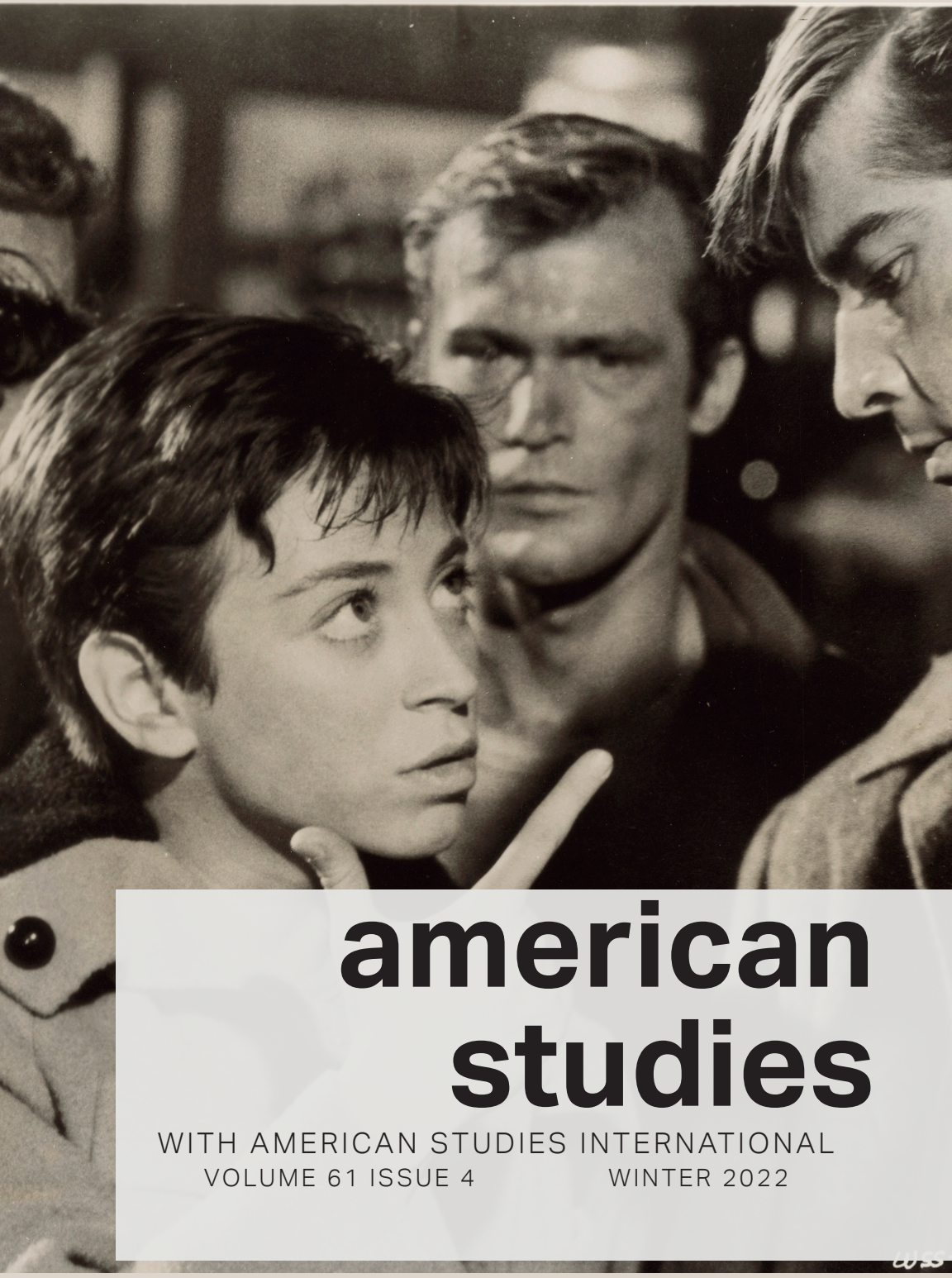

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Articles

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Book Reviews

Anybodys "in and out of the Shadows": The Threshold of Visibility and Queer Orientation in *West Side Story*

Daniel Belgrad and Ying Zhu

This essay explores the constructions of sexuality and gender in the film *West Side Story* through a close reading of its choreography. In particular we focus on the choreography assigned to Anybodys, whom literary critic David LaFontaine has identified as "Broadway's first transgender youth" (La Fontaine 2017). In keeping with LaFontaine's reading and to underscore the difference that it makes, throughout this piece we refer to Anybodys by using they/them/their pronouns, except in instances of a direct quotation from other sources.

Although scholar and filmmaker Frances Negrón-Muntaner contends that for the makers of *West Side Story* Anybodys was a figure of "scorn for the potential lesbian who struggles for a place among men… the misogyny of her representation is not far from the surface" (2000: 99), Anybodys is not really coded in the musical as a lesbian. They are not interested in sex with girls. Their desire to fight alongside the boys positions them more as a gay transgender man.

More accurately, perhaps, Anybodys is, like Peter Pan, a boyish but genderqueer boy-lover. Anybodys beams at Ice when, having taken over leadership of the Jets (one of two all-male youth gangs in the musical), he tacitly accepts them into the gang and calls them "buddy boy." The stage directions assert then that Anybodys "has fallen in love" (Lehman 2003: 108); and in response to being called "buddy boy," they call Ice "Daddy-O" (107). In this crucial moment of subject formation, Anybodys is thus positioned as a boy in love with an older boy, while Ice is positioned

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as in a triangulate relationship with both the "boy" Anybodys and his female sexual partner, Velma. Both of these subject positions reproduce aspects of choreographer Jerome Robbins's own sexuality.

A dance musical conceived and choreographed by Robbins and scored by Leonard Bernstein, *West Side Story* is a classic of American musical theater. The original Broadway production premiered in 1957; its 1961 film version garnered eleven Academy Award nominations and won ten, including Best Picture. A retelling of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the film has entered our national consciousness as a cautionary tale about ethnic hatred.[1] Dance scholars Anna B. Scott, Rachel Duerden, and Bonnie Rowell have described how an imaginary of ethnic difference structures much of the choreography (Scott 2010: 83; Duerden and Rowell 2013: 135). But Jerome Robbins intended the musical as a complex portrait of a subversive youth culture, undermining Cold War truisms about the importance of "responsible adulthood" and a family-centered social structure (Zhu and Belgrad 2017). In this context, its choreography offers a subtle subversion of Cold War America's ideological investment in heteronormative sexuality, challenging the general belief that gender conformity and heterosexual romance were the necessary signs of social health and personal well-being.

As a method of cultural analysis, dance studies has demonstrated a unique ability to contribute to the emerging interpretive "revolution from below": a radical reassessment of the politics of cultural texts based on a recovery of the embodied subject as the center of meaning making (Altieri 2003; McCormack 2014). Dance studies investigates bodily orientations and articulations as essential to how human beings create and decipher meaning. Recently, the field has seen an explosion of the conventional notions of "dance" and "choreography," broadening these terms to include all moves and postures that constitute deliberately designed action (Gere 2004: 9). Correspondingly, in her book *Queer Phenomenology*, feminist theorist Sara Ahmed explores the implications of "orientation" as a descriptor of "how we come to find our way" in the world (Ahmed 2006). Ahmed uses this term to entangle movement styles with the issue of sexuality, suggesting that "if orientation is a matter of how we reside in space, then sexual orientation might also be a matter of residence; of how we inhabit space" (Ahmed 2006: 1-2).

Conceptualizing meaning-making as a bodily experience demands by implication a close attention to the evocation and display of affect in works of art. Affect is the physiological "feeling" response of the human organism to experience. Because ideologies (such as Cold War America's commitment to heteronormativity) are never primarily conscious or rational, they inhere in what Marxist theorist Raymond Williams called the "structure of feeling" through which one organizes and makes sense of one's affective experiences (Williams 1961: 64). Works of art reinforce

or subvert the dominant ideology via affective strategies by which they engage the viewer's or listener's psychological processes of subject formation (Kristeva 1982). As Negrón-Muntaner has observed, *West Side Story* offered "a space for pre-Stonewall gay structures of feeling" (2000: 97).

An interpretive approach that shifts attention away from the plotline of *West Side Story* to focus on the ways that the musical shapes and channels affect fundamentally revises our sense of the importance of various scenes. Plot-wise, the central scene is an after-dark rumble between the movie's two all-male youth gangs (the Jets and the Sharks), in which Tony kills Maria's older brother Bernardo. But the film's most disturbing moment—the most impactful, affectively—is not this homicide. Instead, it comes later that night, when Bernardo's girlfriend Anita arrives at Doc's candy store (the Jets' headquarters) with a message from Maria for Tony. The Jets, resenting her alien presence, attempt to gang rape her.

