Shelton, "Bad Girls: Gerty, Cissy, and the Erotics of Unruly Speech," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 50, no. 1 (2013): 269.

¹¹⁵ For the similarities between Cohen and Caffrey, see Section 3.3 of this thesis and Suzette Henke, *Joyce's Moraculous Sindbook* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978): 165.

¹¹⁶ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 246.

¹¹⁷ See, for example, David Cotter, *James Joyce & the Perverse Ideal* (New York: Routledge, 2003); David Hayman, *Ulysses, the Mechanics of Meaning* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Patrick McGee, "Joyce's Nausea: Style and Representation in 'Nausicaa'," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 24, no. 3 (1987): 305-318; and Lawrence Rainey, "Nausicaa: Introduction," *Modernism: An Anthology*, ed. Lawrence Rainey (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005): 256-7.

¹¹⁸ Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999): 40.

¹¹⁹ Cotter, *Perverse Ideal*, 139.

¹²⁰ Such pills, marketed for "removing Obstructions, and relieving all other inconvenience to which the Female Frame is liable," are known abortifacients (April Pelt, "Advertising Agency: Print Culture and Female Sexuality in 'Nausicaa'," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 48, no. 1 [2010]: 42). Iron supplements, taken in excess, were also used to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

¹²¹ Katherine Mullin, "Menstruation in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 46, no. 3 (2009): 501.

¹²² Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us*, 203.

¹²³ Bloom cites three examples of 'sexual curiosities' he "wouldn't mind" sleeping with: "a nun or a negress or a girl with glasses" (*U* 13.776-7). These examples correlate to the three girls on the strand: Edy Boardman is a girl with glasses, "squinting at Gerty... with her specs, like an old maid" (13.521-2), Cissy is the 'negress,' being "the dark one with the mop head and the nigger mouth (13.898), and Gerty's purity and piousness are nunlike—as are her lack of marital prospects. The many allusions to the Virgin Mary in the imagery surrounding Gerty have been thoroughly documented by other scholars; see, for one illustrative example, Fritz Senn, "Nausicaa," 277-312.

¹²⁴ McGee, "Joyce's Nausea," 306.

¹²⁵ Hayman, *Mechanics of Meaning*, 99.

¹²⁶ Tess Marsh has written that Gerty's peepshow resembles the "frilly-skirted highkickers" that were common throughout *Photo Bits* (Tess Marsh, "Is There More to 'Photo Bits' than Meets the Eye?" *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 30/31, no. 4/1 [1993]: 884). Marsh also identifies a recurring "Greek" theme, with models posing "in Grecian garb" or as nude "Grecian ladies enjoying an afternoon dip in an ancient bath" (qtd. Marsh, 882), although she does not explicitly link these images to Gerty's styling as a Greek statue.

¹²⁷ Frank Moliterno has explored this metaphor, comparing Gerty to the *Mona Lisa* with Bloom in the role of da Vinci. See Frank Moliterno, *The Dialectics of Sense and Spirit in Pater & Joyce, 1880-1920*. British Author Series 12 (Greensboro: ELT Press, 1998): 14-15.

¹²⁸ Suzette Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1990): 149.

¹²⁹ Harald Beck, "Eyebrow Line," *James Joyce Online Notes*, n.p. <https://www.jjon.org/joyce-s-environs/eyebrow-line>. In Joyce's notes for the episode, the ad is rendered "eyebrowleine, produce that fascinating expression of eyes so becoming, used by leaders of fashion," (Herring, *Notesheets at the British Museum*, 153) though Beck speculates that "the more refined, Frenchified, touch of *-leine*" is actually a mistranscription, noting that "Joyce's handwriting in the Rosenbach manuscript... makes it actually seem more likely that he intended *-line*," which would generalize the product, because the term "eyebrow line" was the common name for this kind of product, rather than a specific brand (Beck, "Eyebrow Line," n.p.).

¹³⁰ Sabrina Alonso, "Advertising in *Ulysses*." *Publishing in Joyce's Ulysses: Newspapers, Advertising and Printing*, ed. William S. Brockman, Tekla Mecsnober, and Sabrina Alonso. European Joyce Studies 26 (Amsterdam: Brill/Rodopi, 2018): 119. The ad "how to be tall increase your height" (13.113-4), was also a

real tagline by K. Leo Minge aimed primarily at men (see Sam Slote et al., *Annotations to James Joyce's Ulysses* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022]: 684), although the girls also worry about their height, as evidenced by Cissy wearing "French heels... to make her look tall" (13.485-6).

¹³¹ Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us*, 197.

¹³² Cotter, *Perverse Ideal*, 192.

¹³³ Heather Cook Callow, "Joyce's Female Voices in 'Ulysses'," *The Journal of Narrative Technique* vol. 22, no. 3 (1992): 157.

¹³⁴ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, eds. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 837, italics original.

¹³⁵ Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamentals of Psycho-Analysis*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W Norton, 1978): 75.

¹³⁶ Laura Mulvey, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' Inspired by *Duel in the Sun*," *Framework* vol. 6 (Summer 1981): 13.

¹³⁷ See Henke, *Sindbook*, 156: "Needless to say, Gerty MacDowell is male-identified. And the paucity of masculine affirmation in her life intensifies her alienation... In a society where males are enervated, impotent, or simply uninterested, male-identification may be disastrous."

¹³⁸ Cotter, *Perverse Ideal*, 139.

¹³⁹ Margot Backus, "'Portals of Discovery' or 'An Immorality in Three Orgasms'?: How Ulysses Stopped Being Too Queer to Queer," *Intertexts* vol. 24, no. 1 (2020): 108.

¹⁴⁰ John Simpson, "Pettiwidths: thrills and spills with Gerty MacDowell," *James Joyce Online Notes*, n.p. <https://www.jjon.org/joyce-s-environs/pettiwidth>

¹⁴¹ Bloom picked out Molly's new garters ("Milly delighted with Molly's new blouse. At first. Put them all on to take them all off. Molly. Why I bought her the violet garters") and wants to get her a matching violet petticoat: "If I get Billy Prescott's ad... Could buy one of those silk petticoats for Molly, colour of her new garters" (U 13.798-800, 8.1059-61). He also admits to buying "smart emerald garters" for Mary Driscoll, their former domestic, when she accuses him of sexual misconduct (15.877). For the role of Mary Driscoll's garters in Bloom's 'sexual harassment trial,' see Casey Lawrence, "#MeToo is Nothing New: Even James Joyce's *Ulysses* Depicts Workplace Sexual Harassment," *Dublin Review of Books* no. 109 (2019): n.p.

¹⁴² Molly recalls taking Milly to see Sir John Martin Harvey, an English actor, in "the Only Way in the Theatre royal," where "she clapped when the curtain came down because he looked so handsome then we had Martin Harvey for breakfast dinner and supper" (U 18.1038-54). If Bloom looks like Martin Harvey, the resemblance doesn't occur to Molly.

¹⁴³ Craig Smith has explored the parallels between Stephen and Gerty in these scenes, arguing that Joyce is parodying a sentimentalized version of himself: "The genuineness of Stephen's epiphany is now called into question since his ecstatic adoration parallels Gerty MacDowell's ecstasy at being adored" (Smith, "Twilight in Dublin: A Look at Joyce's 'Nausicaa'," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 28, no. 3 (1991): 631.

¹⁴⁴ Katherine Mullin, "Gerty through the Mutoscope," *James Joyce Broadsheet* no. 49 (1998): 1

¹⁴⁵ Mullin, "Gerty through the Mutoscope," quoting parliamentary debates from *Hansard*, 5 August 1901.

¹⁴⁶ Laura Mulvey, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' Inspired by *Duel in the Sun*," *Framework* vol. 6 (Summer 1981): 13.

¹⁴⁷ Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us*, 227.

¹⁴⁸ As Mullin has demonstrated, Joyce engaged with 'white slave panic' in "Eveline," a story which "closely shadows the genre of apocryphal melodrama" of anti-emigration propaganda (Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003]: 67). There is a similar motif in "Nausicaa" and "Circe" of a 'foreign stranger' appearing to traffic gullible Irish girls. Both Gerty and Eveline long to escape precarious economic situations and abusive fathers and dream of being rescued by their future husbands.

¹⁴⁹ Bloom purchased "smart emerald garters" for Driscoll (15.877) as part of a problematic flirtation with his employee. See n141 above and my article, "#MeToo is Nothing New."

¹⁵⁰ Katie Wales, "'Bloom Passes Through Several Walls': The Stage Directions in 'Circe'," *Reading Joyce's "Circe"*, ed. Andrew Gibson. *European Joyce Studies* 3 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994): 266.

¹⁵¹ Wales, "Stage Directions," 267.

¹⁵² Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986): 139.

¹⁵³ Joyce had a minor part in a production of *Aladdin, or The Wonderful Scamp* while at Clongowes, where "Widow Twankay" was played by his classmate, Geoffrey Gill, and another female role, "Princess

Badroulboudour (the Sultan's Daughter)" was played by Arthur P. Connell. Two photographs from this cast survive, as well as a programme, reproduced by Bruce Bradley in *James Joyce's Schooldays* (New York: St Martin's, 1982): 55-56.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Ackroyd, *Dressing Up: Transvestism and Drag, the History of an Obsession* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979): 102.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Martin Adams, *Surface and Symbol: The Consistency of James Joyce's Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962): 77-8.

¹⁵⁶ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 120.

