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## **(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms: Doctors & Scientists In U.s. Literature, 1895-1935**

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(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms: Doctors & Scientists in U.S. Literature, 1895-1935

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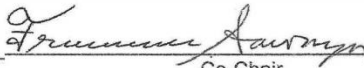
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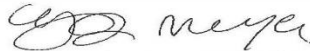
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## ABSTRACT

The United States of America was founded upon patriarchal, white supremacist, and capitalist ideologies that have been concealed from the eyes of the world.

*(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* offers a viewpoint from which to see and understand how these traditions were mythologized during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in the modern professions and its representative identity: the doctor-scientist. The doctor-scientist's professionalization consolidated the power-knowledge of the gaze into an ideal figure of disembodied masculine rational and scientific authority premised on a visual epistemology.

Through close readings of four novels written by Harold Frederic, Charles W. Chesnutt, Sinclair Lewis, and F. Scott Fitzgerald during a crucial period of social transformation and uncertainty, this dissertation reveals how the paradox of disembodied professionalism culminated in a failed embodiment of authority. Through ocularcentric metaphors of the modern profession of scientific medicine, these writers articulate and elide the promise, ambivalence, and ultimate impossibility of what this dissertation calls the myth of professionalization and, thus, of the hegemony of traditional hierarchies.

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For my parents.



## Introduction: The Professionalization Myth

*This is a figure of disembodiment, but which is nevertheless a figure of a body, a bodying forth of masculinized rationality, the figure of a male body which is not a body, a figure in crisis, a figure that enacts a crisis it cannot fully control...*

—Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter*<sup>1</sup>

*(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms: Doctors & Scientists in U.S. Literature, 1895-1935* is about masculinity, whiteness, knowledge, and power during a time of crises.<sup>2</sup> It is about how turn-of-the-twentieth-century American literary representations of a specific class of modern professional—the doctor-scientist—embodied traditional epistemological authority by virtue of their perceived disembodiment; it is also about the ways in which this authority diminished as their presence and visibility in public increased. It tells a story of professionalization, a process in which individual men and bodies of knowledge are authorized in society; of how individuals were drawn to such authorization; of how that process changed during a critical period in US intellectual and cultural history; and of how those changes make it possible to critique some of the less visible problematics of professionalization. Finally, it reveals that what professionalization promises is no longer achievable in the modern world.

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<sup>1</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> On the so-called "crisis of masculinity," see Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, edited by Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, 183-204 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990). Both Bederman and Griffen redefine the so-called "crisis" of masculinity at the turn of the century in terms of men's obsession, anxiety, and lack of confidence during this particularly active period of change in terms of social constructions of gender (Bederman, 11; Griffen 184-85). On the minister's feminization, see Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 17-49; 94-139 and Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity." On the doctor-scientist's professionalization, see Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 14-15, 23-27, 102-75. Anxieties over masculinity, epistemology, and authority seemed to confront men wherever they looked. Modern society looked to a strangely familiar figure but also heeded the modernist imperative to "make it new": the learned professional. Thus, the beginnings of modernity reviewed through the lens of disembodied professionalism is both a looking backward as well as forward. The modern doctor-scientist was one such masculinity that was experiencing this excess of crises. His was a "bodying forth of masculinized rationality" that was simultaneously embodied and disembodied. Following in the honorable professions, he viewed himself and was viewed by the public as engaged in a calling rather than a mere occupation because his work was toward the universal absolute of true knowledge.

## **Weak Profession(al[ism/ization]): The Two Cultures of Medicine and Science, 1880 – 1900**

The term *professional* is both noun and adjective: the former part of speech is someone who is a *professional* and leads to the latter part, which is someone who takes on the qualities of the noun. Becoming a *professional* is a modifying condition: it makes one into a *professional*. The adjectival form is more useful because it characterizes a respective profession's defining traits.<sup>3</sup> While the state of being professional makes it an indefinite adjective,<sup>4</sup> there are also positive, comparable, and superlative degrees that constitute *professionalism* in terms of adhering to a code of conduct and possessing a collection of qualities. A professional may be described as professional; one professional may be more so than another professional; and a well-respected professional embodies that which other professionals strive to be. Adding the suffix “-ization” to the root further expands these meanings: *professionalization* is the action of transforming a body of knowledge into a profession as well as a person into a professional. *Professionals* come into being through *professionalization*,<sup>5</sup> a process consisting of prolonged and directed education and training leading to mastery over a specialized body of knowledge and its practical applications. Typically, this process is supervised by at least one experienced authority on behalf of a credentialed institution and completed through either apprenticeships or university degrees. Though it has a definite end-result, professionalization requires constant improvement to keep abreast with evolving standards of professionalism within a given field.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> D.J.B. Trim, introduction to *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, edited by D.J.B. Trim (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), 12.

<sup>4</sup> Someone who becomes a professional remains a professional for as long as they belong to that profession.

<sup>5</sup> Historians and sociologists have struggled to define models of professionalization. Between the 1930s and late 1970s, the attributional approach, which sought to catalog the essential characteristics of a profession, dominated. Since then, professionalization has split into a systems theory approach focusing on social interactions between professions and professionals and a professionalization model that examines the structural aspects of a profession's formation, organization, and transformation. For a brief account of these disciplinary approaches, see Sida Liu, “Boundaries and Professions: Toward a Processual Theory of Action,” *Journal of Professions and Organization* 5, no. 1 (March 2018), 45-46.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Kanter, *et al.*, “What Does Professionalism Mean to the Physician?”, *Permanente Journal* 17, no. 3 (Summer 2013), 87. “Professionalism requires one to continuously improve, regardless of where one starts. It is not a state of being but rather a journey to improve and refine one's skill over time.” Professionals continue their professionalization even after becoming professionals.

By now, it should be clear that the various denotations and connotations of *profession* and its derivatives and inflections have begun to spill over their containers' sides. Currently, each of the terms remain poorly conceptualized, making any effort toward definitional precision seem arbitrary and pedantic. Thus, *(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* does not advance a wholesale redefinition of professionalization. Instead, it focuses upon the similarities between twin processes of professionalization and disembodiment in the making of a modern figure who personifies the incorporeal power-knowledge of the professional gaze. It claims that these analogous processes find complete expression in one of the familiar figures from the traditional professions: the doctor-scientist.

The compound term doctor-scientist is used as one of convenience throughout this dissertation. While historically doctors and scientists comprised distinct professional identities, there is much overlap between the two professions of science and medicine. Both figures descended from the same traditional learned profession—also referred to as the 'classic' or 'old' professions—that developed during the High Middle Ages, which consisted of law, medicine, and the ministry. The ideals of these professions—disinterested rationality, occupational autonomy, public service, being above or outside the marketplace and political arena<sup>7</sup>—were embodied in their professionals, who were regarded as the main (re)producers of knowledge in society. For centuries, these figures were regarded as ideally masculine, knowledgeable, and powerful men of reason. The cultural authority conferred upon these figures was premised on two basic tenets: their mastery of hegemonic visual epistemology and invisibility within the

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<sup>7</sup> E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 205. "There were two substantial professions that operated outside the marketplace: medicine and the ministry. These professions were overwhelmingly male, and they demanded both 'manly reason' and book learning. However, they conducted their activities away from concentrations of men and power, and they directed their activities as much at nurture as at competition. Finally, they conferred lower status on a man than other nineteenth-century professions." Historically, doctors and clergymen were learned professionals sharing gendered and socioeconomic status. Both were learned men engaged in traditional callings but whose service-oriented relationship with the public was left behind by the transition into the unrestrained competition of the capitalist marketplace. As a result, both were less esteemed by the public that they served.

dominant visible field that emanated from them. Modern doctor-scientists in particular incorporated and consolidated professional power-knowledge through the dynamic of seeing and being seen. Firstly, doctor-scientists *embodied* material forms of otherness in the world by looking at, objectifying, and classifying them through their medico-scientific gaze. Secondly, doctor-scientists *disembodied* their own corporeal selves, rendering themselves either invisible or incapable of being seen other than as personifications of their respective professions. This disembodied invisibility made their authority incontestable as Western civilization had a long tradition of valuing the faculty of reason and perception of sight in constructing knowledge. Thus, the united figure of the modern doctor-scientist personified an emerging style of professional masculinity that granted him cultural authority based on traditionally taken for granted assumptions about how best to see, know, and be in power in the world. In short, he *embodied* an ideal *disembodied* power structure based on masculine knowledge and vision.

The culture of modern professionalism in American scientific medicine<sup>8</sup> did not emerge until the late-nineteenth century. Contemporary culture takes for granted that these historically distinct theories and practices have always been and continue to be one and the same. However, this was not always the case. Although medicine has a long tradition of scientific inquiry into the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of diseases, nevertheless it is often considered as an art—a learned skill and applied technique. Likewise, science—derived from *scientia*, the Latin word meaning knowledge—was largely associated historically with abstractions, theories, and ideas.<sup>9</sup> Medicine and science were two distinct cultures.

Modern medicine, however, is both a science and profession. Originating with the advent of modern science, it combines aspects of art and science.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it has explicitly defined itself as a profession as opposed to an occupation. Unlike science, which was not considered a

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<sup>8</sup> Alternatively known as medical science.

<sup>9</sup> The term applied science refers to the use of the scientific method and the knowledge acquired through that method toward the attainment of practical ends.

<sup>10</sup> Note how the umbrella term *traditional medicine* has come to be opposed to *scientific medicine*.

profession until the turn of the twentieth century because professionalism had taken on connotations of earning money, medicine was deemed not only a worthwhile but also an ethical contribution to society, and that doctors deserved higher salaries due to the demands of their training and labor. The traditional man of science<sup>11</sup> was an amateur gentleman<sup>12</sup> and therefore not a professional scientist. The *scientist*—a term first coined in 1834 and not popularized until 1869<sup>13</sup>—had inherited the mantle of rational authority once donned by the man of science—a distinct proto-professional whose exact occupation has proven notoriously difficult to define.<sup>14</sup>

While a profession often possesses an expert knowledge system that is distinct from the profession itself, an individual who has been professionalized by mastering a discipline typically applies that abstract knowledge to real world problems. The doctor of medicine held particular cachet among early modern professionals because his primary function was direct intervention into the material realities of the body. It was he who combined *gnosis* and *praxis*, spirit and material, and ideal and real. Alternatively, the scientist was often looked upon with suspicion because his work seemed unconcerned with the established values of democracy and

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<sup>11</sup> Steven Shapin, "The Man of Science," in *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3, *Early Modern Science*, edited by Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 179. The precursor to the early modern scientist was almost exclusively male-sexed.

<sup>12</sup> The standard historical study of the three "gentlemanly" professions in the United States is still Samuel Haber, *Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). Haber includes modern professors and engineers with more traditional ministers, doctors, and lawyers.

<sup>13</sup> William Whewell, "On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences. By Mrs. Somerville," *Quarterly Review* 51 (March/June 1834: 54-68. The Reverend Doctor William Whewell, a nineteenth-century English polymath, is attributed as the first person to use the term *scientist*, in 1833. It first appeared in print the following year in an anonymous review of one of the century's bestselling popular science books. In the review Whewell referred to himself as the uncredited "ingenious gentleman" who had first proposed the neologism because the German term for natural scientist roughly translated to the "undignified" English compound word "nature-poker" or "-peeper" (59, 60). Note the scientist was presented as peering into feminine nature with his penetrating gaze. The classical association with masculinity, vision, and dominance is implied in its very origin in the late modern period.

<sup>14</sup> Steven Shapin, "Man of Science," 179.

capitalism. His knowledge was too abstract, theoretical, and impractical; his power<sup>15</sup> was not immediately recognizable and therefore seemed useless.

The establishment of the American Medical Association (AMA<sup>16</sup>) in 1847 is a helpful starting point in the origin story of the medical doctor in the modern US. At a time when the profession of medicine was not particularly well regarded, the AMA sought to raise and standardize medical education and practice by establishing the first national code of professional ethics, publishing original research and pushing for remuneration for its legitimate members, and advocating reform of the profession to prohibit quackery. It was, in brief, a collective body that consolidated and centralized professional authority in a corporate body that then authorized its individual professionals. Unlike the traditionally elitist organizations and intellectual societies prevalent in Europe, the AMA envisioned itself as an exceptional institution promoting values of American democratic individualism for all would-be doctors.

This ideal did not mirror reality. The founding of the AMA helped professionalize the discipline as a whole by normalizing the professionalization process of its prospective members. Any effort to professionalize a large-scale discipline consists of several stages. The first is specialization, or the removal of a body of knowledge from the public domain, which serves as a justification of its social value.<sup>17</sup> An important aspect of professionalization, then, is the making and policing of boundaries,<sup>18</sup> including those that might seem to nonprofessionals (or professionals in other professions) as unnecessary distinctions. Once a profession had thoroughly established itself as such, often by colonizing the marginal fields of an existing

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<sup>15</sup> Traditionally, the European man of science was a member of the aristocratic and intellectual elite, an affiliation that further distanced him from the American ideal of free and equal access to knowledge and authority.

<sup>16</sup> The AMA is a national professional organization whose website proudly states that it “has always followed its mission: to promote the art and science of medicine.” American Medical Association. Accessed September 16, 2021. <https://www.ama-assn.org/about>. See note 9.

<sup>17</sup> George H. Daniels, *American Science in the Age of Jackson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 41.

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Abbott, “Things of Boundaries,” *Social Research* 62, no. 4 (Winter 1995), 857-82.

profession, it then moved toward expansion, monopolization, and protection. These demarcations served as safeguards from both external competition as well as competition from within. The separation between science and not-science had been brought about by doctor-scientists at mid-century in Europe by differentiating their body of knowledge from religion and themselves from clergymen.<sup>19</sup> Yet, American doctor-scientists sought to set their version of science against that of Europe,<sup>20</sup> which they considered too abstract, theoretical, and experimental. In contrast, American science was practical, useful, and profitable. However, US doctor-scientists also faced competition from those irregulars, quacks, and for-profit healers whom they saw as discrediting their noble profession. The AMA affected structural change by defining the ideals and limits of medical professionalism, centralizing its authority, and vetting its members—all within a uniquely American context.

All this is an illusion. *(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* reveals the appearance of an essential paradox of professional masculinity<sup>21</sup> between 1895 and 1935. The vision of traditional professionalization was not possible within the unique brand of professionalism that emerged in American scientific medicine. The modern process through which the social identity of the doctor-scientist was forged rendered impossible the historical consolidation of masculinity, whiteness, knowledge, and power into professionalism by rendering visible traditional forms of power-knowledge<sup>22</sup> and those who personified that authority. Contradictorily, then, the doctor-

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<sup>19</sup> For more on the strategies that scientists used to bring about this separation, see Thomas F. Gieryn, "Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 6 (Dec. 1983): 781-795.

<sup>20</sup> This effort on the part of American doctor-scientists to define themselves by distinguishing their intellectual labors from the Continental tradition of scientific medicine parallels how early American writers sought to distance themselves from the traditional literary culture embodied in their European predecessors and counterparts.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher E. Forth, "Surviving Our Paradoxes? Masculinity, Modernity, and the Body," *Culture, Society & Masculinity* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2009), 10. "[M]odern civilization exercises a double logic that promotes and supports the interests of elite males while at the same time threatening to undermine those interests by eroding the corporeal foundations of male privilege."

<sup>22</sup> Borrowing from Michel Foucault, this dissertation sees power as using knowledge to (re)produce existing structures of itself, which in turn (re)produces *new* forms of knowledge. These "new" knowledges are then used to continue or slightly alter both power relations and ways of knowing *ad infinitum*. Although absolute knowledge is often taken as a historical fact even while absolute power has been discredited,

scientist, whose duty it was to see and know the world and whose power to do so was authorized by his professional status, became a body with a corporeal and social identity, and thus became subject to the very same power that was traditionally only his: the gaze. When the coming into being of this modern ideal masculinity is re-viewed through the concept of visuality,<sup>23</sup> previously unseen and unquestioned problems are brought to light.

Professionalization might be seen as simply the modern revision of the traditional myth that power-knowledge is the exclusive right of an ideal (masculine) mind and an invisible (white) body. Once this illusion is seen for what it is then a critique of this visual lie and the uncomfortable truths it hides might begin to be undertaken.

To be clear: the belief that traditional values of professionalism are unbiased and disembodied is a lie. Doctor-scientists consolidated in physical form the cultural ideals of visual and epistemological authority based on and buoyed by existing and oftentimes invisible

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nevertheless traditional uses of power through accepted ways of knowing—whether established or revolutionary epistemologies—are constantly being (re)produced to legitimize one another. However, to understand forms of power and productions of knowledge as mutually constitutive social constructions is not enough: making visible the implicit interrelationship between power-knowledge does not limit contemporary understandings of past useful truths or those for the future. Instead, seeing the deliberately hidden ways that power and knowledge depend upon each other allows for novel directions of thought that reject traditional power-knowledge systems that exclusively authorize only certain agents or institutions. It makes power-knowledge new again in ways that might call for distributing the means of acquiring knowledge and exercising authority in a more just and equitable fashion. Hence, the doctor-scientist and the power-knowledge of scientific medicine—a modern profession traditionally perceived as inextricably linked to both knowledge and power, and one that is premised on a visual and epistemological control of bodies.

<sup>23</sup> Visuality connotes both traditional meanings such as “the state or quality of being visual or visible to the mind; mental visibility” as well as modern meanings such as “Vision, sight [and] visual aspect or representation; physical appearance.” This shift from the visual as an internalized mental-perceptual phenomenon toward the observable characteristics of external material or physical matter has been called the visual turn. Alexa Sand, “Visuality,” *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 89. See also Hal Foster, preface to *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988), ix. “Although vision suggests sight as a physical operation, ad visuality as sight as a social fact, the two are not opposed as nature to culture: vision is social and historical too, and visuality involves the body and the psyche. Yet neither are they identical.” This dissertation follows Foster’s call “to thicken modern vision.” It seeks to do so by revealing how US fiction about doctor-scientists and the scientific medical profession examines not only the mental, representational, and embodied ways of seeing and how one particularly telling way of seeing (i.e., the professional gaze) empowers them in modern society, but also how, when reversing or reflecting the subject-positionality and directionality of this authorized way of seeing back onto the doctor-scientist and the profession of scientific medicine, that previously hidden and unseen—and perhaps unlooked for—traditional structures of power are brought to light and thus become subject to further examination, dissection, and critique.



structures of power that were disproportionately gendered masculine, raced white, and classed elite. Modern professionals internalized an identity based on an occluded, authoritative self that saw itself atop a sexed, raced, and classed hierarchy. The imagined sameness of professionalism allowed professionals to seize domain over a supposedly disinterested white masculine hegemony that served to solidify the social order. Their perceived similarity with one another in terms of personal, public, and professional identities became the pathway toward respectable upward social mobility without the taint of competition against other elite white men in economic, social, and political realms.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, by “physicalizing” and “abjecting”<sup>25</sup> sexual, racial, and economic otherness, doctor-scientists in particular “abstract[ed]”<sup>26</sup> their own inferior bodies through the purifying process of mythical professionalization.

The history of professionalism is an intellectual history of Western civilization, which itself is a history of gender, vision, and disembodiment. These are histories of power as much as they are of knowledge—and are more myths or stories than histories. Myths make ideals visible and tangible but also hide other ideas better left unseen. Since Ancient Greek philosophers first espoused the duality of masculine reason and feminine unreason, hegemonic ideals of masculinity were formalized and maintained through the institutionalization of knowledge and its embodied opposite. As a result, femininity became identified with non-rational bodily passions that were perceived as degenerate and emasculate and women were relegated to a lower rank in the social order. This privileging of masculine rationality over embodied femininity is premised on the mutual constitutiveness of seeing and being seen: the male gaze sees and knows, the female body is seen and known. Such privileging exerts dominion over a

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<sup>24</sup> See Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, esp. chap. 3, “Professional Manhood, Science, Whiteness” and chap. 4, “Gynecological Manhood.”

<sup>25</sup> Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, 135.

<sup>26</sup> Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, ix.

perceptual corporeal otherness.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, its holder is not seen himself and thus his power-knowledge is unquestionable.

The ideal of disembodied masculine reason has been perpetuated for millennia—first by early and medieval Christian theologians through “the convenient rib-and-apple legend,”<sup>28</sup> then by Enlightenment thinkers with their vision of pure science, and finally by Victorian norms of gentlemanly reason, restraint, and respectability. While it is beyond the scope of any single endeavor to re-envision the mythic relationship among masculinity, knowledge, authority, and the gaze, the Enlightenment provides an important vantage point for such a historical revision. Sir Francis Bacon continued the classical association of masculine reason and authority in the metaphors he used to describe his novel scientific method. Knowledge was to be found in the natural world through empirical observation and rational thinking on the part of man; the good Baconian scientist controlled, manipulated, and dominated the secrets of a passive and feminized Nature, thereby transforming it into knowledge.<sup>29</sup> Pure reason became identified with a complete transcendence of the corporeal body, which was perceived as subordinate to patient

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<sup>27</sup> On the evolutionary logic that divided labor between gender, racial, sex, and class differences, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, esp. chap. 4, “‘Not to Sex—But to Race!’: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Civilized Anglo-Saxon Womanhood, and the Return of the Primitive Rapist” and Francesca Sawaya, *Modern Women, Modern Work: Domesticity, Professionalism, and American Writing, 1890-1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), esp. the introduction, “We Other Victorians: Domesticity and Modern Professionalism.” See Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 17-19, on the distinction between *manliness* and *masculinity*. Whereas the former term was often used, along with *manhood*, to describe the nobler and moralistic ideals associated with what common parlance defines as masculinity in the present, the latter term referred to all male sexed bodies, regardless of sexual, economic, or racial identities. Somewhat paradoxically, then, this dissertation relies upon the more contemporary term *masculinity* and its implicitly disembodied, professional connotations. Invisible, disembodied masculinity can also be traced back to the sexual division of labor, a hallmark of modern civilization that was intrinsically classed. Men of letters, science, or the cloth performed intellectual labor in the public sphere rather than toiling with domestic or manual work that involved less thinking. Such highly abstract and precisely ordered modes of thought were opposed to and divorced from the emotional complexities, practical demands, and physical realities of everyday life. These masculine-yet-not-manly labors often fell to women and the uneducated working-classes, including immigrants, indentured servants, and the enslaved in the US. Consequently, learned men have been granted certain privileges while women, children, nonwhite others, and the working-class have been subjugated because of a perceived embodiedness that deemed them unfit either for practicing the faculty of reason or for exercising the authority to govern.

<sup>28</sup> Charlotte Perkins Gilman, qtd. in Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 163.

<sup>29</sup> *Ipsa scientia potestas est.*

and exact masculine science.<sup>30</sup> Following Bacon, René Descartes offered a rationalist vision of a unified scientific method that reflected this gendered and embodied tradition. His great contribution to modern philosophy was the radical separation of mind and body, which saw the previously feminized non-rational incorporated into the human male's physical form.<sup>31</sup> Women's bodily difference from men, finding visual and embodied expression through sexual desire, had the potential to lead men astray from their virtuous pursuit of true knowledge. The theme of women as temptress—a myth dating back to Genesis—was predicated upon what St. Augustine called “her corporeal veil,”<sup>32</sup> an othered body whose worldly appeal threatened man's perfect union with the divine through the medium of imperfect sight. Ideal masculine authority was disembodied rational vision.<sup>33</sup>

Enlightenment vision was premised on reason and science as progress toward eventual independence. Even during this age highlighting man's unprecedented intellectual, philosophical, and cultural achievements, some thinkers were critical that human knowledge

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<sup>30</sup> Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: “Male” & “Female” in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 15-17, 38-39, 47.

<sup>31</sup> Descartes established Enlightenment thinking on an ungendered substance dualism designed to prove the existence of an intelligent deity and could not have envisioned the two divergent paths—religious skepticism or radical secularism—that other thinkers would follow. Much of what was integrated into the new science and modern views toward the conflict between religion and science were premised on the privileging of the disembodied mind and eye over the corporeal body.

<sup>32</sup> Qtd. in Genevieve Lloyd, *Man of Reason*, 31.

<sup>33</sup> Reason's opposite, passion, was perceived as an inherently transgressive driving force behind men's thoughts and actions. The primacy of disembodied reason relegated corporeal passion to a lower order of the here-and-now and not the eternal thereafter. This existential conflict between knowledge and passion is encapsulated in the motto Immanuel Kant gave to the Enlightenment: the Latin phrase *sapere aude*. “To dare to know” is to defy accepted wisdom and authority in the ardent pursuit of knowledge. Disembodied passion in the form of reason as a virtue crystallized. The early modern natural philosopher personified the perfect vision of an omniscient man wielding omnipotent powers over his natural domain. This was a new way of seeing and being in power—the first man in a modern garden. Although Kant sought to reconcile man's novel rationalism with traditional faith through reflective passion, nevertheless the Cartesian divide between mind and body proved too wide to traverse. Increasing secularization redefined power-knowledge as the domain of the proto-modern professions. (David Hume's notion of empirical reason as resulting from an enlightened and reflective passion, upon which Kant's reconciliation of reason and faith depended, mirrored Bacon's ideal of science as a chaste courting of feminine Nature. Hume had sought to redeem passion from its association with debased and effeminate corporeality and reunite the innately divide soul of man. See Genevieve Lloyd, *Man of Reason*, 55, 17.)

was moving forward too quickly for morality to keep pace.<sup>34</sup> Despite its contradictions, and regardless of its religious or romantic contexts, the Enlightenment and its epistemological vision of human progress presented a “way out [...] of immaturity” and darkness.<sup>35</sup> Only he who properly educated and directed the reflective passions of his mind—and repressed the carnal desires of his body—was free, like Plato’s philosopher, heretofore damned forever to stare imperceptibly at the shadows upon an otherwise blank and unlit cave wall, to escape and see for himself the light of the world and its true forms. Thus, *enlightenment* came to denote an intellectual as well as a spiritual illumination. In terms of visual metaphor, knowledge was light.<sup>36</sup> Such perspectivalism,<sup>37</sup> however, failed to account for individual subjectivity and the innate infallibility of the human ability to see and know—an imperfectability over which reason and the

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<sup>34</sup> This was certainly the view of the romantic philosophers. Most famously, Jean-Jacques Rousseau articulated nostalgia for the passing of natural man due to the mind’s overcultivation. In his pessimistic view of progress, reason was not cold knowledge meant to penetrate nature but rather a mirror reflecting a lost stage of human development from which men had turned away. In the halcyon days before man’s innocence had been corrupted by civilization, men were freer, happier, and less selfish. They coexisted harmoniously with plants and animals as well as one another; they learned lessons about nature from nature itself through a direct and intimate experience with otherness, unburdened by the conservative wisdom of books. And through this understanding of nature, they better understood themselves. Thus, Rousseau believed the emergence of self-consciousness and the progress of reason read like “the history of an illness.” Qtd. in Genevieve Lloyd, *Man of Reason*, 60.

<sup>35</sup> Michel Foucault, “What Is Enlightenment?”, in *Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 34.

<sup>36</sup> On the “problematic implications [...] between two models of light, known as *lux* and *lumen* [which] generally entailed some sort of hierarchical relationship,” see Martin Jay, “The Rise of Hermeneutics and the Crisis of Ocularcentrism,” *Poetics Today* 9, no. 2 (1988), 313-15. “In the hands of a religious thinker [...] *lux* was understood as the profane, natural illumination in the eyes of mere mortals, whereas *lumen* was the primal light produced by divine radiation. In the hands of more secular thinkers like Descartes, *lux* was conceived as both the movement or action in the luminous body and the experience of colored illumination in the eye of the beholder, while *lumen* was the corpuscular movement through the transparent medium. [...] In religious terms, the dichotomy was sometimes expressed as a distinction between a higher mirror of the soul reflecting *lumen* and a lower mirror of the mind showing the *lux*, the latter allowing man to see only through a glass or mirror darkly. In more secular terms, it suggested the dichotomy between rational speculation with the mind’s eye and the empirical observation of the actual two human eyes. [...] If such an undecidability exists in relation to illumination, then the power of the visual model, in either its speculative or its empirical guise, must be questioned as the ground of epistemological certainty. The implication is that visual perception is a problematic tool in the search for meaning or truth.”

<sup>37</sup> Martin Jay, “Scopic Regimes of Modernity,” in *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster, 9. “Cartesian perspectivalism was thus in league with a scientific world view that no longer hermeneutically read the world as divine text, but rather saw it as situated in a mathematically regular spatio-temporal order filled with natural objects that could only be observed from without by the dispassionate eye of the neutral researcher.”

scientific worldview would prevail. This privileging of visual perception created the fiction of an isolated subject objectively detached from the world; such vision-based logic failed to acknowledge the observer's embodiedness within that world.

This ocularcentric tradition was among Michel Foucault's main critiques of the Enlightenment myth linking visual perception with universal knowledge<sup>38</sup> and knowledge with absolute power. The origins of modern professionalization become visible with the emergence of a modern disciplinary society,<sup>39</sup> which unites power-knowledge and the gaze in the structure of the professions and the body of the professional. This emergence was twofold. Firstly, a Foucauldian understanding of the disciplines informs an alternative model of the professions and professionalization from that of the sociological model. Such an approach builds off an already established (but incomplete) model that posits mastery over some esoteric body (or bodies) of knowledge as the main tenet of traditional professionalism. Expanding outward from that intellectual base is a complex series of social processes through which professionals are empowered with cultural authority based on how importantly one's profession is perceived by society. The professions understood in this accepted model form the beginnings of Foucault's disciplines; but the Foucauldian alternative rejects that the founding of the professions and making of professionals are inherently nonthreatening processes.<sup>40</sup> A disciplinary understanding is less interested in professionalization *per se*, but instead in how professionals wield the uniquely modern form of power that their professionalization confers upon them.<sup>41</sup> It regards professionalization as a deceptive exponentiation of the available bodies of knowledge

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<sup>38</sup> Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 228, 231. "*Madness and Civilization* [...] showed the extent of Foucault's appreciation of the role of vision or, more precisely, specific visual regimes, in constituting cultural categories. It demonstrated no less vividly his resistance to the totalizing claims of an Enlightenment that had elevated its ocularcentric notion of Reason to universal truth."

<sup>39</sup> This dissertation's focus on the similar but different relationship between discourses of disciplines and professions has been heavily influenced by Jan Goldstein, "Foucault Among the Sociologists: The 'Disciplines' and the History of the Professions," *History and Theory* 23, no. 2 (May 1984): 170-92.

<sup>40</sup> Jan Goldstein, "Foucault Among the Sociologists," 177.

<sup>41</sup> Jan Goldstein, "Foucault Among the Sociologists," 176.

theorized about by professionals and the resulting agencies of power applied in the world by them to reinforce existing structural imbalances.<sup>42</sup>

Secondly, the birth of modern *disciplines*—as bodies of knowledge or science—coincides with modern *discipline*—as a system of power and control wielded primarily through visibility. Thus, a power-knowledge of the gaze. The myth of professionalization was birthed alongside modernity, the modern clinic, and modern disciplinary society. Regarding these fictional doctor-scientists as flesh-and-blood characters who themselves embody their respective professions—which are themselves already embodied forms of power—rescues Foucault from the precipitous edge of the obscurity of theory and grounds the disembodied ideal of masculine scientific reason into a corporeal body; it embodies professionalism.

The Platonic myth of masculine reason, Christian myth of the Fall, Enlightenment myth of pure science, medical and scientific racist myths of nineteenth-century America, and what this dissertation calls the myth of professionalization all reveal a greater myth that seeing is knowing and knowledge is power. Professionalism has empowered (white) masculinity by rendering invisible the (white) male body of traditional men of reason and science modern doctor-scientists. This disembodiment process places the doctor-scientist's mind and eye within a subject-position that sees and knows otherness without being seen by it, which is always already a position of power. But by re-embodiment the doctor-scientist—at least within works of fiction—he is repositioned within the dynamics of the gaze, back inside the power relations of visibility, where his cultural authority can be questioned, challenged, and reversed. His is no longer a sovereign and authoritative gaze because he can be seen and known by others. This newfound “to-be-looked-at-ness”<sup>43</sup> transforms him from an invisible manifestation of power-knowledge into a visible object—a body. His assigned position as an individual expression of the power-knowledge of modern culture and customs, including the institution of

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<sup>42</sup> Jan Goldstein, “Foucault Among the Sociologists,” 177.

<sup>43</sup> Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975), 19.

professionalism, becomes visible. Consequently, also made visible is the power-knowledge he expresses, particularly the ideal of disembodied white masculinity upon which traditional professional authority is founded, where it too may be critiqued, subverted, or overcome.

The knowledge-power of the modern disciplinary gaze operates through three techniques: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and the ritual of examination.<sup>44</sup> If visibility is a trap, then these scientifico-disciplinary mechanisms are its springs.<sup>45</sup> The doctor-scientist and the disciplinary power-knowledge he possesses becomes the invisible weapon of visibility: he alone is qualified to supervise, classify, and evaluate through his expert vision—all while personifying the disembodied professionalized authority of (white masculine) power-knowledge. The visible body of power—the sovereign, monarch, or emperor—is reincorporated into an invisible matrix of bodies of power-knowledge, of a network of intersecting gazes. This (re)disbursement of power refocuses the very notion of subjecthood—from imperial, juridical subjects into subjects-as-objects. Such redistribution leads to the ideal state of modern society: the panopticon, the objective of which is to coerce the modern subject to internalize the authoritative gaze. The new guardian of this visual-epistemic society was the modern professional doctor-scientist.

If the professions are re-envisioned as disciplines, then the privileging of scientific medicine is a logical consequence of the so-called turn toward modernity.<sup>46</sup> The professional doctor-scientist embodied a hegemonic visual epistemology by mastering the medico-scientific gaze. Through the professionalized act of looking, he transformed knowledge into discipline—both in terms of subjects as bodies of knowledge and subjects as docile bodies—and thus into

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<sup>44</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 170-94.

<sup>45</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 200, 193.

<sup>46</sup> While other thinkers have sought to identify moments when traditional epistemologies rupture into modern ones, Foucault focuses on the continuities, evolutions and revolutions, and transformations of institutional thinking—of *savoir*. See Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 4-6, 21-22.

disciplinary knowledge and power. This is not to say that doctor-scientists held power in any substantive sense—just as someone cannot hold knowledge—though they are often said to have grasped something (or alternatively, “I see”). But doctor-scientists did occupy critical positions within the social order. Thus, this dissertation focuses on the modern doctor-scientist, who with the paradigm shift from a traditional religious worldview in which medicine, science, and every other intellectual endeavor existed to serve religion, to a secular perspective, became the hegemonic professional masculinity for the modern era. He combined reason, science, and authority and thus embodied both traditional power and the modern disciplinary power of the gaze. And he, because his professionalized gaze claimed to know through the act of seeing, was called into being as a modern hero. Although his sight was envisioned as emanating from his unchallenged vantagepoint located at the absolute center of the observable world, nevertheless his sight was always already “within a certain intellectual enclosure,”<sup>47</sup> delimited by a tradition that idealized disembodied masculine professionalism and its hegemonic visual epistemology.<sup>48</sup>

However, power is both positive and negative: it produces as well as subjugates. The alleged power wielded by the doctor-scientist—his professional gaze—opens him up, as mentioned above, to the wider gaze of his contemporary culture. For all of Foucault’s writing on the birth of the doctor-scientist as a modern constituted subject with the birth of the clinic, the individual doctor-scientist himself “has somehow disappeared”<sup>49</sup> while the traditions he embodies have become absolute. To see the individual doctor-scientist and scientific medicine through a literary critical gaze is to see the ideals and traditions for which he stands. The gendered, epistemological, and professionalized ways he sees and knows the world, by being

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<sup>47</sup> Norman Bryson, “The Gaze in the Expanded Field,” in *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster, 104.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1992), 6. “Though obviously one who sees, an observer is more importantly one who sees within a prescribed set of possibilities, one who is embedded in a system of conventions and limitations.”

<sup>49</sup> G.S. Rousseau, “Literature and Medicine: The State of the Field,” *Isis* 72, no. 3 (Sep. 1981), 420.



represented in fiction, may reveal the misogynistic and racist traditions that gave shape to modern processes of professionalization. The authorized ways in which he attempts to exercise order and control over the modern world may be shown within the discipline of the professions and thus shed light on possible causes of uneven power relations in contemporary society—patriarchy, white supremacy, and class inequality. By reflecting and inflecting the clinical, panoptic, and normalizing gazes back onto the doctor-scientists, using the doctor-scientist's own tools to examine and dissect his incorporeal body,<sup>50</sup> the traditional myth that masculinity, vision, knowledge, and authority are the exclusive rights of white professional men might also be debunked. To read the novels that constitute this study as literary lenses into the professionalization of individual doctor-scientists and the profession of scientific medicine allows for new possibilities for understanding the origins, developments, and critiques of not only the professionalization myth, but how it perpetuates a tradition that incorporates and consolidates the gaze, knowledge, and power into a disembodied (white) masculine hegemonic visual epistemology.

### **The Professionalization Myth**

Myths are typically origin stories featuring non-human deities performing actions or experiencing events that express and establish values, beliefs, norms. Myths are internal; they instruct individuals to turn inward to find universal truths. The experience, spirit, or animus of a profession—not the outward signs of value that result from professionalization—is what the ideal myth surrounding was traditional professions was based.

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<sup>50</sup> David Michael Levin, *Sites of Vision: The Discursive Construction of Sight in the History of Philosophy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 59. "Foucault deploys vision, a gaze he discursively constructs, as a critical weapon—not only against the dominant cultural vision, the gaze whose character is dominant today, but also against the domination of vision in a cultural and political *episteme* to the construction of which the discourse of philosophy has significantly contributed. In effect, he not only practices a politics of subversion, using vision itself to resist the willful character of vision, its dreams and images of domination, its ethics of sameness, its politics of violence, its metaphysics of presence; he also uses his vision to examine the limits and antinomies of vision—and the rationality of vision with this type of character."

American culture is obsessed with what *(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* calls the professionalization myth. This myth is a modern (his)tory that Americans tell themselves in which professionalization affords contemporary men with cultural authority based upon traditional relations of power-knowledge. America is now—and always has been—a patriarchal, white supremacist, and democratic capitalist nation. Professionalization has rendered the first two systemic inequalities invisible while promulgating the last one as a structural ideal. While democracy promised any (free) man could achieve upward social mobility, this has largely proven a false promise. White men with the social and economic means to undergo professionalization have benefitted from an invisible stepstool of intersectional privilege to reach the ladder going to the middle- and upper-classes.

The professionalization myth itself is an impossibility and thus culminates in an illness—the false notion that professionalization effects an idealized disembodiment of white masculine characteristics of traditional power-knowledge. Professionalization on the individual level consists of a process, one with a tangible and visible outcome: the production of a professional identity anchored to a physical, corporeal self. Thus, the idea that professionals personify the ideals associated with invisible and disembodied power-knowledge is inherently contradictory.<sup>51</sup> And yet, this significant factor seems to be overlooked: the modern professional characters studied in this dissertation strive to embody the traditional cultural authority of ideal masculine hegemonic rationality but, because of the increased visibility of professionalization and their own high visibility within modern society, are relegated to the very primitive, passionate, corporeal, and *visible* bodies that they inhabit. This is the crux of an invisible myth about disembodied

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<sup>51</sup> This is especially true when considering how the AMA barred women, non-white men, and men from the lower or working classes from entering the medical professions. In the exceptions in which these unfortunates were professionalized—whether separately or unequally—they often faced lifetimes of discrimination. For instance, the professional masculinity of Dr. William Miller, who is the subject of chapter two, goes unrecognized because of his Blackness, which discredits him from embodying authority when perceived through the visual logic of white supremacist tradition. Black professional men like Miller problematized the modern myth that professionalization would allow historically marginalized and disadvantaged individuals from transcending their corporealization.

power-knowledge: Doctor-scientists desired to see without being seen. From this vision comes their knowledge, and from this knowledge comes their power. However, to *not* be seen is to not be recognized, which entails the risk of becoming irrelevant. In modernity, knowledge can still be power, but it is no longer authority, because authority has been transformed into material wealth and social status. To re-envision the ways in which doctor-scientists are seen within society—essentially as simply men no different from other men—is to revise how the modern professional sees society. A return to the ideal of traditional professionalism—of power-knowledge *sans* the invisible privileges of patriarchy, white supremacy, and intellectual elitism—would revise the myth of professionalization into a modern narrative featuring average men who wish to see and know universal truth, who embody the never-ending search for truth and meaning, and who apply that power to making the world better. It had become clear by 1925, near the end of the period of this study, that the professionalization myth was thoroughly debunked because it no longer reflected a modern reality. In short, it had become almost entirely indistinguishable from the contemporary American success narrative. Nonetheless, its psychological and cultural power over individual men remained as strong as ever—as the following readings of literary doctor-scientists makes clear.

### **A Mad Scientist, a Black Doctor, a Laboratory Man, and a Psychiatrist Without a Practice**

*(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* dallies with four American novels: Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896), Charles W. Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* (1925), and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender Is the Night* (1934). What do an unconventional morality tale about a rural minister's encounter with the impending intellectual forces of modernity; a counter-history of a Black American doctor's plight during a fictionalized portrait of the 1898 Wilmington Racial Massacre; an anti-*Bildungsroman* in which an idealist physician-cum-scientist is disillusioned by the corporatization of his professions in the 1910s; and the tragic case history of a once promising psychiatrist's disintegrating marriage and

career in Europe during the Roaring Twenties all have in common? Through close readings, cultural historical contextualization, and Foucauldian critical theory, this dissertation illustrates how the modern doctor-scientist—whether an amateur philosopher, a simple country doctor or a world-renowned otolaryngologist, immunologist, or psychiatrist—has been mythologized, problematized, deconstructed, and ultimately revised and re-envisioned in American literature and culture. Its thesis is precisely not that Drs. Ledsmar, William Miller, Martin Arrowsmith, and Richard “Dick” Diver embody idealized professionalism in their respective fields at their corresponding moments. It is closer, in fact, to the reverse: that Frederic’s Wicked Wizard,<sup>52</sup> Chesnutt’s “negro doctor,”<sup>53</sup> Lewis’s “authentic scientist,”<sup>54</sup> and Fitzgerald’s “dissipated doctor”<sup>55</sup> are the exceptions to contemporary professional norms and thus make visible an increasing ambivalence toward the power-knowledge of traditional professional masculinities during modern times.

These characters’ experiences reveal a turn away from the disembodied visual epistemology of traditional professional authority and toward a distinctly modern professional consciousness, one that is aware of, anxious over, and resistant to his newfound visibility within the ever-expanding “scopic regime”<sup>56</sup> of modernity. Following this turn elucidates not only the long-established authority of the traditional learned professions but also that of the burgeoning,

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<sup>52</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards: Images of the American Scientist as Hero and Villain from Colonial Times to the Present* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009).

<sup>53</sup> Charles W. Chesnutt, *The Marrow of Tradition*, edited by Werner Sollors (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), 45; hereafter cited parenthetically.

<sup>54</sup> Sinclair Lewis, *Arrowsmith* (New York: Signet Classics, 2008), 279; hereafter cited parenthetically.

<sup>55</sup> F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender Is the Night* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 308; hereafter cited parenthetically.

<sup>56</sup> See Martin Jay, “Scopic Regimes of Modernity,” in *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster, 4-12. Although Jay complicates the notion that Cartesian perspectivalism was the hegemonic mode of vision from its inception in the early modern period until the period of this study, nevertheless several characteristics of this model are crucial for this dissertation’s reading of literary representations of the visuality and visibility of doctor-scientists. Cartesian perspectivalism configures a single, subjective masculine observer whose objective rational and scientific world view located at an external vantage point. This transcendental (non-)space positions the ideal observer as an “allegedly disincarnated, absolute eye” and thus “privilege[es] an ahistorical, disinterested, disembodied subject entirely outside of the world [that] it claims to know only from afar” (Jay, 8, 10).

increasingly specialized professions outside of scientific medicine that developed alongside modernity.<sup>57</sup> Thus, none of these novels' primary doctor-scientist is an archetypal doctor-scientist. There are perhaps "better" novels of scientific medicine with more representative embodiments of their specific professions at their narrative centers. Rather, the works selected here are associative rather than definitional and connotative rather than denotative.<sup>58</sup>

*(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* makes no claim as a comprehensive overview; instead, it offers an alternative—a re-vision—of how doctor-scientists see and are seen. By returning a literary critical gaze back onto the mythic figure of the doctor-scientist, Frederic, Chesnutt, Lewis, and Fitzgerald reveal the enculturated relationship between masculinity, knowledge, authority, and professionalism through metaphors of sight and embodiment at a critical point in American literary, cultural, and social history.<sup>59</sup>

*Dis(Embodied) Professionalisms* shows how the doctor-scientist came to personify hegemonic masculine professionalism through the traditional rational scientific gaze in late-nineteenth American literature and culture. It also reveals the ways in which his embodiment of power-knowledge was problematized, critiqued, and challenged by the onset of modernity. Finally, it makes visible his ultimate disappearance in the twentieth century—a vanishing act

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<sup>57</sup> Although this dissertation draws these novels into a historically-bounded modernism, nevertheless its aim is not to form or police boundaries of the dual developing canons of literature-and-medicine and literature-and-science. During the period examined in this dissertation, numerous non-traditional occupational groups also underwent processes of professionalization similar to the modernizing of lawyers, doctors, and clergymen, including notably engineers, businessmen, managers, and politicians.

<sup>58</sup> Each of these novels has been characterized by its generic uncategorizability. By incorporating influences, themes, elements, and perspectives from conventional as well contemporary literary movements—including but not limited to American romanticism, local color regionalism, psychological realism, historical or social realism, romantic naturalism, satire, and modernism—Frederic, Chesnutt, Lewis, and Fitzgerald are all engaged in a project of representing the tensions and conflicts between a series of binary oppositions: traditional-modern, religion-science, medicine-science, reason-passion, seeing-being seen, disembodied-embodied, subject-object, theoretical-practical, real-ideal, public-private, marriage-bachelorhood, white-Black, man-woman, light-darkness, etc.

<sup>59</sup> Whereas traditional professionalization was a disembodiment process that incorporated knowledge, power, and the gaze into masculinity, modern professionalization had become a process without regard for intellectual undertakings and one overly concerned with being recognized as a public authority. The modernization of professionalization, especially in scientific medicine, resulted in a shift away from the traditional disembodied power-knowledge of learned men to the present one in which experts are awarded wealth and status.

that calls for a revision to the myth of professionalization as the singular method through which to consolidate knowledge and authority by transcending the ontological and structural limits of the corporeal body. The story it tells is of an emerging yet familiar figure whose way of seeing, knowing, and ordering the world was fast-becoming only one possible valid way to visual epistemology among an increasingly untraditional reality.

Chapter one sketches the professionalization myth through an encounter between two traditional learned professionals—a man of science and a man of the cloth—in Frederic's *Damnation/Illumination*. Reverend Theron Ware envisions becoming a professional minister will grant him knowledge and authority as well as the modern rewards that accompany it. He comes to see, however, that the religious worldview he embodies is no longer regarded by modern society as either knowledgeable or authoritative. Dr. Ledsmar's mastery of various bodies of scientific medical knowledge authorizes him as a professional in ways that allow him to corporealize, feminize, and primitivize Theron. Ledsmar, who simultaneously *embodies* the faceless gaze of modern science as well as the traditional man of science as a *disembodied* brain with eyes, discredits both medicine and the ministry, thereby relegating physicians and clergymen to a weaker professionalism. Ledsmar's power over Theron, which is represented in his hyper-intellectualism and scrutinizing gaze, signifies a passing of the staff from the ministry to the scientist and a larger shift away from a two-tiered worldview in which science served religion<sup>60</sup> toward one governed by new scientism.

Though acknowledging that the religious parochialism of contemporary belief-systems was ill-equipped to deal with the increasing complexities posed by modernity, Frederic expresses doubts about the turn toward modern science and an idealization of the doctor-scientist.<sup>61</sup> In his depiction of the cold, aristocratic, and monstrous Ledsmar, Frederic subverts

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<sup>60</sup> Jeffrey P. Moran, *American Genesis: The Evolution Controversies from Scopes to Creation Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 9, 7.

<sup>61</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 65. Although earlier American writers of romantic fiction had previously portrayed doctor-scientists as mad and therefore bad, nevertheless the

the figure of the doctor-scientist as modern hero by portraying secular illumination as spiritual damnation. Nonetheless, *Damnation/Illumination* is not Ledsmar's story but Theron's. Realizing that his increasingly tenuous profession no longer confers upon him either knowledge or authority, Theron changes careers. Rather than becoming a figure of masculine power-knowledge disincarnate, Theron has no regard for truly intellectual undertakings and is primarily infatuated with being the center of attention. His psychological need to be seen as an authority figure despite personifying a primitive worldview shows the rupture between traditional and modern ways of seeing and being seen. Whereas in previous centuries Theron would have been perceived as the worldly embodiment of the Christian God and the power-knowledge of true religion, now, he must not only obey his local parish's Trustees, who are his employers and dictators, but also be seen by the watchful eyes of his whole congregation complying with their version of faith. He internalizes Ledsmar's professional view of him as an irrational, emotional, and overly sexual being and then *externalizes* this view, believing that everyone sees him as Ledsmar does. Frederic dramatically reveals Theron's change in perception in a scene that revises the Fall when a young boy from town stumbles upon Theron and an unmarried (Catholic) woman alone together in the woods. Proclaiming himself "a thousand times more defenceless than any woman,"<sup>62</sup> Theron experiences two awakenings: firstly, that he is an embodied and therefore visible being, a revelation that compromises his professional identity and authority; and secondly, that being visibly embodied subjects him to the knowing glances of even the lowliest members of his congregation. Realizing his masculinity has been stripped and his outmoded professionalization has failed to grant him the power-knowledge, disembodied vision, and wealth and status that he desires, Theron gives up the cloth. Fortunately, the

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doctor-scientist appearing in late-nineteenth-century realistic fiction was seen as a champion of science and democracy. Everett Carter, introduction to *Damnation of Theron Ware* by Harold Frederic (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1960), xx.

<sup>62</sup> Harold Frederic, *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 260; hereafter cited parenthetically.

professionalization myth granted white men like him with unlimited opportunities to self-make. The unqualified Theron sets off for the unclaimed Western territory, landing a position as a real-estate agent thanks to a well-connected friend, and sets his sights on returning East to run for Senate. Theron believes in himself because he believes in the professionalization myth—despite possessing neither any knowledge or experience in the real (e.g., modern, secular, and professional) world. Although the myth offers him a dazzling vision of success, nevertheless its brilliance induces in him a blind spot to his own fall.

Chapter two picks up the theme of panopticism by placing a Black doctor-scientist within the (il)logic of the white supremacist gaze. Dr. Miller in Chesnutt's *Marrow* embodies the emerging class of Black men under Jim Crow who challenged white masculinity's sovereignty over knowledge, authority, and the gaze by becoming professionals. But Miller's story reveals cracks in the armor of the professionalization myth, which falsely promises transcendence of the (nonwhite) body's innate inferiority through the acquisition of modern professional knowledge. Traditionally racist views held that Blackness was an incorporation of irrational and violent physicality—popular assumptions bolstered by medical and scientific racism. Miller weakens such stereotypes in personifying modern professionalism: he is a surgeon<sup>63</sup> of unquestionable skill, trained and experienced in the prestigious schools of the North and Europe; he founds a hospital for Black patients and school for Black nurses; and he operates a successful private practice in a Southern city. Indeed, Miller realizes his father's vision "that his children might be gentlemen in the town where their ancestors had once been slaves" (Chesnutt, 34). However, Black doctors were prohibited by custom from treating white patients.<sup>64</sup> When the infant son of

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<sup>63</sup> Surgeons had traditionally occupied lower ranks among proto-professional medical practitioners, especially in medieval and early modern Europe. Modern surgery was still a relatively new medical technology at the turn of the century. Advances in antiseptic techniques and anesthetic drugs had transformed surgery from a barbaric art into a modern, respectable science. However, only an elite class of doctor-scientist were qualified surgeons in 1900.

<sup>64</sup> This Southern custom was indicative of a national policy within the profession, which imposed discriminatory policies that prevented Black men from enjoying the same privileges as their white counterparts. On the systemic inequalities faced by Black doctors throughout US history, see Wilbur H.



the novel's main white antagonist, Major Carteret, requires emergency surgery, an expert specialist, a white doctor who mentored Miller in medical school, is called in to perform the procedure. This doctor invites his former protégé to assist him, but Miller is denied admission because he would be there in his capacity as a modern professional—rather than as a traditional servant—which goes against Southern tradition.

*Marrow* is organized around a “public execution and a time-table.”<sup>65</sup> Both operations<sup>66</sup> and lynchings<sup>67</sup> were spectacular events in which either a diseased or deviant body is subjected first to an incorporeal gaze and then to corporeal violence. While the latter was intended to punish in order to discipline, the former was intended to cut and splice in order to heal. While neither act occurs in the novel, Chesnutt succeeds in reversing the established roles of disembodied whiteness and corporeal Blackness through modern scientific medicine and violence across the color line. Miller's visibility within this highly charged racial visual epistemology renders him extremely vulnerable to retaliation for what the dominant culture perceives as his transgressions against Jim Crow. As punishment, Miller endures a metaphorical lynching<sup>68</sup> at the hands of a white mob when his son is murdered and his hospital is destroyed during a race “riot.” Meanwhile, Carteret's son requires another surgery amid the

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Watson, *Against the Odds: Blacks in the Profession of Medicine in the United States* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999); Todd L. Savitt, “Entering a White Profession: Black Physicians in the New South, 1880-1920,” in *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity*, edited by Earnestine Jenkins and Darlene Clark Hine (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 200-33; and Thomas J. Ward, Jr., *Black Physicians in the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003).

<sup>65</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 7. Foucault's critique of spectacle executions, like Chesnutt's, is premised on the contradiction of discipline as a professional knowledge or practice as well as a technology of punishment.

<sup>66</sup> Operations at this time were often still held in operating theaters that were opened for public viewing.

<sup>67</sup> The practice of lynching combined white power and white vision. It perceived modern Blackness as a transgression warranting racialized violence. Black men deemed criminal were captured, tortured, castrated, immolated, and murdered at the hands of white mobs. Its most important quality was as a public display that disciplined instances of non-traditional Blackness in order to make visible the white-over-Black social hierarchy.

<sup>68</sup> Chesnutt employs lynching as a metaphor because it was a highly visual and violent racial response against individual Black bodies intended to show the larger Black community the natural social hierarchy of whiteness.

violent coup his father orchestrated, and the grieving Miller is the only man who can save him. Chesnutt's novel re-corporealizes whiteness, revealing that its proprietary claims to ideals of disembodied reason and authority are rooted in tradition rather than fact, as whiteness is doubly embodied in a sick child and violent body of men. Just as Carteret is blinded by the illogic of racist tradition, Miller is blinded by the illusion of the myth of professionalization and its false promise to heal the physical and psychological wounds suffered by Black Americans in the South.

Chapters three and four continue the trope of doctor-scientists subjected to the gaze of modern society uncovered in *Marrow*. Chapter three looks at Lewis's dismantling of the professionalization myth. By opposing traditional values of scientific idealism, integrity, and independence against modern American society's increasing corporatization and monetization of the professions, Lewis illustrates how modernity's "insist[ence] on practical results" (Lewis, 330) from its formerly autonomous professionals has dehumanized what were once considered higher callings. Although tradition held that the professions existed above or outside the competitive marketplace and that professionals were subject to different norms than nonprofessionals, nevertheless Dr. Martin Arrowsmith feels as though he is always somehow prevented from realizing his vision for himself. Lewis portrays Martin as a transcendental and romantic hero who is alienated at every stage of his career by supervisors in his personal and professional life. What this chapter refers to throughout as the practicalizing gaze is the transformation from abstract, theoretical, and pure knowledge into immediate, practical, and useful results. Martin's career may be seen as a synecdoche for the whole profession of modern scientific medicine. His internal conflict about whether to become a doctor or scientist shows how the heretofore separate professions became inextricably intertwined as a result of their merging into a single institution.<sup>69</sup> Despite his occasional slips, Lewis heroizes Martin because

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<sup>69</sup> Educational reform, governmental regulation, increased specialization, and the monopolization of resources within an intellectual-industrial complex—all aspects of professionalization according to the

of his unrelenting struggle to embody the true spirit of science—to see and know—goals that have been corrupted by the mandate to be “a perfectly normal man [and] decent normal doctor” (Lewis, 20, 17). Yet, Lewis offers a modern—if impractical—revision to the traditionally American ideal of radical individualism. Despite achieving a mythic level of professionalization as a world-renowned immunologist, Martin turns away from the trappings of modern authority and returns to an earlier ideal of truth-seeking without compromise in a makeshift cabin-laboratory in the Vermont wilderness.

Chapter four provides an apt coda for the professionalization myth by looking at *Tender*, Fitzgerald’s “doctor’s story.” Dr. Dick Diver is a brilliant and promising American psychiatrist in a scientific medical discipline that had only achieved professionalization during his lifetime. From the very beginning, the reader is assured that Dick’s professionalization has transformed him from an ordinary man into a heroic doctor-scientist. This transformation is called into question, however, as the narrative temporality and perspective switches from the present to Dick’s self-conscious past. Book two commences what Fitzgerald called the novel’s true beginning in which Dick’s insecurities about living up to the unrealistic expectations that society has imposed upon its professionals are revealed. Dick is increasingly subjected to and by the gazes of others, which underscores the modern reality that traditional professionalization’s ideal of consolidating power-knowledge in a disembodied masculine mind and gaze is no longer possible. His desire to be recognized as the ideal masculine doctor-scientist within psychiatry, which was regarded as the most modern of scientific medical professions, articulates this basic contradiction between gendered and professional ways of seeing and being seen. More distressing to Dick is that he realizes that his personal and professional vision was fundamentally problematic before he was even exposed to it. Dick comes to see psychiatry as nothing more than the modern

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sociological model—contributed greatly to the traditional power-knowledge of actual corporeal doctor-scientists being converted into a modern corporate scientific medical profession. Put simply, the result of this process was that individual doctor-scientists were all but forced to exchange their autonomy for resources needed to perform their research work.

version of the technologies of power that constituted a patriarchal rational hegemony based on classifying and ordering the world. After repeated attempts to escape from the public eye to his shed, which doubles as a kind of laboratory, in order to finish his envisioned heroic scientific treatise, Dick eventually fades entirely from even the reader's gaze. He retreats to America and a timeless past to practice general medicine, giving up his dream of doing the world's rarest work and contenting himself with being a decent normal doctor instead of a heroic doctor-scientist. Thus, Dick's disappearance at the end of the novel (in approximately 1930) symbolizes the disintegration of the professionalization myth. And yet, the fact that Dick is still working on the process of completing his imagined life's work signifies that his process of deterioration—an embodied metaphor for the myth of professionalization's deterioration—maintains its intangible hold over American men who wish to become doctor-scientists.

The doctor-scientist between 1895 and 1935 represented a contradiction: a simultaneously (dis)embodied figure of masculine professionalism, who was looked to as personifying a traditional authority of power-knowledge that might restore order to an increasingly disordered modern world. He was professionalization's hero. In him, a historically tried and true process that produced a knowledgeable and powerful figure could be revised to recreate a lost world that was fully under his control. However, as this dissertation will show, this myth—enthraling as it still is—has failed to bring about this new vision of society. Instead, the professionalization myth merely reinforces the traditional power structures of patriarchal white supremacy that privileged a hegemonic visual epistemology over otherness while contemporaneously concealing itself from its view.

*(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* begins with an unilluminated minister dreaming of future professional greatness; despite degenerating, Theron's story ends with his envisioning himself achieving such greatness in a different, untraditional profession. And *(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* ends with Dr. Diver realizing that his dream of contributing to modern psychiatry simply rehashes old truths about masculine ways of seeing and being in power. So,

he retreats to where he might embody a revised version of his professional ideals and visions—even if that means being perceived a failure. In between, two otherwise nontraditional professionals—a Black man in the US South and an ordinary man from its Midwest—both realize their professional dreams but neither can transcend how others see them. While Martin also escapes to pursue his impractical vision—unlike Dick, who returns to an ordinary practice—Miller pushes onward, optimistically believing being a “good doctor [...] and doing useful work” (Chesnutt, 9) will change the degrading view toward the people whom he represents are seen. In the end, the professionalization myth retains its potential to transform normal men into mythic heroes. It need not be written out of history but does need to be revised and re-envisioned. The truly freeing pursuit to see and know the world and one’s place in it and to make that world a better place for others—should not be rejected because of the obvious lie that, to accomplish these things, you must be a white professional man.

## Chapter 1 – The Wicked Wizard and Feminized Minister: Disembodying/Professionalizing Power-Knowledge and the Gaze in Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware or Illumination* (1896)

When the eponymous protagonist of Harold Frederic's minor masterpiece, *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896), visits Dr. Ledsmar, he confesses: "I see many things differently since my talk with you. I can use no word for my new state short of illumination" (218). Reverend Ware's host "did not seem disposed," however, "to take up the great issue of illumination" (218). One of several scenes during which Theron overvalues his intellectual enlightenment to other characters, the "issue of illumination" is very much taken up in the book.<sup>70</sup> The great issue, however, is how the "new state" of enlightenment was to be defined and what modern secularization meant for two traditional learned professional masculinities.

In the afterglow of the Enlightenment, illumination had taken on a secular hue. By the end of the nineteenth century, rational enlightenment had overtaken spiritual illumination as the preferred modern perceptual epistemology. To be illuminated now meant to see and understand the light of knowledge by means of careful observation, meticulous investigation, and controlled experimentation rather than passively awaiting their eyes to be opened through revelation. Illumination was learned rather than gifted and was a blissful existence in this life rather than the afterlife. Or, as Theron puts it after first meeting Ledsmar: "Evidently there was an intellectual world, a world of culture and grace, of lofty thoughts and the inspiring communion of real

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<sup>70</sup> Indeed, Frederic's preferred title for his best-known work was *Illumination*—the title under which it was published in the United Kingdom earlier that year. Donna M. Campbell, "A Note on the Text" to Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware or Illumination* (New York: Random House, 2002), xix. "The novel was originally published by William Heinemann in the United Kingdom under the title *Illumination*, in March of 1896, and by Stone & Kimball in the United States under the title *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, in April of 1896. Frederic had apparently decided to replace the original title, *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, with *Illumination*, but this decision did not get relayed to his American publishers until after the publication of the first U.S. edition [...] Because Frederic's final intentions seem to have been to call the novel *Illumination*, but the book has always been known in the U.S. as *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, the editors of the Harold Frederic Edition settled on *The Damnation of Theron Ware or Illumination*, with no comma separating the two titles, as a way to render them coequal." See also Bridget Bennett, *The Damnation of Harold Frederic: His Lives and Works* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 174. "Reading [*Damnation*] is a disquieting process. The title of the novel promises revelation."

knowledge, where creeds were not of importance, and where men asked one another, not 'Is your soul saved?' but 'Is your mind well furnished?'" (132). Even men of the cloth were recognizing that the cultivation of one's mind had begun to take precedence over the salvation of their soul.

Illumination in this modern context is intellectual, secular, and gendered. Modern men took a possession-centric view of knowledge. Theron, who "was extremely interested in the mechanism of his own brain" (38), regards masculinity as the "*possession*" of knowledge.<sup>71</sup> To be enlightened was to collect a set of almost tangible ideas resulting from the physical act of thinking. Those in possession of such a vast collection were admitted into an imagined community of other wealthy connoisseurs of real knowledge known as professionals. After taking mental inventory and determining that he owns fewer ideas than he thought, Theron sets out to acquire as many wares as he can in a quest to express his masculinity by proving his modern ability to see with the light of knowledge.<sup>72</sup> Armed with a traditional view of knowledge

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<sup>71</sup> Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism: Gender and Naturalism in American Fiction, 1885-1915* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1997), 88. "Theron sees essential masculinity as the confident *possession* of culture and heretical ideas, femininity as the quest after such culture and ideas." Theron's imagined "intellectual world" is populated exclusively with men. See also Clay Motley, "Turn-of-the-Century Perceptions of Manliness and Religion: Frederic's Jeremiad in *Theron Ware*," *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 192. "*Theron Ware* becomes Harold Frederic's jeremiad – his long lament for the passing of an *essential manhood* embodied by Jeremiah Madden" (192; emphasis mine).

<sup>72</sup> *Theron* is derived from the Greek Θήρων/Θήρῶ, which is derived from *therao* or "to hunt." One connotation of a *Ware* is an item or a good, usually for sale. The significance of his name nominally determines him to desire the pursuit of knowledge, which he deems not as valuable in and of itself but rather for the economic and social status it confers on its owner. Ironically, Theron is anything but a *ware*, lacking the perception and mental purchase needed to acquire—let alone understand—such novel possessions. For more on Frederic's etymological usage of names in the novel, see Thomas F. O'Donnell, "Proper Names in Frederic (2) / Theron," *Frederic Herald* 1, no. 2 (Sep. 1967), 5; Thomas F. O'Donnell, "The Baxter Marginalia: Theron Ware a Clef," *Frederic Herald* 1, no. 3 (Jan. 1968), 5; and David L. Deratzian, "The Meaning and Significance of Names in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *Literary Onomastics Studies* 11, no. 6 (1984), 51-76. Deratzian locates the roots of the name *Theron Ware* in the Greek "beast" and the verb "to look up," so Theron Ware is a *beast who looks up*. Such a reading coincides with another of Frederic's working titles for the novel, "Snarl," which, refers to baring one's teeth in an aggressive or vicious manner. (See William Jolliff, "Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *Explicator* 47, no. 2 [1989]: 37-38.) Deratzian also sees a pun in the early Anglo-Britanic language, in which Ware means "one near a dam." Theron, in his relentless search for ideas he will not fully understand, risks eternal punishment in Hell. Perhaps the most curious discovery, however, was made when O'Donnell purchased a copy of *Damnation* that was believed to be owned by a cousin of Frederic's, who noted that Ledsmar spelled backward is Ramsdell, Frederic's mother's maiden name ("Baxter Marginalia," 5).

as light and the modern sensibility that knowledge is a thing to be owned, Theron sets out upon his hunt for secular enlightenment. This quest comes at the cost, however, of unknowingly damning himself in others' eyes.

Theron has complete faith that the bright light of divine knowledge will guide him through the darkness of the unknown. The exceptional energy, brightness, and confidence of mid-century America observed by Alexis de Tocqueville, however, had faded into a "darker era of complexity and doubt"<sup>73</sup> by the 1890s. Spiritual light had dimmed into an age of obscurity, a darkening that comes into sharper focus when backlighting against the earlier glow. Some remnants of transcendental idealism had not dimmed, however, but rather refracted through the lens of a millennialist point of view—the vision of the perennial progress of American civilization. Jacksonian America's straightforward individualism promised that the American Everyman<sup>74</sup> would forever be seen as equal, in the eyes of the state, to members of the upper-classes, whether those be the landed gentry, the professional elite, proto-captains of industry, or politicians. But this promise was complicated after the Civil War by the exponential development of unfettered capitalism, rapid industrialization and urbanization, westward expansion, and global imperialism. Facing these modern realities, new versions of the old nationalist ideals of democratic individualism, laissez-faire economics, the Protestant work ethic, and an anti-elitist and commonsensical worldview were written. To respond to the "intellectual disorder"<sup>75</sup> posed by the twentieth century, modern individuals defined themselves according to traditional roles—sometimes reenacting them and other times resisting them, but always responding to them. The "rags-to-riches" narrative, replete with strenuously masculine heroes, expressed traditional myths that reflected this timeless national vision for modern readers. However, the rise of the

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<sup>73</sup> Stanton Garner, *Harold Frederic* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), 38.

<sup>74</sup> The American everyman in mind was the common white man descended from certain types of Europeans.

<sup>75</sup> Bruce Michelson, "Theron Ware in the Wilderness of Ideas," *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 25, no. 1 (Fall 1992), 54.



New Woman, the closing of the frontier, the massive waves of immigrants from Europe and East Asia, and a waning spiritual evangelicalism all further blurred the implicitly patriarchal, agrarian, nativist, and Christian lenses through which Americans saw themselves and their world. How was the common American—practical, unlettered, male—to exert his traditional cultural authority against this modern alterity?

In *Damnation/Illumination*, Frederic shines a light upon this contemporary dark age. The man of God, who traditionally embodied learned authority, was quickly diminishing in status as revelation was losing its power as a valid form of knowledge. Taking his place was a competing worldview personified by another traditional professional: the man of reason. Rational scientism had raised questions about God's existence, and while many doctor-scientists sought to reconcile their theories and findings with traditional belief-systems, the professionalization of knowledge greatly contributed to modern society's secularization. Whereas traditionally professionalization made the clergyman into *the* professional, modern professionalization validated all sorts of different ways of knowing. In particular, the modern doctor-scientist, who represented the evolution of the man of medicine, stood for the perceptual epistemology of secular intellection and ratiocination. The conflict between traditional and modern ways of knowing is dramatized in the encounter between these two representatives of professional masculinity. Frederic presents the paradigm shift away from the minister, the former embodiment of masculine knowledge and power,<sup>76</sup> and toward the modern doctor-scientist, who had had supplanted the minister as the hegemonic professional in modern America—for better or worse.

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<sup>76</sup> Lisa MacFarlane, "Resurrecting Man: Desire and *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," in *A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism*, edited by Susan Juster and Lisa MacFarlane (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 67. "The minister has no overt power; rather, he relies upon his congregation's belief that their lives are constantly monitored and judged, both by an all-powerful male God and by the minister who is his representative [of] legitimate and substantive authority: the patriarchal authority of God the Father."

While Frederic's story is ostensibly a morality tale about a naïve minister's fall from innocence to experience, a common trope in sentimental literature, a closer look reveals that Theron's degeneration symbolizes the modern passing of the professional staff over from the minister to the doctor-scientist.<sup>77</sup> Theron undergoes a "counterconversion"<sup>78</sup> from blind (if not always pious) faith in the existence of God and of his privileged place in the universe to absolute doubt about everything. His newfound uncertainty causes him to question his very sense of self. Indeed, there is obvious irony in the fact that Theron's repeated boasts about finding secular enlightenment (rather than experiencing religion) take place during moments in which he confesses his loss of faith to laypersons.

Throughout the novel, Frederic paints the bewildered young minister as either basking in intense light or clouded in oppressive darkness. Theron's misperceptions are represented through the discombobulating effects of light and darkness, which make clear his uncertainty and thus his entire perspective. In such moments, Theron sees himself and the world through an impaired sight that eventually fades to "total blindness."<sup>79</sup> Dazzled by the brilliance of modern ideas and closing his eyes to his ambition, solipsism, intellectual hubris, and spiritual

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<sup>77</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 186. "The old form of inspection, irregular and rapid, was transformed into a regular observation that placed the patient in a situation of almost perpetual examination [a consequence of which was that] the physician [...] beg[an] to gain over the religious staff and to regulate them to a clearly specified, but subordinate role in the technique of the examination."

<sup>78</sup> Elmer Suderman, "The Damnation of Theron Ware as a Criticism of American Religious Thought," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (Nov. 1969), 67-68, 72-74. "The conclusion, then, is in keeping with Frederic's theme that man is ignorant, dull, inconsistent, trivial, and conceited—a rickety, shabby, poor creature, generally speaking, aimlessly, uncritically, and naïvely following his individual intuition, which leads him to pursue pleasing illusions and blinds him to the bleak and terrifying reality of a universe in which uncertainty is man's essential condition."

<sup>79</sup> Scott Donaldson, "Seduction of Theron Ware," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 29, no. 4 (Mar. 1975), 447.

backsliding,<sup>80</sup> Theron is continuously caught in the double bind of seeing while being seen.<sup>81</sup> The competing gazes of the novel's more knowledgeable "illuminati,"<sup>82</sup> which include Ledsmar, advances Theron's ruination. It is no coincidence, then, that Ledsmar first appears soon after Theron realizes that "he was an extremely ignorant and rudely untrained young man, [who] had been merely drifting in fatuous and conceited blindness" (59). However, by appropriating divergent points of views that he does not comprehend, Theron commits the unpardonable sin of presenting himself as a modern intellectual authority figure without undergoing the appropriate professionalization. Ultimately, his decline is visible to everyone except him.<sup>83</sup> His incapacity to reconcile these multiple perspectives with his own symbolizes his diminishing role in modern society.

*Damnation/Illumination* modernizes the Christian allegory of the Fall and the Enlightenment myth of masculine reason and science. By masculinizing Dr. Ledsmar,<sup>84</sup> a modern mad scientist and atheistic misogynist, and feminizing the Rev. Theron Ware,<sup>85</sup> Frederic places the doctor-scientist atop the social hierarchy. By the end of the century, scientific and

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<sup>80</sup> John Henry Raleigh, "The Damnation of Theron Ware," *American Literature* 30, no. 2 (May 1958), 210; Sidney Krause, "Harold Frederic and the Failure Motif," *Studies in American Fiction* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1987), 59, 65; Steven Carter, "'The Field is the Only Reality': *The Damnation of Theron Ware* and a Physics of Interpretation," *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 20, no. 2 (Winter 1988), 44; Lionel Lackey, "Redemption and *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *South Atlantic Review* 55, no. 1 (January 1990), 85; Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 181; Mark Sussman, "Cynicism and *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *NOVEL* 47, no. 3 (Fall 2014), 407, 418-19; L. Ashley Squires, "Humble Humbugs and Good Frauds: Harold Frederic, Christian Science, and the Anglo-American Professions," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 73, no. 2 (Winter 2018), 369, 371.

<sup>81</sup> Thomas LeClair, "The Ascendant Eye: A Reading of *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *Studies in American Fiction* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1975), 95. "The psychological condition Frederic explores in *The Damnation* is the complex relationship between being seen and seeing, between the person as object of perception and the person as perceiver of self and others." See also Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions: Culture and Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 58. "Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware* is permeated by the language and the ideology of seeing and being seen, of being an outsider and an insider in incommensurable cultural economies."

<sup>82</sup> Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, 67.

<sup>83</sup> This motif is explored again in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

<sup>84</sup> On how "white scientific manhood" consolidated authority by defining itself against otherness, see Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, esp. chap. 3, "Our Castle Still Remains Unshaken": Professional Manhood, Science, Whiteness" and chap. 4, "Gynecological Manhood: The Worries of Whiteness and the Disorders of Women."

<sup>85</sup> Ann Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 17-49; 94-139.

religious perspectives now represented completely different perceptual epistemologies from one another. And the former was fast-becoming the more valid way of observing and interpreting the natural world—*this* world, the only truly knowable world.<sup>86</sup> Frederic's rendering of the meeting between two stock figures from American fiction, however, is more than a contemporary allegory of the age-old conflict between science and religion, often expressed by the embodied idiom of head versus heart. Instead, Ledsmar and Theron's confrontation represents a drama of professionalization that renders visible the transition of hegemonic professional masculinity from the minister to the doctor-scientist.<sup>87</sup> Frederic stages this conflict between two embodied professional authorities through the visual metaphor of light and darkness in order to depict the power relations of seeing and being seen. The modern doctor-scientist personified a traditionally god-like masculine power-knowledge through the act of looking. By imbuing Ledsmar with such a powerful gaze and then subjecting Theron to that gaze, Frederic reveals the modern clergyman's lack of objectively true knowledge as well as his increasingly sentimental (i.e., unprofessional role in society).<sup>88</sup> In effect, modern professionalization masculinizes the doctor-scientist and emasculates the minister. The minister's fall from power made him less knowledgeable than the doctor-scientist, which in turn made the minister more equal to unempowered groups such as women, people of color, and nonprofessionals. In short,

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<sup>86</sup> Jeffrey P. Moran, *American Genesis*, 9, 7; see note 60. See also Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, 119, who articulates how in accounts of debates between Samuel Morton and John Bachman that Bachman's scientific qualifications are deemphasized to stress both his religiosity and racism. "This emphasis works to uphold the predominant reading of the debate, casting its significance in terms of how it contributed to preprofessional science's enabling break with theological interpretation."

<sup>87</sup> Numerous scholars in the field of masculinity studies have outlined the ways in which patriarchal ideology victimizes men as well as women, white men as well as nonwhite men, and men across class lines. See R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2005, esp. chap. 3, "The Social Organization of Masculinity."

<sup>88</sup> For a much more nuanced and thorough account of the interrelated ways in which professionalization was gendered (and racialized), especially in the literature during much of the same timeframe examined in this dissertation, see Francesca Sawaya, *Modern Women, Modern Work*. This chapter takes a more binary approach to professionalization's traditions, borrowing from the already-cited Ann Douglas and Dana D. Nelson.

professionalization conferred cultural authority on the doctor-scientist and stripped the minister of power that, traditionally, was his.

Like the biblical Adam's fall, Theron's fall is intellectual, spiritual, and sexual.<sup>89</sup> It represents the transition from an outmoded professionalism toward one more suited for the present. In this novel postlapsarian world, the pursuit of science that served God was no longer the dominant model. Thus, the doctor-scientist's rationalism was no longer beholden to faith, superstition, or dogma. The "only intellectually honest option"<sup>90</sup> that remained for modern man was to open his eyes to a world that was only knowable through the redeemed sin of reason—just as Adam was forced to do after being exiled from Eden. Six millennia after he had left the garden, however, the first man's descendants still had not evolved to see and learn for themselves. Modern secular professionalization promised to open new ways of seeing and thinking. This progressivist vision met resistance from many established authorities.

In postbellum America, conservative Methodists perceived modern professionalization as secularizing newer members of the clergy. In their view, the process had caused Adam's male offspring, already morally tainted, to degenerate physically. From the traditional evangelical viewpoint, modern professional ministers had become too civilized—too domesticated, educated, and, most damningly, commercialized—for what had been historically perceived as a higher calling. The earthly trappings afforded by modern professional status had corrupted this sacred occupation. Newer forms of secular professionalism relegated the minister to a lower tier beneath the modern businessman, politician, university professor, and other professional masculinities whose authority was signified by material and social capital, including

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<sup>89</sup> Everett Carter, introduction, xviii, xxi.

<sup>90</sup> Patrick Dooley, "Fakes and Good Frauds: Pragmatic Religion in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1982), 75. "By 1890, Charles Darwin's theories had been bolstered by twenty years of archaeological and paleontological findings. Organized religion was severely threatened. Specifically, the biblical accounts of the origin and age of the earth, and the special creation of man had been discredited. To the extent that religious truth depended upon the Bible, the impact of Darwin and science was all but fatal. The only intellectually honest option appeared to be to abandon religion and accept science."

the currency of ideas. The emergent modern secular viewpoints with which the fading ministerial profession had to contend made claims to truth that were quickly becoming just as credible—and thus as desirable—as those made by church authorities. In short, the traditionally authoritative worldview had been degraded into simply another viewpoint in the marketplace of knowledge. Of course, such viewpoints were still privileged in that they were embodied within a white male body that registered to the untrained eye as unseen and thus as unquestionable.