The scene is carefully choreographed to progressively engage the viewer in a complex range of emotions. Early in this scene, as Anita insists on delivering her message from Maria and steps forward into the space of the candy store, the Jet named Action, intent on protecting Tony, stands up to block her and send her away. Spying the guarded inner door to Doc's cellar, however, Anita suspects correctly that Tony is hiding behind it, and instead of leaving she begins to move toward it. Action then kicks out his foot to place it against the counter at crotch level, forcing her to a halt by creating a physical barrier and at the same time suggesting sexual aggression by displaying his genital area and threatening hers. Anita tries to move around him, but the three Jets now standing in front of her (Action, A-Rab, and Anybodys) shift their bodies in unison to block her path. Encouraged by this support, Action escalates the sexual tension by mockingly commanding Anita to say "please" in order to get past them. He draws the word out slowly, almost moaning it, lading it with sexual meaning. Meanwhile, two more Jets closest to the door move to surround Anita from behind and cut off her escape. When she accedes to Action's demand, however, instead of relenting, he blows smoke in her face to compound her submission and humiliation. The other Jets snicker and leer. (A handwritten note on a draft of the script in the Jerome Robbins archives offers this motivation for the actors: "o.k. if you want to stay I'll f[uck] ya."[2])

Significantly, it is precisely when Anita insists that she is "trying to help" Tony by delivering a message from Maria that the Jets' taunting turns physical. "She wants to help *get Tony*!" Anybodys exclaims. Then Action and A-Rab explicitly display contempt for Anita's sexuality, calling her "Bernardo's tramp" and "Bernardo's pig." They pull at her shawl, uncovering her and, emboldened by one another's behavior, shout more

sexually charged insults, which escalate to physical intrusions. "Pierced ear!" yells Snowboy, grabbing her earlobe and twisting it hard. Action pulls her shawl down to her waist and starts rubbing it back and forth across her backside, shouting "cha cha!" At this point Anita's formerly neat self-presentation has become disheveled. She attempts to escape but is thrown back into the melee and passed roughly from hand to hand. Finally she is pinned to the floor while two Jets lift the gang's youngest member, Baby John, into the air and prepare to drop him on top of her. Anita screams desperately, and from off camera Doc's voice cries, "Stop it!", arresting the action and restoring social order. The viewer must ask of Jerome Robbins, as Doc then does of the Jets, "What are you doing there?!"

Feminist theorist Judith Butler has described how the members of any patriarchal society live in a system of compulsory heterosexuality enforced by the strict punishment of abnormal gender identities (Butler 1997). But the dynamics of this scene work oppositely: we witness the spectacle of a closeted gay subculture avenging itself against the dominant heteronormativity.

The 1950s were an era in which the gender binary was exaggeratedly enforced. After the social dislocations of the Depression era and the Second World War, Americans were eager for a return to normalcy, and their ideal of it tended to take an extreme form. Dad was to be the breadwinner and Mom the homemaker. Deviations from this sentimental norm were diagnosed as psychological pathologies. Popular media outlets and political leaders alike also linked American democracy with the stereotypical suburban family in rhetorical celebrations of the "American way." Gender conformity and heteronormativity were the ideological mainstays of this linkage (Weiss 2000: 4–5; D'Emilio 1992: 64–68). According to American Studies scholars Matthew Jacobson and Gaspar Gonzalez in *What Have They Built You to Do? The Manchurian Candidate and Cold War America* (2006),

> Public figures such as McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover quite openly expressed the political importance of "normal" gender and sexual arrangements, especially patriarchal authority and heterosexual coupling. If communists were "made and not born," as most supposed, then the "normal" family would be among the nation's most important and jealously guarded assets, just as gender or sexual "deviance" would be a fairly reliable symptom of political trouble (Jacobson and Gonzalez 2006: 4).

Behind the veil of its main plotline featuring Tony's and Maria's ill-fated romance, *West Side Story* challenged this heteronormative ideology.

As is made clear by the taunting of Anita, however, what the musical offers in place of the dominant heteronormativity is not an uncomplicated vindication of gay homoeroticism. Rather, it is a different social vision that we can characterize as queer. In keeping with this orientation, the musical's perspective does not simply celebrate a masculinity that is eroticized for the male gaze.[3] Instead, its gendering work echoes the gender-fluid, "bisexual" orientation of two of its primary creators, Jerome Robbins and Leonard Bernstein.[4]

In this connection, the character artfully named "Anybodys"—a teenage "tomboy" who strives to become accepted as one of the Jets—is a key figure. Anybodys is excluded both from the heteronormative order of the mainstream culture and from the exclusively homoerotic social order of the Jets gang. Yet they embody, in their queerness, the gender-nonconformist implications of the musical that its creators were keen to champion—as well as to hide. A close analysis of Anybodys' queer performance is therefore key to grasping *West Side Story*'s "hidden transcript"—a phrase that historian James C. Scott has coined to describe the means by which politically disempowered subjects articulate evasive critiques of the social world that they perforce inhabit (Scott 1990: 4).

The common tendency among scholarly critics, contemporaneous reviewers, and casual viewers alike to overlook Anybodys as marginal to the musical's main themes (Negrón-Muntaner 2000: 99) has been abetted by their lack of prominence in its major dance numbers. Jerome Robbins's choreography is the foremost medium of expression in *West Side Story*, and problematically, if Anybodys is included in the dance numbers at all, they typically do not dance them "right" (Butler 1997: 405). They are awkward in their female body, and their attempts at integrating themselves into the musical's gender-coded dance numbers often result in conspicuous rejections. Superficially, then, the musical appears to legitimate Anybodys' exclusion. But on closer examination, Anybodys can be seen to perform a unique choreography that is central both to their queerness and to their significance in the film. And their role in the Jets' metaphorical rape of Anita is also key to understanding the underlying meaning of that scene.

The parameters of Anybodys' exclusion from the social spaces of the film are exemplified by the choreography in "Dance at the Gym," a big dance number. In the first shots of this scene, the camera shows us heterosexual pairs dancing as couples. Significantly, Jets and Sharks are dancing the same steps to the same music (Lehman 2003: 27). The implication is that the social prescription for heteronormativity is more powerful even than the requirement of ethnic solidarity: the dancing couples' stable gender and sexual identities provide a unifying force

for the scene, overriding the difference in their ethnicities. After these initial establishing shots, the camera tightens in on a specific instance of boy-girl activity: Velma (a Jets girl) is dancing with Action, improvising on the common motif. There is a sexual urgency to their dancing. With her eyes closed, Velma pumps the flats of her hands in front of her, shaking her hips and twisting her legs. Opening her eyes to look pointedly at Action, she hitches up the skirt of her dress and jerks her hips. Action reciprocates with a spin around his own center, his left leg extended and lifted to the level of her thighs (a sexually suggestive move later echoed in his taunting of Anita), as Velma saws the air frenetically with her fists and elbows. She answers Action's spin with a tighter spin of her own. Then they both jump into the air.

This is not the only dance that is showcased, however. Among the Jets who have paused to watch Action's and Velma's intense partnering, Anybodys can be seen for an instant on the periphery of the frame. Then the camera cuts slightly right, and suddenly Anybodys takes center stage. In one of their few moments of physical expressivity, we see them leap in behind the Jet named Mouthpiece, who is dancing solo, to perform what quickly evolves into a line dance of three as A-Rab jumps in front of Anybodys. It is a stag dance: in marked contrast to the previous focus on complementary coupling, these three dancers dance in unison.

Whereas Velma's and Action's dance emphasized heterosexual partnering, the theme of this dance is "making room." The dancers step sideways and spread their arms wide. Bouncing onto their toes, they flip right, and walk backward on tiptoe until they are crowded back against the wall of the gym. Next, swinging their arms low and hunching parallel to the floor, they take loping, dragging steps forward, reclaiming the space as they turn their upper bodies left and then right, snapping their fingers. Finally, they plant their feet widely in preparation for another spin with one leg outstretched (a repeated element in Robbins's choreography that typically implies masculine sexual assertiveness). But A-Rab, dancing to Anybodys' right, spins around prematurely, while Anybodys' spin is late, and as a result his outstretched leg kicks them squarely in the backside. This brings the stag dance to a sudden end. As Mouthpiece melts back into the crowd of dancing couples, Anybodys circles warily backward away from A-Rab, who doubles down on the implications of his accidental kick with a spiteful glare and a verbal "Get outa here!" Significantly, although it is A-Rab who jumped in last, crowding the dance space, he can assert priority over Anybodys in claiming the space, because Anybodys is farther out of gender conformity. As if to reinforce this yardstick, the camera cuts back to the sex kitten Velma, who is now couples dancing with Ice, as they spin in tandem into a sensual slow grind.

This dance floor confrontation between A-Rab and Anybodys, bookended by shots that emphasize the contrast between Anybodys'

gender-bending performance and Velma's heteronormative one, encapsulates Anybodys' social position. They cannot, as Tony later commands them to, "be a girl" (Lehman 2003: 123). Nor can they find belonging in the boy-on-boy culture of the Jets gang. A-Rab's kick and his spoken vituperation are suggestive of a generally expressed demand—always resisted—that Anybodys remove themselves from the musical's social topography altogether. "Dance at the Gym" is only one of numerous scenes in which this demand is reiterated (11, 52). And yet Anybodys persists in joining in.

As a result, in key dance scenes they are neither absent nor integrated. Instead, they constitute an insistently awkward physical presence. And while it is true that Anybodys almost never dances in the expansive style of Robbins's typical choreography, it can be seen that they do nevertheless dance. They perform what might be called a "deep choreography" of marginality, characterized by two repeated motifs: an almost tidal pattern of advance and retreat and an awkward stasis.