¹⁵⁷ Garber writes that cross-dressers and trans women often emulate the style and behaviour of their mothers because they, "like other 'daughters,' [need] to separate themselves from the notion that 'the mother' is somehow equal to 'woman'" (*Vested Interests*, 50). See also section 2.3 of this thesis.

¹⁵⁸ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 146.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, Beci Carver, "What Women Want: The Modernist Kimono," *Modernism/modernity* vol. 22, no. 2 (2015): 303-314 for examples of the kimono as a symbol for modernist Japonism, and Section 4.1 of this thesis for the Orientalist origins of modernist art and fashion. In 1903, Paul Poiret debuted a kimono-style cloak called "Confucius" which he claimed as "the beginning of the Oriental influence in [Parisian] fashion" in his autobiography (Paul Poiret, *King of Fashion: The Autobiography of Paul Poiret* [London: V & A, 2009]: 36).

¹⁶⁰ Burned cork has a long history of uses in minstrel shows and vaudeville as a tool of blackface. Like Cissy's obvious mockery of masculinity, the "white actors with burnt cork on their faces... made no pretense... [of] impersonation," but rather exaggerated African features for the purpose of mockery, not to bear any real resemblance to those they purported to imitate (Stanley W. White, "The Burnt Cork Illusion of the 1920's in America: A Study in Nostalgia," *Journal of Popular Culture* vol. 5, no. 3 [1971]: 533). See also Casey Lawrence, "The link between nations and generations," 119.

¹⁶¹ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 458.

¹⁶² Zack Bowen, "Joyce, Minstrels, and Mimes," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 39, no. 4 (2002): 817-18.

¹⁶³ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 158.

¹⁶⁴ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 40.

¹⁶⁵ Ryan Kerr, "James Joyce, Eugene Stratton, and Spectrality: The Absent Presence of Racial Politics in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 59, no. 2 (2022): 237-8.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, Hye Ryoung Kil, "Soap Advertisements and *Ulysses*: The Brooke's Monkey Brand Ad and the Capital Couple," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 47, no. 3 (2010): 423, Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 173, and George Bornstein, *The Colors of Zion: Blacks, Jews, and Irish from 1845 to 1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011): 59.

¹⁶⁷ Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, 174.

¹⁶⁸ In "Wandering Rocks," Father Conmee imagines "the souls of the black and brown and yellow men... that had not received the baptism of water when their last hour came" after seeing an advertisement for the minstrel: "Mr Eugene Stratton grimaced... at Father Conmee" (U 10.141-47). Cheng reads Stratton's "grimace" as a mockery of the presumption of happy black faces at the prospect of conversion that Conmee takes at face value: "Conmee is only able to view the white Christian's perspective as a 'reasonable' one... unable to conceive the possibility that the natives might resent the incursion as hardly a favor" (Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, 179).

¹⁶⁹ Kerr, "Joyce, Eugene Stratton, and Spectrality," 242.

¹⁷⁰ Although the title of Weininger's book is usually translated as *Sex and Character*, the German word *Geschlecht* does not refer only to biological sex. In fact, its direct translation is something more like "lineage" or "ancestry," with some dictionaries adding "race." See, for a contemporaneous example, Frederick Treves and Hugo Lang, *A German-English Dictionary of Medical Terms* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1890): s.v. "Geschlecht." Jacques Derrida has written at length on the multicovity of *Geschlecht*, writing that it is often necessary to leave it untranslated so that its multiple resonances (of "sex, race, family, generation, lineage, species, genre/genus") remain intact (Jacques Derrida, "Geschlecht: sexual difference, ontological difference," *Research in Phenomenology* vol. 13 [1983]: 65).

¹⁷¹ Otto Weininger, *Sex & Character* (London: William Heinemann, 1906): 185. Like his belief that all Jews are womanly, Weininger characterised other groups of non-Aryans similarly, including the Chinese: "What shall we make, for example, of the Chinese, with their feminine freedom from internal cravings and their incapacity for every effort? One might feel tempted to believe in the complete effeminacy of the whole race.

It can at least be no mere whim of entire nation that the Chinaman habitually wears a pigtail and that the growth of his beard is of the very thinnest" (*Sex & Character*, 184).

¹⁷² Anne Russell, "Tragedy, Gender, Performance: Women as Tragic Heroes on the Nineteenth-Century Stage," *Comparative Literature* vol. 30, no. 2 (1996): 143.

¹⁷³ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 39, emphasis original.

¹⁷⁴ Elaine Showalter, "Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism," *Hamlet*, ed. Susanne L. Wofford (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994): 223.

¹⁷⁵ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 148.

¹⁷⁶ Bowen, "Joyce, Minstrels, and Mimes," 818.

¹⁷⁷ John Finegan, *The Story of Monto: An Account of Dublin's Notorious Red-Light District* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1978): 10. John McCourt and Erik Schneider have also persuasively compared the Bella's brothel to Triestino establishments, and particularly the "renowned Villa Orientale," an "elegant and exotic environment" (John McCourt and Erik Schneider, "Zois nei quartieri notturni = Zois in Nighttown." *Le Donne di Giacomo: Il mondo femminile nella Trieste di James Joyce; The Female World in James Joyce's Trieste*, ed. Renzo S. Crivelli and John McCourt [Trieste: Hammerle Editori, 1999]: 70.) See also Renzo S. Crivelli, *James Joyce: Triestine Itineraries* (Trieste: MGS Press, 1996): 48-52 and John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2000): 54-6.

¹⁷⁸ Flynn, *The Matter of Paris*, 137.

¹⁷⁹ Austin Briggs, "Whorehouse/Playhouse: The Brothel as Theater in the 'Circe' Chapter of *Ulysses*." *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. XXVI, no. 1 (2002): 55. Stephen is quoting *Macbeth* Act I, scene iii, 138.

¹⁸⁰ Patrick Parrinder, *James Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 179.

¹⁸¹ Tonya Krouse, *The Opposite of Desire: Sex and Pleasure in the Modernist Novel* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009): 2.

¹⁸² Kerry Powell, *Women and Victorian Theater* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 33.

¹⁸³ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953): 579.

¹⁸⁴ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 210.

¹⁸⁵ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990): 152.

¹⁸⁶ In the preface to *Gender Trouble*, Butler points out that "racial presumptions invariably underwrite the discourse on gender," but maintains that it is dangerous to apply "performativity" equally to gender and race as oversimplified analogies; I hope not to have done so here, but rather to demonstrate that Joyce plays with the construction of racial identity through colonial discourses that mirror the construction of gender norms (Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xvi).

¹⁸⁷ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993): 227. Gender norms become normative through sustained repetition, which produces a sense of 'naturalness' despite being equally constructed.

¹⁸⁸ Butler writes, for example, that "drag is subversive to the extent that it reflects on the imitative structure by which hegemonic gender is itself produced and disputes heterosexuality's claim on naturalness and originality" (*Bodies That Matter*, 125).

¹⁸⁹ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2: Sexchanges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 335.

¹⁹⁰ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 141.

¹⁹¹ The irony of this phrase should not be overlooked. Bella's insistence that Bloom learn to "pander to their Gomorran vices" (*U* 15.3121-2) implicates the prostitute not only in 'sin,' but in the specific sin of lesbianism. In the French tradition, *Gomorrhe* refers to female homosexuality, the counterpart to *sodomie*, or male homosexuality (Slote et al., *Annotations*, 1003). Although Bloom's transformation from biologically male to female appears 'complete,' Bello, despite using male pronouns, is coded not as a man but as a butch lesbian. He penetrates Bloom with his fist and his cigar, but these phallic objects stand in for the missing phallus; unlike Bloom, who is given a vagina, Bello does not acquire a penis in the transaction, leading Bloom to identify him as female (from the smell of his fart): "Not man. (*he sniffs*) Woman" (*U* 15.2962). This also speaks to Joyce's reliance on biologism in his construction of gender.

¹⁹² Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 141.

¹⁹³ Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theatre* (London: Routledge, 2000): 295.

¹⁹⁴ Senelick, *The Changing Room*, 305-6.

¹⁹⁵ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 336.

¹⁹⁶ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 231-2.

¹⁹⁷ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 34-5. See also Ralph Robert Joly, "Chauvinist Brew and Leopold Bloom: The Weininger Legacy," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 19, no. 2 (1982): 195-6.

¹⁹⁸ There is nothing to suggest that the historical Cohen was Jewish, and, in fact, she was registered as a Protestant. See Austin Briggs, "Is Bella Cohen Jewish? What's in a Name?" *De-familiarizing Readings: Essays from the Austin Joyce Conference*, ed. Alan W. Friedman and Charles Rossman. *European Joyce Studies* 18 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009): 54-64.

¹⁹⁹ Marilyn Reizbaum, "Weininger and the Bloom of Jewish Self-Hatred in Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed. Nancy Anne Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995): 211.

²⁰⁰ Joseph Allen Boone, "A New Approach to Bloom as 'Womanly Man': The Mixed Middling's Progress in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 20, no. 1 (1982): 75. Because Bloom does not perform a masculinity that is legible to the Citizen's cohort, Bloom takes on the qualities Bloom recognises as 'male' gender norms but with which he does not identify.

²⁰¹ Weininger, *Sex & Character*, 36.