The growing tension between traditional and modern professionalisms is alluded to before the reader ever sees Theron. Throughout the first chapter, Frederic employs the dynamics of the gaze to question both accepted and burgeoning authorities within the diminishing ministerial profession.<sup>91</sup> The scene is the First Nedahma Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With the first line—“No such throng had ever before been seen” (1)—the act of spectating is transformed into a spectacle. The atmosphere of this session is one of intense anticipation. This is where the ministerial assignments for all the Methodists across upstate New York are to be announced for the next three years. The omniscient narrative point of view in the first few paragraphs, in which the “uplifted faces” and “dominant emotion” of the “broad, dense masses” “focussed [*sic*] every eye upon a common objective point” (1), quickly gives way to that of an hypothetical observer. The authoritative distance of the impersonal narrative perspective<sup>92</sup> is corporealized, first from an all-seeing and all-knowing speaker into that of an un-“sympathetic” and “sophisticated stranger”<sup>93</sup> (3, 5). This shift is

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<sup>91</sup> For a brilliant analysis of the opening chapter, see Paul Eggers, “‘By Whose Authority?’: Point of View in the First Chapter of Harold Frederic’s *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *Style* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 81-95. “[T]he first chapter initiates and encapsulates the novel’s exploration of authority through a perplexing usage of shifting points of view” (Eggers, 82).

<sup>92</sup> Mark Sussman, “Cynicism and *Damnation*,” 419. Sussman argues that the Frederic’s cynicism functions as an “impersonal stance [that] offers an epistemologically stable location from which the story of modernity’s social, religious, philosophical, political, and economic antinomies can be observed.”

<sup>93</sup> Paul Eggers, “By Whose Authority?” 84. “Each pass of the room suggests a peripatetic narrative vision describing its subjects in discrete terms—first the clergy, then the various groupings of clergy, then back again to the congregation. The structure of the descriptions points toward corporeal agency, toward a viewing figure present in the church, a man or woman walking, perhaps, down the nave toward the pulpit.”

followed by another: the perspective turns from the hardy circuit-riding patriarchs of past “heroic times,” who gaze backward at the newly-ordained “citified” and “scholarly face[s]” seated behind them, in whom they notice a “particularly marked decline” (3). Looking past their new professional brethren, they see the “smart[],” “fashionable,” and “go-ahead” members of the First M.E. Church of Tecumseh (5), who look nothing like their congregates from their rustic past. But the modern professing members return this condescending gaze back onto the Methodist Elders, in whom they see a lack of formal education and class-consciousness that is at odds with their modern worldview. This “masterful tracking shot”<sup>94</sup> renders visible several themes: the power of a “universal gaze;” the “near-sighted” “points of view” of those holding *both* traditional and modern perspectives; the animosity that can literally be seen between those opposing points of view; the degeneration from traditionally masculine ministers to modern effeminate ones;<sup>95</sup> and the commercialized professionalization of the minister’s higher calling. By the time the reader sees Theron he seems completely unaware that he is enmeshed in this

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<sup>94</sup> Simone Francescato, “Retoriche Antifondamentaliste in *The Damnation of Theron Ware* e *Elmer Gantry*,” in *Overseas: The Religious Dimension of Immigration to the New World*, eds. Silvana Serafin, Alessandra Ferraro, Daniela Ciani Forza, Anna Pia De Luca (2018), 123. The original Italian phrasing is “*una sapienta carrellata*.”

<sup>95</sup> Although this chapter reads the modern masculinization of the doctor-scientist against the feminization of the minister, nevertheless Frederic’s treatment of this engendering is less straightforward and more nuanced. Theron, who nonchalantly shrugs off the realization that, “I suppose people really do think of us [ministers] as a kind of hybrid female” when Alice suggests he carry a parasol to protect him from the “broiling June sun” on one of his many characteristic strolls about town (Frederic, 112), is ambiguously gendered by virtue of the ways in which his profession as a minister, especially one that embodies a stringently anti-modern faith, is perceived. For more on masculinity in the novel, see Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *American Literature* 58, no. 2 (May 1986); Steven Carter, “Field is the Only Reality,” 43ff.; Lisa MacFarlane, “Desire and *Damnation*,” and Clay Motley, “Perceptions of Manliness and Religion.” While Oehlschlaeger claims that “Theron becomes progressively effeminized throughout the novel” (Oehlschlaeger, 244), Carter complicates this “linear effeminization” by arguing instead that “Frederic’s satirical view of Theron’s slippery sexuality is not merely linear. Rather, Theron [...] vacillates between sexual identities. Moreover, it is these vacillations themselves, instead of any ‘real’ or ‘ultimate’ male or female beginning or ending in Theron’s nature, which Frederic emphasizes” (S. Carter, 54-55). As such, as MacFarlane points out, Frederic’s use of the feminized minister “deconstructs the idea of a monolithic masculinity” so that the novel is “an allegory about the social constructions of gender” (MacFarlane, 66, 80) of which, this chapter is arguing, professionalization at this time plays an integral part. Finally, on masculinity and its relation to modern movements in both naturalist fiction and evolutionary science, see Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism* and Bert Bender, *The Descent of Love: Darwin and the Theory of Sexual Selection in American Fiction, 1871-1926* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

visual, temporal, and gendered power dynamic. This effect is strengthened through the narrator's use of direct address, which invites the implied reader into this paranoiac environment<sup>96</sup>: "You could see Mr. Ware sitting there" (6). The reader is called into the story through parabasis and asked to participate in this voyeuristic environment. The reader's perceptual-ideological perspective<sup>97</sup> finally stabilizes with Theron's point of view—but not before the reader, like Theron, who is "swallowed up in a terribly anxious conflict of hope and fear" (6) as he awaits his fate's pronouncement—is drawn in.

Frederic shows with this first chapter that visibility precipitates vulnerability. The reader is invited to see Theron as "[e]very local eye" (7) in Tecumseh sees him, which is also how they see themselves. In short, "Frederic has [...] constructed a picture of Theron *only* through the eyes of others"<sup>98</sup>—a portrait that frames him within the figurative painting of the text from which he cannot escape the onlooking reader's gaze. (This framing encapsulates the entirety of Theron's story.) But, with the fact that Theron is bypassed for another "spindling, rickety, gaunt old man" (7) to replace Tecumseh's incumbent "tiresome old fossil," "who preached dreary out-of-date sermons" (5), Frederic foreshadows the unreliability of visual perception about oneself and others as one of the novel's prevalent themes. He represents uncertainty in visual terms by presenting multiple competing perspectives.<sup>99</sup> Since the reader cannot be sure who is telling the story, they cannot be sure about anything that they will see. Like Theron, they are metaphorically in the dark.

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<sup>96</sup> Joyce Carol Oates, introduction to *The Damnation of Theron Ware or Illumination*, by Harold Frederic (New York: Random House, 2002), xiv. "[F]or this is paranoia as religion; or religion as paranoia."

<sup>97</sup> Paul Eggers, "By Whose Authority?" 86.

<sup>98</sup> Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, 67-68.

<sup>99</sup> Paul Eggers, "By Whose Authority?" 92. "More than anything else, the first chapter illuminates the extent to which both text and reader are rendered 'unauthoritative' through the agency of point of view. The point of view is clear only when it is manipulative, guiding us into later misperceptions; when it is not clear, the text strenuously insists upon its own clarity, guiding us away from interrogating the authority of its claims. [...] The genius of the first chapter lies in the spectral quality of its points of view: manipulations and ambiguities are unmistakable, yet they pass unnoticed before our gaze. If in these opening pages we do not ask by whose authority we have accepted 'the truth,' then we have mirrored in our reading the arrogance and naiveté of the Reverend Ware. The text itself implicates us, and in so doing reveals the opening chapter to be a synecdoche for the novel's critique of authority."



Even at this early stage, then, Frederic makes it clear that Theron is “a mistake in the ministry” (341).<sup>100</sup> His abbreviated appointment<sup>101</sup> as the minister of Octavius, the small town in the Burned-over district<sup>102</sup> to which he is appointed instead of Tecumseh, proves to be his professional undoing. There he finds himself caught between two opposing factions of his new congregation. On one side is a “dominant minority” (108)<sup>103</sup> whose brand of Methodism is especially “primitive” (28, 107, 175) and “mean”<sup>104</sup> and on the other is a more reserved majority whose spiritual interpretation is more open-minded and progressive. Their new minister glimpses this schism when he is first visited by the three church Trustees. The leader dictates that The Book of Discipline<sup>105</sup> is the only type of “book-learnin” (27) that their congregation will follow. The lay authorities suspect any “new-fangled notions” that go against the “plain, old-

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<sup>100</sup> This oversight is hinted at starting in the second chapter, which details his disastrous previous ministerial appointment in an even smaller town. There, Theron fell into debt and disrepute before being saved by a benefactor who advises him to maybe consider entering a different profession.

<sup>101</sup> The story occurs over one calendar year. Each of the four parts, comprised of seven chapters each, represent one season. Allen F. Stein, “Evasions of an American Adam: Structure and Theme in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*. *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 5, no. 1 (Win. 1972), 25. “When we [...] focus on the whole course of Theron’s damning experience in Octavius, we see a story which is told in twenty-eight chapters, which fall into four groups of seven each. Each of these sections of seven chapters establishes a separate stage of Theron’s conflict, and each ends with what Theron thinks is a resolution of his problem.” Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 112. “For a time Frederic considered two different sets of titles for the four parts of *The Damnation*: Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter; People, Predilections, Passions, and Penalties (or Payments).” See also Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 174, 181. “Initially, the process of this revelation—the illumination of the reader—appears to be linear [...] The chronology of the novel embodies forward movement—its progression is seasonal—but each advance in knowledge proves an illusion.”

<sup>102</sup> Scott Donaldson, introduction to *The Damnation of Theron Ware* by Harold Frederic (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), vii, xiv. Frederic based the fictional Octavius on Utica, New York which is a partial anagram of his hometown.

<sup>103</sup> Simone Francescato, “Retoriche Antifondamentaliste,” in *Oltreoceano*, edited by Silvana Serafin et al., 123. “Frederic adds another portrait of Methodism [to that of chapter one], the congregation of the smaller town of Octavius [...] where an extremist fringe opposed to modern comforts and what they perceive as the relaxation of morals exercises significant control over the majority.”

<sup>104</sup> Louis Auchincloss, *The Man Behind the Book: Literary Profiles* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996), 117. Octavius is a “town where the Methodists are at their most evangelical and meanest.” As one well-traveled and plain-speaking character who has seen it all puts it, “Octavius, so far as the Methodists are concerned, is twenty or thirty years behind the times” (Frederic, 175). Methodism here survived the various “minor schism[s]” (106) of mid-century sectarianism at the national level and held together—despite conflicting beliefs of its two factions: the radical fundamentalists demanding “edifying doctrinal discourses” (110) and those “less prejudiced [modern progressives] who wished for intellectual [and] liberal sermons” (111).

<sup>105</sup> The foundational scripture of Universal Methodism.

fashioned Word of God,” including “that pack o’ nonsense about science, such as tellin’ the age of the earth by crackin’ up stones [...] [and] that our grandfathers were all monkeys” (28). The Trustees’ radically fundamental anti-intellectualism, revealed in their aversion to modern scientific theories, immediately puts Theron in a quandary. Theron is among the new crop of liberally educated ministers who were supplanting their less intellectual predecessors. His ministerial authority is already compromised by his youth, inexperience, and “book-learnin’.” In Octavius’s social hierarchy, then, he is situated beneath the community’s established powerholders, whose authority is based on their wealth and seniority.<sup>106</sup> Their final authority over their new minister is emphatically stamped when they “despotic[ally] order” (35) him to command his wife, Alice, to remove the roses from her bonnet before the next Sunday service.<sup>107</sup>

As Theron settles into “this perversely enigmatic Octavius,” he recalls hearing of “a big city Presbyterian minister” who had “preach[ed] two kinds of sermons,” which appease both the skeptical true believers and the more literary moderates (110). But Octavius is just a small “hick town”<sup>108</sup> that will only permit old-fashioned literal interpretations of the Bible in their sermons. After two unhappy months spent in front of what he regards as a dim-witted congregation, Theron discovers a beacon of light in the most unorthodox of places: the last rites of an Irish immigrant laborer called MacEvoy. Theron, seeing an ancient Catholic ritual, something that he has never seen before, almost hypnotically follows the funeral procession straight to the side of the injured man’s deathbed within his dingy shanty. Without thinking, the Rev. Ware kneels for the Catholic prayers delivered in Ecclesiastical Latin and unconscientiously receives unction.

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<sup>106</sup> Ironically enough, one of the three men, Levi Gorringer, is not even a “professing member” (114) of Methodism. After this scene, Gorringer will play the largest role in Theron’s downfall.

<sup>107</sup> Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 123; Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 240; Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 242; Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism*, 82. Theron “eas[ily] submi[ts]” (Bender, 242), “capitulates” (Campbell, 82), and “accedes without objection” (Oehlschlaeger, 240) to their “despotic order” (Frederic, 35).

<sup>108</sup> Elizabeth S. Prioleau, “The Minister and the Seductress in American Fiction: The Adamic Myth Redux,” *Journal of American Culture* 16, no. 4 (Dec. 1993), 2.

After exiting the darkened domicile, he “stood blinking at the bright light,” not believing “that he had seen and done all this” (43). Witnessing and partaking in these alien ceremonies “strangely affected him” (43).<sup>109</sup>

Theron’s experience at MacEvoy’s deathbed foreshadows his enthrallment with local Irish Catholic culture, which is embodied in its intelligentsia.<sup>110</sup> Two of these members are introduced here—Father Vincent Forbes, a corpulent and effete Priest who presides over the rites,<sup>111</sup> and Celia Madden, a beautiful and wealthy aesthete (whose hat is adorned with flowers when he first sees her [41]<sup>112</sup>). These characters, along with Ledsmar, become “emblems” that “embod[y]” the prevailing intellectual, philosophical, and aesthetic movements of the day.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> See Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), esp. chap. 12, “The Bodily Gaze of Protestantism,” which she describes as “a gaze that acknowledged its spiritual desire, celebrated Catholicism as spectacle, and fantasied the consumption of this foreign substance rather than conversion to it. This Protestant gaze was forged from the terms of anti-Catholic discourse in its preoccupation with Romanism’s bodily excesses [...] emanating from an undisciplined femaleness” (Franchot, 234). While not yet fully realized at this point, Theron eventually comes to embody such a view.

<sup>110</sup> Carrie Tirado Bramen, “The Americanization of Theron Ware,” *NOVEL* 31, no. 1 (Fall 1997), 68, 79.

<sup>111</sup> When Theron first sees Forbes, it is at the funeral procession of an Irish laborer employed by Celia’s father at his wagon-works. Upon entering the unfortunate man’s home, “[T]he outer doorway was darkened by the commanding bulk of a new-comer’s figure. The flash of a silk hat and the deference shown him by the injured man’s neighbors] made his identity clear” (Frederic, 41). Elsewhere, Father Forbes’ body is described as “shapely,” “rounded,” and “plump,” “erect,” “strong,” and “substantial,” as well as “graceful,” “comely,” and “beautiful” but with “no hint of the feminine in his bearing” (Frederic, 67, 219, 281, 310). See also Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 243-44 and Donna M. Campbell, “Relative Truths: *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, Father Forbes, and the ‘Church of America,’” *American Literary Realism* 44, no. 2 (Winter 2012), 98. “Most revealing of all are the feelings stirred in [the questionably male and progressively effeminized Theron] by Father Forbes,” whose “description mingl[es] masculine strength and feminine traits”: “[Theron] looked at the priest, and had a quaint sensation of feeling as a romantic woman must feel in the presence of a specially impressive masculine personality. It was indeed strange that this soft-voiced, portly creature in a gown, with his white, fat hands and his feline suavity of manner, should produce such a commanding and unique effect of virility. No doubt this was a part of the great sex mystery which historically surrounded the figure of the celibate priest as with an atmosphere. Women had always been prostrating themselves before it. Theron, watching his companion’s full, pallid face in the lamp-light, tried to fancy himself in the priest’s place, looking down upon those worshipping female forms. He wondered what the celibate’s attitude really was. The enigma fascinated him” (Frederic, 281).

<sup>112</sup> Celia flaunts the flowers to display her rebellion against similar puritanical views on gay attire that stymie Alice.

<sup>113</sup> Scott Donaldson, introduction, xviii. “Rational skepticism, scientific determinism, *fin-de-siècle* hedonism, galloping materialism, heedless pragmatism—all threatened the foundations of the church.” Aaron Urbanczyk, “A ‘Study of Church in America’: Catholicism as Exotic Other in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *Religion and the Arts* 10, no. 1 (Jan. 2006), 39. “Father Forbes, Celia Madden, Dr. Ledsmar, and Candace Soulsby are emblematic of the intellectual, social, and cultural forces of modernity which threatened to destabilize the traditional structure of society: ‘new’ modernist theology, *fin de siècle*

Forbes in particular, as the traditional earthly embodiment of God's omnipotence, possesses an undisputed degree of professional authority. However, his view toward the Church indicates the secularization of the profession in an increasingly modern world. His liberalism is evidenced by his knowledge of and belief in higher criticism. Similarly, Celia, the archetypal New Woman, claims that the Christianity that Forbes stands for has been historically androcentric and patriarchal. The last member of this "strange trio"<sup>114</sup> is Ledsmar. Despite his self-professed agnosticism, he is as "intimately associated with Catholicism"<sup>115</sup> as the heterodox Forbes and the hedonist Celia. Each of these "seducers of innocence"<sup>116</sup> represent a unique perspective that is entirely at odds with Theron's untutored point of view. Theron's conversations with these ideas incarnate overwhelm him so much so that eventually he gives up the cloth altogether.

After a few months, Theron realizes that the Methodist Trustees' financial authority over him will keep him and Alice in economic purgatory. So, he determines to write a bestselling book to supplement the modest stipend that they allocate for his office. Inspiration strikes him to write a biography on the biblical Abraham to generate not only extra income but also personal acclaim. Perceiving his lack of knowledge as he peers at his "meagre library" (59), however, Theron decides to pay a visit to Father Forbes, whom he envisions having a large and diverse collection of theological tomes. He is admitted into the Catholic Church where he is led into a dark dining-room in which "he could see nothing but a central glare of dazzling light" (64). Beneath this "ring of illumination" (64) are seated Forbes and a heretofore unknown figure, whom Forbes introduces as his "very particular friend – Dr. Ledsmar" (65).<sup>117</sup>

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aesthetic paganism, Darwinian science, and corrupt pragmatism respectively." Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions: Science and Religion in American Fiction* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2016), 53. "Frederic was the first to surround his protagonist minister with characters who embodied the major intellectual currents of late nineteenth-century America."

<sup>114</sup> Scott Donaldson, "Seduction of Theron Ware," 441. See also Sam Bluefarb, *The Escape Motif in the American Novel: Mark Twain to Richard Wright* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972), 27. "For Theron these three become a kind of 'secular trinity' of wisdom, beauty, and knowledge, respectively."

<sup>115</sup> Aaron Urbanczyk, "Catholicism as Exotic Other," 47.

<sup>116</sup> Everett Carter, introduction, xxi.

<sup>117</sup> Apparently, as Celia tells it, the two men had been professors at the same university years earlier before falling out with one another (Frederic, 98). With Forbes's assignment to Octavius, the two

Nowhere is Theron's inability to perceive novel experiences, display modern knowledge, or exert professional authority more apparent than in his initial encounter with Ledsmar, which Theron refers to as the "turning-point in his career" (131). Indeed, he regards this meeting as his personal invitation to enter an envisaged "intellectual" heaven-on-earth. Although Ledsmar is seemingly only a secondary character in the novel,<sup>118</sup> nevertheless his "cold, material, and infidel influence" (99) upon the naïve minister leads to his damnation. Ledsmar is a "paradox"<sup>119</sup> who embodies conflicting perspectives: traditional and modern, amateur and professional, medicine and science; he is an ideal gentleman of reason as well as a modern professional expert, an overcivilized and hypereducated "beast" (95), and an unbiased observer who, in his atheism blasphemes against Darwinized millennialism and in his misogyny perpetuates patriarchal attitudes.<sup>120</sup> It is Ledsmar's "future-oriented worldview,"<sup>121</sup> more so than that of any of

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members of the "scientific priesthood" are serendipitously reunited (Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, 158).

<sup>118</sup> Luther Luedtke, "Harold Frederic's Satanic Sister Soulsby: Interpretation and Sources," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 30, no. 1 (June 1975), 82. On the significant role of one such character in the novel, Luedtke argues, "New clarity and a more confidently moralistic interpretation of *The Damnation* are available to the reader who will focus on what first appears a figure of secondary importance: Sister Candace Soulsby. Her presence pervades the novel with a thematic significance disproportionate to her actual number of actual appearances." Earlier that year, another critic identified Soulsby as "the true villain of the piece." Scott Donaldson, "Seduction of Theron Ware," 441. In a similar vein, this chapter focuses on another character often neglected in scholarship on the novel: Ledsmar, a relatively minor figure whose influence upon Theron is belied by his infrequent appearances, especially when compared to Forbes, Celia, and even Sister Soulsby. ("Ledsmar" only appears on roughly 14 percent of the novel's 344 pages in the Penguin edition—and he physically appears on just nine percent of those.)

<sup>119</sup> Aaron Urbanczyk, "Catholicism as Exotic Other," 47.

<sup>120</sup> For more on turn-of-the-century America's masculinist, white supremacist, and "Darwinist version of Protestant millennialism," see Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 25-27, 112-13, 127-28, 174, 176, 180-84. As will be seen, Ledsmar's scientific experiment on his Chinese servant transgresses the ethics of not only scientific professionalism and Victorian respectability, but also the vision of traditional American views toward national (and racial) progress in evolutionary terms. His hypothesis is that the ethnic Chinese "will live everything down – the Caucasian races included" (79). From this angle, Ledsmar's hypothesis seems distinctly un-American in that it goes against modern pseudo-scientific jingoism by positing the "Chinaman"—and not the white man—as an evolutionary end-point. His goal then seems to be to artificially create a superhuman race from a single subhuman.

<sup>121</sup> Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, 58; Mark Storey, *Rural Fictions, Urban Realities: A Geography of Gilded Age American Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 111-13. Storey "question[s] the straightforward notion that Dr. Ledsmar embodies one of those aspects of contemporary thought or represents the disruptive presence of a 'future-oriented world,' by exploring how he actually comes to be an embodiment of the deeply contested and conflicted medical context of the period. [...] Ledsmar voices an oddly archaic perspective, refuting one of the overarching movements of Gilded Age medicine (its increasingly scientific status) and overtly positioning himself as out of touch with contemporary medical

Octavius's other intellectuals, that is the most radically different from Theron's outmoded perspective because it is the "most completely modern in outlook."<sup>122</sup>

In what follows, the unqualified minister, who has been only "half-educat[ed]"<sup>123</sup> at a provincial seminary school, is introduced to several modern notions that effectively unman him. Unconsciously, he feels his entire faith-based worldview in danger of being rendered obsolete by his "hyper-educated"<sup>124</sup> hosts and their condescending discussion about "modern research [into] this Christ-myth of ours" (69, 71). Whenever Theron blunders—which is often—the two former professors "exchange furtive glance[s]" (69) with one another. By literally seeing and figuratively speaking "over his head" (68), they subject Theron to "epistemological violence."<sup>125</sup> Their knowing glances go unseen by Theron, which makes his subjugation visible to the reader. Although they "politely watch[]" and "interestedly regard[]" (68) their guest, nevertheless, they expect him, as a fellow learned professional, to be at least aware if not well-versed in these innovative stances being evidenced by the scientific findings of both theologians and secular scholars. In failing to meet their shared intellectual standard, however, Theron finds himself caught within the power-knowledge that his hosts represent. His lack of knowledge *de-professionalizes* him. When Theron claims that, "All I have done is to try to preserve an open

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developments. [...] Shunning the contemporary field of medicine, professional and modernizing, Ledsmar pursues instead the inclusive, experiment-driven science of the amateur gentleman. [...] [He] appears to be someone who simultaneously harks back to a pre-Jacksonian America when a 'patrician elite ... moved freely and spoke with enviable authority,' and yet is, in quite a radical sense as far as Theron is concerned, modern: Frederic needs a figure whose authoritative utterances on the matter of medicine and science will contribute toward the dismantling of Theron's belief system, so that his depiction of Dr. Ledsmar must refer back to the settled hierarchies of authority associated with an antebellum scientific profession, and yet at the same time, immerse his character in a modern scientific world that gnaws at the certainties of religious worldviews."

<sup>122</sup> Elmer Suderman, "Modernization as Damnation in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *Ball State University Forum* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1986), 17. Theron's efforts to emulate Ledsmar's modern outlook, according to Suderman, causes his damnation. "Subjecting life to a cold, critical, analytical science may have made [Theron] modern, but it has also made him less than human. Celia, Sister Soulsby, Dr. Ledsmar, and Father Forbes do not deteriorate during the novel. Their decadence has already occurred. Modernization has already damned these four. It is Theron Ware who is most affected by modernism."

<sup>123</sup> Lionel Lackey, "Redemption and *Damnation*," 85.

<sup>124</sup> Aaron Urbanczyk, "Catholicism as Exotic Other," 45.

<sup>125</sup> Mark Sussman, "Cynicism and *Damnation*," 409-10.

mind, and to maintain my faith that the more we know, the nearer we shall approach the Throne" (72), Ledsmar and Forbes look at each other once more, recognizing that they have acquired a fascinating relic of a dying species of professional masculinity.<sup>126</sup> They proceed to treat him as a tabula rasa on which to imprint their ideas as their talk becomes more "extravagant and incendiary" (82) to the innocent ears of their unlucky captive.

Frederic's initial portrayal of Ledsmar is worth quoting in full because it sets the stage for the ways in which Ledsmar consolidates the modern professional gaze's power-knowledge in physical form:

He seemed a man of middle age and an equable disposition. Theron, stealing stray glances at him around the lampshade, saw most distinctly of all a broad, impressive dome of skull, which though obviously the result of baldness, gave the effect of quite belonging to the face. There were gold-rimmed spectacles, through which shone now and again the vivid sparkle of sharp, alert eyes, and there was a nose of some sort not easy to classify, at once long and thick. The rest was thin hair and short full-bear, mouse-colored where the light caught them, but losing their outlines in the shadows of the background. (66)

Frederic describes Ledsmar from Theron's point of view, which is distorted because of the room's darkness and the electric light placed between them. The stolen glances that he directs toward his interlocutor suggests that he is unwilling to look directly at Ledsmar. Theron's timidity indicates his uncertainty in the presence of the intimidating ideas of this extremely erudite man, an anxiety emphasized by the room's lack of light. Moreover, the direct front-lighting accentuates Ledsmar's more intimidating features, which are typical of the Wicked Wizard,<sup>127</sup> the archetypal mad scientist in American literary and cultural history, while the physical portrait

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<sup>126</sup> The local-color minister was fast-becoming a cultural artifact of a style of traditional professional masculinity that would soon go extinct. Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, esp. chap. 2, "The Region of the Repressed and the Return of the Region: Hamlin Garland and Harold Frederic." "It is perhaps the great tragedy of this novel that Theron Ware proves to be a regional figure who does not recognize himself as such and who will not be still in the curio cabinet of this genre. He commits the unpardonable sin of pastoral regionalism: he attempts to modernize himself as he is being observed" (Foote, 59). Theron is a literary museum piece—a *tableau vivant*—for Forbes, Ledsmar, and Celia to collect for their own curated observations.

<sup>127</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 18, 21-22, 38, 65.

of the rest of the “shady scientist”<sup>128</sup> blurs into the shadowy backdrop. Most noticeable is Ledsmar’s “physically enlarged cranium”<sup>129</sup> and “bespectacled, sharp eyes,”<sup>130</sup> characteristics that imbue his head and eyes with added significance. Indeed, Ledsmar seems like a disembodied brain or transparent eyeball<sup>131</sup> that peers straight into Theron’s soul.<sup>132</sup>

Feeling himself on shaky ground, Theron tries to bridge the widening gap between himself and his new acquaintance by calling upon the traditional masculine professional association between clergymen and doctors. Having not heard Ledsmar’s name among those of the town’s physicians, he ventures whether he “might not be a doctor of something else than medicine” (66).

“Oh yes, it is medicine,” replied Ledsmar. “I am a doctor three or four times over, so far as parchments can make one. In some other respects, though, I should think I am probably less of a doctor than anybody else now living. I haven’t practised – that is, regularly – for many years, and I take no interest whatever in keeping abreast of what the profession regards as its progress.” (66-67)

Taken aback, Theron states, “I had always supposed that Science was the most engrossing of human pursuits – that once a man took it up he never left it” (67). His amateurish view of the man of science is romantically nostalgic, predisposed by the notion that for such men, scientific pursuit was an all-encompassing, lifelong passion.<sup>133</sup> He tries desperately to traverse their

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<sup>128</sup> Sydney Krause, “Frederic and the Failure Motif,” 56.

<sup>129</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 65. “The really bad [mad scientists] usually have bald heads, or, if meant to be not only mad and bad but also vile and monstrous, physically enlarged craniums—thus leaving no question that their moral depravity is rooted in their intellectual gigantism.”

<sup>130</sup> Thomas LeClair, “Ascendant Eye,” 99.

<sup>131</sup> See Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Nature,” in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Brooks Atkinson (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 6. Fredric strips the transcendental sublimity out of the famous illustration of the transparent eyeball by Unitarian minister Christopher Pearse Cranch and makes it grotesque.

<sup>132</sup> When the reader first sees Ledsmar, he is looking at Theron; when the reader last sees him, he is looking at Theron. Ledsmar represents the “invisible visibility” or “visible invisible” (Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 165, 170) of the modern doctor-scientist. See also Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 242. “Ledsmar [is] the man of disembodied speculative intelligence.”

<sup>133</sup> See Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, esp. chap. 2, “Sex and the Single Mad Scientist: Domesticating Scientific Passion in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction.” Allen convincingly argues that Nathaniel Hawthorne’s fiction popularized the European gothic mad scientist in the US



differences in education by forging an “intellectual and class affinity”<sup>134</sup> with Ledsmar. However, the doctor-scientist immediately dismisses any such interprofessional affiliations between traditional ministers and doctors and modern scientists by distancing his scientific work from the art practiced by medical doctors by correcting his ingenuous interviewer: “‘But that would imply a connection between Science and Medicine!’ commented the Doctor. ‘My dear sir, they are not even on speaking terms!’” (67).<sup>135</sup> The distinction between the bodies of knowledge of science and the primitive art of medicine<sup>136</sup> puts Rev. Ware on even less common ground with his new associate.<sup>137</sup> The Doctor rejects what his former profession, the medical profession around mid-century that was perceived as “weak,”<sup>138</sup> calls its “progress” (67). Recognizing the medical profession’s self-touted progression at the end of the century not as “the coming into being of a scientific medical orthodoxy”<sup>139</sup> but rather as a public myth not unlike the traditional fictions espoused by authorities in the religious profession, Ledsmar relegates both priests and physicians to a weaker masculine professionalism than modern experts like himself. The implication is that both medical and ministerial work belong to the same denigrated field of “non-science.”<sup>140</sup> Unmistakably heterodox in his views toward all unexamined forms of traditional

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through an isolated man of genius whose obsessive and unnatural passion to penetrate into the mysteries of Nature redirected his sexual desire away from women and his physical energy from work, thus transgressing both familial obligations and productive labor. Theron refers to Ledsmar’s non-medical endeavors as “pursuit[s]” rather than professional labors.

<sup>134</sup> L. Ashley Squires, “Humble Humbugs and Good Frauds,” 372.

<sup>135</sup> Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 181. “Clinical medicine is certainly not a science.” See esp. part 4, chap. 6, “Science and Knowledge,” in which Foucault distinguishes between *positivities*, *disciplines*, and *sciences*.

<sup>136</sup> This demarcation is focused on more in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

<sup>137</sup> Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 4. Writing of US medicine throughout most of the nineteenth-century, Starr claims: “The medical profession has had an especially persuasive claim to authority. Unlike the law and the clergy, it enjoys close bonds with modern science, and at least for most of the last century, scientific knowledge has held a privileged status in the hierarchy of belief.” He dates medicine’s association with science in the same decade that saw an epistemological shift from religious to secular knowledge.

<sup>138</sup> Paul Starr, *Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 4, 87-88.

<sup>139</sup> Mark Storey, *Rural Fictions, Urban Realities*, 110; see notes 8 and 10 in the introduction.

<sup>140</sup> See Thomas F. Gieryn, “Boundary-Work,” 785-87. Scientists from different disciplines came together to change the public attitude toward their work as unprofessional by presenting it as “not-religion” and “not-mechanics.”

knowledge, he thus answers an Everlasting No<sup>141</sup> to the query, “Are not doctors the priests of the body?”<sup>142</sup>

Unlike the professional minister, who “moved in a world of women” and “ceased overtly to command, much less monopolize, any special body of knowledge,”<sup>143</sup> Ledsmar is a professional scientist living in a world entirely divorced from women and has earned several degrees in different disciplines. He “inhabit[s] a house of [his] own” (78), which doubles as his laboratory, and where he lives “quite alone – with my dogs and cats and lizards – and my Chinaman” (79). His multiple degrees and book publications indicate that he has mastered several specialized bodies of knowledge.<sup>144</sup> Instead of practicing medicine for the benefit of others, however, Ledsmar’s “regular afternoon duties” include “test[ing] the probabilities for or against Darwin’s theory [of] hermaphroditism in plants,” an endeavor that will not yield tangible results during his lifetime. He also conducts a tangential investigation into the assimilation effects and tolerance threshold of narcotics on one of his “vertebrates”—his pet name for

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<sup>141</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, ed. Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), see esp. chap. 7, “The Everlasting No.” “Full of religion, or at least of religiosity, as our Friend has since exhibited himself, he hides not that, in those days, he was wholly irreligious: ‘Doubt had darkened into Unbelief,’ says he” (Carlyle, 124).

<sup>142</sup> Michel Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 32-33. “Sabarot de l’Avernière, a prolific author of projects in the early years of the Revolution, saw priests and doctors as the natural heirs of the Church’s two most visible missions—the consolation of souls and the alleviation of pain. [...] At the end of his studies, the new doctor would occupy not the post of his choice, but the one that was assigned to him according to the needs and vacancies, throughout the country; when he had gained in experience, he could apply for a more responsible, better-paid job. He would have to give an account to his superiors of his activities and would be held responsible for his mistakes. Having become a public, disinterested, supervised activity, medicine could improve indefinitely; in the alleviation of physical misery, it would be close to the old spiritual vocation of the Church, of which it would be a sort of lay carbon copy. To the army of priests watching over the salvation of souls would correspond that of doctors who concern themselves with the health of bodies.” The itinerant system of Methodist ministers, the supervising body of Presiding Elders, and the “institution of pastoral calling” (Frederic, 108), which Theron disfavors, all made nineteenth-century American Methodist ministers comparable to the first professional doctors of early modern France.

<sup>143</sup> Ann Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 97, 165.

<sup>144</sup> In addition to his multiple advanced degrees in medical-related fields, Forbes asks Theron, “Do you know there is not another man in the country who knows Assyriology so thoroughly as our friend here, Dr. Ledsmar?” (Frederic, 68). Ledsmar also has “a thing on serpent-worship written years ago [that] is still in circulation in Germany on its merits as a serious book” (220). Ledsmar has mastered so many different disciplines that he seems all-knowing.

humans (222). This especially bizarre experiment consists of effectively poisoning his unnamed, nonconsenting subject to a slow and degrading death, professedly in the interests of science.<sup>145</sup> His soulless experiment is the antithesis of medicine because it is designed to inflict pain rather than alleviate it.<sup>146</sup> It transgresses even the most modern, secular, and relativist moral philosophies—much less any professional code of ethics. Although medicine was actively seeking to improve the public's opinion of itself as a profession by aligning itself with science, nevertheless Ledsmar refuses to *practice* medicine, thus denying the cultural imperative that those engaged in a higher calling must devote themselves to serving the nonprofessional laity. In short, Ledsmar withholds the use-value of his knowledge.<sup>147</sup> The doctor-*cum*-scientist has turned away from his extensive medical training because he no longer regards its practice as thoroughly scientific.<sup>148</sup> His scientific idealism<sup>149</sup> rejects the medical profession's self-professed progress, thus debunking the myth of medicine-as-science and of scientific medicine as a new teleological account of progress toward perfection. The millennialist myth of modern scientific medicine supplanted spiritual eschatology with a positivist secularism. As a scientist, which was

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<sup>145</sup> John Henry Raleigh, "*Damnation of Theron Ware*," 216; Everett Carter, introduction, xix; Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 131; Fritz Oehlschlaeger, "Passion, Authority, and Faith," 245; Bruce Michelson, "Theron in the Wilderness," 68; Lisa MacFarlane, "Desire and *Damnation*," 71; Carrie Tirado Bramen, "Americanization of Theron Ware," 76, 71; Aaron Urbanczyk, "Catholicism as Exotic Other," 47; Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 64.

<sup>146</sup> Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity," 195. "Initially, [Evangelical Protestant ministers'] social gospel made little headway among churchgoers, who continued to believe that ministers should confine their efforts to saving individual souls."

<sup>147</sup> Since the early democratic republic, such scientists were looked upon with favor if they were useful inventors or engineers but deemed untrustworthy if their work was more theoretical than practical. See Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, esp. chap. 1, "Simon Pure Amateurs: American Scientists of the Early Nineteenth Century."

<sup>148</sup> Everett Carter, introduction, xix. "Ledsmar is the essence of experimental science. Such is his devotion to its cold ideal that he has given up a career as doctor of medicine, for to him healing was not truly scientific."

<sup>149</sup> Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 183. "Doctor Ledsmar pursues science through experimentation and empirical observation when he can no longer accept the discipline and ideas of the medical profession." See also Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 64. "In Ledsmar's view, science is a domain to be restricted to primary research, not to the practice of improving people's health. In other words, for the German-trained Ledsmar, the scientific quest to discover nature's secrets does not include humane care and service, values that the medical doctor ideally embodies. Ledsmar's atheism and pursuit of scientific knowledge for its own sake are qualities that run counter to the American preference for the practical application of knowledge and, in Frederic's rendering, show Ledsmar's scientific practices to lie quite outside the American mainstream and, indeed, outside the bonds of common humanity."

only emerging as a compensated profession around this time, he remains outside of both the corrupting effects of the marketplace upon physicians<sup>150</sup> as well as the feminizing influences of women upon priests—even if his “‘unnatural’ passion for penetrating ‘beyond proscribed depths’” has turned his social deviance into outright wickedness.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, Ledsmar’s “elitist, aristocratic, and vaguely foreign”<sup>152</sup> manners refined in universities across Europe contribute to the sense of impending peril for Theron, a simple farm boy, in their conversations. This “brilliant atheist”<sup>153</sup> expresses the Post-Darwinian<sup>154</sup> and rational skeptic views of new scientism that signified “the shift from a moral to a scientific perspective [...] of experts.”<sup>155</sup> Personifying a modern scientific perspective that Frederic depicts as disembodied, “Ledsmar [...] embodies the scientific worldview of the late nineteenth century, which treated Christianity with great suspicion.”<sup>156</sup> As such, Ledsmar “represents exactly the modern face of science that [was] threatening to dismantle [Theron’s] own theological belief system.”<sup>157</sup> The public perception of medicine and the ministry was changing so that they were both seen as less

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<sup>150</sup> Paul Lucier, “The Professional and the Scientist in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Isis* 100, no. 4 (Dec. 2009), 699. “In nineteenth century America there was no such person as a ‘professional scientist.’” Lucier opens his essay by juxtaposing *The Century Dictionary*’s entry for *Professional science*, which simply cross-references the one for *Lucrative science*. William Dwight Whitney, ed., *The Century Dictionary*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (New York: The Century Co., 1889), s.vv. “Lucrative science,” “Professional science,” qtd. in Paul Lucier, “Professional and Scientist,” 699. *Lucrative science* was defined as “A science cultivated as a means of living, as law, medicine, theology, etc.” while *Professional science* read: “Same as *lucrative science*.” One of the most significant ways that scientists differentiated themselves from other professions was through their rejection of compensation and capitalism, issues which had the potential to create conflicts of interest that might influence their “pursu[ing] for the good of all humankind [and thus] the truthfulness of their claims” (Lucier, 719).

<sup>151</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 37. Allen takes the quotes within quotes from the playbill for the opening night performance of an unlicensed stage adaptation of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*. Richard Brinsley Peake, *Presumption!; or, The Fate of Frankenstein*, playbill, n. pag., London: Lyceum Theatre, July 28, 1823.

<sup>152</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 18.

<sup>153</sup> Louis Auchincloss, *Man Behind the Book*, 119.

<sup>154</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 217; Thomas F. O’Donnell and Hoyt C. Franchere, *Harold Frederic* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1961), 111; John Rees, “‘Dead Men’s Bones, Dead Men’s Beliefs’: Ideas of Antiquity in Upstate New York and *Theron Ware*,” *American Studies* 16, no. 2 (Fall 1975), 78; David Mislin, “‘Never Mind the Dead Men’: *The Damnation of Theron Ware* and the Salvation of American Protestantism,” *Journal of the Historical Society* 11, no. 4 (December 2011), 480; and Mark Sussman, “Cynicism and *Damnation*,” 410.

<sup>155</sup> Clyde Griffen, “Reconstructing Masculinity,” 201. See also note 25 above.

<sup>156</sup> David Mislin, “Never Mind the Dead Men,” 483.

<sup>157</sup> Mark Storey, *Rural Fictions, Urban Realities*, 112.

essentially masculine than that of modern science because they were directed more toward saving unwell bodies and souls rather than disinterested observation and interpretation.

After some unpleasant pleasantries, Forbes excuses himself to deal with another visitor, who is explained away as a repentant Irishman come to make confession.<sup>158</sup> Theron is left face-to-face with Ledsmar:

Theron, being left alone with the Doctor, hardly knew what to do or say. [...] Some trace of that earlier momentary feeling that he was in hostile hands came back, and worried him. He lifted himself upright in his chair, *and then became conscious that what really disturbed him was the fact that Dr. Ledsmar had turned in his seat, crossed his legs, and was contemplating him with a gravely concentrated scrutiny through his spectacles.* This uncomfortable gaze kept itself up a long way beyond the point of good manners, but the Doctor seemed not to mind that at all (72-73; emphasis added).

Now isolated, Theron is “disconcerted”<sup>159</sup> by the “startling [and] intellectual shocks”<sup>160</sup> that Ledsmar delivers. More discomfiting, however, is the fact that Ledsmar is staring directly at him. His gaze penetrates Theron’s previously oblivious self-consciousness—making him feel that he is an object being examined, a perception that denies him the blissful ignorance of his heretofore unexamined subjectivity.

The chapter ends and the next resumes with Ledsmar finally breaking the awkward silence. This scene begins the first of the Doctor’s two examinations<sup>161</sup> of the Reverend. The ritual of the examination was formerly chaired by clerical authorities. Their role as representatives of an all-seeing divine eye inflicted first spiritual duress and then forgiveness

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<sup>158</sup> In reality, the visitor is an artisan who Forbes has consigned to craft some nicer frames for the numerous portraits hanging in his library. Forbes’s white lie signifies his modern tact and non-traditional morality.

<sup>159</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 216.

<sup>160</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 217.

<sup>161</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 184-94. In the section that directly precedes “Panopticism,” Foucault outlines the ritual of the examination: “The examination transformed the economy of visibility into the exercise of power. [...] [It] combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement. [...] It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. [...] [I]t manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected.”

upon its confessors through the latter's professions of their sins. However, Frederic reverses the traditional roles of minister and non-minister by compelling the former to become the confessant.<sup>162</sup> He modernizes the traditional religious confession into the secular examination.<sup>163</sup> Ledsmar's power as a doctor-scientist is established by disfranchising the minister. Crucially, Theron is not fully aware of what is happening to him, yet another effect produced by the darkness of the room. Ledsmar puts Theron at ease, however, by himself confessing his interest in going to see the minister deliver a sermon—even though he has not been to one in “fully twenty years” (74). Theron is bolstered by the compliment because he thinks that Ledsmar is putting him on the same professional plane as Forbes, a man whom he already greatly admires despite barely understanding him. Theron wants to be identified with the erudite and esteemed priest even if Forbes's cosmopolitan views expressed to a fellow man of the cloth and an agnostic doctor in private call into question his devotion to his flock and faith.

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<sup>162</sup> Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 58-62. Foucault traces the “millennial yoke of the confession” from the Middle Ages to modernity as a technique in the “production of truth”—or rather truths of a spiritual, secular, and sexual nature. “Western man has become a confessing animal [...] One confesses—or is forced to confess [...] in public and in private” (Foucault, 59). [...] The confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile” (Foucault, 61-62).

<sup>163</sup> Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 63-67, 69-71. Although “[i]t has undergone a considerable transformation” in part because “the rise of Protestantism” led to an overall decatholicization—especially in the US—nevertheless the procedure has also been modernized and secularized in the new medical sciences, particularly that most confessional of the *scientiae sexuales*, psychiatry, which is the focus of chapter 4 of this dissertation. The modern medicalization and scientification of this traditional religious mode of extracting and interpreting truth transformed “the revelation of confession [with] the decipherment of what it said,” thus requiring a “master of truth [whose function] was hermeneutic” (Foucault, 66) and who characterized and categorized the emergent categories of normal and pathological. The figure of the traditional priest—the doctor of the soul—was replaced with the psychiatrist as a model for the modern doctor-scientist. The traditionally intangible soul or spirit had been transformed into the modern ego or subconscious by the science of Sigmund Freud. (In chapter 4 of this dissertation, Dr. Diver, a disciple of Freud, is, in Fitzgerald's own words, “a spoiled priest.”) Most critically, by “integrat[ing] [the confession] into a field of rationality [...] under the guise of its decent positivism [...] [w]e have invented a different kind of pleasure: pleasure in the truth of pleasure [...] the specific pleasure of the true discourse on pleasure” (Foucault, 71). Ledsmar is visibly pleased by making Theron confess.

Theron enquires about Forbes's admission that he no longer preaches, which sets Ledsmar<sup>164</sup> off upon a shrewd summary of "how diametrically opposed this Catholic point of view is to the Protestant" (75): "What is wanted of [Forbes] is that he should be the paternal, ceremonial, authoritative head and centre of his flock, adviser, monitor, overseer, elder brother, friend, patron, seigneur – whatever you like – everything except a bore" (74). Unlike Methodism, the "disciplin[ary] machinery" of the Catholic Church is not "voluntary," which means that they must abide by "the rules of the game, [...] one of [which] is confession" (75-76).<sup>165</sup> In contrast, as another outside-observer more plainly puts it later on, whereas Catholicism is a hierarchical institution and thus "chock-full of authority," Methodists "won't obey any boss" (174). Instead, the authority that once belonged to professional clergymen is now individually and directly experienced in the body of the congregants: "[T]he state of excitement [...] *that* is the authority" (174). Methodist believers follow an "authority of enthusiasm"<sup>166</sup> that is not controlled by the traditional masculine professional authority of a patriarchal rational supervisor who represents God. It is an authority, made up of embodied feeling and emotion—rather than disembodied reason—that aligns Theron with anti-modern epistemology as well as with primitive corporeality.

Throughout this scene, Ledsmar repeatedly rebuffs Theron's efforts to connect with him on a professional level; this removal is represented in simultaneously visual and epistemological terms. Ledsmar's indirect way of answering Theron's questions creates uncertainty. Theron's confusion is expressed visually through his inability to accurately see the outlines of his

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<sup>164</sup> The objective study of comparative religion by the professed atheist Ledsmar is evidenced in phrases such as "so far as I have observed" and "of course I view you all impartially from the outside" (Frederic, 75).

<sup>165</sup> Ledsmar's objective perspective harkens back to Forbes's institutional view that "that whole question of private judgment versus authority is No-Man's-Land for us [Catholics]" in the previous chapter (Frederic, 70).

<sup>166</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963), 57. "This authority of enthusiasm [...] tended to be personal and charismatic rather than institutional. [...] [Methodists] assailed the established order and its clergy, preached a religion of the poor, argued for intuition and inspiration against learning and doctrine, elevated lay preachers to leadership, and rejected the professional clergy as 'null and void and without authority.'"

examiner's shadowy body.<sup>167</sup> As soon as Forbes returns, Theron, feeling Ledsmar's intangible grasp tighten around him, seeks to escape from the building. Once outside, his eyes must readjust to "the sudden darkness of the night [that] was so thick that it was as if he had closed his eyes" (81). Literally in the dark without the light of his faith to follow, he "instinctively [...] near[s] the [artificial] light" (81) of the closest streetlamp to gather himself. The "Christ-myth" may have dazzled and blinded Theron, but without it he is completely lost in the dark.

Just as Theron begins to reorient himself, he hears Celia playing the church's organ, the sound of which Ledsmar had previously shut out by closing the adjoining window. Trancelike, Theron reenters the cathedral. Celia immediately interrogates him: "Well, what did you think of Dr. Ledsmar?" (94). Theron mechanically responds that he "was very smart" (94).<sup>168</sup> She interrupts him, calling Ledsmar "a beast!" (95) before beseeching Theron to join her "against that Doctor and his heartless, bloodless science" (97). Ledsmar's heartless science is placed in stark contrast to Theron's faith, which is embodied in "that most Methodist quality, heart."<sup>169</sup> While Theron confides, "I feel myself heartily on your side" (97), he objects to her plan that he could save a powerful and intelligent man like Forbes from Ledsmar and his modern scientific heresies because his rustic Methodist ideas cannot compete with them. Yet, Celia assures him,

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<sup>167</sup> Theron perceives Ledsmar as ill-mannered not only because of the way he concentratedly stares at him, but also because of the way he shiftily dodges answering his questions in a forthright manner. This scene parallels the one in Herman Melville's 1855 "Benito Cereno" between Captains Amasa Delano and Benito Cereno highlighted in Dana D. Nelson's introduction to *National Manhood*. "Cereno's continuing evasiveness and unfriendliness thoroughly rattle Delano's own customary 'genial' ease, a discomfort that increases as Cereno repeatedly denies Delano the fraternal exchange he seeks, in what Delano terms a 'privileged spot'—that is, sequestered away from their social inferiors. Unable to find the authority he expects in a 'brother captain' and unable to imagine it lodged elsewhere, Delano remains uncertain and uncomfortable throughout the duration of his stay on the ship" (Nelson, 2). Dr. Ledsmar, like Cereno, continually denies Rev. Ware the sense of shared authority that members of the traditional learned professionals had grown accustomed to relying upon when interacting with one another. Theron's sense of alienation from this imagined fraternity further unmans him.

<sup>168</sup> When she presses him further, Theron admits that Ledsmar "is so different from any man I have come into contact with that ——" (Frederic, 95). Celia's interruption obscures the rest of Theron's thoughts for the reader.

<sup>169</sup> Fritz Oehlschlaeger, "Passion, Authority, and Faith," 255.



“It isn’t your mind that is needed here, or what you know; it is your heart, and what you feel” (98).<sup>170</sup>

Theron expresses the divergent vantage points between the two cultures of science and religion<sup>171</sup> when he acknowledges to Celia, “I need hardly tell you that the Doctor’s whole attitude toward – toward revelation – was deeply repugnant to me. It doesn’t make it any the less hateful to call it science” (97).<sup>172</sup> Theron’s statement gets to the heart of how knowledge and authority constituted modern professional masculinity. The masculinization of the doctor-scientist and the feminization of the minister resulted from opposing worldviews: the former looked at knowledge as something to be worked toward while the latter took it for granted that it was a gift given from on high, one that was deeply personal, intimate, and felt. If Theron represents the feminine heart and passive soul, Ledsmar personifies the disembodied masculine mind and active reason.

Revelation is the direct disclosure of divine truth from God’s infinite light and wisdom; the light of modern secular reason, however, was the only true way to see and to know. If Theron is to evolve from an irrational child into an enlightened man, he must close his eyes to the

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<sup>170</sup> Sister Soulsby later assures Theron, “You’ve got brains, and [...] human nature in you, and heart” (Frederic, 142).

<sup>171</sup> Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 31. “In this tension between Miss Madden and Dr. Ledsmar, we see an allegorical playing-out of the conflict between the sciences and the humanities—though in vastly oversimplified terms. [...] True, Ledsmar is indeed a cold fish; but then, Celia is hardly a paragon of humanistic warmth and compassion herself. She is to art what Ledsmar is to science—a matter of too much head and too little heart.” While the naïf Theron sees this as a conflict between symbolic rivals, the perceptive Forbes refers to it as simply child’s play between friends: “‘Don’t borrow any unnecessary alarms about that, Mr. Ware,’ he said, with studied smoothness of modulated tones. ‘These two good friends of mine have much enjoyment out of the idea that they are fighting for the mastery over my poor unstable character. It has grown to be a habit with them, and a hobby as well, and they pursue it with tireless zest. There are not many intellectual diversions open to us here, and they make the most of this one. It amuses them, and it is not without its charms for me, in my capacity as an interested observer. It is a part of the game that they should pretend to themselves that they detest each other. In reality I fancy that they like each other very much. At any rate, there is nothing to be disturbed about’” (Frederic, 282-83).

<sup>172</sup> An example of Theron’s miraculous thinking occurs when Theron decides to write a book in order to earn enough money to buy Alice a piano: “Nothing could be more remarkable, he thought, than to thus discover that, on the instant of formulating a desire to know [...] lo and behold! there his mind, quite on its own initiative, had the answer waiting for him” (Frederic, 38). As soon as Theron desires to know, his mind furnishes him with an answer. His solipsistic episteme refutes the learned man’s restrained ratiocination espoused by Ledsmar.

spontaneous epistemology of revelation.<sup>173</sup> Whereas science is the secular worship of reason,<sup>174</sup> Methodism was a religion of the heart.<sup>175</sup> Traditionally, the minister was the embodiment of his congregation. Theron thus embodies a distinctly anti-modern, -intellectual, and -authoritarian faith. Because Methodism's primary sense of perception was embodied through feeling and emotion, revelation as an epistemology was available to any layperson who professed their faith. Ledsmar's gaze and secular ideas have slowly opened Theron's eyes to his own lack of masculine professional knowledge and authority. He has rendered visible the primitive ignorance embodied by Theron. Ledsmar's intimidation<sup>176</sup> of Theron stems from his position atop "a hierarchy of outlook and point of view,"<sup>177</sup> a position to which Theron himself aspires. Such a way of seeing is a relation of power in terms of a visual epistemology—seeing without being seen subjugates he who is caught within the observer's gaze. It is a physical power emanating from a perfect eye that coerces those which it surveils; it is, in short, a godlike way of seeing.

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<sup>173</sup> Mark Sussman, "Cynicism and *Damnation*," 410.

<sup>174</sup> Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 27. "Ledsmar's worship of knowledge."

<sup>175</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*, 55-117.

<sup>176</sup> John Rees, "Dead Men's Bones," 78. "Commentary on the workings of Theron Ware's mind has reflected two main viewpoints, but both stress intimidation. In one, the impressionable backwoods youth is a casualty of recent intellectual history, an anachronism who represents 'the vestigial remains of the consciousness of the early nineteenth century, once powerful, now vulnerable'; his primitive Methodist creed and Emersonian ideals cannot sustain him against the attacks of Celia Madden's *fin de siècle* hedonism, the post-Darwinian scientism of Dr. Ledsmar and what pass for the transatlantic heterodoxies of the modernist priest, Father Forbes. From this perspective, the demoralized Theron can recover only by learning pragmatism from the Soulsbys, and cultivating the detachment and opportunism the new, relativistic age calls for. Complementing this history-of-ideas approach is a second, more Freudian one, which asserts that Frederic has made sex 'the main-spring of his action'; here the protagonist is seen as a modern neurotic, who abases himself in guilty ambivalence before one surrogate parent after another, from his wife Alice and the regal Celia to Father Forbes and Sister Soulsby. [...] But another pattern of intimidation can be pointed out besides these; Theron Ware's enlightened new acquaintances inadvertently force a chilling sense of the past on him." To this astute analysis, this chapter argues that a fourth, multidimensional dynamic of intimidation is also apparent, which combines the current intellectual, sexual, and primitive approaches to Theron's illumination and damnation with the process of disembodied professionalization.

<sup>177</sup> John Henry Raleigh, "*Damnation of Theron Ware*," 223.

After receiving a glimpse into “an intellectual world”—and envisioning himself as “a citizen of this world” (132)—Theron is so “dazzled”<sup>178</sup> by the thought that he instantly re-envisions salvation in modern terms as a place both on earth and in some formless realm of ideas. In either case, however, he will be “nearer the Throne.” Instead of the obtainment of divine sanctification, he now regards heaven as the acquisition of secular knowledge.<sup>179</sup> In the war between science and religion, the respective epistemologies of each both emphasize possession-centric views of knowledge. Theron’s feminization at the hands of—or, rather, in the eyes of Ledsmar (as well as those of Forbes, Celia, and everyone else, including the perceptive reader)—is caused not only by Theron’s own ignorance and vanity but also by his religion’s strict anti-intellectualism, which further “threaten[] both his institutional and gendered identities.”<sup>180</sup>

Even after this encounter, Theron remains somewhat blind<sup>181</sup> to his diminished status as a professional in the eyes of the emergent authority figure of the modern doctor-scientist. Yet he attempts to emulate the type of visual authority that such professionals embody during the Methodist love-feast, an outmoded ritual consisting of testimonials, singing, and shared eating

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<sup>178</sup> Frederic uses several derived forms of the word “dazzle” throughout the novel. In the opening chapter, Theron and Alice’s “vision of translation from poverty and obscurity to such a splendid post as [Tecumseh] – truly it was too *dazzling* for tranquil nerves,” while in the following chapter the narrator states, “He could not look without blinking timidity at the radiance of the path stretched before out before him, leading upward to *dazzling* heights of greatness” (Frederic, 6, 19; emphasis mine). In both instances, Theron is dazzled by the professionalization myth as bestowing upon him not only masculine knowledge and authority but also material wealth and social status. In his first meeting with Ledsmar, the “*dazzling* light” of Forbes’s chandelier, rather than leading the way out of Theron’s “fatuous blindness,” only misleads him from his chosen career path (64, 59; emphasis mine). Finally, Theron misbelieves that he has been allowed into an intellectual promised land after meeting Forbes and Ledsmar: “The thought so *dazzled* him that his impulses were dragging him forward to take the new oath of allegiance before he had time to reflect upon what it was he was abandoning” (132; emphasis mine).

<sup>179</sup> Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 59.

<sup>180</sup> Lisa MacFarlane, “Desire and *Damnation*,” 77.

<sup>181</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 223; Everett Carter, introduction, xix; Elmer Suderman, “*Damnation* as Criticism,” 66, 69, 74, 75; Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 30, 38; Scott Donaldson, “Seduction of Theron Ware,” 447; Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 178; and Paul Eggers, ““By Whose Authority?” 81; Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 246; Brian Wilkie, “Morality and Its Alternatives: *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” in *Value and Vision in American Literature: Literary Essays in Honor of Ray Lewis White*, ed. Joseph Candido (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1999), 78; Tom Perrin, “Beauty and the Priest: The Use and Misuse of Aesthetics in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *Arizona Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (Autumn 2008), 37, 42.

that highlights Octavius's "Puritanical Methodism."<sup>182</sup> The love-feast chapter opens with Theron delivering a sermon. He finds himself between the "men with ultra radical views" in the front pews and the "hostile eyes" (147) of the Presiding Elder behind him. After concluding his remarks, he "impassively watched" from the pulpit the "spectacle" of unrestrained, "unintelligent," and "undignified" emotion taking place before him (148). He imagines the "cynical attitude"<sup>183</sup> of Gorringer, the most sympathetic Trustee and a lawyer by trade,<sup>184</sup> who is only a professing member of the church rather than a fully-fledged, practicing brother. Emboldened by the performance of Sister Candace Soulsby, a professional<sup>185</sup> touring gospel-singer who has been invited to town to raise debts, and by his desire to impress her, that evening Theron delivers a second sermon replete with "emotional rhetoric rather than doctrinal edification" (150). During both parts of the revival, Theron physically distances himself from his congregation by remaining perched above them in the pulpit, a raised platform upon which ministers stand so that they may be better seen.<sup>186</sup> He relies upon this spatial gap<sup>187</sup> to reify his social and

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<sup>182</sup> John Henry Raleigh, "*Damnation of Theron Ware*," 216.

<sup>183</sup> Mark Sussman, "Cynicism and *Damnation*," 404. "Accordingly, whether Theron Ware is to be read as a cynical novel, or as a novel featuring cynical characters, or as a novel written by a cynic turns out to be a question that both frames his works as novels of social concern and disallows any final social vision." What is significant about Gorringer in particular is that he embodies both the modern professional's authority as well as his cynicism toward religion, as exemplified by his straightforward admission that "I went to the church first to see a girl wo used to go there. [...] She was devoted to religion and church work, and, thinking it would please her, I joined the church on probation. [...] I actually believed that I had experienced religion. I felt myself full of all sorts of awakenings of the soul and so forth. But it was really that girl. [...] That was the nearest I ever got to her, or to full membership in the church. [...] Well, now you see [that] what I took for experiencing religion was really a girl" (Frederic, 121-22). This anecdote precipitates Theron's own 'counterconversion' after falling for Celia.

<sup>184</sup> Ledsmar had studied to be a lawyer before experiencing an epiphany during his studies that leads him to change his career trajectory (Frederic, 221).

<sup>185</sup> Soulsby and her husband, more so than any other characters, are referred to as "professionals" (Frederic, 149, 160, 177). Candace is represented as rather androgenous: she "was undoubtedly a smart woman," who "hold[s] herself erect," shakes hands "in a frank, manly fashion," and "talked rather more than Theron found himself expecting in a woman" (Frederic, 137, 139, 143, 136).

<sup>186</sup> "The place to preside was in the pulpit [...] The Rev. Theron Ware did not, with the others, descend from the pulpit" (Frederic, 154-55).

<sup>187</sup> This distance refers to the widening gap between Theron and Ledsmar as well as point toward Theron's growing "knowledge/belief gap" from his parishioners. L. Ashley Squires, "Humble Humbugs and Good Frauds," 356. Allen F. Stein, "Evasions of an American Adam," 28. "Obviously, Theron's efforts to maintain a sense of intellectual and emotional ascendancy over his congregation while conveying an air of humility and Christian fellowship is a severe demand on his limited psychological and emotional resources."

intellectual power over them. Instead of using his visibility to strengthen the communal bonds between them, Theron steadfastly resolves to “not go down there among them” (154). Removing himself from them reveals his insecure need to be recognized as a cultural authority, especially by remaining in a physically elevated position that is highly visible. In looking down—literally and figuratively—at those who must give their attention to him, whom “[h]e viewed with a cold sense of aloofness” (154), he seeks their admiration and confirmation through the dynamic of recognition.<sup>188</sup> Not only does he not descend to gather among them or participate in the event, he cannot bear to watch it, “put[ing] his hand over his face” and “a finger across his eyes” (155) to shut out what he now sees as their “outbursts of emotionalism.”<sup>189</sup> To be seen with them would be unbecoming of a modern professional like himself.

Octavius’s repressive Methodism is belied by the sexuality directed into their rituals such as their love-feasts,<sup>190</sup> as even those “brethren and sisters who clung to the old-fashioned, primitive ways [...] let themselves go with emphasized independence” (147). Theron seizes this opportunity to showcase his self-perceived intellectual prowess in this carnivalesque “circus” (148) where restrictions are relaxed. He swells with pride in being “utterly [un]moved by the wave of enthusiasm” as he “impersonally watche[s]” the scene below (154, 148). However, Theron shamefacedly awakens to the primitive irrationalism that he witnesses, first by “conjur[ing] up the idea of Dr. Ledsmar coming in and beholding this maudlin and unseemly scene” (155) and then by “[l]ooking through his fingers” and spying Alice. His wife has risen from her seat in the “minister’s pew” and walked forward to the mourner’s bench<sup>191</sup> as if

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<sup>188</sup> Thomas LeClair, “Ascendant Eye,” 101. Michael J. Rizza, “Degeneration and the Failure of Recognition in Harold Frederic’s *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *Studies in American Naturalism* 14, no. 2 (Winter 2019), 163-68.

<sup>189</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 214. “The spectacle saddened and humiliated him now” (Frederic, 155). Compare this with Theron’s own “excessive emotionalism,” which consists of crying, fainting, and sweating on display throughout the novel. Donna M. Campbell, “Relative Truths,” 98.

<sup>190</sup> Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 240.

<sup>191</sup> In the Methodist Church, the mourner’s bench is a pew located in front of the chancel (the area around the altar) reserved for new members to profess their faith and receive sanctification in a process called New Birth or for current members, especially backsliders, to begin again the process of sanctification

transfixed—"her eyes wide-open, looking straight ahead"—toward the altar, like all "the rest" of the "silly young 'mourners'" (155). "Remembering himself, he drew back and put up his hand, shutting out the strange scene altogether. To see nothing at all was a relief, and under cover he closed his eyes" (155). Theron sneaks a peek during "[t]he exhortation to sinners to declare themselves" (154). His "keen[] perceptions" detect Gorringer himself "coming forward to kneel beside Alice" close enough that the forms of the minister's wife and "the skeptical lawyer, so long with them, yet not of them," touch (156). Initially, "[t]he knowledge left him curiously undisturbed [as] Theron looked fixedly at them, and professed to himself that he was barely interested" (156). But when his ministerial duties call upon him to read out the names of the new probationers, "the only name his blurred eyes seemed to see was that of Levi Gorringer" (156). The chapter ends as Theron swoons. The Presiding Elder explains, "Brother Ware appears to have been overcome by the heat" (157). Despite appearances, Theron faints at the sight of his wife together with another man, which makes him think not of Alice's alleged infidelity but rather his own unfaithfulness. More unnerving, however, is the idea that this intensely religious rite has the power to convert even a well-educated and skeptical professional like Gorringer. Methodism's authority of excitement wields influence over even professional men.

The following day, a bedridden Theron is informed by the same Elder that the Soulsbys' rousing performance had "screw[ed] up" the "emotions" of the congregation into a "benevolent hysteria" (161). Like the congregates who are overcome by "powerful and deep emotion" (152), Theron is hystericized by his inability to control his illicit thoughts, which are set off by what he thinks he sees. At this time hysteria was an ill-defined but highly feminized medical condition characterized by uncontrollable and irrational outbursts. A woman's mental, emotional, and/or spiritual stress underwent a conversion into physical symptoms, such as shortness of breath, anxiety and nervousness, and fainting. For Theron, hallucinating the affair between Alice and Gorringer causes somatization that manifests in heavy sweating, blurred vision, and dizziness and confusion and culminates in his losing consciousness. At Alice's behest, Brother Soulsby

calls upon Dr. Ledsmar, the only actual physician in town whom Alice has heard of, through Theron, to make a house-call.<sup>192</sup> Despite professing to his summoner that “he never practised” and “disclaim[ing] all pretence of professional skill” (162), Ledsmar agrees to attend to Theron because “he was interested in him” as a “friend” (162). He unofficially diagnoses Theron with “merely a case of over-work and over-worry,” explaining to the worried Alice “that his brain is taking a rest as well as his body” (162). Although as theoretical scientist Ledsmar no longer keeps up with the medical profession’s progress, nevertheless he seems current in his prognosis of neurasthenia.<sup>193</sup> Theron’s symptoms,<sup>194</sup> then, are physical and mental features of not only his gendered distress toward the “intellectual disorder”<sup>195</sup> of modernity experienced by white collar workers but also of his lack of the professional repose needed to be a competent priest.<sup>196</sup> The sight of his wife kneeling next to a more masculine rival, especially one who

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<sup>192</sup> The narrator states, “The Methodists of Octavius counted no physician among their numbers” (Frederic, 162). When Theron first mentions Ledsmar after meeting him, Alice asks “Ledsmar? Ledsmar? I don’t seem to remember the name. He isn’t the little man with the birthmark, who sits in the pew behind the Lovejoys, is he? I think someone said *he* was a doctor.” Theron scoffs at her: “Yes, a horse doctor!” (Frederic, 102-03).

<sup>193</sup> See Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, esp. chap. 3, “‘Teaching Our Sons to Do What We Have Been Teaching the Savages to Avoid’: G. Stanley Hall, Racial Recapitulation, and the Neurasthenic Paradox.” “‘Neurasthenia’ was in part an effort to construct the cultural weakness of self-restrained manliness as a bodily weakness, and to ‘cure’ it. [...] The men most in danger of developing neurasthenia were middle- and upper-class businessmen and professionals whose highly evolved bodies had been physically weakened by advances in civilization. [...] Civilization’s repression of emotion caused neurasthenia, too, although to a lesser extent. Civilized men held their passions in check, but this manliness could be exhausting. [...] Indeed, civilization’s demands on men’s nerve force had left their bodies positively effeminate. [...] Neurasthenia thus expressed the *cultural* weakness of civilized, manly self-restraint in *medical* terms” (Bederman, 84-88).

<sup>194</sup> Carrie Tirado Bramen, “Americanization of Theron Ware,” 82. Bramen refers to the Theron of the end of the story as “chronically neurasthenic.”

<sup>195</sup> Bruce Michelson, “Theron in the Wilderness,” 54. See note 75.

<sup>196</sup> Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism*, 83. “Theron’s version of the disease signals the gendered nature of his distress and his assumption of the sentimental heroine’s gestures even as it provides a coded reference to his participation in the ‘disease’ of encroaching modernity.” See also Donna M. Campbell, “Relative Truths,” 98. Unlike Forbes, Theron lacks “the exemplary level of physical and emotional self-discipline required of a parish priest. In this way [Forbes] exists as a model and foil for Theron’s excessive emotionalism and inability to integrate the belief systems of primitive Methodism into the modern world. Forbes’ self-discipline and bodily control originates in his priestly training.” For more on Frederic’s treatment of neurasthenia, particularly in its relation to the psychological stresses of the economy, see David Tagnani, “The Nervous Economy of *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *American Literary Realism* 53, no. 1 (Fall 2020): 1-15. For additional context, see Lionel Lackey, “Redemption and *Damnation*,” 86. Lackey claims that one cause of Theron’s downfall is being made “to feel his

confessed to him previously that “experiencing religion” was merely a sublimation of his sexual attraction toward a girl (122), and the unexpressed illicit thoughts that it give rise to in Theron’s mind ultimately prove too powerful for him to restrain. Dr. Ledsmar takes his leave without prescribing anything other than bedrest. Alice expects that secular professionals, by virtue of their calling, have certain obligations to their patients—especially those holding traditionally respected occupations like her minister husband.<sup>197</sup>

The love-feast revival scene is also significant as it begins to crystallize the way in which Frederic equates the Methodists’ repressive attitudes toward both ideas and sex as delimiting not only his intellectual freedom but also his masculine authority.<sup>198</sup> In Octavius, ideas, like sexuality, are repressed.<sup>199</sup> The normally puritanical brothers and sisters “let themselves go” (147) in a spiritual carnivalesque<sup>200</sup> replete with not only the two sexes sitting together but also singing, dancing, eating, and praying together. Because Methodism was historically considered to be an especially embodied religion, it was also highly gendered—regardless of whether that gendering was traditionally masculine (like the “reverend survivors of heroic times”) or overcivilized and effete (as in the “citified” and “scholarly” new ministers). Again, the Protestant minister embodied his congregation as a whole. Theron’s masculinity is already threatened

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insignificance in the face of financial determinism” and his resulting “insecurity” as a man in an economically emasculated profession.

<sup>197</sup> “‘I don’t believe he knows shucks!’ was Alice’s comment when she closed the street door upon Dr. Ledsmar. ‘Anybody could have come in and looked at a sick man and said, “Leave him alone.” You expect something more from a doctor. It’s his business to say what to do” (Frederic, 162-63). Her commonsense condemnation of Ledsmar’s lack of direct action in treating her husband reflects the countrified skepticism of doctors at the time because of their relative ineffectiveness in healing disease. Circa 1900, the actual practice of medicine still consisted of many of the essentially barbaric methods common during the age of heroic medicine, particularly in less populated, nonurban regions where country doctors often doubled as dentists and veterinarians. As medicine underwent modern scientification, the conservative cynicism toward the physician’s power-knowledge transformed into other concerns, namely the cost of services rendered. Alice’s rural prejudice toward modern physicians is further evidenced by Frederic not capitalizing Ledsmar’s honorific title in her dialogue.

<sup>198</sup> Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism*, 88-89. “Because his church in essence forbids both sexuality and ideas, the two become merged into one exciting and illicit pleasure for him.”

<sup>199</sup> Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism*, 88-89.

<sup>200</sup> When Theron projects himself into Gorringer’s “cynical” point of view, he imagines the event “as if it were a circus” (Frederic, 148).



because he personifies an anti-modern, -intellectual, and -authoritarian religion of the degenerated male body and uncultivated masculine mind as well as the domesticated and overcivilized feminine heart. As he becomes attuned to his professional embodiment of these unrestrained people, however, he is increasingly unable to restrain himself from experiencing similarly embodied forms of pleasure. By having Theron blink his eyes away from Alice and Gorringer together, Frederic winks toward his protagonist's awakening to his carnal, libidinous desires. In doing so, he highlights the link between primitive, embodied sexuality and experienced religion in Theron's fall.<sup>201</sup>

Theron's impassivity, rendered through his detached gaze, indicates a turning point at which his apathy toward his congregates, including Alice, turns to antipathy. Theron's novel way of seeing causes him to look scornfully at the unenlightened churchgoers and especially his wife. Her emotional display in renewing her faith leads to Theron's self-misperceived "illumination" alluded to at this chapter's beginning. Seeing behind the curtain of modern religion's grand performance—and awakening to his role in it—makes Theron want to give up the cloth. During his convalescence he professes this desire to Soulsby; but she promptly talks him out of "this nonsense about leaving the ministry": "Have your own ideas as much as you like, read what you like, say 'Damn' under your breath as much as you like, but don't give up your job" (176). In effect, she advises Theron not to repress his human nature—just to keep it private from the prying eyes belonging to his church's sanctimonious professing members.<sup>202</sup> Feeling fully recovered from his nervous condition, he unconsciously seeks out Celia to enact revenge on Alice for the sin of being seen in public backsliding alongside Gorringer.<sup>203</sup> When

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<sup>201</sup> Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 236.

<sup>202</sup> Perfecting the performative aspects of these two dissociative identities is how Forbes has successfully walked the line between professionally appeasing both his Catholic authorities and laypersons on the one side and personally satisfying his modern secular interests and fostering relationships with irreligious friends on the other.

<sup>203</sup> Thomas F. O'Donnell, "Proper Names in Frederic (3) / Celia Madden," *Frederic Herald* 1, no. 3 (Jan. 1968), 4; Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism*, 86. Campbell notes that "Celia, whose name anagrammatically reverses her own" while O'Donnell finds that, by adding her surname, Celia Madden is

Theron details to Celia his illness, which he refers to as a “collapse[] of nerves, [...] [a] moral and spiritual and mental breakdown[]” (186), she invites him into her private quarters: “Come, I’m your doctor. I’m to make you well again” (187).<sup>204</sup>

Celia’s apartment,<sup>205</sup> as was seen in Forbes’s dining-room and library and will be seen in Ledsmar’s home and laboratory,<sup>206</sup> embodies its resident’s philosophy; it is also similarly

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an anagram for “Alice Damned.” Brian Wilkie, “Morality and Its Alternatives,” 71. “Alice is also a kind of twin to Celia, both of them representing, at different stages in Theron’s life, the allure of femininity, the spice of nonconformity, and—summing up all this—the glamour of money.” In the novel’s context of evolution, particularly regarding sexual selection, Celia represents a modern evolutionary adaptation of Alice; while both women read, play the piano, and have affluent fathers, Celia is smarter, sexier, and richer. It thus seems ‘natural’ that Theron’s attraction will shift from Alice to Celia. After all, during Theron’s first ministerial appointment, the countryfolk think it “the most natural thing in the world that their young minister should be ‘visibly’ taken with [Alice]” because of her refined manner as well as “the imposing current understanding as to her father’s wealth” (Frederic, 15-16).

On Alice and Celia’s “specifically [...] essential Darwinian attractions,” see Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 242, 249—and, for an even pithier account, Scott Donaldson, “Seduction of Theron Ware,” 450: “Theron looks on his vocation as he looks on women, in materialistic terms.”

<sup>204</sup> Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 68. “Incongruously, Celia casts herself in the role of Theron’s physician.” Tricomi also points out that, “Like Celia, [Sister Soulsby] assumes the role of a physician.” Theron sees each woman as maternal as well as masculine.

<sup>205</sup> Brian Wilkie, “Morality and Its Alternatives,” 68. “Celia’s flamboyantly sybaritic quarters.” Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, 63-64. “Celia’s own formal ‘system’ (Frederic, 99) is epitomized by her rooms. Her ‘work-room’ is littered with tools of making and creating—easels, books, pens, half-finished drawings, half-modeled clay figures. The innermost room, which Celia allows Theron to enter, is one into which not even Celia’s servants are allowed. Illuminated only by candles, the room is furnished with vaguely oriental divans and large throw pillows and decorated with reproductions of famous statues. Theron is overwhelmed by the sheer sensuality of it, and Frederic writes that ‘a less untutored vision than his would have caught more swiftly the scheme of color and line in which these works of art bore their share.’ It is Celia who explains the decorating scheme to him; it is meant as a formal reflection of her own appearance [...] It is not particularly *what* she is making in the rooms that counts, for she is really only reproducing herself over and over as an endless work of art.” See Elmer Suderman, “*Damnation as Criticism*,” 67. “Her apartment sets off her wild beauty. [...] [T]he whole room is designed to match Celia’s hair.” Historically, women with red hair connote wanton sensuality and subversive femininity. In Ancient Egypt, followers of the snake god Set wore red wigs; in classical Greece, Plato described women with red hair as emotionally undomesticated; in medieval Christian artwork, Mary Magdalene was often represented as a red-headed and repentant prostitute; and during the Victorian period, red hair was associated with unrestrained female sexuality. Regardless of the culture, women with red hair were often perceived as supernaturally evil. See also Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 241. “Dr. Ledsmar explicitly identifies Celia’s red hair with her sexuality when he speaks damningly of her as ‘a mere bundle of egotism, ignorance, and red-headed immodesty.’”