The deep choreography of advance and retreat is evident when we look at "Dance at the Gym" as a whole piece, rather than focusing on the few key moments that highlight Anybodys' exclusion. When A-Rab's foot connects with their backside, Anybodys circles away from him watchfully, their thumbs reaching for their pants pockets. After this humiliation, they disappear from the film for approximately one minute. But when Bernardo, the leader of the Sharks, arrives at the gym, the Jets stop dancing and the boys mill around in a cluster while their girls stand off to one side; then Anybodys is back in the frame again, in the middle of the male mix, and conspicuously in the front row as the Jets move to confront the Sharks. When the school social worker Glad Hand intercedes to prevent this confrontation, Anybodys turns and, with ducked head, strides back into the crowd and disappears. In the next shot, nevertheless, they are back in the front row of youths as Glad Hand makes a short speech of welcome. When the combative aspect of the dance trumps its previous romantic function, this clearly offers Anybodys a broader license to be visibly present. In the heterosexual mambo dance-off, they are at first nowhere visible—until they run out to notify Ice, who is occupied in twirling with Velma, that the Puerto Ricans are taking over the dance floor. Then, as the Jets advance to reclaim the space, Anybodys advances with them; and they again appear alongside Ice, seemingly out of nowhere, as he and Velma burst into the circle of Puerto Rican spectators around Bernardo and Anita to clear a path for Riff and Graziella. Then, alongside the other Jets, Anybodys follows this dancing Jets couple across the floor, joining enthusiastically in the general clapping, pumping their fists and flinging their arms into the air.

This cyclical pattern of advance and retreat, appearing and disappearing, is one of Anybodys' persistent choreographies; the other

is an awkward stasis or near-stasis that is almost—but never quite—unobtrusive (Lepecki 2006: 2). We can see this choreography in the introductory shot for "Dance at the Gym," which is a high-angle long shot of the gymnasium. Anybodys is out on the dance floor, though they are not performing the exuberant couples choreography in which all the others are engaged. Nearly always partially or fully obscured by a dancing couple, they are nevertheless visibly present in the far right corner of the room, dancing solo. The content and quality of their dance might not be perceived as a dance at all. They are barely in motion. Staring at the floor near their feet, with their arms hanging passively at their sides, they face one way, step back, then face at a right angle to their earlier orientation and step back again. In the next shot, we see a version of their dance from closer up. Off to the right and back of where the camera is centered on Ice and Velma, amid the couples who are energetically stepping to the beat of the music, Anybodys stands motionless with their head ducked and their feet splayed. Then, as everyone else throws their hands in the air, Anybodys lifts their head to watch and takes their thumbs from their pockets as if embarking on a venture. Partially obscured from the camera by the dancing of Riff and Graziella, they step forward with the heel of their right foot, then shift their weight and bend their knees in time to the music. This is the epitome of their second choreographic presence: they will not dance like the others, but neither will they leave the dance floor. As James Scott argues, in the context of oppressive social norms, the "refusal to reproduce hegemonic appearances…pierces the smooth surface of apparent consent" and offers resistance to the hegemonic social order (1990: 203).

The dialectic between Anybodys' persistent efforts to assert their presence and their repeated exclusion from social arrangements is key to their place in the cultural work of the musical. This dynamic is emphasized not only through moments of action and dialogue as in "Dance at the Gym," but also formally, through camerawork and editing. Reinforcing the choreography, these cinematographic devices make Anybodys disappear and reappear, so that they are constantly both implicitly present and apparently absent. In the movie's closing scene, for example, as Tony is dying in Maria's arms, we see Anybodys in the front row of Jets, between Action and Ice, watching the melodrama. Then the camera cuts to a shot of the Sharks and a close-up on Maria; and when it cuts back to the Jets, Anybodys is not there. Half a dozen shots later, however, as Maria launches into her monologue, they are present again. It is as if Anybodys is haunting the musical's central romantic narrative, ironizing it. Such discontinuities and interferences are too pervasive in this otherwise perfectionistic film to support the possibility that they are careless errors. Repeatedly, Anybodys hovers at an indefinite location,

on the periphery but persistently present. Like the theme of queerness itself, they are both there and not there: at the threshold of visibility.

The importance attached by the musical's creators to keeping Anybodys hovering on this threshold of visibility for the audience is evidenced by the multitude of strategies that they employ to achieve it. These include not only the choreography and the editing but also scenes purposely designed to insist on and yet obfuscate Anybodys' presence. In the initial melee between the Jets and the Sharks on the playground, for example, Anybodys may or may not be seen as they twirl in from the right side of the screen and disappear into the throng.

Far from presenting a realistic portrayal of gang violence, the choreography of this first large fight on the playground is charged with male homoeroticism. The gangs bait and dare each other in the course of the conflict in a manner very like the way that the Sharks and their girls later taunt and tease each other in the "America" dance, even down to the use of similar hand gestures. The brawl also begins with a scene that is symmetrical to the Jets' later attempted rape of Anita, as Baby John is outnumbered by a group of Sharks who pin his body against the ground while Bernardo pierces his ear, marking him as a sexual "bottom." (In the play, this is much more explicit than in the film, for Snowboy—the same character who in the film initiates the physical violence against Anita while calling her a "pierced ear"—tells Baby John, "That makes you a Puerto Rican tomato. Cha-cha-cha senorita?" (Laurents 1958: 8; Negrón-Muntaner 2000: 98)) As the Jets arrive in response to Baby John's yells, Jets and Sharks brawl, hurling and leaping into piles of two, three, and four. Their youthful bodies collide in intimate embraces that are simultaneously violent and sensuous as they tussle with knees bent, grounding their weight downward and forward, their pelvises and hips locked against each other. When Detective Schrank and Officer Krupke, as the representatives of social authority, disrupt the fight, they are restoring the heteronormative social order by countermanding this homoerotic performance.

In this gay male context, just as in the context of the heteronormative "Dance at the Gym," Anybodys is neither visible nor invisible. In the standoff that ensues between Detective Schrank and the members of both gangs, Anybodys' genderqueer presence is overlooked by the adult authority figures. They can be glimpsed, however, by the attentive viewer, hiding in plain sight on the playground's seesaw, intermittently obscured by other bodies [Figure 1]. Their partial profile from behind occupies the shot's left foreground, even as Schrank's monologue pulls the viewer's attention to the medium distance. In the original play version of the musical, even the stage directions that introduce Anybodys one scene later reinforce the uncertainty of their presence here via the use of

Figure 1: Anybodys hides in plain sight. *West Side Story* DVD. 1998 [1961]. Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment. Screenshot by authors.

the qualifier "perhaps": "Pushing through the gang comes [Anybodys]… *Perhaps* we have glimpsed her in the fracas before the police came in" (Laurents 1958: 9). The implication is that Anybodys' presence or absence is less an objective fact than a phenomenon of the viewer's perception.

This perceptual threshold of visibility is the realm of "passing," of asserting oneself under the gaze of those who would judge you harshly if they perceived you accurately. Originally, "passing" referred to a process by which African Americans of mixed ancestry who were more European in features and skin tone would escape the stigma attached to blackness by passing for white, assuming the privileges and status afforded to the unmarked white body. However, by the 1950s the term also included intentional performances that disguised nonconformities of gender and sexual identity (Schlossberg 2001: 3). Cultural historian Gayle Wald argues in *Crossing the Line* that racial passing was possible "because race is more liquid and dynamic, more variable and random, than it is conventionally represented to be" (2000: 6). Anybodys' passing likewise reminded the viewers of *West Side Story* that gender is more liquid and dynamic than it was ideologically expected to be.

The question of whether and how to pass is the underlying problematic that explains the structure of Anybodys' deep choreography. Their comings and goings mark the vicissitudes of their success in making themselves both visible and acceptable—that is, in claiming physical and psychological space for their aberrant subjectivity. Their disappearances as a rule follow moments of unusual assertiveness that have the effect of compromising their acceptability. In Doc's candy store before the "war council," for instance, they duck their head immediately

after delivering their single line, which is to tell Doc, "Aw, get with it, Buster!" The attention demanded by this moment of assertiveness exists in tension with their subsequent actions, as they try unsuccessfully to remain invisible in order to be allowed to stay. Seeing the Sharks come in, Anybodys sneaks out of sight behind the pinball machine; but eventually Riff discovers them and forces them to leave.

Anybodys' character is built almost entirely around this problematic of other peoples' attention: the conflicted state of both wanting and not wanting it. The stage directions in the screenplay for the scene outside Doc's candy store in the moments before the war council note that "Anybodys is shinnying up a light pole, *to show* how tough…[they are], *in case anyone is looking*" (Lehman 2003: 49). They yearn to be acknowledged. But the possibility of being noticed is double-edged: Will they be welcomed or judged as a freak? After every rejection Anybodys retreats into the shadows or hides in plain sight following the flow of the crowd. As they boast, "I'm very large with shadows, ya know. I can slip in and out of 'em like wind through a fence" (106).

To be disowned and yet present, as Anybodys is, is the essence of abjection, as feminist philosopher Julia Kristeva theorizes. Anybodys' choreography of awkwardly standing around represents a physical embodiment of that abjection, which Kristeva associates with German phenomenologist Edmund Husserl's idea of the "thetic threshold" (Kristeva 1986: 105). This describes a liminal state of subjectivity in which the processes of abjection predominate as a person hovers in the throes of subject formation. Not fully constituted in the present moment as a coherent psychological entity, they are thus unable to assert themselves in the social world, either verbally or locomotorically (Kristeva 1982: 204). This ambiguous state motivates Anybodys' awkward stances in the moments of stillness or near stillness that they perform. One of the most prominent of these postures is a slouch, with their hands in their pockets or nervously adjusting the bottom hem of their shirt. In "Dance at the Gym," for example, they adopt this posture at least three times: in the opening sequence before willing themselves to start dancing; after being kicked in the rear by A-Rab; and when Glad Hand calls for a Circle Dance with "boys on the outside, girls on the inside" (Lehman 2003: 28). At this direction, Anybodys hitches their thumbs awkwardly in their jeans pockets and stares at the ground as they search inwardly for their place in a world constructed through the prism of Glad Hand's gender binary.