²⁰² Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's erotic novella *Venus in Furs* (1870) is a known intertext to the episode as a source for Bloom's masochism. See for example Frances L. Restuccia, "Molly in Furs: Deleuzian / Masochian Masochism in the Writing of James Joyce," *NOVEL* vol. 18, no. 2 (1985): 101-116 and Carol Siegel, "The Masochist as Exile between Two Goddesses: 'Venus Metempsychosis' and *Venus in Furs* in *Ulysses*," *Male Masochism: Modern Revisions of the Story of Love* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995): 48-76.

²⁰³ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Duke University Press, 2003): 38, 7.

²⁰⁴ Sheldon Brivic, "Ulysses' 'Circe': Dealing in Shame," *Joyce Through Lacan and Žižek: Explorations* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008): 147.

²⁰⁵ Joseph Valente, "Joyce and Sexuality," *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce Second Edition*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 227.

²⁰⁶ Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality*, 78.

²⁰⁷ See n136 above and my article, "#MeToo is Nothing New."

²⁰⁸ Joseph Valente, "Thrilled by His Touch: The Aestheticizing of Homosexual Panic in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*," *Quare Joyce* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998): 66.

²⁰⁹ The second name belongs to Joyce's brother. See Susan Sutcliff Brown, "The Joyce Brothers in Drag: Fraternal Incest in *Ulysses*," *Gender in Joyce*, ed. Jolanta W. Wawczycka and Marlena G. Cocoran (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997): 8-28, for a reading of Joyce's queer fraternal images.

²¹⁰ Michael Groden, *Ulysses in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977): 172.

²¹¹ Ronan Crowley, "Dressing up Bloom for 'Circe'," *James Joyce Broadsheet* no. 87 (2010): 3. He is referring to a letter to Frank Budgen dated Michaelmas (29 September), 1920 (*LI* 147).

²¹² Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses' and Other Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972): 246.

²¹³ Joyce acknowledged receipt of such parcels in September and October 1920, writing, "Thanks for the letter and papers. The latter is very useful, especially *Bits of Fun*" (*LI* 144).

²¹⁴ See Crowley, "Dressing Up Bloom," 3, Jennifer Burns Levin, "How Joyce Acquired the 'Stale Smut of Clubmen': *Photo Bits* in the Early Twentieth Century," *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 46, no. 2 (2009): 255-268, and Elisabetta d'Erme, "Bloom, the Dandy, the Nymph and the Old Hag: *Tit-Bits* and *Photo Bits*, Reflections of the Victorian Press in James Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Publishing in Joyce's Ulysses*, ed. William Brockman, Tekla Mecsnóber, and Sabrina Alonso (Leiden: Brill/Rodopi, 2018): 23-46. See also Marsh, "Is There More to 'Photo Bits' than Meets the Eye?," 877-893 for earlier speculations.

²¹⁵ Farrer, *Borrowed Plumes*, 84.

²¹⁶ *Illustrated Tid-Bits*, an offshoot of the popular literary paper *Tid-Bits*, became *Photo Bits* in 1898. The paper ran simultaneously with its competitor *Photo Fun* from 1906 until it was bought out 1914. *Photo Fun* went through several variations between 1906 and 1920, when it was discontinued for good; *Photo Fun*, *New Photo Fun*, *New Fun*, *Fun*, and *Bits of Fun* were renamed, absorbed, or transformed into one another in an attempt to evade the censor.

²¹⁷ Peter Farrer, *Borrowed Plumes: Letters from Edwardian Newspapers on Male Cross Dressing* (Liverpool: Karn Publications, 1994): 83.

²¹⁸ See Jennifer Burns Levin, "Stale Smut," 255-68.

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- ²¹⁹ Peter Farrer, "In Female Attire: Male Experiences of Cross-Dressing—some historical fragments," *Blending Genders: Social Aspects of Cross-Dressing and Sex-Changing*, ed. Richard Ekins and Dave King (New York: Routledge, 1996): 15.
- ²²⁰ Crowley, "Fusing the Elements," 352.
- ²²¹ Peter Farrer, *Confidential Correspondence on Cross Dressing Pt II: 1916-1920* (Liverpool: Karn Publications, 1998): 272.
- ²²² "Confidential Correspondence," *Bits of Fun*, 9 October 1920.
- ²²³ Farrer, *Confidential Correspondence Pt II*, 271.
- ²²⁴ "Confidential Correspondence," *Bits of Fun*, 7 August 1920.
- ²²⁵ Budgen, *Making of Ulysses*, 246.
- ²²⁶ Farrer, *Confidential Correspondence Pt II*, 271.
- ²²⁷ "Confidential Correspondence," *Bits of Fun*, 7 August 1920.
- ²²⁸ Crowley, "Dressing up Bloom," 3.
- ²²⁹ Budgen, *Making of Ulysses*, 246.
- ²³⁰ "Confidential Correspondence," *Bits of Fun*, 7 September 1918.
- ²³¹ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 21 September 1912.
- ²³² "Bits of Fun," *The Times* (20 October 1920): 9, qtd. Farrer, *Confidential Correspondence Pt II*, 15-16.
- ²³³ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 6 March 1915.
- ²³⁴ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 17 April 1915.
- ²³⁵ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 22 May 1915.
- ²³⁶ H. G. Cocks, "Saucy stories: pornography, sexology and the marketing of sexual knowledge in Britain, c. 1918-70." *Social History* vol. 29, no. 4 (2004): 467.
- ²³⁷ Cocks, "Saucy stories," 468. An 1889 law against advertising abortifacients was reinforced in 1911, and in 1918 advertising "remedies for venereal diseases" was also explicitly banned (Cocks, 468).
- ²³⁸ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 1 February 1913.
- ²³⁹ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 8 February 1913.
- ²⁴⁰ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 16 January 1915.
- ²⁴¹ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 19 June 1915.
- ²⁴² "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 22 November 1913.
- ²⁴³ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 27 February 1915.
- ²⁴⁴ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 9 May 1914.
- ²⁴⁵ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 27 May 1914.
- ²⁴⁶ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 25 June 1914.
- ²⁴⁷ "Confidential Correspondence," *New Fun*, 26 May 1915.
- ²⁴⁸ Bloom slightly misremembers the details of the Gaiety Theatre's 1892 production of *Sinbad the Sailor*, combining actresses Kate Neverist and Nellie Bouverie into "Nelly Bouverist, principal girl" (U 17.427). Adams notes this mistake, as well as a few others, including the script writer was Greenleaf Withers (not Greenleaf Whittier) and it should be the "Grand Ballet of Diamonds" not "valley of diamonds" (17.421). See Adams, *Surface and Symbol*, 78-9.
- ²⁴⁹ Wim Van Mierlo, "Indexing the Buffalo Notebooks: Genetic Criticism and the Construction of Evidence," *Writing Its Own Wrines For Ever: Essays in Joycean Genetics*, ed. Daniel Ferrer and Claude Jacquet (Tusson: Du Lérot, 1998): 190, emphasis original.
- ²⁵⁰ Gilbert and Gubar, *Sexchanges*, 334.

Conclusion:

Enough Suffering

In conversation [Djuna Barnes] is often great with her comedy, but in writing she appears to believe she must inject her work with metaphysics, mysticism, and her own strange version of a “literary” quality. In her *Nightwood* she has a well-known character floundering in the torments of soul-probing and fake philosophies, and he just shouldn’t. The actual person doubtlessly suffered enough without having added to his character this unbelievable dipping into the deeper meanings. Drawn as a wildly ribald and often broadly funny comic, he would have emerged more impressively.¹

–Robert McAlmon

Suffering—curious as it may sound to you—is the means by which we exist, because it is the only means by which we become conscious of existing; and the remembrance of suffering in the past is necessary to us as the warrant, the evidence of our continued identity.²

–Oscar Wilde

The sexological category of ‘inversion’ that was popular during the early twentieth century conflated what we now understand to be two separate spectrums of identity, gender and sexual orientation. The texts I examined in this thesis each engage with contemporary sexological models in ways that endorse or sidestep the then-prevailing discourses of gender and sexuality, sometimes simultaneously within the same text. Cross-dressing “offers a challenge to easy notions of binary,” writes Marjorie Garber, “putting into question the categories of ‘female’ and ‘male,’ whether they are considered essential or constructed, biological or cultural,” and when cross-dressing appears in literature, other binaries, including “black and white, yes and no, Republican and Democrat, self and other” are also necessarily challenged.³ Throughout this thesis, I have argued that representations of cross-dressing and other gender-nonconforming activities and characters in modernist texts reveal the instability of the gender binary as a discursive framework. Although the question of ‘What is a woman?’ has regained political importance over the last few years, the slipperiness of gendered roles and even gendered bodies has been socially relevant for

far longer than the last century. The destabilisation of the social category of ‘woman’ perhaps began in the Renaissance with the *querelle des femmes* (lit. ‘dispute of women’), during which defenders of women such as Christine de Pisan pushed back against the idea that women were physically and intellectually inferior to men which accompanied the rise of Renaissance humanism and classical (Greek and Roman) philosophy.⁴ The English equivalent of *querelle des femmes*, ‘the woman question,’ raised issues of women’s suffrage, reproductive rights, bodily autonomy, and other human rights (including legal personhood) during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This thesis often engaged with the question ‘What is a woman?’ due to its focus on male-to-female cross-dressing and trans femininity. If the social position of ‘woman’ was not subordinated in a patriarchal culture, there would be no shame in dressing in female-coded attire. Men dressing in ‘women’s’ clothing is considered cross-dressing specifically *because* femininity continues to be degraded. Put another way by Mary Ann Doane, “Male transvestism is an occasion for laughter; female transvestism only another occasion for desire.”⁵ Modernist depictions of male-to-female cross-dressing and sex-change remain subversive into the twenty-first century despite significant gains toward gender equality because the social position of ‘man’ is still valued higher—making dressing ‘as a woman’ comical or taboo. Women can wear trousers and pursue ‘masculine’ professions because the assumed default is that male-coded attire and roles are superior. Despite its cultural value, masculinity remains a very fragile cultural construct that is heavily policed. In a 2019 interview with Stephen Colbert, Billy Porter defended his decision to wear a dress to the Oscars by arguing that, “Women wearing pants is powerful. It’s strong, everybody accepts it [because] it’s associated with the patriarchy,” however, “the minute a man puts on a dress, it’s disgusting. So what are you saying? Men are strong, women are disgusting?”