<sup>206</sup> Thomas LeClair, “Ascendant Eye,” 100. “As the novel progresses, Frederic moves Theron into a number of rooms or structures which represent new ideas. Each of these rooms is dark or poorly lighted; most of them are elevated. First is the Irish laborer MacEvoy’s cottage where Theron imperfectly witnesses the Roman Catholic last rites and forms his initial impression of Father Forbes and Celia. Next is Forbes’ sitting room, a hazy, ill-lighted room where Theron is both confused and, he thinks. Enlightened. The Catholic church which Theron enters to hear Celia play the organ is also dimly lighted, as is Celia’s upstairs chamber in the Madden mansion, a room which Theron never understands. Even Doctor Ledsmar’s house is elevated and at least puzzling to the eye in its clutter and strangeness.” Regarding Ledsmar, see Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 31-32. “As Celia Madden’s chambers seem to

enclosed in shadows and darkness. Occupying her own wing inside the Madden mansion, Celia leads him through a dark hall and into an expansive and spartan room. Straining his eyes to “adapt his sight to this subdued light,” Theron dumbfoundedly looks around her amateur studio and workshop, a room “not at all after the fashion of any [...] he had ever seen” (189). She leads him beyond a curtain and through a locked door into an even more private chamber. Inside Celia’s *sanctum sanctorum*, Theron’s “gaze helplessly followed Celia and her candle about as she busied herself in the work of illumination” (191). The room is adorned with various visual representations of Madonna and the Infant Jesus. Theron remarks, “I have never seen a room at all like this” (192). “It expresses *me*” (193), Celia replies. She removes a silken cover from what in the dim candlelight appears to be a huge casket, exposing instead a grand piano. Instead of kneeling at the mourner’s bench in the Methodist Church, Theron “[l]oung[es] at his ease on the oriental couch” (192) inside her apartment. As she plays the keys, his “glance instinctively” (193) watches her body and “wonderful hair” move rhythmically, which he interprets sensually, “listening for an encrypted language of sex beneath the music.”<sup>207</sup> As he scans the room, gazing upon the half- and fully-nude visual depictions of the Virgin Mary, “He looked from the Madonna to Celia.”<sup>208</sup> [...] The sight convicted him in the court of his own soul as

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epitomize the arty fin-de-siècle studio, so Ledsmar’s rooms seem to represent the laboratory of the unhinged scientist obsessed with ‘truth,’ even if the discovery of that ‘truth’ leads to the complete destruction of man’s moral foundations. In one part of his house are bookcases, and ‘the corners of the floor [are] all buried deep under disorderly strata of papers, diagrams, and opened books’ (Frederic, 217). [...] Elsewhere there are ‘dark little tanks containing thick water, a row of small glass cases with adders and other lesser reptiles inside, and a general collection of boxes, jars, and similar receptacles connected with the doctor’s pursuits. Further on was a smaller chamber, with a big empty furnace, and shelves bearing bottles and apparatus like a drug-store’ (Frederic, 221). Ledsmar’s house is a depository of the pathologically obsessive—the world’s knowledge gone berserk.”

<sup>207</sup> Jane Thrailkill, *Affecting Fictions: Mind, Body, and Emotion in American Literary Realism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 179.

<sup>208</sup> Frederic portrays Celia in Theron’s imagination as the stereotypical and paradoxical embodiment of both Madonna and whore. When he first hears her playing the organ through Forbes’s library window, Theron sees a resemblance between the stained-glass portrait of the Virgin Mary facing him and Celia’s beautiful face (Frederic, 77, 250). She embodies the “maternal idea” (Frederic, 258-59) but, despite her obvious sensuality, is represented as “quite chaste from the waste downward” (Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 243).

a prurient and mean-minded rustic" (195-96).<sup>209</sup> Through the male gaze, Theron awakens to his bestial sexuality in a way that evokes Gorringer's experiencing of religion—one that, with the benefit of hindsight, he now sees was because of his romantic and sexual feelings toward a devout girl. Theron reverses this experience, turning the sensuous Celia, whom he sees as embodying the beauty, intelligence, and wealth that he once saw in Alice,<sup>210</sup> into a modern incarnation of the venerated virgin mother. They depart from one another with a firm handshake<sup>211</sup> rather than a goodnight kiss.

Theron wakes the next morning feeling as though "both he and the world had changed over night" (204). He sets off on another of his trademark perambulations,<sup>212</sup> this time to make good on his promise to purchase a piano for Alice, probably because of a guilty conscience. Upon reaching Thurston's, a sort of turn-of-the-century superstore, however, he is once again daunted by the perceived glares from the sales associates, whom he regards as "pianoforte experts" (211).<sup>213</sup> Recalling his earlier apprehension about buying an inferior model, he imposes Celia to decide for him. After the transaction Theron follows a circuitous route home, which is subliminally prolonged by his "his mind's eye" imagining "pleasant visions" (215) of Alice away

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<sup>209</sup> Elmer Suderman, "Damnation as Criticism," 72. "The reader discovers that Theron's counterconversion in Celia's apartment, which is based on intuition, is just as illusive as the conversions of Theron's parishioners at Sister Soulsby's revival. The reader is as embarrassed at Theron's counterconversion as he was at the conversion of the 'silly young "mourners"' at the revival." Significantly, both Celia and the Soulsbys perform works by Frédéric Chopin—though the latter adapts the "devil-may-care[s] waltzes and mazurkas and nocturnes [and] "pass 'em off on the brethren as hymns" (Frederic, 179).

<sup>210</sup> Allen F. Stein, "Evasions of an American Adam," 30. "Moreover, it is not without significance that it is a fleeting image of supposed illicit love which pushes him over the brink, for this image shadows forth what ultimately is a key motivating factor in his attraction to his new acquaintances, that is, his desire for Celia, who has come to embody for him all the previously inchoate beauty and romance he has longed for."

<sup>211</sup> Like that of the androgenous Candace Soulsby, Celia's hand is described as having a "warm, large palm [that] clasped his in frank liking" (Frederic, 203). Elsewhere, Celia possesses similarly masculine traits, most notably in that "[she] was [...] something indefinably less, indescribably more, than a daughter and sister" (90).

<sup>212</sup> See Carrie Tirado Bramen, "Americanization of Theron Ware," 69-80.

<sup>213</sup> At this earlier excursion to Thurston's, Theron opts to buy materials with which to write his envisioned book instead of buying Alice a piano. When the clerk points out that Theron's utensils and stationery cost about as much as the piano, Theron explains, "I thought it best, after all, not to commit myself to a selection. In such a matter as this, the opinion of an expert is everything. I am going to have one of the principal musicians of the town go and try them all, and tell me which we ought to have" (Frederic, 57).

on vacation. For himself, he envisions “pictures of whole weeks of solitary academic calm, alone with his books and his thoughts,” seeing himself within “[v]isions of the wifeless and academic calm” (215) enjoyed by professional bachelors like Ledsmar. Such visions, which previously depressed him, now seem possible. Miraculously, he finds himself at Ledsmar’s house, a place he vowed to Alice he would never be. His roundabout way of breaking his promise to himself thus indicates not only his continued self-willed withdrawal from Alice and his church but also the seemingly mesmerizing “infidel influence” (99), of which she had previously warned him,<sup>214</sup> that Ledsmar wields over Theron’s “essentially religious temperament” (103).

Ledsmar lives in “an old-fashioned place up beyond the race-course” (78). His out-of-the-way home represents his “self-willed alienation from family and community.”<sup>215</sup> Theron notices as he approaches Ledsmar’s home its welcoming façade that belies “the sketch of a man-hating recluse that the Doctor had drawn of himself” (216). The residence harkens back to an earlier time when the homes of America’s social elite all looked the same. Theron mourns the loss of this imagined national past, which was racially, politically, and economically “homogenous” (216).<sup>216</sup> Knocking on Ledsmar’s door, however, he finds himself greeted instead

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<sup>214</sup> Luther “Harold Frederic’s Satanic Sister Soulsby,” 87. “In Part II (chs. 11-17), Theron withdraws from community life during the Quarterly Conference of his church. [...] In the next section (chs. 18-24), Theron returns to the community of Octavius and retraces the confrontations of Part I, as he increasingly neglects the fidelity of his wife and congregation and becomes an effeminate, humorless, self-deceived boor.” Theron’s tour of Ledsmar’s home and laboratory occurs in chapter 21.

<sup>215</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 25.

<sup>216</sup> Ledsmar’s liminality is further bolstered by the location of his home, which is positioned atop “a commanding site on the hillside” overlooking a factory to the west, a lumberyard to the east, and the workers houses in the middle (Frederic, 216). Frederic continues: “Dr. Ledsmar’s house, toward which Theron’s impulses had been secretly leading him ever since Celia’s parting remark [...] was of that spacious and satisfying order of old-fashioned houses which men of leisure and means built for themselves while the early traditions of a sparse and contented homogenous population were still strong in the Republic. There was a hospitable look about its wide veranda, its broad, low bulk, and its big, double front door, which did not fit at all with the sketch of a man-hating recluse that the Doctor had drawn of himself.” Thus, there is something both homelike and uncanny about his face/façade, an enigma that characterizes his masculine professionalism in a specifically American context.

This ambivalence is represented spatially in his home’s look and locale, which overlooks Octavius. On this liminality between modern urban and agrarian tradition, see Carrie Tirado Bramen, “Americanization of Theron Ware,” 71. “Octavius contains patterns of uneven development, where a residual agrarian culture exists alongside an emergent industrial economy, which Frederic describes as a ‘jumble of primitive rusticity and urban complications.’” See also Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, 59-60. “Standing outside and above Octavius, Theron looks down and sees the city [as a] ‘jumble’ [that]

by the *unheimlich*. He is surprised that Ledsmar answers the door himself instead of his Chinese servant.<sup>217</sup> His immediate sense of confusion reconstructs his misunderstanding in his first meeting with Ledsmar, an effect that again destabilizes Theron's newfound way of seeing things. Ledsmar invites Theron in and leads him into a dark, dusty, and disheveled room. The unexpected guest must move a pile of loose papers and opened books from a chair just so he can sit down. Theron is nonplussed that his host so nonchalantly admits that his living space being "littered up to [their] eyes" is not unusual (217). The unkempt state of the room "gave Theron new ideas about the value of Chinese servants" (217). His first impression stresses the lesser value that he, as a white professional like Ledsmar, placed upon raced and classed others, as elucidated below.

Before receiving a tour of Ledsmar's life and work, Theron professes his illumination and confesses to his damnation. This confession begins Ledsmar's second examination of Theron. He thanks Ledsmar for making a house-call after he had suffered a nervous shock at the love-feast. Borrowing from Soulsby's simile of modern religion as a staged performance, he claims to have seen behind the curtain.<sup>218</sup> "The Doctor," meanwhile, "looked over his spectacles at him with a suggestion of inquiry in his glance" (217). Throughout Theron's dialogue, "Dr. Ledsmar continued to regard his guest with that calm, interrogatory scrutiny of his" (218). When Theron confesses that, in "see[ing] many things differently" he had "become unsettled in many –

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confuses both the rhetoric of place and the rhetoric of temporality." On Theron's nostalgic wish to share a "homogenized political whiteness" with Ledsmar, see Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 199. Finally, adding to the representation of Ledsmar as a Wicked Wizard, "a sort of tower" (Frederic, 78) is erected in his backyard, evoking the medieval myth of the enchanter Merlin, who magically sired King Arthur. The mythic Merlin is often represented as a villain in American literature and culture. Thus, Ledsmar's science might be seen as alchemizing a monstrous new race of rulers: King John Chinaman.<sup>217</sup> As he approaches the front door, "Theron had prepared his mind for the effect of being admitted by a Chinaman, and was somewhat taken aback when the door was opened by the Doctor himself" (Frederic, 216).

<sup>218</sup> "But of course I saw [the Soulsbys] and their performance from the inside – like one on the stage of a theatre, you know, instead of an audience – and – well, I understand things better than I used to" (Frederic, 217).

many of my former views" (218), Ledsmar nonchalantly interrupts Theron's talking around what for Theron is the unmentionable and monumental decision "[t]o throw up the priesthood" (218). Ledsmar contextualizes Theron's unspoken declaration by giving him a history lesson on priests, women, and religion—the thesis of which is that the clergy would have gone extinct in a civilized, rational world if women had evolved intellectually as far as men had: "Why, my dear sir, your entire profession would have perished from the memory of mankind if it hadn't been for women" (218). Ledsmar's lecture intimately connects the ministerial profession with sexuality, which in his professional opinion—"We are considering the question impersonally" (219)—continues to be emasculated and unsophisticated in the present day.

"First of all, what you regard as religion is especially designed to attract women. They remain as superstitious today, down in the marrow of their bones, as they were ten thousand years ago. Secondly, there is the personality of the priest. [...] Women are not a metaphysical people. They do not easily follow abstractions. They want their dogmas and religious sentiments embodied in a man, just as they do their romantic fancies. [...] Whatever laws one sect or another makes, the woman's attitudes toward the priest survives. [...] She ultimately feels in his presence a sort of backwash of the old pagan sensuality and lascivious mysticism which enveloped the priesthood in Greek and Roman days. Ugh! It makes one sick!" (219-20).

Ledsmar encapsulates Theron's sexual desire within an evolutionary model by linking him with the "handsome priests" of ancient Rome whose gold-digging ways "debauched the whole priesthood" (220). Theron's ambitious sentiments, first appearing in visions of professionalization, become redirected in his lust for Celia, an heiress and a heathen. This inversion modernizes the conventional myth of the gender dynamic between the clergyman and the seductress.<sup>219</sup> Theron, after being truly illuminated by Ledsmar, seems less tempted by Celia's physical beauty than by that "essential Darwinian attraction—her great wealth."<sup>220</sup> His desire is transparent to the impartial but informed Ledsmar; it is the desire of the priests of old

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<sup>219</sup> Elizabeth S. Prioleau, "Minister and Seductress," 2.

<sup>220</sup> Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 249.

who were more concerned with “outward signs of wealth and authority”<sup>221</sup> than with those invisible mental furnishings that modern intellectual men seek to accumulate.

Ledsmar’s lesson leads Theron to make another confession, which indirectly implicates him as feminized. He confides to Ledsmar that ““my wife, who formerly was not especially devoted, is being strongly attracted by the most unthinking and hysterical side of – of our church system.”” “The Doctor looked at him [and] nodded” (224). The repeated narratorial capitalizing of the ‘D’ in ‘Doctor’ as well as Theron’s inadequate free indirect discourse—trying to paraphrase and parse Soulsby’s figurative language about the performativity of religion and ape Ledsmar’s detached objectivity as an evolutionary scientist—recreates the feeling of intimidation instilled in him by Ledsmar at Forbes’s library. Here, however, Theron feels secure in his confident ignorance. Ledsmar’s epistemological authority is embodied once again in his visual superiority over Theron. He impersonally watches his visitor with an examining and analyzing gaze; under this hierarchical observation Theron-as-subject tries to compensate by referencing his newfound perception and comprehension. But by linking Theron’s confession to leave his profession with the covetous personality of the priest throughout human history and the atavistic sexuality of the female of the human species, Frederic is signaling again the handing of the professional staff over to the scientist.<sup>222</sup> Theron’s ideological and perspectival<sup>223</sup> shift toward his entire congregation, including and especially toward his wife, Alice, is completed through his confession that they have given themselves over to irrational hysteria (218, 224).<sup>224</sup> Frederic is damning Theron by linking him with women, effeminate men, and overexcited evangelicals through his fainting episode. His confession to leave the ministry, coming so closely after having convicted himself as a lustful rustic, shows just how far Theron has fallen. His descent is

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<sup>221</sup> L. Ashley Squires, “Humble Humbugs and Good Frauds,” 371.

<sup>222</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 186. See note 77.

<sup>223</sup> Paul Eggers, “By Whose Authority?” 86.

<sup>224</sup> Michael J. Rizza, “Degeneration and Recognition,” 168. “The more Theron regards the congregation as unthinking, the more he does not care for its recognition, and he eventually repudiates the church, finding it unworthy of him.”



symbolized at the conclusion of the examination, when Ledsmar, an expert on serpent-worship and an amateur herpetologist, divides and classifies Theron as a “type” (226). In what one critic hails as the novel’s “most gruesome symbol,”<sup>225</sup> Ledsmar rechristens his lizard, Johnny, as “Rev. Theron Ware” (226). This classification places Theron among the second-lowest family according to Ledsmar’s taxonomic ranking system.<sup>226</sup> In Ledsmar’s Post-Darwinian eyes,<sup>227</sup> Theron has degenerated into Foucault’s modern “confessing animal,”<sup>228</sup> an instinctual beast willing to say anything in order to ensure his social survival, even—and especially—if it entails blinding himself to his unmodern and feminized profession and innate sexual and material desires.

After once more thoroughly unmanning Theron with his combination of professional knowledge and authoritative way of seeing, Ledsmar offers to show Theron around his premises. Seen through Theron’s eyes, it seems as though Ledsmar spends his days in solitary scientific labor: reading in a library with a “disorderly strata of papers, diagrams, and opened books” strewn about (217) and tending to a lab stocked with jars of “adders and other lesser reptiles” (221) as well as a garden conservatory planted with “monœcious” and “dioœcious” flowers (222). But Ledsmar ends the tour of his premises with his *coup de grâce*; “a regular afternoon dut[y]” that is so monstrous because of how it makes visible the power-knowledge of disembodied professional white masculinity over perceived otherness. As the men reemerge

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<sup>225</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 217.

<sup>226</sup> During the first examination, after Ledsmar closes the window so as to shut out the sound of organ-music being played by Celia, Ledsmar growls, “Say musicians! Has it ever occurred to you that the only animals who make the noises we call music are of the bird family – a debased offshoot of the reptilian creation – the very lowest types of the Vertebrata now in existence? I insist upon the parallel in humans. I have in my time, sir, had considerable opportunities for studying close at hand the various orders of mammalia who devote themselves to what they describe as the arts. It may sound a harsh judgment, but I am convinced that musicians stand on the very bottom rung of the ladder in the sub-cellar of human intelligence – even lower than painters and actors” (79-80).

<sup>227</sup> John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 217. “Thus in the meetings between the two men we see professional learning and science breaking down the defenses of the last traces of Romantic institutionalism; it is the post-Darwinian expressing his disdain for the pre-Darwinian.”

<sup>228</sup> Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 59.

from the dankness of Ledsmar's house, Theron finds himself in a garden with "a small, dilapidated summer-house" (223).

On the bench inside, facing him, Theron saw a strange recumbent figure stretched at full length, apparently sound asleep, or it might be dead. Looking closer, with a startled surprise, he made out the shaven skull and outlandish garb of a Chinaman. He turned toward his guide in the expectation of a scene.

The Doctor had already taken out a note-book and pencil, and was drawing his watch from his pocket. He stepped into the summer-house, and, lifting the Oriental's limp arm, took account of his pulse. Then, with head bowed low, sidewise, he listened for the heart-action. Finally, he somewhat brusquely pushed back one of the Chinaman's eyelids, and made a minute inspection of what the operation disclosed. Returning to the light, he inscribed some notes in his book, put it back in his pocket, and came out. In answer to Theron's marvelling [sic] stare, he pointed toward a pipe of odd construction lying on the floor beneath the sleeper.

"This is one of my regular afternoon duties," he explained again with the whimsical half-smile. "I am increasing his dose monthly by regular stages, and the results promise to be rather remarkable. Heretofore, observations have been made mostly on diseased or morbidly deteriorated subjects. This fellow of mine is strong as an ox, perfectly nourished, and watched over intelligently. He can assimilate opium enough to kill you and me and every other vertebrate creature on the premises, without turning a hair, and he hasn't even got fairly under way yet."

The thing was unpleasant, and the young minister turned away. They walked together up the path toward the house. His mind was full now of the hostile things which Celia had said about the Doctor. He had vaguely sympathized with her then, upon no special knowledge of his own. Now he felt that his sentiments were vehemently in accord with hers. The Doctor was a beast!" (223)

Theron's impending horror during this unforgettable scene is revealed perceptually, namely through his sight. He cannot take his eyes away from Ledsmar as he conducts his grotesque routine on the comatose domestic servant. He eventually turns away from the ugliness of the scene once his mad guide explains his labors with characteristically "clinical detachment"<sup>229</sup>—belied by the slight grin that fails to hide his perverse pleasure in the process—all for the sake of science. Among the Doctor's daily tasks is "intelligently [...] watch[ing] over" his Chinese servant

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<sup>229</sup> John Rees, "Dead Men's Bones," 79.

“assimilate” (223) an increasingly lethal dose of an extremely addictive analgesic! “And yet [...] [e]ven while they offended and repelled him, [Theron] could not close his eyes to the fact that the Doctor’s experiments and occupations were those of a patient and exact man of science – a philosopher” (224). Theron is unwilling to turn away from what his semi-liberal education in the humanities has taught him: the unnatural scientific experimentation of another human that adheres to no acceptable system of morality. He is simultaneously attracted and repulsed by *what he thinks he sees* in Ledsmar’s heartless science, namely, the power of professional white masculinity to subject embodied otherness, including other people, in the pursuit of scientific knowledge.

Ledsmar’s treatment of “his Chinaman” raises important issues about how modern science racialized whiteness and non-whiteness through a visual-perceptual epistemology. Frederic draws upon contemporary stereotypes of Chinese immigrant men to construct this “strange” subhuman “thing.” Chinese men were perceived as simultaneously decaying, passive, and emasculated as well as invading, willing to work for almost nothing, and lascivious. What both portrayals shared was that people of East Asian descent were primitive nonwhites who threatened to conquer an emerging American empire and its white rulers, who were descended from European stock. Such generalizations reveal nineteenth-century America’s anxieties about an impending “yellow peril”—the existential, xenophobic fear that was rationalized through the medico-scientific discourses of social hygiene<sup>230</sup> and race suicide and the cultural and legal disputes over drug use and sex work.<sup>231</sup> Such socio-scientific fears were not limited only to

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<sup>230</sup> Qtd. in Eithne Luibheid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 37.

The American Medical Association decreed that Chinese immigrants “carried distinct germs to which they were immune, but from which whites would die if exposed.”

<sup>231</sup> On how contemporary stereotypes of John Chinaman and his opium pipe belied both modern and historical connotations of opium and sex in Chinese culture, see Yangwen Zheng, “The Social Life of Opium in China, 1483-1999,” *Modern Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (Feb. 2003): 1-39. A late-sixteenth-century medical treatise cited its ability to “arrest seminal emission,” which is a major reason why “lay people use it for the art of sex” and traditional healers prescribe it “to aid masculinity, strengthen sperm and regain vigour” (Zheng, 8, 6, 4).

issues of race, however, but were also included with those of sex and economics. This anti-Chinese sentiment was so popular that it was codified numerous times between 1862 and 1924 in anti-immigration legislation by either imposing quotas on emigrants from certain Asian countries or banning them outright.<sup>232</sup> Bastardized theories such as social Darwinism linked together issues of race, sex, gender, and class with premodern (pseudo-)scientific discourse that privileged whiteness by devaluing non-whiteness. This confluence was expressed in an 1882 Congressional speech by Nevada Senator John Percival Jones:

In dealing with the Chinese we are dealing with a race whose historical existence of fifty centuries shows that they have outlived all contemporaneous nations, and during that immense period have never been able to rise from the ranks of semi-barbarism. The reason of this unexampled national longevity is that they have been a race by themselves, a homogenous race, and tenacious of their homogeneity.<sup>233</sup>

The immigrant Chinaman was perceived as posing a threat to white America and specifically its men.<sup>234</sup> This threat was premised on the fact that their evolutionary durability, which resulted from their racial homogeneity, made them almost impervious to Americanization. Unlike the Irish, who were also depicted both popularly and scientifically in similar terms as Black Americans, the Chinese American would never fully assimilate because they were not—and could never become—naturally white.

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<sup>232</sup> While the most obvious piece of legislation was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, there was also the 1875 Page Act, the 1888 Scott Act, and the 1892 Geary Act. Oftentimes the loudest leaders of the anti-Chinese campaigns were Irishmen, a stance which further “whitened” them in the eyes of nativist Americans.

<sup>233</sup> John P. Jones, “Chinese Immigration.” 9 March 1882 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), 18. Three years earlier, Jones closed another speech to Congress by citing Gobineau. See also John P. Jones, “The Chinese Question,” 14 February 1879 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), 34. This is likely the same speaker whom Jacobsen refers to when he states: “According to one senator from Nevada, the Chinese had to be both ‘republicanized and Christianized’ before they could become citizens—a possibility logically denied by the entangled threads of race, civilization, and religion” (Jacobsen, 74).

<sup>234</sup> For more on the legislative rationale behind such measures, see Eithne Luibheid, *Entry Denied*, 34. The Page Act in particular was enacted for “the fate of the white men, white families, and a nation constructed as white” in order to protect against “what were believed to be serious threats to white values, lives, and futures.”

An illustration by Thomas Nast entitled “The Chinese Question”<sup>235</sup> visualizes two of the variations of the (de-)ethnicization of Irish and Chinese immigrants around the time of *Damnation/Illumination*’s narrative action. In the drawing, a large and imposing Lady Columbia protects a “heathen Chinee” from a mob of white men armed with pistols, stones, and billy clubs.<sup>236</sup> John Chinaman, as this caricature would come to be known, sits sunken down on a city street, his shaven head—replete with a compulsory queue—held in his hands. Posters featuring epithets such as “coolie,” “rat-eater,” “idolater,” and “slave,” printed in big, bold type, are plastered on the wall against which he has slumped. Above him, with her hand placed gently on his head, stands his erect white protectress. Using only her glare, she forces back a retreating white mob, which happens to be led by a visibly identifiable Irishman. (*Harper’s* mid-century descriptions of the Irish focused on their “‘low-browed,’ ‘brutish,’ and even ‘simian’” physical features, including their distinctly “black-tint[ed] skin.”<sup>237</sup>) The confrontation between John Chinaman and the “partially whitened”<sup>238</sup> Irish Paddy underscores an unseen scene in Frederic’s novel when Ledsmar’s Chinaman was harassed by Octavius’s Irish American workers after Ledsmar “first brought him here, ten years ago or so” (79). The allusion to incidents of Irish-on-Chinese violence helped construct exactly the kind of white Americanness with which Theron is familiar. Before settling in Octavius, Theron is unsure whether he had ever seen an Irishman, a Catholic, or a Democrat—which in his mind are all the same.<sup>239</sup> Predictably,

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<sup>235</sup> Thomas Nast, “The Chinese Question,” *Harper’s Weekly*, February 18, 1871, 149.

<sup>236</sup> For more on the feminizing and queering of Asian American men, see David Eng’s *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

<sup>237</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 48.

<sup>238</sup> See the caption for the illustration “Homeward Bound,” T.H. Maguire, lithograph, 1854, in Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, between 199 and 200.

<sup>239</sup> When Theron looks back on his first encounter with Octavius’s Irish culture, the omniscient narrator shows how Theron’s former perspective of the Irish (as a monolithic group) was shaped by white supremacist stereotypes, which were ubiquitous in popular culture. In doing so, the reader is invited to see *the* Irish through Theron’s eyes, thus aligning them with Theron. “Theron had scarcely ever spoken to a person of this curiously alien race before. [...] So far as personal acquaintance went, the Irish had been to him only a name. But what a sinister and repellent name! His views on this general subject were merely those common to his communion and his environment. He took it for granted, for example, that in the large cities most of the poverty and all the drunkenness, crime, and political corruption were due to the perverse qualities of this foreign people—qualities accentuated and emphasized in every evil direction

Ledsmar describes such atrocities with characteristic disinterestedness: “The Irishmen from the wagon-works nearly killed him once or twice” (79). Furthermore, it reveals how the pseudo-scientific view of peoples of ‘Oriental,’ ‘Asiatic,’ or ‘Mongolian’ descent had changed since the national myth of hierarchical pan-whiteness was first written at midcentury. By the 1870s, this social construction of whiteness had arbitrarily incorporated lower orders of Irish (Keltic), German (Teutonic), and Italian (Mediterranean) immigrants into a consanguineous white Americanness. Whereas the Irish were commonly represented as physically resembling Black Americans during slavery, the caricature of them had been transformed enough so that they could be absorbed into a larger idea of whiteness—if not fully.

By comparing the unscientific violence committed against the Chinese servant by Irish laborers on the streets of small-town America with the recreated violence against the drugged Chinaman within the controlled environment of the Wicked Wizard’s laboratory, Frederic is effectively making them one and the same. He rearticulates the “complex crosscurrents at the confluence of capitalism [and] republicanism”<sup>240</sup> that undergird how the Irish were perceived as nonwhite at mid-century and applies these same economic, legal, and political biases to the newest wave of immigrant intruders: the Chinese. Unlike the Irish, however, the Chinese were constitutionally incapable of (fairly) competing under capitalism, experiencing religion, or participating in democracy. Moreover, by including the religious difference into this stream of collective consciousness, he unifies American Protestant republicanism and un-American Catholic democratism against nonwhite pagan slavery.<sup>241</sup> Despite their Catholicism, the Irish

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by the baleful influence of a false and idolatrous religion. His boyhood had been spent in those bitter days when social, political, and blood prejudices were fused at white heat in the public crucible together. When he went to the Church Seminary, it was a matter of course that every member of the faculty was a Republican, and that every one of his classmates had come from a Republican household. When, later on, he entered the ministry, the rule was still incredulous of exceptions. One might as well have looked in the Nedahma Conference for a divergence of opinion on the Trinity as for a difference in political conviction. Indeed, even among the laity, Theron could not feel sure that he had ever known a Democrat” (Frederic, 48).

<sup>240</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 19.

<sup>241</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 70. “[T]he greatest objection to Irish immigrants was their incapacity, as Catholics, to participate in a democracy.” This stereotype of Irish

had come to be seen as having adapted their inherited spiritual defect enough to become hyphenated Americans, namely by following the “pre-existing logic”<sup>242</sup> of white supremacy, which granted them the incentives of whiteness by opposing themselves against Chinese immigrants just as they had in the 1840s and ‘50s by differentiating themselves from Black Americans—often through acts of violence—whether real (ethnically motivated gang violence and race riots) or imagined (minstrel performance).<sup>243</sup> Theron embodies this changing perspective by embracing Irish whiteness while turning away from Chinese not-whiteness. He accepts Ledsmar’s perspective of nonwhite otherness because of its scientificity just as he had previously accepted mainstream American attitudes toward it.

While neither particularly interested in nor fully understanding Ledsmar’s work—nor its implications—Theron experiences a “morbid fascination” with the Doctor’s “intellectual excesses.”<sup>244</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Ledsmar has extended an invitation to him into his home and workspace leads Theron to believe that he and Ledsmar, as white professional men, are equals. Theron once again misperceives this gesture as another initiation into the “intellectual world” that he so wants to join. Located just outside his laboratory, the traditional “privileged truth-spot”<sup>245</sup> of modern science, Ledsmar’s garden is a place where likeminded professionals can observe others without themselves being seen. By imagining himself sharing

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insubordination dates to the Magna Carta and the historical (and modern) resistance from the Irish to the document’s ideals of autonomy. Such sentiment was bolstered by the recent passage in the United Kingdom of “An Act for promoting the Revision of the Statue Law by repealing certain Enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary in Ireland,” more commonly referred to as The Statute Law (Ireland) Revision Act 1872. Frederic was undoubtedly aware of this legislation because of his personal and professional experience of the fraught international relations between Britain and Ireland while working as a political correspondent for *The New York Times* in London.

<sup>242</sup> Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 198-99.

<sup>243</sup> For a thorough study of the degree to which Irish immigrants appropriated blackface minstrelsy in order to be perceived as more ‘white,’ see Robert Nowatzki, “Paddy Jumps Jim Crow: Irish-Americans and Blackface Minstrelsy,” *Éire-Ireland* 41, nos. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 2006): 162-184.

<sup>244</sup> Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 31, 33.

<sup>245</sup> See Thomas F. Gieryn, “Three Truth-Spots,” *Journal of History of the Behavioral Sciences* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 113-32 and “City as Truth-Spot: Laboratories and Field-Sites in Urban Studies,” *Social Studies of Science* 36, no. 1 (Feb. 2006): 5-38.

this “privileged spot”<sup>246</sup> with Dr. Ledsmar through the act of objectively gazing upon abject otherness, Theron believes that he is participating in the racialized male-bonding activity of professionalization. His perverse enchantment with such monstrous science suggests his own desire to embody the power-knowledge of professionalism through the disembodied consolidation of the scientific gaze. Receiving this power means overcoming that embodied otherness implied by his empirical observance of the sexual beast within himself that was recently awakened in his experience at Celia’s apartment. Theron thinks that he has overpowered his primitive self by partaking in the modern professional gaze and the disembodiment effects it has on his vulnerable white psyche.

Emboldened by this misperception, Theron attempts to change the subject back to “the traditional attitude of women toward priests” (225) in order to better understand the “relations” between his sexual object, Celia, and his professional role-model, Father Forbes. Ledsmar, seeing through Theron’s clumsy charade, shows “an expression of bodily suffering” (226) caused by his rheumatic shoulder and politely asks Theron to take his leave. As Theron walks away, Ledsmar (who declines to shake Theron’s hand—or accept his offer to rub his shoulders) watches his uninvited and now unwanted guest depart from his doorway, “his gaze meditatively following the retreating figure” (226), before closing the door with his right hand, the one attached to his outwardly impaired limb.

This will be the last time that the reader sees Ledsmar. While he is no longer a physical presence in the text, his influence continues to affect Theron, whose newfound awareness of and discomfort with being seen extends inward into his being. Theron internalizes Ledsmar’s

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<sup>246</sup> Herman Melville, “Benito Cereno” from *Bartleby and Benito Cereno* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1990), 45. Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, 3. “How does this odd concatenation of gazing at otherness and imagining fraternal sameness stabilize [Captain Amasa] Delano’s sense of self, his ‘confidence and ease’? [...] This moment indexes Delano’s experience of himself as a man who commands: a ‘brother captain,’ a scientifically rational man, a philanthropic man, a white man. Delano enjoys the anthropological dissymmetry of looking on the African woman with her child because it fills out and confirms his whiteness and his manhood.”



view of him as embodying an anti-modern, emasculated professionalism and a primitive, emotional religiosity (which is nothing more than a sublimated sexuality). His incapacity to distinguish experienced religion from “embodied feelings”<sup>247</sup> of a sexual nature appears in several of the preceding scenes featuring Celia: first, when she called Ledsmar a “beast” and asks Theron to be with her “heartily” after Theron first meets him; and second, when Theron experiences a sexual awakening while watching her play the piano—a scopophilic event that Ledsmar deferred in that same meeting. However, what Theron fails to realize is that he has merely replaced one outmoded embodied irrationality for another, in essence trading the sublimity of traditional spirituality for modern sexuality.

The chapters that directly follow Theron’s visit to the Doctor (chapters XXII-XXIV) take place three months later. The opening scene of these last chapters in part IV, is the annual week-long camp-meeting, “a curious survival of primitive Wesleyanism” (227). Local preachers and the congregations they represent gather in an opened clearing in the woods, pitching tents and placing benches around a large wooden platform, erected solely for the event. On Saturday around noon “the Rev. Theron Ware escaped for some hours [...] the burden of work and incessant observation which he shared with twenty other preachers, and walked alone in the woods” (227). While the camp-meeting “scene [...] was worth looking at,” Theron “turn[s] his back upon it” (227). “The real spectacle,” however, “was in the evening” (228). Torches are lit so that the “importance of what they illumined” (228) may be better seen—by the congregates in attendance as well as the local “sight-seers” (229) attracted by the event’s grandiosity. Weekday services are opened to the public for an entrance fee; those held on the holier weekend days, however, are closed off to “strangers” (228). There is a disagreement between the fundamental and liberal sects about whether to open the gates on Saturday and Sunday; this debate relates to being seen: the more conservative members wish to conceal from nonbelievers their more

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<sup>247</sup> Jane F. Thrailkill, *Affecting Fictions*, 157. Thrailkill links *Damnation* and Kate Chopin’s *The Awakening* as both “explicitly inquir[ing] into the relations among religion, embodied feelings, music, and books.”

enthusiastic members' embarrassing antics while the more modern laymen petition for the gates to be opened so that they may convert new souls—and raise additional funds in the process. Theron delivers a sermon seemingly on the sanctity of the Sabbath, straddling the fence between the two factions, but ultimately convinces both sides to keep the gates shut. He successfully works to hide what some of the stauncher Methodists regard as distressingly undignified traditions from the eyes of the general public.

During the camp-meeting, Theron seeks to separate himself from the members of his church by standing above them, as he had done at the love-feast. The outcome of his sermon will conceal the more spectacular enthusiasm of Methodism's professing members from the curious eyes of the modern secular outsiders, which at the love-feast Theron only imagined taking shape in professional men like Gorringer or Ledsmar. "The prestige of this achievement [keeping the gates shut] made it easier for Theron to get away by himself the next day, and walk in the woods. A man of such power," the narrator condescendingly states, "had a right to solitude" (231). Theron's eyes are opened to the fact that his profession makes him the primary object within a network of gazes. If the entire camp-meeting is a spectacle made up of numerous regional churches, then these polities' ministers are its main attractions. Theron's professional authority, signified by his sermon's popularity, grants him the privilege to escape from this "incessant observation"—if only temporarily. "He reached a place from which, himself unobserved, he could overlook much of what he had come to see. [...] And this was the picnic of the Catholics of Octavius. He gazed in mingled amazement and exhilaration upon the spectacle" (234). While his destination is atop an elevated hillside from which he can surveil both the private Methodist and exhibitionist Catholic get-togethers, this attempt to stand above and outside the oppressive parochialism of his brethren and sistren—and to gaze upon an exotic otherness into the bargain—ultimately fails, just as it had during the love-feast. There, Theron only imagines himself being seen with these passionate observers and how ashamed he would be if he were to be seen—especially by modern professional men such as Gorringer or

Ledsmar—presiding over such hysterical outbursts. Here, however, his unseen position proves to be anything but invulnerable from the vision of others.

In the intervening months between visiting Ledsmar's house and the camp-meeting, Theron appears to have fully recuperated—both mentally and physically. Now, he appears “thicker,” “more erect[],” and “confident” (231). Such changes in his body also appear in his face, which is “firmer and more rounded in its outlines [that] gave a masculine bulk and shape to his figure” (231-32). Although “he viewed with astonished delight the progress he had made in his own estimation” (232), nevertheless “the diminished [and] brittle” Theron only seems “puffed up, physically as well as mentally.”<sup>248</sup> Theron, then, seems primed for a prize fight. Methodism is “pre-eminently a fighting religion” (229) that requires some heretical foe against whom it can claim a sanctimonious victory. Theron, even at his fighting weight, sees the disparity between the primitive views of his simpler brethren and those cynical “strangers” with more modern outlooks. By keeping the gates shut, he shies away from doing battle with modernity, embodied by the neighboring non-believers. Ledsmar's face, already presented as the intimidatingly scientific face that unmans Theron,<sup>249</sup> could represent the ideal embodiment of the “visible personal devil, with whom the chosen could do battle face to face” (229). A “close quarters contest” with the likes of the devilishly modern Ledsmar, however, is “not so one-sided a contest” (230, 229) in favor of the Methodist titleholder.<sup>250</sup> Indeed, Theron momentarily imagines himself “as if he were a pretty girl” (236) while watching the Catholic footballers chugging mugs of beer. This internal feminization is a call back to his revelation that “people really do think of us

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<sup>248</sup> Elizabeth S. Prioleau, “Minister and Seductress,” 2; John Henry Raleigh, “*Damnation of Theron Ware*,” 210.

<sup>249</sup> Mark Storey, *Rural Fictions, Urban Realities*, 112. See note 157.

<sup>250</sup> This lopsided match is foreshadowed when the narrator states, after Theron has been perusing “with an excited interest” the copy of Renan's *Recollections of My Youth*, “that remarkable book” that had so “wooded,” “thrilled,” and “penetrated” him like “a young lover,” loaned to him by Ledsmar: “Somehow, the fact that the Doctor was not a religious man [...] did not take a form which Theron could look squarely in the face. It wore the shape, instead, of a vague premise that there were a great many different kinds of religions” (Frederic, 125-31). specific page numbers for specific quotes?

as a kind of hybrid female” (112) when Alice remonstrated him for not carrying a parasol to shield himself from the summer sun. Theron’s gender-bending revery reveals once more how he has internalized his professional emasculation. As he looks around for someone who might grab him a beer, he finds himself vis-à-vis with two other rivals reifying modernity: Forbes and Celia.<sup>251</sup> Whereas Theron only envisioned doing battle against superior foes like Gorringer and Ledsmar at the love-feast and was still knocked out, now he finds himself squaring off with not one but two adversaries.

In the ensuing conversation, Theron professes his new insight as occasioning his transformation into a new man—just as he had done while at Ledsmar’s house.<sup>252</sup> Like Ledsmar, neither Forbes nor Celia “take up” Theron’s so-called “illumination.” They instead discuss their competing visions of the future of American religion. Theron believes that religion will eventually become obsolete: “The march of science must very soon produce a universal skepticism. It is the nature of human progress through rational skepticism. What all intelligent men recognize today, the masses must surely come to see in time” (241). Forbes, however, debunks Theron’s newly envisioned secular millennialist myth of progress.<sup>253</sup> Forbes tells

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<sup>251</sup> “Turning, he found himself face to face with two smiling people, into whose eyes he stared for an instant in dumfounded blindness. [...] ‘We stole down upon you unawares,’ said the priest, [...]. ‘We could barely believe our eyes – that it could be you whom we saw, here among the sinners!’ ‘I am in love with your sinners,’ responded Theron, as he shook hands with Celia, and trusted himself to look fully into her eyes. ‘I’ve had five days of the saints, over in another part of the woods, and they’ve bored the head off me!’” (Frederic, 236-37). Frederic undermines Theron’s masculine body, intelligence, and professional authority by emphasizing his visibility, bewilderment, and misplaced sense of superiority over his pious parishioners throughout the ensuing tête-à-têtes.

<sup>252</sup> He confesses to Forbes, “‘I shall never forget that death-bed – where I saw you first,’ remarked Theron, musingly. ‘I date from that experience a whole new life!’” (Frederic, 239). He repeats this confession during his return trip to Forbes’ living quarters: “‘I date such a tremendous revolution in my thoughts, my beliefs, my whole mind and character, from my first meeting with you, my first coming here. I don’t know how to describe to you the enormous change that has come over me; and I owe it all to you [...] I look back at myself now with wonder and pity, [...] content with such petty ambitions; actually proud of my limitations!’” (Frederic, 278).

<sup>253</sup> Earlier, Theron had claimed, “‘It hasn’t been in my power to at all lay hold of what the world keeps on learning nowadays about its babyhood. All I have done is try to preserve an open mind, and to maintain my faith that the more we know, the nearer we shall approach the Throne’” (Frederic, 72; see above). Now, Theron sees those in possession of secular scientific knowledge as surpassing the knowledge and power of God (i.e., the one who sits on the Throne), and that the masses will come to see that their light is the one true one that they should follow.

Theron: “The human race are still very like savages in [...] in the dark” whose “natural impression is that the world he sees about him was made for him” (241). Theron mistakes Forbes’s comparativist view of modern believers as primitive men<sup>254</sup>—Protestants as well as Catholics—as evidence that Forbes is nothing more than “an enlightened religious charlatan.”<sup>255</sup> The irony is that Theron is blind to the fact that he himself has strayed so far from his God and thus become exactly that which he sees in Forbes: not only a flimflammer who has lost his faith but also a faux Faust who has sold his soul to Satan for some counterfeit wisdom. Forbes’s defense of traditional Catholic beliefs and denial of Enlightenment ideas<sup>256</sup> confuses Theron, who unlike the modernish priest, has a very different view of his churchgoers than the one held by the Methodist minister.<sup>257</sup> Forbes embodies an unquestionable authority because the institution of Catholicism “doesn’t debate with skeptics” (242), while Theron is at the mercy of those whom he serves. Mirroring Ledsmar, who “view[]s you [priests] all impartially from the outside” (75), and his earlier objective, empirical, and rational articulation of the theological differences between Catholicism and Protestantism,<sup>258</sup> Forbes not only offers an insider’s look into this other Christian ideology but also into the dynamics of knowledge and authority between

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<sup>254</sup> L. Ashley Squires, “Humble Humbugs and Good Frauds,” 374.

<sup>255</sup> Aaron Urbanczyk, “Catholicism as Exotic Other,” 54.

<sup>256</sup> John C. Hirsh, “The Frederic Papers, the McGlynn Affair, and *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1984), 19. “Frederic’s original conception of Fr. Forbes, then, seems to have been of a priest who was influenced by the Americanist teachings of his day, and who was denounced to his bishop, though probably for reasons of scandal, not doctrine. The priest was to be forceful and powerful, loyal to his church but sophisticated enough to understand its limitations. The character who emerges in the novel has many of these qualities, but is now further constrained by a religious fideism and a canny view of his own inclinations. Gone is the plan to place Fr. Forbes’s conflict with his bishop at the heart of his problems, and removed finally is the intimacy with Celia for which he was to be denounced. The intellectual, with his knowledge of history and concern for the future, remains; the activist does not. Yet as we read the novel, traces of earlier plans appear before us, like an artist’s concealed drawing, painted over but hardly hidden.”

<sup>257</sup> Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 252. “Theron is completely naïve to think that he can remain in his duties after losing his faith, in the manner of Father Forbes, for his relationship to his church, to others, and to tradition is utterly different from the priest’s.”

<sup>258</sup> Aaron Urbanczyk, “Catholicism as Exotic Other,” 47. Ledsmar concludes his lecture on discipline and authority in the Catholic Church by stating, “You see how diametrically opposed this Catholic point of view is to the Protestant.” Theron, however, does *not* see, as suggested by his simply stating, “The difference does seem extremely curious to me” (74).

professionals and the laity. “‘Intelligent men,’ as you call them,” he tells Theron, “really have very little influence [over] the ultimate view of the crowd” (242).<sup>259</sup> In Forbes’s mind, if “ten hundred thousand separate numbskulls [were] to examine [a text] by the light of their personal judgment,” then there would be just as many different interpretations (70). The brightness from one million different views, even if it does not shine with the luminescence of true knowledge, will always outshine that produced by a single mind—even if it is an enlightened one.<sup>260</sup> Theron cannot understand this modern revision of light, knowledge, and authority. He is simply substituting one source of light for another, replacing the traditional God the Father with the modern doctor-scientist.

Furthermore, Forbes expresses a modern evolutionary theory that attacks Theron’s last bastion of masculine authority: his whiteness. A few chapters earlier, Theron had restored his diminishing sense of professional masculinity by gazing at the otherness of the drugged Chinaman alongside the rational and scientific authority Doctor Ledsmar. In that shared act of looking, Theron imagined that he and Ledsmar were united by a myth of white American homogeneity—despite the latter being a German-born Jew and self-professed infidel. Now, Theron and Forbes literally stand atop a similar “privileged spot”<sup>261</sup> to the one Theron and

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<sup>259</sup> Forbes’s view is that the authority of the masses will always overshadow the light of intellectual elites regardless of the time or place. This lesson mirrors an earlier one in which Forbes opens Theron’s eyes to the “commonplace knowledge” among modern researchers that the patriarch Abraham represented “*gentes non homines*.” Thinking that a fact of such significance should be shared with the world, Theron wonders aloud “that everybody shouldn’t know it”—to which Forbes answers his question with a question, “Why should ‘everybody’ be supposed to know anything at all? What business is it of ‘everybody’ to know things?” (Frederic, 70).

<sup>260</sup> For more on “the ancient distinction between two models of light, known as *lux* and *lumen*,” see Martin Jay, “Rise of Hermeneutics,” 313-15. “In the hands of a religious thinker, *lux* was understood as the profane, natural illumination in the eyes of mere mortals, whereas *lumen* was the primal light produced by divine radiation. [...] [This dichotomy] generally entailed some sort of hierarchical relationship [...] privileging of divine radiation [...] in the mind of the viewer over mere perception.”

<sup>261</sup> Herman Melville, “Benito Cereno” from *Bartleby and Benito Cereno* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1990), 45. Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, 3. “How does this odd concatenation of gazing at otherness and imagining fraternal sameness stabilize [Captain Amasa] Delano’s sense of self, his ‘confidence and ease’? [...] This moment indexes Delano’s experience of himself as a man who commands: a ‘brother captain,’ a scientifically rational man, a philanthropic man, a white man. Delano enjoys the anthropological dissymmetry of looking on the African woman with her child because it fills out and confirms his whiteness and his manhood.”

Ledsmar occupied at the latter's house. Together, the two priests survey the reveling Methodists on one side and the rollicking Catholics on the other.<sup>262</sup> As in Ledsmar's controlled garden, Theron believes that overlooking this field professionalizes him because he cannot be seen. Once again, he disintegrates into this shared gaze, and as he does so, the cloistered lab in the earlier scene expands to fill the entire field below him.

What Theron lacks in erudition is counterpoised by his whiteness. As soon as Theron glimpses into this future America and narcissistically sees himself reflected in it as a new American Adam, Frederic snatches it all away from him. The expansion of power that goes along with the power of the gaze has an effect opposite to the one intended. The traditional subject-object relation is reversed. Instead of standing in this shared privileged truth-spot, he envisions himself not only losing power but also seeing himself going extinct. In Forbes's vision of America, the Irish becomes *the* American, absorbs him, and then assimilates (white) Americanness into itself. The "Church of America" will be Catholic and America itself will be "dominate[d]" by the Irishman (241). This vision is one that naïve Americans like Theron have been taught to fear their whole lives—a racial and spiritual eschatology in which the American Adam proves himself unfit and unable to adapt and survive in this modern wilderness. However, this new racial myth of whiteness is less devastating to a rube like Theron<sup>263</sup> than Ledsmar's theory that the Chinese will emerge victorious in the end-time survival of the fittest.

Again, Theron is uncertain whether he has ever met an Irishman prior to coming to Octavius. He certainly has not associated himself with either a Catholic or a Democrat. Thus,

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<sup>262</sup> Ledsmar's home is on a hill that sits high above Octavius. There are factories on one side, a lumberyard on the other, and rows of middle-class houses in between them. Closer to Ledsmar's home is farmland. From this "commanding site on the hillside" one may overlook "the jumble of primitive rusticity and urban complications characterizing the whole picture" (Frederic, 216). In effect, this spatial positioning allows him to oversee American *progress* from traditional (rural) to modern (city) from an unseen vantage point lying above everything.

<sup>263</sup> Ironically, when Theron is first seen his features are described as those "which used to characterize the American Senatorial type in those far-away days [...] before the War (Frederic, 6); when he is last seen, he is envisioning himself becoming a "full-blown Senator" (344). In each vision, Theron either fantasizes or is fantasized as embodying a professional (political) power in a timeless (past *and* present) American.

his perception of the Irish is the accepted one of the Irishman as a foreign bogeyman who threatens an imagined American sameness. At mid-century, Irish immigrants had followed the xenophobic “pre-existing logic”<sup>264</sup> of white supremacy that granted them the incentives of white Americanness by opposing themselves against Blackness. This strategic aligning themselves with an allegedly homogenous type had been largely successful. By the 1890s, the Irish had virtually assimilated themselves into (white) American culture. The Irish began to see themselves as white; more impactfully, they were beginning to be seen as white.

As stated above, the Irish were often sensationalized as poor, illiterate, and unwashed. The pervasive image of the Irishman in popular culture was of a clothed simian-like personage with a prominent forehead, dark skin, and uniquely textured hair.<sup>265</sup> By the time of *Damnation/Illumination*, however, some of the better sort of Irish had begun exhibiting redeeming qualities in the eyes of most Americans—a work ethic, political consciousness, and a racial superiority based on being visibly *not* non-white. (It mattered less that their work ethic was not Protestant, they identified as Democrats, or that they did not belong to the same class as the higher order of Caucasians.) Such widespread revisions changed public perception toward the Irish *en masse*. In Forbes’s vision, Irish Americans would soon overtake the native (white) American just as they were now overtaking German Americans, absorbing the American and assimilating America into themselves. Nonetheless, at least the Irish could be naturalized whereas the Chinese could not. From a nativist perspective, Frederic was championing an answer in favor of the Irish rather than the Chinese. In either scenario, however, America’s evolutionary end-point will be heterogenous: modern Americanness, forged in the Smelting Pot, will be baptized in fire of its impurities, producing American ingots out of European immigrants. The white-hot flames will extract a pure elemental white Americanness. Theron’s acceptance of

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<sup>264</sup> Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race, Vol. 1, Racial Oppression and Social Control* (London and New York: Verso, 2002), 198-99.

<sup>265</sup> Theodore W. Allen, *Invention of the White Race*, 48.



the Irish into his world—or rather their acceptance of him into theirs—signifies America’s reluctant tolerance of Irish immigrants and their first-, second-, and third-generation descendants into their national identity. This modern imagined community is premised, however, on a shared whiteness that excluded people of Asian descent between (at least) 1862 and 1924. Theron looks upon the Irish and envisions—because an authority like Forbes sees and says so—a brighter future for America. But he is incapable of sharing the same vision as Ledsmar precisely because it foresees a white apocalypse. Those who are willing to adapt to this modern vision no longer racializes authority as invisibly white and therefore as invulnerable to the dynamics of the gaze of nonwhite others. Ministers, untrained to see this reality, no longer wielded such power.

Forbes’s anti-theosophical discourse is interrupted by an Irishman who is drawn much more stereotypically: Celia’s brother, Michael Madden. The visibly intoxicated Michael approaches the small party to ask Father Forbes to publicly endorse him in his run for District Assemblyman. However, when Celia tries to admonish him for his shameful behavior in front of “strangers” (246)—meaning Theron—the chastised Michael lashes out at Theron for “sneak[ing]” around “our girls” as a married man—and an orthodox Protestant preacher to boot (247).<sup>266</sup> Forbes tactfully escorts the boorish man away.

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<sup>266</sup> The message delivered by Theodore, Celia’s boorish brother who is running for office, may be the same as that of Celia’s other brother, the saintly Michael: the former says, “why don’t you leave our girls alone? They’ve got their own priests to make fools of themselves over, without any sneak of a Protestant person coming meddling round them. You’re a married man into the bargain, and you’ve got in your house this minute a piano that my sister bought and paid for,” and the latter, “It was a great misfortune for you, sir, that you did not keep among your own people. [...] Keep among your own people, Mr. Ware! When you go among others – you know what I refer to – you have no proper understanding of what their sayings and doings really mean. [...] Go back to the way you were brought up in, and leave alone the people whose ways are different from yours. You are a married man, and you are the preacher of a religion, such as it is. There can be nothing better for you than to go and strive to be a good husband, and to set a good example to the people of your church, who look up to you – and mix yourself up no more with outside people and outside notions” (Frederic, 247, 294-99). For more analysis on Michael’s last words from his death-bed to Theron, see Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 136-37; Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 252; Lionel Lackey, “Redemption and *Damnation*, 85; Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 249; Carrie Tirado Bramen, “Americanization of Theron Ware,” 81, 82; and Aaron Urbanczyk, “Catholicism as Exotic Other,” 54-55. Frederic stresses Michael’s “big, gravely intent,” “earnest, unblinking,” “hollow” and “half-closed” eyes, which have been sadly watching Theron’s fall, and

Theron and Celia, now alone together, wander deeper into the wilderness. Celia attracts a high degree of interest from Octavius's denizens because she is the most beautiful and interesting person that Octavius has ever seen. She seems the kind of fiercely independent modern woman who does whatever she pleases—even if it means contradicting the wishes of her family (comprised of only men) or the mandates of the larger patriarchal society. Since the moment that Theron first sees her, he assumes, “Clearly, this was not the sort of girl to take a Protestant husband” (92). However, he begins to question his prior perception after spending what he thinks is a transformational evening together in her apartment. Now, alone in the woods, away from public view, Theron, in his professional capacity as a minister and Celia, in her role as New Woman, modernize a traditional trope from the American literature of this period: the naïve minister and the proto-femme fatale. This scene is itself a revision of the Adamic myth, in which the modern minister is an American Adam who is seduced by a present-day Eve.<sup>267</sup> This is, after all, the reason why Theron suggests, “Let us walk a little up the path into the woods and get away from all this,” a proposal to which Celia “bitterly answer[s], ‘The further away the better’” (248). Theron and Celia are safeguarding themselves by retreating into

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how “the sick man’s sombre and embarrassing gaze [...] had a spectral quality which disturbed [Theron]” (Frederic, 294-99).

<sup>267</sup> As numerous critics have suggested, this scene is an obvious allusion to the one in which the Puritan Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale and Hester Prynne in chapter 16 of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter*, which is entitled “A Forest Walk.” For the most recent comprehensive reading of Hawthorne’s influence on Frederic, see Samuel Chase Coale, *In Hawthorne’s Shadow: American Romance from Melville to Mailer* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015), esp. chap. 3, “Harold Frederic: Naturalism as Romantic Snarl.” On the relationship between Theron and Celia as an allusion to that of Arthur and Hester, specifically their walk through the woods, see Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 29; Luther Luedtke, “Frederic’s Satanic Sister,” 87, 91; Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 241; Bruce Michelson, “Theron in the Wilderness,” 69; Elizabeth S. Prioleau, “Minister and Seductress,” 2; and Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 186. In terms of Hawthorne’s mad scientists, particularly Giacomo Rappaccini, as possible inspirations for Ledsmar, see Everett Carter, introduction, xx; Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 130; Sam Bluefarb, 27-28; Luther Luedtke, 92; Fritz Oehlschlaeger, 245; Thomas Becknell, “Implication Through Reading *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *American Literary Realism* 24, no. 1 (Fall 1991), 69; Bridget Bennett, 186; Samuel Chase Coale, 58; and Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 65; and also Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, chap. 2, “Sex and the Single Mad Scientist.” Ledsmar shares much with Roger Chillingworth, the “leech” from *The Scarlet Letter*.

the woods. Celia alludes to the implications raised by their being seen together.<sup>268</sup> But when she refers to his profession, he declares his independence from his circumscribed social role:

“I am not a Methodist minister – please!” answered Theron  
– “at least not today – and here – with you! I am just a man –  
nothing more – a man who has escaped from lifelong  
imprisonment, and feels for the first time what it is to be free!”  
“Ah, my friend!” Celia said, shaking her head slowly, “I’m  
afraid you only deceive yourself. You are not by any means free.  
You are only looking out the window of your prison, as you call it.  
The doors are locked, just the same” (250).

Theron vows to give up the cloth, if only momentarily, while alone with Celia; he asks to be seen as a man and not as a minister. Theron’s vision of freedom is premised on his biologically sexed identity rather than on his socially constructed gendered and professional identity. As a man—even temporarily—he can do what he wants. However, Celia immediately refutes Theron’s casting the two of them as characters in a chivalric romance, with him as the heroic knight-errant and her as the damsel in distress: “That is the old-fashioned idea that women must belong to somebody [...] You don’t understand, my friend, that I have a different view. I am myself, and I belong to myself, exactly as any man” (254-55). What Celia is pronouncing here is the coming of a new self by claiming a vision for all human beings, not just those in traditional positions of power.<sup>269</sup> When Theron hesitantly answers, “That is not the generally accepted view – I should think,” she wittily retorts, “No more is it the accepted view that young married Methodist ministers should sit out alone in the woods with red-headed Irish girls” (255). Celia’s defiant stance toward the limitations considered generally acceptable for women indicates the

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<sup>268</sup> Celia probably has in mind Theron’s “withdr[awing] his arm from hers as they came upon the well-lighted main street” (Frederic, 188) on the way to her apartment.

<sup>269</sup> Celia likens other women “who crawl about on all-fours, and fawn like dogs on any hand that will buckle a collar on them” as not “real human beings” (Frederic, 255). Earlier in the scene, regarding the Catholic picnickers, Theron says to Forbes and Celia, “It is a revelation to me to see these thousands of good, decent, ordinary people, just frankly enjoying themselves like human beings” (239). The distinction between human beings and canines expresses the taxonomizing discourse of androcentric science. Theron no longer regards his people as human—he refers to them as “dogs” (151) at the love-feast. As Alice puts it when she describes the way he now looks at her, “You don’t realize, Theron, your voice [...], your look, your manner, have all changed. You are like another man – some man who never loved me, and doesn’t even know me, much less like me” (288). Theron’s new way of seeing racial, spiritual, and social others—relies on his seeing himself as intellectually and professionally superior to them.

beginnings of the early women's movement and its visionary goal to transcend the traditions of patriarchy.<sup>270</sup> She represents a reincarnation of Danu, the powerful and revered Celtic all-mother, even if her resemblance to the Virgin Mary disguises her intentions as a modern-day Eve.<sup>271</sup> While she has ascended to a mythical or goddess-like status, Theron remains metaphorically locked away in that most modern of castle towers, the prison cell.<sup>272</sup> He sees his social and professional identity as a sentencing him to a death-in-life. His tryst in the woods with Celia might be a retrial in which, if he cannot prove his masculinity, then at least he can prove to be a romantic martyr to his love for Celia.

Just as Theron and Celia realize that "perhaps they had been there too long" (259), they are spotted by a village boy who is out hunting in the woods. The American Adam and Catholic Eve, visibly embarrassed, guiltily return the lad's gaze. "Upon the discovery that he in turn was observed, [the boy] resumed his interrupted progress throughout the woods, whistling softly as he went, and vanished among the trees" (260). This young hunter turns out to be Harvey

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<sup>270</sup> Even to her own all-male family, "Celia was [...] something indefinably less, indescribably more, than a daughter and sister. They could not think there had ever been anything like her before in the world; the notion of criticising any deed or word of hers would have appeared to them monstrous and unnatural" (Frederic, 88).

<sup>271</sup> Forbes on Celia: "She always impresses me as a sort of atavistic idealization of the old Kelt at his finest and best. [...] Their religion is full of [Eastern mysticism]; their blood is full of it – our Celia is fuller of it than anybody else. The Ireland of two thousand years ago is incarnated in her. They are the merriest people and the saddest, the most turbulent and the most docile, the most talented and the most unproductive, the most practical and the most visionary, the most devout and the most pagan. These impossible contradictions war ceaselessly in their blood. When I look at Celia, I seem to see in my mind's eye the fair young ancestral mother of them all" (Frederic, 281).

<sup>272</sup> See Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 200-01. Foucault's description of the architecture of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon: "[A]t the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately. In short, it reverses the principle of the dungeon; or rather of its three functions – to enclose, to deprive of light and to hide – it preserves only the first and eliminates the other two. Full lighting of the eye of a supervisor capture better than darkness, which ultimately protected. Visibility is a trap."

Semple, the Wares' milk delivery boy and Gorrings' office-boy. (Not incidentally, he also happens to be the first Octavian resident to see Theron [11].) The power of seeing these social superiors in this compromising position, however, transforms him into the Methodist equivalent of "the thousand suspicious eyes that watch [Forbes's] every movement" (251)<sup>273</sup>—one of the many Ophanim- or -Argus-eyed supervisors<sup>274</sup> tasked with keeping an eye on the covetous Romish priest and the modern Greek nymphette. In this way Semple assumes the temporary position of the panoptic jailer, another one of the innumerable, non-superstructural points of power in the suspicious town's network of surveilling gazes directed at everyone.<sup>275</sup> Instantly perceiving himself at the center of a possible scandal, Theron ashamedly explains to Celia, "In my position – I am a thousand times more defenceless than any woman!" (260). Celia, whose look has changed from flirtatious to tacitly disapproving, stoically quips: "whatever doubts it may raise as to a gentleman's intellectual condition, [being seen with me] need not necessarily blast his social reputation beyond all hope whatever" (260).<sup>276</sup> "Shamefacedly," Theron "wincd visibly" (257, 258) under this new look from Celia. This flinch is more than a bodily reflex to a physical stimulus—even if that response is primarily visual; it is the confession that, for a man in his position, the mere act of being seen with a woman other than his wife, especially of a different race, faith, and political affiliation, will ruin his manhood. In this moment Theron

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<sup>273</sup> Forbes is likely based upon an amalgamation of Father Edward McGlynn and Frederic's friend, Father Edward Terry, from Utica. For more on this connection, see John C. Hirsh, "Frederic Papers," 17-18 and Donna M. Campbell, "Relative Truths," 96. Both Frs. McGlynn and Terry were sophisticated academics whose American liberal views were seen as radical by the Vatican, even leading to the former's excommunication in during the controversial and well-known McGlynn Affair.

<sup>274</sup> The Ophanim refer to the many-eyed angels that make up the four wheels of Yahweh's chariot in Ezekiel's vision of The Book of Ezekiel. Argus Panoptes is the many-eyed giant who served as Hera's trusted watchman over the nymphs in Greek mythology. Semple embodies the "faceless gaze that transformed the whole social body into a field of perception: thousands of eyes posted everywhere" (Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 214).

<sup>275</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 171, 176; Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 95. This might be an allusion to the moral of Hawthorne's short-story, "Young Goodman Brown" (1835), which is that everyone in the panoptic Puritan society is constantly searching for sin in their neighbors rather than seeking within themselves.

<sup>276</sup> Celia addresses Theron as "Mr. Ware," honoring his request to momentarily relinquish his status as a professional minister and be "just a man" despite his likening himself to a vulnerable heroine (Frederic, 260, 250).

disproves Celia's initial perception of him as "a man and not a marionette or mummy" (97). Instead, he reveals himself as a puppet worked by strings being pulled from all sides, including by those who are supposed to be his social subordinates. Celia allows him a farewell kiss, but Theron is caught up by the idea that her gesture gives him temporary reprieve from the "eternal[] punish[ment]" (251) of his "double bondage" (261) to Alice and the ministry.

Theron's desire for Celia primitivizes and emasculates him—sexually and professionally. His being seen by the boy makes him see that he is like an ancient priest marrying for money as well as a modern woman fawning over the sensitive and celibate man whom she cannot have (with him recast as the woman and Celia as the celibate<sup>277</sup>). This professional un-gendering goes along with Theron's earlier revelation that he, because of his profession, is seen as a "hybrid female" (112) whose professional status links him with the gold-digging woman. Theron, as Celia tells him, "conceives of the thing that is not" (257). The romantic implications of their time spent together, culminating as it does with a kiss, indicates that this unspeakable idea is sex, which Frederic himself considered, in truly modern fashion, to be "the mainspring of human activity."<sup>278</sup> He stops seeing Celia as a uxorial replacement for Alice, and instead, lies down, stares upward, "closes his eyes," and imagines himself "as a good, pure-minded, fond little boy again [in the lap of] the mother that I idolized" (259). Celia becomes the doting mother consoling her boy for his failure in sexual and economic competition with other men. Moreover, in spiritual terms, Theron re-genders the parental authority figure from the traditional God the Father to a

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<sup>277</sup> Fritz Oehlschlaeger, "Passion, Authority, and Faith," 243. See note 208.

<sup>278</sup> This might be an allusion to the hierarchical relationship between the Houyhnhnms, a race of four-legged horse-like creatures imbued with reason, and the Yahoos, subjugated beasts inhabiting a human form, from the Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Frederic was undoubtedly aware of the Irish satirist's work. Although "Frederic's satiric vision is [...] not the savage indignation of a Jonathan Swift" (Joyce Carol Oates, "Fall From Grace," *New York Times* Dec. 17, 1995, accessed August 5, 2021, <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/17/books/essay-fall-from-grace.html>), nevertheless, with the multiple ambiguities he presents in *Damnation/Illumination*—and the multivalent interpretations it has engendered from critics—Frederic's main purpose with this novel seems to have been, like that of Swift, "to vex the world rather than divert it" ("Jonathan Swift," Lapham's Quarterly, accessed August 5, 2021, <http://www.laphamsquarterly.org/contributors/swift>.)

more modern all-mother. Whether spiritually or sexually, however, Theron is emasculated in his infantile need to be subjected by a more knowledgeable and authoritative other.<sup>279</sup>

Throughout chapters XXII - XXIV, Frederic emasculates Theron through his susceptibility to the vision of others. He escapes the “incessant observation” and turns his back on the “spectacle” (228) of the camp-meeting so that he can watch the analogous Catholic affair without being observed. Once alone, however, he finds himself caught within the gazes of others: first those of Forbes and Celia, then of Celia’s drunk brother, then of Celia herself, and finally of young Harvey Semple. The first gazes correct Theron’s sight on his newfound secular views toward modern progress and subjectivity, respectively; the next accuse him of transgressing the rules of his social, political, and religious role; the next chastens Theron’s impure thoughts but redirect them into infantile fantasies of a sexual-spiritual nature; and the last look, despite belonging to the eyes of someone holding a significantly lower place within the social hierarchy, assumes power by focalizing the intersecting and unceasing gazes of the emerging modern disciplinary society.

These chapters also illustrate a change in the way that Theron looks at others. The libidinous way in which he gazes at Celia—first sexualizing her before then fetishizing her as a mother—primitivizes and infantilizes him. The way in which he is discovered shows his entrapment within his permanent visibility, a susceptibility that makes him more exponentially more feminine than any woman. He has finally become aware that “he [has] become[] the principle object of his own subjection”<sup>280</sup> because of his misperceptions that directly result from his embodiment. Coming directly after Theron’s visit to Ledsmar, which makes him aware of his many blind spots—as a sexual being with primitive impulses, as a professional in a higher calling who is obsessed with worldly possessions, as an indentured servant bound to a

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<sup>279</sup> Frederic’s depictions of Theron’s confusion in this scene anticipates several of Sigmund Freud’s ideas, including the primacy of sexual drives, the Oedipus Complex, and the primitive illusion of religion in modern rational society.

<sup>280</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 200-15.

community of irrational subhumans, and as the henpecked husband of a perfectly good but dull woman<sup>281</sup>—it dawns upon him that he is little more than an observer to his own downfall. He sees that he is limited by a lack of masculine professional knowledge and authority visualized through his primitive emotional faith, baser sexual instincts, and ministerial gender trouble.<sup>282</sup>

Before Theron and Celia part, she consents to his giving her a kiss “in memory of [...] a few minutes in that one day” when they were a modern-day Adam and Eve in the pasture, unashamed of their metaphorical nakedness until they are interrupted by a panoptic supervisor, and not a Methodist pastor and lapsed Catholic woman each cavorting with their supposedly sworn enemies. Theron, whose rustic innocence prohibits him from distinguishing between “assorted varieties” of kisses (320), misperceives the “swift, almost perfunctory caress” (261) as one of romantic interest rather than of “the good-bye order” (320). Days later he remains misguidedly emboldened by the kiss. His mind is worried by two “anxious thoughts”: “One was that Celia loved him. The other was that the boy in Gorrings’s law office, and possibly Gorrings,

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<sup>281</sup> Just before the love-feast, it dawns upon Theron that his relationship to Alice and his Methodist brethren is as a slave to his master. Through a stream of consciousness narration, Theron associates his marriage and ministerial profession as enslaving him from his envisaged place in the pantheon of geniuses. “Alice, who had once seemed so bright and keen-witted, who had in truth started out immeasurably his superior in swiftness of apprehension and readiness in humorous quips and conceits, should have grown so dull? For she was undoubtedly slow to understand things nowadays. [...] What [Sister Soulsby] had said about the chronic misfortunes of intellectual men in such matters gave added point to those meaning phrases. Nobody could deny that geniuses and men of conspicuous talent had as a rule, all through history, contracted unfortunate marriages. [...] Alice undoubtedly merited all the praise which had been bestowed upon her. She was good and honest and kindly, and there could be no doubt whatever as to her utter devotion to him. These were tangible, solid qualities, which must always secure respect for her. It was true that she no longer seemed to be very popular among people. He questioned whether men, for instance, like Father Forbes and Dr. Ledsmar would care much for her. Visions of the wifeless and academic calm in which these men spent their lives – an existence consecrated to literature and knowledge and familiarity with all the loftiest and noblest thoughts of the past – rose and enveloped him in a cloud of depression. No such lot would be his! He must labor along among ignorant and spiteful narrow-minded people to the end of his days, pocketing their insults and fawning upon the harsh hands of jealous nonentities who happened to be his official masters, just to keep a roof over his head – or rather Alice’s. He must sacrifice everything to this his – his ambitions, his passionate desires to do real good in the world on a large scale, his mental freedom – yes, even his chance for having truly elevating, intellectual friendships. For it was plain enough that the men whose friendship would be of genuine and stimulating profit to him would not like her” (Frederic, 144-45).

<sup>282</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 6. “Though obviously one who sees, an observer is more importantly one who sees within a prescribed set of possibilities, one who is embedded in a system of conventions and limitations.”



and heaven only knew how many others besides, had reasons for suspecting this to be the case" (265). After looking up his transgression in the Discipline, Theron determines that he will confess to his Presiding Elder before being condemned publicly by the Church so that he may withdraw from this "mistaken profession" (265). After resolving once more to give up the cloth, Theron not only turns his back on his faith but also "hardened his heart against [Alice]" (291). He foresees "leav[ing] everything" (266) to be the kept man of Celia with whom he envisions lazily spending his days luxuriously traversing the world's waters. He will leave behind the realities of his professional and marital mistakes and live out his days in free and easy fantasy with "the mistress of this enchanted yacht of his fancy" (306)<sup>283</sup>—when not actively striving for "academic greatness and fame" (276) among his fellow intellectual men or enjoying "lofty, intellectual companionship" (266) with smart and beautiful women like Celia.

What Theron perceives as his illumination, then, is really his damnation. He has become so invested in occupying a disembodied professional knowledge and authority through gazing at otherness that he blinds himself to how visible and embodied he is because of the shift from tradition to modernity. Frederic makes this irony most obvious<sup>284</sup> when Theron, who unknowingly is no longer welcomed into Ledsmar or Forbes's homes, goes to Celia's because "[h]e could no longer bear the uncertainty" (292) about his relations with Celia. He heads to the Maddens under the pretense of visiting Celia's other brother—a half-brother (also named

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<sup>283</sup> On his trip to New York City to spy on Celia and Forbes, Theron spots the massive yacht belonging to a fictional magnate named Barclay Wendover through the train window. Several critics have noted that Frederic often used the yacht in his fiction as a metaphor for the character's desire to escape to freedom and from responsibility. See esp. Sam Bluefarb, *Escape Motif*, 39 and Lionel Lackey, "Redemption and *Damnation*," 83.

<sup>284</sup> Lionel Lackey, "Redemption and *Damnation*," 85. "Theron's hubris is perhaps most glaringly apparent when he fatuously downplays the warning of the dying Michael [...] Theron makes an embarrassed exit and in his mind dismisses the admonitions as the babbling of a 'ridiculous bore' (Frederic, 299)." See also Aaron Urbanczyk, "Catholicism as Exotic Other," 54-55. "Yet the greatest clue to Theron's misinterpretation of Catholicism comes through Celia's dying brother, Michael Madden, [who] tries to show Theron explicitly the precarious position of a religious and ethnic outsider. [...] Michael continues the discussion initiated by Dr. Ledsmar, a serious discussion with Theron about what the Catholic 'other' actually is. But Theron dismisses Michael's warning as the prattling of a dying religious fanatic, but the substance of Michael's warning is unmistakable: a lack of proper respect for the alterity of the other is not only a violence to the other, it will result in violence to the (mis)perceiver."

Michael)—who is an invalid. From his deathbed, in a scene that recalls the one in which Theron was first exposed to Catholicism, the sickly Michael pleads with Theron to set his sight on the good that he can and already should be doing rather than a vision of future greatness<sup>285</sup>:

“That is the greatest pity of all,” [Michael] said, with renewed earnestness. “You are entirely deceived about yourself. You do not realize how you have altered your direction, or where you are going. It was a great misfortune for you, sir, that you did not keep among your own people. That poor half-brother of mine, though the drink was in him when he said that same to you, never spoke a truer word. Keep among your own people, Mr. Ware! When you go among others – you know what I refer to – you have no proper understanding of what their sayings and doings really mean. You do not realize that they are held up by the power of the true Church, as a little child learning to walk is held up with a belt by its nurse. They can say and do things, and no harm at all come to them, which would mean destruction to you, because they have help, and you are walking alone. And so be said by me, Mr. Ware! Go back to where you were brought up in, and leave alone the people whose ways are different from yours. You are a married man, and you are the preacher of a religion, such as it is. There can be nothing better for you than to go and strive to be a good husband, and to set a good example to the people of your church, who look up to you – and mix yourself up no more with outside people and outside notions that only do you mischief. And that is what I wanted to say to you.” (298-99)

The “mystical Michael”<sup>286</sup> embodies Adam’s “warning angel of Paradise Lost.”<sup>287</sup> He induces sympathy from the reader because of his physical condition, which in the sentimental literary tradition made him seem closer to perceiving some greater understanding of real universal truth. And yet, he is expressing the exact same sentiment—though much more gracefully—as his intemperate and ambitious half-brother<sup>288</sup>: stay within your own racial and religious boundaries;

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<sup>285</sup> Theron has just humbly proclaimed, “If my own opinion could be of any value, I should assure you that I feel myself an infinitely better and broader and stronger man than I was when I came here” (Frederic, 298).

<sup>286</sup> Scott Donaldson, “Seduction of Theron Ware,” 452.

<sup>287</sup> Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 136.

<sup>288</sup> Fritz Oehlschlaeger, “Passion, Authority, and Faith,” 252. Unlike Michael the intemperate and hopeful politician, this “Michael is [sexless]; he ‘should have wished to be a priest,’ if he had been sufficiently intelligent, and ‘he displayed no inclination to marry’ (Frederic, 86).” This other Michael has the knowledge and power of a disembodied seer if not the physical or professional desires of his more virile namesake. The fitter Michael will not only survive but also, according to Forbes’s view, thrive in modern America—indeed America will adapt to him rather than him adapting to it—while his weaker brother will neither survive nor reproduce. From his birth, this Michael is so physically frail as to be considered “the

be content with your limited experiences and understanding of diverse things. Both of Celia's brothers are right; both see right through Theron;<sup>289</sup> both *read* him perceptively—just as Celia will do in the novel's climactic scene.

As one contemporary reviewer put it, the reader of *Damnation/Illumination* reads "all the characters through [Theron's] colored glasses."<sup>290</sup> Frederic is clear from the start, however, that Theron is more transparent than meets the eye—and even more so to characters who seem unintelligible to him. Whenever the perspective shifts from that of his hero, Frederic "indicate[s] Theron's loss of esteem in the eyes of another character."<sup>291</sup> But if none of the various points of view presented in chapter I are Theron's, then, in such a reading, he would seem to lack reverence from the very beginning. Indeed, every other character sees degeneration in what Theron misperceives as his progression—and therefore so should the reader of his story.<sup>292</sup>

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product of a wholly different race" (86) from the rest of the Maddens. Celia herself refers to "the dirty Foley blood that's in him!" (247) from his mother's side that causes his degeneration. See Bert Bender, *Descent of Love*, 252.