Youth, Sex, Play

Anybodys' positioning as a figure of gender ambiguity in *West Side Story* developed over time through the collaboration between Jerome Robbins, Arthur Laurents (the librettist), Stephen Sondheim (the lyricist) and Leonard Bernstein. Early drafts of the play attributed

Anybodys' "tomboy" nature to a fear of femininity. In one of the earliest drafts in which Anybodys appears, for example, Baby John mocks them by taunting, "Go wear a skirt,"[5] and Anybodys' telling reply is "pants is protection." The draft thus attributes their cross-dressing to a fear of the vulnerability that they associate with femininity. The songwriting of Bernstein and Sondheim had at least some hand in bringing forth the gender-bending qualities of Anybodys' character, expanding on its possibilities as a performance of gender ambiguity. In a song that was later cut, titled "Like Everybody Else" and sung by Anybodys, A-Rab, and Baby John, all three characters share their preoccupation with the question of how to emulate masculinity performatively, learning "from the outside" as it were, how to be a "real boy" by watching the boys. The three characters articulate their three different ways of not "measuring up" as an ideal man: A-Rab is too short; Baby John is too young; and Anybodys is female. Anybodys sings, "I swear and I smoke and I get Hell, / why can't I be male?"

The character as it finally appeared onstage and onscreen can be understood as a figure of the queerness embraced as a life principle by both Jerome Robbins and Leonard Bernstein. While Sondheim and Laurents identified as gay, Robbins and Bernstein both identified as bisexual. Both also vested their divergent sexuality with meaning, perceiving it as a transcendence of social norms linked to their creative genius.

"Bisexuality" itself, as a concept, has historically been unstable, inviting multiple and contesting characterizations, as queer studies scholar Alexander Doty writes in *Flaming Classics: Queering the Film Canon* (2000):

> Some people, working within conventional binaries, understand [bisexuality] as a movement between, or a combination of, heterosexuality and homosexuality and the straight and lesbian or gay identities that are usually attached to these desires and practices. Others find their bisexuality works itself out as a desire for both the same sex and the opposite sex in tandem with a social or political identification with either gayness, lesbianism, or straightness. Still others see it as having desires for both the same sex and the opposite sex within bisexual identities that don't reference straight or lesbian or gay ones, but may reference less binarily defined queer or non-straight identities. (131)

To inhabit a bisexual subjectivity as Robbins and Bernstein did implied a refusal to assume a fixed sexual identity. Even identifying oneself as a homosexual in 1950s America affirmed an unambiguous, though deviant, sexuality. Bisexuality, on the other hand, signified for them the socially liberating potential of queerness.[6]

Robbins later wrote that he was eighteen years old when he "realize[d] that [he] was queer" (Vaill 2006: 35). Between 1945 and 1950, he tried half-heartedly to "cure" his sexuality through psychoanalysis (Jowitt 2004: 100, 178). Yet he simultaneously pursued the complex romantic possibilities that his bisexual orientation made possible. In the summer of 1938, when he was nineteen, he engaged in a three-way relationship with dancers Meta Mata and Otto Hari. (Vaill 2006: 46–47). Thereafter, he settled into of pattern of maintaining "triangulate" relationships, in which he was romantically involved simultaneously with one man and one woman (52, 56).

In 1945, at the age of twenty-six, Robbins was living on 10th Street in Greenwich Village and socializing primarily with other bisexuals, including Leonard Bernstein and Paul and Jane Bowles (121). The following year, he choreographed a dance titled *Facsimile*, which represented a triangulate relationship between two men and one woman. Robbins asked Bernstein to compose the score, which Bernstein dedicated to him (130). Robbins later described *Facsimile* as being about "a situation in my own life [in which] I found myself involved with two other people" (129–30), most likely actors Montgomery Clift and Lois Wheeler (138, 140). His biographer Amanda Vaill has pointed out the similarities between this dance and a dream that Robbins wrote down at the time ("Rooftop"), which pitted heterosexual attraction against homoerotic longings (131–2).[7] The following spring (1947), Robbins choreographed another dance, *Pas de Trois*, which recast the love triangle of *Facsimile* in a comedic vein (Jowitt 2004: 127).

As with *Facsmile* and *Pas de Trois*, Robbins often made two choreographic passes at a single theme, one "serious" and one "playful." Entries in his diary from 1945 shed light on how he imagined the serious/playful dichotomy in relation to his creativity. There he wrote of committing himself seriously to dance as a profession. The other words that he used in association with this seriousness were "purpose," "regulation," "firm," "straight," "cruel," and "faithful" (Vaill 2006: 57). While he willed himself to be serious about his dancing, he celebrated playfulness in other aspects of his creative life, and he returned repeatedly to the playfulness of youth as the subject of his choreography. In the fall of 1945, he choreographed *Interplay*, a dance described by his biographer Deborah Jowitt as "a lighthearted view of American teenagers, or rather of American dancers *as* teenagers; the games they play" (2004: 104-5). The dancers in *Interplay* are cast as "perpetual adolescents." Robbins associated such perpetually youthful playfulness with his queerness. According to Jowitt, he gloried in his Greenwich Village circle and their capacity to "behav[e] like kids," which for him meant a playfulness that included having sexual "affairs with both men and women" (107). *Interplay* includes movements with the titles "Free Play," "Horseplay," "Byplay" and "Team Play." Like the

opening scene of *West Side Story*, it is set in a park with playground equipment (Vaill 2006: 120).

West Side Story explores the same teenage games but in a serious, tragic tone. The adults in *West Side Story* work persistently to force the Jets and Sharks into one of two binary subject positions: that of serious and mature (heterosexual) adults, or of innocent and victimized children. But the youths themselves make common cause in resisting and exceeding those categories, through forms of horseplay that sprawl from the playground into the streets, and that move beyond children's games to adolescent brawling and balling (Zhu and Belgrad 2017).

Robbins himself was actively bisexual during the staging of *West Side Story* on Broadway in 1957. According to Vaill, "he became involved in one of his triangulated romances with two other cast members: Tommy Abbott, a fair-haired boy with a square all-American jaw who played Gee-Tar (one of the Jets) and Lee Becker, the wistful, waiflike Anybodys" (2006: 286).

In Leonard Bernstein, Robbins found a musical collaborator who shared his faith in the socially disruptive potential of youthful play, including bisexuality. The two men began working together in 1943 and collaborated on several projects before *West Side Story*. Bernstein, like Robbins, by then had a long history of gender-bending behavior (Swan 1999: 6; Secrest 1994: 33). Although musicologist Nadine Hubbs in her book *The Queer Composition of American Sound* asserts that Bernstein was "aligned more with homo- than hetero- or bisexuality" (2004: 108), there is considerable evidence that his sexuality was more fluid than that. Bernstein's friend, pianist Mildred Spiegel, described him when he graduated from Harvard in 1939 as someone for whom "the pendulum was swinging back and forth" between heterosexual and homosexual relations (Secrest 1994: 36). According to his fellow composer Marc Blitztein, Bernstein "had…no sense of limitation" (56) regarding his sexuality. Vera Tilson, who was a student along with Bernstein at Tanglewood in the 1940s, described him in those years as "sexuality incarnate…he liked anything that was moving" (80). Like Robbins, Bernstein had a "tendency to vacillate" between lovers gendered masculine and feminine (114-5, 95). He told pianist Claudio Arrau that he didn't know whether he should marry Felicia Montealegre because she "would never know who he was in bed with, man, woman, or child" (161). He got engaged to her nevertheless in 1946, then broke off the engagement within a year, then married her suddenly in 1951, at the height of McCarthyism. As composer Noel Farrand remembered, "he told me that where sex was concerned he had always been very adaptable, but…marriage had saved him from a homosexual lifestyle" (178-9). Still, after his marriage Bernstein continued to seek male sexual partners; in the mid-1950s, he was known to proposition male students

at Tanglewood and Catholic University (319; Negrón-Muntaner 2000: 101). In 1963, two years after the release of the film version of *West Side Story*, he referred to himself as "half man, half woman" (Secrest 1994: 320)—an Anybodys figure.

Like Robbins, Bernstein associated his bisexuality with creativity and youthful rebellion. He understood it as part of a playful inventiveness that was necessarily indecorous, like his mixing of boogie-woogie and Bach in a demonstration of orchestral conducting (117, 137). In an essay titled "'Fun' in Art," published in *Dance Magazine* in June 1946, Bernstein defended his statement that at any point in his career he "wanted to do the thing which seemed most like fun at the time." He explained that "fun" connoted a "sense of rightness" and "balance" enabling "expressivity," "creativity," and "energy release" (1982: 104). Its requirements did not always conform to the dictates of the existing social order. But the purpose of art, Bernstein wrote, was in "deepening the experiential values" of fun. From that point, he segued into a discussion of love that comprised an elliptical defense of his own sexuality:

> Analogously, construe the difference between Love on the Run and Love Eternal. They are not opposed to each other, as some would have us think. They are separate manifestations of the same phenomenon, with different motivations, and different results. And they can both be fun (106).