I'm not doing that anymore.”⁶ With recent unisex trends market formerly ‘masculine’ styles toward women and repositioning what was once ‘male’ attire as politically neutral, a woman in a pantsuit is no longer the radical political statement it once was, let alone subversive or queer.

During the period examined by this thesis, female-to-male cross-dressing served as a disavowal of the marginalised social category of ‘woman’ to politically align with proto-feminist political movements, such as suffrage, or as a public declaration of lesbianism.⁷ Female modernists in particular often styled themselves and their characters in what Gilbert and Gubar call “idiosyncratic costumes.”⁸ Although literary men also dressed in flamboyant attire that challenged the gender binary—for example, Joyce’s style was notably dandy-esque, T.S. Eliot allegedly wore face-powder, Marcel Duchamp dressed in drag under the name Rose Sélavy, and F. Scott Fitzgerald posed in drag for the *New York Times*, to say nothing of Oscar Wilde—it was generally women writers who “appropriated male costumes or oscillated periodically between female and sardonically male outfits, as if to declare that, as Woolf said, we are what we wear, and therefore since we can wear anything, we can be anyone.”⁹ Because this thesis is concerned with literature rather than biography or nonfiction, there is less emphasis on depictions of female-to-male cross-dressing, except where transgressive in other ways, such as subverting economic or cultural boundaries. The ability to transcend gender roles and dress without legal repercussions was largely tied to class and culture, as I discussed briefly in Chapter 4 regarding Paul Poriet’s *haute couture orientale*. Money and power facilitated the ability to ignore restrictions on cross-dressing and other gender inversions; in the case of Wilde, his mistake was not acting or dressing queerly nor even pursuing sex with men, but crossing class lines.¹⁰ These boundaries were often arbitrary and hypocritical, as when Vita Sackville-West fired her

nanny for taking a walk with the children wearing Harold Nicolson's clothes. In a letter to her husband, Sackville-West called the escapade "squalid" and "*un peu fort!*" despite having previously masqueraded as 'Julian'.¹¹ Although marginalised by virtue of her gender and sexuality, Sackville-West, like many Sapphic modernists (including Woolf, Violet Trefusis, Radclyffe Hall, and Bryher), was privileged by her class status and used that status to her advantage when it came to experimenting with cross-dressing.

As a Joycean, my thesis primarily considered Joyce in conversation with his contemporaries. If I had written less about *Ulysses*, I could have included a number of other modernist texts, including Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, Eliot's *The Waste Land*, Robert McAlmon's *Distinguished Air*, Ernest Hemingway's *Garden of Eden*, Christopher Isherwood's *Goodbye to Berlin*, D.H. Lawrence's "The Fox," Sherwood Anderson's "The Man Who Became a Woman," or Guillaume Apollinaire's *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*. I selected Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* and Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood* as comparative texts primarily to provide perspectives on the topic of cross-dressing and gender inversion from modernist women. It is perhaps a limitation of this thesis that my analysis looked only at authors from the UK, US, and Ireland—but, as I demonstrate later in this conclusion, these are the battlegrounds in the fight against anti-trans legislation, and it was therefore of interest to me to consider texts from American and British writers.

Using Joyce's *Ulysses* as a comparative text, the first two chapters of my thesis engaged with cross-dressing as an allegory for the social and medical constructions of gender. In Chapter 1, I compared *Ulysses* to *Orlando* by considering how Joyce and Woolf use—or in Woolf's case, discard—sexology in their fiction. This comparison revealed that Joyce, unlike Woolf, relies on a medical model to imagine gender difference, which made him unable to decouple sex from language and culture. Joyce's hyperspecificity limits him

to a swapping of pronouns and binary sexual roles rather than an actual androgynous experience for Bloom, whose sex-change in the operating theatre ties gender to biology and masochistic circus fantasy ties gender to sexuality. Gender fails to emerge as a category in its own right in Joyce's novel because it is always an expression of something else—of desire, or masochism, or sexual difference. Woolf, on the other hand, not only creates an androgynous character decoupled from biology, but denies the patriarchy control over Orlando's body by cross-dressing to escape the gender role she has been legislated into. Considering biologism and the medicalisation of sex, in Chapter 2, I discuss 'modernist womb envy' and the childbirth metaphor. Barnes shifts the development of literature away from Joyce's metaphorical "womb of imagination" (*P* 217) to the literal womb as a site of trauma—by its possession or its absence. Both O'Connor and Bloom experience womb envy as part of their transfeminine desire, implicating their authors in biologism. However, Barnes's 'third sex' complicates a reading of *Nightwood* as essentialist, and I argue that O'Connor, a trans woman, and Robin Vote, a nonbinary lesbian, make trauma, not biology, the shared burden of womanhood. The 'medical' definitions of gender are foregrounded in my comparison of how Joyce and Barnes use sexology to transcend social barriers, but in so doing, perpetuate dangerous stereotypes including those based on biologism and racism.

The last two chapters of this thesis primarily consider Joyce's novels as what I call 'authorial cross-dressing.' In Chapter 3, I argue that rather than *écriture féminine*, Joyce's manufactured 'Woman' amounts to 'sexophonologic schizophrénisis,' a Joycean neologism I define using Aldous Huxley's anti-Freudian novella, "The Farcical History of Richard Greenow," as an example. Inspired by Joyce's gloss of "Penelope" in *Finnegans Wake*, I write from the perspective of Elaine Showalter's 'hypothetical female reader' and use Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray as theoretical models to develop my argument that

Joyce problematises the relationship between body, mind, gender, and language through *unheimlich* ‘authorial cross-dressing.’ I believe this section to be the strongest academic contribution of this thesis, but also the most theoretical. While I continue to argue that Bloom is ‘cross-dressing’ as Gerty MacDowell in Chapter 4, I also ground the argument in materialism by considering Joyce’s representation of clothes and costumes in their cultural and historical context.

The original arrangement of this thesis put what is now Chapter 4 first in order to open with a genetic analysis of Joyce’s costumes in “Circe” using archival research on *Photo Bits*. The pandemic prevented me from undertaking the necessary archival research, and the chapter was reworked as a result. However, the current configuration of these chapters perhaps makes for an even more compelling narrative arc. As it stands, the theoretical foundation of each chapter grows increasingly more complex until the last chapter, which returns to a close-reading of cross-dressing *as* cross-dressing in its literal and material form. Ending with an analysis of “Penelope” rather than “Nausicaa” and “Circe” would have been more conventional, but in a thesis about gender and clothes, it makes sense to save “Circe,” Joyce’s “costume episode” (*LI* 148), for last.

One limitation of this project has been my reluctance to engage with biography. In a more interdisciplinary thesis, the role of cross-dressing in the lives of modernist writers and their inner circles could have enhanced my close readings of their texts. This approach may have been beneficial because the texts are examples of autobiografiction: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is a bildungsroman that fictionalises Joyce’s artistic development, Woolf’s *Orlando* was her attempt to “[write] the memoirs of one’s own times” in Britain during the 1920s while paying tribute to Sackville-West (*D3* 156-7), and both of Barnes’s novels are romans-à-clef, with *Ryder* chronicling four generations of her family tree and

Nightwood dramatising her volatile eight-year romance with Thelma Wood. As I argue in Chapter 2, relying on biographical details to interpret these texts can produce reductive readings. Moreover, scholarship which treats fiction as historical documentation has the tendency to infer facts about the lives of the authors from the lives of their characters, which can lead to inaccuracies. Richard Ellmann's biography of Joyce, for example, often fills in the blanks of his early life using details from *Portrait*.¹² Similarly, to evaluate Woolf and Sackville-West's relationship based on *Orlando* or Barnes and Wood's partnership based on *Nightwood* is to create a false equivalency between the fictional plots of these novels and the events which inspired them. To make assumptions about biographical facts based on fiction, or to generate readings of fiction based on biographical facts, overlooks both artistic license—no autobiografiction is entirely mimetic—and the content of the texts themselves in their historical context.