<sup>289</sup> Throughout Theron's visit with Michael, Frederic emphasizes the eyes and vision of Michael. Like the confessional scenes, which recasts Doctor Ledsmar as the confessor and Theron as the confessant, here "[t]he institution of pastoral calling, particularly that inquisitorial form of it laid down in the Discipline, [which] had never attracted Theron" (Frederic, 108) is similarly inverted. Michael, the dying man to whom the professional Reverend is making an inadvertent house-call, is the one asking the questions and judging the answers of his pastor-inquisitor. "The sick man was looking at him with big, gravely intent eyes [...] and the gaze in the blue eyes had a spectral quality which disturbed [Theron];" throughout the conversation Michael never "once take[s] his sombre and embarrassing gaze from the other's face" (294). "Under the searching inspection bent upon him by the young man's hollow eyes, [Theron wonders to himself:] 'What did Michael suspect? What did he know?'" (296). Michael reveals that he has been watching Theron ever since the latter arrived but with not nefarious intent: "'I saw you on the street when first you came here,' continued Michael. 'I knew the man who was here before you – that is, by sight – and he was not a good man. But your face, when you came, pleased me. I like to look at you'" (296). After Michael says his piece/peace, Theron, decides against trying to argue with his inquisitor because "the sight of Michael's half-closed eyes and worn-out expression decided him against it" (299).

<sup>290</sup> Qtd. in Tom Perrin, "Beauty and the Priest," 46.

<sup>291</sup> Garland Strother, "Shifts in Point of View in *Damnation*," *Frederic Herald* 3, no. 1 (Apr. 1969), 2.

<sup>292</sup> See John Henry Raleigh, "*Damnation of Theron Ware*," 210, 211. "There is a Theron Ware in all of us, [...] [y]et we do not stand outside this process and look down at the hero, always knowing more than he does; we are involved to a degree in Theron's own lack of perception." For more on this reader-response approach to the novel, and particularly how Frederic exploits the lack of a clear hermeneutic authority implicit in the symbiotic act of writing to deceive an audience, see Thomas Becknell, "Implication Through Reading," (which itself takes its cue from an earlier critic's claim that this interpretive gap in the novel is caused by "the problem of authority in nineteenth-century Protestant America" [Fritz Oehlschlaeger, "Passion, Authority, and Faith," 253]).

Thus, *Damnation/Illumination* is in many ways a “story of its hero’s progress to nowhere.”<sup>293</sup>

There are a number of such passages in Theron’s deceptive rise and obvious fall that provide the reader with a “fixed standpoint from which to regard Theron.”<sup>294</sup> And this being read by others—being seen for what he is—in the novel’s denouement is what clinches his damnation. When Theron confronts Forbes and Celia, whom he suspects of having an illicit affair, in New York City, the reader’s viewpoint relies upon Celia’s thorough and final “read[ing]” of Theron:

“Oh, I can read you through and through, Mr. Ware. [...] I speak for the others as well as myself, mind you – we find that you a bore. [...] Your honesty of nature, your sincerity in that absurd religion of yours, your general *naïveté* of mental and spiritual get-up, all pleased us a great deal [but] we had misjudged you.[...] Your whole mind became an unpleasant thing to contemplate. [...] These are [...] the things in you which have been opening our eyes, little by little, to our mistake. I can understand that all the while you thought you really fancied that you were expanding, growing, in all directions. What you took to be improvement was degeneration” (319-23).

Although Frederic grants Theron some degree of “insight”<sup>295</sup> into himself with his forced revelation that he has degenerated into a fool, nevertheless his “significant moment of retaliation”<sup>296</sup> against those three serpents in the modern garden<sup>297</sup> is nothing more than a “sweeping, comprehensive glare of passion”: “This is what you have done to me, then!” (323). But this revenge only comes after several “helpless[] star[es]” (320) and “disconsolate gaze[s]”

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<sup>293</sup> Tom Perrin, “Beauty and the Priest,” 44. “The ending [...] is deeply ironic, revealing the novel as the story of its hero’s progress to nowhere, an anti-Bildungsroman. Neither older nor wiser at the end, Theron [...] ultimately ‘simply does not get anywhere’ (Allen F. Stein, “Evasions of an American Adam,” 36).”

<sup>294</sup> Sydney Krause, “Frederic and the Failure Motif,” 57.

<sup>295</sup> Joyce Carol Oates, introduction, xvi.

<sup>296</sup> Lionel Lackey, “Redemption and *Damnation*,” 81.

<sup>297</sup> Ledsmar is associated with snakes in several ways: keeping snakes, authoring a book on serpent-worship, and telling how his throwing down a pretzel, which resembled a coiled up snake, for his pet monkey to eat as a treat while at university “changed [his] whole life [because he] had intended to be a lawyer” instead of a scientist; Celia refers to herself as “a caution to snakes” when she is feeling particularly moody (Frederic, 221, 100). The phrase was the title of an 1880 lecture delivered by Victorian aesthete John Ruskin in response to an earlier talk on the different genera of snakes presented by biologist T.H. Huxley, who had earned the moniker “Darwin’s Bulldog” for his fiercely loyal defense of his predecessor’s theories. Ruskin offers a biting rebuke of the influence of evolutionary theory upon the masses as a contemporary fall through the conceit of modern knowledge on the snake to the Biblical knowledge of the serpent. See “Mr. Ruskin on Snakes. From the *London Times*, March 18,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1880.

(321) from “vacu[ous]” (326) eyes blurry with tears; only after “[h]is collapse was absolute” (324). Finally, it becomes “plain enough to his eyes” (143) that his envisioned future as an “intellectual man” (183) with this “bright, smart, and attractive” “young woman so brilliant [and] broad in her views” (184, 282) by his side was never anything more than “an illusion” (324).

Theron’s loss of power is revealed through these visual metaphors. Originally, Frederic planned on ending the novel with Theron succumbing to drink and depression, and drowning himself in the Hudson River.<sup>298</sup> However, he chose to conclude it instead with Theron seeking refuge at the Soulsbys’ Manhattan apartment. The Soulsbys nurse him back to health and succor his soul. During his convalescence, Brother Soulsby secures for Theron entry into a brand-new profession as a real-estate agent in Seattle<sup>299</sup> during the dynamic period when land transfer policies in the Pacific Northwest were fast-becoming privatized. Theron’s inability to make a living for himself doing anything else, according to the almost supernatural eyes of Sister Soulsby, is simply a false prophecy. As he turns his eyes toward this new, thoroughly secular profession, even after all that he has seen, Theron remains dazzled by the professionalization myth—he still harbors the unrealistic expectation that professionalization will grant him not only unrivaled knowledge and authority but also the material wealth and status that come with it in modern America. Theron’s delusion manifests in a vision that he will

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<sup>298</sup> Richard van der Beets, “The Ending of *The Damnation of Theron Ware*,” *American Literature* 36, no. 3 (Nov. 1964), 358-59. See also Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 113, 113 n. 5 and Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 177. Briggs points out that, “although Theron contemplates suicide, he soon abandons the idea and [t]he significant fact is that Frederic did *not* end the novel with Theron’s suicide.” Bennett adds, “Finishing with the novel with a soggy death through drink would be merely melodramatic and somewhat conventional. [...] [T]he ending that Frederic eventually opted for [the steady suicide of real estate] is far more grimly ironic than suicide and so brilliantly executed that it makes uneasy reading.”

<sup>299</sup> This sudden career-change represents another minor miracle performed by the Soulsbys on Theron’s behalf, especially considering Sister Soulsby’s response when Theron professes, “I’d rather earn the meanest living, at an honest trade, and be free from [the ministry].” Soulsby retorts, “That may all be. But it isn’t a question of what you’d rather do. It’s what you can do. How could *you* earn a living? What trade or business do you suppose you could take up now, and get a living out of? Not one, my man, not one” (Frederic, 173). Her candid assessment sums up the lack of transferable professional skills possessed by modern Protestant ministers.

eventually become a powerful US Senator revered by an adoring constituency.<sup>300</sup> The objective hypothesis or divine prophecy—depending on whether one accepts either a scientific or a spiritual point of view—that he is “a mistake in the ministry” ultimately comes to fruition. He might achieve power, wealth, and acclaim yet he would always remain blinded by the illusion that he embodies authority despite the fact he has not learned anything—least of all to see his own limitations. Theron may see much, but he learns nothing.<sup>301</sup>

*Damnation/Illumination* closes as it opens, with the fallen Theron once again envisioned as the blameless<sup>302</sup> center of attention at some nondescript public event out West. Frederic describes Theron’s preoccupation with being seen as he looks toward this future:

Only in the eyes themselves, as they rested briefly upon the prospect [of his future], did a substantial change suggest itself. [...] They looked instead straight through the fairest and most moving spectacle in Nature’s processional, and saw afar off, in conjectural vision, a formless sort of place which was Seattle. They surveyed its impalpable outlines, its undefined dimensions, with a certain cool glimmer of hard-and-fast resolve. There rose before his fancy, out of the chaos of these shapeless imaginings, some faces of men, then more behind them, then a great concourse of uplifted countenances, crowded close together as far as they eye could reach. They were attentive faces all – rapt, eager, credulous to a degree. Their eyes were admiringly bent upon a common object of excited interest. They were looking at *him* [...] (343-44)

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<sup>300</sup> A fourth seducer, Sister Candace Soulsby, is a former professional actress and current gospel-singing debt-raiser who comes to Octavius to sell the penny-pinching Methodists on increasing their tithes. Soulsby (whose name is a pun for her work—she is, after all, in the business of buying souls) is affiliated with a distinctively American pragmatism. She teaches Theron “*sabe*,—common sense (Frederic, 142) and is responsible for landing him a position in his new profession. Luther Luedtke, “Frederic’s Satanic Sister,” 88. “It would appear that Sister Soulsby has convinced herself that “*sabe*” [...] should enlighten Theron to the emotional and intellectual parochialism of his marriage, and so she arrogates to herself the freedom to effect a change.”

<sup>301</sup> Bruce Michelson, “Theron in the Wilderness,” 71. “The last chapters of *The Damnation* seem a bitter joke not so much on the recuperating Ware as on us, on expectations conditioned by modes of fiction. Ware’s excesses lead neither to the palace of wisdom nor to doom; they lead to business in Seattle, and he sets out weakened but not undone. Disaster has taught him little; the consequences of stupidity have not crushed him. His closing daydream, of coming back from the Northwest a ‘full-blown Senator,’ implies that his chastening has been in vain; but the irony has more to do with Ware’s past than with his future. His dream of succeeding through ‘talk’ is not preposterous. As a modernized, incoherent man he may now be on his way to public triumphs, readier for them than ever before.”

<sup>302</sup> Patrick Dooley, “Fakes and Good Frauds,” 77. Dooley’s imperative to “[c]ompare the pristine Ware with the jaded Ware on the matter of preaching” could be extended to show his entirely novel outlook on the professions.

With this “final delicious irony,”<sup>303</sup> Frederic puts “the same old Theron”<sup>304</sup> right back where he began—perhaps more aware of his need to be seen but certainly no more perceptive of that need’s accompanying dangers. “Who knows?”—wonders the man who, upon arriving in Octavius, was uncertain whether “he had ever known a Democrat”—“I may turn up in Washington a full-blown Senator before I’m forty!” (344, 48).<sup>305</sup> Theron plans “to refashion himself in the hyper-individualist void”<sup>306</sup> of sparsely populated Washington State before triumphantly returning East to Washington, DC and the White House—“the ultimate American real estate dream.”<sup>307</sup> Theron will remake himself as a man by re-professionalizing himself. In the not-too-distant future he foresees another career change: modern politics—an increasingly business-like profession in which “[t]alk is what tells” (344). Ultimately, then, the myth of professionalization gives him “new hope of success”<sup>308</sup> by “fantasizing about a bullier pulpit, the U.S. Senate.”<sup>309</sup> In Frederic’s cynical view, professionalization is no longer a process through which one gains knowledge and authority; instead, it has devolved into a symbol of wealth and status without regard for intellectual prowess. And yet, Theron’s final recognition does nothing to harm his earlier “grandiose vision of himself.”<sup>310</sup> His only alternative to his repeated misperceptions and misunderstandings is to blink away his “awful vision [...] that darkened the

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<sup>303</sup> Joyce Carol Oates, introduction, *xvii*.

<sup>304</sup> Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 110.

<sup>305</sup> Samuel Chase Coale, *In Hawthorne’s Shadow*, 51. “We first saw him with ‘features moulded [*sic*] into that regularity of strength which used to characterize the American Senatorial type,’ and we leave him proclaiming, ‘Who knows? I may turn up in Washington a full-blown senator.’” The reader’s unfamiliar vision of Theron when they first see him is only altered slightly—despite all they have learned from reading his story—as they hold out hope for him to finally succeed.

<sup>306</sup> Carrie Tirado Bramen, “Americanization of Theron Ware,” 82.

<sup>307</sup> Bridget Bennett, *Damnation of Harold Frederic*, 181.

<sup>308</sup> William Jolliff, “The Damnation of Bryan Dalrymple—and Theron Ware: F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Debt to Harold Frederic,” *Studies in Short Fiction* 35 (1998), 89.

<sup>309</sup> Lisa MacFarlane, “Desire and *Damnation*,” 71. See also Stephanie Foote, *Regional Fictions*, 72. “As a politician, Theron would be in exactly the same position [...] representing a whole class of people who have no official voice [b]ut would finally be controlling the way that other people saw him by agreeing to become what they wished him to be.”

<sup>310</sup> Brian Wilkie, “Morality and Its Alternatives,” 76.

newly-opened eyes of Milton's Adam"<sup>311</sup> and "return to his illusions about himself"<sup>312</sup>—and the myth of America. As a modern-day Adam at the dawn of a new age, Theron is completely in the dark yet still guided by the light of an endlessly repeating promise of redemption.

Professionalization will grant him unlimited opportunities to remake himself; it is a tragicomic *deus ex machina* that will always save the white professional man, whose making it represents a modern miracle.

Is the professional epistemology personified by the doctor-scientist not more fit for seeing into a modern world—disordered and in crisis as it is—than that personified by the traditional minister? Is Rev. Theron Ware not a sick, insane, damned, and "nasty little boy" (322), who is figuratively imprisoned by his inability to see the world and his place in it in a true light? Or, as the coldhearted scientist has classified him, is he merely a snake without "the wisdom of the serpent" (140)? Is Dr. Ledsmar not a Wicked Wizard overlooking every living thing in Octavius from his ivory tower as if it were encased within one of the bell jars in his lab? Frederic does not provide answers—indeed, the final message on any absolute knowledge in the novel might just be that, as Forbes says in his farewell rebuke to Theron: "The truth is always relative, Mr. Ware" (326). Nonetheless, in charting the American minister's downfall at this point in history, Frederic's vision places his fiction somewhere along the generic continuum between the transcendentalist vision of the past, the naturalist and regionalist vision of the present, and the modernist vision for the future.<sup>313</sup> This uncategorizability—between contemporary social and psychological realism imbued simultaneously with elements of romanticism and others that anticipate modernism while containing clearly anti-romantic and anti-modern themes<sup>314</sup>—reflects the shifting viewpoints of and toward American culture. Most

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<sup>311</sup> Austin Briggs, Jr., *Novels of Harold Frederic*, 129.

<sup>312</sup> Elmer Suderman, "Damnation as Criticism," 74.

<sup>313</sup> Tom Perrin, "Beauty and the Priest," 45. "The plot of *Theron Ware* thus concludes bleakly, stranded nostalgically between an impossible past and a barren future."

<sup>314</sup> Allen F. Stein, "Evasions of an American Adam," 26; T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books,



importantly, it reveals that power-knowledge is never a universal constant. Frederic's ambivalent depiction of the doctor-scientist embodies epistemological uncertainty as the emerging vision for the coming century. As one critic wrote in 1960:

With this description of Ledsmar, we have come to a turning point in the treatment of men of science by major literary sensibilities in America. We have broken with the dedication of Howells and Twain to the scientist, and are back with Hawthorne and his denunciation of the unpardonable sin of the cold intellect. [...] The realistic movement, involved as it was with the twin idols of science and democracy, had quickly rescued the man of science, and had helped to elevate him to the status of a culture hero. [But with Ledsmar] we are back in a climate of doubt about the advances of man through empirical reason, and looking forward to an amplification of those doubts in much of the fiction of the next century.<sup>315</sup>

Frederic's revised Wicked Wizard is undoubtedly reprehensible. However, this figure unyokes professionalization from raising one to a traditional authoritative position inhabiting and aligned with a "disembodied, objective, and universalized standpoint."<sup>316</sup> For Theron, a white professional, being seen as embodying a feminized anti-modern otherness forces him to recognize himself as an object. He cannot remain ungendered, unracialized, and apolitical; much like the various types of "Southern product[s]" represented in the following chapter, he must internalize the generally accepted view of his culture and live his life accordingly.

As *Damnation/Illumination* shows, professionalization was a modernizing and masculinizing process that relied upon traditional associations among knowledge, authority, and the gaze. The disembodying effects it produces on those who are authorized to see are a direct

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1981), xiii-xiv; Robert M. Myers, "Antimodern Protest in *The Damnation of Theron Ware*," *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 26, no. 3 (Spring 1994), 52, 54-56. In contrast, see Carrie Tirado Bramen, "Americanization of Theron Ware," 66. Bramen combines Myers's two approaches to Frederic—as a "reluctant expatriate" (Myers, *Reluctant Expatriate: The Life of Harold Frederic* [Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1995]) and an antimodern protestor—into the blended term "reluctant modernist." On Frederic's liminal position between "thematic antimodernism" and "formal protomodernism" in literature, see Mark Sussman, "Cynicism and *Damnation*," 419. Sussman deems Frederic—whose *Damnation* is referenced by both Lewis and Fitzgerald, subjects of chapters 3 and 4, respectively—as "maybe not modernist but definitely modernish" (Sussman, 403). For more on the relationship between these three authors, see William Jolliff, "Damnation of Bryan Dalrymple."

<sup>315</sup> Everett Carter, introduction, xx-xxi.

<sup>316</sup> Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*, 10.

consequence of the embodying effects it has upon those subjects (who become knowable and ownable objects or ideas) caught within their gaze. The confrontation between the Wicked Wizard and the feminized minister illuminates how the modern doctor-scientist consolidated gendered and professionalized knowledge and power through his disembodied gaze and how the minister was relegated to an outmoded profession that catered to instead of progressing civilization. Ledsmar's authority reinforces traditional notions about rational masculinity in a modernized form even though Frederic is careful not to romanticize either his modern perspective or inhumane practice. Regardless of how one views Ledsmar, however, it cannot be denied that his sway over Theron, incorporeal as it may seem, is very real.

The following chapter addresses the effect that professionalization's mythic potential had upon those who were traditionally perceived as inhabiting uncivilized, superstitious, and hypersexual bodies. Specifically, could professionalization prove transcendent for doctor-scientists who were not white and therefore not regarded as men? The re-corporealization of a Black American doctor-scientist through a high visibility not dissimilar to that of the late-nineteenth-century minister projects one possible outcome when a process requires the complete eradication of the body. Dr. William Miller is the visual mouthpiece of Blackness' subjectification to the traditional gaze of white supremacist panopticism. Although he defies conventional stereotypes about non-whiteness, nevertheless he proves Forbes's point that one intelligent man cannot outshine the view of the unenlightened masses, specifically when the wild card of race is introduced—when the *colored* man is grounded against an all-white background.

## Chapter 2 – “Constantly Under Our Interested Observation”: Black Professionalization in the Logic of the White Supremacist Gaze in Charles W. Chesnutt’s *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901)

*Tradition made the white people masters, rulers, who absorbed all the power, the wealth, the honors of the community, and jealously guarded this monopoly [...]. Tradition, on the other hand, made the Negro a slave, an underling, existing in favor and not by right, his place the lowest in the social scale, to which [...] he was hopelessly confined.*

—Charles W. Chesnutt, “His Own View of His New Story”<sup>317</sup>

*this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others...*

—W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*<sup>318</sup>

This chapter incorporates the wild card of race into the dynamic of professional visibility and embodiment. At the turn of the twentieth century the emergence of Black professionals problematized the traditional association between the power-knowledge of the gaze and its disembodied white masculine vantage point. Indeed, the professional masculinity of Black doctor-scientists presented an impossible paradox under Jim Crow.<sup>319</sup> For those who held progressive views, professionalization was a process through which Black men, historically disadvantaged because of their perceived corporeality, might transcend their racialization by achieving an ideal of disembodied power-knowledge; for those who held traditionalist views—which *(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* claims are inherently androcentric and racist—it was a transgression against the status quo and thus warranted corporal punishment.

*The Marrow of Tradition* (1901) consists of a “public execution and a time-table.”<sup>320</sup>

Neither the lynching nor the operation, however, is represented in the novel. Instead, Chesnutt withholds the visual representations of a Black man’s extrajudicial violence and a Black doctor’s

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<sup>317</sup> Charles W. Chesnutt, “Charles W. Chesnutt’s Own View of His New Story, *The Marrow of Tradition*,” qtd. in *Marrow*, edited Sollors, xxxix.

<sup>318</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, 1999), 6.

<sup>319</sup> Marlon Ross, *Manning the Race: Reforming Black Men in the Jim Crow Era* (New York: New York UP, 2004), 1.

<sup>320</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 7. This chapter reads Dr. Miller and his professionalization through two dramatic lines: the closing line, “There’s time enough, but none to spare,” and the chapter entitled “How Not to Prevent a Lynching.” Foucault’s critique of the spectacle executions, like Chesnutt’s, is premised on the contradiction of discipline as both professional knowledge and/or practice as well as a technology of punishment.

emergency surgery on a white child. These deferrals of interracial contact only delay the narrative desire for a resolution to the palpable tension between white and Black, mind and body, seeing and being seen, and tradition and modernity.

Dr. William Miller, an exceptionally skilled doctor and surgeon, and the novel's main antagonist, Major Philip Carteret, are each blinded by their respective visions—the former, a Black man, by the promise of modern professionalization that dissociates Blackness from savagery, inferiority, and corporeality<sup>321</sup> and the latter, a white man, by a racist tradition in which whiteness represents civilization, reason, and universal (male) subjecthood. Across the novel's overlapping plots<sup>322</sup> of professionalization and racial violence, Chesnutt employs visual metaphors to show the seemingly unresolvable perspectives<sup>323</sup> of these two (dis-)embodied points of view. By setting Miller's professional narrative<sup>324</sup> against not only the backdrop of the Wilmington Racial Massacre of 1898<sup>325</sup> but also the fictional near-lynching of Sandy Campbell, Chesnutt exposes the binary of Black embodiment-white disembodiment as a fiction located not

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<sup>321</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, Blackness is constructed through its visible difference from invisible whiteness. In short, Black men in nineteenth-century America were seen and defined by their bodies. Blackness signified intellectual and moral inferiority because of its perceived corporeal excess. To see Blackness is to participate in a racialized visual epistemology and to take part in a dynamic of racist power; to be seen as Black was to be defined in terms of the body rather than the mind. Thus, racialization according to the logic of the white supremacist gaze was a process that subjected Black men to a whiteness that sees, knows, and wields power over Blackness.

<sup>322</sup> Gregory Rutledge, "All Green with Epic Potential: Chesnutt Goes to the Marrow of Tradition to Re-Construct America's Epic Body," in *Charles Chesnutt Reappraised: Essays on the First Major African American Fiction Writer*, edited by David Garrett Izzo and Maria Orban (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 141.

<sup>323</sup> Peter Zogas, "Realist Historiography and the Legacies of Reconstruction in Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*," *American Literary Realism*, 48, no. 2, 2016, 157-58.

<sup>324</sup> Susan Danielson, "Charles Chesnutt's Dilemma: Professional Ethics, Social Justice, and Domestic Feminism in *The Marrow of Tradition*," *Southern Literary Journal*, 41, no. 1, 2008, 74.

<sup>325</sup> The events of November 10, 1898, have "variously been labeled [a] 'revolution,' 'coup d'état,' 'riot,' 'uprising,' 'racial massacre,' 'tragedy,' depending on the political, ethnic, or sociological preferences and affiliations of authors." Walter Hölbling and Justine Tally, "The 1898 Wilmington Massacre in History and Literature: An Essay on the Discourse of Power," *Black Liberation in the Americas*, edited by Fritz Gysin and Christopher Mulvey (Lit, 2001), 71-93. Chesnutt himself called it a "coup" in his personal correspondence and nonfiction, the Black community of Wilmington called it a "massacre," and in *Marrow* it is known as the Wellington "riot." I have chosen the terms "racial massacre" and "white riot" because they more accurately describe the brutal power dynamics between white rioters and Black victims. Sheila Smith McKoy, *When Whites Riot: Writing Race and Violence in American and South African Cultures* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). See esp. chap. 2, "Reading the Riot Act: The Teleology of Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*."

hidden within the marrow of one's bones, but rather within the ways in which individuals see and think about the world.

In *Marrow*, as one critic says, “the ‘Traditions’ of Southern racism cannot be seen visibly, but only in their effects.”<sup>326</sup> Traditionally, white supremacy in the US South was spectacularly visible. Black bodies were enslaved, brutalized, raped, and killed for the profit and pleasure of white persons. Even under the most lenient conditions they were not to be seen enjoying the same freedoms as white people, let alone privileges. With zero rights or property to their name under the law, including authority over their own bodies, Black men existed either as unseen chattel or as visible victims of white power.<sup>327</sup> While *Marrow* takes places more than three decades after slavery was abolished, the present-day effects of this historical system of violent oppression were anything but hidden.

The novel shows that the white response to modern Black professionalization was similar to its response toward Black criminality. For Black men to transgress their subordinate place in society was perceived as an offense not against the white body but rather against the logic of the white supremacist gaze. Modern Black men in the US South, when tolerated at all, were extremely susceptible to expulsion and erasure from society if they crossed the professional color line. One of these prohibited acts was practicing medicine upon white patients—unless they were either poor or otherwise in disrepute.<sup>328</sup> Chesnutt outlines the ways in which such violent modern responses as lynchings and racial massacres are rooted in the fatal vision, flawed ideology, and fragile embodiment of white supremacy. Thus, *Marrow*

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<sup>326</sup> Willie J. Harrell, Jr., “‘The fruit of my own imagination’: Charles W. Chesnutt’s *The Marrow of Tradition* in the Age of Realism,” in *Chesnutt Reappraised*, edited by Izzo and Orban, 29.

<sup>327</sup> Although there were Black professionals—including doctors—in America prior to emancipation, nevertheless these individuals were the exceptions to the rule and were not permitted to practice in the South except on slaves.

<sup>328</sup> Many Black physicians had profitable businesses by discreetly treating white patients with sexually transmitted infections or unwanted pregnancies. See Thomas J. Ward, Jr., *Black Physicians in Jim Crow South*, 150-52.

“trac[ed] what is suggested but unseen”<sup>329</sup> and thus “makes visible [that which] purportedly does not exist”<sup>330</sup>: the white body under a disembodied Black professional gaze.

Whereas Carteret “embodi[es]” (141) the vision, logic, and authority of white supremacist tradition, Miller personifies the modern medical gaze’s reason and power as *well* as Blackness’s traditional visibility and embodiment. Miller epitomizes the development of Black masculinity from servitude to professionalism,<sup>331</sup> a progression which threatened white supremacy by granting Black men independence from their traditional embodiment. Chesnutt disembodies Blackness by professionalizing it—consolidating the gaze, knowledge, and power within the physical presence of the Black doctor. At the same time, Chesnutt racializes whiteness by corporealizing it. He critiques whiteness as the disembodied holder of the gaze’s power-knowledge by rendering the white body not only visible but also vulnerable. By strategically inverting the visual power dynamics across the professional color line,<sup>332</sup> he highlights the tradition of “racial *invisibility*”<sup>333</sup> through which whiteness integrated the gaze, logic, and authority into a tradition of seeing without being seen. In making whiteness flesh and blood it is in danger of becoming blind, illogical, and out of control.

As Wellington’s newspaper editor, the Major is the head and voice—the “leading organ” (3)—that commands the city’s white body politic. Despite “representing no organized body [or] legal authority” (109), Carteret employs his white press to bring the city to a “white heat” (131) to

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<sup>329</sup> Ryan Simmons, *Chesnutt and Realism: Study of the Novels* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 22.

<sup>330</sup> Gerald Ianovici, “‘A Living Death’: Gothic Signification and the Nadir in *The Marrow of Tradition*,” *MELUS* 27, no. 4 (Winter 2002), 36.

<sup>331</sup> “Black manhood is a key element of Chesnutt’s fiction. [*Marrow*] takes up the transition from the generation of ‘faithful’ servants to the independent New Negro in a nearly bewildering array of examples that place the trope of manhood very much at the novel’s center [...]” Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (Boston: Belknap Press, 1993), 357. Moreover, through his representation of this transition, Chesnutt reveals the tension between new and old version of Black masculinity through Dr. Miller’s novel juxtaposition to these “faithful retainers.” Riché Richardson, *Black Masculinity and the U.S. South: From Uncle Tom to Gangsta* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 26.

<sup>332</sup> Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, 406.

<sup>333</sup> Gene Gorman, “‘Awakening a Dormant Appetite’: Captain McBane, Convict Labor, and Charles Chesnutt’s *The Marrow of Tradition*,” *Southern Literary Journal* 44, no. 2 (Spring 2012), 3.

promote the lynching of Sandy, the Black servant who is framed for the robbery, murder, and alleged sexual assault of a wealthy white widow named Polly Ochiltree. (Specifically, he reprints a local Black newspaperman's "incendiary article,"<sup>334</sup> which had debunked the myth of the Black rapist.) When evidence come to light that the real perpetrator was Tom Delamere, the degenerate grandson of the city's leading aristocrat—who also happens to be Sandy's employer and former owner as well as the victim's nephew—Carteret commands the lynch mob that he had called into existence to disperse. Realizing that "the eyes of the world" would see the lynching of an innocent man—regardless of his color—as an act of savagery, he again manipulates the collective white "point of view" (136, 138), this time channeling its dormant "white outrage"<sup>335</sup> into a political plot to whitewash the city. But when his white revolution devolves into "white rampage,"<sup>336</sup> he loses command over the "visibly ugly manifestation"<sup>337</sup> of white hate that he has molded and charged with his racist views, rhetoric, and unofficial authority. He tries to stop the reconvened mob, which has already unintentionally murdered Miller's son, from destroying Miller's hospital. However, his repeated entreaties of "Gentlemen!" go unheeded by the rioters. Whiteness is transformed from the invisible representation of civilized reason and restraint into the visible manifestation of riot, anger, and rage.<sup>338</sup> The sight of this transformation overwhelms Carteret, who "turn[s] away" from the massacre, proclaiming "I am not responsible for these subsequent horrors,—I wash my hands of them. Let us go!" (183).

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<sup>334</sup> Gerald Ianovici, "Living Death," 52.

<sup>335</sup> David Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and the Rise of White Supremacy* (New York: Grove Atlantic, 2020), 90.

<sup>336</sup> Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, 437.

<sup>337</sup> Joyce Pettis, "The Literary Imagination and the Historic Event: Chesnut's Use of History in *The Marrow of Tradition*," qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 462.

<sup>338</sup> Sheila Smith McKoy, *When Whites Riot*, 33-70; Gordon Fraser, "Circulation and Resistance: *The Marrow of Tradition* and the 1900 New Orleans Race Riot," *Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists* 1, no. 2 (Fall 2013), 368; and David Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie*, 87, 98, 189, 248, 266.

Carteret's son, Dodie, also embodies whiteness. He is the New South incarnate, heir to his father's vision of white supremacist tradition.<sup>339</sup> However, he is marked by his physical vulnerability. Chesnutt circumscribes the novel by endangering his health—beginning with his difficult delivery and ending with his delicate operation.<sup>340</sup> Dodie's indeterminate well-being implies the irreversible decline of the Carteret family<sup>341</sup> as well as the racist tradition for which they stand. Fittingly, his choking spells occur whenever Carteret expresses his racist ideological vision<sup>342</sup>—white supremacist tradition figuratively strangles Dodie. The most visible sign of Dodie's weakness is the mole on his neck—only seen by Aunt Jane, the Carterets servant and a stereotypical Mammy-figure. She considers that such a birthmark as this on a nonwhite baby would portend its “judicial strangulation” (11). The allusion foreshadows Chesnutt's later use of lynching as a plot device as well as a metaphor. If Carteret represents whiteness' disembodied head—its vision, ideology, and authority—then Dodie's anatomization as its neck tenuously connects Carteret to the white body, and moreover reveals whiteness' fragility in this most vulnerable part of the human anatomy. Thus, whiteness in *Marrow* is embodied not only through Carteret's gaze, knowledge, and power, but also through its literal embodiment as either an abject, hysterical, and violent white mob or a silenced body susceptible to disease and even death. Disembodied whiteness is revealed to be an illusion—its visible invisibility seen from both its own point of view and by a modern Black gaze.

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<sup>339</sup> Dodie “embodies Southern tradition.” Jae Roe, “Keeping an ‘Old Wound’ Alive: *The Marrow of Tradition* and the Legacy of Wilmington,” *African American Review* 33, no. 2 (Summer 1999), 232. He represents Carteret's “familial and political aspirations.” Ryan Jay Friedman, “‘Between Absorption & Extinction’: Charles Chesnutt and Biopolitical Racism,” qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 422.

<sup>340</sup> Black gazes determine Dodie's fate: Olivia enters premature labor after receiving a “nervous shock” (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 6) from seeing Janet and her son. Janet's “brazen glance” from the street below forces Olivia to turn away from Dodie, who nearly falls out a window (67). And, in the final scene, only Dr. Miller's clinical gaze can save him.

<sup>341</sup> Werner Sollors, introduction to *The Marrow of Tradition*, by Charles W. Chesnutt, edited by Sollors, xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>342</sup> Trinyan Mariano, “The Law of Torts and the Logic of Lynching in Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*,” *PMLA*, 128, no. 3 (May 2013), 570.



Chesnutt also shows, however, that professionalization is an illusion for Black men in the US South. Because Black professionalism was seen as breaking from the racist tradition of Wilmington/Wellington, it elicits a violent white response.<sup>343</sup> If the empowering effects of modern professional disembodiment were to transcend whiteness' traditional ways of seeing and thinking about Blackness, then this epistemological violence inflicted upon the logic and power of white supremacy is regarded as transgressive in the eyes of white men. Thus, the transgressors would be subject to corporal violence. Although the novel exposes white supremacist vision and ideology to be nothing more than racial fictions, nevertheless the tradition of racialized violence against Black men remained a brutal reality.<sup>344</sup> In the novel's climax, Miller suffers a symbolic lynching as a result of the political coup co-orchestrated by Carteret during which his hospital is destroyed and his son is murdered. Until the penultimate chapter—the only time at which the two men see each other eye-to-eye, Carteret has viewed Miller as a threat to his familial, social, and political authority.<sup>345</sup> But when his son's life is in danger and Miller is the only physician in the city who can save him, Carteret is confronted with the power of Blackness in its modern form. He must face the unforeseen circumstances that his conspiratorial campaign has authorized upon Miller, both personally and professionally. Witnessing with his own eyes the aftermath of the destruction for which he is responsible—the

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<sup>343</sup> Bryan Wagner, "Charles Chesnutt and the Epistemology of Racial Violence," *American Literature*, 73, no. 2 (June 2001), 312.

<sup>344</sup> In a 1903 essay Chesnutt writes that "day after day the catalogue of lynchings and anti-Negro riots upon every imaginable pretext, grows longer and more appalling." Charles W. Chesnutt, "The Disenfranchisement of the Negro," qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 235; originally published in *The Negro Problem* (1903).

<sup>345</sup> The two men's families mirror one another: Janet, Dr. Miller's wife, is the unacknowledged half-Black, half-sister of Olivia Carteret, née Merrell. However, the Millers are on the rise, representing modernity as members of a burgeoning Black professional middle class, while the Carterets represent a declining tradition. Gretchen Long, "Conjuring a Cure: Folk Healing and Modern Medicine in Charles Chesnutt's Fiction," *Southern Quarterly*, 53, nos. 3/4, 2016, 110. Dr. Miller's rich stevedore father, Adam, had purchased the Carteret ancestral manse, where the Millers now reside, from the latter's father after he was impoverished by the Civil War. With the fortuitous birth of Dodie, Carteret "look[s] toward the rising sun [...] to predict for this wonderful child a bright and glorious future." Meanwhile, the Miller boy, "a fine-lookin' little yaller boy (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 10) is never named in the novel, suggesting that he serves as a synecdoche for the expndability of all Black lives—past, present, and future.

ashes of Miller's life's work and the corpse of his dead son—Carteret “saw clearly and convincingly” that his otherwise “logical mind” had been “blinded by his prejudices” (190). He recognizes that Miller wields a modern power over the body based on medical knowledge rather than racialized violence.<sup>346</sup> Dodie's throat must be sliced into in order to save him, an inconceivable touch across the color line that might heal rather than hurt. Whiteness, previously invisible and disembodied and thus invulnerable, becomes subjected to a Black medical gaze that is modern, intelligent, and dominant; its sick body and cancerous traditions must be dissected by the skilled hands of a modern Black surgeon.<sup>347</sup>

To reverse the association of an invisible whiteness with the disembodied ideals of reason and authority and of a visible Blackness with vulnerability and violence, Chesnutt positions the color line as a mirror through which white and Black characters see themselves as well as how they see—and are seen by—one another. Although Carteret only sees himself reflected in Miller in the final pages, nevertheless the two men mirror one another from the very beginning. Miller's alternating appearances and disappearances throughout the text coincide with the effects of the latter's white supremacist vision. While Carteret successfully keeps Miller out of sight, the latter remains the central focus within Carteret's thoughts as well as in the narrative. After white supremacist tradition prevents his professionalization plot from progressing, Miller is implicated in Carteret's two plots of racial violence: the withheld lynching of Sandy and the Wellington revolution/riot. The lynching chapters and riot chapters also mirror one another.<sup>348</sup> Whereas whiteness is rendered visible in instances in which it is perceived as either threatening or being threatened by Blackness, Blackness's visibility and vulnerability to

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<sup>346</sup> Stephanie Browner, *Profound Science and Elegant Literature: Imagining Doctors in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 211.

<sup>347</sup> Peter Zogas, “Realist Historiography,” 162.

<sup>348</sup> Andrew Hebard, “Romance and Riot: Charles Chesnutt, the Romantic South, and the Conventions of Extralegal Violence,” *African American Review* 44, no. 3 (Fall 2011), 479.

whiteness takes place during episodes of Black subjection. “Racial visibility” in *Marrow* occurs during

those instances in which racist attitudes and practices become overt and spectacular—framing the visual, outward signs of racial difference, defining racial identity according to physical appearance, and then ultimately causing historical and cultural events that result in a degrading spectacle to the point of drawing crowds and stirring mobs.<sup>349</sup>

Undoubtedly, one of the modern effects of the history of corporal power wielded against Black men was the practice of lynching, which combined white power and vision, perceived Black transgression, and racialized violence. Lynching was a “spectacle of violent excess”<sup>350</sup> in which Black men were captured, tortured, castrated, immolated, and murdered at the hands of a white mob; in the visual logic of the novel, spectacle lynching was the consequence of a violent tradition of white supremacy. Its most important quality was its public display of the tortured Black body, which served as a synecdoche for an entire history of corporeal Blackness, designed to express the rationale behind white supremacy through the power of the spectatorial gaze. The mythologization of a traditional Black servant into a Black burglar and rapist evokes a whiteness made flesh through the formation of a monstrous white body that “thirst[s] for black blood” (109). Whiteness is rendered more than embodied and visible; it becomes a threat to Blackness. Meanwhile, Blackness, heretofore seen itself as a threat to whiteness, hides itself from white eyes—and white hands.

However, white supremacist traditions were not only seen in the violent forms of lynching and riots; they could also be seen in less spectacular practices that kept Black professionals out of sight.<sup>351</sup> These less conspicuous “theaters of repression” were ubiquitous in the public spaces of Jim Crow. Such uneventful incidents were more subdued than the more spectacular forms of

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<sup>349</sup> Gene Gorman, “Awakening a Dormant Appetite,” 3.

<sup>350</sup> Todd McGowan, “Acting without the Father: Charles Chesnutt’s New Aristocrat,” *American Literary Realism* 30, no. 1 (Fall 1997), 63.

<sup>351</sup> “[W]hite supremacist practices highlight the African American servant class while keeping the African American middle class out of view.” Bryan Wagner, “Epistemology of Racial Violence,” 320.

lynching and riot but effected the same outcomes: the disappearance of non-traditional Black masculinity from the modern white field of vision, which is the ultimate vision of Carteret's white supremacist plot.

Miller's visual and corporal presence challenges this vision. From his initial appearance in the text, Miller is the object of various white perspectives. He is first seen aboard a train by an "American eye" that racializes whomever it sees (33). The "incisive glance" of Dr. Alvin Burns, a world renowned otolaryngologist and Miller's former mentor; the "interrogative[]" glance of the conductor; the "scornful" glance of Captain McBane, a former convict lessee and Klansman; and even the implied white reader all see through this racializing gaze (33-36). Taken together, their respective perspectives constitute a disembodied standpoint of consolidated whiteness that spans any social or political differences in its spectators. The gazes of white men to which Miller is the object in this chapter foreshadows his subjugation to a racializing gaze throughout the rest of the novel. Blackness's visibility and vulnerability to white gazes is shown through the spectrum in which he is seen.

Dr. Miller is actuated in the text by Dr. Burns, a "gentleman" who is unafraid "to be noticed noticing" him. Miller approaches "upon perceiving the other's glance" (32). Burns has been summoned to perform an operation on Dodie. His initial surprise at being confronted by the object of his gaze turns to familiar recognition, the power of which is diminished, however, by his uncertainty about how to address his once-favored pupil. He first calls him by his surname—"Miller" (33), then by his full name, "William Miller" (33), then appends the title to his last name, "Dr. Miller, of course" (33), before eventually settling on just his surname again (34). This sequence confirms the respect with which Burns views Miller, an esteem supported by the fact that he invites him to assist in the surgery. However, upon closer inspection his confusion about what to call Miller alludes not only to the rarity of Black doctors at this time, but also

highlights the lack of masculinity afforded to Black men.<sup>352</sup> “[D]elighted to see [Miller] looking so well” (33), Burns asks him about his personal and professional histories. At the prestigious Northern medical school where they had met, Burns had been originally attracted to Miller’s “excellent manners and fine physique” as well as “his earnestness of purpose [and] evident talent” (34). Burns’s regard for Miller led to him recommending Miller for scholarships at the leading surgical schools in Vienna and Paris. In Burns’s estimation, Miller represents an ideal of the modern Black medical professional through a physical appearance that indexes gentility, knowledge, and skill. A catalog of these “pleasingly moulded features”—his “erect form, broad shoulders, clear eyes, and fine teeth”—indicates no sign of either the physical, moral, or intellectual “degeneration”<sup>353</sup> thought to result from the “‘visible admixture’ of African blood” (33). Although both men “appeared [to be] members of the same profession” (33), Burns is “easily classifiable as the typical white doctor.”<sup>354</sup> He “represent[s] a fine type [...] of our composite white population” (33) and, unlike Miller, is described explicitly in terms of his professional, rather than his physical, appearance.

Until this point, Miller’s Blackness is a personal matter;<sup>355</sup> once the train passes south of Richmond, however, it becomes a public issue. Miller, who was in the North to purchase medical equipment for the hospital he has founded, forfeits the temporarily accrued rights to privacy granted to him above the Mason-Dixon Line. The conductor, having initially mistaken Miller for the white gentleman’s servant, is corrected by McBane, who has identified Miller with

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<sup>352</sup> Elsewhere, Chesnutt writes, “in the South the terms ‘gentlemen’ and ‘lady’ are reserved [...] exclusively for white people.” He goes on to write that Black professionals may be referred to by their honorific titles but seldom if ever in conjunction with a gendered pronoun: “He is cheerfully dubbed [...] ‘Dr.’ or ‘Rev.’ [...] but the little prefix ‘Mr.’ is reserved exclusively for gentlemen—i.e., white men.” Black professionalism might be acknowledged but not without the caveat that masculinity belonged to whiteness. Charles W. Chesnutt, “The White and the Black,” qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 231; originally published in *Boston Evening Transcript* (1901).

<sup>353</sup> Chesnutt’s emphasis on Dr. Burns’s gaze and Dr. Miller’s physical traits evokes the image of a white slaveowner appraising a Black body on the auctioneer’s block.

<sup>354</sup> Jennifer Nicole Carrier Armstrong, “Radical Representations, Eruptive Moments: The Documentary Aesthetic in American Literature, 1890-Present,” PhD diss. (University of Colorado, 2010), 76.

<sup>355</sup> Gene Gorman, “Awakening a Dormant Appetite,” 10.

his “single gray eye” (36). Miller watches the conductor’s movements and braces himself for the unavoidable encounter. The conductor returns to question Burns if this Black man is his companion: “Don’t you see that he is?” Burns replies. “The gentleman is not my servant, nor anybody’s servant, but my friend” (36). The interrogator, beholden to the Separate Car Act, insists that Miller must exit the “White” car.

Despite Miller’s professional appearance, his visible Blackness subjects him to the modern traditions of the US South—in this case the recent codification of white and Black public spaces. “White people,” Miller reflects to himself after his segregation, “do not object to the negro as a servant. As the traditional negro—the servant—he is welcomed; as an equal, he is repudiated” (40). As a surgeon and gentleman, Miller is not possible from the South’s dominant viewpoint. His appearance of genteel professionalism<sup>356</sup> notwithstanding, he is immediately defined by his visible Blackness upon reentering the white South and thus must not be seen except within his—and its—traditional context.<sup>357</sup>

Chesnutt complicates Miller’s racial identification at the next stop when he is joined by a group of Black laborers, whose physical proximity discomforts him. While he sees an image of himself reflected along the color line in them, he cannot see himself mirrored across class lines. It is as though the visual fact of his Blackness trumps the professional fact that he is a doctor.<sup>358</sup> In his mind, professionalization and its visible class differences would be a “more logical” method of classifying individuals than the “brutal drawing” of racialization (41). The light-skinned Miller exhibits a “colorism”<sup>359</sup> toward the darker-skinned passengers, a class-based prejudice

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<sup>356</sup> Dr. Miller’s recognition as a “gentleman” illustrates his acceptance by white men from the medical professional establishment in the Northern US, Europe, and, though limited, the Southern US. Dean McWilliams, *Charles W. Chesnutt and the Fictions of Race* (University of Georgia Press, 2002), 152.

<sup>357</sup> Bryan Wagner, “Epistemology of Racial Violence,” 320.

<sup>358</sup> Walter Benn Michaels, *The Trouble with Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Equality* (Metropolitan, 2006), 62.

<sup>359</sup> Earle V. Bryant, “Blue Veins and Black Bigotry: Colorism as Moral Evil in Charles Chesnutt’s ‘A Matter of Principle,’” *American Literary Realism*, 34, no. 1 (Fall 2001), 73-80. Elsewhere, Bryant describes another of Chesnutt’s short stories as providing an “incisive critique of color consciousness and intraracial racism.” See “Charles W. Chesnutt’s Prodigal Son: Scriptural Allusion and Ethnic Treason in ‘Uncle Wellington’s Wives,’” *American Literary Realism*, 46, no. 1 (Fall 2013), 47-57.

that complicates the monolithic notion of *Colored* in white supremacist sight, thought, and space. Miller takes particular note of one “huge negro” (39) whom he later identifies as Josh Green while treating him for a broken arm. Green has long been an employee of Miller’s family’s naval stores business and represents an “incarnation of lower-class physicality.”<sup>360</sup> He is opposed not only socially and physically<sup>361</sup> to Miller’s “middle-class gentility”<sup>362</sup> but also ideologically and psychologically<sup>363</sup> as signifying the repression of Blackness’s history of traumatic victimization.<sup>364</sup> Miller follows the homicidal glance that Green, who “seeing himself unobserved” (42), directs toward McBane, the very Klansman who had murdered his father when Green was just a child. Miller looks back toward Green but not before the imposing figure has already disappeared. Significantly, Green is seen only by Miller; his unexplained presence, murderous gaze, and visible Blackness all awaken something in the reserved Miller. Green is the manifestation of the tradition of white terrorism and violence committed against the bodies of Black men and women. Miller, though, closes his eyes to the shadow cast by Green, which clouds his vision from seeing himself similar to how white men see him: like all other Black men.

While whiteness has been shown to represent a universal standpoint, from Miller’s exceptional viewpoint of himself as a Black surgeon, Blackness might be distinguishable from both its “democratic ideal” and the “mere matter of racial sympathy” (41)—but one must be willing to look. However, seeing race, even through multiple perspectives, is seeing through power. Through his racial subjectification in the logic of the white gaze, Miller realizes that efforts to be seen outside of the purview of non-traditional Blackness is seen as transgressive.

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<sup>360</sup> Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, 445.

<sup>361</sup> Sheila Smith McKoy, *When Whites Riot*, 68; and Trinyan Mariano, “Logic of Lynching,” 538.

<sup>362</sup> Joyce Pettis, “Literary Imagination and Historic Event,” qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 457.

<sup>363</sup> Jae Roe, “Keeping an ‘Old Wound’ Alive,” 236.

<sup>364</sup> Marjorie George and Richard S. Pressman, “Confronting the Shadow: Psycho-Political Repression in Chesnutt’s *The Marrow of Tradition*,” in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 413-19; originally published in *Phylon*, 48, no. 4, 1987, 293-98. See also Matthew Wilson, *Whiteness in the Novels of Charles W. Chesnutt* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2004), 115. Green’s father was killed by the Ku Klux Klan, an event that drove his mother insane; as Green tells his story, Miller remembers feeling “a certain childish awe at the sight of one of God’s creatures who had lost the light of reason” (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 70).

Chesnutt employs racial violence as a metaphor to make his point by likening the metaphoric beheading of Black professionals to the factual lynching of Black criminals:

Those who grew above [the standard which white supremacist ideology had set for Black men] must have their heads cut off, figuratively speaking,—must be forced back to the level assigned to their race; those who fell beneath the standard set had their necks stretched, literally enough, as the ghastly record in the daily papers gave conclusive evidence (41).

While Miller imagines the repudiation of non-traditional Black masculinity in terms of figurative violence, he fails to see himself as one of its potential victims. But his medical education and experience confer upon him a knowledge and power that is located in his head.<sup>365</sup> He may hope that the association of knowledge and power with the medical gaze might safeguard him from the corporeal history of Blackness found in other Black men's hyperphysical bodies. However, professionalization has produced in him a mental expansion that cannot be seen from the white viewpoint as separate from the physical expansion of the Black criminal. For this transgression, he must be "cut down abruptly,"<sup>366</sup> a "symbolic decapitation"<sup>367</sup> that represents a similar yet different fate to that of Black burglars and rapists whose "necks" must be "stretched." His analogy proves prophetic—at least symbolically.

The question of Miller's personal and professional "presence" (45-47) is raised again at the Carterets' home, where Dodie's surgery is to take place. Professionalization not only makes Miller unique; it grants him a modern power that is based on his medical knowledge.<sup>368</sup> Miller "knew very well the measure of his powers, [...] skill and knowledge" and that these

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<sup>365</sup> Nineteenth-century scientific racism held that the size and shape of the head could be measured in order to determine the intellectual capacity of a race. Chesnutt's "American eye" is a literary version of the pseudo-scientific gaze through which Samuel Morton and Josiah Nott's American School subjected Blackness. For more on the "universal standpoint" of whiteness and scientific professionalism, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981) and Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood*.

<sup>366</sup> John Edgar Wideman, "Charles W. Chesnutt: *The Marrow of Tradition*," qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 384.

<sup>367</sup> Gerald Janovici, "Living Death," 42.

<sup>368</sup> Stephanie Browner, *Profound Science and Elegant Literature*, 211.



characteristics make him superior in his field to his white colleagues (43). Because of his specialized education, he “believed that the race antagonism that hampered his progress was [...] the outcome of former conditions” (43) rather than caused by any innate racial inferiority and thus could be overcome. Once the veil of tradition is rent asunder, Black men would be seen for what they might be instead of what they had been perceived to be. His invitation from Burns to assist in the operation confirms his theory that he might be seen as “useful” (43) to more than just Wellington’s Black community.

Surgery was still a relatively new form of medical technology at the turn of the century. Professionalization had transformed it from its association with the manual labor of medieval barbers to the intellectual labor of modern specialists. Its modernization resulted from many factors, including the introduction of anatomy and dissection courses into medical school curricula; the introduction and standardization of antiseptic measures into medical procedure; and the invention of anesthesia, which allowed more invasive surgeries to be performed with success. By 1900, only an elite class of men were qualified surgeons. Discriminatory policies in medical institutions and professional associations further prevented Black men from joining these ranks.<sup>369</sup> Operations, especially specialized ones, were often still held in operating theaters. They were spectacles during which professionals—ranging from students to experts—and interested laypersons came together to witness humanity’s progress toward mastering disease and death. So, when the foremost specialist in his field is called in to operate, no fewer than four local white physicians, none of whom is qualified to participate in the procedure, are in the audience.

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<sup>369</sup> See Wilbur H. Watson, *Against the Odds*; Todd L. Savitt, “Entering a White Profession,” in *Question of Manhood*, edited by Jenkins and Clark Hine; and Thomas J. Ward, Jr., *Black Physicians in Jim Crow South* on Black doctors.

On their way to the Carteret home, Dr. Price, a local white physician and friend of Miller, informs Burns about how custom prohibited Black doctors from treating white patients. He recalls an anecdote about a Black businessman who once had called upon the Carterets:

It was traditional in Wellington that no colored person had ever entered the front door of the Carteret residence, and that luckless individual who once presented himself there upon alleged business and resented being ordered to the back door had been unceremoniously thrown over the piazza railing into a rather thorny clump of rosebushes below.  
If Miller were going as a servant, to hold a basin or sponge, there would be no difficulty; but as a surgeon— (45)

The narrative aside underscores the traditional servile role of Black masculinity; it also points toward the racial violence that comes with what is regarded as Black transgression into white space. Permitting Miller to cross the threshold of his front door would grant him “personhood”<sup>370</sup> in the eyes of Carteret as well as those of the white doctors in attendance, all of which were watching Carteret’s reaction to Burns’s statement that he doesn’t see the conspicuously absent Miller. Carteret’s reasoning behind Miller’s exclusion is premised on two matters—one professional and the other personal. At first, he cites the Southern custom that Black doctors must not attend to white patients. However, Burns insists on his professional authority, forcing Carteret to allude to the private fact that Miller’s wife, Janet, is the unacknowledged half-Black, half-sister of Carteret’s wife, Olivia. He reasons that the sight of Miller, the husband and father to her “ill-born sister and her child” (47) would cause Olivia to experience a similar “nervous shock” (6) to the one that had made Dodie’s delivery so difficult.

Miller is not only the realization of his father Adam’s “proud hope that his children or grandchildren might be gentlemen in the town where their ancestors had once been slaves” (34); his relationship to Janet also means that they are the “living evidence” of Blackness’ invasion into their familial bloodline. Burns is unable to convince Carteret that “one would never

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<sup>370</sup> Angelo Rich Robinson, “Race, Place, and Space: Remaking Whiteness in the Post-Reconstruction South,” *Southern Literary Journal*, 35, no. 1, 2002, 100.

think of [Miller's] color after knowing him" (46)—as though he overcame his Blackness by professionally gentrifying himself. In Carteret's view, the terms *white men* and *gentlemen* are "synonymous" (47). His reference to "vital, personal reasons" (47), however, outweigh "mere prejudice" (46) and Burns concedes to Carteret's wishes.<sup>371</sup>

Despite his physical absence, however, Miller is not nonexistent during this scene. Indeed, Chesnutt presents his "presence" (45, 47) as something both visible and real. Price, despite his "liberal [...] point of view [of] colored doctors" and personal and professional respect for Miller, is tasked with informing the "negro doctor" that his services will not be needed (45). "[F]ace to face" (48) with him, however, Dr. Price does an about-face; he misinforms Dr. Miller that unforeseen circumstances have made an immediate intervention necessary. Dr. Miller's physical presence, modern medical gaze, and the fact that he is "too much of a gentleman for this town" (48)—despite his visible Blackness—all disprove white supremacist theories about abstract Blackness. To express this view becomes impossible for Dr. Price because he must "look this man in the eyes" (48) and tell him that his racialization matters more than his professionalization—that his personal identity overshadows his professional rights.

The exclusion of Miller from Dodie's operation, like his removal from the "White" car, is another way in which Chesnutt critiques the myth of professionalization. He reveals once more that the racist logic of tradition supersedes even the modern logic of professionalism. Unlike after his separation aboard the train, however, Miller's disappointment does not lead to his philosophizing about symbolic racial violence. Instead, Chesnutt switches plots, from Miller's professional narrative to Carteret's political plot for white supremacy, and then again to a

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<sup>371</sup> Perhaps not uncoincidentally, Burns's penultimate lines in the novel also disclaim responsibility for his role in an erasure of Miller: "'I shall nevertheless feel humiliated when I meet Miller again,' he said, 'but of course if there is a personal question involved, that alters the situation. Had it been merely a matter of color, I should have maintained my position. As things stand, *I wash my hands of the whole affair*, so far as Miller is concerned, like Pontius Pilate—yes, indeed, sir, I feel very much like that individual'" (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 48; emphasis mine). Compare with Carteret's proclamation just before Miller's hospital, where Green is making his final stand, goes up in flames: "I wash my hands of [these subsequent horrors]" (Chesnutt, 183).

melodramatic near-lynching subplot. Although Miller appears only sporadically throughout the course of the novel's next hundred or so pages, nevertheless, as in the Carteret home, his presence remains its central narrative focus.

Major Carteret and the other members of the Big Three, General Belmont and Captain McBane, gather to discuss their plans to take back the city from "Negro Domination" (57). The men review an editorial in a Black newspaper that sought to debunk the myth of the Black rapist. Written by a man named Barber,<sup>372</sup> the editorial was based on an actual article written in 1897 by Alexander Manly, the editor of one of the city's Black newspapers, the *Wilmington Daily Record*. The anti-lynching argument publicly exposed the modern tradition of lynching to be based on a hypocritical logic toward interracial sex. This public expression, articulated by a Black professional, enrages McBane, who wants to "lynch the n——, break up the press, and burn down the newspaper office" (55).<sup>373</sup> Carteret advises that they patiently conceal this affront to whiteness from the public in order to disclose it at a more politically expedient time. ("Let Barber have all the rope he wants," Belmont states, "and he'll be sure to hang himself" [57]). The crucial moment comes when Polly Ochiltree is robbed, murdered, and, by implication, raped by a Black man. The fact that the city is made up of a majority Black population provides the "logical basis" (108) by which to determine not only the perpetrator's racial identity, but also that "something more than an ordinary crime" has taken place (110).

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<sup>372</sup> The name Barber is important for two reasons: first, it was one of the first viable professions for Black men, and second, because of its linguistic connotation with the barber as a proto-professional surgeon. The term suggests that Dr. Miller is professionally doubled with Barber, whose life and career serve historical models for the Wilmington Massacre. Both Manly and Chesnut's paternal grandfathers were white men.

<sup>373</sup> McBane's sentiment echoes actual calls to lynch Manly. While he was able to safely flee Wilmington before the either being captured or killed during the events of November 10, 1898, the building that housed his *Record* office as well as his printing press was burned. The white rioters responsible posed for photographs, which resemble the souvenir postcards of white mobs and mutilated Black bodies taken during spectacle lynchings. See *Destruction of Manly [P]rinting [P]ress, November 10, 1898*, 1898, in *Wilmington's Lie* by David Zucchino, between 202 and 203; reprinted from *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission.

Fears about Black masculinity in the white mind of the novel have lain dormant since long before the publication of Barber's editorial. Ironically, these anxieties are embodied within the less-than-hypermasculine figure of Sandy Campbell, the body-servant of the Southern aristocrat, Old John Delamere. Sandy evokes this frightened white response in the first few pages, when he is first seen at Dodie's christening. Sandy is seen in similarly paradoxical terms as Miller. Before filling in for the Carterets' usual waiter, who has fallen down the back steps and injured his ankle, he asks to return home to change into more formal attire. During the dinner, Aunt Polly mentions that she keeps her valuables in her home. Carteret cautions her against discussing such matters in front of servants. Old Delamere, Sandy's former master, defends his current employee as "a gentleman in ebony!" (19). Meanwhile, Delamere's grandson takes note with his "keen eye" of Sandy's "amusingly impressive appearance" (18). After he is blackmailed over gambling losses, Young Delamere blacks his face, dons Sandy's "gorgeous garments" (98), and robs and kills Mrs. Ochiltree. It is his "skill as [] a negro impersonator" (135) that allows him to successfully frame Sandy as a "burly black burglar" (18). Carteret's white supremacist logic takes this misrepresentation one step further, characterizing Sandy as a "black beast rapist,"<sup>374</sup> intensifying the danger posed by Black men by emphasizing their physicality. Although Carteret admits that Sandy "is the last negro I would have suspected," nevertheless because "[t]he criminal was a negro, the victim a white woman;—it was only reasonable to expect the worst" (110).

In response, "a committee of white men is formed" (108-09), an embodiment of whiteness that causes a "visible shrinkage of the colored population" (109). Their vanishing act discloses the double psychological action of seeing and being seen.<sup>375</sup> Wellington may have

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<sup>374</sup> Riché Richardson, *Uncle Tom to Gangsta*, 25-36. "[A]ll black brutes it seems are burly" (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 140).

<sup>375</sup> "For the black people of the town to be looked at is a prelude to violence, while not being looked at is the only chance for invulnerability." Cassandra Jackson, *Violence, Visual Culture, and the Black Male Body* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 89.

never witnessed a lynching,<sup>376</sup> but from the white supremacist point of view, it was “witness[ing] this spectacle of a dying race”—the “disappearance of the good old negro” (72). In its place a new, modern Blackness was materializing. The demise of traditional Blackness means something different for the Black community. Both the decaying Old South and the burgeoning Black metropolis are presented as “corpse[s]” (22, 80) dragging down the white vision for the New South. The proposed spectacle lynching seeks to reverse this trajectory by publicly displaying the punishment of this new Blackness through the effigy of the Black male body. Such a display would not only discipline the alleged Black perpetrator, but also the collective Black body. Indeed, because “the criminal was a negro [and] the victim a white woman [...] [i]t is an assault upon the white race [...] committed by the black race” (110).<sup>377</sup>

Sandy is seen to have “deteriorate[d]” below the white median for Black men and must therefore have his “neck[] stretched” (110, 41). Green and Watson, a Black lawyer, who has taken note of the “black looks” from white people, inform Miller of the planned lynching. Miller again fails to identify himself with another Black man—this time Sandy rather than Green. While opposed to lynching as a practice, he laments that the efforts of those like him who have worked to uplift the race can be negated “in the twinkling of an eye” by “some black scoundrel” (115). The fact that, even to Miller’s rational thinking, Sandy might have committed the crime is another example of his misrecognition of how whiteness envisions Black men. Still, he works to prevent the lynching by notifying Old Delamere of Carteret’s plot. Carteret cancels the lynching, but the white committee refuses to disperse unless Delamere swears an oath claiming that his body-servant was in his presence the night of the murder.

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<sup>376</sup> According to Dr. Miller, “[t]here’s never been a lynching here” (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 117). Of the 45 recorded lynchings in North Carolina during the preceding decade, just one occurred within 100 miles of Wilmington, when, on November 27, 1897, Nathan Willis was lynched on the charge of murder in Town Creek, a small township about fifteen miles west across the Cape Fear River in bordering Brunswick County. *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918*, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1919), 84-85.

<sup>377</sup> Moreover, by McBane’s more brutal logic, “It would justify the white people in burning *any* nigger. The example would be all the more powerful if we got the wrong one” (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 110).

Sandy's lynching will fulfill one part of Miller's earlier prophecy about racial violence against Black men who do not meet the white standard. The envisioned consequence of corporal punishment meted out upon him will be reflected in the psychological death-in-life for any Black man who attempts to take any of the power or wealth that whiteness sees as its monopoly. However, actual violence committed against the Black body is unnecessary. With the formation of the lynch mob, Wellington's Black men and women have begun to protect themselves by making themselves unseen. But after the extralegal white body dissipates, the testimony of the reliable narrator, who until this point has simultaneously looked forward and backward with a clarity of both vision and logic,<sup>378</sup> seems to lose control over the narrative.<sup>379</sup> The "thin veneer of civilization" (75, 184) in which whiteness has cloaked its savage nature has cracked. The failed execution<sup>380</sup> of the Black body in the central lynching scene<sup>381</sup> has called forth an ungovernable whiteness that must find release in another form. Chesnutt withholds the textual representation of Sandy's spectacle lynching in order to examine the less visible traditional violence to which Black men are subjected. He presents this sublimated release through the white riot.

With "the threatened lynching of Sandy Campbell vividly in his mind" (167), Miller undertakes a chaotic ride back and forth across the city to find Janet and their son.<sup>382</sup> Along the way, he "sees [...] sights that wounded his eyes," "gruesome spectacle[s]" of "bloody confirmation[s] [that] assailed his vision" (171, 173). The sight of dead and dying Black bodies elicits Miller's "professional instinct" (173, 177) to offer treatment. But his love for family triumphs

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<sup>378</sup> Geordie Hamilton, "Focalization as Education: The Race Relation Optimism of the Narrator of Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901)," *Style* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2008), 50-52.

<sup>379</sup> Ryan Simmons, *Chesnutt and Realism*, 108.

<sup>380</sup> Maria Seger, "Deferred Lynching and the Moral High Ground in Charles W. Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 73, no. 1 (June 2018), 99.

<sup>381</sup> John Mac Kilgore, "The Cakewalk of Capital in Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*," *American Literature*, 84, no. 1, 2012, 72.

<sup>382</sup> In a personal letter, Chesnutt wrote that "a vivid description given me by Dr. Mask [...] of the events of the riot, and a ride which he took across the city during its progress" inspired him to write *Marrow*." Charles W. Chesnutt, *Chesnutt to Mrs. W.B. Henderson, November 11, 1905*. Letter. From Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee. Qtd. in *Marrow*, edited by Sollors, 210.

over his professional duty. In an ironic reversal of the blackface performance of Young Delamere during the murder mystery plot, Miller disguises himself in symbolic whiteface during the riot chapters. Initially, the visible symbols of his professionalism—his nice clothes and buggy (as well as his lighter complexion)—allow him to escape the scrutinizing gazes of the white mob. In a moment that mirrors an earlier one aboard the southbound train, Miller sits back in the shadows so that he might better conceal his Blackness. However, he still envisions that his professional status will safeguard him from racialization and the violence it rationalizes, as he did on the train. His false sense of security is reinforced when his molesters acknowledge, “It ain’t men like you that we’re after, but the vicious and criminal class of n——s” (172).

The imperceptibility of Miller’s racialization, however, also makes him unrecognizable to members of his own race. At sight of his buggy,” women and children “disappear” into the roadside bushes, from which one “black head” asks in a “black voice,” “Is dat you, Doctuh Miller?” (165-66). When he arrives home, Sally, his servant, asks him, “Is dat you, Doctuh Miller? [...] Are you *sho’* dat’s you, doctuh?” (171). And when he reaches Mrs. Butler, whose home his family were visiting when the riot erupted, she asks, “Is it really you, Dr. Miller?” (175). These scenes of racial misrecognition mirror earlier ones in the novel: when Sandy sees “both himself and his double” (112), he is made to feel uncertain about his very existence; and when Burns first sees Miller, he is unsure about how to address him. Here, Miller’s identity is questioned by other Black people. Mirroring Sandy, who thinks that he has seen his own “*ha[u]nt*” (102) in the form of a white man blacked up and wearing his clothes on the night of the murder, Miller resembles a “shadowy ghost slipping through the streets”<sup>383</sup> during his chaotic ride across town. Chesnutt portrays Miller as nearly invisible to represent the unrecognized disintegration of both his physical and psychological existence.<sup>384</sup> His unrecognizability to those who would otherwise easily identify him stems not from his professional disembodiment but

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<sup>383</sup> John Edgar Wideman, “*The Marrow of Tradition*,” 389.

<sup>384</sup> John Edgar Wideman, “*The Marrow of Tradition*,” 389.



rather from his psychological dismemberment. Though not yet aware of it, he has already been lynched: through the staged incineration of Miller's hospital, the site of a desperate resistance effort led by Green and a small band of Black men, and the offstage shooting of Miller's son by a stray bullet. By averting his eyes from the massacre at the hospital, Carteret blinds himself to his role in the logical outcome of his campaign for white supremacy. Meanwhile, Miller is forced to bear witness to the unseen consequences of having blinded himself through his professionalization to his racialized subjectification to the white supremacist gaze. After passing several disfigured Black bodies, Miller's "eyes fell upon a group beneath a lamp-post, at sight of which he turned pale with horror" (177). The encircled object is spotlighted and yet concealed. Chesnutt has positioned Miller via his son in the same place as Sandy when he was misrecognized as the only logical murderer in the eyes of the lone white witness, Lee Ellis, Carteret's assistant editor. In Ellis's mind, "there were so many negroes [for every] one white man" (106) in the city, suggesting that Blackness, rather than individual character, is all that matters when seen by whiteness. Sandy's rhetorical question to the real murderer—"ef I wuz in yo' place, an' you wuz in my place, an' we wuz bofe in de same place, whar would I be?" (103)—makes all Black men seem the same in the white gaze and also suggests the utter incomprehensibility of a regime in which Blackness is placed above whiteness.

By the logic of the white supremacist gaze, modern professionalization has transformed Miller from a traditional Black man into an exceptional man—one whose knowledge and power raises him above whiteness's standard for Black masculinity. It has also made him look different from his fellow Black community, who see his professionalization as a reflection of whiteness. "[No]body's servant" (36), Dr. Miller has become "too much of a gentleman for this town" (48). If his exclusion from the "White" car and the operation represents his "symbolic decapitation"<sup>385</sup> in the eyes and minds of white supremacists, then the murder of his son and the burning of his

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<sup>385</sup> Gerald Ianovici, "Living Death," 42.

hospital signify the metaphorical castration and immolation of his still living corpse at the hands of a white mob. Miller's professional masculinity has been visualized, embodied, and then negated. And yet, at the novel's climax, Chesnutt signifies upon this visual and corporal mythologization of Black masculinity. The Black body, which the rational Miller has sought to repress and the logical Carteret has sought to suppress, makes its gothic return.<sup>386</sup> Miller is able to escape the traditional powerlessness caused by his racialization through the means of his professionalization. The power dynamic of the white subject and Black subjected are inverted through that of the Black doctor and the white patient. Miller embraces the threat that he has traditionally been seen to represent—a violent Black male body that rises against whiteness's power by threatening the vulnerable white body. However, he also embodies something that whiteness has been unwilling to see—a Black mind that can see and save this fragile white body.

Carteret must disavow white supremacist logic and implore the previously “unwelcome physician” (188) to save his dying son. He sends an inexperienced white doctor to bring Miller, the only physician capable of performing the miracle represented by modern medicine. Miller responds that Carteret must come and make the request himself. Carteret rushes to Miller's home and knocks on what was once the front door from which all Black men were prohibited from entering. In a twist of poetic justice, however, it is Miller who now refuses the professional call because of his own personal “sacrifice” (47). He stands back so that Carteret may see his son's corpse on its deathbed. Carteret, who “possessed a [...] logical mind [...] except when confused or blinded by his prejudices,” upon seeing the dead boy and his grieving mother, now “saw things [...] clearly and convincingly” (190). However, it takes seeing the Black image, the literal photographic negative of what may soon be Dodie, to change his vision. He recognizes

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<sup>386</sup> On Chesnutt's use of the gothic, see Robert Hemenway, “Gothic Sociology: Charles Chesnutt and the Gothic Mode,” *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1974), 101-119; and Maisha L. Webster, *African American Gothic: Screams from Shadowed Places* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

Dr. Miller as “a man who held in his hands the power of life and death” (191), a medical and scientific power “based on knowledge rather than violence.”<sup>387</sup> Moreover, he recognizes Miller as a husband and a father, which is to say, as a man. Carteret’s recognition of Miller is not attributed to his professionalism, however, but rather to their shared sense of masculinity. The two men—the one white, and the other black—see one another as individual men and not simply as representative figures for their respective races. As the novel ends, it is Miller who must enter the Carteret home—through the front door, as an equal—not with the basin and sponge of the traditional servant but with the instruments of the modern surgeon.<sup>388</sup> Modern professionalization has finally succeeded in overcoming racialized tradition: Dr. Miller’s professionalization has transcended his racialization by masculinizing him in the eyes of white supremacist tradition. Tragically, however, Miller seems only able to identify himself as a Black victim after and because he is seen by white eyes as such.

At the turn of the century, the Black doctor presented a challenge to the transcendent possibilities of the professionalization myth, which incorporated knowledge and power into a disembodied masculine gaze. Dr. Miller’s status as a medical professional is unable to save the Black doctor from his visibility and vulnerability as a Black man in any of the novel’s intersecting racial, familial, and political plots, all of which culminate in the fictional “Wellington riot” (164)<sup>389</sup> because of a lynching that is never seen except in its consequences. But by withholding the violence committed against the Black body, the traditional spectacle through which whiteness exemplified its supremacy, Chesnutt reveals the hidden secret embodied within whiteness.

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<sup>387</sup> Stephanie Browner, *Profound Science and Elegant Literature*, 211.

<sup>388</sup> “Miller’s scalpel [is] a symbol of advanced medical technique.” Gretchen Long, “Conjuring a Cure,” 111. In order to bring about racial healing, however, it is not only Dr. Miller’s knife that must eclipse Josh Green’s “huge bowie knife, a relic of the Civil War” (Chesnutt, *Marrow*, 184), but also “the materials for dressing the wound” (Chesnutt, 50). Dr. Miller’s surgical skill must be seen within its context as both potentially threatening and possibly healing.

<sup>389</sup> William Gleason, “Voices at the Nadir: Charles Chesnutt and David Bryant Fulton,” *African American Fiction* 24, no. 3 (Spring 1992), 25.

“While no actual lynchings take place,”<sup>390</sup> the environment of racialized intimidation, fear, and violence to which the embodiment of whiteness subjected Black men—whether professionals or criminals—was based on traditional ways of seeing and thinking about Blackness that were no longer visible due to modern circumstances. Furthermore, and undoubtedly more damningly, this visual epistemology and hegemony of tradition forced Black professionals to see themselves through this outmoded lens.

Chesnutt’s depiction of how Black professionalism was perceived as endangering the logic of white supremacism critiques the myth of professionalization as transcending the invisible privileges afforded by whiteness and masculinity. Lynching perpetrated spectacular horrors against the integrity of not only the traditional Black body, but also the collective Black mind.<sup>391</sup> The visual embodiment of violence committed against Dr. Miller sets the stage for the continued problematizing of scientific medical professionalism faced by later fictional white doctors and scientists. Although the cases of Drs. Arrowsmith and Diver during the twentieth century are much less extreme than that of Dr. Miller—neither is subjected to the “unresolvable problem of masculinity [...] that haunts” the professional narrative of *Marrow*<sup>392</sup>—both men must transgress society’s vision for them as scientists and doctors in order to achieve their respective professional ideals. The integrity of their modern masculinities, realized through their professionalization, is besieged because of *their shared sense of always looking at themselves through the eyes of others*.

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<sup>390</sup> Angelo Rich Robinson, “Race, Place, and Space,” 106.

<sup>391</sup> Cassandra Jackson, *Violence and the Black Male Body*, 109.

<sup>392</sup> John Dudley, *A Man’s Game: Masculinity and the Anti-Aesthetics of American Literary Naturalism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 146.

### Chapter 3 – Keeping Alight a Vision of Truth within the Practicalizing Gaze in Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* (1925)

*It is no measure of health to be well-adjusted to a sick society.*

—Mark Vonnegut, *The Eden Express*<sup>393</sup>

The first chapters of *(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* outlined the professionalization myth at a crucial point in US literary culture. Chapter one traced the minister's feminization and doctor-scientist's masculinization during the late-nineteenth century. Chapter two showed that not all modern doctor-scientists were equally empowered because of their masculinity. Traditional ways of seeing and being seen across the color line still trumped professionalization's vision of transcending the body's inferiority. The body's visible hindrance was especially disheartening for men of color, who were historically not regarded as intellectually capable of exercising masculine reason or reflective passion. Taken together, the doctor-scientists in *Damnation* and *Marrow* represent different critiques of the disembodied consolidation of the gaze, knowledge, and power with (white) masculinity. This chapter continues outlining the ways in which modernity radically transformed the ideals of traditional professionalization.

Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* (1925) makes bold the problems within the professionalization myth sketched by Frederic and Chesnutt. He emphasizes those issues faced by only certain marginal modern professionals (Protestant ministers and Black surgeons) and expands them into larger issues faced by *all* modern doctor-scientists. Lewis's romantic-satiric portrayal of the novel discipline of scientific medicine<sup>394</sup> reveals the ideal doctor-scientist's vision

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<sup>393</sup> Mark Vonnegut, *The Eden Express* (Toronto: Bantam Books), 208. Dr. Vonnegut, a pediatrician and the son of Kurt Vonnegut, erroneously attributes the quote to the twentieth-century Indian philosopher, Jiddu Krishnamurti.

<sup>394</sup> The rebellious scientist Paul de Kruif, who worked with Lewis on the composition of *Arrowsmith*, references his mentor Jacques Loeb, on whom Dr. Max Gottlieb is modeled, as "having said something like 'medical science' did not exist because it was a contradiction in terms." Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 123. Elsewhere, de Kruif writes of "the fallacy of the notion that medicine is a science in the modern sense." Mary G. Land, "Three Max Gottliebs: Lewis's, Dreiser's, and Walker Percy's View of the Mechanist-Vitalist Controversy," *Studies in the Novel* 15, no. 4 (Winter 1983), 323. While not entirely avoiding this 'contradiction in terms,' which harkens back to Ledsmar's corrective statement: "But that

of professional integrity and independence was complicated and even contradicted by modern society's increasingly practicalizing<sup>395</sup> vision, which combined America's historically pragmatic and anti-theoretical view of science, the burgeoning bureaucratization and monetization of the professions in contemporary culture, and the standardization of private individuals.