He concluded, "We musicians and dancers have this to say to ourselves: Relax. Invent. Perform. Have fun" (107).

In the spring of 1948, Bernstein's poem "Life is Juicy" appeared in the little magazine *Neurotica*. The poem associates vitality with youth and liminality, while maturity, like death, is characterized as "clean" and "spermless" (Bernstein 1948: 40). *Neurotica* was published from 1948 through 1951, and its contributors included many poets, artists, and intellectuals whose work would later figure prominently in the articulation of a 1950s-60s "youth counterculture." Among these were Allen Ginsberg, Marshall McLuhan (whose article "The Psychopathology of *Time* and *Life*" first appeared in *Neurotica*'s Autumn 1949 issue), and Judith Malina.

Neurotica's editor was Gershon Legman, whose editorial premise was that America's Cold War social norms were pathological—a "social neurosis"—because they demanded a kind of adulthood that sacrificed personal vitality to achieve conformity. By this logic, the outsider whom mainstream society treated as pathological actually belonged to a sane and healthy minority. Evincing the same attitude, Paul Goodman, a psychologist and political theorist who also identified as bisexual, wrote in 1951 that "maturity," though taken as a sign of successful socialization, was actually pathological in that it "is conceived in the interest of an

unnecessarily tight adjustment to a dubiously valuable workaday society, regimented to pay its debts and duties." Goodman therefore suggested the redemptive possibility of embracing "other cultures, gaudier in dress, greedier in physical pleasures, dirtier in manners, more disorderly in governance, more brawling and adventurous in behavior" (Perls et al. 1994: 79-80; Goodman 2011: 262). Such is the culture of the youth gangs in *West Side Story*.

Reichian psychology is the common thread that runs through these various articulations of the 1950s "social neurosis" discourse. In his argument for a sexual revolution, published in the United States in 1949, Marxist psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich wrote of the embodied dimension of this social neurosis, which he called "muscular armor."[8] In lieu of authentic contact with the physical environment, according to Reich, the well-socialized individual in modern society was physically and sexually walled off from others. This fostered widespread anomie and sadism (Reich 1949). The alternative that Reich promoted was a freer sexuality that he argued would be the embodied dimension of a well-rounded social revolution.

In the same vein, in an essay called "Being Queer," Paul Goodman praised queer sexuality in particular for its promotion of "a more elementary humanity," one that is "wilder, less structured, more variegated, and where people pay attention to each other" (Goodman 1977: 219). For Goodman, then, as for Robbins and Bernstein, queerness constituted a form of resistance against pathological (because unnecessarily stifling of personal energy, originality, and relatedness) social norms. Film historian Gerald Mast associates this attitude with the queer aesthetic of theatrical and movie musicals generally, in that they

> adopt a deliberate pose of frivolousness, covertly engaging our culture in a debate about "earnestness," the very term underlying Oscar Wilde's comic monument…. The extravagant excess of musicals is simultaneously an act of rebellion, a burst of joy, and a cry of desperation (1987: 37-38).

In identifying their bisexuality with both youthful playfulness and a defiance of the social norms of subject formation, Robbins and Bernstein embraced the image of Peter Pan. Bernstein wrote the music for the 1950 Broadway musical *Peter Pan*, in which a woman, Jean Arthur, played the boy who would never grow up. Robbins choreographed and directed the 1954 Broadway version, in which another woman, Mary Martin, played Pan. And Martin later explained, "[Jerry] was the one and only one to choreograph AND direct *Peter*. You see, Jerry IS Peter Pan" (Jowitt 2004: 244).

West Side Story pits society's investment in a "mature" heterosexuality, represented by the romance of Tony and Maria,

against the boy-gang's embrace of "youthful" homoerotic desire. Instead of celebrating the transition to adulthood, as it appears to on the surface, the storyline shows us that "maturity" is linked to anomie (Doc), sadism (Schrank and Krupke), or death. Tony, Riff, and Bernardo, the three adolescent male characters most committed to monogamous heterosexual relationships, are the only ones to be killed. When Tony and Maria meet in the dress shop and plan their wedding, the choreography of the scene emphasizes how disproportionately focused the young lovers are on familial and social approval: they even get down on their knees, in symbolic submission to the authority of church and state. In the film's hidden transcript, Tony becomes a traitor to the youth culture by embracing maturity, essentializing gender, and enforcing heteronormativity.[9] In the final scene, he tells Anybodys: "It's not playing anymore!…You're a girl: *be a girl!*" (Lehman 2003: 123)—that is, be "serious" and perform your gender as an expression of your biology (Butler 1997).

The Jets and Maria fight over Tony, pitting the homoerotic attractions of their youth gang against her offer of heterosexual union. In keeping with this dynamic, the creators of *West Side Story* assign to the Jets the role of expressing a collective rage against the Cold War American social order for its enforced truncation of "mature" men's lives. The targeting of Anita as the object of this rage is consistent with her characterization, throughout the film, as the epitome of the mature heterosexual female and an apostle of heteronormativity.[10] It is she who fosters Maria's romance with Tony, encouraging it in the prelude to the "America" dance and later enabling the lovers' meeting at the dress shop. Despite the death of her brother Bernardo at Tony's hands, she objects only briefly to the continuation of the romance before heading over to Doc's candy store to help Maria, as Anybodys says, "get Tony"—not for the Sharks, but for heterosexuality.

The Jets' aggression against Anita grows as their sense of her presence as an emissary of heteronormativity subsumes their initial focus on her connection to the Sharks. We can see that the violence of the scene escalates as they make an associative leap from Anita's ethnicity to her sexuality, until they decide "to make a whore of [her]."[11] The spectacle of her rape presents the audience with a gothic inversion of the sentimental romance between Tony and Maria, with the two participants in this case (Anita and Baby John) both shown to be unwilling and manipulated victims.

Watching Anybodys Watching

Because Anybodys experiences Anita's heteronormativity and femininity as a double threat to their own queer subjectivity, they play a key role in instigating the Jets' attack on her. On witnessing the result,

however—a reiteration of male sexual violence against female bodies like their own ("o.k. if you want to stay I'll f[uck] ya")—following their previously established deep choreography of assertiveness followed by retreat, they gravitate away from the Jets' gang culture and once more assume an abject comportment.

When Anita first insists on entering the Jets "headquarters," Anybodys is quick to second A-Rab in confronting her with a bodily barrier. They also join in the jeering laughter when Action, having forced Anita to say "please," blows smoke in her face. While the other Jets at this point persist in identifying Anita's threat primarily with her ethnicity ("She's too dark to pass," "por favor," "no comprende!" "gracias!" they call), Anybodys' taunt shifts to a sexualization of Anita's ethnicity. They shout, "ai ai hey mambo!" snapping their fingers as they shake their hips back-and-forth, their words and dance recalling the stereotypically sexualized mambo dance-off from the "Dance at the Gym" earlier that evening. They are likewise the first to identify Anita as "Bernardo's girl" and to insist that she "wants to help get Tony," after which the Jets begin undressing Anita and manhandling her.

Unlike Anita, who is deemed by the Jets to be unfit to "pass" into their cultural turf, Anybodys has (recently) achieved among them a tenuous acceptability. Ice's welcome has empowered them to emerge from their usual abjection: they talk and move animatedly among the Jets before Anita's entrance. But the latitude of their verbal and locomotoric presence is still clearly limited by the tolerance of their protector, a fact communicated early in the scene when their taunting of Baby John provokes Ice to silence them by yanking them by the arm onto a nearby stool. As a result, Anybodys is sitting at the counter rubbing their sore arm, at once rueful and resentful, when Anita arrives on the scene.

By facilitating the humiliation of Anita, Anybodys tries to distance themselves farther from the ideological construction of femininity that underlies the stigmatization of their own existence, and even to push back against it by asserting their relative masculinity. Standing up from the stool where Ice had forcibly seated them, they join in with A-Rab's mockery of Anita, telling her that Doc "got stuck halfway in" the bank deposit slot. The motion with which they accompany this statement—thrusting their left hand into space and bending their right elbow so their right hand touches the middle of their left arm—forms a sinuous *bras d'honneur* that successfully redeems the rubbing of their sore arm (the mark of their recent silencing) into a gesture of masculine aggressiveness. At the same time, though, their statement is obliquely telling on themselves, because it is they who are "stuck halfway in" a female body they cannot wholly abjure.

When the sexual taunting of Anita gives way to sexual assault, therefore, Anybodys disappears. We glimpse them only in brief moments,

just enough to establish that they have taken refuge alongside the inner door behind which Tony is hidden. They are once more abject in their comportment, watching the boy-on-girl violence with mixed emotions that register in their demeanor: fascination, horror, shock, and sorrow. Not until Doc expels the Jets from the candy store after interrupting the rape does Anybodys again become clearly visible. Then they peel themselves from alongside the basement door, the last Jet to leave. While the boys walk out with visibly slumped shoulders and dragging feet, Anybodys' posture reveals a deeper conflict. They have both gained and lost more than the others from participating in Anita's degradation. Their upper body bent forward, as if in a bow of supplication, they follow the Jets out, their torso misaligned from their pelvis. This bodily contortion is a visible mark of the uneasy knowledge that they bear of the continuing social untenability of the subject position that they inhabit.

Figure 2: Anybodys hovers on the threshold. *West Side Story* DVD. 1998 [1961]. Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment. Screenshot by authors.