However, eliminating the connections between literary texts and contemporaneous historical events creates its own sets of problems. In my introduction, for example, I briefly discussed the problems with a purely New Critical approach to literary scholarship. Recent trends in literary criticism require a nuanced, dual-pronged approach that neither relies solely on 'the text itself' nor on authorial intent and source material. In order to render an accurate genetic reading of a text, for example, it is often necessary to include biographical evidence to contextualise the development of a text through its production. While Roland Barthes's "Death of the Author"¹³ and Michel Foucault's "What is an Author?"¹⁴ may have rendered the role of the author insignificant for a time, more recent criticism recognises the importance of authorship—especially in the context of queer and feminist narrative theory. Foucault's proposition that the "task of criticism is not the bring out the work's relationships with the author, not to reconstruct through the text a thought or experience,

but rather to analyze the work through its structure, its architecture, its intrinsic form”¹⁵ can result in the denial of or disguising of the many cultural, social, political, and economic influences on an author and their work. In response, Robyn Warhol’s feminist narrative theory “tries always to frame its analysis with as much socio-historical context as can be known for the author and readers in question”¹⁶ to expose the reciprocal relationship between text and culture. I frequently adopted this approach in my thesis.

In Chapter 3, I examined Joyce’s private correspondence alongside biographical evidence from Ellmann and Brenda Maddox’s *Nora* to support my reading of “Penelope” as authorial cross-dressing modeled on his partner Nora Barnacle. These methods, though common in Joyce Studies, should not be assumed to be the ‘correct’ process, but merely one type of critical analysis. Conversely, in Chapter 1, I avoided using Woolf’s relationship with Sackville-West as a framework for discussing *Orlando* precisely because such readings are the critical norm. Although Victoria Smith writes that the “complex interplay between the deeply personal and the overtly public and political” in *Orlando* necessitates that “biographical and autobiographical issues [be taken] into account,”¹⁷ I attempted to demonstrate that the novel’s radical feminist potential is as an experimental linguistic and social exploration of gender difference and inversion, rather than ‘just’ a lesbian romance. Using biographical evidence to support the theory that Woolf did not read all of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, I argued that the similarities in their representations of sex-change and cross-dressing could therefore be attributed to the social and political climate of the interwar years, which were imbued with gender anxiety following the creation of ‘the invert’ as a medical category and the emergence of the New Woman. While Joyce harnesses the authority of turn-of-the-century sexology and psychology to pathologise the inversion of his characters, gender, in Woolf’s text, is socially determined through language, clothing,

and behaviour rather than prescribed by medical or even psychological assessment. My comparative reading of these two methodologies was written independently of biography but incorporated biographical support when appropriate.

In Chapter 2, I read Barnes's *Nightwood* as an exploration of the somatic experience of womanhood through the material conditions of femininity—that is, as a text that reveals how gender is experienced as trauma by those on the margins of society. For Barnes, womanhood is inherently grounded in suffering and trauma, both on a biological level (involving sexual violence, pregnancy, and childbirth) and a social level (misogyny and oppression taking the form of harassment and other societal injustices). This position has been taken up by feminists such as Denise Riley, who writes that “unmet needs and sufferings... spring from ways in which women are positioned, often harshly or stupidly, as ‘women.’ This positioning occurs both in language, forms of description, and what gets carried out.”¹⁸ For Riley, womanhood is a bifurcated category that includes being seen or treated as a ‘woman’ (existing within misogynist society), as well as a matter of self-knowledge and internal identity (existing within oneself). I argued in my discussion of *Nightwood* that, although on the surface Barnes's construction of womanhood appears to be rooted in biologism tied to the womb, her characters belonging to the ‘third sex,’ O'Connor and Vote, reveal how transgender and gender-nonconforming bodies also suffer trauma on each axis of womanhood. Vote's pregnancy fractures her identity by forcing her into the unwanted roles of ‘wife’ and ‘mother,’ leading her to disassociate from her body, and O'Connor's womb envy is a manifestation of gender dysphoria that leads to her rejecting her body and retreating into her female soul. These experiences of embodied suffering located in the presence *or* absence of a womb link the trans woman and the androgynous or nonbinary sapphic woman to a matrilineal lineage of somatic and psychological trauma.

One glaring omission from my analysis of Barnes' novels is the lack of biographical context regarding Dan Mahoney, the "well-known character" mentioned by Robert McAlmon in the epigraph to this conclusion.¹⁹ Unnamed in *Being Geniuses Together*, Mahoney appears in James Chartres's *This Must Be the Place* as "Doc Mahoney" and as "Dr Dan Maloney" in John Glassco's *Memoirs of Montparnasse*. Glassco's memoir describes him as "the most-quoted homosexual in Paris, a man who combined the professions of pathic, abortionist, professional boxer and quasi-confessor to literary women."²⁰ In June 1933, when Barnes learned that her brief affair with French painter Jean Oberlé had resulted in pregnancy, she sought out Mahoney to perform the abortion.²¹ As the model for Barnes's Doctor O'Connor, Mahoney is known to have frequently been in the company of Barnes, McAlmon, and the circle of modernists living in Paris. I argued that in Barnes's novels, O'Connor appears as a trans woman struggling to reconcile her gender dysphoria with her religious conception of the permanent soul; in a story by McAlmon, Mahoney is transformed into a bawdy drag queen named Miss Knight who prowls Weimar Berlin for gay sex, cheap intoxicants, and free dinners. These conflicting portraits make it difficult to discuss the texts' historicity and representation using Warhol's approach. How do we talk about the lives of real people who may have experienced trans femininity before such a category existed? Or who lacked the opportunity to seek gender-affirming care, socially, financially, or geographically? While we can certainly say that depictions in fiction demonstrate the presence of non-traditional expressions of gender—and perhaps even the breakdown of the ciscentric conflation of genital morphology and identity that underpins the gender binary—retroactively identifying historical figures as trans is much more difficult, especially with limited verifiable information.

Little is known about Mahoney beyond what is recorded in the memoirs of his friends, biographies of Barnes, and a few surviving letters. Mahoney was born into a large Irish Catholic family in San Francisco, lending ‘authenticity’ to Barnes’s description of O’Connor as “a middle-aged... Irishman from the Barbary Coast (Pacific Street, San Francisco), whose interest in gynaecology had driven him half around the world” (N 17). In August 1959, Barnes wrote to Wolfgang Hildesheimer to inform him that Mahoney had died of cancer at the age of seventy, which would make his birth year 1888 or 1889; however, Andrew Field’s biography of Barnes makes the claim that he graduated in 1914, making him perhaps a decade younger than Barnes imagined.²² Phillip Herring writes that he “may have been a U.S. Navy hospital corpsman in World War I,” leading to his reputation of having medical expertise and his unofficial profession as a *faiseur d’anges*, but there is no official record of his military service.²³ Mahoney, like O’Connor, may have enlisted during WWI as a “subtle way of doing away with himself,” but he “survived anyway, and to make matters worse, he claimed that as an army medic he was given the job of circumcising nearly five hundred soldiers,” recounts Field.²⁴ This anecdote evokes O’Connor’s time in the army, thinking she would “be shot for man’s meat, but go down like a girl,” and that if she “had to do it again, grand country though it is [to fight for],” she would rather “be the girl found lurking behind the army” (N 81, 79). Like Ellmann, who infers facts about Joyce’s childhood from *Portrait*, Field’s biography reaches for literary depictions of Mahoney to fill in the blanks, though he acknowledges “that Dr. O’Connor tells Nora that he is the greatest liar this side of the moon”²⁵ and should not be trusted.

There is perhaps some justification in taking this approach to a figure who would otherwise be lost to history, with some caution. In Glassco’s memoir, ‘Maloney’ exclaims that “in the hour of your utmost abandon, think of me, Dr God Almighty Maloney... the

original Irish tenor!”²⁶ and O’Connor similarly names herself “Dr. Matthew-mighty-grain-of-salt-Dante-O’Connor” when she is discovered by Nora Flood in her nightie (*N* 87).

Although biographers agree that Barnes “would sit for hours listening to [Mahoney], often taking copious notes, which became the basis for O’Connor’s monologues,”²⁷ there is some dispute whether or not the philosophical “words and substance of what O’Connor says belong solely to Barnes,” because “seeds of his discourse” can be found in Barnes’s work from prior to their friendship.²⁸ The facts of Mahoney’s life may map convincingly onto O’Connor’s, but it is apparent that Barnes extended greater meaning and even Tiresian mysticism to O’Connor’s lengthy speeches. McAlmon indicted her portrait of Mahoney by stating that Barnes imposed “metaphysics, mysticism, and her own strange version of a ‘literary’ quality” on Mahoney by making O’Connor “[flounder] in the torments of soul-probing and fake philosophies.” McAlmon writes that Mahoney has “doubtlessly suffered enough,” adding that had the character been portrayed “as a wildly ribald and often broadly funny comic, he would have emerged more impressively.”²⁹ In short, McAlmon believed that Barnes had “[given] Dan a soul, when all he ever had was an ar-sole [sic].”³⁰

McAlmon’s “Miss Knight” sketches the ‘same’ character very differently. As a “sharp presentation of a type [of person] new to literature but not to life,” his stories aim to “deal with variant types with complete objectivity—not intent on their ‘souls’ and not distressed by their ‘morals’.”³¹ Joyce apparently thought highly of “Miss Knight” and encouraged McAlmon to have the story translated into French.³² Despite his close relationship with both Barnes and McAlmon, is unclear whether Joyce would have directly known Mahoney.