While finishing *Babbitt* (1922), which would become a minor popular success but not the cultural phenomenon that was *Main Street* (1920), Lewis wrote to his publisher, Alfred Harcourt, implying his next book would be "not satiric at all; rebellious as ever, perhaps, but the central character *heroic*."<sup>396</sup> Lewis, like many of his contemporaries, viewed the doctor-scientist as a potentially romantic hero with world-transforming powers<sup>397</sup> but also wanted to depict "the man of science as essentially an ordinary man"<sup>398</sup> in the same vein as many other everyday American heroes. Lewis's portrayal of the practical realities of modern professionalization of scientific medicine and its contraindications with traditional romantic ideals has remained an inspiration for generations of doctor-scientists who risk being disillusioned with their higher calling. As one contemporary physician fondly laments, "The doctor in me wishes he could

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would imply a connection between Science and Medicine! My dear sir, they are not even on speaking terms" (Frederic, 67), the term scientific medicine will be employed throughout this chapter for clarity.

<sup>395</sup> To *practicalize* is to make something practical rather than theoretical or ideal. Throughout US history, experimental science has been perceived as impractical whereas applied science has been viewed more favorably because of its immediately apparent public utility—and commercial viability. For more on this national dialectic within scientific work, see Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*.

<sup>396</sup> Sinclair Lewis to Alfred Harcourt, 13 December 1921, in *Main Street to Stockholm: Letters of Sinclair Lewis, 1919-1930*, edited by Harrison Smith (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1952), 90; qtd. in James M. Hutchisson, "Sinclair Lewis, Paul de Kruif, and the Composition of *Arrowsmith*," *Studies in the Novel* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1992), 49. Lewis's works are often characterized as straightforward and shallow satires that achieved spectacular success almost overnight. But despite their immense popularity, his other novels lack true staying power within the highbrow literary world. *Arrowsmith*, as both a social document and an imaginative work, rejects this critical diagnosis.

<sup>397</sup> Marilyn Morgan Helleberg, "The Paper-Doll Characters of Sinclair Lewis' *Arrowsmith*," *Mark Twain Journal* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1968), 21. "Lewis denied that he was a satirist and claimed to be a romantic." Glen A. Love, "New Pioneering on the Prairie: Nature, Progress and the Individual in the Novels of Sinclair Lewis," *American Quarterly* 25, no. 5 (Dec. 1973), 575. "Although Lewis' impulses were often romantic and idealistic[,] his talents did not extend beyond the rendering of the actual." Like many idealistic characters in works of American literary naturalism, Martin suffers an identity crisis because his ideals are at odds with the deterministic realities of his stultifying environment. Beneath the surface cuts of his surgical satire there are signs of life of a "lingering transcendentalism" in the American soul. Mary G. Land, "Three Max Gottliebs," 319.

<sup>398</sup> Martin Light, *The Quixotic Vision of Sinclair Lewis* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1975), 88.

prescribe a page or two of *Arrowsmith* [to] restore some health to the ailing condition of scientific idealism.”<sup>399</sup> And this is exactly what the diagnostician,<sup>400</sup> “Doctor” Lewis,<sup>401</sup> prescribes for the sickness of modernity.

The depiction of Dr. Martin Arrowsmith, the eponymous protagonist from Lewis’s Pulitzer-Prize winning novel, and his professional anxiety parallels a larger cultural uncertainty about public life for all modern individuals. It seeks to blaze a trail toward a better way to respond to the modern condition. Martin represents “a new kind of hero” because of his “stumbling quest for personal integrity”<sup>402</sup>—and this modern hero remains quintessentially American throughout his professional quest.<sup>403</sup> He is the first doctor-scientist in American literature to be portrayed in a heroic light.<sup>404</sup> But this light revealed doctor-scientists and their

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<sup>399</sup> Howard Markel, “Reflections on Sinclair Lewis’s *Arrowsmith*: The Great American Novel of Public Health and Medicine,” *Public Health Reports* 116, no. 4 (July-August 2001), 375.

<sup>400</sup> In a 1950 *New York Times* interview, Lewis stated: “I am the diagnostician.” Qtd. in Joel Fisher, “Sinclair Lewis and the Diagnostic Novel: *Main Street* and *Babbitt*,” *Journal of American Studies* 20, no. 3 (Dec. 1986), 423.

<sup>401</sup> Lewis was raised in a family of medical professionals: His father, Dr. Edwin J. Lewis, was a well-respected general practitioner with an office both downtown and at his home in Sauk Centre, Minnesota. His brother, Claude, went on to become a respected surgeon in nearby St. Cloud. His grandfather and two uncles all had been doctors as well. For more on the Lewis family’s medical history, see Mark Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), 18; James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 52; Lilian Furst, *Medical Progress and Social Reality: A Reader in Nineteenth-Century Medicine and Literature* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), 155; and Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis (New York: Signet Classics, 2008), v.

<sup>402</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, “Martin Arrowsmith: The Scientist as Hero,” *American Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (1963), 447.

<sup>403</sup> Martin is a composite of multiple stock figures from nineteenth-century American romantic fiction. A modern-day Natty Bumppo, Martin slays bacteria instead of deer and wears a lab coat instead of leather-stockings. One critic describes de Kruif’s description of seeking, tracking, and killing pathogenic bacteria as suggestive of “the thrill of the hunt.” Susan E. Lederer, “‘Porto Ricochet’: Joking About Germs, Cancer, and Race Extermination in the 1930s,” *American Literary History* vol. 14, 4 (2002), 738. His exploits take place during the “glory days of bacteriology.” Thomas Szasz, *Pharmacracy: Medicine and Politics in America* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 163. See also Yeonsik Jung, “The Immunity of Empire: Tropical Medicine, Medical Nativism, and Biopolitics in Sinclair Lewis’s *Arrowsmith*,” *Literature and Medicine* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2016), 189. “St. Hubert is a hunting ground, ‘the X principle’ is a hunting rifle, and pathogenic germs are game animals.” But Martin also possesses the intellectual passion-*cum*-obsession of the mad scientists of Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne and follows the schedules outlined by Benjamin Franklin and Frederick Douglass in their autobiographies of self-making, thus updating for the twentieth century the rags-to-riches myth of Horatio Alger.

<sup>404</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, “Scientist as Hero,” 447. “Its heroic protagonist is a research scientist, the first of consequence in American fiction.” William C., “On the Origins of the Science in *Arrowsmith*: Paul de Kruif, Felix d’Herelle, and Phage,” *Journal of the History of Medicine* 46, no. 7 (1991), 331. “For the purposes of the novel, this choice [...] was especially advantageous [because] it was fresh material and had not been used in fiction before.” Howard Markel, “Reflections on *Arrowsmith*,” 371. “[I]t may be

profession to be very different from how the public perceived them. Martin may be an everyman Faust,<sup>405</sup> but he is also a “rotten husband” (352), bad doctor, and barbarian scientist.<sup>406</sup>

Nowhere in the novel are Martin’s extreme qualities clearer than when he is sent to the fictional Caribbean island of St. Hubert to combat an outbreak of Bubonic Plague on behalf of the prestigious McGurk Institute, a caricature of the Rockefeller Institute,<sup>407</sup> and its newly-formed Plague and Bacteriophage Commission to the Lesser Antilles. He botches the experiment but is nonetheless hailed as a “universal hero” (396) upon his return. Lewis shows in these chapters that the emotional and psychological responses usually reserved only for dramatic events are much closer to the everyday behavior of modern Americans. According to Dr. Lewis, Americans were suffering from a debilitating lack of idealism, integrity, and independence. The national body was symbolically plagued by a social endemic that atrophies and necrotizes individuality—and the current iteration of the scientific medical profession is not qualified to cure this disease.

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surprising to recall that it was only three quarters of a century ago that a medical scientist first entered American literary consciousness in the exalted role of hero.” See also Philip Barrish, “The Sticky Web of Medical Professionalism: Robert Herrick’s *The Web of Life* and the Political Economy of Health Care at the Turn of the Century,” *American Literature* 86, no. 3 (Sep. 2014), 586. In discussing Herrick’s 1900 novel, which he credits as “the first US novel to concentrate its attention on [...] the political economy of health care in a modern US city,” he notes: “Not until the publication of *Arrowsmith* a quarter century later would another US novel offer a comparably wide-ranging yet richly detailed literary investigation of modern medicine’s landscape and the financial and political structures that give it shape.” Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science: Reason and Sacrifice in Modern America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 103-04. “Yet the novel is unique in American literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in situating those heroic struggles within the realm of science. Certainly scientific protagonists had appeared previously in American fiction [...] however *Arrowsmith* is the first significant American novel to feature a research scientist as its central character. As such, the prize-winning novel not only heralded a new literary investment in science but also crystallized ethics of sacrifice for science that had been developing over the previous four decades.”

<sup>405</sup> See Michael Palencia-Roth, “The Anti-Faustian Ethos of *Die Blechtrommel*,” *Journal of European Studies* 9, no. 3 (Sep. 1979), 174. *Arrowsmith* is somewhere between the Faustian and anti-Faustian ethos: whereas the Faustian heroic individual optimistically desires to transcend the limits of time, space, and himself in order to acquire infinite knowledge and power, and the anti-Faustian anti-hero pessimistically wishes to be entrapped within time and space and to surrender and regress. *Arrowsmith* values the earthly and the actual as well as the heavenly and the abstract, the humorous and parodic and also the serious and holy. He desperately wants to see and to know but cares little for gaining authority. Most obviously, he wants nothing more than to be left alone in his laboratory so that he may work without any interruptions—even for fulfilling basic human needs like eating and sleeping.

<sup>406</sup> Ilana Löwy, “Martin Arrowsmith’s Clinical Trial: Scientific Precision and Heroic Medicine,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 103, no. 1 (2010), 461. One of Lewis’s working titles was “The Barbarian.”

<sup>407</sup> James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 50; Yeonsik Jung, “The Rockefeller Institute and American Imperialism in Sinclair Lewis’s *Arrowsmith*,” *Explicator* 74, no. 2 (2016), 83.



His R: a modern doctor-scientist whose vision of professionalism included traditional, ideal, and heroic values about scientific medical vision, knowledge, and power, but without the undesirable side effects caused to it by the infectious bourgeois values of practical utility, materialism, and social respectability.

But such a vision of Martin as an ideal doctor-scientist is near-sighted<sup>408</sup> because Martin is anything but a traditional hero. He is simply an ordinary man in a relatively verisimilitudinous representation of modern America. While contemporary America was slowly sloughing its anti-intellectualist traditions and making accommodations for its doctor-scientists more so than in the past, these adaptations came at a heavy price. Modern doctor-scientists may have benefited from the inordinate wealth being invested in America's rapidly developing scientific medical infrastructure, but they were often forced to trade their autonomy and integrity in exchange for the resources needed to realize their visions. If Lewis does not outright criticize the idealism of heroic scientists like Martin, then at least he calls into question the all-or-nothing view of his romantic individualism. Lewis reveals how American professionalism had been sickened by equating itself with capitalist imperatives—its capacity to generate wealth, egoism, and other forms of corruptive power. Yet, he does depict his heroically impractical doctor-scientist as a more desirable figure than his many colleagues who see professionalization as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself. Even this new, science-friendlier society restricts his potentially transformative forces and seeks to channel them into achieving its respective wishes of money and status instead of his own desires for true scientific knowledge.

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<sup>408</sup> Yi Dongshin, *A Genealogy of Cybergothic: Aesthetics and Ethics in the Age of Posthumanism* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010), 97. "Complicit in delivering a celebratory portrayal of the scientist and his idealism, however, the 'actor-oriented approach' of critics [like Rosenberg] neglects the novel's effort to deliver at once a realistic picture of a society that accommodates, rather than antagonizes, the scientist and a critical outlook on the idealism that, in its uncompromising integrity, yields no compassion for those against it."

While the plague chapters contain the most sensational scenes<sup>409</sup> in what is otherwise a “biography of a young man who was in no degree a hero” (43), Martin does overcome incredible odds and undergo a profound transformation<sup>410</sup> throughout the less exciting stages of his professional story. A Nobody from Main Street, Nowhere, he steps out from the “invisibility of insignificance” (349), goes to an exotic and foreign land, tracks and kills a mighty (albeit microscopic) foe, and returns home stronger and wiser. Had *Arrowsmith* been a typical adventure story, it likely would have ended here. But it is not and so does not. Instead, it carries on for five more chapters during which Martin, who lost his wife, Leora, to the plague, remarries and has a son with a wealthy woman (whom he met on the isle), and gets promoted to head his own department at McGurk. A year later he up and “le[aves] common sense” (449), seeing out his professional years working in a cabin-laboratory<sup>411</sup> in the Vermont woods. The novel ends with his proclaiming to his fellow rebel scientist, Dr. Terry Wickett: “I feel as if I were finally beginning to work now. [...] maybe we’ll get something permanent—and probably we’ll fail!” (450). Indefatigable and undeterred, Martin finally “s[ees] ahead of him” (447) infinite vistas of scientific endeavors in his quixotic<sup>412</sup> quest to “find out the Why, the underneath principle” (52).

Lewis’s critique of the practical principle and its relation to the modern professionalization myth becomes clear when seen through the lens through which Lewis viewed contemporary America. In a 1948 interview, Lewis affirmed that hypocrisy, which he

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<sup>409</sup> Martin watches helplessly as his wife, Leora, his assistant, “the hero of health [and] soldier of science” (179, 169), Dr. Gustav Sondelius, and colleague, the “Negro doctor” (370), Dr. Oliver Marchand, all perish along with the countless natives because of the medieval scourge.

<sup>410</sup> On the mythic hero, see Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968). Traditional heroes characteristically experience extraordinary births, undertake dangerous quests, resist temptations, overcome incredible odds, undergo profound transformations resulting from their trials, and return to society with some material, intellectual, or spiritual reward that improves it dramatically. Martin has a perfectly normal birth, succumbs to offers of worldly success, sees his success in St. Hubert as a sin against science, remains relatively the same throughout, and flees from society to pursue his own insatiable intellectual curiosity.

<sup>411</sup> Glen A. Love, “New Pioneering on the Prairie,” 570.

<sup>412</sup> Martin Light, *Quixotic Vision*.

defined as “a lack of honesty and integrity,” was the main thing that he satirized in his fiction.<sup>413</sup> Lewis satirizes this deficiency by having Martin see hypocrisy everywhere he goes and in everyone he meets—minus a few exceptions.<sup>414</sup> Conformity, philistinism, mediocrity, greed, and unscrupulous selfishness mark the characters he comes across. From college students to farmers and factory-workers, from churchgoers to politicians and business-owners, whether in small towns, big cities, or foreign lands, whether he treats them or fights them so that he can properly treat them, Martin always keeps the core values of honesty and integrity in his sight. Hypocrisy, that disease of the American soul, is especially prevalent among his fellow doctor-scientists. Lewis satirizes a modern profession that had been traditionally considered an almost holy calling and whose once noble ideals of rational integrity and scientific autonomy had become perverted by modern American notions of respectability, consumerism, and the Practical. For Lewis, nothing less than a global health crisis and the vision of hundreds of thousands of dead bodies would convey such a bold diagnosis—and progressive prognosis—for the twentieth-century’s infatuation with the commercialization of a profession that is always-already considered to be outside or above the marketplace. Martin rails against the unscientific and arrogant attitudes, fame-chasing tendencies, and money-grabbing pursuits among those in various scientific medical professions. Rather than continuing to struggle against their narrow-mindedness or accept their false versions of reality, he follows the one and only vision for his future self, which is to quarantine himself from a society plagued with being practical in the eyes of others rather than pursuing one’s own independent vision.

But how does Martin return to the clarity that sees him refocus his effort toward realizing this future vision after undergoing so many disheartening experiences within these professional

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<sup>413</sup> Austin Allen, “An Interview with Sinclair Lewis,” in *Sinclair Lewis Remembered*, edited by Gary Scharnhorst and Matthew Hofer (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 321. Lewis uses the phrase—“lack of honesty and integrity”—thrice in his interview: his initial response about American life and in regard to education and politics.

<sup>414</sup> The exceptions to the rule include Gottlieb, Leora, and Terry Wickett.

worlds? Lewis employs four main tropes—sight, space, struggle, and integrity—to explain how Martin’s antiheroic biography represents changing public and professional demands placed on the individual doctor-scientist as well as one possible response to them. One contemporary critic claims:

The plot [of *Arrowsmith*] conforms to a typical Lewis pattern: an idealistic protagonist *glimpses* values beyond the confining *spheres* of his or her immediate environment and *struggles* to enact them. Other famous Lewis characters [...] also *struggle* to maintain their personal *integrity* in a world of corrupt and corrupting values.<sup>415</sup>

Lewis offers a brief look into a better world through Martin’s struggle to “never break[] and remain loyal to his professional ideals”<sup>416</sup>—even when doing so means transgressing social norms. He resists an endless barrage of pressure that would have him settle for being decent, normal, and practical. Holding steadfast to his vision of science as the only epistemology rather than succumbing to the desires that his more practical professors, classmates, supervisors, colleagues, friends, and wives all see for him, Martin—despite his frustrating self-doubt—is regarded as heroic simply for staying true to himself—for the most part. He almost always acts according to how he sees himself. Eventually, he opts to sacrifice wealth, fame, and comfort and commit himself entirely to science.<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 103; emphasis mine. Several keywords in Herzig’s précis—*glimpse*, *spheres*, *struggle(s)*, and *integrity*—are stressed because these terms appear again and again in scholarship on Lewis despite his rarely using them himself. In a 1948 interview, Lewis affirmed that “a lack of honesty and integrity” was the main thing he was satirizing in his fiction. Austin Allen, “Interview with Sinclair Lewis,” in *Sinclair Lewis Remembered*, edited by Scharnhorst and Hofer, 321. Lewis uses this exact phrase three times during the interview with relation to American education, politics, and life in general. See also Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 109 “[S]ociety is compartmentalized into various spheres and each sphere holds people with a similar belief and value system, cultivating a pragmatic environment where its inhabitants are communally encouraged to cash in their belief.” What Dongshin refers to as the novel’s pragmatism is what Lewis parodies as practicality, a social ill which can be summed up as the commercializing of one’s work and thus of one’s value(s).

<sup>416</sup> Michael Augspurger, “Sinclair Lewis’s Primers for the Professional Managerial Class: *Babbitt*, *Arrowsmith*, and *Dodsworth*,” *Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 34, no. 2 (Spring 2001), 93.

<sup>417</sup> Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 93. “Arrowsmith abandons at times his true self (Martin) for a false, unself-conscious social personality (Dr. Arrowsmith).” Lewis himself stated, “He is so definitely Martin, more than ‘Dr. Arrowsmith.’” Qtd. in Alfred Harcourt, *Some Experiences*, in *Sinclair Lewis Remembered*, edited by Scharnhorst and Hofer, 123.

Martin's personal integrity is the core of his identity—regardless of whether it is heroic or not. The construction of such an integrity<sup>418</sup> is the story that *Arrowsmith* tells. Martin is a “protagonist who cannot adjust, one who becomes ever more alienated as his life unfolds.”<sup>419</sup> He is “alienate[d]” by the “reality”<sup>420</sup> of his jobs because he sees them as distractions from his true work, which is to discover truth and contribute to human knowledge. Worse, he sees them as fundamentally at odds with the money-making and fame-generating values now being espoused by his fellow doctor-scientists. Eventually, this alienation, which manifests in him constantly leaving one job for another and usually better one in a bigger city,<sup>421</sup> culminates in his fleeing from corporatized work altogether.<sup>422</sup> Work, however, is a practical reality; it is necessary, useful, and *normal*. When someone sees their work in an ideal light the way that Martin does, then their practical work is no longer a source of light for them.

The practical reality of Martin's work leads to another key word: spaces. The “confining spheres” against which Lewisian idealists struggle to protect themselves might be seen as

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<sup>418</sup> Damian Cox *et al.*, s.v., “integrity,” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2017 ed., ed. Edward N. Zalta, Stanford: Metaphysics Research Lab, 20 Feb. 2017, [plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/integrity](https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/integrity). “[I]ntegrity refers to the wholeness, intactness, or purity of a thing—meanings that are sometimes carried over when it is applied to people.” (The word comes from the Latin *integer*, meaning complete, intact, or whole.) It is a formal relation one has with oneself or between separate parts of oneself. People who successfully integrate disparate parts of themselves into a harmonious character possess integrity. They display a strength of will in their intentions and corresponding actions so that their different parts come together in an integral self. To abandon even a fraction of oneself, then, is to forfeit that possibility for wholeness. Of course, values, commitments, and standards change over time, but staying true to one's ideals is the crux of maintaining integrity. Professional integrity is an aspect of one's professional identity. Someone who willingly accepts and committedly applies the knowledge, techniques, and values of a profession and acts in accordance with—or goes above—the standards and principles of appropriate moral and ethical behavior is someone with professional integrity. Those who lack personal integrity rarely exhibit professional integrity, and *vice versa*. While it may be admirable to live up to a set of shared communal values, someone who recognizes that some of these agreed-upon values have been corrupted—or are no longer (or never were) ideal—and thus defines their own values that much more stringently than those of their group is someone with absolute integrity.

<sup>419</sup> Stephen S. Conroy, “Sinclair Lewis's Sociological Imagination,” *American Literature* 42, no. 3 (Nov. 1970), 350.

<sup>420</sup> E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis (New York: Signet Classics, 2008), 453.

<sup>421</sup> Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis, vii. “Arrowsmith [...] wants so much to do pure research but seems to be blocked from this pursuit for most of the novel, usually because he is encouraged to choose the safer path, or at least the one where he will make more money.”

<sup>422</sup> Dennis Allen, “The Wilderness Convention in *Main Street*, *Babbitt* and *Arrowsmith*,” *Gypsy Scholar* 6 (1979), 86. “Arrowsmith has not internalized civilization.”

various manifestation of the “fortress of reality,”<sup>423</sup> the spatial metaphor of the limits imposed upon such characters’ unrealistic idealism.<sup>424</sup> As one ages, they often lose sight of their youthful visions, which fade away only to be replaced by real things. As Martin grows into adulthood, he finds himself increasingly subject to the practicalizing gazes of other, non- or less scientific characters—to make money and seem respectable in his social life, which directly correlates to making money and earning prestige for his employers. During college and medical school, his impassioned railing against practicality and commercialism may have annoyed his cohort, but mostly all of them return to congratulate him for putting away these childish things and becoming a normal man and doctor. But Martin is content with neither contemporary social constructions of masculinity nor of professionalism. He perceives that each of his numerous jobs and even more bosses have sought to chip away at him, alchemizing his personal scientific gold standard into practical results: patents, publications, profits, and prestige. These efforts to excavate his hard, mineral exterior to mine the precious diamond at his core—not because it is precious but because its preciousness makes his work profitable—leave Martin feeling broken and incomplete.

Throughout his story, Martin keeps alight his inner vision—his defining trait, which is to see and know. *Arrowsmith* opens with a “glimpse”<sup>425</sup> of Martin’s fourteen-year-old great-grandmother-to-be as she traverses the Ohio wilderness in a wagon in the early 1800s. This “otherwise unnecessary opening section”<sup>426</sup> is important because the half-page subchapter, if

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<sup>423</sup> Frederic I. Carpenter, “Sinclair Lewis and the Fortress of Reality,” *College English* 16, no. 7 (April 1955), 417.

<sup>424</sup> Lewis’s writing prior to and ending with *Arrowsmith* exhibits a tendency toward rebelliousness and freedom from existing society and its conventions. Afterward, his protagonists may seek temporary asylum *outside* of the supposed safety and security of these imaginary castle walls, but they always end up either failing or returning *inside* what Lewis deemed the materialistic, dull, and ugly status quo that is family, work, and American society. In *Arrowsmith*, however, the real walls of his cabin-laboratory make up the ramparts of his imagined castle in the sky.

<sup>425</sup> Dennis Allen, “Wilderness Convention,” 87.

<sup>426</sup> Martin Light, *Quixotic Vision*, 86.

taken as “a sort of epigraph,”<sup>427</sup> inscribes the American theme of rugged individualism within the pioneer tradition onto the next 450 pages. Emmy is willing to risk letting her fever-stricken father pass as they travel westward because her desire to see new things is paramount to what others might deem as morally wrong. Martin inherits this individualism from his “spunky ancestor.”<sup>428</sup> When her declaration—“They’s a whole lot of new things I aim to be seeing!” (1)—is taken with his concluding vision, it is clear why a century’s worth of critics have read the novel as championing a new scientific frontierism as the proper attitude of modern radical individuals.

The theme of seeing remains prevalent as Lewis repeatedly references characters’ eyes, views, and visions as metaphors for modern American life as seen through a lens of the doctor-scientist. Martin comes to see his individual vision of solitary and uninterrupted work is at odds with society’s expectations for its professionals. Although his career is constantly marred by failures to preserve his individuality under the practicalizing gaze of society, nevertheless his final resistance represents a return to the traditional ethic of romantic individualism and a turning away from the increasing standardization that contemporary society had wrought upon modern individuals.

Good normal doctors must be “practical men [...] trained in *practical* philosophy” (84), a dictum which roughly translates to selling out. Martin ultimately rejects society’s prescription to be practical,<sup>429</sup> which means settling down as “a perfectly *normal* man [and] decent *normal*

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<sup>427</sup> Thomas L. Shaffer, “The Professional Ethics of Individualism and Tragedy in Martin Arrowsmith’s Expedition to St. Hubert,” *Missouri Law Review* 54, no. 2 (Spring 1989), 264.

<sup>428</sup> Kenneth H. Wheeler, *Cultivating Regionalism: Higher Education and the Making of the American Midwest* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 100.

<sup>429</sup> Various characters express this theme throughout Martin’s story and career. “At the same time, Martin, one does have to be practical” (Lewis, 25). “He had Leora now, forever. For her, he must be sensible. He would return to work, and be Practical” (104). “If he had given up Gottlieb-worship and his yearning for the laboratory as for a sanctuary, if he had resolved to be a practical and wealth-mastering doctor, yet something of Gottlieb’s spirit remained” (110). “It’s all very fine, this business of pure research: seeking the truth, unhampered by commercialism or fame-chasing. Getting to the bottom. Ignoring consequences and practical uses” (120). “Not once did [Gottlieb] talk of the results of the sort called ‘practical’; [...] never [had he] produced anything which the public could understand” (122, 123). “[Gottlieb] had never visited McGurk but he considered it, next to Rockefeller and McCormick, the soundest and freest organization for pure scientific research in the country, and if he had pictured a Heavenly laboratory in which good scientists might spend eternity in happy and thoroughly impractical research, he would have devised it in

doctor" (17, 20; emphasis added). His desire to define himself completely through his own vision subverts the social norms placed on professionals in the twentieth century, the most pressing of which was that doctor-scientists keep up their appearance of middle-class respectability, which requires earning a solid income. Through Martin's discontent, Lewis renders visible the structural problems created for modern doctor-scientists by its profession's social utility in order to critique those problems. Escaping from the eyes of others and heading to the last physical place not yet infected by that all too human disease of civilization, however, proves to be an impossible dream as Lewis fails to offer a logical revision to the master plot of upward social mobility promised by professionalization. Still, his depiction of a modern doctor-scientist who keeps alive the traditional vision of professionalism is worthy of a closer look. While Martin may achieve a modicum of heroism in that he is granted with social authority based on his mastery of knowledge, he still feels constrained from pursuing his vision. To become truly independent in modern American culture, Lewis suggests, exceptional men often must defy norms that applied to other men.

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the likeness of McGurk" (141). "That's the kind of delusions these laboratory fellows get unless they have some practical practice to keep 'em well balanced" (176). "'Dignity, hell! If I had my way I'd be doing research—oh, not this cold detached stuff of Gottlieb but really practical work—and then I'd [...] jam 'em down people's throats!'" (178). "[Martin] made hysterical and completely impractical plans for escape" (203). "'I guess by this time you've gotten over the funny ideas you used to have about being practical—'commercialism' you used to call it. You can now see that you've got to support your wife and family, and if you don't, nobody else is going to'" (211). "He came to question what Pickerbaugh called 'the proven practical value' of his campaigns as much as the accuracy of Pickerbaugh's biology" (226). "'We'd be glad to have you do all the research you want, only we'd like it if you went at something practical'" (274). "'I have given your results the most careful consideration, Martin; I have talked them over with Dr. Gottlieb—though I must say he does not altogether share my enthusiasm about immediate practical results'" (321). "'Arrowsmith, I suspect you sometimes feel I lack a sense of scientific precision when I insist on practical results'" (330). "'Martin,' [Holabird] sighed, 'I find that our friend Ross McGurk is just a bit dissatisfied with the practical results that are coming out of the Institute and, to convince him, I'm afraid I really must ask you to put less emphasis on bacteriophage for the moment and take up influenza'" (418). "'We are at last going to make all the erstwhile chaotic spiritual activities of America really conform to the American ideal; we're going to make them as practical and supreme as the manufacture of cash-registers!'" (441). "Holabird went on: 'Now I know, Martin, that you've always rather sneered at Practicalness, but I have faith in you! I believe you've been too much under the influence of Wickett, and now that he's gone you've seen more of life and of Joyce's set and mine, I believe I can coax you to take (oh! without in any way neglecting the severities of your lab work!) a broader view'" (441).



More than an epic of the modern doctor-scientist, *Arrowsmith* is also a synecdoche and *bildungsroman*<sup>430</sup> for American scientific medicine. Martin's career trajectory aligns with advances in the nascent field of scientific medicine and is thus representative of an important era in its history.<sup>431</sup> Beginning with his training as a state medical school student and hospital resident and following through his short-lived tenures as a country doctor, public health official, clinical pathologist, and leading research scientist, the novel encapsulates the development of not only a single doctor-scientist but also of professional scientific medicine. As such, it is a professional metanarrative following Martin's sentimental education from small-town midwestern boy to world-renowned scientist and the transformation from the traditional art of medicine into a modern science. As he repeatedly falls upward, earning more money and acclaim at each stage, the arc of his progression reaches its zenith<sup>432</sup> relatively early in his and his profession's corresponding developments. By 1916, when he is only 33, Martin is making \$5000 per year<sup>433</sup> and working at the McGurk Institute, the leading biomedical foundation in the US. However, at each stop along the way he feels stymied by external pressures that prevent him from doing what he sees as his true work. The nostalgic longing for the country doctor is shown as an illusion, the efficacy of public health is thwarted by the people whom it is meant to protect, and even the most respected independent research establishments are beholden to the passing whims, publicity stunts, political ambitions, and profit-margins of its bureaucratic leaders and

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<sup>430</sup> Numerous critics categorize *Arrowsmith* as a *bildungsroman*. See Anne Hudson Jones, "Images of Physicians in Literature: Medical Bildungsromans," *Lancet* 348, no. 9029 (Sep. 1996), 734-36; Thomas Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930-1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 278; E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, 453; and Ilana Löwy, "Arrowsmith's Clinical Trial," 461.

<sup>431</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, "Scientist as Hero," 450. "Martin Arrowsmith's professional biography is a record not only of the progress of a confused and easily misled young man toward emotional and intellectual fulfillment; it is the recapitulation in one man's life of the development of medicine in the United States. Each stage of Arrowsmith's career corresponds to a particular stage in the evolution of American medicine."

<sup>432</sup> Zenith is one of the tongue-in-cheek fictional place names that Lewis reuses throughout his works. Here, he designates it as the location where Martin first practices medicine as an internist at the Zenith General Hospital.

<sup>433</sup> Approximately \$125,000 in 2021.

benefactors. Martin's thoroughgoing struggle to stay true to the traditional values of the man of science—specifically his absolute intellectual and social autonomy—represent the difficulties faced by doctor-scientists at this time. The institutionalization of scientific medicine,<sup>434</sup> which culminated in its commercial transformation during his lifetime,<sup>435</sup> ensnares Martin in a “sticky web of medical professionalism”<sup>436</sup> that subjects him to the observations and expectations about doctor-scientists from those around him. Eventually, Martin's sense of being trapped overwhelms him to the point that he abandons his family, society, and career, all of which he sees as tainted by provincial Babbittry and medical *Ga-Ga-ism*,<sup>437</sup> and retreats from public view so that he can finally begin work as an “authentic scientist” (279).

*Arrowsmith* is a professional morality tale about a single doctor-scientist's struggle to defend his professional ideals and integrity<sup>438</sup> against the overwhelming pressure to conform to the practical commercialism<sup>439</sup> of modern American culture. By 1920, professionals were

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<sup>434</sup> H.M. Fangerau, “The Novel *Arrowsmith*, Paul de Kruif and Jacques Loeb: A Literary Portrait of ‘Medical Science,’ *Medical Humanities* 32, no. 2 (Dec. 2006), 82. “[T]he struggles of the main character [are] an allegory of the institutionalisation of medical research in the US.”

<sup>435</sup> For a history of the modern commercialization of US science, see Philip Mirowski and Esther-Mirjam Sent, “The Commercialization of Science and the Response of [Science and Technology Studies],” in *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., edited by Edward J. Hackett et. al. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), 635-89.

<sup>436</sup> Philip Barrish, “Sticky Web of Medical Professionalism,” 586, 607.

<sup>437</sup> Howard Markel, “Reflections on *Arrowsmith*,” 374. Merriam-Webster Dictionary, s.v. “Babbitt,” <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Babbitt>, accessed September 2, 2021. “A person and especially a business or professional man who conforms unthinkingly to prevailing middle-class standards.” *Ga-Ga-ism* is a term coined by scientist de Kruif, who collaborated with Lewis on *Arrowsmith*. Paul de Kruif, “Medicine,” in *Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry by Thirty Americans*, edited by Harold E. Stearns, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922) 449. “The ‘science’ underlying this astounding practice is admirably outlined in the book of [Dr. Frank] Billings called ‘Focal Infection.’ It is the most striking example of medical *Ga-Ga-ism* that has appeared in our country. It is, as its author himself admits, a triumph of the new idea of team-work and co-operative research in medicine. The factors giving rise to this lamentable *Ga-Ga* are the gullibility of patient and doctor, the emotional element entering into the interpretation of all of the phenomena observed by the physician, commercialism, and, finally, the self-limiting nature of most disease. So much for the Art of Healing as practised by the physicians of America.” Lewis satirized the theory of focal infection, popular in the 1920s but largely discredited by the ‘40s, which held that many chronic diseases occurred because of primary infections in various focal points in the body, especially the tonsils (82-83, 151-52, 217, 270), the ideal of “co-operation with your own group, but with those outside it, competition to the death!” (324), and nostalgia for the “Artist Healer” (119) in Drs. Roscoe Geake, Almus Pickerbaugh, Rouncefield, A. DeWitt Tubbs, and T.J.H. Silva, respectively.

<sup>438</sup> James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 48.

<sup>439</sup> Lisa L. Lynch, “*Arrowsmith* Goes Native: Medicine and Empire in Fiction and Film,” *Mosaic* 33, no. 4 (2000), 203.

increasingly stressed by a rapidly transforming society in which their individual worth was determined by the price at which their labor could be sold. While the professionalization myth held that the traditional professions of law, medicine, and the ministry were still outside the competitive marketplace, modern scientific medicine had become corrupted by cash in the eyes of many observers. Doctor-scientists were often required to compromise their ideals in the face of new levels of scrutiny and oversight from supervisors who knew less than them—or next to nothing—about scientific medicine.<sup>440</sup> While medicine’s scientification and science’s medicalization had specialized both bodies of knowledge, thereby conferring upon its professionals both a high degree of cultural autonomy, their authority was increasingly defined by an accumulation of wealth and status<sup>441</sup> rather than a traditional incorporation of knowledge and power. Because their professional ideals required contributing to the public good, doctor-scientists were rewarded with money and notoriety for their intellectual labors and services provided. Many experienced doctor-scientists were willing to sacrifice their professional autonomy for this authority, and more future ones were drawn to the profession because its practitioners were now receiving adequate—or above average—compensation for their work. Indeed, Martin accumulates more and more capital across various fields within his profession; by the last chapter he is offered the full directorship of the “freest organization for scientific research in the country” (141). His cultural authority notwithstanding, he still feels confined by what he would have previously considered a vast amount of freedom earlier in his career. Furthermore, this “freedom” is made more ironic as he now has all the funding and resources to perform his work but still none of the time or authority to do so. Without much room for

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<sup>440</sup> The medical profession had been purporting itself to be a science as well as an art for decades because it helped to change the way their profession was perceived by the public. This transformation afforded them the esteem they desired and allowed them to reap the socioeconomic rewards that came with such recognition, all without sacrificing the altruistic ideal of healing. Concurrently, scientists, whose work had traditionally been perceived by American culture as too abstract, theoretical, or experimental—and therefore impractical—found a logical application for their labors in the practice of medicine. This merging led to major impacts on both professions.

<sup>441</sup> Paul Starr, *Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 80.

advancement and thus more autonomy, Martin succumbs to the pressure to adopt a wider and more practical view. As will be seen, however, this does not last.

If the eighteenth-century French clinic was the site where the traditional subject died and the modern individual was born, then the birth of the literary doctor-scientist as hero<sup>442</sup> takes place in tiny Elk Mills in the fictitious Midwest state of Winnemac in 1897. The reader first sees Martin as the fourteen-year-old unpaid apprentice of Doc Vickerson, the town's "alcoholic country doctor,"<sup>443</sup> de facto dentist and surgeon, and amateur curator of medico-curios. In his "ragged" (3) office-apartment, Vickerson, a self-proclaimed "[s]cientif pioneer" and "old failure" (5), gives Martin his "beloved" magnifying glass (6). He looks on mournfully as the boy carelessly slips his prized possession into his shirt front-pocket. The "fuss"<sup>444</sup> made over this minor scene points toward Martin's problem of sight: the item's intended use is to be looked to magnify objects otherwise invisible to the human eye. Rather than looking outward—even as an empty gesture of thanks—Martin immediately puts it somewhere that cancels its power to increase his vision. Ironically, pocketing it also positions him within the readerly gaze. The magnifying glass may never be mentioned again but Martin always remains in focus.

From Elk Mills, Martin goes on to attend the University of Winnemac, "a Ford Motor Factory [assembling] standardized [...] men and women who will lead moral lives" (7), and then Winnemac Medical School, which mass-produces "too many [...] admirable and perhaps altogether necessary [...] ordinary physicians" (126-27). Here, Martin begins to discover himself.<sup>445</sup> Typically, someone's family provides an example for who they will become. However, almost no mention is made of Martin's family.<sup>446</sup> Aside from the brief glimpse of his great-

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<sup>442</sup> G.S. Rousseau, "Literature and Medicine," 420.

<sup>443</sup> H.M. Fangerau, "Novel *Arrowsmith*," 83.

<sup>444</sup> Martin Light, *Quixotic Vision*, 87.

<sup>445</sup> This self-discovery is a process that he never truly completes. In fact, as late as chapter 25, when Martin is a thirty-two-year-old married pathologist, he and Leora still do not know "What is this Martin Arrowsmith and whither is he going?" (Lewis, 272).

<sup>446</sup> T.R. Fyvel, "Martin Arrowsmith and His Habitat," in *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Arrowsmith: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Robert Griffin (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), 96.

grandmother,<sup>447</sup> his relatives are nonexistent, especially once he goes off to college.<sup>448</sup> Martin spends much of his early life searching for a suitable father-figure.<sup>449</sup> Martin's one genetic trait—his personal desire to see and know new things<sup>450</sup>—lacks someone to help him channel this natural passion into a proper technique, including the discipline to observe and master whatever he looks at. As a Junior, Martin idolizes Professor Edward “Encore” Edwards, “a pure teacher”<sup>451</sup> who no longer conducted “researches” (7) but is beloved for his didactic theatricality. But while attending a college-wide party one dark and stormy night, Martin hears about Dr. Max Gottlieb, a brilliant and mysterious professor and the foremost expert in the world on immunology. The other professors describe him as an “impersonal [...] devil-worshiper and anarchist” who takes “diabolic pleasure in disproving his own contentions” (8, 9). Despite what some might take as a portent,<sup>452</sup> Martin wanders over to the building where Gottlieb works after the party. High above him he sees a “single light” in the dark façade that quickly goes out with Martin's approaching step, “as though an agitated watcher were trying to hide from him” (9). Moments later, a shadowy figure emerges “self-contained, apart [and] looked at Martin, and through him” (9-10).

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“Having no family or background Martin can be left conveniently without any (non-scientific) individual traits.”

<sup>447</sup> Steven Michels, *Sinclair Lewis and Democracy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 3. “Martin is, we immediately discern, his great-grandmother's son,”

<sup>448</sup> “The University had become his world. For him Elk Mills did not exist. Doc Vickerson was dead and buried and forgotten; Martin's father and mother were dead” (Lewis, 7).

<sup>449</sup> Throughout the novel, Martin repeatedly swaps one father-figure for another. Although there will be several other surrogate fathers, nevertheless one man exudes the strongest and most influential presence in his life. Martin's need is expressed early in his career: “And the great god Sondelius had slain Dean Silva, as Silva had slain Gottlieb, Gottlieb had slain ‘Encore’ Edwards the playful chemist, Edwards had slain Doc Vickerson” (Lewis, 184). Rather than helping run his father's store, the New York Clothing Bazaar, Martin devotes his time to Vickerson.

<sup>450</sup> Marilyn Morgan Helleberg, “Paper-Doll Characters,” 18. “He is a man with a dominant trait[:] his drive toward scientific individualism.”

<sup>451</sup> Steven Michels, *Lewis and Democracy*, 3.

<sup>452</sup> Elsewhere Gottlieb is called a “monstrous” “Mephisto” (34, 122) with “saturnine eyes” (293) who “could create life in the laboratory” (8)—though he “had more fun destroying other people's theories than creating [his] own” 119). Mephisto is an alternative diminutive form of Mephistopheles, the demon from German folklore who first appears in the Faust legend. Mephisto served as an agent of the Devil on earth who tempted men already damned to sell their souls to his master in exchange for some unlimited knowledge or power for the rest of their lifetimes.

Gottlieb's spectrality as an otherworldly man of science stems from his shadowy presence as well as his scrutinizing gaze. Martin is initially drawn to this figure shrouded in mystery because it confirms his romantic vision of a scientist working in his lab—all night, alone, and abortively. He intensely desires to be seen by this great man, but Gottlieb looks right through him. Throughout the rest of Martin's life—and especially those moments when he risks losing sight of “the vision of Gottlieb” (374, 382)—Martin strives to be seen by Gottlieb, who embodies his ideal doctor-scientist. However, he is also “haunted by his critical gaze”<sup>453</sup> and the formidable shadow cast by this “lean giant” (324). Gottlieb's uncanny presence looms over his future protégé's life and career—so much so, in fact, that Lewis originally wanted to title the book *In the Shadow of Max Gottlieb*.<sup>454</sup> But as Gottlieb's presence diminishes—both in terms of his degrading physical<sup>455</sup> and mental health as well as his decreasing number of textual appearances—Martin emerges from his shadow with a stronger sense of who he is, though it remains unclear until the very end where that shadow ends and where Martin begins. Gottlieb will teach Martin the correct means of how to see and know but, more importantly, what real perception and knowledge—and thus power—looks like.<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct: A Lacanian Diagnostics of Integrity Challenges in Science Novels* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2017), 134.

<sup>454</sup> Other working titles included “The Barbarian” (see note 406), “The Stumbler,” “Arrowsmith,” “Dr. Arrowsmith,” “Martin” (illustrating that Lewis envisioned separate, distinct personalities for his protagonist), “M.D.,” “Civilized,” “The Savage,” “The Destroyer,” “Test Tube,” “White Tile,” “Brains,” “Work,” and “Horizon.” Lyon N. Richardson, “*Arrowsmith*: Genesis, Development, Versions,” *American Literature* 27, no. 2 (May 1955), 226; Yeonsik Jung, “Immunity of Empire,” *Literature and Medicine* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2016), 185; and Steven Michels, *Lewis and Democracy*, 9. Two other suggestions—simply *Leora* and “The Gods of Martin Arrowsmith” came from Alfred Harcourt, whose firm published the novel, and de Kruif, who scribbled the quote on his copy, respectively. James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 54, 65 n. 25, 59, 63. Lewis had written a note addressed to de Kruif atop one of the pages: “Martin-Leora-Gottlieb [...] are the book.” See “Arrowsmith typescript,” Lewis Collection, Humanities Research Center, 427; qtd. in James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 59.) Later, Harcourt suggested adding the word “Doctor” in front of “Arrowsmith” to try to soften Lewis's hardened cynicism and also indicate to the public its author's approval of his creation.

<sup>455</sup> Gottlieb's professional masculinity is constituted by professional gaze, knowledge, and power. Lewis represents this traditionally disembodied masculinity through the “diminution” of Gottlieb's “anemic and aged” body (Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 109-110; Yeonsik Jung, “Immunity of Empire,” 202).

<sup>456</sup> Gottlieb's “ironic power” (122) embodies the contradiction of masculine professionalism, in which power-knowledge is at once traditionally masculine and disembodied. This sentiment is best expressed by Martin's wife, Leora, when she first meets him: “[H]e's the greatest man I've ever seen! I don't know how I know, but he is! Dr. Silva is a darling, but that was a *great* man! I wish—I wish we were going to see

Gottlieb is what Freud called a *Mischperson*,<sup>457</sup> a mish-mashed mortal molded in the image of a godlike archetype. He is a “muddy mélange”<sup>458</sup> of the heroes of the Golden Age of Modern Science as well as the embodiment of a Wicked Wizard from medieval times.<sup>459</sup> He is a pure doctor-scientist<sup>460</sup> who expresses the novel’s ideal vision<sup>461</sup> of professionalism. He becomes Martin’s “mentor,” “inspirer,” “guiding spirit,” “intellectual conscience,” “beacon of integrity, scientific prophet, window into the future,” and “obsession.”<sup>462</sup> In short, he is “Arrowsmith’s scientific superego.”<sup>463</sup> This feeling is mutual: Gottlieb comes to regard Martin as his second son and envisions him carrying on his work’s vision.<sup>464</sup> Eventually, Gottlieb

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him again. There’s the first man I ever laid eyes on that I’d leave you for, if he wanted me. He’s so—oh, he’s like a sword—no, he’s like a brain walking” (Lewis, 120-21). In her eyes, Gottlieb is traditionally masculine: great, arousing, powerful, and intellectual. He is masculine knowledge and power personified: “like a brain walking” and “like a sword”—a disembodied blade that pierces whatever it sees. Like Frederic’s Ledsmar, Gottlieb exerts a powerful influence over the naïve protagonist that is primarily visual. Both Ledsmar and Gottlieb are German-born and -trained, seclude themselves from the comforts of the private sphere and the competition of the public spheres, are obsessively devoted to science, and are disillusioned by modern medicine’s lack of scientificity.

<sup>457</sup> Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 120.

<sup>458</sup> Paul de Kruif, *The Sweeping Wind: A Memoir* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962), 97-98; qtd. in Robert L. Coard, “Sinclair Lewis, Max Gottlieb, and Sherlock Holmes,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 31, no. 3 (Fall 1985), 565. Gottlieb represents a merging of several scientific “god-fathers”—the aforementioned Koch (1843-1910) and Loeb (1859-1924) and also Frederick Novy (1864-1957). Gottlieb refers to Koch and Loeb, respectively, as “Father Koch [and] Brother Loeb” (Lewis, 39).

<sup>459</sup> Unlike Ledsmar, Gottlieb is humane. He acknowledges he might be perceived as “an executioner” (Lewis, 34) for injecting a guinea pig with anthrax during a classroom experiment. Still, Martin wonders whether “Gottlieb, in his secluded innocence, had not yet realized what it meant to gain leave to experiment amid the hysteria of an epidemic” (375). For more on the connections between Ledsmar and Gottlieb, compare Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, chap 2, “The New Biblical Criticism and Darwinism: Harold Frederic’s *The Damnation of Theron Ware*” and chap. 5, “A Research Scientist’s Religion: Sinclair Lewis’s *Arrowsmith*.”

<sup>460</sup> Robert L. Coard, “Lewis, Gottlieb, and Holmes,” 565; Glen A. Love, “New Pioneering on the Prairie,” 571.

<sup>461</sup> Martin Light, *Quixotic Vision*, 94. “Gottlieb has the task of expressing the themes of the book.” See Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 82. He is “the novel’s guiding spirit.”

<sup>462</sup> Robert L. Coard, “Lewis, Gottlieb, and Holmes,” 565; James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 51; Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 82; Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 102; Yeonsik Jung, “Rockefeller Institute,” *Explicator* 74, no. 2 (2016), 86; Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 124.

<sup>463</sup> Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 102.

<sup>464</sup> “Gottlieb was as aware of Martin as Martin of him [...] he would make the boy’s career his own” (Lewis, 125-26). Lisa L. Lynch, “*Arrowsmith* Goes Native,” 204. “Gottlieb has to argue with him, and finally plead with him, reminding Martin that he is an old man and he has always expected Martin to carry on his own life’s work.” Martin’s search for a father mirrors Gottlieb’s search for a son. Gottlieb’s biological son, Robert Koch Gottlieb, is a ne’er-do-well and wannabe social climber who resents his father’s resistance to capitalizing off his knowledge. Later, Gottlieb tells Martin that he and Terry are “the only real sons I have” (Lewis, 353). Wickett unknowingly repeats the pet-name of “Pa” for Gottlieb (286), the same one that Clif

confesses to Martin in their last conversation before the “cantankerous old scientist”<sup>465</sup> degrades into senile dementia that the phage experiment will be his final and most significant contribution to science.<sup>466</sup> For Gottlieb, Martin represents the culmination of his life’s vision—just as Gottlieb embodies for Martin the traditional values that modern science has lost sight of.

On his first day of medical school two years later, Martin goes to Gottlieb to ask for the instructor’s permission to take his bacteriology class this semester instead of next year. Gottlieb dismisses him. The following year, the second-year medical student is at a microscope in the bacteriological laboratory. His intense concentration is gently interrupted by Gottlieb’s presence:

a weary step [...] and a hand on [his] shoulder. Silently Martin raised his head, pushed the eyepiece toward him. [...] Gottlieb peered at the preparation. [...]

“Splendid! You have craftsmanship. Oh, there is an art in science—for a few. You Americans, so many of you—all full with ideas, but you are impatient with the beautiful dullness of long labors. I see already—and I watch you in the lab before—” (37).

This is the first time that Gottlieb sees Martin,<sup>467</sup> who comes into being as a doctor-scientist under Gottlieb’s gaze. Their shared act of looking through the same lens signifies Martin’s complete acceptance of Gottlieb’s vision. Gottlieb, whose “hawk eyes” (11) “were watching [his students] always” (36), recognizes the potential of this young American man, of whom he had already previously taken notice. He invites Martin up to his lab at midnight that night for a conversation and bite to eat. At the ritualistic consumption of cold sandwiches, Gottlieb initiates this new disciple into the occult practice of true science. Gottlieb divulges his personal history to Martin. As he does, the previously shadowy scientist materializes into an actual person. Gottlieb

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Clawson had comically christened him back in medical school (29), and also refers to Martin as “our trusting new lil brother” and “Brer Arrowsmith” (286, 287).

<sup>465</sup> Jay Tepperman, “The Research Scientist in Modern Fiction,” *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 3, no. 4 (Summer 1960), 551. See also E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, 453.

“Fortunately, Martin has done some research that happens to come to the attention of his cantankerous old professor, Max Gottlieb.”

<sup>466</sup> He says to Martin, “if but one fine thing could come, to justify me—” (Lewis, 354).

<sup>467</sup> When Martin, then an undergraduate junior, first wanders over to the university building where Gottlieb works one rainy night, he sees a “single light” in the dark façade that quickly goes out as he approaches, “as though an agitated watcher were trying to hide from him” (Lewis, 9). Moments later, the still-unknown man emerges, “self-contained, apart. [...] He looked at Martin, and through him” (9-10).



presciently divines that Martin, like himself, is less of a doctor than a scientist: “I do not t’ink you will be a good doctor. Good doctors are fine—often they are artists—but their trade, it is not for us lonely ones that work in labs” (38). The cult of science requires the scientist to master a supernatural craft to add to the world of knowledge and is wholly different from the practice of medicine, in which “carpenters” (29, 113, 130) work their “craft” (131) for worldly wages. Gottlieb’s is a “mystical” (275, 278) view of scientific medicine as a pursuit untainted by profits<sup>468</sup> and returns it to its premodern status as an almost holy calling rather than a lucrative profession.<sup>469</sup>

From the moment he receives Gottlieb’s recognition, Martin is enchanted with the beautiful dullness of working late in a laboratory. His endless nights there are imbued “with a spiritual [and] inherently transcendent quality.”<sup>470</sup> Martin may start out merely imitating his scientific master but he quickly realizes that the confined space of this “privileged truth-spot”<sup>471</sup> allows his scientific soul to swell and his spirit to soar with each never-before-seen living phenomena that comes under his microscope.

None of Martin’s Digamma Pi fraternity brothers in medical school—Angus Duer, Irving Watters, Rev. Ira Hinkley, “Fatty” Pfaff, and Clif Clawson—see science this way. Each turn into some version of what Gottlieb calls “Men of Measured Merriment” (272): they all see medicine (and its increasingly necessary component of science) as a professional means to a social end. By the 1920s, all the members of the class of 1909 are either men with fake, manufactured

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<sup>468</sup> From the perspective of their profit-minded supervisors and their patient consumers, doctor-scientists should provide immediate, practical, and useful results—at competitive prices.

<sup>469</sup> Paul Lucier, “Professional and Scientist,” 699. “In nineteenth century America there was no such person as a ‘professional scientist.’” Lucier opens his essay by juxtaposing *The Century Dictionary*’s entry for *Professional science*, which simply cross-references the one for *Lucrative science*. William Dwight Whitney, ed., *The Century Dictionary*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (New York: The Century Co., 1889), s.vv. “Lucrative science,” “Professional science,” qtd. in Paul Lucier, 699. *Lucrative science* was defined as “A science cultivated as a means of living, as law, medicine, theology, etc.” while *Professional science* read: “Same as *lucrative science*.” See chapter 1, note 81.

<sup>470</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, “Scientist as Hero,” 453.

<sup>471</sup> On the shared sociology of science and space, see Thomas F. Gieryn, “Three Truth-Spots,” “City as Truth-Spot.”

smiles who seek money, fame, and titles instead of truth or “decent normal doctors” content with building their “decent regular practice[s]” (178). Worse than “guess-work [...] carpenters” or “lowbrow[] commercialists” (29), these men will embody everything wrong with new medicine.<sup>472</sup>

Martin’s professional self-conflict, expressed throughout his studies, stems from his lack of a core identity,<sup>473</sup> which creates a need to be recognized and accepted.<sup>474</sup> His personality and professionalism are split between types—adventurous-analytic; competitive-cooperative; curious-dreamer; dependable-pragmatic—and his job duties compartmentalized between doctor-scientist; gadgeteer-inventor; engineer-explorer; and practitioner-pioneer. Personally and professionally, these dualities can be boiled down to idealism and realism. Despite his more fantastical proclivities and his psychological and professional ebbs and flows, Martin always progresses socially by constantly being pulled toward the real and away from “the lure to questioning and adventure” (3) that first drew him to scientific medicine. He falls upward from common to rare to mythic levels of achievement before fading away as a simple survivor-scientist living and working in the woods.

But Martin discovers himself by becoming Gottlieb’s disciple. “However abstracted and impractical” (136) Gottlieb may be, he is “a scientist of unfaltering morals and genius”<sup>475</sup> who teaches Martin the value of technique and “method.”<sup>476</sup> Eventually Martin applies these professional values to his entire life. But to do so he must turn his back on not only practicality but also upon practice itself. Lewis presents this psychological struggle in terms of the ways in

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<sup>472</sup> Respectively, they become a “perfect [...] surgeon” (269) who would “walk to success over his grandmother’s head” (39); a “paragon of professional normality” (72); a proselytizing “medical missionary” (113); a sympathetic “baby-snatcher” (113); or quit altogether.<sup>472</sup> Martin will be different.

<sup>473</sup> Martin Light, *Quixotic Vision*, 86. “From the opening, Martin Arrowsmith is a wanderer, a fancier, a romantic. He searches for the common sense aspect of himself, for some outward figures who can encourage his control over romance and keep him at his work, and for a basis upon which to criticize those fools, clowns, hypocrites, and exploiters he counters in various heroic engagements.” Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 123. “Spurred on by Gottlieb’s personal example, Arrowsmith begins to work out his own core values.”

<sup>474</sup> Elaine Ware, “A Psychological Portrait of Infantile Regression in Sinclair Lewis’ *Arrowsmith*,” *Journal of Evolutionary Psychology* 9 (1989), 166, 168.

<sup>475</sup> Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 82.

<sup>476</sup> Steven Michels, *Lewis and Democracy*, 4.

which Martin sees and is seen as a professional. He contrasts Martin's individual desire to see and know the unseen with his being made to feel eminently visible as a modern doctor-scientist. Confined by the practicalizing gaze of society, Martin sequentially succumbs to his need to be noticed by repressing his scientific desire to see. By literally and figuratively placing himself behind Vickerson's magnifying glass, Martin signals his personal need to be seen; but in looking through Gottlieb's microscope, he looks outward, indicating his greater need to see. Like many of Lewis's other characters, Martin sees a sickened society. Conforming to social expectations may grant him the personal validation that he seeks but means compromising his vision for himself. Worse, doing so would prove effectively terminal: a death-in-life, personally and professionally.<sup>477</sup>

After two years serving under Gottlieb's supervision as his laboratory assistant, the exhausted graduate student tires of the "cantankerous old professor."<sup>478</sup> The two men have a falling out and Martin elopes with Leora Tozer, whom he met while she was candy-striping at Zenith General. Compelled to see "he must be [...] Practical" (104) to support his new wife by his father-in-law as well as the Dean of the Medical College, Dr. T.J.H. "Dad" Silva, Martin resolves to "be a good boy" (104), complete his medical degree, and become a general practitioner—all without Gottlieb. He reverts to courses in practical medicine instead of research bacteriology with the goal of eventually opening a private practice in Leora's hometown of Wheatsylvania, North Dakota, the first of many professional settings where Martin is subjected to the practicalizing gaze, which seeks to coerce him into giving up his vision.

Martin tries a little bit of everything in his quest to discover himself in his chosen profession. Throughout his dissatisfied performance of his quotidian duties, he tries to resist scratching his constant itch to cloister himself in the lab until he sees and knows by repressing

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<sup>477</sup> See note 500, below.

<sup>478</sup> E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, 453.

or sublimating the “unnatural”<sup>479</sup> urges for impractical science. He even convinces himself that abstinence has cured his addiction. After a year as Zenith General Hospital resident, under Silva’s watchful eye, he realizes:

It was all so much easier, now that he was partly freed from the tyrannical honesty of Gottliebism, from the unswerving quest for causes which, as it drove through layer below layer, seemed ever farther from the bottommost principles, from the intolerable strain of learning day by day how much he did not know (110-11).

No longer in Gottlieb’s shadow, Martin has become a practical man in the real world<sup>480</sup>—even though his new life will practically kill him. He is racked with guilt about abandoning Gottlieb and struggles to cope with the loss. Moreover, he experiences withdrawal symptoms from not getting his lab fix.<sup>481</sup> Martin stays sober for about five years—he graduates medical school, completes his residency, and opens a small private practice. Occasionally he scratches his itch by sneaking into the hospital laboratory, retreating to his makeshift home-lab, or conducting an experiment in the name of public health, but these interspersed events only temporarily relieve his cravings for round-the-clock research and experimentation. These are all futile attempts “to satisfy and perhaps kill his scientific lust” (119) so that he might be a decent normal husband and doctor.

After only a year of practicing medicine on the prairie, the “inconspicuous but not discouraged country doctor” (163) experiences a series of professional disappointments on his “stumble into respectability” (164). He loses his very first patient, a young Norwegian farmgirl,

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<sup>479</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 37.

<sup>480</sup> As Martin and Leora reach the prairie town by buggy, Martin exclaims: “I feel as if all the Zenith dust and hospital lint were washed out of my lungs. Dakota. Real man’s country. Frontier. Opportunity. America!” (Lewis, 142).

<sup>481</sup> Lewis uses the vocabulary of addiction to describe Martin’s urges about working in the laboratory: He wants to work twenty-four hours a day in a lab, working late, every night (Lewis, 49, 261, 435). When not in the lab, he longs for it, day-dreams about it, moons over it, yearns for it; even when satiated he wants to “go back and start all over again” (397, 31, 49, 93, 110). Not being in it makes him sick, reckless, and reasonless (118, 155, 307, 8). Being there makes him happy and ecstatic (198, 290) but also “dizzy [...] like a drunken man” (286, 299). However, overwork pushes him to “the edge [of] madness” (317). He realizes that his wish to “sink blissfully into [an] oblivion[n]” that “wiped out everything else” (257, 306) is the unhealthy desire of a hungry savage (276, 313) but feels that he is “no good outside the laboratory” (215).

because he fails to act decisively. Afterward he visits Dr. Hesselink, who counsels him to be content in the country and not be so superior toward his patients—and always call in a more experienced physician during particularly troublesome cases—for a small consulting fee. He also faces his own tragedy as Leora miscarries. But after being M. Arrowsmith, M.D. long enough to “gather[] a practice small, sound, and in no way remarkable” (164) in Wheatsylvania (Pop. 362), Martin starts feeling a “twitchy discomfort” (167).<sup>482</sup>

Midway through his short-lived career as a practicing physician, he spots an advertisement for an address to be delivered by Dr. Gustav Sondelius at the University of Minnesota. He finds new passion in the “swashbuckling”<sup>483</sup> “soldier of science” (169), who has spanned the globe fighting a war on infectious diseases. Martin sees in him an ideal authority of public health, a field that he himself had recently and rather controversially entered by developing a vaccine for bovine blackleg in nearby Crynssen County. For encroaching into other peoples’ business—and onto their professional turf—he is criticized by farmers, physicians, and the state veterinarian.<sup>484</sup> Feeling discouraged and conspicuous, Martin attends Sondelius’s lecture and afterward stays out late carousing with the larger-than-life scientific persona. Sondelius temporarily fills-in the absent space for a father-figure left when Martin abandoned the “Gottlieb-cult” (170). Again, Martin possesses no non-scientific traits<sup>485</sup> but by watching and emulating Gottlieb, Martin had glimpsed a vision of his ideal future self.<sup>486</sup> Whereas Gottlieb embodies pure scientific integrity,<sup>487</sup> other, more modern doctor-scientists represent hypocrisy

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<sup>482</sup> “Martin more desperately than ever felt the whole country watching him [...] however sturdily he struggled he saw himself outside the picture of Wheatsylvania and trudging years of country practice” (Lewis, 177).

<sup>483</sup> Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis, vii.

<sup>484</sup> This episode foreshadows his simultaneous successes and failures dealing with typhoid in Delft, small-pox in Mencken County, diphtheria in Wheatsylvania, streptococcus and tuberculosis in Nautilus, and Bubonic plague in St. Hubert and reveals public health to be an impossible ideal within the medical profession as it is now structured.

<sup>485</sup> T.R. Fyvel, “Martin and His Habitat,” in *Twentieth Century Interpretations*, edited by Robert Griffin, 96 (see note 446); Marilyn Morgan Helleberg, “Paper-Doll Characters,” 18.

<sup>486</sup> Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 82; Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 123.

<sup>487</sup> Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 82; Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 125.

and practicality. Sondelius, however, strikes a balance between these two extremes: he has all the faith in the world in science but likewise values it as a means to an end—albeit his vision is intrinsically altruistic and humanitarian and not economic or political. However, Sondelius is too expansive a personality, too prototypical a hero, to fill the Gottlieb-sized hole in Martin. Namely, he is too interested in the Public—not only being in it but also fighting (and even eventually dying) for it.<sup>488</sup> He is nonetheless critical because he guides Martin's career back toward science and away from medicine at a time when Martin is in danger of giving up his vision entirely.

Martin's personal conflict is embodied in the professional conflict between science and medicine. To say that *Arrowsmith* champions science and vilifies medicine, though, is too simplistic. Lewis may streamline the competing spheres of medicine and science,<sup>489</sup> but he expresses neither disdain for medicine as a practice nor for the honest medical practitioner. His gripe is with *bad* doctors—fame- and money-chasing, careless, deceitful, unskilled, and, most damningly, unscientific doctors. Within both “practical medicine” and “experimental medicine,”<sup>490</sup> two of the three spheres—the third being public health—in which Martin circulates, “[a] large gallery of doctors is exposed.”<sup>491</sup> Martin encounters an ensemble cast of flat, one-sided characters<sup>492</sup> that each represents some less idealistic vision of the profession.<sup>493</sup> Every

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<sup>488</sup> Lewis revealed that Sondelius is his “favorite” character. See Lyon N. Richardson, “Genesis, Development, Versions,” 228-29. “Sondelius can be envisioned as possessing most of Gottlieb’s integrity without his irascibility, and most of Arrowsmith’s devotion to a scientific venture without his somewhat persistent immaturity and lack of balance or ability to be a moderator among men.”

<sup>489</sup> H.M. Fangerau, “Novel *Arrowsmith*,” 82. “[T]he novel depicts a reductionist philosophy of research that seems to contradict the ‘messiness’ of medical practice.”

<sup>490</sup> H.M. Fangerau, “Novel *Arrowsmith*,” 84.

<sup>491</sup> Martin Light, *Quixotic Vision*, 96.

<sup>492</sup> Marilyn Morgan Helleberg, “Paper-Doll Characters,” 17. Also referred to as “contrived [and] stereotyped.” “The *Arrowsmith* paper dolls are either black or white, and the two groups are separated by a too-neatly drawn line.”

Her either-or reading accurately summarizes most of the novel’s static characters but neglects to take into account Martin’s passing back and forth between the two shades of light and dark. Martin is a more rounded character than the seventy or so holders of doctorates listed in the novel. Or, if he is still too one-dimensional, at least he seems to travel back and forth between these opposite poles.

<sup>493</sup> These men include Drs. Robertshaw, Geake, and Stout at the University of Winnemac; Winter, Hesselink, Coughlin, and Tromp in the Pony River Valley of Central North Dakota; Watters and Pickerbaugh in Iowa; Rouncefield and Duer in Chicago; Tubbs and Holabird at McGurk; and R.E. Inchcape Jones in St. Hubert.

character, however, lacks integrity and is therefore too practical.<sup>494</sup> Yet Lewis's portrayal of the "basic divide"<sup>495</sup> between science and medicine is not simply between pure scientists and cash-obsessed physicians. Lewis paints almost everyone and everything—including Martin and Gottlieb—with some strokes of black, though he saved his boldest brushes for those doctor-scientists who valued their own wealth over their patients' health.<sup>496</sup> All these one-sided targets are knocked down in Lewis's carnival shooting gallery but what they stand for casts an anti-Gottlieb shadow over the entire range.<sup>497</sup>

Envisioning the field of public health as more scientific and less commercial than private practice, Martin accepts a "real job" (188) as a public health official under Dr. Almus Pickerbaugh in Nautilus, Iowa. He quickly learns that protecting the people is often at odds with

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<sup>494</sup> Marilyn Morgan Helleberg, "Paper-Doll Characters," 20; emphasis mine. "These stereotypes are never counterbalanced by men of *integrity* in the same positions. Devoted, disinterested researchers are indispensable to the medical profession, but must all others be condemned in order to make the point?" See also Frederic I. Carpenter, "Lewis and the Fortress of Reality," 421. "The hero's devotion to scientific truth is somewhat too pure, and American society's concern with cash results somewhat too blind." Martin and Gottlieb, on the other side, possess perhaps too much integrity and are too idealistic.

<sup>495</sup> A. Mark Clarfield, "Novel Medicine: *Arrowsmith*," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 100, no. 6 (June 2007), 286. "Both clinical medicine and laboratory research are caricatured more than they are characterized."

<sup>496</sup> The prime example of this type of bad doctor is Dr. Roscoe Geake, an otolaryngology professor at the University of Winnemac who becomes vice president of the New Idea Instrument and Furniture Company. Geake sharpens the line between the medical profession's "alleged high ideals" and its "*practical* philosophy" (84) in his farewell address to the medical students, leaving them with words that he hopes serve "as a preparation for being that which all good citizens must be, namely, practical men" (84). Everyone in a capitalist system in some way practices Geakeism, a science of knowledge-profiteering. Very likely Geake worked hard to reach the position he is in; he may even have—like Martin—started out as a dreamer in a small town, wanting to know all there is to know about ears, noses, and throats, and maybe even to use that knowledge to help people. His values, however, have become diseased: Geake looks into his patients' Eustachian tubes and sees their tonsils with dollars and cents and removing them as some weird forerunner to the 1965 boardgame *Operation* in which the more you take, the more you get. Geake's vision is a humorous but accurate example of Foucault's dehumanizing clinical gaze but with the accumulation of money rather than power-knowledge as its end: "As an otolaryngologist he believed that tonsils had been placed in the human organism for the purpose of providing specialists with closed motors. A physician who left the tonsils in any patient was, he felt, foully and ignorantly overlooking his future health and comfort—the physician's future and comfort" (Lewis, 82-83). *Operation*'s closest piece is the "Adam's Apple," worth \$100. Years later, Martin finds that his Rouncefield colleagues similarly "view all tonsils with too sanguinary a gloom," particularly its resident "ardent tonsil-snatcher" (270).

<sup>497</sup> Michael Augspurger, "Primers for the Professional," 84. "Lewis contrasted these men of 'industry,' these producers of knowledge, with galleries full of 'exploiters.' Roscoe Geake, for instance, a doctor the narrator calls a 'peddler,' defines medical exploitation in an annual address at Arrowsmith's medical school: 'Knowledge is the greatest thing in the medical world but it's no good whatever unless you can sell it.'"

the people's will and also realizes that the "modern" movement of public health lacks scientificity. Martin's authority as a doctor-scientist is called into question by politicians, chambers of commerce, schoolboards, church societies, and the larger public. Moreover, Pickerbaugh's authority depends on marketing and promotion—of "selling the idea of Better Health" (194). A self-proclaimed Billy Sunday of public health, Pickerbaugh does good but uses kitschy poetry and week-long health fairs<sup>498</sup> to convert the public to his cause rather than convincing them through proper scientific methods. Although these campaigns represent some contemporary research, nevertheless Pickerbaugh embodies small-town America's conformism and commercialism.<sup>499</sup> Martin sees Pickerbaugh's showmanship, while admittedly having "proven practical value" (226), as sacrilegious to pure science. Martin's technical charts and contamination maps are no match for his predecessor's catchy verses and circuses. After Pickerbaugh successfully runs for US Congress, Martin is forced to resign within a year of taking over the department for abusing his office's power, including forcibly evacuating and burning down a tenement building. The public sees these acts as abuses of its individual rights, and the Mayor and the influential businessman who dictates his governance see them as threats to Nautilus's status quo.

While Martin is being run out of public service, he submits a paper to the *Journal of Infectious Diseases*. On a visit to their offices in Chicago to discuss its publication, he runs into Angus Duer, now a "Brilliant Young Surgeon" (270) at the prestigious Rouncefield Clinic. His former classmate mentions that their current pathologist is leaving his position and suggests Martin apply for the upcoming opening. As they move to Chicago, Martin proclaims to Leora: "I never want to see a laboratory or a public health office again. I'm done with everything but

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<sup>498</sup> These weeks include: Better Babies Week, More Babies Week, Tougher Teeth Week, Banish the Booze Week, Three Cigars a Day Week, Stop the Spitter Week, Eat More Corn Week, Anti-Tuberculosis Week, and even Swat the Fly Week, Can the Cat Week, and Doctor the Dog Week.

<sup>499</sup> Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis, *viii*; Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 120-22.



making money. [...] I expect to be a commercial-group doctor the rest of my life. I hope I have the sense to be!" (269). He does not. He labors as "a faithful mechanic in that most [...] visionless medical factory" (270) for just a year before being resurrected by Gottlieb.<sup>500</sup>

While Martin was finding himself and furthering his career,<sup>501</sup> Gottlieb had been terminated from the University of Winnemac because of his revolutionary proposal to transform it into a real medical school based on scientific values.<sup>502</sup> After being dismissed, Gottlieb begrudgingly accepts a position at a leading pharmaceutical firm, the Dawson T. Hunziker & Co., Inc, because the president and corporation's namesake promises him the freedom and resources to work independently. His hiring causes shockwaves within the scientific community: Martin sees it as an act of hypocrisy—of selling his soul and going commercial. However, at the time Martin has a wife with an expected child on the way that he must support, so he repeats his resolution to banish Gottlieb and the ideal of noncommercial science from his thoughts.

At Hunziker, Gottlieb finally succeeds in his life's work: producing antibodies in a lab. Hunziker pressures Gottlieb to patent his discovery but he is saved from bringing his discovery to the public market by the McGurk Institute,<sup>503</sup> which hires him away as Hunziker never offered him a contract. At McGurk, the diminished Gottlieb once more "expands" (305) to his former

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<sup>500</sup> "The real flaw in his year of Chicago was that through all his working day he did not live. With quick hands, and one-tenth of his brain, he made blood counts, did urinalyses and Wassermanns and infrequent necropsies, and all the while he was dead, in a white-tiled coffin" (Lewis, 270-71).

<sup>501</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, "Scientist as Hero," 447. "Martin Arrowsmith's professional career is the record of his [...] stumbling quest for personal integrity."

<sup>502</sup> The charges against Gottlieb include: "Disloyalty to his dean, his president, his regents and to the State of Winnemac. Disloyalty to recognized medical and scholastic ethics. Insane egotism. Atheism. Persistent failure to collaborate with his colleagues, and such inability to understand practical affairs as makes it dangerous to let him conduct the important laboratories and classes with which we have entrusted him" (Lewis, 128).

<sup>503</sup> The McGurk Institute is based on the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the oldest private biomedical facility in the US, founded in 1901. Both real and fictional establishments are founded by industry tycoons, envisioned as temples of free scientific inquiry, and majorly involved in the corporatization of science's medicalization. For more on these connections, see James M. Hutchisson, "Arrowsmith and the Political Economy of Medicine," in *Sinclair Lewis: New Essays in Criticism*, edited by James M. Hutchisson, 110-24 (Troy, NY: Whitson Publishing, 1997); H.M. Fangerau, "Novel Arrowsmith;" and Yeonsik Jung, "Immunity of Empire."

largesse. The absolute freedom and occupational therapy<sup>504</sup> of independent investigative science—science for the sake of science<sup>505</sup>—has revitalized the old man. Soon afterward, Gottlieb sees Martin’s publication on hemolysin, writes his former protégé to congratulate him on his work, advises him to stop trying “to be a good citizen,”<sup>506</sup> and urges him to come back to work—and to him (275). Martin falls off the wagon. This difference between the industrious Gottlieb’s ideal of work and the exploitative Geake’s is just the densest line separating different types of medical professionals, not by personality or by occupation, but by intention. Gottlieb’s definition of work unyokes the American scientist-as-worker from the American liberal democratic political economy,<sup>507</sup> which, as Lewis clearly shows, is more hypocritical than

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<sup>504</sup> Jay Tepperman, “Research Scientist in Modern Fiction,” 558.

<sup>505</sup> “Gottlieb’s colleagues] said, with reason, that he was so devoted to Pure Science, to art for art’s sake, that he would rather have people die by the right therapy than be cured by the wrong” (Lewis, 123). For other iterations of this self-directed, autotelic ideal, see Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 104: “science for science’s sake”; Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 123: “basic research: science for the sake of science”; and Philip Mirowski and Esther-Mirjam Sent, “Commercialization of Science,” 643: “disembodied science carried on for its own sake.”

<sup>506</sup> The notion of being a good citizen refers to the commencement address made by the novel’s biggest quack, Dr. Roscoe Geake, a professor who is departing academia to become the vice president of the New Idea Instrument and Furniture Company, a medical supply company designed to help doctors “sell [the common man] the idea of being properly cured [by produc[ing] an impression of that opulence that can only come from sheer ability and knowledge” (Lewis, 85). Geake alludes to the “alleged high ideals” and “*practical* philosophy” (84) of the profession “as a preparation for being that which all good citizens must be, namely, practical men [since] unfortunately the world judges a man by the amount of good hard cash he can lay away” (84). Geake’s practical vision of scientific medical professionalization is not only a humorously accurate counterpoint to the strident non-commercialism of Gottlieb, whose definition of work unyokes the alienated doctor-scientist from his profession’s political economization—which, as Lewis shows, is more hypocritical than Hippocratic—but also a more sinister an example of the practicalization of Foucault’s clinical gaze, in which accumulating money rather than power-knowledge is its end-result. A physician’s wealth is inversely related to his patient’s health: “As an otolaryngologist [Geake] believed that tonsils had been placed in the human organism for the purpose of providing specialists with closed motors. A physician who left the tonsils in any patient was, he felt, foully and ignorantly overlooking his future health and comfort—the physician’s future and comfort” (Lewis, 83). Indeed, Martin discovers that the “ardent tonsil-snatcher” at the Rouncefield Clinic “view[s] all tonsils with too sanguinary a gloom” (270). Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 84. “Knowledge is the greatest thing in the medical world but it’s no good whatever unless you can sell it.” See note 496.

<sup>507</sup> Philip Barrish, “Sticky Web of Medical Professionalism,” 585-86. In his reading of *The Web of Life*, an earlier US novel that details the career of a young doctor “who, though committed to the highest ideals of medical professionalism, is often uncertain of how best to define or achieve them,” and also in many ways foresees several increased *-izations* (professionalization, commercialization, monopolization, urbanization, academicization, institutionalization, and scientification) of traditional medicine, Barrish uses “political economy” to describe the turn-of-the-century profession: “I use the term *political economy* first to indicate Herrick’s singular attention to the role of money in health care and his careful exploration of the more complex, as well as more lucrative, ways of generating income that at once motivated and resulted from the increasing professionalization and centralization of healing in the late nineteenth century.

Hippocratic. Still, as Martin's college sweetheart once told him: "At the same time, Martin, one does have to be practical" (25). Gottlieb's offer<sup>508</sup> will enable him to indulge in his passion for the unending, compulsive quest to see and know true knowledge, all while being compensated for it. His dream has become a practical reality.

He and Leora relocate to New York City. Martin soon comes to see that the McGurk Institute—like the Rouncefield Clinic, Nautilus Department of Public Health, private practice in Wheatsylvania, and University of Winnemac Medical School—"had nothing visible to do with science" (283). Although awestruck upon arriving in this ivory tower of pure research,<sup>509</sup> nevertheless he eventually realizes that even it is not high enough to be exempt from the earthly materialism of the unwashed masses. Worse, the very nominal doctor-scientists with whom he will be roaming the same hallowed halls show themselves to be just as cash-obsessed as modern society.<sup>510</sup> Martin is pressured almost immediately by his new supervisors, Drs. A. DeWitt Tubbs and Rippleton Holabird, to adopt a "broader" "scope" and more "complete vision" of modern science (321, 322). This wider view focuses on McGurk profiting from its employees'

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Second, the term helps capture the novel's interest in the power relations of medicine, not only at the doctor-patient interface but also within the health-care system itself and between the health-care system and the state. Finally, the term *political economy* indicates Herrick's sophisticated understanding of urban health care as a multidimensional system of relationships: what was at the time a still very much under-construction 'web' comprising interrelated—if sometimes at odds—interests, practices, institutions, and professional cultures. Not until the publication of Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* (1925) a quarter century later would another US novel offer a comparably wide-ranging yet richly detailed literary investigation of modern medicine's landscape and the financial and political structures that give it shape." See also note 3.