By displaying and invoking such affects, *West Side Story* communicated to its viewers some of the psychological processes constitutive of the genderqueer subject in Cold War America. In the confined cultural spaces of the era's popular culture, its creators made this ideologically impermissible alternative real.

In the play version of the musical, there is a queer utopian moment that was cut from the film. This is a "dream ballet" that accompanies Tony's and Maria's song, "There's a Place for Us" (Negrón-Muntaner 2000: 101). The stage directions for this dance envision a would-be world in which "boys and girls…begin to dance, to play: no sides, no hostility now; just joy and pleasure and warmth. More and more join, making a world that Tony and Maria want to be in, belong to, share their love with" (Laurents 1958: 107–8). According to Arthur Laurents, in rehearsals for the

Broadway production, Jerome Robbins concentrated "almost entirely" on perfecting this scene (Laurents 2000: 363).

But Anybodys is the only remaining representative of that dream world flitting through the realist spaces of the film. The closest the movie comes to a queer utopian moment is when Anybodys is welcomed into the Jets gang by Ice, who praises them by saying, "Ya done good, buddy boy" and tells them to keep searching "in an' outta the shadows" (Lehman 2003: 106). In the movie, queer utopianism is minimized in favor of representations of the hostility and sadism that Reichian discourse identified as the tragic social effects of "muscular armor." While the tragedy of Tony's and Maria's romance takes center stage, the musical surreptitiously presents us with Anybodys' tragedy as well. They cannot be wholly themselves either in the clubhouse or at the high-school dance. Only out on the streets, half-unseen in the midst of a disruptive drama that suspends the social codes normally regulating such spaces, can they realize their queer orientation. In the end, it is access to that, not membership in the Jets gang, that Anybodys truly fights for.

Notes

1. In *West Side Story*'s retelling of the tragedy, Shakespeare's feuding families are supplanted by two warring gangs of teens: the white immigrant Jets and the Puerto-Rican Sharks. Tony (Romeo) is a former Jet, and Maria (Juliet) is Puerto Rican.

2. Handwritten note on undated typescript of the screenplay. Jerome Robbins Papers, New York Public Library, Lincoln Center. Series 1, box 82, folder 4.

3. For a contemporaneous example of this aesthetic, see the number "Ain't There Anyone Here for Love" from the movie *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953), choreographed by Jack Cole.

4. The term "bisexual," like the term "tomboy," is retained here as representative of the vocabulary of the era and therefore important for cognizing its structures of feeling.

5. Undated typescript, Jerome Robbins Papers, Box 81, folder 4. This would later be changed to "go walk the streets like ya sister," suggesting that, among women, only whores have access to the streets. See Lehman, *West Side Story*, 51.

6. Aaron Copland, an avowed homosexual, told Bernstein that he was "not one of us." Conductor and composer Dmitri Mitropoulos likewise complained to friends that Bernstein was "silly" in preferring the "boy-girls he finds" to "real men" (Secrest 1994: 180, 148). Laurents considered himself gay, but not Robbins (Rapkin 2010).

7. See Jerome Robbins Personal Papers, New York Public Library, Lincoln Center. Box 29, Folder 3.

8. After his expulsion in 1934 from the International Psychoanalytical Association for promoting Communism, Reich's thinking deteriorated into

scientism and paranoia. His idea of "muscular armor" dates from before that period.

9. In an early scene in the alley behind the store, Riff attempts to woo Tony back as they engage in a playful, homoerotic wrestling match and repeat the Jets' loyalty pledge: "womb to tomb, sperm to worm" (Laurents 2003: 20).

10. This sexualization of Anita's ethnicity reproduces a persistent popular-culture stereotype of Puerto Rican women as oversexed (Briggs 2002: 164, 173). Anybodys' alacrity to become one of the Jets is multivalent, therefore, as their desire to be not-female is conflated with a desire to be not-Puerto Rican.

11. Handwritten note on undated typescript of the screenplay. Jerome Robbins Papers, New York Public Library, Lincoln Center. Series 1, Box 82, Folder 4

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Queering the Color Line within the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Transwar Transpacific

Alan Williams

> The greatest and most dangerous race problem today is the problem of relations between Asia and Europe: the question as to how far "East is East and West is West." There is in reality no difference between the reaction to this European idea on the parts of Japan and China. It is a question simply of the method of eliminating it.[1]
>
> W. E. B. Du Bois, "Prospect of a World without Race Conflict," 1944

> Everywhere, massed and concentrated power is necessary to accomplish anything worthwhile doing in this muddled world, hoping for a divine Anarchy in some faraway heaven.[2]
>
> W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 1928

In his 1945 *Color and Democracy*, the African American intellectual and activist W. E. B. Du Bois reminded his readers that America thwarted both Japan's and China's proposals for "racial equality." First, at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference that concluded WWI, President Woodrow Wilson unilaterally vetoed Japan's Racial Equality Proposal on behalf of an Australia anxious about its white settlement policy. With the concept of racial equality bolstered by Asia's gradual material ascent, white settler-colonial states in the transpacific interpreted Japan's proposal

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as implying that Asian immigration ought not to be curtailed; they saw it as a violation of national sovereignty.[3] Du Bois had noted in 1937 how the anti-Asian racism underpinning the United States' 1924 Immigration Act—known in Japan as the *Hainichi iminhō* or "Anti-Japanese Immigrant Law"—had dovetailed with antiblackness:

> The people of the United States…excluded the Japanese by law, not because they were vagabonds and burdens but because they were too thrifty and too efficient; a political deal between the West and the South brought the Japanese exclusion law in return for the defeat of the anti-lynching bill in 1924. Thus America showed her clear attitude toward colored labor, whether it was her own black citizens or yellow foreigners.[4]

Then, as Du Bois recounted in *Color and Democracy*, America "suppressed" China's proposal for racial equality at the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conference where the United Nations took shape in the waning months of WWII. In Du Bois' view, China was slated to receive the only nonwhite seat on the emerging UN Security Council "because of Japan," who had threatened global white supremacy with its regionalist empire. China, he wrote, was imagined by the West as someday again "dominat[ing] Asia…[but] in collaboration with Europe and the United States…pushed forward in theory as the representative of Asiatic peoples and as [a] promise of Western sincerity toward the yellow race."[5] During the conference, China-novelist Pearl Buck warned readers of the *New York Times* that racial equality in 1919 had been the "one issue" on which Japan and China had been of "one mind"; "bitterness…expressed itself finally in the attack on Pearl Harbor," Buck opined, and a "new bitterness" might result if China were also rebuffed.[6] African Americans warmly anticipated the proposal, but after the conference, the *Chicago Defender* somberly reported that the "Chinese did not even bring up the subject in spite of the fact that it was part of their original plan."[7] The Chinese delegation led by Wellington Koo, who was also a representative for China in 1919, wanted only to condemn the Japanese and German theories of master races (Yamatoism and Aryanism), not antagonize America on its "Negro problem." Since the equality concept broached both matters, China dropped the proposal in the interests of affable Sino-U.S. relations.[8] Du Bois' sense of China as collaborating with the West would change with Mao Zedong's 1949 communist victory, which U.S. policymakers called the "loss" of China.

Du Bois' famous formulation that the "problem of the twentieth century" would be the "problem of the color line" included the shift in the distribution of material power between the white and nonwhite worlds

that, by the first decades of the century, compelled the leading powers to reevaluate how they dealt with racial otherness. Some measure of "equality" between the racial self and other—to include inter-Asian and Afro-Asian relations—was recognized as needing to be meted out if empire were to remain justifiable. As Takashi Fujitani and Lisa Yoneyama have framed the transwar transpacific, America and Japan, vying for material and moral primacy in Asia after decades of cooperation for liberalism's expanse, brewed liberal-pluralist governmentality to address the conundrum. With the British Empire fading and the Russian one collapsed, America and Japan shared a goal of supplanting the nineteenth-century model of "benevolent imperialism" for racial development while staving off Marxist-Leninism. As Fujitani puts it, the two powers competitively sought to develop a "new type of sovereignty that was both colonized and independent at the same time": a shift from the "vulgar racism" of colonial modernity to the "polite racism" of modernization.[9] Yoneyama summarizes the Americanization of racial justice during the early Cold War decades of decolonization and the U.S.-USSR competition, which included both the transition from segregation to integration and the lifting of Asian exclusion in U.S. immigration law, as a "discursive production of the U.S. relation with the enemy of color [Japan] that had earlier championed the rhetoric of racial justice [the 1919 racial equality proposal]."[10] The U.S.-Japan alliance, or the post-1952 cooperation of the two empires in an asymmetrical relation of power, has been an attempted stopgap in the *longue durée* of contentious racial capitalism[11] in the transpacific. Under duress, but also deepening due to China's rise, the alliance has contributed to the failure to redress both Japanese and American violence in Asia. Justice and sovereignty remain out of reach because racial capitalism—exploit the other or otherwise be exploited—incentivizes cyclical competition and legitimation of past and future violence. Today, the U.S. empire's postwar model of "benevolent modernization" competes with China's similar, but more illiberal approach, as the United States, in alliance with Japan, India, and Australia, seeks to "balance" against China. Liberal pluralism competes with reactionary ethnonationalism (e.g., Anglo, Slavic, Hindu, Han) during the U.S. imperial decline.