Although his memoir is one of the most-quoted chronicles of the Lost Generation’s interwar years, McAlmon’s creative work has largely been passed over. Remembered for *Being Geniuses Together* or as a friend of James Joyce, McAlmon was an important part of

the Paris circle. His *Collection of Contemporary Writers* anthologised Joyce, Barnes, H.D., Bryher, Ezra Pound, Havelock Ellis, Gertrude Stein, May Sinclair, Mina Loy, Dorothy Richardson, and Ernest Hemingway, among others, many for the first time. Anecdotally, Pound once said that McAlmon was “a better writer than Hemingway,”³³ and Joyce thought he had “talent... but it was too disorganized.”³⁴ McAlmon’s “bright future” in the literary world was “ruined by drink and easy living,” according to Herring; his alcoholism made him “one of the saddest people” that Barnes ever knew.³⁵ A marriage of convenience to Bryher came with a significant financial incentive for McAlmon and allowed Bryher the freedom to live with her lover, H.D. Their divorce settlement was so generous that it earned him the nickname ‘McAlimony,’ and this boon was shared among the Paris circle; he supported Joyce to the tune of £30 per month “to tide him over” during one of the many periods when Joyce was short on cash.³⁶ As a close friend of the Joyce family, McAlmon even proposed to Lucia when it became clear that Samuel Beckett could not be “pressed... into some kind of declaration.”³⁷ Although his sexuality is at issue³⁸ in various biographies, McAlmon openly proclaimed that he was “bisexual... like Michaelangelo, and I don’t give a damn who knows it,” having relationships with men and women alike.³⁹ McAlmon’s short stories, published in 1925, depict the fragile queer spaces of Weimar Berlin from the perspective of queer American expatriates. Unlike *Being Geniuses Together*, which is full of name-dropping and unflattering portraits that Joyce reportedly regarded as “the office boy’s revenge” (*JIII* 672), the Berlin stories anonymously sketch “the queer types of Berlin, many of them painted up, two or three in women’s clothes, and great numbers... who were not obvious” (*MK* 32) to render the historical moment in stunning detail: the drugs, the sex, the clothes, the slang, the atmosphere in cafés and balls, the poverty, the policemen, and the not-so-underground queer subculture that would soon vanish.

I planned to include “Miss Knight” as an intertext to *Nightwood* in Chapter 2, but the section had to be cut due to the length restrictions of this thesis. An analysis of McAlmon’s stories would have made for a more nuanced discussion of the economic and geographical influences on depictions of cross-dressing in modernist texts; some points are worth briefly outlining here. As I have previously written,⁴⁰ McAlmon portrays drug use and addiction as one of the many indicators of economic instability and class boundaries breaking down in Weimar Berlin; substance abuse has unfortunately been historically tied to queer spaces and gender-affirming care, including self-medication. In “Miss Knight,” cocaine is served “by bowlful... [or] the barrel if you give them the sign” (*MK* 4) and the titular character based on Mahoney suffers several close calls. She describes waking “one night shivering all over” and worried that she “wuz going home in a crate” (*MK* 6), and another time being “paralyzed from my nose to the top of my head with coke” (*MK* 18). McAlmon’s inebriated characters lightheartedly avoiding the looming threats of arrest, overdose, and withdrawal personify the disassociation of Americans benefiting from hyperinflation in Berlin. Gay aesthete Carrol Timmons remarks that in “this after-war atmosphere, and poverty amongst the few really likeable Germans one knows... [it’s] all too tragic, I suppose, but I just can’t feel any further about that sort of thing. People will starve to death; people will die; or kill themselves; or drink themselves to death” (*MK* 26). The economic, political, and social conditions of the early Weimar years drew in societal rejects like Mahoney by creating upward social mobility. Unemployment and homelessness were rampant for native Berliners during the 1920s, but the city’s misfortune was a boon for expatriates, whose lavish lifestyles gave Berlin new life as a haven for queers, artists, prostitutes, addicts, and particularly cross-dressers.

In an interview with NPR, Robert Beachy argues that gay subculture flourished in 1920s Berlin because getting a conviction for homosexual activity was nigh impossible without a confession. Seeing the futility of seeking prosecutions, the *Polizeikommissar* implemented a policy of monitoring homosexuals rather than arresting them, which, in practice, says Beachy, amounted to tolerating many “accommodations, [including] bars, cafes [and] eventually, large transvestite balls, where obvious homosexuals, or, at least, obviously suspected homosexuals, could congregate.”⁴¹ During the events of “Miss Knight,” a grand ball is arranged where “all queer people could go to the limit with costumes and there would be no police interference” (*MK 12*). Although evading police is a common theme in McAlmon’s stories, Miss Knight tempts fate by sexually pursuing cops in drag: “But, my god Mary, these Berlin cops is different. Please, Mister officer, won’t you arrest me? ...I’m tellin’ you, Mary, if I sticks around Berlin much longer they’ll take me home in a little wooden box” (*MK 5*). On one of her benders, Miss Knight succeeds in picking up “a beautiful blond policeman who was real rough trade” (*MK 11*), but she believes that he is “a war-made queer” who will eventually return to ‘regular’ life (*MK 12*). Many of Miss Knight’s anecdotes involve trying to dodge American police while cross-dressing, and although her stories quickly become stale to her audience, readers will find them a poignant reminder of state-sanctioned homophobic violence that, while temporarily abated in the Weimar Republic, would return with a vengeance in 1933.⁴²

In addition to police indifference, the treatment of gay and trans Germans was greatly influenced by the work of Magnus Hirschfeld. His *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*, where the first gender-affirming surgery was performed in 1926, is alluded to when “an elderly fairy, well known to various psychoanalysts in Germany” (*MK 32*) arrives on the scene in “Distinguished Air,” and its role is openly described in McAlmon’s memoir:

Hirschfeld was conducting his psychoanalytic school and a number of souls unsure of their sexes... competed with each other in looking for acting freakishly, several Germans declared themselves authentic hermaphrodites, and one elderly variant loved to arrive at the smart cabarets each time as a different type of woman: elegant, or as a washwoman, or a street vendor, or as a modest mother of a family. He was very comical and his presence always made for hilarity, as did the presence of a chorus boy from New York. The chorus boy was on in years, but he fancied himself Bert Savoy and was ribaldly outright and extremely weird.⁴³

As I covered in Chapter 1, Hirschfeld extensively advocated for his patients, eventually gaining them the right to ‘transvestite passes,’ which would allow patients to present as their preferred gender in public without being arrested for cross-dressing.⁴⁴ The *Deutsche Studentenschaft* targeted Hirschfeld’s research as part of the *Säuberung* (‘cleansing’) of 1933.⁴⁵ Among the literary texts thrown onto the fire was Heinrich Heine’s *Almansor*, a



Figure 24 Photo from the raiding of Magnus Hirshfeld’s sexological research library. A uniformed Nazi *Sturmabteilung* officer and a member of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* examine some of the approximately 20,000 rare books and other irreplaceable research materials that were confiscated in May 1933, most of which were burned as part of the “cultural cleansing.”

line in which reads, “This is only a prelude where they burn books, in the end they will also burn people.”⁴⁶ The attack on the Institute was indeed only a prelude to the horrors that awaited queer Germans; in 1935, just weeks after Hirschfeld’s death in Paris, Paragraph 175 was amended to make homosexual contact between men a felony. More than 50,000 queer men were detained under these draconian laws, with upwards of 10,000 deported to concentration camps and subjected to castration, medical experimentation, and inhumane treatment, from which over half would die. After being liberated from concentration camps by the Allied Forces, men convicted under Paragraph 175 were moved to prisons to finish out their sentences, rather than released.⁴⁷

Much of the important early research on gender identity was lost to Nazi raids, and sweeping heteronormativity continued to erase queer history after the war. As a result, the public appearance (or, at least, publicity) of transgender people in recent years has been criticized as a ‘fad’ or a frivolous extension of ‘identity politics.’ Proto-trans narratives from the 1920s and the queer experiences that inspired those narratives illustrate the ubiquity and the validity of lives that transgress heteropatriarchal boundaries, despite censorship and erasure. One of the primary aims of this thesis was to situate these narratives in their cultural and historical context and consider their implications within current discourses on gender and sexuality. By comparing Joyce’s depiction of gender-nonconforming characters to those of his British and American contemporaries, I hoped to demonstrate not only that trans people have always existed (this should not be in question) but the power that literature holds to correct the misrepresentation of gender variance. One need look no further than the recent influence of British children’s author JK Rowling on anti-trans legislation to see how important art and literature are to the production of cultural values. Rowling’s anti-trans ‘activism’ not only affects the British political landscape but

has influenced Republican talking points in the United States. In 2020, Senator James Lankford quoted Rowling's blog post "TERF Wars" in his dissent against the Equality Act, an LGBT civil rights bill that was blocked by the Senate.⁴⁸ The slew of anti-transgender legislation passed in the US this decade is mirrored by similar shifts in the UK, where the number of transphobic hate crimes quadrupled between 2015 and 2020.⁴⁹

Anti-trans attitudes in the UK did not start with Rowling or even Margaret Thatcher's Section 28,⁵⁰ but Rowling's very public advocacy has revealed an insidiously left-wing opposition to trans rights. Under the guise of protecting women's rights, many left-wing organisations repeat Nazi talking points in 'the trans debate,' using language like "trans social contagion" to position 'transness' as a disease.⁵¹ The answer as to why transphobia is so rampant in the UK has a fascinating answer tied to the country's system of peerage. While the majority of Britons support gender-diverse identities, the ability to legally change gender is not met with the same acceptance.⁵² The UK Gender Recognition Act of 2004 granted transgender Britons the right to change their birth certificates and thus legally affirm their gender identity, however, Section 16 of the Act makes an exception for peerages: "The descent of any peerage or dignity or title of honour will take place as if a person recognised in the acquired gender were still of the birth gender."⁵³ Despite the law purporting to legally recognise 'acquired gender', the inheritance of peerages is limited to sex identified at birth; hereditary peerages being subject to male primogeniture means that female children born to peers are not usually⁵⁴ eligible for peerage or election to the House of Lords, which affects the gender balance of parliament. The Succession to the Crown Act 2013 ended male primogeniture for the royal family, but sex discrimination remains deeply embedded in British aristocracy and thus a major branch of legislative and political power in the UK. In 2022, only two women, one of whom is a trans woman, were eligible to stand

in by-elections for the House.⁵⁵ In accordance with Section 16 of the GRA, Matilda Simon, who was assigned male at birth, appears on the register as Lord Simon of Wythenshawe.