<sup>508</sup> "When are you coming to us—to me? Your laboratory and diener are waiting for you here. The last thing I want is to be a mystic, but I feel when I see your fine engraved letterhead of a clinic and a Rouncefield that you should be tired of trying to be a good citizen and ready to come back to work. We shall be glad" (Lewis, 275).

<sup>509</sup> Like Gottlieb, Martin expands when he first enters his new workspace: "Five rapt minutes Martin spent in the laboratory which was to be his [...] When he had closed the door and let his spirit flow out and fill that minute apartment with his own essence, he felt secure" (Lewis, 280).

<sup>510</sup> Indeed, the McGurk Building is a modern-day temple of Mammon, a skyscraping office building made of glass, limestone, bronze, and gold and located on the corner of Cedar and Liberty Streets in Manhattan. The Institute begins on the thirtieth floor of the thirty-story office and occupies the top two stories—plus the animal cages and greenhouses on its roof. Note that when Martin gets promoted to department head he is given not only a pay raise but also physically raised in spatial terms, as he is moved from the "smallish but efficient" twentieth-ninth-floor lab upward to "that big one on the upper floor" (Lewis, 321) with an office across the hallway. Submitting the high-rise architecturally symbolizes his ascension professionally.

labor by patenting it, publishing it, and producing it for practical uses. This ostensibly ideal place for independent research and scientific integrity proves to be another illusion concealing a profession that has been corrupted by commercialism. McGurk's obscure mission, expressed by its leadership, is to idealize co-operation in modern science in the pursuit of social progress and service to humanity. But this vision conceals the corporatization, monetization, and practicalization of scientific medicine.<sup>511</sup> The last two chapters of the first sequence of the McGurk chapters (chs. 26-30) express this theme of "co-operation with your own group, but competition to the death with those outside it" (324).<sup>512</sup> Co-opertition is a doublespeak slogan that explicitly promises progress and service but conceals the hidden intent behind the corporate model. Tubbs, the Director of the Institute,<sup>513</sup> tells Martin, "The one thing for you to keep in view in all your work is the ideal of co-operation" (296). However, it becomes clear to Martin that the "Real Big Thing in Science" (300) really means being the first to find "the real right thing" (321) so that he—and the company that signs his paychecks and therefore owns his intellectual property—may then patent, publish, and profit from said "Thing."<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>511</sup> Scientific medicine's modernization is best expressed by Tubbs, who pressures Martin to hastily publish one of his hypotheses before it is proven. Martin pleads that the results are not yet ready, but Tubbs dismisses him: "Nonsense! That attitude is old-fashioned. This is no longer an age of parochialism but of competition, in art and science just as much as in commerce—co-operation with your own group, but with those outside it, competition to the death. [...] Remember you have your name to make. The way to make it is by working with me—toward the greatest good for the greatest number" (Lewis, 324).

<sup>512</sup> These chapters come directly after a short chapter overviewing his single year at the Rouncefield Clinic (Lewis, 270). They open with promises of intellectual freedom and professional autonomy but these promises prove false.

<sup>513</sup> "Tubbs is perhaps the most powerful American exponent of co-operation in science, but was also a man of the world" (Lewis, 284). Scientific pursuits and worldly interests are incompatible with each other.

<sup>514</sup> For a detailed historical analysis of the changes in intellectual property laws during the time in which *Arrowsmith* is set, see Philip Mirowski and Esther-Mirjam Sent, "Commercialization of Science," 646, who argue such legislation appealed to not only popular belief that science should be a "collective" rather than individual experience but also for the vested interests of the corporate laboratories that funded such endeavors. In the novel, intraorganizational cooperation between researchers across departments at McGurk is stressed by management in order to win various capitals through external competition with other US and international scientific organizations such as the Pasteur, Rockefeller, McCormick, and Lister Institutes, elite private colleges like Harvard and Yale Universities and state ones like the University of Winnemac; and big pharmaceutical firms like the Hunziker Co. McGurk's spoils consist of the monies used to pay the salaries of the best scientists, fund the best experiments, and buy the best equipment. This is the economics of scientific capital. But these profits also consist of non-scientific capitals—the cultural capitals that scientific capital not only creates so that they may spend in order to earn more and exchange, deposit, and transfer that capital into other types of cultural savings accounts. (The plural form

Unable to see a way out of this practical reality but content in his new surroundings and being reunited with Gottlieb, Martin continues looking for something real “under the microscope” (308). After a year there, Martin stumbles upon what he calls “the X principle” (313).<sup>515</sup> Over the next six weeks, he forgets everything—Gottlieb, Leora, even himself—for his work in the lab. Although Gottlieb advises him to keep out of his supervisors’ oversight, nevertheless his bosses discover his discovery.<sup>516</sup> McGurk’s promises to Martin about unlimited resources and the opportunity to work uninterruptedly when he was first hired are broken as mounting pressure is exerted on him by his managers’ “insist[ence] on practical results” (330).<sup>517</sup> They nearly coerce him into publicizing his initial findings by promising to allow him to revise his findings afterward. Almost falling prey to Tubbs and Holabird’s vision, Martin comes back to his senses when Holabird, the head of the Department of Physiology and Tubbs’s eventual successor, follows up Tubbs’s talk with a soliloquy of his own: “Some day we might be able to erect a superstructure of co-operative science which would control not only McGurk but every institute and every university scientific department in the country, and so produce really efficient research” (323).

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of the uncountable noun ‘capital’ emphasizes Lewis’s depiction of the hypocrisy behind science’s commercialization and to incorporate Pierre Bourdieu’s notions of scientific habitus and capital.)

<sup>515</sup> William C. Summers, “On the Origins of the Science in *Arrowsmith*: Paul de Kruif, Felix d’Herelle, and Phage,” *Journal of the History of Medicine* 46, no. 7 (1991), 318. Félix d’Hérrelle, of the Pasteur Institute, discovered bacteriophage in 1917, published a monograph on it in 1921, gained a modicum of recognition for it in the scientific world in 1922, and by 1925, the year *Arrowsmith* was published, was probably only known by a very small cadre of specialists. His insertion into the novel is almost certainly the work of de Kruif, and ‘losing’ the race to first find and then publish his findings provides Gottlieb with a spontaneous and significant teachable moment: “That is science,” he tells his protégé, “to work and not to care—too much—if somebody else gets the credit” (Lewis, 328).

<sup>516</sup> Martin, puffed up by Tubbs’s praise, is “dazzled by the view of a department of his own, assistants, a cheering world—and ten thousand a year” (Lewis, 322) before coming back to his integral sight and self. “He perceived the horror of the shrieking bawdy thing called Success, with its demand that he give up quiet work and parade forth to be pawed by every blind devotee and mud-spattered by every blind enemy. He fled to Gottlieb as to the wise and tender father, and begged to be saved from Success and Holabirds and A. DeWitt Tubbses and their hordes of address-making scientists, degree-hunting authors, pulpit orators, popular surgeons, valeted journalists, sentimental merchant princes, literary politicians, titled sportsmen, statesmenlike generals, interviewed senators, sententious bishops” (323).

<sup>517</sup> “You have been working brilliantly,” Tubbs purrs, “but without a complete vision of broader humanity” (Lewis, 321). He coerces Martin to think about “how much more *scope* [Koch and Pasteur’s] work might have had [if only they had had] [e]fficient universal *co-operation*—the thing in science today—” (322).

The more Holabird says, the more Martin sees behind his words.<sup>518</sup> Read cynically, Lewis is showing how the desire for money and status has become the ulterior motive of all modern professionals. A more nuanced interpretation reads scientific medical professionalism and corporate capitalism as having become so inextricably linked that even decent normal doctors and authentic scientists are driven to pursue profitable truths to coincide with society's monetized view of them.

Unfortunately for Martin—but fortuitously for the world—he is spared; he is too late. A rival doctor-scientist in Europe has recently published a paper detailing the scientific breakthrough. (He even gives it a better name: bacteriophage.) But with the unfortunate outbreak of plague on St. Hubert, Martin is presented with the opportunity of a lifetime—personally and professionally, for humanity as a whole, for McGurk, and for American scientific medicine: his phage might prove to be the “stuff of salvation” (348) for the afflicted souls on the island. If so, he will become one of the “few [men who] have added to knowledge” (354), his employer, the McGurk corporation, would win the competition for scientific, cultural, and economic capital, and America could secure its place atop the international podium.<sup>519</sup> Still disillusioned by the mythologization of his profession, Martin is unexpectedly cast as the lead in a drama of science.

According to Gottlieb, *real* scientific medicine means contributing to knowledge, which is more valuable than producing “immediate practical results” (321). In health-related professions, results usually mean making a sick person healthy—or at least preventing them from dying. Actual doctor-scientists must often make difficult decisions that seem to produce negative outcomes to laypersons but which, when seen over time, greatly benefits humanity's future. Gottlieb expresses this moral when he warns Martin before he sets sail to test his phage in the

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<sup>518</sup> Holabird's speech culminates in the suggestion that, “you and I can become the dictators of science throughout the whole country!” (Lewis, 323), a slip which serves as a revelation for Martin.

<sup>519</sup> Unironically, Lewis names Ross McGurk's wife Capitola, which seems an obvious pun on *capital*.

foreign land: “You must not be just a good doctor at St. Hubert. You must pity, oh, so much the generation after generation yet to come that you can refuse to let yourself indulge in pity for the men you will see dying” (354). All of Gottlieb’s maxims about the religiosity of science and the distinctions he draws between good and bad scientists—and good and bad doctors (which he sees as one and the same)—may be boiled down to the choice “to give up the possible saving of millions for the immediate saving of thousands” (374). According to the doctrine of practical utilitarianism, actions (not ideas—or practices and certainly not theories) are good insofar as they are beneficial to the greater whole. What, then, could be better for the greater good of mankind than allowing some people to perish from plague if doing so would allow Gottlieb and Martin to eradicate the deadly bacteria responsible for it? From such a viewpoint, knowledge is more valuable than life itself—or other “rights” such as liberty or the pursuit of happiness.<sup>520</sup> Although Lewis rather ham-fistedly delivers this message during less defining moments in Martin’s personal history, nevertheless his hypothesis can be put to the test with actual peoples’ lives.

Once on the infected isle, however, Martin sees with his own eyes the suffering of the plague-stricken natives and almost instantly forgets his sacred science—just as Sondelius, who accompanies him as his assistant, foresees he would. Martin’s quandary is expressed through visual metaphors of eyes and sight, which express his disillusionment with the otherworldliness of science. Although determined to treat only half the population—as Gottlieb had directed him—he struggles to “recall [and] keep before him the vision of Gottlieb” (374, 382) upon seeing himself caught between the “sunken, demanding eyes” (382) of the old scientist and the “sunken bloody eyes” of the plague’s sufferers (375). When Leora, who also has stubbornly accompanied him, succumbs to the sickness and dies, Martin “went to pieces” (392). He

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<sup>520</sup> See the introduction for more on the historical antagonism of the US toward theoretical science. For a more contemporary perspective, see how the current pandemic has rendered visible the misperception that science, with its goal to contribute to the universal common good, infringes upon the individual liberties promised under a federal democratic republic government.

administers his phage to everyone, “temporarily freeing his soul and dissolving his body” (393). To save countless lives Martin must botch his experiment, which means ruining the investigation’s integrity—and his professional integrity as a scientist (if not as a doctor) in the process. “He forgot his own self,” then, with the realization that he had sinned against “Gottlieb and all that Gottlieb represented” (397). One day after returning to New York a “savior” (396),<sup>521</sup> he visits his former mentor, whom he fearfully imagines will expel him: “Get out of my sight!” (403). But Gottlieb, stricken by senility, looks straight through him—just as he did sixteen years earlier when the raw undergrad had first come to him. He weakly whispers, “*Versteh’ nicht*” (403-04): I don’t understand.<sup>522</sup> With this fateful decree, Martin understands that he will never be absolved in his scientific god’s eyes—that he and his failed experiment will be forever fallen.

Martin loses his integral self in St. Hubert’s diseased environment because his disinterested scientific vision is clouded by his sentimental vision.<sup>523</sup> The inhumane scientist is plagued by the human suffering he sees and reverts from scientist to doctor. Once out of Gottlieb’s sight, he loses sight of his vision. But being out from under Gottlieb’s gaze also means escaping from his shadow. Upon returning to McGurk, Gottlieb’s absence allows Martin to grow as a doctor-scientist. Without the master peering over his shoulder—or the patient looking back at him—Martin hardens himself against the confusion of the practical sentimentality by recommitting to the unswerving quest for the underneath principle. And his cloistered lab on the 32<sup>nd</sup> floor of the skyscraping McGurk Building puts him high above either suffering patients or staring publics.<sup>524</sup>

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<sup>521</sup> For biopolitical and anticolonial readings that problematize the McGurk coalition, see Lisa L. Lynch, “*Arrowsmith Goes Native*” and Yeonsik Jung, “Immunity of Empire” and “Rockefeller Institute.”

<sup>522</sup> The contracting apostrophe and the missing ‘e’ in “*Verstehe*” might indicate that the translation should *not* be read in its first-person pronoun conjugation and therefore that the unreferenced antecedent might not be Gottlieb himself, but Martin or humanity: “You (all)—don’t understand (me).”

<sup>523</sup> Martin says to himself: “I’m not a sentimentalist; I’m a scientist!” (Lewis, 374). This loss of self might be seen as a symptom of Martin’s “going native”: a case of white reason and power breaking down in a tropical clime, leading to his scientific breakdown. Lisa L. Lynch, “*Arrowsmith Goes Native*,” 194, 203.

<sup>524</sup> When promoted within McGurk’s corporate hierarchy, in addition to a pay raise Martin, Martin also moves from a “smallish but efficient” lab on the 29<sup>th</sup> floor to “that big one on the upper floor” with an office



Despite a “year of divine work” (421), Martin is again diverted from realizing his professional vision because of the overwhelming pressure to conform to the practical view. His marriage to an extremely wealthy widow, Joyce Lanyon, the birth of his son, John, and his promotion to the Head of the Microbiology Department make Martin a victim of his newfound success. He sees himself less as a professional scientist and more and more as merely Joyce’s husband—a “Man of Measured Merriment,” which Gottlieb, he, and the late Leora used to mock. This shrinking sense of self is evident when he and Joyce visit the sickly Gottlieb. Martin can only imagine that Gottlieb is even able to recognize him (417). By inadvertently putting himself in the public limelight, Martin has become invisible to the critical gaze of the embodiment of scientific medicine. More disconcerting, however, is that he sees his vision for himself fading away as he is now seen and known by the public eye.

Soon after, Joyce builds Martin “the best bacteriological laboratory he had ever seen” (436) above their garage so that he may work evenings and weekends when not prevented from doing so by the obligations of his increasingly disruptive “professional social life” (424). Almost immediately Martin becomes a scientific performer to a gallery of his wife’s circle of pretentious friends, which gather around to “silent[ly] and reveren[tly]” (437) watch him work in his “silly” laboratory (438). The added scrutiny from those who supposedly respect but do not understand science, especially from those apparently closest to him leads him to a revelation: “I’ve suddenly seen I must go! I want my freedom to work, and I herewith quit whining about it and grab it” (444). Martin retreats to the private laboratory that his McGurk colleague Dr. Terry Wickett<sup>525</sup>

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(Lewis, 321). Submitting the modern high-rises’ architecture symbolizes his ascension in the corporate eye.

<sup>525</sup> As Gottlieb is Martin’s superego, Wickett is his id (Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 102; Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 125-32; and Dennis Allen, “Wilderness Convention,” 85). A bachelor and fellow “Barbarian”, he is directly contrasted with Martin’s second wife, who not only embodies civilization but also “common sense.” As he tells Martin, “You’ve chosen between Joyce and me. All right, but you can’t have both” (Lewis, 449, 446, 439). Martin and Terry’s (homo-)social experiment represents an escape from not only a domesticating and/or femininizing society, but also a practicalizing one. For more on Lewis’s attempted synthesis of mythic professional masculinity in a premodern world devoid of women, see Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 112 and Glen A. Love, “New Pioneering on the Prairie,” 570.

has built in the backwoods of Vermont. His escape to the “scientific Walden”<sup>526</sup> that is Birdies’ Rest represents both the logical conclusion<sup>527</sup> to the authentic doctor-scientist’s “disillusionment”<sup>528</sup> with the practical application of scientific medicine as well as an implausibly romantic vision<sup>529</sup> for scientific medical practice in a premodern world. But escaping requires him to resign from McGurk and abandon Joyce and John<sup>530</sup> so that he may enact his ideal self-vision. But *Arrowsmith* is more than another case of the easy, implausible romanticism<sup>531</sup> espoused by more famous interwar American authors.<sup>532</sup> Dr. Martin may “run away”—but his destination is Vermont, the last bastion of American wilderness, instead of Europe. He hardens himself into his “obsessive fantasy” rather than “dissolv[ing]” into it.<sup>533</sup> The conclusion is one final “act of despair”<sup>534</sup> echoing his inner thoughts and expressing his early unheard “cr[ies] of disillusionment.”<sup>535</sup> Doctor-scientists, like many other modern professionals, were increasingly concerned with society’s transformation during this time. For all the criticism received about scribbling for a popular audience, Lewis here represents “an emotionally coherent, if romantic

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<sup>526</sup> Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 125.

<sup>527</sup> Ilana Löwy, “Arrowsmith’s Clinical Trial,” 466.

<sup>528</sup> E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, 452. Other critics have also pointed out Lewis’s characteristic trait of detailing the conflict between the ideals of an individual and social reality. On the individual’s resistance to the realities of America’s excessively corporate materialism, see Frederic I. Carpenter, “Lewis and the Fortress of Reality,” 421-23 and Joel Fisher, “Lewis and the Diagnostic Novel,” 425-26.

<sup>529</sup> Joel Fisher, “Lewis and the Diagnostic Novel,” 422-23, 425. Fisher compares Lewis’s satirical realism in two earlier novels with Fitzgerald’s more romantic modernism. “[*Arrowsmith*] debunked and satirized but [gives] an affirmative view of the heroic in modern man.” James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 61.

<sup>530</sup> In bidding farewell to his young son—“Come to me when you grow up, old man” (Lewis, 445)—Martin is also fleeing the familial responsibilities of fatherhood.

<sup>531</sup> T.K. Whipple, “Sinclair Lewis: *Arrowsmith*,” in *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Arrowsmith: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Robert J. Griffin, 37; Joel Fisher, “Lewis and the Diagnostic Novel,” 425.

<sup>532</sup> These include Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald, whose Dr. Dick Diver, a psychiatrist who is much less focused on his own professional standards and ideals and much more acutely aware of how he is viewed by others than Martin, is the subject of the following chapter.

<sup>533</sup> Joel Fisher, “Lewis and the Diagnostic Novel,” 426.

<sup>534</sup> Stephen S. Conroy, “Lewis’s Sociological Imagination,” 356.

<sup>535</sup> E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, 452.

and unpragmatic, response to this anxiety”<sup>536</sup> that places it closer to the adventure romances of the previous century.<sup>537</sup>

Martin’s balance of scientific capital, earned and saved throughout his career as a doctor-scientist, affords him the privilege to purchase his way out of it at the relatively tender age of forty. He refuses to conform to any regime other than Gottlieb’s impractical, pure regime of scientific truth<sup>538</sup>—which is itself an ideology that admits no rival.<sup>539</sup> Such an ideology, which Lewis calls “Gottliebism,” opposes the notion of social spheres and accommodating professional sub-spheres, in which a person pragmatically inhabits different shared spaces, accepting the values of each domain when inside its radius but free to be part of more than one, altogether. For Gottlieb, science is not only a religion; *it is the only religion*.<sup>540</sup> It is a regime. Martin abandons the normalizing regime of the practical in favor of Gottlieb’s ideal regime of science. Like Martin’s inner conflict about whether to become a doctor or scientist paralleling the larger

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<sup>536</sup> Michael Augspurger, “Primers for the Professional,” 74.

<sup>537</sup> While Lewis did not intend for Martin to be a Transcendental (anti-)hero like Captain Ahab, who stands against nature and society to endlessly pursue an obsessive fantasy, he does shine a heroic light upon Martin. If he resembles any character from *Moby-Dick*, it is a mixture of Ishmael and Ahab, skewing at times closer to the former, other times toward the latter. He begins with a soft, speculative innocence that only hardens into monomania by the minor traumas he faces while trying to do his work. One sequence in particular informs such a comparison. Right before he starts his assistantship under Gottlieb—having been already rebuffed by his mentor—Martin spends a summer stringing telephone wire across the plains of Montana. His job is to climb the newly erected poles and install the wiring and other equipment near the top. His “eyes are cleared of worry” with this practical work and one day he experiences a miracle: “He was atop a pole and suddenly, for no clear cause, his eyes opened and he saw: as though he had just awakened he saw that the prairie was vast, that the sun was kindly on rough pasture and ripening wheat, on the old horses, the easy, broad-beamed, friendly-horses, and on his red-faced jocose companions; he saw that the meadow larks were jubilant, and blackbirds shining up by little pools, and with the living sun all life was living. Suppose the Angus Duers and Irving Watterses were tight tradesmen. What of it? ‘I’m *here!*’ he gloated” (Lewis, 31). This passage detailing Martin atop a Montana mast-head is replete with a Transcendental swelling of the soul and mystical loss of identity. As such, it evokes a similar event experienced by Ishmael, Melville’s absent-minded young narrator, when he drifts into philosophical reverie despite orders to keep a keen eye for whales across watery pastures.

<sup>538</sup> Daniele Lorenzini, “What Is a ‘Regime of Truth’?”, *Le Foucauldien* 1, no. 1 (2015), 2. In conceiving of the truth regime—“a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and functioning of statements”—Foucault links the universal notion of truth to the explicitly political notion of regimes. Truth regimes are sites of power-knowledge from which even the producers and reproducers of truth, such as doctor-scientists, are not free from the system’s rules.

<sup>539</sup> Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 125. “Gottlieb’s scientific-secularism operates as an ideology, a regime of truth that admits no rival.”

<sup>540</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, “Scientist as Hero,” 453-54. “His worship of research *qua* research and his reverent attitude toward this pursuit of knowledge [...] is essential to the moral structure of the novel.”

conflict between medicine and science,<sup>541</sup> these twin spheres of biomedicine comprise “two *integrity regimes*”<sup>542</sup>: one based on the values of medical ethics and the other on the claims of experimental science. The split between practice and research<sup>543</sup> demands, “One is either a ‘scientist’ or a ‘doctor.’”<sup>544</sup> But because his commitment to Gottliebism permits no compromises, even for the altruistic aims of medicine, Martin must escape these other, non-Gottliebian regimes altogether. He is unwilling to submit to a practical regime,<sup>545</sup> a fortress of reality ruled by Men of Measured Merriment with their Practicality and their Successes; instead, he willingly accepts Gottlieb, who is both an “excessively stern”<sup>546</sup> “autocrat” (60) and a “wise and tender father” (323).<sup>547</sup> Despite being granted a substantial amount of cachet within a very elite sub-sphere of the scientific community, he sees this net worth of capital does not afford him the time, space, materials, and expert assistants to work totally autonomously. The triumvirate of McGurk, Tubbs, and Holabird only exert more pressure on him to produce practical results (e.g., to discover scientific miracles and to publish findings that explain them) just as Joyce pushes him to make his social life a profession. Martin has won his competition against every other leading American scientist and every tangible resource he will ever need except for the two things most invaluable to him: time and freedom (which he finds always seem in short supply). He envisions no other way to resolve this endless conflict than to run away—and he does just that by fleeing to Birdies’ Rest, where he soon forgets everything from his past in the present

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<sup>541</sup> De Kruif quotes Jacques Loeb as having said something like ‘medical science’ did not exist, as it was a contradiction in terms. Mary G. Land, “Three Max Gottliebs,” 319. “This is an illustration of the fallacy of the notion that medicine is a science in the modern sense.” See also Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*, 131-34.

<sup>542</sup> Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 138.

<sup>543</sup> Lillian Furst, *Medical Progress and Social Reality*, 156.

<sup>544</sup> A. Mark Clarfield, “Novel Medicine: *Arrowsmith*,” 286.

<sup>545</sup> Qtd. in Daniele Lorenzini, “Regime of Truth,” 4. Foucault states in his *Psychiatric Power* lecture that for those subjects within truth regimes, their belief is: “If it is true, then I will submit; it is true, *therefore* I submit.”

<sup>546</sup> Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 135.

<sup>547</sup> Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, v. “Dr. [Edwin] Lewis was a stern and practical man.” Professional authority as a modern revision of traditional patriarchy is looked at more closely in the next chapter.

“rapture” of truly independent work<sup>548</sup>: “and as he became stronger and surer—and no doubt less human—he saw ahead of him innumerable inquiries into chemotherapy and immunity; enough adventures to keep him busy for decades” (447).

Admittedly, Martin’s foray into the forest may discredit his heroism in the eyes of many. Not many would say a man who abandons his wife in a foreign land during a plague epidemic after years of more forgivable, lesser desertions of her to spend hours in the lab is a hero. (Especially when this same man leaves his next wife and newborn son to pursue his own self-interests.) Indeed, Martin’s intentional failure to “develop the bedside manner” (117) befitting the “beloved physician” in Wheatsylvania and his willingness to be the “vilified”<sup>549</sup> scientist in St. Hubert makes his professional ethics ambivalent at best. This neutrality notwithstanding, the novel’s ending symbolizes “not so much his defending his integrity as settling into a comfortable niche that [...] society provides for him.”<sup>550</sup> To understand the novel’s utopian ending as Martin having carved out the time and space he needs to pursue his vision is to suggest that he ultimately yields to an unrealistic and probably false ideal: most likely, he will work for a while and then regain his sanity and return to his family, society, and profession sometime after the novel’s action ends. A more realistic ending would have him returning to the secure practicality of the comfortable reality-fortresses that house every other successful doctor-scientist.

Such a return to civilization is the more likely because he will soon see that Birdies’ Rest is neither completely self-reliant nor disconnected from the wider scientific community. Terry’s vision is to create an independent commune where scientists do science. Here at this hybrid settlement for up to eight—“but never more!” (446)—authentic scientists like him and his

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<sup>548</sup> To fund their “flannel-shirt collaboration” (Lewis, 423) of conducting experiments without immediate results, the visionaries must “grudgingly” (i.e. practically) manufacture and trade their scientific wares. They selectively distribute their products to only physicians they deem competing against unethical “popular drug-vendors” (446).

<sup>549</sup> Mary Faith Marshall, “Placebo Effect in Popular Culture,” *Science and Engineering Ethics* 10, no. 1 (2004), 37-38.

<sup>550</sup> Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 99.

brother, Martin, are free to pursue any research they choose provided they also contribute to the maintenance and expenses of the camp. However, it will probably turn into a revolving door of doctor-scientists who come and go—coming to realize their vision but leaving once they see it is an illusion. If Terry’s social experiment works, then it will actualize their spiritual father’s “sound revolutionary ideal” (128) for a “real scientific institute” (353) that had nearly ruined him after his ill-fated state school coup and short-lived tenure as McGurk’s Director. If his (re)vision doesn’t work, then Martin and the other six scientists will simply return to mainstream society (and probably to an even better paying position). Even should it thrive, their intentional scientific community is still plotted within the same scientific-social sphere as everywhere else Martin has worked. Even their cabin-laboratory is not far enough away from the workaday world to be completely outside of the corporate capitalistic system represented by every other professional setting in the book. Martin and Terry must “grudgingly” (446) but selectively distribute wares of mouse serum to only those physicians whom they deem to be in honest competition with the ‘ethical’ manufacturing firms and the unscrupulous “popular drug-vendors” (446) so that they may purchase more mice and test-tubes. Thus, even their “flannel-shirt collaboration” (423) exists on the same map as Vickerson’s “ragged office” (3) in Elk Mills, Martin’s first office on the prairie of Wheatsylvania; the free clinics in Nautilus and the “gilded” (269) ones in Chicago; and the “gaudy” McGurk Institute (288) in New York City.<sup>551</sup> Modern scientific medicine cannot happen without capital. Thus, *Arrowsmith’s* ending is impractical because “real scientific productivity can only happen in a world of social networks,”<sup>552</sup> regardless of how removed they may seem from one another. Such networks may be hard to find on a map but can be found if looked for long enough. Martin’s vision, shared by Terry, is Gottlieb’s vision: it does not exist anywhere in space so much as in an unreachable past.

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<sup>551</sup> Even Martin is not free from such ostentatious displays of his medical capital: His very first office in Wise’s shack in Wheatsylvania is adorned with a custom-made “plate-glass sign” with “‘M. Arrowsmith, M.D.’ [emblazoned] in gold letters on it” (Lewis, 153).

<sup>552</sup> Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 137.

Martin comes-of-age as a doctor-scientist between 1905 and 1925, exactly “when medicine became interwoven with corporate capitalism.”<sup>553</sup> The prerogatives of accumulating wealth outlined in the capitalist pledge of allegiance were rapidly overtaking the promises required by the Hippocratic Oath. The newly-minted Dr. Arrowsmith enters and practices within this new regime throughout the period when the novel is set.<sup>554</sup> If institutionalization is taken as the process of establishing norms within a culture, Martin’s various struggles against the normalizing forces of science under capitalism might be seen as a Venn diagram of conflicting spheres-within-spheres.<sup>555</sup> It is not just the union, that supposedly shared area containing portions of the two sub-spheres of medicine and research, but rather a hardening of this space *within* the overlap. Each of the novel’s confining regimes is an imagined space with their own varied and unique forms of scientific capital that “resides wholly within individual scientists.”<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> James M. Hutchisson, “Political Economy of Medicine,” 110.

<sup>554</sup> Philip Mirowski and Esther-Mirjam Sent, “Commercialization of Science,” 640-41, 644. There were three regimes in American science’s commercialization in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries. The first, the “captains of erudition regime,” spanned from 1890 to the Second World War. During this time in the US, the boundary between academia and commerce was less drawn and more permeable than in other international models. This “unusual political economy of science” embodied America’s myth of “exceptionalism.” Although America’s organizational structure was based on the German model and its emphasis on abstract-theoretical research science conducted in lab settings, nevertheless the US assimilated and adapted this model, transforming it into a hybrid “unusual political economy of science” that embodied America’s myth of “exceptionalism.” Universities resembled corporations more than schools; in-house research and development labs began to be built across the US. Funded by industrial monopolistic capitalist corporations, led by centralized bureaucratic managerial structures, and directed by competitive imperatives of consolidating (intellectual) property and (cultural and cash) currency, these hybrid academic-capitalist organizations combined the scientific pursuit for knowledge and truth with the economic maximization of profit.

<sup>555</sup> Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 109. “[S]ociety is compartmentalized into various spheres [and sub-spheres] and each sphere holds people with a similar belief and value system, cultivating a pragmatic environment where its inhabitants are communally encouraged to cash in their belief.” While Dongshin extends the notion beyond different spaces for gender separation, it is important to note that *Arrowsmith* is “an unself-consciously masculinist account of science” and a “convenient emblem” for the historical androcentrism of scientific medicine, if not medicine as a whole, both at the time of Lewis’s writing as well as in the histories of science and medicine. David Hollinger, Foreword to *Reflections on Gender and Science*, by Evelyn Fox Keller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), vii. Certainly, there were medical doctors—and scientists—who were women by the early-twentieth century—the most famous being Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, who was awarded a medical degree forty-four years before Martin is even born. Out of the nearly forty characters who possess either an M.D. or Ph.D. in the novel, however, not one of them is a woman. Even the inclusion of Marchand, a Black man, shows how scientific medical professionalization was disproportionately masculine.

<sup>556</sup> Sergio Sismondo, “Bourdieu’s Rationalist Science of Science: Some Promises and Limitations,” *Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 1 (2011), 95.

Inside of each scientist lies the potential for seeing multiple but overlying “*political economies of knowledge*.”<sup>557</sup> The accumulation of scientific capital in a free economy is based on a circulatory system of achievement and recognition within a field that enables scientists to make further claims and arguments by compensating them with additional resources in the form of cultural and economic capital with which to make bigger and more ambitious (and expensive) claims and arguments. Success spirals into larger achievements and greater recognition, *ad infinitum*. Thus, in such a closed yet dynamical system, Science (and its subspecies) is, by its very nature, competitive. Put another way, all scientists are motivated by a desire to accumulate capital—both scientific and financial. Competition is obviously a major characteristic of the free market, but as the dividing line that Lewis draws between the various truth regimes, political economies, or scientific spheres of *Arrowsmith* shows, there is also a “competition of needs, goals, and resources between those who identify themselves as clinicians and those who are scientists.”<sup>558</sup> Only those at the very top of their respective fields preserved their professional autonomy while the majority of those with less knowledge, technique, or experience gained prestige over patients and nonprofessionals but were responsible to any number of managers, supervisors, and more prestigious doctors. Politicians at every level of local, state, and federal government; executives of large research and development and pharmaceutical manufacturing

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<sup>557</sup> Sergio Sismondo, “Bourdieu’s Rationalist Science,” 95.

<sup>558</sup> Howard Markel, “Reflections on *Arrowsmith*,” 371. Several scenes illustrate medicine and science as complicated and competitive economies even within themselves. Martin’s efforts in *Nautilus* to promote and fund free public clinics are seen by established doctors like Irve Watters as enabling “bad socialistic tendenc[ies]” that “attack the integrity of the physicians of this city” (Lewis, 211, 257). Angus Duer recruits Martin to the Rouncefield Clinic, “a private organization of medical specialists, sharing costs and profits” (265). The only difference between free and elite clinics is the cost associated with the healthcare provided to the paying customer and thus with the socioeconomic classes of those patients receiving treatment. The common denominator to such organizational accounting is not the patients’ health but the physicians’ wealth. Duer and Watters are ardent Geakeists. Their respective clinics are a good example of the competing, seemingly contradictory organizational models that succeeded the earlier, more intimate interpersonal relationships between doctors and patients during the late-nineteenth century and continued into the 1920’s in the primarily rural and new urban Midwestern areas. Modern twentieth-century healthcare retained some aspects of the competitive marketplace—of course doctors still competed against one another for the right to provide services and, of course, to charge a fee—but it also underwent processes of centralization, rationalization, professionalization, and bureaucratization, working hand in hand with the state. See Phillip Barrish, “Sticky Web of Medical Professionalism.”



firms; and even insurance underwriters became spiders in the “sticky web of medical professionalism”<sup>559</sup> that trapped average doctors and preyed upon patients like so many houseflies. This “web” has only been spun larger and larger since the turn-of-the-century, expanding from an “unregulated [...] non-system”<sup>560</sup> at the turn-of-the-century into a “fiscally unrestrained system”<sup>561</sup> by mid-century—not to mention current progressive proposals like Medicare for All intended to fix our broken present-day system.<sup>562</sup> Tearing down such an interconnected system while it is still being constructed—or, to continue the spiderweb metaphor, to try and unstick oneself from the trap while it is being spun around you—is part of Lewis’s plan.

The condition of American consumer culture, however, is an infinite circle on which the more someone makes, the more they have, the more they want. There is never enough raw material to put into this desiring-machine. Martin is different though, in that the more he makes, the more he wants to be left alone so that he may work. The worldview he accepts from Gottlieb may be mechanistic, but that does not mean that he must continue to willingly submit to being “a machine for digestion and propagation and obedience” (444). The outcome he wants more than anything is to be free to work; this vision leads to the *deus ex machina* resolution to escape systems of family, labor, and society altogether. Martin wants nothing more than to do science—until he realizes that what almost everyone else sees as Science is not the same as what science should look like.<sup>563</sup>

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<sup>559</sup> Phillip Barrish, “Sticky Web of Medical Professionalism,” 607ff.

<sup>560</sup> George B. Moseley III, “The U.S. Health Care Non-System, 1908-2008,” *American Medical Association Journal of Ethics* 10, no. 5 (2008), 324.

<sup>561</sup> George B. Moseley III, “U.S. Health Care Non-System,” 326.

<sup>562</sup> The current US healthcare system—indeed a silky, silvery, impossibly complex cobweb that continues to grow more intricate, confusing, and sticky with the advent of earlier big government programs like Medicare, sub-networks of unique Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs), and their resulting introductions of secondary spiders such as commercial health insurance agents and brokers and private pharmaceutical sales company representatives are all evidence of how ‘broken’ our system remains in present-day America.

<sup>563</sup> As Gottlieb tells Martin: “[A]lways remember that not all men who work at science are scientists” (Lewis, 279).

The action of boundary-work—of demarcating science from non-science—justifies scientists’ privileged position in society. By carving out its own “distinctive niche” from other intellectual endeavors, science expanded, monopolized, and protected its autonomy from other professions.<sup>564</sup> Although Martin has already expanded his authority over his rivals and monopolized material resources from his coworkers, nevertheless his professional autonomy is besieged by what his nominal superiors deem his job responsibilities. And while he has always identified and sought to construct a hard line between science and not-science—including medicine, which he sees as an art—still he has been hard-pressed to preserve his individual scientific shell from being cracked time and again, endangering his core personal and professional integrity. Feeling that his soul is once again facing confinement, and fearing that, this time, he may actually “give up [his] own chance, [...] [his] own work” (442-43), Martin makes his escape—from family,<sup>565</sup> ‘work,’ Success, and the “broader view [of] Practicalness” (441).

But boundary-work can also come from within through a sustained attack on a discipline’s epistemic authority and its hypocritical conflicts over approaches, goals, demands, and resources. This is the fight that Gottlieb, despite his wealth of scientific capital, never wins,<sup>566</sup> and the battle he bequeaths to Martin. Boundary-work occurs within science, especially between ‘scientists’ “with different professional ambitions” from one another.<sup>567</sup> These ‘scientists’ adhere to different norms and thus construct separate boundaries.<sup>568</sup> The aspirations of such ‘scientists’ is for money and fame; for Success, not Science.<sup>569</sup> And since medicine and

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<sup>564</sup> Thomas F. Gieryn, “Boundary-Work,” 783, 791-92.

<sup>565</sup> Martin feels imprisoned by his marriage to Joyce Lanyon in two ways: firstly, by the institution of marriage itself, which Gottlieb calls “dese merry vidding or jail bells” (10.106); and secondly, her wealth and its confining comforts, which he calls “all this soft and smothering prison” (40.442).

<sup>566</sup> In fact, he fails *spectacularly*. The one time in the book when Gottlieb “trie[s] to be practical,” he winds up losing his job and being labeled a sellout after suggesting to the Board of Regents an outline for transforming the University of Winnemac Medical School into a “new sort of medical school [...] altogether scientific” (126).

<sup>567</sup> Thomas F. Gieryn, “Boundary-Work,” 792.

<sup>568</sup> Thomas F. Gieryn, “Boundary-Work,” 792.

<sup>569</sup> This is true for even more sympathetic characters like the early father-figures, Vickerson and Silva, who wish to see Martin “[locate] in Zenith and make five thousand dollars [per] year” (Lewis, 4) or “get into Zenith General [...] and make you able to support [Leora] properly” (106), respectively. Very early on

biological research<sup>570</sup> are separate but overlapping spheres, each with their own regimes of truth, the appearance of clear lines of demarcation between the various occupational sub-spheres that overlap one another in this binary structure, when the directed aims of those within these regimes is for modern authority (i.e. wealth and status) rather than traditional authority (i.e. power-knowledge), show how these systems have failed.<sup>571</sup>

Americans are accustomed to seeing the scientist looking through his microscope. Images like this have become cultural icons that “form the basis of popular American conceptions of science, good, bad, and mad, regardless of how little such images have to do with how science is actually practiced.”<sup>572</sup> The optical microscope magnifies objects otherwise invisible to the naked eye through a series of lenses. This positionality means scientists are agents that use their sight (as a physical process) to investigate microscopic organisms that should have positive macrosocial implications. As a doctor-scientist, Martin is placed under a figurative microscope throughout the novel; his shrinking sense of himself as a subject is

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Martin does express a desire to achieve “the fame of Max Gottlieb—,” but quickly catches and corrects himself, “I mean his ability—” (23). Such a throwaway remark is not indicative, however, of the psychological pressure Martin puts on himself to be recognized for his science, but rather of the societal pressure to be practical. And while he may be narrow-visioned and “single-minded in [his] pursuit of success [to the point] of utterly neglect[ing] to consider the needs of those closest to him,” a trademark of other Lewis protagonists, nevertheless his definition of success differs from that of “the ordinary standards of American life.” Jenny Glennon, “The Custom of Main Street: Wharton, Sinclair Lewis, and Middle-Class Taste,” in *Edith Wharton Review* 30, no. 1 [Spring 2014], 55; Charles E. Rosenberg, “Scientist as Hero,” 452. Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis, ix. “In order to be a success, at least to himself, he realizes that he must eschew personal relationships and devote himself to pure research.” Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 105. “Gottliebism refers to a commitment to an ‘unswerving quest for causes’ that dismisses any kind of personal or social interventions.” This inherited redefinition of success is a far cry from “prostitut[ing] himself to an easy—manifest, worldly success” in the way that others “make good” by making themselves “bondslaves to practical success.” T.K. Whipple, “Sinclair Lewis,” in *Twentieth Century Interpretations*, edited by Robert J. Griffin, 34-35.

<sup>570</sup> James M. Hutchisson, “Composition of *Arrowsmith*,” 55.

<sup>571</sup> Sub-spheres of medicine include country, clinical, public health, specialist, institutional, and tropical medicines, while those of science include pure, real, research, laboratory, investigative, experimental, university, basic, physical, “humanistic” (Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 93ff.), competitive, useful, co-operative, sacrificial, unproductive, “barbaric” (Rebecca Herzig, *Suffering for Science*, 114), “forest” (Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*, 136), “phony movie” (Paul de Kruif, *Sweeping Wind*, 85; qtd. in William C. Summers, “Origins of Science,” 317), “mop-up” (Mary G. Land, “Three Max Gottliebs,” 318), and novel sciences. The two spheres overlap most as (bio)medical science. These are just a splattering of the dots making up the uncountable circles of the medico-science sphere; this catalog of terms reveals *Arrowsmith* as more a novel of science(s) than of medicine(s).

<sup>572</sup> Glen Scott Allen, *Master Mechanics & Wicked Wizards*, 6

magnified through the lenses of society's vision of him as an object of study and as a spectacle. Thus, Lewis revises the scientist as someone who sees into someone who is seen. By subverting the social mandate that doctor-scientists must sublimate their personal scientific visions into the practical, public good, Lewis through Martin questions the future direction in which modern scientific medicine is headed. The scientist's autonomous vision, popularized and propagandized as heroically individual, is refracted into that of the average American's sight (as a social phenomenon). Because the scientist himself is positioned within that field of view, his role in society is seen with a renewed degree of clarity and focus, stripping it of the rose-tinted glasses that had romanticized the previous century's country doctor and the widening telescopic view of the new millennium's zeroing in on science-as-progress.

The first instance of this emblematic reversal occurs at the end of chapter one when Martin casually positions himself on the other side of the magnifying glass, which, like the microscope, is an icon of the scientist's ability to see and know. But this scene is suggestive of Martin's high visibility throughout the rest of his career. Undoubtedly, Martin wants to see and thereby know new things. The metaphor of sight—of seeing and being seen, of trying to see the invisible but feeling invisible, of how the scientist's vision of science had become, by 1925, at odds with America's vision of Science with a capital 'S'—is the most significant theme of *Arrowsmith*. Martin's conflicted sense of self is to defend himself against the professional self that others see for him. The scientist-as-hero is still mythologized, but as his visibility in the public eye continuously expands, the scope of his vision inversely diminished.

The very last subchapter in the closing chapter refocuses the gaze's aperture to a much deeper range of focus. This wider depth of field covers the entire Northeastern Hemisphere, simultaneously zooming in on a white church in Wheatsylvania in North Dakota and the White House at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capital; a tiny apartment high above New York City to a small crest on a Caribbean island; and finally, focusing in on a "clumsy boat, far out on the water" of a Vermont mountain lake (40.450). These last couple pages present the

ultimate “revealing picture of the relationship of science and society [in which] Martin [is] placed within the panoramic view [as] only one of the many inhabitants of this society.”<sup>573</sup> With this alternate view, literally seeing both the forest and the trees, Lewis dismantles the cultural authority of the doctor-scientist, grounded on the power—and power dynamics—of his sight, rehumanizing the dehumanizing medico-scientific gaze that separates not only the professional organism’s body from his identity, but also the doctor-scientist’s identity from that of his society. In effect, the doctor-scientist is *de*-heroized and humanized, existing neither above nor outside of society but as one integral part of a greater whole, content both to succeed in the struggle against confinement and corruption and also to “probably fail” in his quest to “get something permanent” (450) in the frontier of scientific research, knowledge, and truth.

Martin embodies the timeless spirit of professional integrity<sup>574</sup> within modern society’s impossibly (im)practical vision of scientific medicine. Modern society holds unrealistic views of doctor-scientists as not only model professionals but also as modern-day heroes. The public’s blind faith in the positivism of scientific medicine and in its doctor-scientists to turn this progressive dream into reality, however, belies the fact that this belief in scientism is an ideology as well as an ideal similar to but competing with Gottliebism.<sup>575</sup> Consequently, the doctor-scientist’s professional integrity was restricted in practical ways. First, their work was marketed by those that employed them—either directly in the case of scientists employed by corporations,

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<sup>573</sup> Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 99. See also Yeonsik Jung, “Immunity of Empire,” 201. “Constituting only one moment in a revealing panoramic tour of the fates and whereabouts of different types of people, Arrowsmith no longer occupies an exclusive focal point here. Claiming himself as an American ‘farmer’ [449], he embodies rural, agrarian, frontier values and pioneer traditions which, together with the urban, industrial, commercial values represented by the Men of Measured Merriment, shaped the life and landscape of America in the first half of the twentieth century.”

<sup>574</sup> Damian Cox *et al.*, s.v., “integrity.” If integrity is a relation between aspects of oneself then professional integrity may be defined as committedly accepting and applying the knowledge, techniques, skills, and values of a chosen profession and acting in accordance with the standards and principles of appropriate moral, ethical, and professional behavior even as these values, commitments, and standards are revised over time.

<sup>575</sup> While the twentieth-century ideals of the doctor-scientist were pragmatic and realistic, Martin must escape from the practical present to the idealism of the past to revise and re-envision these ideals. For more on this theme, see Frederic I. Carpenter, “Lewis and the Fortress of Reality,” 418-23.

or in the case of doctors who were obligated not only to professional organizations but also to their patients—as transformative. Scientific medicine was *progress* itself; doctor-scientists were modern-day miracle workers. As a result, they found themselves under new levels of scrutiny. The time for the heroic country doctor and gentlemanly amateur scientist had passed: modern practice required vast amounts of material resources, coordinated effort, and specialized knowledge across the twin disciplines, resources that were impossible for independent autodidacts to achieve on their own. Scientific medical professionals became entrapped in an intricate web<sup>576</sup> of rationalized and centralized professionalization, an infinitely complex and hierarchized corporate regime made up of liberal arts universities, state certification boards, professional organizations, and medical and scientific corporations.<sup>577</sup> The modern doctor-scientist saw his autonomy limited for the purposes of maximizing the scientific, cultural, and economic capital for the disembodied corporate body for whom he intellectually labored as well as the personified public that he had taken an oath not to harm. Thus, the doctor-scientist was beholden to the standards of an increasingly commercial society as well as an increasingly corporate and centralized political economy, both of which valued practicality over individuality. Although the doctor-scientist may have been revered as a modern hero in the public's eyes,<sup>578</sup> nevertheless the scope of his vision was decreasing because of his expanding visibility within this incorporated eye. Indeed, many doctor-scientists capitalized upon this more exalted view of their profession because it had more than made up for what it had lost in traditional autonomy in modern authority. The doctor-scientist could no longer be represented as a disinterested and disembodied presence; he was now a fully fleshed-out personage—if not fully independent. Lewis portrays the process through which modern professionals were beginning to see

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<sup>576</sup> This phrase is borrowed from Philip Barrish, "Sticky Web of Medical Professionalism," 586. Barrish notes that twenty-five years after Herrick's novel, Lewis would be the first to take up this "still very much under-construction 'web' comprising interrelated [...] interests, practices, institutions, and professional cultures." See note 507.

<sup>577</sup> Philip Mirowski and Esther-Mirjam Sent, "Commercialization of Science," 643-49.

<sup>578</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, "Scientist as Hero," 447-58.

themselves as automatons performing mindless work for a conglomerate authority—as “machine[s] [...] for propagation and obedience” rather than as men with the “freedom to work” (444). Lewis was not alone in seeing this aggregating insistence to be Practical as preventing modern professionals from realizing their individual visions for themselves. In fact, he saw this commercialization and its insistence on practical results as being what ailed the modern professions. The diagnosis of Dr. Lewis was still that professionalization might cure society’s lack of ideals,<sup>579</sup> integrity, and independence—but only if the myth of the heroic doctor-scientist was extensively revised.

Despite continued financial success, the impractical Martin feels alienated at each stage of his professional development by the reality of his jobs because they all exist within the normal social sphere and thus are subject to its view of truth.<sup>580</sup> He is never truly content in any of his occupations because he always sees them as restricting him from doing what he sees as his *real* work—to see and know truth.<sup>581</sup> Every occupation is like an individual fortress<sup>582</sup> that walls him in on one side by the societal pressure to conform and on the other by his supervisors’ demands to perform quotidian tasks. Furthermore, the supposed ideals associated with these vocations are shown to be illusions: nostalgia for the vanishing country doctor itself fades when Martin, an “inconspicuous but not discouraged country doctor” (163), is discomforted at being constantly subjected to others’ “glares” and “gapes” (155, 158). As a public health official, he

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<sup>579</sup> “The doctor in me wishes he could prescribe a page or two to restore some health to the ailing condition of scientific idealism.” Howard Markel, “Reflections on *Arrowsmith*,” 375. *Arrowsmith* has been a source of inspiration for generations of scientific medical professionals.

<sup>580</sup> Stephen S. Conroy, “Lewis’s Sociological Imagination,” 350; E.L. Doctorow, afterword to *Arrowsmith* by Sinclair Lewis, 453.

<sup>581</sup> Throughout the novel, Martin is repeatedly encouraged to choose the safer career path, which is usually the one with the higher salary. Despite his professional failures, his first wife, Leora, repeatedly supports him in his scientific quest and encourages him to take increasingly scientific positions—indeed, her primary purpose in the novel is to nurture his personal and professional perseverance. Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis, vii; Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 118; and Steven Michels, *Lewis and Democracy*, 3. For more on Leora specifically, and Lewis’s evolving representations of women more generally, see Sally E. Parry, “The Changing Faces of Sinclair Lewis’ Wives,” in *Studies in American Fiction* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1989), 69; and Jenny Glennon, “Custom of Main Street,” 54.

<sup>582</sup> Frederic I. Carpenter, “Lewis and the Fortress of Reality,” 416-23.

sees that the field is less real science than public spectacle, its mission thwarted from above by administrators and politicians and from below by the small-minded public whom they have taken an oath to protect from harm. Even his colleagues at colleges, clinics, and research centers—supposed bastions of professional intellectual independence—are blinded by their narrow-visioned approach to putting a pragmatic cash-value on the work they produce.<sup>583</sup> By novel's end, Martin breaks free from the comforts provided by the imaginary citadel walls in order to build his own castle in the sky. He disappears from social and familial life and becomes a doctor-scientist simply surviving, living and working independently, on the last physical frontier of the US, finally free to become a scientific pioneer. By refusing to settle into the comfortable niche that a society, which had commodified everything and everyone, has made for him, Martin defends the integrity of his enduring professional vision against the practicalizing gaze of an increasingly conformist, corporate, and capitalist society.

In short, one must either be a good normal doctor or an authentic scientist.<sup>584</sup> Lewis's "radically reductionist vision"<sup>585</sup> forces Martin to confront two competing visions of integrity and truth, each with their own sets of values. He sees both disciplines, however, as being increasingly corrupted by their political economization.<sup>586</sup> Lewis parades an ensemble cast of one-dimensional doctors and scientists across the various stages of Martin's career. All of these "paragons of professional normality" are "plug general practitioners," "perfect surgeons," or "pill-mongers" (72, 175, 269, 130), charlatans blinded by their concerns over wealth and status;<sup>587</sup> none of them is a true doctor-scientist in Martin's view. From his perspective, scientific medical

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<sup>583</sup> While the Board of Regents at Winnemac University Medical College "could see the value of basic research," the institute is compared to an automobile factory that manufactures standardized men and women rather than those of integrity or genius. Similarly, the Rouncefield Clinic is portrayed as a "visionless medical factory" and the McGurk Institute presents "a vision of a world of little scientists" (Lewis, 270, 324).

<sup>584</sup> A. Mark Clarfield, "Novel Medicine: *Arrowsmith*," 286.

<sup>585</sup> Ilana Löwy, "Arrowsmith's Clinical Trial," 466. "[T]he novel depicts a reductionist philosophy of research that seems to contradict the messiness of medical practice." H.M. Fangerau, "Novel *Arrowsmith*," 83.

<sup>586</sup> See James M. Hutchisson, "Political Economy of Medicine," 110-24.

<sup>587</sup> Frederic I. Carpenter, "Lewis and the Fortress of Reality," 421.



professionalism should be based on the ideals of integrity and independence and one cannot put a price on such a vision. From society's perspective, however, professionalism should provide immediate, practical, and useful results. Martin's heroic resistance against society's pragmatic vision suggests that the myth of professionalization no longer reflects modern reality. To revise how professionals are seen by society requires re-envisioning how the professional sees society. In Lewis's opinion, this revision can only occur by returning to the traditional ideals upon which the professionalization myth was premised: idealism, integrity, and independence.

Lewis reveals that the myth of professionalization, by 1925, had become indistinguishable from the modern American narrative of success—an invisible and unanalyzed process of degeneration from the traditional consolidation of professional knowledge and authority into a modern social philosophy of practical consumerism. Lewis redefines the typically American notion of romantic individualism by re-envisioning the enduring myth of success through an authority of redemptive failure, thus ennobling Martin to be a hero while also humanizing him.<sup>588</sup> This seemingly contradictory response divorces the virtue of the work ethic from the spirit of capitalism. To fail in the Gottliebian sense is to accept failure as part of the scientific process rather than attempting to rationalize it as promising future success. It is endless “pondering” (34) because one “know[s] how little he knows” (279). While it may be insanely egotistical, such individual failure represents an escape from a totalizing discipline of social practicality that is embodied in the modern narrative of professional success defined in practical terms. Failure liberates because it returns one to a past ideal that precludes the modern sickness of Success.<sup>589</sup>

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<sup>588</sup> Again, Martin's final words, which end the novel, are “and probably we'll fail!” (Lewis, 450).

<sup>589</sup> Martin personifies what William James had called the “bitch-goddess SUCCESS” in terms of slavery to practical blindness: “He perceived the horror of the shrieking bawdy thing called Success, with its demand that he give up quiet work and parade forth to be pawed by every blind devotee and mud-spattered by every blind enemy” (Lewis, 323). “In order to be a success, at least to himself, he realizes that he must eschew personal relationships and devote himself to pure research” (Sally E. Parry, introduction to *Arrowsmith*, by Sinclair Lewis, ix).

By presenting an alternative view of wealth and status as no longer indicative of individual worth, Lewis's revision of the professionalization myth portrays the modern doctor-scientist in a new light. By exposing the novel field of scientific medicine as having been already corrupted by its political economization and by caricaturing its doctor-scientists whose professional vision have been clouded by practical and commercial concerns, Lewis re-envision professionalization through Martin's personal and professional history. The modern doctor-scientist must be seen as an ordinary man—"an average myth"<sup>590</sup>—rather than as a hero. This wider depth of field presents a panoramic view<sup>591</sup> of the doctor-scientist's role in society different from the one mythologized throughout only in authentic scientists.<sup>592</sup>

While Lewis's depiction of the simultaneous processes of the scientification of medicine and the medicalization of science may seem reductive at first glance,<sup>593</sup> his modern revision of professionalism might have restorative powers for the diseased values of modern society, even, as Gottlieb says early on, "if it does violence to all the nice correct views of science" (52). In attacking modern society's (im)practical view of the doctor-scientist as a modern-day hero, however, Lewis also critiques the romanticized vision of pure science from the internal perspective of the authentic scientist. For the modern doctor-scientist to be seen as traditionally heroic, he must sacrifice all other aspects of himself for an ideal professional identity defined by integrity and independence. Such an ideal is itself an ideology.<sup>594</sup> In *Arrowsmith*, practicing

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<sup>590</sup> Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1942), qtd. in Marilyn Morgan Helleberg, "Paper-Doll Characters," 18.

<sup>591</sup> Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*, 99; Yeonsik Jung, "Immunity of Empire," 201.

<sup>592</sup> On the final page, a deteriorated and diminished Gottlieb sits alone in a dark apartment: "Only his eyes were alive" (Lewis, 450). Oxymoronicallly, by combining Gottlieb's mechanism with Lewis's romanticism, this image conveys a deeper-lying meaning that, while the physical conduit through which the spirit of science flows may be breaking down, the particle in that box possesses infinite energy, and will find another host. In short, the locus of Gottlieb's power-knowledge and gaze—and thus of the authentic scientist—is embodied in his immortal eyes.

<sup>593</sup> Ilana Löwy, "Arrowsmith's Clinical Trial," 466. See note 585.

<sup>594</sup> On Martin and Gottlieb's scientific worldview and professional integrity as an uncompromising "regime of truth," see Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*; Albert H. Tricomi, *Clashing Convictions*; and Hub Zwart, *Tales of Research Misconduct*. On this professional ideology as being impractically detached, "selfish," and even inhumane, see Michael Augspurger, "Primers for the Professional" and Yi Dongshin, *Genealogy of Cybergothic*.

medicine requires the protagonist to forsake Martin in favor of Dr. Arrowsmith, while practicing pure science requires being unconventional, uncommercial, and uncivilized—everything a doctor should not be. Though continually tempted by material rewards and social recognition, Martin is unwilling to surrender himself, his work, and his vision. To become a true scientist, he must relinquish all trace of his former humanity. His unbreakable dedication to this ideology requires him to sacrifice Leora and then abandon Joyce and John, quit his position at McGurk, and leave behind the commonsense view of “Practicalness” (449, 441) altogether. Such romantic individualism may have been possible in previous centuries, but such idealism constitutes a “blind-spot[]” (443) to modern reality.<sup>595</sup> Lewis thus reveals an ideology of pure professionalism—of professionalism for the sake of professionalism—as a worldview of the past for the future and not a realistic view of the present. That the ideal professional vision had faded away is a tragic realization for the heroic doctor-scientist. Even though it had become clear that professionalization had become a modern myth, its allure endured well into the 1930s in the eyes of the public. As the next and final chapter of this dissertation shows, idealistic and heroic doctor-scientists felt that this myth was something they could not lose sight of.

To read *Arrowsmith* amid the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic is to see not only how history repeats itself but also how life imitates art.<sup>596</sup> Lewis accurately depicts the panicked fear, irrational superstition, selfish hoarding, surprising heroism, misplaced blame, and fatiguing

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<sup>595</sup> In the final chapter of this dissertation, Dr. Dick Diver from F. Scott Fitzgerald’s 1934 *Tender Is the Night* seeks to resolve this problematic by becoming both husband and psychiatrist to his wife-patient, Nicole. His failure to marry the personal with the professional results in a disappearing act not dissimilar to Arrowsmith’s retreat from public view. Ultimately, Dick revises his unrealistic ambition “to do the world’s rarest work” and need “to be loved” (Fitzgerald, *Tender*, 149) because, like Martin, his mythic vision is incompatible with that of modern society. It is unclear whether Dick’s obsession with reconciling his vision for himself with social recognition would see him as gleefully willing to accept that “probably we [professionals] will fail!” as Martin (Lewis, 450).

<sup>596</sup> The initial draft of this chapter was begun in the summer of 2020, exactly one hundred years after Dr. Martin Arrowsmith goes to St. Hubert to test a potential vaccine for Bubonic plague; revisions were made during the spring and summer of 2021.

boredom that dominate the current crisis<sup>597</sup> and presciently outlines the new normal of mask-wearing, quarantining, and social distancing; more critically, he represents the popular anti-science stance that views such basic and temporary public health measures as unconstitutional infringements upon Americans' personal and economic liberties as universal constants across history and cultures. The continued vocal opposition from the silent majority to the authority of scientific medicine—emboldened by the previous administration's virulently anti-intellectual rhetoric—suggests that when (and not if) the next global outbreak of disease strikes, that history will again repeat and that life will become still more surreal.<sup>598</sup>

Throughout the early stages of the pandemic, Americans kept their blind faith in a vision that their doctor-scientists would win the race to discover a magic bullet to kill the coronavirus so that their daily lives could return to normal and the economy could reopen—despite constantly discrediting scientific medicine's authority and the virus's clear and present danger.<sup>599</sup> This hypocritical vision of doctor-scientists as simultaneously heroes and villains is a perspective that seems likely to plague contemporary American culture for generations to come. This, then, is the professionalization myth—an impossibility, an illness, and an illusion. America's unflinching adherence to this myth is more than an unhealthy obsession with the trappings of modern

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<sup>597</sup> Marcel Theroux. "The End of Coronavirus: What Plague Literature Tells Us About Our Future," *Guardian*, May 1, 2020, <http://theguardian.com/books/2020/may/01/the-end-of-coronavirus-what-plague-literature-tells-us-about-our-future>.

"The primary lesson of plague literature is how predictably humans respond to such crises."

<sup>598</sup> Former President Trump downplayed the issue in January 2020 by stating, "We have it totally under control;" predicted it would "miraculously go away [...] when it gets a little warmer;" called it "a flu" but later that the flu is nothing to sneeze at;" advised people to take the non-FDA approved Hydroxychloroquine; asked at a press briefing whether injecting household cleaning products or blasting a person's insides with ultraviolet light; and throughout downplayed the issue and misled the public the public makes the present seem even less real. A more lighthearted—and less terrifying—example includes the Sondelius Anti-vermin Neck Protector (Lewis, 373) as a precursor to the not-quite-ubiquitous-enough N95 masks.

<sup>599</sup> Trump lauded himself as the "father of the vaccine" despite the efforts led by Drs. Ugur Sahin and Özlem Türeci, the husband-and-wife scientific team who are both Turkish-Germans, and their doctor-scientists at their biotechnology company, BioNTech. Trump might be the perfect amalgamation of what Lewis presaged for successful masculinity in modern American society: a self-important and narcissistic real-estate developer—like George F. Babbitt (*Babbitt*, 1922)—who rose past his mediocrity and was fully apotheosized into a vulgar, lying, fascist demagogue—like Senator Berzelius "Buzz" Windrip in *It Can't Happen Here* (1936).

wealth, status, and respectability; it is a bone-deep, collective, and hereditary vision disorder about non-normative and disembodied masculinity, knowledge, and power.

## Chapter 4 – “His Revise of *A Psychology for Psychologists*”: Embodying Patriarchy in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *Tender Is the Night* (1934)

Sigmund Freud suggested in 1913 that the ideal position for the psychoanalyst was outside of his patient’s line of sight.<sup>600</sup> According to the father of the field, the doctor-scientist’s invisibility was a critical aspect of his professional authority because it allowed him to see without being seen. Less than a quarter century later he would call psychoanalysis an “impossible profession.”<sup>601</sup> What changes during this critical historical moment in the professionalization of modern psychiatry? What effects do these changes in how modern scientific medicine is viewed by nonprofessionals have on the doctor-scientist?

This chapter argues that the professionalization of psychoanalysis, which resulted in society’s increasingly favorable attitude toward it, increased the modern doctor-scientist’s public visibility. This higher visibility compromised the foundation of his professional power-knowledge, which traditionally rested on his disembodied medico-scientific gaze.<sup>602</sup> As the professional psychiatrist became a more visible presence in modern society, the doctor-scientist’s invisibility became an impossibility.

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<sup>600</sup> When outlining the treatment process, Freud suggested the doctor sit behind the patient in order “to deprive[] [the patient of] a view of the doctor.” Sigmund Freud, “On Beginning the Treatment,” 139, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 12, edited by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1958).

<sup>601</sup> Sigmund Freud, “Analysis Terminable and Interminable,” 248, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 23, edited by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1964). “It almost looks as if analysis were the third of those ‘impossible’ professions in which one can be sure beforehand of achieving unsatisfying results. [...] Obviously we cannot demand that the prospective analyst should be a perfect being before he takes up analysis, in other words that only persons of such high and rare perfection should enter the profession. But where and how is the poor wretch to acquire the ideal qualifications which he will need in his profession? The answer is, in an analysis of himself, with which his future activity begins.”

<sup>602</sup> Michel Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic*, 89. “The clinic was probably the first attempt to order a science on the exercise and decisions of the gaze. [...] The clinic demands as much of the gaze as natural history. As much, and to a certain extent, the same thing: to see, to isolate feature, to recognize those that are identical and those that are different, to classify them by species or families. [...] But the medical gaze was [...] organized in a new way. First, it was no longer the gaze of any observer, but that of a doctor supported and justified by an institution, that of a doctor endowed with the power of decision and intervention. Moreover, it was a gaze that was not bound by the narrow grid of structure [...] Finally, it was a gaze that was not content to observe what was self-evident; it must make it possible to outline chances and risks; it was calculating.”

*Arrowsmith* ended with the heroic doctor-scientist Martin physically distancing himself from the workaday world and taking shelter in a shed-like cabin-laboratory in the woods. In similar fashion, Dr. Richard “Dick” Diver, the protagonist psychiatrist of F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *Tender Is the Night* (1934),<sup>603</sup> has a “one-room work house”<sup>604</sup> (36, 35) on the expansive grounds of the Villa Diana.<sup>605</sup> Alongside the garden of his wife, Nicole Diver, née Warren, an incest-rape survivor whom he meets during her institutionalization at a Swiss psychiatric clinic, Dick erects a shed on the one patch of property that he owns outright.<sup>606</sup> His shed serves as a laboratory within the field that is both his object of analysis—the daily life of his wife-patient—

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<sup>603</sup> There are two versions of *Tender Is the Night*: Fitzgerald’s original version and a posthumous “author’s final version” published in 1951, edited by Malcolm Cowley. The 1934 edition is used because it is considered authoritative and also because its achronological structure informs this chapter’s reading of Dick’s personal professionalization myth. “*Tender Is the Night* was first published in 1934, by Charles Scribner’s Sons in New York and Chatto & Windus in London. In 1951 a revised version was published, edited by Cowley from a copy of the novel which Fitzgerald had reorganized and in which he had made corrections. Penguin Books began reprinting this revised version in 1955. Scholarly opinion, both textual and critical, has come, however, to regard the Cowley version with disfavour [*sic*]. Fitzgerald had clearly not completed his revision project and he may have abandoned it as not worth carrying out. His basic idea was to reconstruct the novel into chronological order, placing the ‘flashback’ chapters (Book II, I to X) at the beginning of the book. Fitzgerald’s working copy contains a few alterations which he thought required by the ‘new’ order and some others, but Cowley made hundreds more (of both kinds), and there is no way in which a reader of the revised version can tell without research whether Fitzgerald actually wrote what he is reading.” Arnold Goldman, “Note on the Text” to F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *Tender Is the Night* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 339.

<sup>604</sup> The compound word *work house* defines a multiuse structure that confines one’s personal and professional identities to a single physical place. Lexically, one lives where they work and works where they live. *Workhouses* connote men and women, especially those who suffer from social, mental, and physical health disorders such as poverty or infirmity, living and laboring in the same space. Dick’s work house at the posh Villa Diana may be far removed from Victorian-era poorhouses in terms of its accommodations—especially Dick’s office as it is represented in the 1962 film adaptation, replete with ornately framed artwork, red leather couches, and mahogany walls—but the images of Dick’s incomplete stack of papers held down by gold paperweights inside his shed suggest the unpaid labor, confined boarding, and disciplined punishment of an almshouse, poorhouse, or prison-house. His choice to return to America at the end of the novel and resume work represents a conscious choice to break free from the personal-professional prison to which he has condemned himself: “Dr. Diver was at liberty” (Fitzgerald, 324).

<sup>605</sup> The name for the Provençal estate Dick and his wife Nicole build by combining “five small houses” and demolishing four others (Fitzgerald, 36) that once made up the ancient village of Tarnes. Dick’s house is similar in stature to the “weatherbeaten cardboard bungalow” that Nick Carraway rents in the shadow of “Gatsby’s huge mansion.” F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 3, 5.

<sup>606</sup> Nicole’s inheritance pays for the project. “He glanced about the house that Nicole had made, that Nicole’s grandfather had paid for. He owned only his work house and the ground on which it stood” (Fitzgerald, 187).

and the venue of his study—their home together. Dick envisions this shed<sup>607</sup> as the professional space where his alter ego, Dr. Diver, will write his magnum opus, a comprehensive compendium on pathological mental disorders. Instead, it is the quiet place where he goes to escape his life and work,<sup>608</sup> a failed attempt to reincorporate the idyllic Birdies' Rest of Martin into the real world.<sup>609</sup> After his imagined work fails to materialize within the confines of this safe space—that is, when he is unable to adequately shield himself from the views and expectations built up in him by the myth of professionalization—only then does he see that he must remove himself completely from the eyes of other characters as well as from those of the reader.

This chapter reads what takes place in Dick's shed as standing in for what goes on in his head. His shed serves as a spatial metaphor for Dick's "doctor's story,"<sup>610</sup> which is itself an

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<sup>607</sup> See Genevieve Bell and Paul Dourish, "Back to the Shed: Gendered Visions of Technology and Domesticity," *Personal and Ubiquitous Computing* 11, no. 10 (October 2007): 373-81.

The shed is a physical structure, usually located on the outskirts of someone's property, where tools that have either outlived their usefulness, are needed only for emergencies, or are too dangerous to be stored in the home are kept. As well as a storage unit, the shed doubles as a masculine place separate from the feminine space of the home proper. A man might retreat here to indulge in a hobby, bond with other men, or simply relax during good times or hide away from everyday responsibilities and contemplate, unburden, and console himself in bad times. Standards of appropriate behavior, language, and cleanliness adhered to elsewhere are not always followed inside a shed. Inside its crude clapboard walls, the head of a household reigns as if sitting on a throne in an imaginary castle all his own. These associations between men and masculinity, marginal physical spaces, interests and activities, and lax standards of decorum persist to the present-day. Consider culture surrounding today's man cave, which are often found in basements, garages, or sheds and are replete with televisions, bars, sports memorabilia, and usually an old recliner that does not "go with" the more modern décor of the home's living spaces.

<sup>608</sup> Dick's "one-room house" (Fitzgerald, 35) is twice referred to as "his house" (36) while the Villa Diana is repeatedly referred to as either "the house" (47, 48) and then "the house that Nicole had made" (187). The implication that it belongs to Nicole arises from the fact that she not only bought it but also seems to rule it. When Tommy Barban rings the house after Nicole has slept with him, Nicole answers simply, "Dick's home" (321), even though he is out of sight doing some things in his shed. The varied possessive pronouns depend upon the perspective of the character who speaks them. They indicate ownership as well as demarcate boundaries of habitation. For example, Rosemary Hoyt, who is not privy to the "expensive [...] complexity" (30) of the Divers' private life together, is the only character who calls the Villa Diana "their house" (48).

<sup>609</sup> If Martin stayed married to the wealthy Joyce Lanyon—had he been practical and listened to "common sense" (during her final plea to Martin to come home, Joyce tells him: "You've left common sense. I am common sense" [Lewis, 449]; if Joyce embodies exactly the modern-day, common sense practicality that Martin sees as at odds with his ideal vision of scientific medical professionalism) then perhaps his life would have resembled Dick's.

<sup>610</sup> Fitzgerald himself called it his "doctor's story." Qtd. in Christine Grogan, *Father-Daughter Incest in Twentieth-Century American Literature: The Complex Trauma of the Wound and the Voiceless* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016), 30.



allegory of the myth of scientific medical professionalization in modern culture. The modern doctor-scientist was tasked with looking out upon a confused modern world from the detached space created by his professionalization and then applying his observations and hypotheses to make sense of that chaos and effect a return to normalcy. Dick tries to restore order in his personal and professional life by curing Nicole's mental disorder from his shed-laboratory. As an organized, secure, and controlled environment, this personal space represents what Dick wants from his life, which has grown increasingly messy, unstable, and public. As his marriage and career spiral out of control, Dick locks himself and the figurative tools in his professional toolbox in this makeshift isolation chamber. His self-sentencing to this remote area suggests he feels obsolete and that his proposed project of marrying the personal and professional has proven more harmful than helpful—to both him as doctor-husband and to Nicole as his patient-wife.

In his shed, alone, Fitzgerald reveals the true Dick. Dick embodies modern psychiatry's promise to treat the disorder(s) of modernity. But if even an exceptional doctor-scientist like Dick fails to rise to the impossible ideal that modern scientific medicine has set for this generation of professionals, then Dick's vision, which is to become the heroic doctor-scientist who will bring the theories and practices of his profession sensibly and sympathetically into the home, must likewise fail. He is shown as no different from any other modern individual—unable to escape the expanded, surveilling gaze of modern society that defines him through others' perspectives. The myth surrounding masculine knowledge, authority, and professionalism causes and exacerbates Dick's obsessive compulsion to be seen as the greatest psychiatrist in history. Dick neither fulfills his heroic potential nor rises to meet others' expectations for him. Although he may help cure Nicole's psychiatric disorder, nevertheless he is unable to overcome—or even acknowledge—his own undiagnosed issues<sup>611</sup> during the course of her treatment. Dr. Diver may seem like the exact sort of modern doctor-scientist who will sort out the intellectual disorder that

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<sup>611</sup> Dick suffers from alcoholism and depression as well as probably social anxiety and post-traumatic stress.

ruined Rev. Ware, embrace the high visibility that endangered Dr. Miller, and return the runaway scientist Dr. Arrowsmith to the practical world; instead, Dick simply fades away. He is cured from his unhealthy desire to be the preeminent authority on psychiatric theory and accepts a simpler professional role as a general practitioner. His disappearance from modern psychiatry and return to traditional medicine is therefore an apt coda for the mythologization of the modern doctor-scientist as the embodiment of professional authority through the power-knowledge of the gaze. His vanishing act reveals the conclusion of the doctor's story to be ambivalent at best. Dick's story, like those of Theron, Miller, and Martin, is an incomplete draft of the professionalization myth subscribed to by American men. Only by revising this myth and returning it to its former overarching vision can the ideal tradition of scientific medicine professionalism and its embodiment in the individual doctor-scientist be saved.

Dick's shed is first seen from Nicole's point of view:

For a moment Nicole stood looking down at the Mediterranean but there was nothing to do with that [...]. Presently Dick came out of his one-room house carrying a telescope and looked east toward Cannes. In a moment Nicole swam into his field of vision, whereupon he disappeared into his house and came out with a megaphone. He had many light mechanical devices (36).

Dick's telescope and megaphone are just two of the ingenious but ostentatious gadgets among the Divers' many luxury technologies.<sup>612</sup> Nicole can hear exactly what Dick, whom she can also easily see,<sup>613</sup> is saying, a fact that "seemed to belittle his megaphone" (36). Yet Dick keeps using it despite its obsolescence, indicating the distance he perceives between them even at this early stage in the novel, a perception that foreshadows their eventual growing apart. For now, though, if the shed is a place that offers a marginal and cloistered vantage point from

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<sup>612</sup> Early in his graduate work, Dick "felt like a toy-maker" (Fitzgerald, 133) while studying a brain in a University of Zürich neuroscience lab. Dick has literally regressed from working on the brain, the "frontier of consciousness (203), to playing with knickknacks produced in "the first burst of luxury manufacturing after the War" (27).

<sup>613</sup> Nicole provides the clearest picture of Dick's neuroses—anxiety, fear, frustration, anger, jealousy, guilt, shame, loneliness, and depression—in this early scene and again in another scene outside Dick's shed in book three.

which to view the central space of the home without being confined by its domesticating sway, then what can the apparatuses stored within the shed say about the potential danger to domesticity posed by modern technologies—especially considering that Dick puts into practice the newest technology in scientific medicine: modern psychiatry?<sup>614</sup> In contrast to the light devices that Dick plays with whenever he is in “one of his most characteristic moods” (36), what if the psychiatric labors he performs are reseen as dangerous tools? Dick ultimately decides to stop “playing the doctor game,”<sup>615</sup> a performative display designed more to define and maintain his patriarchal and professional authority than to actually help Nicole, who is cast as the unwilling *Daddy’s Girl*.<sup>616</sup> His decision might represent the fact that Dick no longer relishes playing the multiple roles of doctor, father, husband, and (the-)rapist.<sup>617</sup> His walking away from bringing psychiatric theory, intervention, and treatment into the home by marrying the personal

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<sup>614</sup> See Genevieve Bell and Paul Dourish, *Divining a Digital Future: Mess and Mythology in Ubiquitous Computing* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011), 182. “[T]echnologies do not simply appear in the home; they must be brought in, and then they must be domesticated.” While focusing on contemporary smart home technologies, Bell and Dourish’s argument may be applied not only to Dick’s telescope and megaphone but also his psychiatric technique.

<sup>615</sup> David I. Gottlieb, afterword to *F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel: Nicole’s Case, Dick’s Case* by Charles R. Metzger (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1989), 369. “We must recognize that doctors, during their adolescence and early adulthood, are very busy [...] and deprived of a lot of social activity [...] Was he so self-centered and narcissistic himself that he needed someone who constantly adored him? [...] I preferred a boy-girl relationship with [patients] rather than an adult ‘playing doctor.’ I raise the question of whether Dick’s social life at the time he was married to Nicole and appeared on the Riviera, was a playing of an adult version of the ‘doctor game?’”

<sup>616</sup> The title of the film that plays prominently in the novel and encapsulates the primal scene of Nicole’s trauma in which she was repeatedly sexually abused as a minor by her father, Devereux Warren, after her mother’s passing.