Du Bois' critique of liberal pluralism in the shape of American integrationism and multiculturalist democratization has been highlighted by scholars such as Penny Von Eschen and Mary Dudziak.[12] Cedric Robinson and Lisa Lowe have positioned Du Bois as an early theorist of racial capitalism itself.[13] Yet, little focus has been given to Du Bois' sense of liberal pluralism's earlier rise in the transwar transpacific, as he has been depicted as succumbing to its logics—an unfortunate irony, given the trenchancy of his postwar critique. In what follows, I will first briefly outline the debate concerning Du Bois' 1930s statements of support

for the pan-Asianist strategy of Imperial Japan, or Japanese liberal pluralism. I will then discuss how Du Bois' sense of Asia's emancipatory potential was in line with what Torsten Weber has called "pan-Asianism from below" or the anticolonial, regionalist sentiment in early twentieth-century Asia that predated Japan's appropriation of it in the 1930s for "pan-Asianism from above."[14] In particular, my focus is on the interpretative overlap Du Bois had with the Chinese revolutionary and pan-Asianist Sun Yat-sen regarding "realist-idealist" possibility in inter-Asian relations. As Robert Vitalis has pointed out, "realism" in the field of international relations was so termed during the transwar period. It concerned the twin material threats to Anglo-Saxon global dominance: the waning of *Pax Britannica* and the waxing of illiberal internationalism (both the Communist International and anti-/colonial regionalisms, such as pan-Asianism and pan-Africanism). Vitalis provocatively designates the white supremacist Lothrop Stoddard as the first American realist whose 1920s books warning the West of a rising tide of color predate E. H. Carr's 1939 *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (the latter usually cited as the first text outlining the realism-idealism binary in the international relations field).[15] During the transwar period, the field shifted from an earlier paradigm of interimperial relations and racial development, as seen in the title change of the first American international relations journal, the *Journal of Race Development* to *Foreign Affairs* (Du Bois published under both titles). "Idealism" includes the liberalism associated with Wilsonianism and the rise of *Pax Americana*, which was undermined by the 1933 exits of Japan and Germany from the League of Nations, America's own refusal to join the League, and the failure to prevent WWII. Idealism also includes the prefigurative politics of the anticolonial organizing that took nationalist (e.g., Indian, Korean), regionalist (e.g., pan-Asian, pan-African), and globalist (e.g., Communist International) forms. By describing Du Bois and Sun as "realist-idealists," I mean that their regionalist organizing was tempered by their *realpolitik*. After comparing their pan-Asianist rhetoric, I will then analyze Du Bois' 1930s grappling with Japanese empire and capitalism to argue that his politics remained consistently regionalist.

Finally, in the last section, my analysis turns toward genre. Whereas Du Bois often took a realist position in his political commentary that focused on material shifts on a global color line, in his fiction he could emphasize idealism and work with polyvocality. In his 1928 novel *Dark Princess,* "Japan" is curiously configured as the leading antagonist: the novel's pan-Asianist and eventually Afro-Asian organization for toppling global white supremacy is led by a problematically realist and anticommunist Japanese baron. The story features realist and idealist maneuvering by transpacific actors, and their separate and combined efforts to effect a postglobal white supremacy world. Du Bois' "color line within a color line"

formulation, found only in *Dark Princess*, is often mistakenly interpreted as between "Afro" and "Asian" that must be resolved before the color line between white and nonwhite can be successfully faded. When framed in this racially essentialist manner, the "line within the line" would seem to disappear with the realization of the realist-idealist Afro-Asian alliance and the novel's conclusion: the birth of an Afro-Indian child signifying an impending end of global white supremacy. Instead, I argue that the line names the *structure* of modern racism beyond the *content* of white supremacy or the nineteenth-century Gobineaurian hierarchy.[16] The phrase is Du Bois' warning that the dominative hierarchization generated by racial capitalism is not displaced by simply fading white supremacy. (For example, "civilized/civilizing" reconstituted as "developed/developing" became the dominant framework for global racial capitalism after the 1941–5 U.S.-Japan "race war."[17]) Accordingly, the color line within a color line is a problem for this twenty-first century that Du Bois in 1900 predicted shall see the re-ascent of a "brown and yellow world," or Asia.[18] Across the twentieth century, and in particular during the chaotic transition between British and American dominance, such a future was already foreseeable.

On the one hand, the internationalism in *Dark Princess* imitates realist strategies of war and racial reproduction, the birth of a messianic mixed-race child marking the consummation of the text's primary heterosexual dyad. On the other, because the story is told from the perspective of its ever-conflicted and idealist protagonist who infuses the reader with ambivalence and doubt, the color line within the color line is intentionally unresolved. *Dark Princess* thus presents Du Bois' deeper aspirational political ontology that his protagonist expresses in the second epigraph as a "divine Anarchy in some faraway heaven." The novel is, I suggest, queer praxis, because it addresses the emancipatory limits of racial reproduction, the clash of realist and idealist futurities, and the negotiation of the provincial and the cosmopolitan—all of which today fall under a queer heuristic. The text is arguably a precursor of today's queer regionalism frameworks that, in centering supranational relations, provincialize the heteronormative nation-state as the chief administrative apparatus extending racial capitalism.[19]

Du Bois and Imperial Japan: The Debate

In 1934, Du Bois resigned from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which he helped found in 1909, over disagreement regarding the organization's tacit acceptance of liberal integrationism. He called for a more socialist, if even separatist, strategy for better addressing the needs of the U.S. black working class.[20] The following year, in 1935, he published his magisterial *Black Reconstruction in America*, which highlighted black agency in both

ending American slavery and in seeking a more democratic and equitable postbellum. But then, after a 1936 trip to Japan and Manchukuo, he justified Japanese imperialism and settlement in Manchuria as more benevolent than Euro-American ambitions in Asia, citing Manchukuo's semi-socialist racial pluralism. Commenting in 1937 on the puppet state's *Gozoku kyōwa* or "Five races, one union" policy, Du Bois described Japanese liberal pluralism as potentially devoid of a "caste of Superiors and Inferiors."[21] He considered whether "colonial enterprise by a colored nation need not imply the caste, exploitation, and subjection…always implied in the case of white Europe."[22] However, by the end of the Asia-Pacific War, he had resolved that Japan's "Asiatic caste system under a 'superior' Japanese race…for the domination and exploitation of the peasants of Asia by Japanese trusts and industrialists…offer[ed] Asia no acceptable exchange for Western exploitation."[23] His statement showed recognition of the shape racial capitalism took in the Japanese imperial context.

Bill Mullen has interpreted the 1935–45 decade as a kind of about-face for the then-septuagenarian thinker. Mullen writes that Du Bois rethought Japan's violence and exploitation against his own "racialist nationalism in favor of Japan, motivated by anti-Eurocentrism [that] bleaches capitalism of its universal particulars."[24] According to Mullen, Du Bois applied a more robust Marxian analysis that included greater reflection on the world-historical implications of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, as Du Bois had visited the Soviet Union in 1925 and became better aware of communism's advance in China. From Du Bois' postwar perspective, Mullen writes, "what the world needed was a colored nation that was clearly committed to smashing capitalism itself": Maoist China.[25] Yuichiro Onishi has summarized Du Bois' 1930s support of Japan thusly: a "preoccup[ation] with giving moral, epistemic, and political authority to the concept of race at a scale exceeding the nation-state wedded to gendered and heterosexual normativity…made him unable to extricate himself from the strong shaping force of colonial and capitalist modernity."[26]

This prominent narrative of Du Bois as an underdeveloped Marxist and simple Japan apologist, then China apologist, has been disputed by Etsuko Taketani. In her meticulous unpacking of Du Bois' support of Manchukuo in the context of rapidly shifting interimperial relations in Asia, Taketani observes "mutual implications" in Du Bois' rhetoric on Japan, China, and Russia.[27] Du Bois, in other words, exhibited a regionalist orientation toward Asia similar to his pan-Africanism. For Taketani, the matter of whether and when Du Bois "(wrongly) defended imperialism or (rightly) condemned it" is a superimposed concern that obfuscates his tendency to take realist positions for idealist ends. Taketani warns that Mullen's concept of "Afro-orientalism" to describe

Du Bois' splitting of modernity along the East–West axis for imagining Asia as helping liberate, either willfully or by sheer material ascent, the world from white supremacy renders the transpacific dialogue of which he was part as unidirectional: America outward.[28] Furthermore, a nation-centric, "teleological narrative of interpretation" of Du Bois as shifting from pro-Japan to pro-China portrays the leading twentieth-century black intellectual as "naively credulous of, or misguided by, a utopian vision of a transpacific alliance of peoples of color."[29]

In the analysis of Nahum Dmitri Chandler, Japan's ascent after its Meiji Restoration and the West's reactionary Yellow Peril rhetoric was for Du Bois the material antecedent for naming, early in his career, the "possibility of an Asian future as other than that bequeathed by the West." Chandler suggests that Du Bois applied his notion of double-consciousness from his 1903 *The Souls of Black Folk* to the matter of Asia in colonial modernity.[30] As Chandan Reddy has usefully summarized double-consciousness: Du Bois "refused the integration of blackness into a white-nonwhite binary, whose system of operation will always already position the black subject as simulacrum and copy." Rather than a "reduction of black existence to the position of the 'other,' [Du Bois developed] a nonbinary understanding of racial formations…[whereby] true self-consciousness existed outside the binary constructions of race."[31] Arguably, then, Du Bois was theoretically equipped to critique orientalism and strategically deploy the West's anxious particularization of the East, or what Asian Americanists today call the peril-model binary. (I chose the first epigraph to accord with this interpretation: Du Bois as a wielder of strategic orientalism.) Conversely, when Du Bois is framed as an "Afro-orientalist," he is seen as uncritically duplicating the peril-model binary with a configuration of Imperial Japan and then Maoist China as the "Yellow Promise" and China under Chiang Kai-shek as an Asian Uncle Tom.[32]