Zoë Playdon's 2021 book on Sir Ewan Forbes reveals the British government's decades-long suppression of trans rights to protect male primogeniture for peerage. Forbes, who was identified female at birth in 1912, socially transitioned at the age of fifteen, and at nineteen underwent hormone therapy treatments developed by Hirshfeld.⁵⁶ After the death of his father and elder brother, Forbes was next in line for the baronetcy until a male cousin contested, leading to a drawn-out legal battle in closed court. Forbes eventually won his case and was allowed to keep not only his title but his marriage to a cis woman; the marriage would have been invalidated if his birth certificate, which had been changed to reflect his gender, had been declared illegitimate.⁵⁷ The outcome of this case was sealed to prevent setting a legal precedent allowing trans individuals to alter the lines of male primogeniture. A similar case in 1970, *Corbett v Corbett*, on the other hand, was used as the basis to define the legal sex of transgender people until 2004. Arthur Corbett sued his wife, April Ashley, for an annulment (not wanting to split their wealth in a divorce), stating that their marriage was never lawful because Ashley had been assigned male at birth. Despite Corbett willingly entering the marriage with the knowledge that Ashley was transgender and had undergone gender-affirming surgery, the judge ruled in Corbett's favour.⁵⁸ This case, rather than Forbes's, set legal precedent for revoking the rights of trans people in the UK that were established in the early twentieth century. These divergent outcomes highlight the impact of class hypocrisy on the legal and social acceptance of gender variance.

One of the reasons that I avoided biographical speculation in this study is the ethical implications attached to retroactively applying current terminology and rhetoric to the lives

of real people. In the cases of Forbes or Ashley, the correct pronouns and identities are well-established from their legal testimonies. However, for figures like Mahoney, it is less clear how to be most respectful and reduce retroactive harm. Barnes uses male pronouns throughout *Ryder* and *Nightwood* to refer to Doctor O'Connor. McAlmon, on the other hand, exclusively uses female pronouns in the narration for Miss Knight, though characters in the story seem to 'slip' into male pronouns on occasion:

“How in the devil did he get back to New York and send a letter to you in six weeks?” Foster Morris marvelled. “He had not one sou on him when we went out the back door because I called him down.”

“Didn't I tell you the bitches could look out for themselves?” Kate Matthews responded. “That one! If she was run over by a truck or a steamroller she'd turn up, about to appear in Paris or London or Madrid or Singapore. She's just that international.” (MK 20)

Although I opted to use female pronouns to refer to O'Connor, whose narrative I argue is analogous to trans femininity according to today's diagnostic criteria, the same logic cannot be extended to Mahoney, the person upon whom O'Connor and Miss Knight are based. With the issue of pronouns at the forefront of discussions of trans rights and inclusivity, the rhetorical gestures made by scholars become ever more important.

The treatment of gender-nonconforming individuals who are not able to speak for themselves has been a contentious issue in sociological and interdisciplinary research for decades. Garber, for example, examines the case of Billy Tipton, who was misgendered by the *Times* in his obituary. Garber quotes the *Times* reporting that “Tipton began appearing as a man... ‘to improve her chances of success as a jazz musician’.”⁵⁹ Posthumous media coverage of Tipton foregrounded economic and cultural reasons why he might have ‘cross-dressed’; however, his wife and three adopted sons only ever knew him as a man: “He gave up everything... to be a musician,” and “He'll always be Dad to me.” While Garber, whom

I reference throughout this thesis as a leading scholar of cross-dressing and gender theory in literature, is generally sympathetic and writes progressively for the early 1990s, her treatment of subjects like Tipton is at times problematic. For example, Garber writes about Tipton's retroactive misgendering,

Notice the difference of pronoun here: “*her* chances of success”; “*he* gave up everything.” To the *Times*... the funeral director's empirical observations about anatomy clinched the case: read backwards, Billy Tipton was a woman. To the wife and son... Tipton is male, and is remembered in the historical present: he *is*, he will *always be*...

But whatever gender Tipton is assigned after the fact the “explanation” of his (or her) transvestism is *normalized* by interpreting it in the register of socio-economic necessity.⁶⁰

Tipton, who lived as a man in both public and private, is repeatedly called a ‘transvestite’ by Garber rather than a trans man in order to suit her argument. She does not correct the *Times*' misgendering and in fact legitimises it by waffling on Tipton's pronouns herself: “his (or her) transvestism.” Dignity is often denied to trans people in death, hence the appellation ‘deadname’ for the name assigned at birth.⁶¹ Throughout this thesis, it has always been my intention to correctly gender both characters and real people.

As has been written about far better by trans scholars, despite recent claims otherwise, “deadnaming and misgendering are not acceptable scholarly practices, and they are not covered by the principle of academic freedom.”⁶² We are not the kind of doctors who take the Hippocratic Oath, but the pursuit of knowledge resulting in a doctorate should, I believe, always aim if not to reduce suffering, then at least to do no harm. When discussing literature, it may seem like very little is at stake,⁶³ but, as I hope my introduction and conclusion have clarified, the ethics of representation when it comes to marginalised people and communities should always be a consideration. Herring writes that Barnes, for example, portrayed “Thelma Wood and Dan Mahoney in unflattering terms in *Nightwood*,”

but “in each case, the author couldn’t imagine what all the fuss was about: she claimed that these literary counterparts were created out of love, but if so, her love was shockingly harsh.”⁶⁴ When writing about autobiografiction, the real people involved, their descendants, and those who might identify with them must be treated with respect, as I hope to have done here. While Field, for example, writes that Mahoney “positively reveled in the portrayal by his good friend Djuna and dined off the depiction in Paris for years after,”⁶⁵ it is impossible to confirm the exact reaction or feelings Mahoney may have had toward the novel. Mahoney wrote to Barnes of a neighbour who was marking inflammatory passages in *Nightwood* to pass around:

—Can you imagine such a slut? If she knew how much it worries me she would be surprised. I am going to try to infuriate her some more so she will go on buying books and sending them out, as she is very rich.

Love from
Minty Manure⁶⁶

We have few examples of Mahoney’s own words; here, signed as “Minty Manure,” and elsewhere as “poor Minnie Mahoney, the girl whom God Forgot,”⁶⁷ Mahoney reveals ‘worrying’ about *Nightwood* and the reputation it might bestow. It is easy to lose sight of the people behind the text when close reading, and I wanted to acknowledge in this conclusion that while biography at times played a role in my analysis, I am not posthumously diagnosing Mahoney as transgender. In McAlmon’s words, Dan Mahoney has “doubtlessly suffered enough” without having the past dredged up by literary scholars a hundred years later.⁶⁸

¹ Robert McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together*. Revised edition, supplemented by Kay Boyle (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1968): 34.

² Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis: The Ballad of Reading Gaol and Other Writings*. Introduction and Notes by Anne Varty (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2002): 18.

³ Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 11.