<sup>617</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?: The Sexual Politics of *Tender Is the Night*,” *Mosaic* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1984), 126. Fetterley argues convincingly that masculinity and femininity are each victimized by the novel’s “sexual politics,” which expresses a masculine concern with women replacing men in the patriarchal order. Ultimately, Dick resists practicing psychiatry because it requires taking on the mantle of the (incestuous) Father and symbolically raping the feminized patient: “Male sexuality and rape have been previously connected in the character of Nicole’s father, Devereux Warren. And [Dick’s] lying to his imprisoned patient, helpless beneath his definitions and manipulations, Dick may have glimpsed the idea that ‘re-education’ is itself a form of rape. Thus doctor, father, husband, rapist all blend together in one hideous identity from which Dick turns and flees.” Fetterley points out that Dick “glimpses” that his disingenuous speech to one of his patients is a form of symbolic rape. Another scene, the private screening of *Daddy’s Girl*, elicits a similar moment of revelation for Dick: “Then back to *Daddy’s Girl*: happier days now, and a lovely shot of Rosemary and her parent united at the last in a father complex so apparent that Dick winced for all psychologists at the vicious sentimentality. The screen vanished, the lights went on, the moment had come” (Fitzgerald, 80).

and the professional might then just be a heroic revision of his mythic journey before it is finished being written for him.

Fitzgerald began writing *Tender* in 1925 in the wake of the commercial success of *The Great Gatsby*; by the time it was finally published almost a decade later—after being extensively revised and rewritten—its author had experienced a series of personal and professional setbacks, including his own growing alcoholism, financial insecurity, and pressure of constantly being in the public eye, as well as the institutionalization of his wife, Zelda, in sanitoriums and hospitals at home and abroad. Meanwhile, psychiatry had come to be regarded as the most modern of scientific medicines. Its rapid institutionalization within the US medical establishment and widespread acceptance by American culture,<sup>618</sup> within only a few decades of its professionalization in Europe, reflected a shared vision for psychiatric insight into that most novel aspect of modern individuality: the Unconscious. The psychiatrist, whose penetrating gaze could shine a light of knowledge into this previously unknowable and uncontrollable darkness, became society's most intelligent and powerful doctor-scientist. Dick, like many of his contemporaries, is consumed by this public myth—just as Fitzgerald had once been. However, Dick grows disillusioned with his chosen profession as the story unfolds, coming to see it as a simply a modern revision of traditional professionalization's patriarchalization of power-knowledge and the gaze. Dick realizes that by practicing psychiatry, he embodies this age-old system of authority.

As Foucault has shown, a major marker of modernity is the expansion of the gaze into all facets of society. While the doctor-scientist was still perceived as personifying masculine reason and power, the power of the gaze was no longer incorporated solely within his singularly disembodied perspective. He no longer exclusively possessed the gaze's attendant power-

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<sup>618</sup> William Blazek, "Some Fault in the Plan': Fitzgerald's Critique of Psychiatry in *Tender Is the Night*," 68, in *Twenty-First Century Readings of Tender Is the Night*, edited by William Blazek and Laura Rattray (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2007).

knowledge but was—like all other modern individuals—subjectified by it. The doctor-scientist's subjectification to others' gazes led to his diminishment as a visionary figure. Fitzgerald represents the dissociation of the gaze from its historical association with disembodied professional knowledge and authority by subjecting Dr. Diver to multiple perspectives and non-linear temporalities that subvert his traditional hegemonic visual epistemology.

*Tender* is composed of “many *nows*,”<sup>619</sup> moments between 1918 and 1930 that are always represented as if occurring in the present tense.<sup>620</sup> Only the period before Dick's marriage and failed career is presented from his point of view.<sup>621</sup> Opening with the perspective of Rosemary Hoyt, the starlet of *Daddy's Girl* and Hollywood's latest It Girl, and closing with that of Nicole, Dick's story is circumscribed by the gazes of “his two women” (113). Because most of his story is seen through the eyes of the traditional objects of both the male and psychiatric gaze,<sup>622</sup> the power dynamics between men and women under patriarchy are reversed. Dick's

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<sup>619</sup> Alan Trachtenberg, “The Journey Back: Myth and History in *Tender Is the Night*,” in *Critical Essays on F. Scott Fitzgerald's Tender Is the Night*, edited by Milton Stern (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1986), 176. “An emotion is a present experience, a ‘now,’ even if it is a reflexive or ‘lingering after-effect’ of a past experience. *Tender* [...] consists of many ‘nows’—presents which imply a past.” The novel's tense is always already a past-infused present.

<sup>620</sup> In its original 1934 version, *Tender's* three books were linear but not chronological, consisting of an inverted U-shaped three-act structure across multiple settings. These formal experimentations not only accompany a character study of the doctor-scientist but also inform the representative strategies that show how crucial different temporal and spatial perspectives are in constructing such a character. In 1938, four years after *Tender's* initial publication, Fitzgerald worried that “the novel's great fault is that the true beginning—the young psychiatrist in Switzerland—is tucked away in the middle.” Fitzgerald made this confession his editor friend, Maxwell Perkins. See Andrew Turnbull, ed., *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (London: Penguin Random House, 1968), 301; qtd. in John F. Callahan, *The Illusions of a Nation: Myth and History in the Novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 67; Kenneth Eble, *F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), 137; and Faith Pullin, “Gender Anxiety: The Unresolved Dialectic of Fitzgerald's Writing,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 181.

<sup>621</sup> John Haegert, “Repression and Counter-Memory in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender Is the Night*,” *Essays in Literature* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 106.

<sup>622</sup> On psychiatry's medical professionalization as psychoanalytic and thus primarily concerned with what it saw as the problem of female sexuality, see Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). For more on Fitzgerald's views on psychiatry, see William Blazek, “Some Fault in the Plan,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 67ff.

masculinity is effectively unauthorized because he is subjected not only to Rosemary's erotic gaze and Nicole's patient's view<sup>623</sup> but also by depriving Dick of his traditional subjectivity.

Dick's heroic beginning, stalled middle, and tragic end all revise the mythic history of the doctor-scientist in modern American literature, from an almost fallen profession in the mid-nineteenth century to an ideal figure of cultural authority not even one hundred years later.<sup>624</sup> Whereas the early critical consensus on Dick was a thoroughly masculinist account of a brilliant but doomed psychiatrist who is sucked dry, swallowed whole, bought, and used up by a beautiful but damned rich heiress, this chapter rejects that sexist condemnation of Nicole's role in relegating Dick to professional failure.<sup>625</sup> Its thesis, in fact, is quite the opposite; it echoes Nicole's rebuke of Dick before their dual relationships—as husband and wife and doctor and patient—dissolve: “You’ve made a failure of your life, and you want to blame it on me” (323). It is precisely because Dick is so invested in himself as a heroic doctor-scientist that he cannot resolve the conflicts between his two identities as husband and doctor. No longer either a husband or a psychiatrist—the two identities that have defined him in the eyes of both himself and (in his mind) the world—Dick loses any stable and secure sense of self.<sup>626</sup> Put another way,

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<sup>623</sup> These phrases are taken from influential essays in feminist film theory and the social history of medicine, respectively. Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 18; Roy Porter, “The Patient’s View: Doing Medical History from below,” *Theory and Society* 14, no. 2 (Mar. 1985): 175-98.

<sup>624</sup> Mary E. Burton, “The Counter-Transference of Dr. Diver,” *ELH* 38, no. 3 (Sep. 1971), 468. “The Now-Then-Now structure [...] perfectly embodies the psychotherapeutic situation, in which the present is first explored, then the past exposed, finally the present again analyzed.” Thus, *Tender’s* structure, if read as the figurative case history of a psychiatric patient, makes Dr. Diver the patient.

<sup>625</sup> A contemporary review of *Tender* in the *St. Paul Dispatch* encapsulates this collective response: “The essential tragedy is that of Richard Diver who sacrifices his individual integrity and his career to the protection of a rich, psychopathic wife.” James Gray, “Scott Fitzgerald Re-enters, Leading Bewildered Giant,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 65. Most contemporary critics tend to reject the misogynist mythos behind Dick and *Tender*.

<sup>626</sup> After perhaps Nicole’s most severe psychotic episode, Dick takes a personal and professional leave of absence. While away, he receives news that his father, Rev. Diver, has died. “Dick loved his father—again and again he referred judgments to what his father would probably have thought or done. [...] [H]is father had saved him from a spoiling [by his mother] by becoming his moral guide. He was of tired stock yet he raised himself to that effort. [...] He told Dick all he knew about life, not much but most of it true, simple things, matters of behavior that came within his clergyman’s range. [...] His father had done that from a good heart—*his father had been sure of what he was*, with a deep pride of the two proud widows who had raised him to believe that nothing could be superior to ‘good instincts,’ honor, courtesy, and courage” (Fitzgerald, 222-23; emphasis added). Dick’s reverend father was a traditional masculine authority figure in a modern world, holding antiquated notions and ideals that were fast-becoming at-odds

Dick's losing of a self<sup>627</sup> signals the loss of the professionalization myth—the demise of the modern doctor-scientist as an ideal masculinity with the power-knowledge and vision to restore traditional order to modernity.

Dick's primary responsibility as both husband and doctor is “restoring Nicole to integrity.”<sup>628</sup> Nicole's integration as a normal woman is a process inversely related to Dick's “disintegrative selfhood.”<sup>629</sup> Although “for Dick Diver disintegration goes on within, almost invisibly”<sup>630</sup> until he fades away into mediocrity, nevertheless Nicole's recovery progresses spectacularly.<sup>631</sup> While very much Dr. Diver's “doctor's story” and thus Nicole's recovery story, *Tender* is also Dick and Nicole's love story.<sup>632</sup> Love stories are typically about individuals finding themselves through a fulfilling relationship with a romantic partner. To fall in love is to be completed. For Fitzgerald's characters, love represents “a confirmation of the perfected

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with the modern world: “He was one of those about whom it was said with smug finality in the gilded age: ‘very much the gentleman, but not much get-up-and-go about him’” (223). Much of Dick's self-conflict, then, stems from his impossible effort to combine the fading personal-professional authority embodied in his clergyman father with the rising social professional authority of the modern psychiatrist.

<sup>627</sup> James E. Miller, *F. Scott Fitzgerald: His Art and His Technique* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 140. “In short Dick's story is a story of the losing of a self.” Miller's take comes three decades after *Tender's* publication.

<sup>628</sup> Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald (London: Penguin, 2000), xvi. See also Eugene White, “The ‘Intricate Destiny’ of Dick Diver,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 127. “His love [for Nicole] is great enough to make him do what he knows he must do if she is ever to be a whole person again.”

<sup>629</sup> Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, xxvi. Godden's phrase is likely inspired by Fitzgerald's famous account of his own mental “disintegration” (Mark Schoening, “Dr. Lonelyhearts,” *American Literary History* 5, no. 4 [Winter 1993], 677), first published as “The Crack-Up,” a standalone essay in 1936, and then again in the collection of essays, *The Crack-Up*, which included its original namesake, in 1945.

<sup>630</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 127.

<sup>631</sup> The inversion—or counter-countertransference—between Dr. Diver and Nicole reaches an unspectacular climax, however, because it seems, to Nicole, as though “Dick had anticipated everything” (Fitzgerald, 333). She is excited by the prospect of “some sort of showdown” between Dick and Tommy (329). The dissolution of their marriage, however, just sort of “happened—and with a minimum of drama” (333).

<sup>632</sup> Pamela Boker, “Beloved Illness: Transference Love as Romantic Pathology in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender Is the Night*,” *Literature and Medicine* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1992), 296, 303. See also Christine Grogan, *Father-Daughter Incest*, 36, which notes that *Tender's* penultimate title was *Richard Diver, A Romance*.

identity.”<sup>633</sup> Dr. Dick Diver’s decision to merge the personal and the professional<sup>634</sup> by marrying Nicole tries to re-envision the traditional model of the impersonal doctor-patient interaction by enacting a significant personal relationship between the two participants, representing a modern coming together based upon empathy and intimate understanding rather than through the traditionally cold, detached, and unbalanced relation premised on a totalizing clinical gaze and its expression into an ideal scientific medical knowledge.

The psychoanalytic concept of transference, in which the patient displaces and projects their unconscious and unresolved feelings toward others onto their doctor, is useful for understanding the novel. By marrying his patient, Dr. Diver will survive the termination of her transference—albeit he will live on as simply Dick. Dr. Diver will be the new doctor-scientist who combines the traditional disembodied subject-observer’s genius and patience with the modern embodied cultural authority of the professional; he will also be the ideal modern man, the loving and nurturing husband (and father) who will restore traditional patriarchal order to the gendered, economic, and social ruptures wrought by modernity. Thus, Dr. Dick Diver embodies a revolutionary vision for the future of psychiatry as well as a revisionist history of the invisibility of patriarchy. However, Dick revolts from the collective wish on the part of society for its doctor-scientists to embody ideal masculinity. Never truly complete himself, Dick has projected not only his seeming wellness onto Nicole<sup>635</sup> but also his deep-lying complexes about all women. He does not see that his fragile subjectivity will disintegrate as Nicole is reintegrated—the successful outcome of any therapeutic process. As “Nicole sick” becomes “Nicole well” (185),<sup>636</sup>

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<sup>633</sup> Kirk Curnutt, *Cambridge Introduction to F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 59. Whereas for Martin Arrowsmith, work, rather than his love for Leora, completes him.

<sup>634</sup> Mark Schoening, “Dr. Lonelyhearts,” 671. “[Dick] endeavor[s] to resolve this opposition [between affairs of the heart and affair of business] by making the personal professional and the professional personal, love the condition for continued work and work the condition for continued love.”

<sup>635</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel: Nicole’s Case, Dick’s Case* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1989), 58.

<sup>636</sup> Just as there are two Dicks, there are two Nicoles: “Nicole sick” and “Nicole well” (Fitzgerald, 185). Through psychiatric treatment, Nicole is to be made whole again. According to the psychoanalytic gaze to which she is subjected, women are only perceived as healthy, complete, or normal in terms of their sexuality. Nicole’s rape at the hands of her father, as well as the premature death of her mother,



Dr. Dick Diver becomes sick. In the process, the doctor-scientist increasingly retreats from public view—whether that be to his shed to conduct his work or into the intimate gazes of lovers.

Book one begins *in media res* in late-June 1925 and spans twelve days,<sup>637</sup> with the reader first seeing Dick on a beach in the French Riviera. Rosemary's stereotypically feminine perspective,<sup>638</sup> which provides a "laudatory point of view"<sup>639</sup> of Dick, directs the reader's perception of him.<sup>640</sup> To her Dick seems "all complete" (28)—the embodiment of traditional masculine power-knowledge. Dick's eyes are "bright [and] hard" (28); the "deference of his

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accelerates her pathological view toward men and sex while retarding her normal development as an adult woman. Nicole can only be completed through heteronormative relations with men. See Devereux Warren's confession to Dr. Dohmler, which occurs during a flashback-within-a-flashback in book two, chapter three, that alludes to the long-deferred cause of Nicole's trauma: her rape at the hands of her father, Devereux. This primal scene is sanitized by its being presented through Devereux's retelling of it to Dr. Dohmler—of a self-professed "bad man" (269) to the "worldly judgement" (145) of a "superior" (155) psychiatrist. "After her mother died she used to come into my bed every morning [...] We were just like lovers—and then all at once we were lovers" (Fitzgerald, 144) as well as Dick's advice to Nicole as a patient. "Go back to America and be a débutante and fall in love [...] You can have a perfectly normal life with a houseful of beautiful descendants," to which Nicole replies, "I know I wouldn't be fit to marry any one for a long time" (Fitzgerald, 159). Nicole is taught to see herself as a victim and holds onto a view of herself as powerless. As a result, she develops a neurotic revulsion toward sex in which she sees all men, including her father and eventually Dick, as both lovers and rapists. This reading is evidenced by Dr. Dohmler and Gregorovious's diagnosis: "The fear of men is a symptom of the illness and is not at all constitutional [...] You see now what happened? She felt complicity— [...] Then [...] she developed the idea that she had no complicity—and from there it was easy to slide into a phantom world where all men, the more you liked them and trusted them, the more evil—" (143, 146). Nicole's "re-education" (170) will only be complete once she overcomes her incest-trauma and marries a man like her father. Truly daddy's girl, she completes Rosemary's feminine Oedipal complex toward her own father, also a captain-doctor like Dick.

<sup>637</sup> Each book covers increments of time divided into twelfths—days, years, and months, respectively. For the significance of 12 as a composite number, see E.W. Pitcher, "*Tender Is the Night*: Ordered Disorder in the 'Broken Universe,'" *Modern Language Studies* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 72-89.

<sup>638</sup> Judith Fetterley, "Who Killed Dick Diver?", 114; Tiffany Joseph, "'Non-Combatant's Shell-Shock': Trauma and Gender in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender Is the Night*," *NWSA Journal* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2003), 78.

<sup>639</sup> Scott Donaldson, "Seduction of Dr. Diver," *Hopkins Review* 8, no. 1 (Winter 2015), 8.

<sup>640</sup> Book two of Cowley's revised edition is entitled "Rosemary's Angle." For readings of Rosemary's reverse personification as cinematic eye, see John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, esp. chap. 5, "Rosemary's Angle: Beauty and Terror—The Spell of Artifice". See also Michael Nowlin, "'The World's Rarest Work': Modernism and Masculinity in Fitzgerald's *Tender Is the Night*," *College Literature* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 58-77; and Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, ix-xliv. Godden likens her way of seeing with that of Hollywood's "directorial eye" (xxviii). Nowlin claims that "Rosemary's is a cinematically indicted eye [with] a gaze all too willing to be seduced. What undoes Diver is the seductive power of that seduced gaze" (66-67). Rosemary's gaze represents the "Click" of the "desiring-machine" (Godden, xxviii) of a film camera and is therefore masculinized when seen through a feminist lens. The reader sees through Rosemary's "stereotypically feminine" eyes and, as a result, the novel's establishing shot (dis)orients the reader, placing them within modernity's uncertain gender dynamics by inverting the traditional directionality of men seeing and women being seen.

attention" (42) toward another produces in them a "hard, neat brightness [into which] everything faded into the surety that he knew everything" (40).<sup>641</sup> Rosemary sees Dick as an object of desire, a position that is traditionally feminine and corporeal. Rosemary's gaze prefigures Dick as an illuminated phallus<sup>642</sup>—fascinating, potent, and erudite. Powerful and desirable—he dominates the screen, figuring as an ideal "leading man" (81) in an imagined Hollywood motion picture. The next hundred pages cover Dick's "reign"<sup>643</sup> until its "abrupt and violent conclusion,"<sup>644</sup> which results from Rosemary's revelation that Nicole's mental disorder highlights Dick's failure to live up to the ideal against which other men are measured.<sup>645</sup> Book three covers twelve months in 1929 and 1930 and flows relatively straightforward from Dick's return to the psychiatric clinic he runs after an ill-fated return to America for his father's funeral<sup>646</sup> until he

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<sup>641</sup> Rosemary's initial estimate of Dick is confirmed through a brief aside into Nicole's consciousness, which identifies in Dick an "intensity [and] power" (Fitzgerald, 36) that attracts and arouses others before "he evaporates before their eyes" (37). Dick consolidates the power of the disembodied masculine gaze into which men and women are subjectified into their best versions of themselves. This gaze, however, cannot be returned because of Dick's mastery of the disappearing act. The enchanting effect he has on others afflicts him with "his own most characteristic mood of melancholy" (36) as he "gaze[s]" upon the aftermath of these "impersonal" relationships (37) as if he were a general surveying a senseless slaughter.

<sup>642</sup> Any doubt as to whether Fitzgerald intended Dick to embody a traditional form of masculine power-knowledge through the gaze is cleared up by the generous use of obviously phallic puns.

<sup>643</sup> Alan Trachtenberg, "Journey Back," in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 176.

<sup>644</sup> Chris Messenger, *Tender Is the Night and F. Scott Fitzgerald's Sentimental Identities* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015), 39.

<sup>645</sup> Early on in book one, the narrator says that "a somewhat bouncing, breathless and exigent idealism [that Rosemary's mother, Mrs. Speers] had cultivated in Rosemary, which at present was directed toward [her mother] and saw the world through her [mother's] eyes [...] would focus on something except her[]" (Fitzgerald, 21). In book two, Mrs. Speers confesses to Dick, "You were the first man—you're an ideal to her" (181). And in book three, just before Dick and Rosemary consummate their affair, the narrator states: "A moment had come and somehow passed. For three years Dick had been the ideal by which Rosemary measured other men and inevitably his stature had increased to heroic size. She did not want him to be like other men, yet here were the same exigent demands, as if he wanted to take some of herself away, carry it off in his pocket" (231). The exact repetition of the word "exigent," which appears in the same paragraphs as derivations of "ideal(ism)" in the first and last examples, refracted through Rosemary's point of view, makes Dick into an ideal. There is incredible pressure to embody an ideal—whether that pressure be placed upon oneself or to live up to the expectations of someone else. By expressing the same "exigent (i.e. sexual) demands" from her as other, non-ideal men, Fitzgerald shows just how far Dick has fallen in the esteem of others—including that of Rosemary.

<sup>646</sup> After Nicole's psychotic breakdown midway through book two, Dick goes on a sabbatical. While away from work and family, he receives word that his father had passed away. After attending his father's funeral in America, Dick and Rosemary rendezvous in Rome to finally consummate their affair. Feeling drunk and dissatisfied afterward, Dick is arrested for fighting with some Italian men but confesses in court (in English) to raping a young girl. He is bailed out by Baby Warren and returns broken, battered, and bruised to his clinic in Switzerland. At this point, "Dick is no longer a serious man" (Fitzgerald, 261).

returns to the state where he grew up for good. Presented primarily from Nicole's point-of-view,<sup>647</sup> book three ends *in continuo*<sup>648</sup> with Dick's full repatriation to the US and a few secondhand accounts of his experiences across various regions in upstate New York. Being seen exclusively through Rosemary and Nicole's eyes throughout so much of the novel reinforces the view of Dick—both in the imperfect past and future subjunctive tenses—as an ideal masculine professional. Dick's liminal position in the present tense highlights his composition through—and confinement to—these constrained viewpoints.<sup>649</sup> During those moments in which Dick is not himself—drunk, boorish, condescending, jealous, manipulative, abusive, even violent—which occur more as the years pass, he either retreats inward or lashes outward.

Book two—"the true beginning"—covers the twelve years in between books one and three. It begins with an extended flashback to 1917 when Dick is a promising post-doctoral researcher in Zürich; follows as he meets Nicole, at the time a sixteen-year-old patient at the clinic of his mentor, Dr. Dohmler; marries her in 1919; and progresses to July 1925. At this point the narration jumps forward to August 1925, the time just after the first book's end, and continues through November 1929, where the plot resumes in book three. Dick's heroic beginning and tragic end are both un-staged, taking place outside of the plot's in-between that happens on center stage. Specifically, book two, chapters one through nine<sup>650</sup> and book three, chapters nine through thirteen chronicle Dick's personal and professional histories before *and* after his marriage and career change, respectively. Crucially, the earlier part offers a glimpse of

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<sup>647</sup> John Haegert, "Repression and Counter-Memory," 106. "As in the beginning, so at the end of the novel, Dick's real story is ambiguously occluded by the viewpoints of others." While Nicole has successfully completed her treatment there is still reason to doubt her narration's reliability—especially regarding her perceptions of Dick.

<sup>648</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 111.

<sup>649</sup> It is no coincidence that the reader last sees Dick through Nicole's eyes on the same stretch of sand in November 1929 as they did in July 1925 through Rosemary's eyes. Judith Fetterley, "Who Killed Dick Diver?", 121. "In our final view Dick has risen [...] is he not larger, better?"

<sup>650</sup> Book one of Cowley's revised edition is entitled "Case History, 1917-1919," and covers these exact chapters. For more on Dick's illusions, see John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, esp. chap. 4, "Case History: Lies, Illusions, and the Education of Consciousness."

Dick before he has been seen by either Rosemary or Nicole and the latter part presents his “process of deterioration [to] a dissipated doctor” (307-08) before he disappears forever.

At the end of the first chapter of book two, the narrator confesses the perspectival and temporal shifts from Rosemary in 1925 throughout book one backward to Dick in 1919 with book two may be disorienting. Yet, these shifts set the stage for Dick’s seemingly infinite possibility:

The foregoing has the ring of a biography, without the satisfaction of knowing that the hero, like Grant, lolling in his general store in Galena, is ready to be called to an intricate destiny. Moreover it is confusing to come across a youthful photograph of some one known in a rounded maturity and gaze with a shock upon a fiery, wiry, eagle-eyed stranger. Best to be reassuring—Dick Diver’s moment now began (132).<sup>651</sup>

The reader is “reassured” a story in which the hero’s professionalization transforms him from the insecure navel-gazer first shown in book two into the smart, good-looking, and charming figure introduced in the first few pages. By now, however, the vision of Dick as a masculine professional ideal should be questioned. As will be seen, the Dick who everyone thinks they know in book one has all but vanished by the end of book three; but for now Dick seems well on his way to becoming Dr. Richard Diver. Which version of Dick, then, is real: the young promising doctor who is awaiting his call to a heroic destiny or the hopeless old scientist who has squandered his good looks, intelligence, and work ethic? The answer lies in both Dick’s imperfect future and his subjunctive past. Dick’s remembered history shapes his future image for himself; it also reveals his debilitating anxiety over how others perceive him. His neurotic

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<sup>651</sup> In many ways, Fitzgerald frames Dick’s story through an extended metaphor of looking at an image of him rather than actually at him. *Tender’s* various perspectives thus operate like cameras, capturing still pictures of Dick at crucial moments and then putting them in motion. Such framing represents a photographer or film director’s vision for how one’s life seems to be or should be, not for what it is. Rosemary’s “narrow-angle perspective” throughout *Rosemary’s Angle* of Dick as a masculine ideal dissolves into “the Chapter XIII coda of Nicole Barban’s double exposure snapshots of Diver” (John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 86, 64). One imagines the “youthful photograph” of the handsome and composed Richard Diver at the beginning of book two fading into a ghostly still portrait, and that these two uncanny images, the former expressing his heroic beginning and the latter his tragic end, superimposed over a backdrop of the natural landscape of New York State.

doubt and narcissistic obsession, undisclosed throughout much of book one but immediately obvious in book two suggest that his seeming completeness is accounted for by his talent to embody that which others most want from him. He knows this talent for performing is only a “trick of the heart”<sup>652</sup> (181) and not symptomatic of his true self.

With the start of the second book, the reader sees Dick *before his being seen* through the eyes of other characters. The narration goes from “[f]irst seeing Dick from the outside, through an other who is female,”<sup>653</sup> to a point of view that is masculine and thus supposedly more “rounded” and “matur[e]” (132)—the more rational perspective of “an old scientist” (81) rather than the romantic, sentimental, and unrealistic perspective of a young actress. Yet, while the middle book is “devoted mainly to Dick’s point of view,”<sup>654</sup> the perspective rarely approaches the “intense” and “investigative”<sup>655</sup> clinical gaze of the masculine doctor-scientist.<sup>656</sup> The switch from a point of view that is obviously infatuated with Dick as an ideal man to Dick’s own obsessive view of himself complicates the reader’s view of him. The brief glimpse into Dick’s past reveals a brilliant young man who exhibits signs of low self-esteem and an impostor syndrome resulting from the unrealistic expectations that he sets for himself, expectations induced in him by the professionalization myth and tempered by society’s unprecedented reverence for its doctor-scientists in recent history. The past experiences that *are* represented

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<sup>652</sup> Not uncoincidentally, Dick reveals this secret about himself in book two, chapter xi, which returns the narrative to August 1925. This timing is important because, until *now* Dick has been shown embody ideal masculinity.

<sup>653</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 114.

<sup>654</sup> John Haegert, “Repression and Counter-Memory,” 106.

<sup>655</sup> William Blazek, “Some Fault in the Plan,” in *Twenty-First Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 75, 82.

<sup>656</sup> Fitzgerald genders his characters’ gazes in heteronormative ways. An example of this is the contrasting attitudes of Dick and Rosemary. Rosemary is uncomfortable when looking at others while Dick is uncomfortable when he is looked at: “Rosemary did not like the picture of herself looking on” during the duel between Tommy and McKisco (Fitzgerald, 58), where she watches men perform. However, she is very much at ease as the object of the male gaze—even when that gaze is not explicitly erotic. When a gay man stares at her while she is swimming in the Mediterranean, Rosemary “glanced back toward shore [and] returned his gaze” (13). In opposition to Rosemary’s comfort with her “*to-be-looked-at-ness*,” Dick is discomfited by being objected to the screen test Rosemary sets up. He protests, “The pictures make a fine career for a woman—but my God, they can’t photograph me” (81).

reveal how Dick envisions himself as well as how Dick's reality has diverted from his vision. Much of the action in book two happens to Dick<sup>657</sup>—the narrative action is told from his perspective as a passive bystander rather than a crucial player<sup>658</sup> in his destiny—regardless of whether one reads that fate as “intricate” (123) or “ignoble” (323). If Dick is not “all complete” at this stage, then at least his “process of completion” (338) will be interesting to watch.

Dick is born in 1891 in Westmoreland County, Virginia. After his mother passes away, he moves with his minister father to Buffalo, New York. From the Reverend Diver, Dick learns “good” Victorian American “instincts”: “honor, courtesy, and courage” (223) as well as a little about self-making in modern times and unfamiliar places.<sup>659</sup> Dick's ties to his father(land) provide him with an “earned-feeling of placeness”<sup>660</sup> in the “Americanized Riviera”<sup>661</sup> that he and Nicole help create. This “placeness” anchors him to a securer sense of self whenever he is caught adrift in the modern “Mediterranean of indulgence.”<sup>662</sup> So little of Dick's actual past takes place in the novel, however, that Dick's memories take on added “*importance*” simply because he “*remembers having had*” them.<sup>663</sup> Although such memories occur indirectly during

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<sup>657</sup> See Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 157 for more details on Dick's passivity in book two, chapters four through nine. See also Arthur Mizener, “*Tender Is the Night*,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 168. “[Dick] sees more clearly than anyone what is happening to him, but since it is happening somewhere below the level of reason, beyond the control of his will, he can only watch helplessly.” Both critics note the almost perverse indifference with which Dick watches his vision for himself fade into the unplanned and unrecognizable.

<sup>658</sup> “He sees more clearly than anyone what is happening to him, but since it is happening somewhere below the level of reason, beyond the control of his will, he can only watch helplessly.” Arthur Mizener, “*Tender Is the Night*,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Stern, 168. See also Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 157. Each note the almost perverse passivity with which Dick watches his perfectly laid plans turn into something unrecognizable.

<sup>659</sup> Dick remembers one of his father's stories, in which the Rev. Diver, newly arrived in the North, attended a party in his new parish. Several people with whom he was already acquainted came up to him, but he ignored them so that he might first speak to the hostess, with whom he was unfamiliar. “I disregarded them because I had seen a gray-haired woman sitting by a window far across the room. I went over and introduced myself. After that I made many friends in that town” (Fitzgerald, 223). This anecdote correlates utilizing one's good vision, instincts, and manners in order to gain widespread public approval.

<sup>660</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 124. The Rev. Diver “had been sure of what he was” (Fitzgerald, 223)—something that cannot be said about his son the doctor. See note 626.

<sup>661</sup> Edwin Fussell, “Fitzgerald's Brave New World,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 115.

<sup>662</sup> Michael March, “Page after Page,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 63.

<sup>663</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 136-37.

flashbacks, nevertheless they suggest that Dick is aware of his feelings of inferiority and unfulfillment. Deep down, “He knew that the price of his intactness was incompleteness” (131).

In Dick’s eyes, friends and lovers, rather than his professionalization into a doctor-scientist, “complete” him.<sup>664</sup> Dick’s “gift” is his ability to act as a catalyst for others to synthesize their present selves into their best selves.<sup>665</sup> By helping others to become complete, Dick becomes complete himself.<sup>666</sup> Dick’s “effect of harmony and wholeness [...] his seeming to be a whole man in a world of fragmentary people”<sup>667</sup> belies the fact that the difference between Dick’s selves—heroically ambitious beginning, stalled yet still promising middle, and tragic end—are comprised of the “incalculable element[s]” (166) that he takes from others in order to complete himself.<sup>668</sup> Without others around to make whole so that he may feel whole, Dick is left alone with his negative thoughts and feelings about himself. Another way of understanding these identity-confirming reflections of himself in the eyes of others is through the parallax effect, whereby the self projects itself outward and then absorbs its image back into itself.<sup>669</sup> Fitzgerald’s visual economy includes Dick’s taking on of others’ egos in order to complement his

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<sup>664</sup> Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 205. The narrator sums up his fatal reasoning: “[I]n such contacts the personalities had seemed to press up so close to him that he became the personality itself [...] and to be only as complete as they were complete themselves. There was some element of loneliness involved—so easy to be loved—so hard to love” (Fitzgerald, 265-66).

<sup>665</sup> Richard Foster, “Time’s Exile: Dick Diver and the Heroic Idea,” *Mosaic* 8, no. 3 (Spring 1975), 95. “Most of the novel’s secondary characters are fragmentary men and women.” Dick elevates the dinner guests at his “really *bad* party” (Fitzgerald, 36) into “only their best selves” (42). When he meets with Nicole and Baby at Caux to discuss the terms of his and Nicole’s marriage, the two women “were waiting for him and incomplete without him” (166).

<sup>666</sup> The characters described by Fitzgerald and critics as complete, whole, or intact tend to be foils for Dick. Take two of the more obvious characters: Tommy is an “undamaged male” and Rosemary is a “more intact” woman (“Non-Combatant’s Shell-Shock,” 73, 76), presumably than Nicole. Indeed, when we first meet Rosemary she is described as “nearly complete” (Fitzgerald, 12). After she falls in love with Dick, he rationalizes to her that he cannot “take” (75) her because she should stay a virgin—“all intact, emotionally [as well as physically]”—for the first man she truly loves, preferably the man she will marry, despite admitting the idea is “old-fashioned” (77).

<sup>667</sup> Richard Foster, “Dick Diver and the Heroic Idea,” 95.

<sup>668</sup> James E. Miller, *His Art and Technique*, 142. “In his quest for identity, Dick is confronted at every turn with reflections of the self [...] a number of the characters who revolve about Dick Diver reflect one or another of his weaknesses in isolation.”

<sup>669</sup> Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 5.

core self—of collecting the egos of others as keepsakes.<sup>670</sup> You've seen that piece; it has become a part of your conscious perceptual experience. However, it is often the case that this collection process works toward the exclusion of any interior self. Dick elevates others to compensate for a fundamental lack that he feels within himself. He collects something—"nourishment" (99) perhaps—from those whom he has "worked over [into an] uncritical love" (36) for him and then dismisses them at the expense of establishing any real connection with them.<sup>671</sup> Dr. Dick Diver is a thought, a feeling, a memory for others.

The revelation of Dick's past presented through his eyes renders him almost transparent, his most private fears visible for the reader to see. Among these are several noticeable chinks in the armor of his mythic professionalization: "he must be less intact [because of] a disease, or a broken heart, or an inferiority complex" (131). Dick will suffer from alcoholism, divorce, and an underlying belief in his own inadequacy, all symptoms of overcompensating for the unrealistic expectations of his past self. In representing Dick's psychological disorders, which were perceived as typically affecting either women or feminized men, Fitzgerald discloses the anxieties of even those doctor-scientists who embodied a penetrating and impenetrable professionalism. Though Dick tries to conceal his own disorders from other characters by exercising a psychiatric gaze over them, this distance only deflects attention from his own deep-seated desire to be seen, which contradicts Freud's modern dictum for the visual power dynamic between analysts and analysands.<sup>672</sup> If Dick's ambitious gaze

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<sup>670</sup> Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 177, 75. Imagine yourself walking through an art museum, gazing at a work of art, and sticking that experience in your pocket. This is how Dick treats the people whom he meets.

<sup>671</sup> "But to be included in Dick Diver's world for a while was a remarkable experience: people believed he made special reservations about them, recognizing the proud uniqueness of their destinies, buried under the compromises of how many years. He won everyone quickly with an exquisite consideration and a politeness that moved so fast and intuitively that it could be examined only in its effect. Then, without caution, lest the first bloom of the relation wither, he opened the gate to his amusing world. So long as they subscribed to it completely, their happiness was his preoccupation, but at the first flicker of doubt as to its all-inclusiveness he evaporated before their eyes, leaving little communicable memory of what he had said or done" (Fitzgerald, 37).

<sup>672</sup> Sigmund Freud, "On Beginning the Treatment," 139. See note 601.



projects the unconscious desire to see without being seen that underlies modern professionalization's ideology of invisibly consolidating knowledge and authority, then his compulsive need to be seen in a certain way undercuts the professionalization myth's promise to confer scientific medical authority upon him as a doctor-scientist. When not seen that way—either by others or seeing himself through others—Dick does not want to be seen at all.

The decade between 1909 and 1919 is Dick's "favorite, [...] heroic period" (130). He graduates from Yale University; studies as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University; and earns his M.D. from Johns Hopkins University. Afterward he moves to Vienna for a doctorate in neuropathology and then to Zürich as a post-doc. "Lucky Dick" (130), as he was known as an undergraduate, is now twenty-six years old, in "the very acme of bachelorhood" (129). He lives in a "sanctuary" (129) where he works "with the fine quiet of the scholar which is nearest of all things to heavenly peace" (130). Being an unmarried full-time student allows him to devote himself entirely<sup>673</sup> to his professional training and development—toward his best version of his future self. Dick completes his PhD<sup>674</sup> despite enlisting in the US Army medical corps and serving in a neurological unit in the commune of Bar-sur-Aube during the First World War. Because Captain Diver is deemed "too valuable" (129) to be in the trenches, he serves instead as a military doctor whose "executive rather than practical" (132) duty is to mend broken men so that they may return to the frontlines to be blown to bits.<sup>675</sup> Although disappointed that he is unable to fully partake in the single most defining masculine experience of his generation, nevertheless his service time is not wasted like so many other periods of time in *Tender* seem to be. During wartime he rewrites the pamphlets that he had spent the past few years destroying and compiles them into the manuscript for his first book, *A Psychology for Psychiatrists*. Dick

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<sup>673</sup> Judith Fetterley, "Who Killed Dick Diver?", 115. "Complete absorption in his work provided the heroism and perfection of this period in Dick's life."

<sup>674</sup> At this stage, Dick is still showing great potential, and is on his way to becoming one of the world's best. "Of all the men who have recently taken their degrees in neuropathology in Zurich," Dr. Franz Gregorovious later states, "Dick has been regarded as the most brilliant" (Fitzgerald, 261).

<sup>675</sup> Tiffany Joseph, "Non-Combatant's Shell-Shock," 70.

also envisions a more scholarly second project, secures career-making residencies, accepts a position at a European psychiatric clinic, and perhaps, one might imagine, networks with other doctor-scientists at Freud's Wednesday Psychoanalytic Society meetings. However, Dick experiences something else during this time of his life that redirects his vision for himself.

## Book Two

### Chapter Two

#### Dohmler's Clinic, Zürichsee. A Damp April Day, 1919.

##### *Enter Dr. Richard Diver, downstage center.*

At this moment, Dick holds the "illusions of eternal strength and health, [...] illusions of a nation" (132).<sup>676</sup> He embodies the promise of modern psychiatry, particularly for the US. Because of his professionalization, Dick internalizes impossible ideals about doctor-scientists' ability to re-order modern disorder into his ambitions, which ultimately increase his feelings of self-doubt and worthlessness. Dick recalls that at Yale, a European intellectual tells him that his "judgement about [him]self" will be Dick's downfall: "You're not a romantic philosopher—you're a scientist" (131).<sup>677</sup> In order to become a decent psychiatrist, Dick must give up his vision of one day embodying the combined archetypes of Goethe's romantic phenomenology and personas of Jung's modern scientism.<sup>678</sup> In short, Dick should focus less on himself and his feelings and be more observant of empirical and external fact. The young Rumanian is reincarnated in Dick's friend and colleague, Dr. Franz Gregorovious, who is introduced after Dick's brief biography.<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>676</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 68-69, 71, 75-76.

<sup>677</sup> "Memory, force, character—especially good sense. That's going to be your trouble" (Fitzgerald, 131).

<sup>678</sup> Like Theron, Ledsmar, and Martin, Dick is an anachronism of the traditional values of eighteenth-century European and nineteenth-century American romanticism and the values of twentieth-century modernity. Whereas the former espoused individual perception and intuition as a solipsistic alternative to rationalism and empiricism, the latter sought to conjoin radical noumenalism with objective reality as well as the inner realities of the psyche.

<sup>679</sup> After the formal introduction to the young heroic doctor-scientist, Dick remembers visiting Franz at Dohmler's clinic. Franz asks him: "Did you come down to see me or to see that girl?" (Fitzgerald, 133). Here, excerpts from nine of Nicole's letters to Dick are presented. Her correspondence discloses romantic feelings for this "handsome" (136) man, who seemed so "different" (139) from other men from the very first time she saw him. "The letters were divided into two classes, of which the first class, up to about the

Though Dick and Franz's personal and professional history is unclear, it is certain that Franz practices at a psychiatric clinic operated by Dr. Dohmler and that Nicole is among his patients. Franz asks Dick about his postwar plans. "I've only got one, Franz, and that's to be a good psychologist—maybe to be the greatest one that ever lived" (147). This dream is an illusion that Dick refuses to relinquish throughout *Tender*; it is also one that is not mentioned throughout most of book one.<sup>680</sup> Franz views "Dick's outlook" (148) as "very American" (147), too idealistic for the "stolid and illusionless European"<sup>681</sup> vision of scientific medicine that he embodies. The two psychiatrist's contrasting views toward their profession are expressed through the dynamic of seeing and being seen across time. When Franz's "holy eyes" (133) peer out his window he finds himself "confronted with a pantheon of heroes" (147) that look back at him from their eternal resting places just outside his office.<sup>682</sup> Franz is caught within the disembodied gazes of authoritative masculine professionals. However, Dick, who derides his own irrational thoughts as "American" (131),<sup>683</sup> is free from the traditions of Franz's professional forefathers. Dick is looked up to by his lesser colleagues, including Franz, rather than looked down upon, like

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time of the Armistice, was of marked pathological turn, and of which the second class, running from thence to the present, was entirely normal, and displayed a richly maturing nature" (135).

<sup>680</sup> During a night out, Dick's good friend, Abe North, a one-hit wonder Broadway composer, casually states, "Something tells me I'll have a new score on Broadway long before you've finished your scientific treatise" (Fitzgerald, 72). At the end of the night, Dick and Rosemary take a taxi back to the hotel where they are all staying. Rosemary asks, "Are you a scientist?" "I'm a doctor of medicine [...] I'm just not practising [*sic*]. You can't tell, I'll probably practise [*sic*] again some day" (73).

<sup>681</sup> Richard Foster, "Dick Diver and the Heroic Idea," 94. Even though "Franz would without doubt become a fine clinician" (Fitzgerald, 133), Dick is frightened "by the sudden contracting of horizons to which Franz seemed so reconciled" (148). This diminished vision is anticipated in a brief biographical note concerning the two men's mentor, Dr. Dohmler, during his initial consultation with Nicole's father, Devereux Warren: "Once in his youth [Dohmler] could have gone to Chicago as fellow and docent at the university, and perhaps become rich there and owned his own clinic instead of being only a minor shareholder in a clinic. But when he had thought of what he considered his own thin knowledge spread over that whole area, over all those wheat fields, those endless parties, he had decided against it" (142).

<sup>682</sup> Franz's grandfather had taught Emil Kraepelin (1856-1926), considered to be the father of modern psychiatry (Fitzgerald, 133). The Gregorovich genealogy offers an origin myth for one type of modern scientific medicine.

<sup>683</sup> Robert C. Utrup, "Yeatsian Modernism: Romantic Nationalism, Hero Worship, and the 'Celtic Element' in *Tender Is the Night* and *The Love of the Last Tycoon*," *F. Scott Fitzgerald Review* 16 (2018), 74. "Dick is painted as the frontier American archetype who by sheer willpower and determination is intent on carving out his own place in the world. In Book Two, during the flashback to Dick's early career as a psychiatrist in Zurich, we are constantly reminded of his association with a past American identity through the description of his great ambition."

Franz, whom Dick envisions as “a fine clinician” (133, 140).<sup>684</sup> Dick’s professional ideal is defined by this typically American romanticism; his illusions of national professionalism imbue him with delusions of grandeur. Indeed, American psychiatry’s relatively late arrival on the world’s stage constitutes its very independence from the critical gazes of the holders of European scientific medical tradition. Whereas Franz perceives history as a tradition of masculine professional achievement,<sup>685</sup> one which his perfectly acceptable (and acknowledged) limitations prevent him from joining, Dick views becoming a “serious man” like Franz as “a sudden contracting of horizons”<sup>686</sup> (148) that would restrict him from achieving his “intricate destiny” (132). This narcissistic neurosis keeps Dick up at night: “God, am I like the rest after all?” (148).

Despite Franz’s professional opinion and Dick’s personal doubts, the “essential hopefulness of Diver’s early career [was only] matched by the optimistic foundations of psychiatry.”<sup>687</sup> Professionalization had become so rampantly institutionalized by the time Dick’s moment began that it could include “decent normal doctor[s]” (Lewis, 26) like Franz alongside its

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<sup>684</sup> “If the original genius of the [Gregorovich] family had grown a little tired, Franz would without doubt become a fine clinician” (Fitzgerald, 133). “Franz came back into his office feeling self-important. Dick thought he would probably be a fine clinician” (140).

<sup>685</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 122.

<sup>686</sup> Dr. Dohmler recalls during his initial consultation with Devereux Warren: “Once in his youth he could have gone to Chicago as fellow and docent at the university, and perhaps become rich there and owned his own clinic instead of being only a minor shareholder in a clinic. But when he had thought of what he considered his own thin knowledge spread over that whole area, over all those wheat fields, those endless parties, he had decided against it” (Fitzgerald, 142). Franz’s diminished vision is not unlike the younger doctors’ mentor’s unwillingness to move to Chicago, one of the first major US cities to embrace psychoanalysis and capitalize on the booming psychiatric economy in the states, especially during the mass exodus of European doctors to America. Contrast Dick’s relationship with Dohmler and the “ghostly generations behind him” (170) to Martin’s relationship with Gottlieb and the shadowy, spirit-like figures of his scientific gods, as well as his immigration to America.

<sup>687</sup> William Blazek, “Some Fault in the Plan,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 68. Early psychiatry, as a discipline that modernized the Enlightenment’s obsession with reason and order, promised to resolve modernity’s problem of increasing irrationality and disorder by providing a vision of a controlled, rational, and progressive society. Psychiatry underwent professionalization by affiliating itself with scientific medical knowledge and thus became authorized by a modern rational society that accepted the modern role of the expert specialist. This widespread acceptance granted doctor-scientists unprecedented levels of power over individual selves whose minds, due to experiencing a traumatic event(s), had become disordered. Dick’s professional vision— “to be the greatest psychologist that ever lived” (Fitzgerald, 147) thus embodies the era’s “therapeutic optimism.”

heroic doctor-scientists like Kraepelin, Freud, Jung, and one day, Diver. However, Dick's ambition is not to be a clinician who personally treats and "make[s] people well, [which is] a truly selfless ambition,"<sup>688</sup> but rather to be a theoretician who writes objectively about patients' problems.<sup>689</sup> Here Fitzgerald underscores the enduring conflict between science and medicine and theory and practice represented so thoroughly in *Arrowsmith* and first introduced in *Damnation/Illumination*.<sup>690</sup> As a psychiatrist, Dick embodies a doctor-scientist whose body of study is the mind *and* body. His work aims toward the useful application of abstract theories to modern reality. As such, it revises the tradition of power-knowledge and the clinical gaze as objectively disinterested from actively intervening in the world and how others experience it.

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<sup>688</sup> Pamela A. Boker, "Beloved Illness," 298.

<sup>689</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 141. "Dick's ambition as early as 1919 was to write for his peers, to become famous for his contributions to the literature of psychiatry, rather than for treating patients."

<sup>690</sup> On four occasions Dick is either asked about, admits to, advised about, or admonished for being a scientist. Rosemary, the screen virgin whose father was also a "Captain Doctor," asks Dick, "Are you a scientist?" "I'm a doctor of medicine," he replies (Fitzgerald, *Tender*, 73). Dick here repeats the exact identity-confirming phrase he uses when he tells Nicole's sister, Baby, "I'm a doctor of medicine," before he and Nicole marry (175). When Rosemary presses him further he changes course, explaining "I'm just not practising [sic]. You can't tell, I'll probably practise again some day" (73). The following afternoon, however, Dick objects to the screen test that Rosemary arranges for him by stating, "they can't photograph me. I'm an old scientist all wrapped up in his private life" (81). Is he a doctor? A scientist? Or a doctor-scientist? The "young Rumanian intellectual" from his undergrad days reminds him "You're not a romantic philosopher—you're a scientist" (131). (Interestingly, this man tells Dick an anecdote that seems to be more than an interesting coincidence about the psychology of scientists and the work of science between *Arrowsmith* and *Tender*: "Once I knew a man who worked two years on the brain of an armadillo, with the idea that he would sooner or later know more about the brain of an armadillo than any one. I kept arguing with him that he was not really pushing out the extension of the human range—it was too arbitrary. And sure enough, when he sent his work to the medical journal they refused it—they had just accepted a thesis by another man on the same subject" (131). Dick receives a personal lesson on his misguided career trajectory rather than the professional lesson that Gottlieb teaches Martin about the nature of scientific labor. Nonetheless, the parable evokes Arrowsmith's fictional discovery of "the X Principle" being preempted by Félix d'Hérrelle's real-life discovery of bacteriophage as a necessary consequence of pursuing the arbitrary rather than pushing the limits.) Later, after their second child is born, Nicole reminds Dick, "you can't find time for writing here [in Zürich] and you say that it's a confession of weakness for a scientist not to write." She convinces him that they should move away, some place "near a warm beach where we can be brown and young together" (178). This place is the Villa Diana, a modern living-work complex where Nicole can have her elegant detached mansion, beautiful garden, and glamorous beach and Dick can have his work house and the free time to write in it. This shed offers a space that, relative to the main home, can replicate his spartan apartment in Zürich and, thus, he imagines, recreate that favorite heroic time in his life when he could completely absorb himself in his work.

Specifically, Dick wants to write a book that will not only contribute to psychiatry but also revolutionize it.

In June 1919, a couple months after Dick's visit to Dohmle's clinic, he publishes *A Psychology for Psychiatrists*, out of the pamphlets that he (re)wrote during his military service. "The weakness of this profession," the book's thesis claims, "is its attraction for the man a little crippled and broken. Within the walls of the profession he compensates by tending toward the clinical, the 'practical'—he has won his battle without a struggle" (153). Dick's big idea is that men enter the profession of psychiatry<sup>691</sup> to look out at others in order to identify, classify, diagnose, treat, and cure their disorders rather than looking inside and sorting out themselves; by only focusing on others' disorders and not their own, such doctor-scientists achieve a contentment and completeness that is superficial. Surely, this is a psychological projection in which Dr. Diver's ego defends itself from Dick's unconscious fantasies and fears by denying them in himself and projecting them into others. Franz teases Dick that his publishing agreement for *A Psychology for Psychiatrists* will soon lead to Dick's writing even less surface-scratching books, going so far as to suggest the unfathomably shallow title, "Deep Thoughts for the Layman" (154),<sup>692</sup> for Dick's next book.

While Dick is no longer without a biographical identity, his recently revealed background fails to provide any personal reason for his desire to become a professional.<sup>693</sup> His ambition to heroically contribute to psychiatric knowledge not only lacks any "readily identifiable source" but is also beyond any one man's intellectual capacity.<sup>694</sup> The following fall he is scheduled to

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<sup>691</sup> Note the spatial metaphor. A profession is idealized as a bounded sanctuary for intelligent men. Inside these gendered and privileged truth-spots, masculine doctor-scientists are protected by their disembodiment and gazes.

<sup>692</sup> Dick's preoccupation with psychiatry is seemingly less about helping lay patients and more about understanding the plight of the modern professional man and his relation to women and work.

<sup>693</sup> James E. Miller, *His Art and Technique*, 141. "There is no mature commitment in him. His interest in his profession seems weak and, at bottom, insecurely motivated." Like Nicole, whom Dick "wished [...] had no background" (Fitzgerald, *Tender*, 151), Dick's background reveals that his trauma is caused by the patriarchal violence of professionalization.

<sup>694</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 131, 255.

present “a consequent intensification” of his second book, published that summer, to the “German-speaking world of psychiatry” (162). No details are given about this book nor any regarding how this presentation is received—probably because it is canceled due to Dick’s falling in love with Nicole and the Divers’ subsequent globetrotting honeymoon. Or, perhaps Dick has simply given up on the project since he felt he “had outgrown the book” (162). Instead of finishing what he started, Dick wants to commence working on his monumental, fifty-two-word titled *lebenswerk*.<sup>695</sup> He intends “his second, more ambitious book”<sup>696</sup> project to be an epic classification of mental diseases that anticipates the American Psychiatric Association’s *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, which was not published until 1952.<sup>697</sup> Although his compilation of such a glossary of terms would be undoubtedly “useful”<sup>698</sup> for psychiatry, nevertheless this Herculean effort represents less of a penetrating dive into the depths of the unconscious mind and more of a shallow inventory of the historical and modern ideas of greater men than him. Furthermore, Fitzgerald drops a clue in book one that Dick will not finish writing this book and thus not fulfill either his envisioned potential. Abe North, another professional intellectual whose career finds itself in a holding pattern, joshes him about their shared inertia when he casually states, “Something tells me I’ll have a new score on Broadway

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<sup>695</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 227. Metzger uses the German word, *lebenswerk*—which translates to “life’s work” in English—to describe Dick’s imagined heroic writing project, the working title of which is “*An Attempt at a Uniform and Pragmatic Classification of the Neuroses and Psychoses, Based on an Examination of Fifteen Hundred Pre-Kraepelin and Post-Kraepelin Cases as they would be Diagnosed in the Terminology of the Different Contemporary Schools: Together with a Chronology of Such Subdivisions of Opinion as Have Arisen Independently*” (Fitzgerald, 162).

<sup>696</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 30.

<sup>697</sup> For some perspective on the scale of the grandeur of such an endeavor, see Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, which compares the sheer number of expert specialists and innumerable man-hours needed to write the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the *DSM* in 1980: “*DSM III* was assembled and presented for the publication by a Task Force on Nomenclature and Statistics of the American Psychiatric Association. The Task Force [...] was composed of *nineteen experts*. These enlisted in turn contributions from more than *fourteen advisory committees* composed of *expert specialists* (*nearly a hundred of them*) who worked together from 1974 to 1980 on *DSM III*. These specialists consulted in turn with *large numbers of their practicing colleagues*. With appendices, *DSM III* runs to a little more than 480 pages, but the number of man-hours of work involved in this and in the most recent edition [*DSM-III-R*, 1987] *far exceeds the hours available to a single person during several lifetimes*” (Metzger, 257; emphasis mine).

<sup>698</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 151.

long before you've finished your scientific treatise" (72).<sup>699</sup> This statement is made in July 1925. In fact, the reader does not see Dick writing with any regularity between 1920 and 1925, the first five years of his marriage. And yet, his big idea for a comprehensive psychiatric text, the seed of which was planted after outgrowing his first book and hastily publishing a second dissatisfactory and unscholarly volume in 1925, is still the one to which he desperately clings sometime after 1930. Dick is unable to reconcile his "aspiration of unmistakably grandiose proportions" with the vision of years of unproductivity that he now sees in front of him, worrying that his work ultimately will be deemed an "inconsequential contribution to his profession."<sup>700</sup>

Throughout *Tender*, the reader never actually witnesses Dick practice psychiatry—nor do they see him performing his ideal psychiatric work of writing its history and theory. Instead, Dick reads theoretical textbooks and writes portions of unscientific paperbacks. Perhaps deep down he realizes that his ambition exceeds his ability.<sup>701</sup> Nonetheless he keeps up the illusion that he will complete it and, by doing so, complete his story. Dick's fears in 1920 about letting his "current ideas slide away" (153) manifest themselves in 1925, when he realizes "that he had only one or two ideas—" (182). His fear of scholarly impostor syndrome leads him to rush to publish an unfinished work "into some large and immediately useful synthesis."<sup>702</sup> In an act of narrative ventriloquism during their first years of marriage, Nicole states, "You used to say a man knows things and when he stops knowing things he's like anybody else, and the thing is to get power before he stops knowing things" (178). Nicole is likely repeating Dick's ideal work ethic back to him because Dick has already ceased working. This ideal correlates knowledge,

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<sup>699</sup> Abe is a one-hit wonder composer who deteriorates and eventually dies due to drink. Compare his and Dick's "creative sterility" (Angus Collins, "Homosexuality and the Genius of *Tender Is the Night*," *Journal of Modern Literature* 13, no. 1 [March 1986], 171) to the stalled career of Albert McKisco, a second-rate novelist who acknowledges his lack of "real genius" but exhibits a willingness "to keep writing [in the hope that] I may write a good book" (Fitzgerald, 225). Although McKisco and his work may pale in comparison to Dick and his "own 'serious' books" (James E. Miller, *His Art and Technique*, 144), nevertheless McKisco is the only "creative male" in the novel who "succeeds in his chosen work [and] achieves beyond [his] initial promise" (Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 176, 177-78).

<sup>700</sup> Pamela A. Boker, "Beloved Illness," 298.

<sup>701</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 255.

<sup>702</sup> Richard Foster, "Dick Diver and the Heroic Idea," 95.



power, and uniqueness—three personality traits with which Dick is preoccupied—by perceiving his career ambition, professional capacity, and work ethic as in competition with those same qualities of his colleagues. Such a notion places achievement within an undefined compression of time during which a professional either succeeds or fails. Dick's determination to publish his ideas in their infancy thus represents an attempt to stop time or make up for time "wasted" (182, 198, 220) so that he may catch up to his dreams before they slip away forever. Dick may just be biding his time toward realizing his career ambition,<sup>703</sup> but this hopeless fatalism disproves the fact that great things do not just *happen*, instantly transforming useful men into great ones; such things must be *done* through hard work, sustained effort, and careful thinking.

Fitzgerald intends for it to be tragic that Dick loses his ideas, wastes his years, and allows his work ethic to spoil. That Dick learns to derive neither personal nor professional satisfaction from psychiatry is more concerning than his anxieties about ideas, time, and work. Instead, he appears too focused on being acknowledged for his future work rather than actually doing any of it.<sup>704</sup> Indeed, Dick sees himself through Gatsbyesque goggles: doing great things

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<sup>703</sup> The narratorial confession at the end of book two, chapter one, reads: "The foregoing has the ring of a biography, without knowing that the hero, like [Ulysses S.] Grant, lolling in his general store in Galena, is ready to be called to an intricate destiny" (Fitzgerald, 132). Certainly, Nicole optimistically opts to see him this way in the novel's tragic end just as Dick looks to his future with confidence and hopefulness in its true heroic beginning.

<sup>704</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 210. "Dick Diver [...] never really arrives at the point of being able to recognize the fact that soliciting approval (in the form of admiration or affection) from others is no adequate substitute for achieving the respect and/or envy of one's professional peers *via* achievement, *via* the performance of what is sometimes approvingly called *sustained, solid work*. Nor does Dick quite ever get to the point of being able to *know* the tremendously important, yet for many professionals the abstruse, differences between the often commingled pleasures to be got from such activities as satisfy what Thorstein Veblen calls the (for some peoples mysterious) 'instinct of workmanship.' Dick never quite manages to know, emotionally, the differences between approval and satisfaction." This characteristic, which Fitzgerald's frenemy, Ernest Hemingway, summed up as the inability "to write without soliciting the regard of others" (qtd. in Michael Nowlin, "World's Rarest Work," 63), perhaps gets to the concept of the mutually constitutive relation between identity and work more so than any of the many other similarities between Fitzgerald's autobiography and Diver's fictional biography. Compare Fitzgerald's likening himself to a prostitute in a 1929 letter to Hemingway—"the [*Saturday Evening Post*] now pays the old whore \$4000 a screw. But now its [sic] because she's mastered the 40 positions—in her youth one was enough" (F. Scott Fitzgerald, *A Life in Letters*, edited by Matthew Bruccoli (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994) 169; qtd. in Michael Nowlin, "World's Rarest Work," 64)—with Herman Melville's confession to Hawthorne—"I shall at last be worn out and perish, like an old nutmeg-grater, grated to pieces by the constant attrition of the wood, that is, the nutmeg. What I feel most moved to write, that is banned,—it will not pay. Yet, altogether, write the other way I cannot"

and having it all while “bypass[ing] competition”<sup>705</sup> and “ris[ing] to the top, stylishly, without the appearance of effort.”<sup>706</sup> And it is this need to be recognized, whether to be loved by women or admired by his colleagues, that proves to be “his greatest weakness.”<sup>707</sup> His consuming need for others’ approval is more damning to his professionalism than being “a psychiatrist without a practice”<sup>708</sup>—more so even than being one who exercises a “professional failure to maintain appropriate doctor/patient boundaries.”<sup>709</sup>

Fitzgerald represents Dick’s professionalism as problematic. Unpacking Dick’s “miniature leather brief-case” (117)<sup>710</sup> sheds light on the “more medical aura” (199) that he is so anxious to present to others in order to gain self-esteem. As the last chapter showed, professional integrity is an aspect of one’s identity that willingly adheres to an accepted code of ethics in the performance of their occupation. While often taken for granted, Dick’s professional integrity is dubious at best. As a result, “our initial estimate of Dick’s social authority”<sup>711</sup> requires closer examination. One contemporary review of *Tender* expresses this doubt:

We don’t believe Dick Diver was a good psychiatrist [...] We accept Diver as a well-to-do American, whose career, whatever it might have been, is shattered. We see him as a once-attractive person now gone rotten—but we are not so sure that his wife was

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(“Letter to Nathaniel Hawthorne, June 1[?] 1851,” *The Life and Works of Herman Melville*, accessed 30 July 2020, <http://www.melville.org/letter3.htm>). Both Melville and Fitzgerald struggled to make a living by writing popular fiction, struggles with which their more successful contemporaries apparently did not seem to contend. Even Collis Clay, an otherwise relatively minor character who is a fellow Yale from the US South with a father that is a traditional professional, asks him, “Why don’t you practise as a doctor, if you like to work so much?” (Fitzgerald, 243).

<sup>705</sup> David I. Gottlieb, afterword to *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, by Charles R. Metzger, 368.

<sup>706</sup> Donald Monk, “Fitzgerald: The Tissue of Style,” *Journal of American Studies* 17, no. 1 (April 1983), 89.

<sup>707</sup> Scott Donaldson, “Seduction of Dr. Diver,” 6.

<sup>708</sup> John Chamberlain, “Books of the Times,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 69. This chapter is less concerned with Dick’s repeated breaches of professional ethics and more interested in his fading work ethic.

<sup>709</sup> Kirk Curnutt, *Cambridge Introduction to Fitzgerald*, 77-78.

<sup>710</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 120-21. Fetterley lists Dick’s implausibly small but expensive briefcase—which makes him look “like a dandy” (Fitzgerald, 104)—among the “images [that are] emblematic of his lack of substance,” even asking exasperatedly, “what can possibly be in it?” Certainly, in July 1925, this tiny container is not large enough to hold “the big stack of papers” that he has on his desk in 1930 on the novel’s last page (Fitzgerald, 338). Dick is willing to dress for the job he wants, but like the emperor with no clothes, he lacks substance. The big pile of papers suggest that he has found some of his lost personal and professional substance.

<sup>711</sup> John Haegert, “Repression and Counter-Memory,” 100.

the cause, because we are given no evidence of the fact that Diver had done more than read the titles of books in medical libraries. The distrust of his abilities weakens a number of our convictions about him.<sup>712</sup>

If even the contemporary celebratory readings of *Tender* call into question Dick's professional integrity,<sup>713</sup> then Dick's admission about only pursuing a career in psychiatry to draw the attention of a co-ed corroborates Dick's lack of maturity, drive, and confidence.<sup>714</sup> This lack of true motivation is evidenced as early as May 1919 during a conversation with Nicole when he deflects from his growing attraction to her by stating, "At present I don't seem to be interested in anything except my work" (158). This is clearly a lie: Nicole is the only thing that interests him at this moment. In fact, Dick's subjunctive way of seeing Nicole—and him and her together—provide signposts along the way of Dick's disintegration. How he looks at Nicole represents how his views have changed toward not only her but also psychiatry and his role within it. When he first sees Nicole as a young patient at Dohmler's clinic on Lake Zürich in 1919, "the first modern clinic for mental illness [and] a refuge for the broken [and] the incomplete" (135), Nicole is "the prettiest thing [he] ever saw" (134). Falling in love with Nicole would, of course, divert his plan. Although he realizes that "the logic of his life tended away from the girl" (152), nevertheless his feelings render him incapable of maintaining a proper "philosophical detachment" (155). His countertransference toward Nicole is made clear at a disciplinary meeting with Dohmler and Gregorovious, in which Dick confesses, "I'm half in love with her—the question of marrying her has passed through my mind" (156). The Doctors immediately advise him to "never see her again" (157). However, Dick looks out the window and imagines seeing Nicole waiting for him. Upon exiting the office, she appears as if out of nowhere. If Dr. Diver recognizes that he must

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<sup>712</sup> Horace Gregory, "A Generation Riding to Romantic Death," in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 73-74.

<sup>713</sup> James E. Miller, *His Art and Technique*, 141. "There is no mature commitment in [Dick]. His interest in his profession seems weak and, at bottom, insecurely motivated."

<sup>714</sup> Dick confesses to Franz: "I got to be a psychiatrist because there was a girl at St. Hilda's in Oxford that went to the same lectures" (Fitzgerald, 153). His entire career is premised on impressing a girl. Paging Dr. Freud.

“eliminate himself” (157) from her life, then his conjuring her symbolizes Dick’s desire not to go unnoticed. With “deliberated indifference” (158), however, he attempts to terminate their personal relationship, citing his work. “Gravely returning his gaze” (158), Nicole sees straight through him with a “look of pain in her eyes” (159). After clumsily ending their relationship, Dick “experience[s] a vast dissatisfaction” that manifests “in dreams [in which] he saw her walking on the clinic path” (161). He attempts to write away his emotional entanglement by composing a hypothetical regime for Nicole to follow upon her impending release from the clinic<sup>715</sup> and also envisages writing his monumental work. With her release in sight, Dick escapes to Montreux for a cycling trip but is serendipitously joined in the same funicular railway car by Nicole, who is accompanied by a young Italian man. Outside of an institutional setting, Dick sees that she is *uncontaminated*: “immediately [he] saw that something was different [...] every taint of the clinic was departed” (164). Nicole has bobbed her hair and seems genuinely happy and healthy, as evidenced by her fling with the Conte di Marmora. Dick enjoys looking at her but acknowledges that his pleasure is not in the patient’s best interest: “She was a carnival to watch [...] Dick wished himself away from her, fearing that he was a reminder of a world left well behind” (165). That night, Nicole kisses Dick, and the two become “indissoluble”: he feels “his existence as a reflection in her eyes” becoming tangible.<sup>716</sup> Dick’s entire existence—the logic of his life, his one ambition—is relegated to an object in the distorted vision of a schizophrenic young woman. They return together to Dohmler’s clinic, engaged, and, upon parting, “she turned and looked at him [and] he knew her problem was one they had together for good now” (174). With their

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<sup>715</sup> “He tried to write the matter out of his mind in a memorandum [...] that would have been convincing to any one save to him who had written it” (Fitzgerald, 162). Giving Nicole back to herself is an attempt to reify the “broken [and] incomplete” (135) Nicole through a psychiatric perspectival framework that mirrors Dick’s own regime for completing himself by authoring his current “intensification” (162) of *A Psychology for Psychologists*, itself a reification of his chosen profession and his fellow “crippled and broken” doctor-scientists (153) that it attracts.

<sup>716</sup> “Nicole had a better hold on him now and she held it” (Fitzgerald, 171).

marriage, the two individuals become one.<sup>717</sup> But Dick is divided in two: Dick Diver, husband; and Dr. Richard Diver, psychiatrist.<sup>718</sup> Now, however, Dr. Dick Diver can do “the world’s rarest work [and] be loved, too” (149).

As they dissolve into one another, Nicole’s problem becomes their problems, as Dick and Dr. Diver absorb and multiply them with his own issues.<sup>719</sup> From Dick’s point of view, which embodies the professional point of view that women embody irrational passion and that it is a man’s role—whether as doctor or husband—to not only guide and instruct them but also watch over and control them, their problems only arise from Nicole and “confuse” (188) his life and work.<sup>720</sup> Before their wedding, Dick worries about how Dr. Diver the psychiatrist will be regarded in the professional opinion of the psychiatric world for having married a patient. He not only fears that they will see his marriage as unethical,<sup>721</sup> but he also worries about the “worldly eyes” (174) of Nicole’s sister and de facto guardian, Baby, who does not see him as “the sort of medical man she could envisage in the family” (174).<sup>722</sup>

After spending the last nine chapters chronicling Dick’s personal and professional background, which Dick sums up to Baby by saying, “I’m a doctor of medicine” (175), another temporal and perspectival shift occurs midway through book two, this one from that of the future

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<sup>717</sup> Near the end of the first book, Dick signs a letter “Dicole, the word with which he and Nicole had signed communication in the first days of love” (Fitzgerald, 116). This blending of names might compensate for the patriarchal practice of Nicole’s taking on the Diver surname upon marrying Dick.

<sup>718</sup> Eugene White, “Intricate Destiny,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 127. Dr. Richard “Dick” Diver performs a “double role of Dick Diver, husband, and Dr. Richard Diver, psychiatrist.”

<sup>719</sup> Compare this imperfect stage in Dick’s life to the heroic one when Dick was completely absorbed in his work.

<sup>720</sup> “[H]is work became confused with Nicole’s problems” (Fitzgerald, 188).

<sup>721</sup> In a standalone paragraph, Dick imagines what his colleagues would say about his and Nicole’s relationship: “...For Doctor Diver to marry a mental patient? How did it happen? Where did it begin?” (Fitzgerald, 172). It is unclear who is speaking and to whom suggesting this confused indignation represents the professional consensus.

<sup>722</sup> Baby, as the nominal matriarch of the Warrens, takes a cold, almost inhumane view of her sister’s condition, a snobbish view determined by her spoiled upbringing.

Dr. Diver to the present “Nicole sick” (185).<sup>723</sup> Chapter ten consists of multiple “nows”<sup>724</sup> between Dick and Nicole’s wedding in September 1919 and the narrative present of the summer of 1925.<sup>725</sup> In less than six pages, Fitzgerald covers nearly six years of important moments through a series of elliptical paragraphs told exclusively from Nicole’s perspective. In a series of “telescoped”<sup>726</sup> events, the timeline of which is blurry, the reader sees Dick in 1920 working at a hospital in Zürich. His “little book” (176)—as Nicole calls it—is selling well and their first child, Lanier, is born. Over the next two years, however, Nicole grows restless with the “quiet life” (175) of Dick’s work routine and their small apartment. They travel through Africa, Asia, and Australia. Nicole enjoys her and Dick’s being looked at by their fellow travelers. However, she also seems to perceive Dick’s desire to avoid being seen so that he may resume his work.<sup>727</sup> With the birth of their second child, Topsy, Nicole suffers another breakdown, and “everything got dark again” (177). In 1924, they renovate the Villa Diana, overlooking the Côte d’Azur between the fashionable places of Nice and Cannes so that Dick, who in Nicole’s mind has become “bored [and] can’t find time for writing” (178), can get back to work and that the two of them can be happily normal. Nicole, giving a tour of their new grounds to some unidentified visitor, says: “This is going to be Dick’s work house. Oh, the idea came to us both at the same moment” (178). Sometime later they go into Paris, and Nicole asks Dick why he checked them

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<sup>723</sup> In 1928, Franz explains to his wife, “Nicole is half a patient—she will possibly remain something of a patient all her life” (Fitzgerald, 259). Nicole may always be “sick,” but she is never “too sick to get well” (Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 114).

<sup>724</sup> Alan Trachtenberg, “Journey Back,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 176. See note 619.

<sup>725</sup> For a closer reading of this section, see Udo Natterman, “Nicole Diver’s Monologue: A Close Examination of a Key Segment,” *Massachusetts Studies in English* 10, no. 4 (1986): 213-28; qtd. in Christine Grogan, *Father-Daughter Incest*, 40. This second abrupt shift in time and perspective comes directly at the novel’s middle point. The seventeen fragmented paragraphs are the only ones told from a first-person perspective. As Grogan points out, they offer insight into Dick and Nicole’s inevitable divorce by focusing upon their fundamental disagreements.

<sup>726</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 169.

<sup>727</sup> “Life is fun with Dick—the people in deck chairs look at us, and a woman is trying to hear what we are singing. Dick is tired of singing it, so go on alone, Dick. You will walk differently alone, dear, through a thicker atmosphere, forcing your way through the shadows of chairs, through the dripping smoke of funnels. You will feel your own reflection sliding along the eyes of those who look at you. You are no longer insulated; but I suppose you must touch life in order to spring from it” (Fitzgerald, 177).

in at the hotel as “Mr. and Mrs. Diver instead of Doctor and Mrs. Diver?” (178). The sequence concludes with Nicole seeing Rosemary looking at Dick on the beach, a re-presentation of the novel’s opening, and the story returns to the present.

During these elliptical moments, presented through the indirect stream of consciousness of a narrator whose disorder makes her unreliable, Nicole intuitively grasps Dick’s self-consciousness.<sup>728</sup> At some point she repeats Dick’s ideal notions about work back to him because he has stopped writing and “you say it’s a confession of weakness for a scientist not to write” (178). After they move to France, she again reiterates something Dick must have said to her: that once a man stops knowing things, he forfeits his chance to become great. These narrative ventriloquisms, presented from the perspective of Nicole sick, exemplify Dick’s narcissistic replication of himself. The reader sees an outward projection of Dick in competition with not only other, less brilliant doctor-scientists than himself but also against time itself. Dick’s words spoken in her voice place professional achievement in a gendered and temporal vacuum.<sup>729</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> While on their cruise, Nicole says to herself about him: “You will feel your own reflection sliding along the eyes of those who look at you” (Fitzgerald, 177).

<sup>729</sup> Again, while men in *Tender* are defined by their professional accolades, women are defined in terms of their physical appearance or *to-be-looked-at-ness*. Nicole expresses this when, after Dick cites his present desire for nothing except work, she replies: “Oh, I think that’s fine for a man. But for a girl I think she ought to have lots of minor accomplishments and pass them on to her children” (Fitzgerald, *Tender*, 158). Nicole is simply a screen upon which Dick’s attitude toward work is projected, as evidenced when she echoes his words: “Talk is men. When I talk I say to myself that I am probably Dick. Already I have even been my son [...] Sometimes I am Doctor Dohmler and one time I may even be an aspect of you, Tommy Barban” (Fitzgerald, *Tender*, 179). Nicole is only ever wife, mother, patient, or lover. Nicole exhibits what psychoanalysts termed penis envy. Having directly experienced feelings of self-contempt after her rape (due to what Franz refers to as her “complicity”), she is caught between the normal development of her desire for a penis into a wish for a child—with the child symbolizing her castrated penis—by taking her father as a love-object. However, Nicole is twice seen seeking revenge against the Father’s phallus through depictions of castrating her lovers. Nicole sews for Dick a pair of “transparent black lace drawers [that] [c]lose inspection revealed [...] were lined with flesh-colored cloth” (Fitzgerald, 30). By symbolically castrating Dick during what will be revealed as a dramatic moment in the text—when Rosemary first saw Dick and Nicole “saw [Rosemary] choose him” (28)—she preserves herself from symbolic castration. When this scene is revisited at the end of Nicole’s stream of consciousness in book two, chapter x, which brings the narrative back to that opening present, Nicole associates masculinity with speech—“talk is men”—and herself with the talking men in her life—“when I talk I am a man” (179). From Dick to her son, Lanier to Dr. Dohmler to Tommy, Nicole progresses from lover-patient to wife to mother then back to patient and again to lover. Her inferior self-esteem is overcome by having a baby, an accomplishment, and then becoming that accomplishment—or, as Freud wrote, the “little girl is the little man” (Sigmund Freud, “New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis: Femininity,” 112, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 22, edited by James Strachey [London: Hogarth

This elliptical section begins with Dick's proclamation to Baby that he is a doctor but ends with his registering them as "Mr. and Mrs. Diver." By simply identifying them as a married couple instead of a Doctor and his wife, Dick is downplaying Nicole's identity as a patient.<sup>730</sup> Like Nicole's other recollections, the inclusion of these memories takes on added significance—just as Dick's memories had during his flashback chapters. Moreover, this event is not just remembered<sup>731</sup> but presented as if in the present.<sup>732</sup> Along with their luggage they also bring with them to the Paris hotel the emotional baggage of their pasts.<sup>733</sup> Its depiction signals that, at this particular moment, Dick no longer aligns with his prior vision of himself as Dr. Diver. His identification hides the fact that he has not entirely relinquished his professional status as a

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Press, 1964]). Castrating her doctor-husband-son's father's penis compensates for her unfulfilled wish to be an anthropologist—since it is already too late for her to study medicine—an expression of her desire, which reflects Dick's expressed desire, not to "know[] nothing" (Fitzgerald, 179, 178). In this wish, professionalization stands as a symbolic phallus. Now seeing herself as completed—*re-membering* herself as a sexual woman—Nicole regards herself differently: "New vistas appeared ahead, peopled with the faces of many men, none of whom she need obey or even love" (315). She has completed her sexual development and she has sex with Tommy. Although the transfer(ence) from Dick to Tommy is less psychoanalytic than economic—she simply exchanges one man for another—nevertheless it is evidence that Nicole has completed her "brutalizing [...] re-education" and developed into a normal sexual woman. Likewise, having already consumed Dick, she next absorbs Tommy into herself by sleeping with him. He is lost not only in the act of looking into her white eyes but also in kissing her (with all mouth and white teeth [Fitzgerald, 317, 320] like an American girl). Nicole represents the mythic *vagina dentata* and the diminishment of the man through his dismemberment during sex. Chris Messenger, "Racial and Ethnic Cross-Identifying," in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 165. On Nicole as a succubus, see James Tuttleton, "Vitality and Vampirism," in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 238-46.

<sup>730</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 18. Never in her letters to him—neither the marked pathological ones nor the normal ones—does Nicole refer to Dick as "Dr. Diver." Perhaps Dick registers them under the more personal "Mr." rather than the honorific professional title "Dr." to help transition Nicole away from her still vivid vision of herself as a patient and to keep alive the illusion that their relationship is heteronormative.

<sup>731</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 137. See note 663.