- ⁴ See Lisa DiCaprio and Merry E. Wiesner, *Lives and Voices: Sources in European Women's History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000): 164-5.
- ⁵ Mary Ann Doane, "Film and the Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator," *Issues in Feminist Film Criticism*, ed. Patricia Erens (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990): 48.
- ⁶ Qtd. in Arwa Mahdawi, "Masculinity is a trap—which is why more men should wear skirts." *The Guardian*, 19 June 2019, n.p. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/19/masculinity-trap-why-more-men-should-wear-skirts>
- ⁷ Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986): 181.
- ⁸ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 1: The war of the words* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 327.
- ⁹ Gilbert and Gubar, *The war of the words*, 327.
- ¹⁰ Harford Montgomery Hyde's account of Oscar Wilde's trials posits that his "fatal mistake" was that of "extending the range of his homosexual acquaintances to a different social class from his own" (Harford Montgomery Hyde, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* [Garden City, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973]: 60). Wilde traversed class boundaries in both directions, associating both with lower-class boys (who were liable to blackmail him) and Lord Alfred Douglas, whose father, the Marquess of Queensbury, put into motion the events that led to Wilde's downfall.
- ¹¹ Victoria Glendinning, *Vita: The Life of V. Sackville-West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983): 106. See also Section 1.0 of this thesis and Nigel Nicolson, *Portrait of a Marriage: Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973): 112.
- ¹² Although I have, at times, cited Ellmann without in-depth criticism of his methods, most references should be understood to have been taken with a grain of salt. For an accounting of Ellmann's biography in its historical context, see John McCourt, "After Ellmann: The Current State of Joyce Biography," *Polymorphic Joyce: Papers from the Third Joyce Graduate Conference*, eds. Franca Ruggieri and Anne Fogarty. *Joyce Studies in Italy* 12 (Rome: Edizioni Q, 2012): 97-110. Note, for example, how Joyce's semi-autobiographical fiction has led to "an inevitable merging of... Joyce and Stephen, Nora and Molly, Stanislaus and Shaun" (McCourt, 105), of which I have also been guilty, particularly in Chapter 3.
- ¹³ Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath (Fulham: Fontana Press, 1977): 142-48.
- ¹⁴ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology: Vol. 2, Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. James Faubien (New York: New Press, 1998): 205-22.
- ¹⁵ Foucault, "What is an Author?," 207.
- ¹⁶ Robyn Warhol, "A Feminist Approach to Narrative," *Narrative Theory: Core Concepts and Critical Debates*, ed. David Herman, James Phelan, Peter J. Rabinowitz, Brian Richardson and Robyn Warhol (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2012): 10.
- ¹⁷ Victoria L. Smith, "Ransacking the Language: Finding the Missing Goods in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*," *Journal of Modern Literature* vol. 29, no. 4 (2006): 60.
- ¹⁸ Denise Riley, *Am I That Name?: Feminism and the Category of Women in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003): 3.
- ¹⁹ McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together*, 34.
- ²⁰ John Glassco, *Memoirs of Montparnasse*. Introduction by Louis Begley (New York: New York Review of Books, 2012): 20.
- ²¹ See Phillip F. Herring, *Djuna: The Life and Work of Djuna Barnes* (New York: Viking, 1995): 184, and Andrew Field, *Djuna: The life and times of Djuna Barnes* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1983): 140, 167.
- ²² Field, *Djuna*, 141.
- ²³ Herring, *Djuna*, 210.
- ²⁴ Field, *Djuna*, 144.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ Glassco, *Memoirs of Montparnasse*, 21.
- ²⁷ Herring, *Djuna*, 210.
- ²⁸ Field, *Djuna*, 145.
- ²⁹ McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together*, 34.
- ³⁰ Letter from Barnes to Emily Coleman quoting McAlmon, dated 8 July 1937, qtd. Herring, *Djuna*, 210. "Ar-sole" is likely meant to be read aloud as "arsehole."
- ³¹ McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together*, 148.
- ³² See Kay Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 299 and McAlmon, 148.
- ³³ Conor Fennell, *A Little Circle of Kindred Minds: Joyce in Paris* (Dublin: Green Lamp Editions, 2011): 63.

³⁴ Field, *Djuna*, 134.

³⁵ Herring, *Djuna*, 136.

³⁶ Brenda Maddox, *Nora: A Biography of Nora Joyce* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988): 243.

³⁷ Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A New Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012): 400.

³⁸ Biphobia abounds in biographical notes on McAlmon; for example, Conor Fennell writes that McAlmon “boasted that he was bisexual” and was “attractive to both men and women, just as he *claimed* to be attracted to either sex” (emphasis added) only to later declare that his proposal to Lucia was not taken seriously “because he was homosexual” (Fennell, *Joyce in Paris*, 78, 225). Brenda Maddox similarly writes that “McAlmon, like Sylvia Beach, was a homosexual” (Maddox, *Nora*, 242) without further nuance.

³⁹ Field, *Djuna*, 134.

⁴⁰ See Casey Lawrence, “Elektropolis Coked to the Eyeballs: Berlin’s Modernist Identity Crisis,” *Modernist Place and Space* (Modernist Studies Ireland, 1 October 2021): n.p.

<https://moderniststudiesireland.org/2021/10/01/elektropolis-berlin-modernist/>

⁴¹ Robert Beachy, “Between World Wars, Gay Culture Flourished in Berlin” on *Fresh Air*, interviewed by host Terry Gross (National Public Radio, 17 December 2014): n.p.

⁴² Mia Spiro writes that “despite that which they could not know, the novels that Barnes, Isherwood, and Woolf wrote... reveal the historical, cultural, political, and social conditions in 1930s Europe that made the continent ripe for disaster” (Mia Spiro, *Anti-Nazi Modernism: The Challenges of Resistance in 1930s Fiction* [Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012]: 244). To her list, I would add McAlmon.

⁴³ McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together*, 107.

⁴⁴ See Michael T. Taylor, Annette Timm, and Rainer Herrn, *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship Since Magnus Hirschfeld* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017) and section 1.2 of this thesis for a discussion of the “transvestite pass” system arranged between Hirschfeld and the Berliner Kriminalpolizei.

⁴⁵ See Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship*. Trans. Jean Steinberg (New York: Penguin Books, 1970): 325.

⁴⁶ My translation. In original German, the lines read “*Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort wo man Bücher / Verbrennt, verbrennt man auch am Ende Menschen*” (Heinrich Heine, *Almansor: Eine Tragödie*, ed. Erwin Kalischer and Raimund Pissin [Berlin: Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co., 2014]: 21, 1.243-44).

⁴⁷ Angelika von Wahl, “How Sexuality Changes Agency: Gay Men, Jews and Transitional Justice,” *Gender in Transitional Justice: Governance and Limited Statehood*, ed. Susanne Buckley-Zistel and Ruth Stanley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 205.

⁴⁸ See Chris Johnson, “Senate vote on Equality Act blocked by Republican citing J.K. Rowling,” *The Washington Blade*, 18 June 2020, n.p. <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2020/06/18/senate-vote-on-equality-act-blocked-by-republican-citing-j-k-rowling>

⁴⁹ Tobias Chapple, “Transphobic hate crime reports have quadrupled over the past five years in the UK,” *BBC News*, 11 October 2020, n.p. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-54486122>

⁵⁰ Section 28 of the Local Government Act, enacted in May 1988, prohibited the “promotion of homosexuality” by local officials, which included schools and social services (see the Lords Sitting of the *Hansard*, 16 February 1988: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1988/feb/16/local-government-bill-1>). The bill was in effect until 2003.

⁵¹ See Tom Cohen, “The UK’s Transphobia Problem,” *Redbrick*, 12 February 2021, n.p.

<https://www.redbrick.me/the-uks-transphobia-problem/>

⁵² A 2020 YouGov poll revealed that the British public generally agrees that “a person should be able to self-identify as a gender different to the one they were born in,” but that the majority of respondents were *not* in favour of easing the process by which trans people could legally change their gender (Matthew Smith, “Where does the British public stand on transgender rights?” *YouGov*, 16 July 2020, n.p. <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2020/07/16/where-does-british-public-stand-transgender-rights>).

⁵³ Gender Recognition Act 2004, Section 16, n.p.

<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/7/notes/division/4/16>

⁵⁴ Women are able to become hereditary peers in one of four ways: a woman may inherit a title which is a barony by writ; in Scotland, the eldest daughter is eligible in the absence of sons (this is not the case in England or Wales); a ‘special remainder’ by be granted by the Crown to allow a woman to inherit a title; and a woman may be given hereditary peerage by the Crown (Heather Evennett, “Women, hereditary peerages, and gender inequality in the line of succession,” *In Focus*, The House of Lords Library, 3 October 2022, n.p.).

⁵⁵ Heather Evennett, "Women, hereditary peerages, and gender inequality," n.p.

⁵⁶ Zoë Playdon, *The Hidden Case of Ewan Forbes: And the Unwritten History of the Trans Experience* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2021): 22-26.

⁵⁷ Forbes had attained a corrected birth certificate in 1952 specifically to allow him to marry (Playdon, *Ewan Forbes*, 69-72).

⁵⁸ See Justice Roger Ormrod, "Judgement: *Corbett v Corbett (otherwise Ashley)*," February 1970, n.p.

<http://www.pfc.org.uk/caselaw/Corbett%20v%20Corbett.pdf>

⁵⁹ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 68.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, emphasis original.

⁶¹ See Sam Riedel, "Deadnaming A Trans Person Is Violence—so why does the media do it anyway?" *HuffPost*, 17 March 2017, n.p. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/deadnaming-a-trans-person-is-violenceso-why-does_b_58cc58cce4b0e0d348b3434b

⁶² See Grace Lavery, "Grad School as Conversion Therapy," *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 29 October 2018, n.p. <https://blog.lareviewofbooks.org/essays/grad-school-conversion-therapy/>

⁶³ It is a misconception that the stakes are low in literary studies, especially when it comes to marginalised communities. Prior to *Lawrence v Texas*, the US Supreme Court used historical negative attitudes towards homosexuality (including literary representations) to justify their ruling that homosexual sex was not protected by the 14th amendment in *Bowers v Hardwick*. Queer Studies emerged in the early 1990s in part to counter these dangerous attitudes and demonstrate that the historical attitudes towards homosexuality are far more complex than the ruling insinuated. This reframing has in turn led to more progressive legislation with tangible benefits for vulnerable groups of people in the US including, but not limited to, gay men. See, for example, Susan Burgess, "Queer (Theory) Eye for the Straight (Legal) Guy: *Lawrence v. Texas*' Makeover of *Bowers v. Hardwick*," *Political Research Quarterly* vol. 59, no. 3 (2006): 408.

⁶⁴ Herring, *Djuna*, 262-3.

⁶⁵ Field, *Djuna*, 137.

⁶⁶ Letter from Dan Mahoney to Barnes in 1937, qtd. Field, *Djuna*, 141.

⁶⁷ Qtd. Field, *Djuna*, 145.

⁶⁸ McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together*, 34.

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