<sup>732</sup> APA Dictionary of Psychology, s.v. "here and now," American Psychological Association, <https://dictionary.apa.org/here-and-now>, accessed August 18, 2021. "In psychotherapy, it comprises the cognitive, affective, and behavioral material arising at any given point in a session, as well as the relationship between the therapist and client at the corresponding point in time. When the here-and-now approach is used in psychotherapy, the emphasis is placed on understanding present feelings and interpersonal reactions as they occur in an ongoing treatment session, with little or no emphasis on or exploration of past experience underlying reasons for the client's thoughts, emotions, or behavior." Here, Dick is emphasizing their personal rather than professional relationship in order to repress Nicole's past. Doing so reveals more about how Dick wants to see Nicole than about trying to protect her. Indeed, during their initial attraction "Dick wished she had no background, that she was just a girl with no address save the night from which she had come" (Fitzgerald, 151).

<sup>733</sup> As Jake Barnes tells Robert Cohn in Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1926): "You can't get away from yourself by moving from one place to another. There's nothing to that."



“doctor of medicine” (73) despite concealing his identity when checking-in, an omission that highlights the fact that he is not practicing and has not been for quite some time.

Back in 1925, not long after Dick reveals his profession, Rosemary arranges a screen test for him while the group is all in Paris. Dick, who earlier in the trip touted himself as the last American man with any repose (61), reddens in “an instinctively masculine way.”<sup>734</sup> He protests: “‘I don’t want a test,’ said Dick firmly; then, seeing the situation as a whole, he continued lightly, ‘Rosemary, I’m disappointed. The pictures make a fine career for a woman—but my God, they can’t photograph me. I’m an old scientist all wrapped up in his private life’” (81). Dick’s initial reaction is angry embarrassment at the suggestion that he would make a good “leading man” (81)—a response that elicits laughter from Nicole and Mary North, women who have known Dick longer than has the confused Rosemary. Dick falls back on his professional status as a scientist—adding his age, gender, and marital status—as the excuse why he does not want to be tested or photographed. Dick is discomforted by the idea of being the center of attention—the object of the gaze. Such an objectified career is fine for a woman but not for a doctor-scientist, who is accustomed to observing, testing, and recording objects.

After the showing of *Daddy’s Girl* and Dick’s canceled screen test, two back-to-back traumatic events trigger episodes that force the vacation to end prematurely. Firstly, the group witnesses an acquaintance of the Divers fatally shoot her lover outside a train-station. The sight of violence dampens the festive mood, but the party is not quite over. Unbeknownst to the rest of the group, Abe, who was supposed to depart for America to write his next musical, has slipped away from the station and gotten himself involved in “some n—— scrap” (123). This business ultimately ends with a murdered Black man in Rosemary’s hotel bed. Dick helps cover

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<sup>734</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 118. “Rosemary watched Dick comprehend what she meant, his face moving in an Irish way [...]” (Fitzgerald, 81). Dick’s Irish-Americanness combines the stereotypical passion, sentimentality, and melancholia of stereotypical Irish masculinity with the romantic nationalism of pre-industrial and anti-materialist America. See Robert Utrup, “Yeatsian Modernism,” 66, 72-74.

up the crime by passing the bloody bed sheets across the hallway to Nicole. This prompts in Nicole the traumatic recollection of her father raping her.<sup>735</sup> She suffers a breakdown similar to the one she suffers at the end of the Divers' "really *bad* party" (36) that takes place behind closed doors and thus out of the reader's view. The difference between the two episodes is that Rosemary sees this breakdown—despite Dick's efforts to "block[] her view" (125)—and hears Dick's repeated entreaties to Nicole: "Control yourself!" (125, 126). Rosemary's illusion of Dick and Nicole as ideal man and woman shatters.

After Nicole's episode in Paris, which ends book one and initiates book two's flashback chapters, the Divers return to the Villa Diana. At this point, Dick is neither writing nor practicing. He realizes that the power dynamic of the gaze has shifted away from him, the masculine doctor-scientist, and toward Nicole, the patient-wife, who he feels is constantly watching him. This sense of being watched leads to his realization that his personal and professional vision have become "confused" (188). "Shut[ing] his eyes" (183, 184) and "blind[ing]" (98) himself from what his life has become will no longer do; so, he resolves to go back to work. Writing will restore him to what he could have been—and still could be. He opens his eyes to the fact that he has become so defined by others' perceptions of him that he completely loses sight of any original, interior vision that he once had. Perceiving this visibility as vulnerability, Dick repeatedly attempts to escape to the less scrutinizing glance of the adoring Rosemary or retreats to his work house to shield himself from Nicole's gaze, which he feels is "inevitably subject[ing] [him] to microscopic examination" (188). Dick's identities, refracted through metaphors of seeing and being seen, are most apparent within Dick's relationships with Nicole sick and Nicole well. As

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<sup>735</sup> Like the crime that leads to lynching the Black man in *The Marrow of Tradition*, the primal scene depicting the white woman's rape is withheld—though Fitzgerald does show the murdered body of the Afro-Scandinavian businessman, Jules Peterson, while withholding corporeal punishment against Devereux Warren. For an excellent reading of this scene as re-invoking patriarchal trauma through symbolic racial violence, see Chris Messenger, "Racial and Ethnic Cross-Identifying," in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 168-71.

husband and doctor—and then as clinician and theoretician—Dick is seen through a kaleidoscopic lens.

Back at the Villa Diana in 1925, Dick enters his work house<sup>736</sup> to survey the “hundred thousand words” he had written, determining to publish them “as an introduction to more scholarly volumes to follow” no later than the following spring (182). This plan would provide him with a timeline by which to contribute to his profession’s literature—albeit once again in only a useful rather than a heroic capacity. Dick’s shed, however, figures less as a modern office and more as a cell in a traditional prison-house.<sup>737</sup> The image of the doctor-scientist confined within tight spaces suggests a narrowing of the available possibilities for him, indicating that the power afforded to him by disembodied professionalism has proven to be an illusion. Dick retreats to his shed to rewrite his personal and professional story by writing his visionary work. By writing an interpretation of psychotic signs transformed into theoretical significance, he will restore meaning to his life and work. Sitting in his shed, Dick surveys the “ordered confusion” (183) of what he has written so far. The papers themselves are like the “gilded metal that he used as paperweights” (183), material possessions that symbolize his writer’s block and what he sees as

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<sup>736</sup> After confessing his love for Rosemary to her mother, Mrs. Speers, Dick returns home to Nicole, who “looked at him with straight gray eyes.” He enters the Villa Diana but as he “glanced about the house that Nicole had made, that Nicole’s grandfather had paid for,” Dick longs for the past, “want[ing] to be alone so that his thoughts about work and the future would overpower his thoughts of love and to-day” (Fitzgerald, 186-87).

<sup>737</sup> The compound word *work house* defines a multipurpose space that blends aspects of one’s personal and professional identity into a single site. Lexically, it is the singular place in which one lives where they work and works where they live. Workhouses have connotations of men and women, especially those suffering from social, mental, and/or physical health disorders, living and working. In *Tender*, see the Eglantine and Beeches work houses on the grounds of Dick and Franz’s clinics, where patients do carpentry, book-binding, bead-work, and weaving. While Dick’s plain work house at the posh Villa Diana may be far removed from Victorian-era poorhouses, the image of his incomplete stack of papers being held down by gold paperweights suggests unpaid labor, confined boarding, and discipline and punishment of an almshouse, poorhouse, or prison-house. In contrast, see the Hollywood production set for Dick’s office in the 1962 film adaptation, which is replete with ornately framed artwork, red leather couches, and mahogany walls (*Tender Is the Night*, directed by Henry King [1962; Los Angeles: 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox]).

its cause: his work ethic has dissipated because he no longer needs to work on account of the Divers' endless supply of money.<sup>738</sup>

Dick makes this resolution during a stream of consciousness vigil outside his shed.<sup>739</sup> He realizes that suffering has become his condition<sup>740</sup>—that he has turned suffering into both a marriage and career. His love for Nicole has clouded his reason just as he predicted it would during his first attraction to her. In his mind back then, marrying Nicole would confirm not only his capacity to love but also his capacity to work. Now, he sees that not only has “[h]is work became confused with Nicole’s problems [but also] her income had increased so fast of late that it seemed to belittle his work” (188). Like Dick’s expensive toys that he plays with during the first time that the shed is seen, Nicole has belittled his once-heroic profession. Dick’s reexamination of the past six years in 1925 foreshadows a scene where he relives his and Nicole’s decade together in 1929. In both scenes he lets his thoughts flow, reviewing how his envisioned life has been diverted somewhere between his past continuous “intricate destiny” (132) and his future (im)perfect “ignoble destiny” (323). These scenes represent attempts to reorder his personal life and professional career and both take place in or around his shed. Each introspection, however, fails to prove revelatory. After each one he erroneously resolves that what he needs is to return to work. After this first resolution, a single paragraph advances the plot several months forward to Christmas, 1925.

While on a family holiday to the Swiss Alps, Franz approaches Dick about purchasing an old clinic on Lake Zug and updating it into a modern clinic like the one owned by their mentor.<sup>741</sup>

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<sup>738</sup> William Blazek, “Some Fault in the Plan,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 81.

<sup>739</sup> This scene’s narration evokes one featuring Isabel Archer in chapter forty-two of Henry James’s *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881). Isabel reviews her life, re-examines her marriage to Gilbert Osmond, and realizes that suffering has become her condition. Like Osmond’s promises to Isabel, Nicole’s promises to let Dick work toward his ideas have been broken—not for the sake of ensuring a fortunate marriage but because marrying someone with such a vast fortune has become a burden. Of course, Nicole’s infinite money should be seen an advantage, not a hindrance.

<sup>740</sup> Mark Schoening, “Dr. Lonelyhearts,” 671. See note 634.

<sup>741</sup> Heretofore, Franz seems to have embodied the consummate professional. However, he refers to the opportunity as a “gold mine” (Fitzgerald, 193), relegating the psychiatric professionalism and the institutes

Franz convinces Dick to become his partner by appealing to Dick's ambition to write (and to do so *heroically*<sup>742</sup>):

“We must undertake it together. It would not bind you too tight—it would give you a base, a laboratory, a centre. You could stay in residence say no more than half the year [...] In winter you could go to France or America and write your texts [...] We could be partners. I the executive manager, you the theoretician, the brilliant consultant and all that. I know myself—I know I have no genius and you have” (192).

“Consider it, Dick,” he pleas. “When one writes on psychiatry, one should have actual clinical contacts. Jung writes, Bleuler writes, Freud writes, Forel writes, Adler writes—” (194). By not only citing psychiatry's fathers but also comparing Dick to them, Franz exploits Dick's compulsive preoccupation to write as well as his obsessive need for total approval.<sup>743</sup> A partial year return to Switzerland,<sup>744</sup> a “clearly denoted historical setting”<sup>745</sup> that “evoke[s] a medical universe,”<sup>746</sup> would do three things: firstly, it would provide a central location that recreates the sanctuaried environment where Dick prospered during his favorite heroic period; secondly, it would offer constant clinical contact with patients, thereby supplying the primary source material for his theoretical texts; and thirdly and relatedly, it would provide a flexible enough work schedule for him to continue to care for Nicole—with the added advantage that other trained professionals would always be around.

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with which he is affiliated as “rich person's clinic[s]” (133). These economic concerns cast aspersion over psychiatry's sterling ethics and rival those embodied in the commercialist specialists at the annual conference that Dick imagines (213).

<sup>742</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 265.

<sup>743</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 247; David I. Gottlieb, afterword to *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, by Charles R. Metzger, 372, 367.

<sup>744</sup> Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 198. Switzerland was in the “cradle of Europeans' psychiatric praxis.”

<sup>745</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 74.

<sup>746</sup> Elisabeth Bouzonviller, “A Decisive Stopover in ‘an Antiseptic Smelling Land’: Switzerland as a Place of Decision and Recovery in F. Scott Fitzgerald's Fiction,” *F. Scott Fitzgerald Review* 3 (2004), 28. Switzerland is “a vast sanitorium,” “a psychiatrist's office,” and “a place fit for doctors [...] and medical studies” (Bouzonviller, 34, 38, 29).

Whenever Dick is not defined by his work, he risks becoming uncentered;<sup>747</sup> the clinic could be that center—an ideal space in which he successfully balances his personal vision for himself with his professional vision. Instinctively, Dick expresses reservations when Franz first proposes his plan: “I wonder how I like the picture of Nicole and me anchored to Zurich—” (194). Yet, it is exactly this tethering to a particular place that Franz (and Baby, who is listening attentively to the proposal) think will be best for Nicole. Similarly, Dick sees it as a possible resurrection of Dr. Diver. Although “Dicole”—as they are affectionately known—have been loosely tied to the Villa Diana for some time, nevertheless this permanent address has neither prevented Nicole from experiencing further episodes nor helped Dick further his quest to finish his book. The clinic will be the bumper between Dicole and the disorder of reality that the Villa Diana has failed to become and the cloistered space where Dr. Diver can restart his stalled career. Feeling the eyes of the onlooking Nicole, Baby, and an unknown woman at a nearby table, Dick sees them fixed to a particular place not unlike the one where she was formerly committed. Most practically, in his eyes, it would unyoke him from the burden of being gainfully unemployed as Mrs. Diver’s kept husband and doctor. Nicole’s “unambitious affluence”<sup>748</sup> has provided him with an assured amount of money and approval but has also sucked him dry<sup>749</sup> of his need and will to work.<sup>750</sup>

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<sup>747</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 114. “In contrast [to Rosemary, whose work organizes and defines her life], Dick appears to be [...] defined by something other than work and potentially uncentered.”

<sup>748</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 273, 114. Dick’s life with Nicole represents one possible outcome for Martin Arrowsmith had he stayed married to Joyce Lanyon. While both men begin with an almost sacred work ethic, Martin realizes that his driving force is dissolving because he married into luxury and wealth.

<sup>749</sup> James Tuttleton, “Vitality and Vampirism,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 238, 241, 244. “[A]nother aspect of woman – also a constant in Fitzgerald’s fiction – and often involving the same girl: the beautiful enchantress, the alluring and seductive but ultimately daemonic and destructive woman – figured frequently and openly as a vampire who drains the hero of his vitality” [...] The language of faery enchantment permeates the early part of the novel, where Dick falls under Nicole’s spell. In this novel, though, the psychoanalytic process of transference substitutes for the older folkloric vampire imagery. [...] Soon enough, he is signing their letters ‘Dicole,’ as his identity drains into her.”

<sup>750</sup> Michael March, “Page after Page,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 63. “[T]he octopus of Nicole’s weakness (her pathological past) and her strength (her fabulous wealth) fastens itself upon Richard Diver and drains him of all hope and aspiration.”

This is an illusion—a mirage distracting from the true cause of Dick’s idleness and discontent. Dick is not spellbound by Nicole’s wealth or unhealth but by the allure of the professionalization myth. In reality, Nicole’s immense wealth grants Dick with the time and resources he needs to realize his vision. He can conduct his work without having to earn a living to support his growing family. Just as he is free from European scientific medical tradition, Dick is free from the capitalist imperatives of modern US society.<sup>751</sup> While Nicole’s mental disorder ostensibly prevents him from devoting himself fully to composing his “important scientific treatise on some medical subject” (72, 338), her illness is not what ultimately leads to Dick’s failure to reach his potential to be special. Dick has the luxury of working from home, but he never finishes his *lebenswerk* despite the privacy, embeddedness, technologies, and imaginary afforded by having a work room of his own.<sup>752</sup> While his shed offers him a place for reflection as well as rest, it seems more like a gilded jailcell than an observation room in the hybrid clinic/home model that he envisions the Villa Diana to be for them. The Villa Diana, like the apartment and clinic in Switzerland, are fantasylands. Dick’s efforts to recreate the sanitized environment of the clinic in their home together is a sign of Dick’s obsessive-compulsive drive to cure and complete Nicole so that he can complete and cure himself.

Dick realizes that at some unspecified point in time while living and working at the clinic that he and Nicole “had become one and equal, and apposite and complementary; she was Dick too [...]. He could not watch her disintegrations without participating in them” (209). These different ways of seeing and being seen—as equal lovers, doctor and patient, theorizer and problem—reflect Dick’s state of mind toward her as the spell of countertransference is broken. Dick’s glance cools from that of the adoring look of a lover into the hard glare of the clinician before finally chilling into the cold(hearted), detached, and abstract clinical gaze of the

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<sup>751</sup> Indeed, Dick’s work experience resembles that of early modern European men of science whose intellectual labor was funded by wealthy patrons.

<sup>752</sup> Darren Wershler et. al., *The Lab Book: Situated Practices in Media Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming), chap. 1, “Introduction: Everything is a Lab,” under “Case Study.”

theoretician.<sup>753</sup> Through a reverse chiasmic transformation, the reader has seen how Nicole has been made well; they will see how the doctor became sick.

Dick's subjectification through the eyes of others—and especially through those of Nicole—excludes any interior sense of self for the sake of appearing complete. To seem intact is to be incomplete. Dick needs others as mirrors in which to see himself. To see his best self he must elevate others into their best selves. Only then will he see his best self reflected back at him. Raising others compensates for a fundamental lack that he feels within himself. However, “he evaporated before the[] eyes” (37) of those from whom he elicits an “uncritical love” (36), leaving him feeling moody and unsatisfied. Dick's sense of self, then, is dialectical, refracted through metaphors of seeing and being seen. The way in which he wants to see himself is most apparent in his chiasmic relationship with the character that he most “worked over” (99): Nicole. However, as Nicole begins approaching her best self—partly because of Dick's personal love and support and professional help and partly because of his “working over” of her—Dick feels that she looks at him more and more critically.

Despite his confusion, however, Nicole remains “the most attractive human creature he had ever seen” (112) at this point in 1925. After falling in love with her, “Dick attempts to lead Nicole out of Switzerland's unreal sanity, first to the half-safe, half-controlled, half-real world of the Villa Diana [then] to the naked reality of Paris.”<sup>754</sup> After she follows him out, not altogether complete but no longer completely in pieces, the Divers roleplay a *normal* life at the Villa Diana. After she suffers a subsequent breakdown, he again tries to lead her to the “deceitfully integrated village” (199) that makes up the “unusual environment”<sup>755</sup> of his and Franz's clinic. These spaces are artificially constructed living-work environments that act as “antiseptic”<sup>756</sup>

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<sup>753</sup> The clinician is concerned with the patient as a suffering human subject while the theoretician observes, classifies, and writes about the patient as an object of experiment and analysis.

<sup>754</sup> Bruce L. Grenberg, “Fitzgerald's ‘Figured Curtain’: Personality and History in *Tender Is the Night*,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 218.

<sup>755</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 271.

<sup>756</sup> Elisabeth Bouzonviller, “Decisive Stopover,” 31; Donald Monk, “Tissue of Style,” 82.



buffer zones between the safe but sterile “refuge” offered by modern psychiatric clinics and the brutal disorder and “naked reality” outside of the clinic. Dick and Nicole’s lives at Tarmes and on the Zugersee simulate real-world phenomena for Nicole well,<sup>757</sup> the *normal* wife. During times of mental disorder and crisis, whenever reality threatens to make her sick again, Dick intervenes to treat partial versions of that phenomenon. Moreover, these spaces are always already within the *normal* psychiatric course of treatment, from being admitted to being observed and cared for to being released. Nicole’s treatment does double duty for Dick by allowing her back into the world by subjecting her to Dr. Diver’s observation, interpretation, and treatment. Nicole is his problem and theory—by translating her pathological signs and symptoms into significance via the therapeutic process, he nears completing the composition of his envisioned theoretical work.

Dick, with the Warrens’ money, buys this sense of security with both Nicole’s well-being and his sputtering work in mind. With the chapter break the novel advances to the spring of 1927. This is the only real glimpse Fitzgerald gives into Dick’s doing any sort of doctoring. Dick’s experiences at the clinic are encapsulated within a single day in the life of his eighteen months there. On his way to the administration building, Dr. Diver walks through several spaces designated for patients to perform various tasks, including carpentry, bookbinding, and beadwork. He stops and chats with individual patients who “liked him better than they liked Doctor Gregorovious” (200). But he also notices that some of them treat him with “responses [that] were not dissimilar to those that [he] evoked in non-professional life” (200). Unlike Franz, Dick treats his patients as if they were members of the *normal* public instead of as people who need his professional help. All the while he is cognizant of how they see him, especially in contrast to his more “clinical” partner. Continuing onward, Dick works his way through the men’s and women’s houses inhabited by patients not well enough to perform these occupational therapies. He then heads over to the main building where “his most interesting case” (201), an

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<sup>757</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 92.

American woman painter who is in denial about having a sexually transmitted infection, is boarded. Dick's illusion about women is shattered by "the woman in room twenty" (202). This patient, whose eyes are swollen to the point of blindness by granulomas caused by advanced tertiary syphilis, is Dick's "particular patient [because] he was the only doctor who could 'do anything with her'" (202). Dick no longer believes, however, in the lie that he is selling her. The woman—despite her impaired vision—sees herself as "sharing the fate of the women of my time who challenged men" and as a "symbol of something" (203). She commands him, "Look at me!," which opens his eyes to his profession's views toward women as the "symbol" of "[a] greater sickness" (203). He retreats from her challenge: "'You are sick,' he said mechanically" (203). Dick bends over and "kissed her [...] 'unreservedly, almost sexually'" (204), leaving her with an emotionless directive to "try to be good" since "[t]here were other patients [for him] to see" (204). Dick's failure to keep appropriate boundaries with his patients, particularly women, is clearly on display. His farewell kiss to her, along with his allegedly kissing a fifteen-year-old patient, indicates that Dick's clinical methods not only fail to rise to the standards of his profession but that he may also harbor personal romantic interests in these women that border on the pathological.<sup>758</sup>

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<sup>758</sup> Moreover, these breaches illustrate the problematic ways in which Dick views all women as ideal innocents in dire need of being saved. While he is meant to be seen in terms of his professionalization, women in *Tender* are not represented beyond their physical beauty and erotic power over men. Dick, however, fetishizes women by infantilizing them, perceiving every woman as the same girl: a projected embodiment that condenses the "girl who sat in the pew behind" him into his fantasy about "the lost girl on the shore" (Fitzgerald, 214). There is undeniable evidence, for example, that Dick is an ephebophile or someone with a primary sexual interest in mid-to-late adolescent children, usually aged between 15 and 19 years old. He envisions all women as girls—"the Wisconsin telephone girl from Headquarters at Bar-sur-Aube" (140, 162); "the girl at St. Hilda's at Oxford that went to the same lectures" (153); "that special girl" (193, 194) sitting at the table behind him at the ski resort in Gstaad; "the dark little girl" (205) who accuses him of improper conduct while a patient at his clinic on the Zugersee; "the peasant girl near Savona" (214); the shadowy girl from the hotel garden in Innsbruck (220); the English girl that he dances with at the Bonbonieri club in Rome (242); and "the girl who worked at a grocery store [with whom] he became entangled" in Lockport, New York (338)—as watching him and waiting for him to save them, when, in reality, he is the one watching them and waiting to be saved. See Kirk Curnutt, *Cambridge Introduction to Fitzgerald*, 77-78.

In between these two breaches of professional ethics, he is divided in twain: “devot[ing] half [his] life to being doctor” (156) to Nicole, who will always be “half a patient” (259). His plan to be a good psychiatrist *and* husband to the same patient-wife makes it “difficult to distinguish between this self-protective professional detachment and some new coldness in his heart” (187) that he feels developing. Dick’s subjunctive way of seeing himself is most apparent in his changing views toward Nicole. He recognizes the boundary that separates his personal and professional integrity has broken down, and that this breakdown indirectly causes Nicole’s next breakdown. Dick’s two identities, represented by “the dualism in his views of her—that of the husband [and] of the psychiatrist” (207), have blended, confusing his ways of seeing, knowing, and loving Nicole as her husband with those disparate ways of observing, theorizing, and curing Nicole as her doctor-scientist. His display of affection for the discharged underaged patient leads to her writing Nicole accusing Dick of inappropriate behavior. The allegation, which Nicole undoubtedly sees as a similar treatment to the one he used on her when she herself was a young woman, leads directly to Nicole’s breakdowns at the Agiri Fair, a carnival in the French countryside where Nicole runs away from Dick and the children. During Nicole’s episode, Dick “spotted the intensity of Nicole’s hysteria”—an observation echoed by multiple French voices from the crowd.<sup>759</sup> When Dick, Lanier, and Topsy do catch up to her aboard a Ferris wheel, Nicole confronts Dick about kissing his patient: “Don’t you think I saw how that [dark little] girl looked at you?” When Dick refers to what Nicole *thinks* she saw as a “delusion” (208), Nicole replies, “It’s always a delusion when I see what you don’t want me to see” (209). Nicole seems aware that Dick uses his professional status to authorize only his perception and understanding while simultaneously dismissing hers. This awareness challenges Dick’s authority as both a patriarchal husband and professional doctor-scientist. On their drive home, she jerks the car’s steering wheel, nearly sending them all careening off the Prealps toward their certain deaths.

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<sup>759</sup> “*Regardez-moi ça!*” “*Regarde donc cette Anglaise!*” [“Look at this/Englishwoman!”] (Fitzgerald, 208).

Once safely back at the clinic, Dick requests a leave of absence<sup>760</sup> from work under the pretense of attending the Psychiatric Congress in Berlin—a conference that he has no intention of attending. The omniscient narrator indicates that the 1927 annual conference represented a milestone at which American psychiatry earned the begrudging respect of the Continental old guard. At this important stage in his profession's national development, upon this important international stage, Dick "would not be there to see" (214). His conspicuous absence belies the characterization of Dick's now-former heroic self as the embodiment of American psychiatry's professional ideals. His absence also symbolizes his growing dissatisfaction with his confused relationship with Nicole.

While on leave Dick receives a letter from his father's curate and rector, Holmes—a homophone for *home*—informing him that Dick's father has died. The news initiates Dick's return to America, where he bids farewell to not only his father but all fathers.<sup>761</sup> Dick's farewell address is not spoken to anyone in particular; he says goodbye to his past—the traditional religious worldview embodied by his minister father—and returns to his modern professional life as secondary breadwinner and primary caregiver in his role as husband-doctor. Upon returning to Europe, Dick and Rosemary finally consummate their affair. The prodigal son may have parted from his American patrilineage to earn his place in the European pantheon of psychoanalysts, but he has not given up his manhood. His attitude and behavior toward Rosemary during their tryst downgrades him in her eyes from a godlike ideal to an ordinary man. Now more experienced with men, Rosemary recognizes Dick's present desires are the same as those of lesser men, who want her because of her beauty, youth, and movie-made innocence (e.g., her virginity).

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<sup>760</sup> This request gets lost in translation by Franz, who refers to it as a "leave of abstinence" (Fitzgerald, 213). Or perhaps the non-native English speaker is adroitly referencing his partner's alcoholism and infidelities.

<sup>761</sup> "Good-by, my father—good-by, all my fathers" (Fitzgerald, 224).

Dissatisfied with himself afterward, Dick gets blackout drunk, punches a carabinieri, nearly loses an eye (“I”) in the ensuing fracas, and cryptically admits at his court sentencing: “I raped a five-year-old girl” (256). He returns to the clinic, where Franz sends him to Lausanne to secure a contract to perform conversion therapy on a Chilean aristocrat’s son. By pure happenstance, a minor character informs Dick that Nicole’s father has been hospitalized nearby.<sup>762</sup> When Dick returns to the clinic once more, he and Franz agree to part ways from their failed experiment because of Dick’s drinking, which disqualifies him in the eyes of his patients and their families, some of the other employees, and Franz’s wife. The Divers make plans to return to the Villa Diana but are delayed because they have sublet it for the summer. During this “intervening time [...] that [is] an awaiting [...] Dick wrote a little with no particular method” (277) but continues to alienate himself from others because of his drinking and depression, highlighted by a spat with his now deceased friend Abe’s recently remarried widow, Mary, and her new family.

Ultimately, Dick is not working because he is not writing. Since marrying Nicole, he has only engaged in a “parody of work.”<sup>763</sup> Everyone except him, however, seems to recognize his “false conviction that what [he] needs is, simply, to work.”<sup>764</sup> But when Dick and Nicole finally return home in April 1929, despite Dick’s spending most of his time in his work house,<sup>765</sup> it

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<sup>762</sup> Devereux Warren is suffering from end-stage alcoholism and is expected to die any day. Dick visits him at his deathbed, where Nicole’s father confides: “We get a lot of understanding at the end of life. Only now, Doctor Diver, do I realize what it was all about. [...] I’ve been a bad man. You must know how little right I have to see Nicole again, yet a Bigger Man than either of us says to forgive and to pity. If I could see Nicole for ten minutes I would go happy out of the world” (Fitzgerald, 269). Dick stands up and leaves, however, when Devereux says, “Let me tell you my debt to you is so large—.” Miraculously, Dick receives word from one of the nuns who was nursing Devereux the next day that “the old boy, old Warren got up from his bed and walked away, back to Chicago” (269). Dick perhaps sees Devereux as a reflection of the man Dick will one day become if he keeps up his patriarchal abuse, drinking, and sexual proclivities. (Fitzgerald even makes a pun on the name Rosemary when Devereux, while making his deathbed confession, loses his grip on the rosary he is holding.)

<sup>763</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 116. Dick has been “playing an adult version of the doctor game.” David Gottlieb, afterword to *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, by Charles R. Metzger, 369.

<sup>764</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 150.

<sup>765</sup> Nicole calls his work house a “sanctuary” (Fitzgerald, 322), echoing the narrator’s description of his workspace back in 1917 (129). In hindsight, its erection represents an obvious attempt to reconstruct his Swiss apartment.

becomes immediately clear that he is not going there to write. Dick's degenerate career<sup>766</sup> is associated with his workspace when Augustine, their French cook, refers to his shed as "his bastide" (286)<sup>767</sup> during a row with her employer, which is overheard by Nicole. Perhaps drunk herself, Augustine might forgive foreign day laborers from drinking up all her country's fine wine, but her unrestrained class animus and Anglophobia surfaces during their *affrontement*. To Augustine, the representative voice of the Divers' "commune" (286), Dick is "not doing anything recognizable to her as work."<sup>768</sup> Day-drinking among the *lumpenproletariat* may be tolerated but she will not look the other way when a professional penning a *lebenswerk* partakes. Even the help can see that Dick is not working. If the newly hired Augustine can already see this, then it must be obvious to those who have known him for any length of time—especially himself. His intactness is bought rather than earned and, as a result, his ambition to write dissolves and, with it, he does too.<sup>769</sup>

By 1929, Dick's shed, built back in 1924, has become his "sanctuary" (322). In hindsight, its erection seems an obvious attempt to reconstruct his "sanctuary" in 1917 Zurich (129). Over the years, Dick suffers from a "paralyzing sense of vocational emasculation,"<sup>770</sup> of procrastination measured in years and of productivity only in moments.<sup>771</sup> Whether this time-

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<sup>766</sup> Judith Fetterley, "Who Killed Dick Diver?", 120.

<sup>767</sup> A bastide is a small country Provençal manor originally inhabited by wealthy French farmers, but which had been renovated in the interwar period as chic accommodations for upper class English and American tourists.

Beneath her reverse class discrimination and anti-American sentiments there appears some truth to what she says.

<sup>768</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 333.

<sup>769</sup> E.W. Pitcher, "Ordered Disorder in the Broken Universe," 85.

<sup>770</sup> Angus Collins, "Homosexuality and Genius," 167. When Dick first proposes the notion of marrying Nicole to Drs. Dohmler and Gregorovious, Franz exclaims, "What! And devote half your life to being doctor and nurse and all—never!" (Fitzgerald, 156). For an analysis of Dick's transformation from traditionally masculine psychiatrist to feminine nurse, see Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, esp. chap. 8, "How Many Women Is Power."

<sup>771</sup> "For him time stood still and then every few years accelerated in a rush" (Fitzgerald, 198). Angus Collins, "Homosexuality and Genius," 171. Dick is not the only professional man in the novel who suffers from "creative sterility." His good friend Abe North deteriorates and eventually dies from drink, a destiny that foreshadows Dick's dissipation. Compare his and Dick's intellectual impotence to Albert McKisco, the second-rate novelist whom Dick reenounters on his return Transatlantic passage. While acknowledging his lack of "real genius," McKisco displays a willingness "to keep writing [in the hope that] I may write a

wasting results from “the unambitious affluence of Nicole, sick or well [or] the off-and-on ambitions of her barely self-supporting husband”<sup>772</sup> matters less than the fact that he feels his marriage to Nicole “forces him to [...] curb his ambition [...] to write.”<sup>773</sup> “More and more,” as Dick physically deteriorates and professionally dissipates, he is reduced to mind and eye.<sup>774</sup> Dick becomes disembodied not because of his professionalization but from avoiding its continued process—its practice.<sup>775</sup>

The novel’s last four chapters begin with a dramatic scene in which Nicole silently watches Dick outside his shed: “He was thinking, living a world completely his own [...] She saw him progress from phase to phase of his own story inside him, his own, not hers” (323).<sup>776</sup> Because the point of view is Nicole’s, Dick’s thoughts are concealed—though the anguish they cause him is visible: he opens and closes his eyes and mouth and his hands twitch before he clenches them into fists.<sup>777</sup> For the first time in her life, Nicole pities Dick instead of looking up to him. She tries to console him with words and through touch. “He look[s] at her coldly” (323) before passionately lashing out at her, couching his verbal assault in an “abstracted” clinical vocabulary about her mental illness. Dick confesses, “I can’t do anything for you any more. I’m trying to save myself” (323). “From my contamination?” she asks. “[My] [p]rofession throws me

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good book” (Fitzgerald, 225). Although he and his work may pale in comparison to Dick’s “own ‘serious’ books” (James. E Miller, *His Art and Technique*, 144), nevertheless McKisco is the only “creative male” in the novel who “succeeds in his chosen work” and “achieves beyond [his] initial promise” (Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 176, 78).

<sup>772</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 273. See note 748.

<sup>773</sup> E.W. Pitcher, “Ordered Disorder in the Broken Universe,” 85. See also Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald’s Psychiatric Novel*, 114. “[I]n place of any ambition at all [is] an assured supply of money, with all of the approval and protection that it can buy.” And Bruce L. Grenberg, “Fitzgerald’s Figured Curtain,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 216. “Even those critics who argue that Dick’s admirable qualities of goodness and integrity persist to the end of the novel suggest that his virtue is wastefully expended by his dedication to the leisure classes.”

<sup>774</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 140-41.

<sup>775</sup> See note 6 in the introduction. Professionalism describes not only a responsibility to meet and uphold a level of appropriate behavior but also to continue improving one’s knowledge, skill, and practice toward excellence.

<sup>776</sup> Note that the exact repetition of the phrase “his own”—*his world, his story*—occurs on the only piece of property that Dick owns with his money.

<sup>777</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 127. “[F]or Dick Diver disintegration goes on within, almost invisibly.”

into contact with questionable company sometimes" (323). Dick is speaking in his professional capacity as Dr. Diver and not as Mr. Diver. He displaces their falling out of love—the onus of which is more on him than her—onto her for suffering from a mental disorder. However, Nicole aptly sums up the real reason for Dick's dissipation: "You've made a failure of your life, and you want to blame it on me" (323). She "justifie[s] herself to herself" by proclaiming her independence from doctors, including Dr. Diver. The chapter ends on a cryptic note: "Dick waited until she was out of sight. [...] The case was finished. Doctor Diver was at liberty" (324). Free from what? To do what? Only by going away and taking a long, hard look at himself can Dick save what is left of himself and his career. What he will do with his newfound freedom remains to be seen. But Fitzgerald shows what Nicole does with hers.

Whereas Dick's process of deterioration has been almost invisible,<sup>778</sup> Nicole's completion is spectacular. As Dick's body deteriorates so too does his hold over Nicole disintegrate. After Dick's repeated failure to raise a man on his shoulders while waterskiing, a feat he attempts in order to impress Rosemary, Nicole contemptuously turns away from his embarrassment, remarking to herself, "Why, I'm almost complete. I'm practically standing alone, without him" (311). Directly afterward, she begins an affair with Tommy Barban<sup>779</sup> that culminates in her divorce from Dick and her remarrying Tommy. Nicole's moment now begins.<sup>780</sup> Book three, chapter eight opens with Nicole "anointing and powdering herself," then "look[ing] microscopically" at the figure of her body in a mirror (312). She imagines the difference between

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<sup>778</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 127. The dialogue between Dick and Rosemary renders visible his awareness of his disintegration: Rosemary: "Oh, I'm so glad to see you and *know* you're all right." Dick: "Did you hear I'd gone into a process of deterioration?" Rosemary: "Oh, no. I simply—just heard you'd changed. And I'm glad to see with my own eyes it isn't true." Dick: "It is true. The change came a long way back—but at first it didn't show. The manner remains intact for some time after morale cracks." Rosemary: "Do you practise [sic] on the Riviera?" (Fitzgerald, 306-07).

<sup>779</sup> Surnamed Barban, Tommy is a *barbarian*, the embodiment of traditional—albeit not ideal—masculinity. He represents the displacement of Dick's repressed, feminized sexuality into masculine compensation as the hero, compulsively seeing combat yet remaining intact and undamaged by it. See both Judith Fetterley, "Who Killed Dick Diver?", 126, 117 and Tiffany Joseph, "Non-Combatant's Shell-Shock," 73.

<sup>780</sup> "Nicole now enters her heroic period." Judith Fetterley, "Who Killed Dick Diver?", 120.



herself now at age 29 and then at 19, a decade during which she felt “belittled” (324). This time matters not, however, because she is still desirable. In her specular image she instantly recognizes that she is to “be worshipped again” (313) by men. Moreover, she has developed a confident power gleaned from “watching people do exactly what they were tempted to do” (313): that one suffers no consequences for doing that which is natural.<sup>781</sup>

Nicole’s affair with Tommy is primarily narcissistic. Fitzgerald describes her looking at herself in mirrors.<sup>782</sup> Nicole recognizes her former self as well as what she could have been in her reflection, an image affirmed by that fact Tommy likes what he sees. Without a mirror she relies upon Tommy for approval. However, he looks into her eyes and not at her body. He insightfully dismisses Nicole’s treatment—her “re-education”<sup>783</sup> (170) by doctors like Dick—as “[a]ll this taming of women” (315) whereby professional men violently medicalize women out of their “natural state” (314). *Postcoitus*, Nicole “waited for interpretation” (320), but unlike Dick, Tommy “did not try to understand her” (317). This being looked over, interpreted, and understood is the psychic residue leftover from her years of being an institutionalized object of study rather than a woman; it is precisely the lingering aftereffect of being seen for so long as

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<sup>781</sup> As Dick turns toward cold science, Nicole “made her person into the trimmest of gardens” for Tommy and “reasoned as gaily as a flower [...] content and happy with the logic of, Why shouldn’t I?” (Fitzgerald, 312, 297). “Her ego began blooming” (311), returning her to when, in Dick’s eyes, she had “look[ed] like something blooming” (30). When Dick attempts to break with Nicole, she thinks to herself, “bloom narcissus” (159).

<sup>782</sup> Tommy: “I’m going to look at you a great deal from now on.” Nicole: “Do you like what you see?” Tommy: “I like whatever I see about you [...] When did you begin to have white crook’s eyes?” Nicole: “I have no mirror here, but if my eyes have changed it’s because I’m well again. And being well perhaps I’ve gone back to my true self—” [...] Nicole, *to herself*: “So I have crook’s eyes, have I? Very well then, better a sane crook than a mad puritan.” (Fitzgerald, 313-14, 315) Nicole and Tommy’s dialogue before and after their sexual encounter mirrors that of Dick’s with Rosemary; both suggest a “pervasively inverted sexuality.” Bruce L. Grenberg, “Fitzgerald’s Figured Curtain,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 233.

<sup>783</sup> APA Dictionary of Psychology, s.v. “emotional reeducation,” American Psychological Association, <https://dictionary.apa.org/emotional-reeducation>, accessed August 12, 2021. “Psychotherapy focused on modifying the client’s attitudes, feelings, and reactions by helping him or her gain insight into emotional conflicts and self-defeating behavior arising from affective disturbance or disorder. Typical objectives are an increase in self-confidence, sociability, and self-reliance.”

broken, incomplete, or sick that Dick wants to stop producing in others who have been re-educated by the psychiatric experience with his future work.

Nicole's affair with Tommy leads to Dick and Nicole's final counter-countertransference. This scene is punctuated from Nicole's point of view by an undramatic climax between Dick, Nicole, and Tommy because "Dick had anticipated everything" (333).<sup>784</sup> The couple formerly known as Dicoles go together to get their hair done. Tommy goes there to confront Dick. Nicole momentarily glimpses Tommy, starting up at the sight of him in expectation of a "showdown" (329) happening. Tommy first speaks privately with Dick; Nicole only "heard fragments" (329) of what they are saying. Dick comes over and tells her that Tommy "wants to see us together" (329). She protests because her hair is only "half cut [and] half-washed" (330, 332), incomplete services that signify "her divided self" (331).<sup>785</sup> Tommy proposes that Dick and Nicole divorce, a choice Nicole rationalizes by telling Dick, "Without me you could get to your work again—you could work better if you didn't worry about me" (332). They eventually depart, separately, with "Nicole's whitest eyes following his figure until it became a dot and mingled with the other dots" (333). Dick disappears into the crowd.

Dr. Diver's decade-long "portioning" of his patient-wife's life, of segmenting and reassembling<sup>786</sup> it into a coherent whole, may be an instance of the limitless "therapeutic optimism"<sup>787</sup> of early-twentieth-century psychiatry; however, it is always-already "doom-eager,"<sup>788</sup> indicative of a reversal of the patient's death-drive into the figure of the doctor. Terminating the transference in the psychiatric dynamic of the novel means curing Nicole, making her whole, which in turn means terminating Dick's countertransference toward her. This

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<sup>784</sup> By way of contrast, Dick seems "content" with his "half-shaved face" (Fitzgerald, 332).

<sup>785</sup> Meanwhile, Dick "seemed content to sit with his face half-shaved" (Fitzgerald, 332), suggesting that Dick has made peace with his incompleteness in both his own eyes and in those of the world.

<sup>786</sup> Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 122, 128.

<sup>787</sup> William Blazek, "Some Fault in the Plan," in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 68.

<sup>788</sup> Harold Bloom, introduction to *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: F. Scott Fitzgerald*, edited by Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2006), 4.

would eliminate Dr. Diver as well as Mr. Diver. Dick has fallen in love with Nicole sick (i.e. incomplete<sup>789</sup>), with the idea of curing and making her whole. Doing so will affirm his brilliant promise to be a great psychologist doing the world's rarest work as well as actualize his personal desire "to be good, [...] kind, [...] brave and wise [and] to be loved, too" (149). Dick glimpses the impracticality of partitioning selves when "he th[inks] about [Nicole] with detachment, loving her for her best self" (219-20), but he does not fully grasp the significance of it until he consults with Francisco in Lausanne. "Dick tried to dissect it<sup>790</sup> into pieces small enough to store away—realizing that the totality of a life may be different in quality from its segments, and also that life during the forties seemed capable of being observed only in segments" (265). This is, in fact, the moral that the Rumanian intellectual had tried to teach him many years ago: the totality of an individual personality can only be gleaned through either romantic feeling or scientific detachment—never through both.<sup>791</sup> Dick and Nicole's best selves are too at odds to continue to be held together—neither by bonds of matrimony nor therapy. The totality of their lives—what Rosemary first sees as their "expensive complexity" (30)—proves to be too much to afford. Finally, "Dick abdicates comprehensively from what he has made, from his familial and professional tasks and, more disturbingly, from what he has been made—a

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<sup>789</sup> Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, xxx. "Dick marries Nicole and renders her 'complete.'"

<sup>790</sup> The "it" is ambiguous: *it* may refer to Francisco's life, his charm, or his pathological sexuality. Francisco's father's name is "all too transparently named" (Angus Collins, "Homosexuality and Genius," 168) "Señor Pardo y Ciudad Real" (Fitzgerald, 263)—Pardon, Mister, I see your dad (for) real. He uses his authority as a father and his wealth to coerce obedience and dictate his son's behavior. Fitzgerald saw Dick molded by "the Goethe-Byron-Shaw idea, with an opulent American touch—a sort of combination of Topham Beauclerk, St. Francis of Assisi, and J.P. Morgan" (qtd. in Arthur Mizener, *Tender Is the Night*, in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 163; emphasis mine), so naming the disordered son of a rich totalitarian father in whom Dick sees an integral part of himself and everyone else may not be a coincidence.

<sup>791</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 169. "What Diver is talking about, and what the Rumanian intellectual had warned him about in 1916, is individuation. Neither as scientist nor as romantic philosopher can Dick Diver put all the pieces together again. Not only is personality composed of disjointed segments, but Diver, even though he is a scientist, can no longer conceive even of *observing* it in wholes. Like a romantic philosopher, he is willing to grant totality to a given life; but he regards his own life, fifteen years after his vision of complexity and wholeness, as somehow incompatible with any composite perception."

‘whole-souled,’ integral being.”<sup>792</sup> He must rid himself of Nicole-well because he can no longer see her as either a patient or a wife. Seeing her thusly was what kept alive his own illusion of his two whole selves—Dick and Dr. Diver, which collectively embodied the patriarchal family and the psychiatric profession, respectively.

The reader has watched Dick become disillusioned with the theories and practices of modern psychiatry over the years of his professionalization and his marriage. The idea that he must return to work<sup>793</sup> and that it is Nicole (and not himself) that is preventing him from doing so is what, ultimately, leads to his disintegration. His obsession with being perceived as the greatest psychiatrist and a good husband and father is caused by the illusions surrounding masculine knowledge, authority, and professionalism in modern American culture. Worse, this myth transforms his warm and loving glance toward the woman whom he most cares for into a cold and clinical gaze, showing the disconnect between the compassionate husband-doctor who wants to look on and help and the detached scientist who wants to observe and know. This shift likely stems from the fact that Dick has witnessed firsthand the continued negative effects that the patriarchal ideology of psychiatry has upon not only his feminized patients,<sup>794</sup> including

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<sup>792</sup> Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, xxxvii.

<sup>793</sup> Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 186. In a paragraph excised from the third version of the Dick Diver Manuscript, Dick says to Mary Minghetti: “I’m going back to work again. I’ve [...] made up a material paradise and parked my bottom in it, now I’m going back to work.” Exact repetition often conveys a character’s inability to accurately express a thought or emotion. In this context, Dick’s mantra, “I’m going back to work,” takes on the symbolic significance of his self-aggrandizing but ultimately meaningless “mock blessing” of his beach (Alan Trachtenberg, “Journey Back,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 183). This vain repetitious prayer may be seen as an empty ritual because no one aside from the narrator seems to acknowledge it. Though Messenger does not cite any specific reason for its excision, it is in keeping with Fitzgerald’s tendency toward understatement. In contrast, see Henry King’s 1962 film adaptation, which presents a much more exaggerated theme of Dick’s repeated desire to return to his work.

<sup>794</sup> Dick’s patients are either infantilized women or traditionally emasculated men: Nicole; Helen, a fifteen-year-old neurotic American girl; three paretic daughters of a Portuguese general; and the gay son of a Chilean aristocrat. However, he does have one exceptional patient, who “was particularly his patient” (Fitzgerald, 202): the Iron Maiden, an American woman painter who is in complete denial about her advanced tertiary syphilis. See Tiffany Joseph, “Non-Combatant’s Shell-Shock,” 74-75. “The Iron Maiden seems to be refusing or attempting to refuse the gender expectations of femininity; rather than live through men, she hopes to live through her art [...] Her refusal has grave consequences, and the trauma caused by fighting against gender ideals has marked her body and her health. [...] Like other women of her time, she is scarred by her attempt to negotiate the breadth of the feminine sphere. Her wounds bear testimony to the link between mind and body; trauma in one becomes trauma in the other, intertwined and

Nicole, but also upon him as a doctor-scientist himself. He comes to see that his profession requires subjecting women and men perceived as less traditionally masculine to the power-knowledge of his clinical gaze. As his eyes are opened to the societal demands placed upon him as a psychiatrist to sort out others' disorders—that by making others complete he will achieve completeness—he grows increasingly discontented with the uncompromising authority that professional men like him are supposed to wield over others. Eventually, Dick divorces Nicole, quits psychiatry, leaves (high) society, and returns to the US, where he carves out a perfectly normal life for himself practicing general medicine. He gives up his earlier, grandiose vision of claiming professional authority over others—including over other doctor-scientists—and accepts a fate that satisfies his personal wish “to be good, [...] kind, brave and wise” (149). Valuing one's own personal contentment without placing too much stock in the opinions of others is more important for having a well-rounded and happy life than the second-rate happiness that one derives from being perceived as a brilliantly and heroically intact professional, especially when deep down something feels like its missing or broken.

Dick's last physical appearance occurs on the beach that he “invented” (26), where he had “work[ed] seriously” (27, 302) to rake pebbles and glass out of the sand instead of seriously writing anything.<sup>795</sup> “In our final view Dick has risen, [...] is he not larger, better?”<sup>796</sup> Nicole

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inseparable. Physical symptoms arise from the cultural and social conditions of gender, and the trauma of the mind is the trauma of the body—simultaneously. Trauma, then, is also social, born of external expectations and demands that cannot be fully realized and also, paradoxically, cannot be fully refused.”

<sup>795</sup> Qtd. in Chris Messenger, *Sentimental Identities*, 186. In an excised paragraph from the third version of the Dick Diver Manuscript, Dick says to Mary Minghetti: “I’m going back to work again. I’ve [...] made up a material paradise and parked my bottom in it, now I’m going back to work.” An author's use of exact repetition, especially in dialogue, often conveys a character's inability to accurately express a thought or emotion. Dick's mantra—“I’m going back to work”—thus takes on the symbolic significance of his self-aggrandizing but ultimately meaningless papal “mock blessing” (Alan Trachtenberg, “Journey Back,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 183) of his beach, his vain repetitious prayer becoming marked as an empty gesture because no one aside from the narrator seems to acknowledge it (Chris Messenger, “Racial and Ethnic Cross-Identifying,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 118-19). Messenger does not cite any specific reason for this excision, though it seems in keeping with Fitzgerald's tendency toward understatement. Henry King's 1962 film version presents a much more exaggerated theme of Dick's repeated desire to return to his work.

<sup>796</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 121.

watches as Dick “take[s] one last look at [his] beach” (334) before he disappears from the reader’s sight forever. Afterward, the reader is left with only a metaphorical series of postcards from Dick in America.<sup>797</sup> Like Rosemary’s “narrow-angle perspective”<sup>798</sup> of Dick as a masculine ideal, Nicole’s wide angle perspective frames Dr. Diver in an appealing way, expressing how she “liked to think [that] his career was biding its time” (338). One is reminded of the “youthful photograph” of the handsome and composed Dick at the beginning of book two fading into a ghostly still portrait of him in “rounded maturity” (132), and that these two uncanny images, the former expressing his heroic beginning and the latter his tragic end, superimposed over a backdrop of the natural landscape of New York State.

Between 1925 and 1929, Dick physically, professionally, and personally dissipates, degenerates, deteriorates, dissolves.<sup>799</sup> Dick’s disintegration is nearly invisible because it takes place from the inside out, an unseen process of devolution from the complete person he appears to be at first glance into a disembodied mind and eye<sup>800</sup> before even these traditionally masculine features disappear entirely from the readerly gaze.<sup>801</sup> Fitzgerald, having shown Dick’s disintegration through the eyes of others as well as through the reoccurrence of his past doubts about himself, next shows how Dick’s former vision rematerializes through his withdrawal from those who now see and know him as a failure. Nicole wishes to see Dick at novel’s end as once again biding his time toward realizing his potential, a perspective that parallels how the narrator

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<sup>797</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 64. “[T]he Chapter XIII coda of Nicole Barban’s double exposure snapshots of Diver as he wanders through upstate New York.”

<sup>798</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 86. For a reading Rosemary’s vision as mechanized as a recording device, an instance of Fitzgerald’s use of chremamorphism or reverse personification, see John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 98. In fact, book two of Cowley’s revised edition of *Tender* (1948) is entitled *Rosemary’s Angle*. See also Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, xxviii. “Camera (lens) meets body (orifice) in a metaphor whose impertinence resides in the suggestion that desire is a machine. Fetishized and fetishistic, Rosemary is passive; she is pleased by becoming an image in the directorial eye.” Compare Godden’s reading of Rosemary-as-camera with Michael Nowlin, “World’s Rarest Work.”

<sup>799</sup> Judith Fetterley, “Who Killed Dick Diver?”, 120; James Tuttleton, “Vitality and Vampirism,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 244; and Faith Pullin, “Gender Anxiety,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 179.

<sup>800</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 127; 140-41.

<sup>801</sup> John Chamberlain, “Books of the Times,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 69.

asks the reader to see him at beginning of book two. This point of view is full of optimistic fatalism, however, and belies the fact that great things do not just *happen*, instantly transforming useful men into great ones. Instead, great things must be achieved through sustained effort, deliberate thinking, and great acts.<sup>802</sup>

After divorcing Nicole, Dick returns to America and to the state where he grew up. *Tender* takes place across many different “moving stages,”<sup>803</sup> from the beaches of the French Riviera to the heights of the Swiss Alps, from the European cosmopolises of Paris and Rome to the American settler towns of Northern Neck Virginia and the Western, Finger Lakes, and Southern Tier Regions of New York State. The narrator states that Dick’s “moment [...] began” in 1919, in Zürich, a place which “is not unlike an American city” (132). It seems fitting, then, that Dick returns to the actual all-American city of Buffalo, where he resumes not only practicing medicine but also *writing* scientific theory. To rekindle the “low painful fire of intelligence” (215) that he has kept from being completely extinguished he must escape the chaos of interwar Europe and seek shelter in a familiar place, one where the world and his place in it makes more sense. Just as he had first ignited “almost a hundred textbooks” (130) to keep warm in the notoriously neutral nation of Switzerland during wartime, he now returns home to the more united state(s). Nicole, looking up Geneva, New York, on a map, imagines it as “a pleasant place [...] in the heart of the Finger Lakes section” (338). Like Switzerland’s lake district, the Finger Lakes Region in New York represents “a blanker and blanker time and space”<sup>804</sup> in which Diver’s present future is always already either a failure because it has failed to live up to the promise of his future’s past or a success because it possesses all the promise and possibility of his past’s future. It is an “indefinite place and uncertain time”<sup>805</sup> in the same way that

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<sup>802</sup> The reality, however, is that Dick’s fate seems less like that of Ulysses S. Grant in his shop in Galena, Illinois, and more like John Marcher in his make-believe wilderness in Henry James’s *The Beast in the Jungle* (1903)

<sup>803</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 92.

<sup>804</sup> John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 67.

<sup>805</sup> Bruce L. Grenberg, “Fitzgerald’s Figured Curtain,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 234.

Switzerland is “a fictional stage, a ‘no-place’”<sup>806</sup> somewhere outside the space between Lake Geneva, “the true centre of the Western World” (164), and the Villa Diana, which Rosemary saw as “the centre of the world [...] a stage [on which] some memorable thing was sure to happen” (38). Indeed, the two lake districts are the only locations where Dick truly works *and writes*.<sup>807</sup>

Dick has gone from living and playing on the main stages across Europe—and the more intimate setting of Provençal France—to working and writing in the little theaters of smaller and smaller towns in provincial America. Beginning with a return to Buffalo<sup>808</sup> where he had grown up<sup>809</sup>—and a city where Fitzgerald himself spent time as a boy—Dr. Diver’s movements must be tracked through secondhand letters received from “postoffice stations”<sup>810</sup> with “increasingly obscure addresses”<sup>811</sup> in Batavia, then Lockport, then Geneva, and finally Hornell. Dick’s movements can only be traced and speculated upon; he has escaped the limelight. His relegation from the bright lights of Europe to the obscurity of small-town America has been seen by critics as Dick’s failure to fulfill his brilliant potential. Throughout New York Dick is embroiled in personal and professional controversies.<sup>812</sup> (Although the setting may have changed significantly, nevertheless things still seem to *happen* to Dick.) The consensus is that Dick is spent, his whole-soul sold wholesale, and that his retreat to the backwoods of New York

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<sup>806</sup> Marie-Agnès Gay, “*Si le soleil ne revenait pas*: Swiss Clockwork Gone Mad in *Tender Is the Night*,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 104.

<sup>807</sup> Earlier, we see Dick performing his rounds at his and Franz’s clinic near Lausanne, the only time Dr. Diver is shown practicing in Europe. After opening an unsuccessful psychiatric office in Buffalo, he resorts to “practising general medicine” (Fitzgerald, 337) in Batavia, Lockport, and Geneva.

<sup>808</sup> On Fitzgerald’s boyhood in New York State, see Joel Kabot, “Buffalo and Syracuse, New York,” in *F. Scott Fitzgerald in Context*, edited by Bryant Magnum (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 89-104. Fitzgerald lived in Buffalo from April 1898 until January 1901 and again from September 1903 until 1908, when he was twelve years old. Buffalo had once been among the top ten largest cities in the US but had not been on the “world stage” since the 1901 Pan-American Exposition, notoriously the site for President William McKinley’s assassination.

<sup>809</sup> John Chamberlain, “Books of the Times,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 69.

<sup>810</sup> Horace Gregory, “Riding to Romantic Death,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 74.

<sup>811</sup> James Bloom, “The Occidental Tourist: The Counter-Orientalist Gaze in Fitzgerald’s Last Novels,” *Style* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 120.

<sup>812</sup> “[H]e became entangled with a girl who worked in a grocery store, and he was also involved in a lawsuit about some medical question” (Fitzgerald, 338).



represents a moral decline rather than a “return to his origins.”<sup>813</sup> Dick deteriorates physically because of aging and alcoholism, degenerates professionally from a promising “working scientist”<sup>814</sup> to an ordinary general practitioner, and his familial role dissolves from a loving husband and father to a “failed gigolo”<sup>815</sup> who no longer “ask[s] for the children to be sent to America” (338). He is now “an itinerant,”<sup>816</sup> “unsuccessful drunken country doctor”<sup>817</sup> and a “seedy wandering medical practitioner,”<sup>818</sup> “lost in [the] “progressively smaller”<sup>819</sup> and “obscure[r]”<sup>820</sup> “hinterland towns”<sup>821</sup> “in the Finger Lakes Section of the Western Reserve of New York State.”<sup>822</sup> He is “a man who has been duped by his chosen career, hanging on to the vestiges of an illegitimate practice,”<sup>823</sup> and left to “pursu[e] a meaningless career as a small town doctor in New York State.”<sup>824</sup> His “meaningless career” fails to live up to “whatever it might have been,”<sup>825</sup> and, therefore, Dick is seen as a failure.

This is certainly how Dick sees himself after Nicole tells him that he has mistakenly shifted his blame for his failure from himself onto her. His efforts to rediscover himself through his work represent his resolution to “save” (323) himself from this uncomfortable fact. However, the idea of redemptive failure may offer a counter-history to the totalizing success ideology of the time.<sup>826</sup> Dick’s old-fashioned ideals of goodness may make him a failure in the modern world

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<sup>813</sup> Bruce L. Grenberg, “Fitzgerald’s Figured Curtain,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 234.

<sup>814</sup> Faith Pullin, “Gender Anxiety,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 179.

<sup>815</sup> Faith Pullin, “Gender Anxiety,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 179.

<sup>816</sup> H.A. MacMillan, “Mr. Fitzgerald Displays His Little White Mice,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 77.

<sup>817</sup> Malcolm Cowley, “Breakdown,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 84.

<sup>818</sup> Richard Foster, “Dick Diver and the Heroic Idea,” 100.

<sup>819</sup> Harold Bloom, introduction to *Bloom’s Modern Critical Views*, 4.

<sup>820</sup> Bruce L. Grenberg, “Fitzgerald’s Figured Curtain,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 234.

<sup>821</sup> Richard Foster, “Dick Diver and the Heroic Idea,” 100.

<sup>822</sup> Harold Bloom, introduction to *Bloom’s Modern Critical Views*, 4.

<sup>823</sup> William Blazek, “Some Fault in the Plan,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 83.

<sup>824</sup> John Chamberlain, “Books of the Times,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 69.

<sup>825</sup> Horace Gregory, “Riding to Romantic Death,” in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 73-74.

<sup>826</sup> Matthew Sandler, “Gertrude Stein, Success Manuals, and Failure Studies.” *Twentieth-Century Literature* 63, no. 2 (June 2017), 193.

but that perception says more about the ills of society than Dick's flaws.<sup>827</sup> Failing often leads to success; it can have the effect of stimulating or disciplining a person into achieving a goal or convincing them to redirect their efforts toward some other, more practical goal. Failure is almost a necessary step in Dick's "process of completion." Dick reverses his long-term choices not to make time for his work, choices that make a failure of his life (for which he blames his wife), by resuming his career—albeit now redirected into general medicine—even if it may seem to some as "too late."<sup>828</sup> Dick never succumbs to the impulse to quit,<sup>829</sup> despite "giving up at thirty-eight."<sup>830</sup> Should being true to oneself ever be considered too late?<sup>831</sup> Does integrity, like success, have an expiration date? Rather than being seen as a "lost soul"<sup>832</sup> doomed to forever "wander[] purposelessly"<sup>833</sup> off screen, Dick ultimately "succeed[s] in returning to a modified version of the life he had planned for himself before he got involved with Nicole."<sup>834</sup> Dick Diver revises his story.

On the final page of the novel, it appears that Dick is still working on an "important treatise on some medical subject" to the point of its being "almost in the process of completion" (338). Perhaps this is the same work of Dick's that Abe alluded as taking forever to finish. Nonetheless, the "unfinished (incompletely conceived) work"<sup>835</sup> that represents Dick's "unfulfilled plans"<sup>836</sup> and his incomplete self, should not be seen as a total failure but instead as a life and work—a life's work—that is always in process. The intentionally vague phrasing suggests that

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<sup>827</sup> See the epigraph to chapter 3: "It is no measure of health to be well-adjusted to a sick society."

<sup>828</sup> James Gray, "Scott Fitzgerald Re-enters," in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 65.

<sup>829</sup> Arthur Mizener, "*Tender Is the Night*," in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 166.

<sup>830</sup> Kenneth Eble, *F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 138.

<sup>831</sup> John Haegert, "Repression and Counter-Memory," 111. "Dick's offstage decision [to return to America] is motivated [...] by a renewed allegiance to an earlier and more solitary sense of self."

<sup>832</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 355.

<sup>833</sup> James Tuttleton, "Vitality and Vampirism," in *Critical Essays*, edited by Milton Stern, 239. Other critics who use inflections of the verb "wander" include John F. Callahan, *Illusions of a Nation*, 64, 196; John Haegert, "Repression and Counter-Memory," 112; and Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, xlii.

<sup>834</sup> Charles R. Metzger, *Fitzgerald's Psychiatric Novel*, 356.

<sup>835</sup> James E. Miller, *His Art and Technique*, 133.

<sup>836</sup> William Blazek, "Some Fault in the Plan," in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 74 n.5.

he might be at the beginning, the middle, or nearing the end. And yet, aside from his writing without a regimen after Franz dissolves their partnership, this is the only indication given that Dick is working again. If the reader takes what Dick writes to Nicole as true, then his “writing and trying to write”<sup>837</sup> implies that he and his work—and that he because of his work—have finally found the order, precision, security, and routine whereby he can fulfill his potential. If so, then whatever stage of in/completion his life’s work may be in, the fact that his New York desks “always had a big stack of papers” (338) on them rather than the gold paperweights that hold down loosely collected notes and half-empty Collins glasses that clutter his work house desktop in France suggests that Dick has found himself.<sup>838</sup> These materials holding down his desk somewhere in New York State sometime after 1930 may or may not be the same ones that are stacked up in “ordered confusion” back in 1925. It appears Dick has overcome his need to derive self-worth from the overly critical gazes of others, even if that criticism has been projected onto them, and finally found satisfaction in doing work for work’s sake. Instead of only pursuing an unrealistic professional ambition for the modern social and professional acclaim he imagines such work would award him, he returns to the more traditional ideal of the old-fashioned doctor-artist, whose role was to help and heal others. Dick’s inborn curiosity and affection for other people, combined with his extreme medical-scientific intelligence, suggests that he will succeed in the formerly revered profession of practicing general medicine. He might still be writing the scientific “medical treatise” that Abe suggests will never be finished but, in the meantime, he has also figured out how to answer Collis’s question, “Why don’t you practise as a doctor, if you like to work so much?” (243).

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<sup>837</sup> William Blazek, “Some Fault in the Plan,” in *Twenty-First-Century Readings*, edited by Blazek and Rattray, 80.

<sup>838</sup> Of course, this may be wishful thinking, a lesson Dick learns when he “tried to reconstruct Franz from the litter of his desk, from his books and the books of and by his father and grandfather [and] from the Swiss piety of a huge claret-colored photo of the former on the wall” (2.2.135).

Dick's doctor story proves Freud's assertion that psychoanalysis was an "impossible profession."<sup>839</sup> Dick had already seen that the allure of completeness was an illusion back when his moment began back in 1919. Traditionally, this illusion was what drew men like him toward psychiatry. Thus, Dick's story is already circumscribed by the professionalization myth, in which men acquire power-knowledge by virtue of their undergoing professionalization, before it begins. He still deceives himself with the myth that his life, like the scientific medical professions, has unlimited potential. This delusion reflected how others see him and his work even though both are already predetermined. Psychiatric ambition is the problem—his desire to kill the patriarchal scientific superego, his neurotic fear that he will never contribute to psychiatry's theory and practice, his narcissistic way of seeing himself as an incomplete man, his uncanny death-drive toward romantic and professional failure—all these disorders reveal the professionalization myth to be nothing more than a drama of masculinity: an impossible process in which modern men seek to restore traditional certainty to the disordered modern world through their acquisition of professional status and authority.

Dick's address at his father's funeral—"Good-by, my father—good-by, all my fathers" (224)—foreshadows his eventual departure from modern society's all-fathers complex. Throughout *Tender*, Dick expresses an Oedipal desire to overthrow various patriarchs—his father, Nicole's rapist father, her criminal grandfather, his profession's intellectual fathers—and the patriarchal authority that they all embody. In divorcing himself from his failed marriage of the personal and the professional, Dick revises his own story and the metanarrative of the professionalization myth before it is finished being written for him. In order to revise *A*

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<sup>839</sup> Sigmund Freud, "Analysis Terminable and Interminable," 248, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 23, edited by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1964). "It almost looks as if analysis were the third of those 'impossible' professions in which one can be sure beforehand of achieving unsatisfying results. [...] Obviously we cannot demand that the prospective analyst should be a perfect being before he takes up analysis, in other words that only persons of such high and rare perfection should enter the profession. But where and how is the poor wretch to acquire the ideal qualifications which he will need in his profession? The answer is, in an analysis of himself, with which his future activity begins."

*Psychology for Psychiatrists*, then, he needs to escape from the dual subjectification of masculine professionals to an impossible ideal of disembodied knowledge and power through both their gazes and the wider social gaze. Dick's story thus represents the demise of a collective obsessive phallocentrism<sup>840</sup> based upon the illusion that professionalism hides the patriarchal complex which modern culture should say goodbye to forever.

Once Dick realizes that he has outlived his utility and that he poses more harm than good to Nicole's present mental stability and future domestic bliss, he escapes to his "one-room work house"—except not to write. Instead, he goes to the one physical place and imagined space that is his in order to run away from the expectations imposed upon him (which in reality he has imposed on himself) as a husband and psychiatrist.<sup>841</sup> Failing to reincorporate the masculine professional space of the lab into the private sphere of the home, however, is less a result of Dick's innate flaws and more because he has bought into the myth that scientific medicine will sort out modernity by re-establishing traditional patriarchal authority and that he as an ideal modern doctor-scientist is the perfect embodiment for such a task. His inability to restore order to his dysfunctional personal and professional life—even after helping to cure Nicole's mental disorder—suggests that it is the perceived power of the gaze of others that distorts one's ability for self-introspection. Dick realizes his great fear to be like the rest of modern individuals: caught within an ever-expanding, surveilling gaze. Once the shed stops providing enough safety and security, his last resort is to turn and walk away from it and what it represents: the mythic status of the modern doctor-scientist. Dick's doctor's story thus shows the professionalization metanarrative to be an incomplete draft that could always use a few more revisions. Just as Freud came to see that it was no longer possible for the modern doctor-scientist to embody the traditional power-knowledge and disembodied gaze of the symbolic

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<sup>840</sup> Richard Godden, introduction to *Tender Is the Night*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, xxvi.

<sup>841</sup> This is paid for with Nicole's inheritance. "He glanced about the house that Nicole had made, that Nicole's grandfather had paid for. He owned only his work house and the ground on which it stood" (Fitzgerald, 187).

Father due to the modern professional's increased presence in the public eye, Dick realizes that his effort to compensate for his and Nicole's absent fathers—and for a larger loss of patriarchal authority in the modern world—is an impossible dream.

To echo the narrator at the start of book two: "Best to be reassuring." Perhaps by beginning again from the end as Dick attempts to do, professionalization's process of completion can be rewritten so that it incorporates some of the good but often forgotten ideals of tradition into the future embodiments of masculinity, knowledge, and power. Dick's turning away from not only the myth of modern professionalization but also, more importantly, the patriarchal violence upon which it is based, which has made masculine professional authority an unquestioned tradition, should also be left behind. A return to a simpler, lost past in which the plain doctor, whose goal was to look after, care for, and heal others' bodies and minds rather than to inhumanely examine, dissect, and abstract them is in order.

## Conclusion: The Professionalization Myth (Re-Envisioned)

*(Dis)Embodied Professionalisms* shows how four American literary representations of doctor-scientists reveal the ways in which a longstanding tradition of (white) masculine visual epistemology and hegemony experienced what has been called the crisis of modernity. It has also shown that this so-called crisis was less a result of several rapid social and cultural transformations caused by the onset of modernity. Instead, traditional power-knowledge embodied and espoused by masculine professional authorities was no longer seen as the absolute way to see, know, and control the ever-changing world. Such a crisis has been present ever since power-knowledge came into being as the actual physical beings who upheld these dominant institutions. The historical solution to this perpetual crisis was to call upon a figure who embodies the masculine rationality that had always either preserved social harmony or restored control during times when confusion and disorder reigned—or at least seemed to do so.

Long before there was *professionalization*, there was a historical process that sought to “body[] forth”<sup>842</sup> this imagined figure of knowledge and authority—a process that conferred upon (white) men the powers of seeing and knowing and that, in turn, rendered invisible the very structures of power-knowledge upon which such embodied figures were authorized. And yet, this means of (re)producing order through a hegemonic visual epistemology based upon masculine disembodied rationality has always been premised on a fundamental contradiction: there must be some *body* to embody power-knowledge and enact its theories into actual practice. In order to elide this central fact, the (white) male body—which gives the lie to the idealization of certain ways of seeing and knowing, had to become unseeable and unknowable; only then could it become uncontrollable by anyone except itself.

By the 1890s, the clergy, one of the three traditional learned professions, had lost its hegemony over how best to see, know, and control the world. In its place, another traditional

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<sup>842</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 48-49. See note 1.

profession, medicine, which had itself suffered a serious loss of prestige earlier that century, had positioned itself to take over the mantle of authority. By aligning themselves with the discipline of science, which was historically associated with not only knowledge, power, and vision but also with masculinity and disembodiment, and which had emerged in popular culture as a viable modern profession, doctors harnessed the historical power of pre-professional authority. Becoming a professional doctor-scientist granted the authority to see and know.

And yet, this disembodied process of professionalization that allegedly allowed physical beings to transcend their uncontrollable corporeality did not operate equally across lines of race, sex, and class. The emergence on the modern scene of Black masculinity and Black professionalism challenged customary structures of power, forms of knowledge, and ways of seeing and being seen. The extreme visibility—and vulnerability resulting from that visibility—of an exceptional Black physician and surgeon debunked the myth that professionalization would allow anyone into its ranks and share with them its perks if they only honed their knowledge and skill across years of study and practice. The penance for this transgression is not only to disregard the superlative masculine scientific rationality of Miller's professionalism on account of his discrediting Blackness, but also to punish him (at least symbolically) by means of a spectacular practice of corporeal punishment that consolidated Blackness with beastlike violence, passion, and uncontrollability.

While neither Martin nor Dick are subject to the same forms of physical and psychological terrorism as Miller, both are nonetheless prone to how others perceive them and the expectations that go along with those perceptions. The idealistic Martin meets pressure to conform to the modern mandate to be practical at every stop of his career. The fact that his professionalization narrative parallels the changes that the professions of medicine and science—and the novel profession of scientific medicine—were undergoing encapsulates the increased visibility of the doctor-scientist, a modern figure that embodied a long tradition of masculine rational authority. His decision to leave society in order to follow the professional



values that many of his colleagues had traded away in return for the modern trappings of success suggests that the desire to see and know was no longer paramount for his chosen profession. Likewise, the brilliant Dick, whom Fitzgerald referred to as a “spoiled priest,” reverts back to the conservative values embodied in the previous centuries’ traditional professions. The “good instincts” that were embedded in him by his humble father had become so at-odds with how modern men were seen in a consumer capitalist culture that they were no longer compatible with his younger self’s vision. Despite hiding himself away in his shed away from the equally adulating and evaluating view of him by women and colleagues, Dick eventually realizes that he will never realize his dream of bringing together modern psychiatry and affectionate interpersonal relationships. So, like Martin, he escapes to an imaginary past where he can simply practice medicine. If Dick’s end is deemed a failure, then it is not through his (many) personal flaws but rather through his captivation with a myth that promises masculine rational authority will solve all the disorders of modernity.

Hopefully, *Dis(Embodied) Professionalisms* has made vividly clear some of the invisible structures of power and forms of knowledge that have consolidated cultural authority in an embodied figure of masculine scientific medical professionalism. It has sought to reveal how America has created a myth of professionalization in which (white) men who become doctor-scientists are granted with a universal gaze, an exclusive epistemology, and an incontestable authority, but also that literature about doctor-scientists uncovers how this myth conceals that professionalization is nothing more than a revised form of the traditional hegemony of an androcentric visual epistemology that authorizes and (re)produces itself.

The implications of this dissertation’s argument should not be hard to see. Recent events have made that which it has unveiled all the more critical. The COVID-19 pandemic has opened many eyes to the rampant anti-intellectualism in the private views of individuals and the public ones in healthcare and politics. Faith is being used to exempt people from vaccines—tangible proof of how scientific medical theory has a legitimate use-value for society—even as it

continues to dictate to women that their bodies are properties of a patriarchal state. It is no wonder that there is a widespread lack of healthcare professionals, especially a shortage of nurses, a disproportionately feminine and thus stigmatized profession, and doctors of color<sup>843</sup> when modern society simultaneously hails its frontline workers as essential heroes while treating them with similar disdain as they do other employees when face-to-face with them. Part of this condescending attitude likely has to do with an out-of-control healthcare system that is headed by massive corporations who have successfully transformed Foucault's clinical gaze into an even more disheartening and dehumanizing way to see patients by running healthcare as if it were a business.

Worse, the institutional discrimination faced by would-be Black doctors and scientists is indicative of a systemic racism that has empowered the hate of bigots to go way beyond its boiling point. States imposing obvious voter suppression legislation after decades of gerrymandering have failed comes on the heels of the Capitol Riot of January 6, 2021, an insurrection explicitly about a rigged election but perceptibly an expression of unwarranted white nationalist anxiety, anger, and hate—not dissimilar to the Wilmington Racial Massacre of 1898. Moreover, this manifestation has been twisted so that many perceive the Black Lives Matters protests happening across the country in response to continued instances of white terrorism as mirror-images of what occurred that fateful day in Washington, DC. What are the brutal murders of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Botham Jean, Philando Castile, Freddie Gray, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and countless other Black men at the hands of law enforcement officers if not examples of modern-day extrajudicial “justice”? They, too, are lynchings.

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<sup>843</sup> Emily, Laber-Warren, “Black Men Are Pushed to Pursue Sports. Why Not Medicine?” *Mother Jones*, September 16, 2021, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2021/09/black-male-athletes-sports-stereotypes-medicine>. Many talented young Black men are encouraged to pursue careers in professional sports rather undergo professionalization in more intellectual fields. The conventional thinking is the large amounts of time and intense level of study needed to become a doctor will take away from the time and effort needed to train their bodies so that they may risk themselves on a field of play for the pleasure of millions of fans—and their own bank-accounts.

The scene in St. Hubert where Drs. Arrowsmith and Marchand overcome “the more cruel plague of race-fear” (Lewis, 370) by working side-by-side to lay plans for administering bacteriophage to Black people—regardless of the capitalist, political, and imperialist intent behind the reason this is possible in the first place—is a welcome sight in this time of anti-intellectualism, racism, and pandemic. The scene in which Miller, despondent over the loss of his son and life’s work—not to mention the downtrodden community that he has come to embrace as himself part of—runs to save the life of the son of the man responsible for these atrocities, should change people’s views about the unseen traditions that continue to divide rather than unite or sicken rather than heal. It is figures like Miller and Martin who embody the true calling behind the pursuit of seeing and knowing, regardless of what others think about them. It is a figure like Dick who comes to see that his life’s work advances these invisible structures of power and forms of knowledge and leaves it behind in order to enact not a control over others, but a tenderness for them. It is even despicable figures like Ledsmar, who reveal that true knowledge, though oftentimes ugly, might be used for good. While Gottlieb may resemble Ledsmar and other mad scientists in many ways, his work does not lack human sympathy despite appearing to the uninitiated as inhumane or even evil.

That (white) masculinity, knowledge, and the gaze might be disembodied into authority is a paradox<sup>844</sup>: men need bodies to see and know and these bodies render impossible total control. Bodies matter in science and the professions—albeit differently than in medicine, where immediate, practical results are obvious and necessary. Power-knowledge is not inherently insidious; it can be productive as well. Just as professionalism produces bodies that see and know it may also produce individuals who embody new forms of knowledge and structures of power that might revise traditional (and modern) myths that in the past only authorized specific bodies—corporeal bodies, bodies of knowledges, or authoritative bodies. But your eyes can

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<sup>844</sup> Christopher E. Forth, “Surviving Our Paradoxes?”, 10; see note 21. Marlon Ross, *Manning Race*, 1; see note 319.

deceive you. We see what we want to see, what we are taught to see. And we only know what we see. Only by taking a good, long, hard look at ways of seeing and knowing might we challenge our learned perception so that we might realize our potential to live with honesty, integrity, optimism, and sensitivity. Doing so requires acknowledging that our sight, thinking, and very being is not always what it seems. To do otherwise is to damn ourselves eternally to dead men's ideas and beliefs.<sup>845</sup>

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<sup>845</sup> As Sister Soulsby says to Theron: "Never you mind the dead men [...] You've got brains, and you've got human nature in you, and heart. What you lack is sabe—common sense. You'll get that, too, in time" (Frederic, 175, 142).

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