Du Bois, Sun Yat-sen, and the "Shadow of Asia"

In a 1925 article in *Foreign Affairs* entitled "Worlds of Color," Du Bois revisited his turn of the century color line formulation to update it with Bolshevism and the anticolonial, regionalist organizing of which he was part. He described the color line as having cast "shadows" of exploited and exploitable labor, and due to provincialism qua racism, white laborers as rejecting their plights as aligned with nonwhite laborers around the globe. He witnessed an exception to this pattern in the Soviet Union during his visit that year and described the nascent state contra what would become South Africa's apartheid regime, as "seeking a rapprochement with colored labor…making her peace with China and Japan…her leaders…in close touch with the leaders of India." He cited how Vladimir Lenin "himself grappled with the question of the American

Negros."[33] He explained that Euro-America, confronting both Marxist-Leninism and a rising tide of color, sought to maintain control over their respective imperial shadows, both materially and ideologically, lest they be forced to acknowledge that "over all Europe there stretches the yellow shadow of Asia that lies across the world."[34]

This "shadow of Asia" might seem to harken to Yellow Peril discourse that saw threat in Imperial Japan and Chinese republicanism (the monarchy ended with the 1911 Xinhai Revolution, during which Sun Yat-sen played an instrumental role) potentially conjoining in their goals with the Indian and African independence movements. But for Du Bois, the shadow was more than mere racial otherness of Europe. He described it as "worlds of color," a phrase that evoked the Afro-Asian commerce and cultural exchange that orbited China and India for several centuries before Vasco da Gama's voyage, the transatlantic slave trade and the Dutch and British East India Companies—the material history of Afro-Eurasia before the white supremacist claim on civilization. Indeed, a sense of nonwhite civilization in contradistinction to Europe's false monopoly on it fueled Du Bois' "Afro-Asian" imagination.[35] Still, in thinking about the imposition of colonial capitalism on global nonwhite cultures who had "little in common, either today or yesterday…pounded together artificially and not attracting each other naturally," Du Bois named a "shadow of shadows."[36] This conundrum of the "artificial" over the "natural" in modern inter-Asian, inter-African and Afro-Asian relations he would express in *Dark Princess* a few years later as the "[loom]ing…[of] the shadow of a color line within a color line."[37]

A sense of artificiality of relations also pervaded contemporaneous pan-Asianist views. In his famous 1924 speech "Pan-Asianism," delivered in Kobe, Japan, Sun Yat-sen coaxed his mostly Japanese audience to imagine a possible different future for "Asia." Describing Japan and China as "natural friends, unnatural enemies," and both as "not independent" thirty years earlier—by which he meant their territorial integrity largely retained, but choked by unequal treaties—Sun applauded Japan for managing to lift the treaties on itself, reminding that they still plagued China in part because of Japan.[38] Du Bois, in 1900, had described Japan's deflection of the treaties and extraterritoriality after the 1895 First Sino-Japanese War as the "greatest concession to the color line which the nineteenth century has seen," indicating his sense of how modern Sino-Japanese tensions were driven by a larger "struggle between East and West."[39] In his speech, Sun recounted how the Japanese triumph in the 1904–5 Russo-Japanese War (which Du Bois, in 1937, cited as "breaking the myth of white world domination"[40]) was celebrated as far away as Egypt, leaving Britain, Japan's ally, both delighted by Russia's humiliation and "painfully surprised…for the victory was certainly not a blessing for the white peoples."[41] Without explicitly naming colonized

Korea (Sun's speech would be criticized in Korean newspapers as "careless" and "clumsy"[42]), he warned his audience that Japan was at risk of becoming the "hawk of Western civilization" that ruled with "Might," and needed to "retain the characteristics of the Oriental civilization of the rule of Right." To distinguish the two, Sun cited "European civilization" or what today would be called the Westphalian system versus the then almost-defunct Chinese tributary system. Whereas colonized India had "always entertained the thought of independence" and would, if Britain were to weaken, "overthrow British rule and regain independence within five years," Nepal still continued to send tribute to China even when the "status of China had deteriorated to such an extent that it [was] inferior even to that of a British colony."[43] Sun then described the nascent Soviet Union as "expelled from the Family of Nations by the White races" and as "join[ing] with the Orient," indicating his non-racially essentialist vision for Sino-Soviet-Japanese cooperation to resist Euro-American domination for the welfare and improvement of "Asia."[44] His dream would never come to pass.

Although the record does not show Sun and Du Bois met, they had a mutual acquaintance in the Indian nationalist and pan-Asianist Rajpat Rai who met Sun many times in Japan, and to whom Du Bois dedicated *Dark Princess*.[45] Sun also appears twice in the novel featuring a pan-Asian alliance.[46] Curiously, both Sun and Du Bois hoped for a Sino-Soviet-Japanese alliance for reshaping global relations. In Du Bois' reflections, in fact, Sun's death in 1925 is rendered as the turning point when such an ideal loses its potential becoming. He wrote in 1937 that "China, after hesitation, after losing her great and far-sighted leader, Sun Yat-sen, turned…toward the leadership of modern industrial imperialism as represented in China, especially by England." With the Kuomintang falling under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek who carried out the 1927 Shanghai Massacre to suppress communism, thereby initiating civil war—and with China thereafter coordinating with Britain and America against Japan and the Soviet Union—Japan, both anticommunist and under containment by its white former allies, chose to, Du Bois wrote, "fight Europe by attacking China."[47] As Taketani has put it, Du Bois' "seemingly proimperialist narrative of the [Second] Sino-Japanese War," which features prominently in scholarship as the "illustration of his radical failure of vision with regard to Japanese imperialism," is actually sublated within a realist-idealist vision.[48] Namely, were a Sino-Soviet alliance to have come to pass under Sun or otherwise, Du Bois wrote in 1937, "the salvation of China…would not have rested upon Japan, and two-thirds of the world would have been arrayed against the industrial imperialism of Europe."[49]

My sense, then, is that even if an explicit Du Bois-Sun dialogue is not present in the archive, Sun's navigation of the interimperial arena

strongly influenced Du Bois' own sense of the parameters of inter-Asian possibility. As late as the 1931 Manchurian incident, Du Bois appealed for Sino-Japanese cooperation to "unmask [the Western leadership]… tear apart their double faces and double tongues and unite in peace."[50] Because both Sun and Du Bois shared a realist-idealist orientation, I believe it is worth revisiting the former's views on thorny historical matters that are less elaborated in the latter's writings, but on which scholars have problematically filled in the gaps. I will take two examples.

The first is regarding Korea. Du Bois wrote next to nothing about colonized Korea, which has been interpreted to mean that the Korean peninsula was a mere sacrifice in his "pro-Japan" orientation.[51] Conversely, Sun is known for organizing with Korean independence leaders exiled in China and offering his support from afar at the Paris Peace Conference for Korean independence from Japan and the 1919 March First Movement.[52] Yet, in his 1917 *The Vital Problem of China,* Sun described the 1910 annexation in realist terms: as a matter of "life and death" for Japan, a view to which Du Bois also subscribed.[53] In idealist terms, Sun stressed that for America, who had inveigled both Japan in 1853 and Korea in 1871 to open to liberalism, the annexation was only a matter of a "slight loss of trade": a power "whose Constitution is based on the principles of equality and liberty [but] was the first to advocate discrimination against the Yellow race [the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act]." For "thousands of years Korea was a tributary state of China…[but] perished," Sun wrote, because America pressed upon it a duplicitous model of self-determination and prosperity that "seduced Korea into separating herself from China…persuad[ing] it into a declaration of independence and then [leaving] it in the lurch."[54] "When Britain and Japan entered into an alliance [in 1902], and Korea was about to be annexed by Japan," Sun went on, "the United States was the first to recall her minister from Korea, instead of responding to the Korean appeal for assistance. Resentful as the Korean intellectuals are toward Japan on account of the annexation of their country, they are even more so toward the United States."[55] In this narrative, the question of who was to blame for Korea's predicament (Japan, Russia, Britain, America, China) is less important than the problem of an order imposed on the region: the Westphalian system and its deleterious doctrines of balance of power and sphere of influence, which pan-Asianists organizing from below sought to alleviate. In Sun's view, Korea had gullibly "relied upon somebody who could not be relied upon."[56] I suggest that were Du Bois to have written more on Korea, he would have derived a similar narrative.

The second example is regarding Sino-Japanese relations. As Lei Zhang has pointed out in an article in *American Studies*, the scholarly recounting of Du Bois' sense of Sino-Japanese relations has a 1920s gap such that he is rendered in simplistic terms "pro-Japan" following

the 1931 Manchurian incident.[57] Du Bois' postwar reflections give an indication of further overlap with Sun's views on the matter of squandered opportunity for Sino-Japanese cooperation in the late 1910s and early 1920s. To explain the overlap, I must first highlight their contrasting views on the emancipatory utility of WWI. During the war, Du Bois leaned into Allied rhetoric that Germany was "barbaric," because Wilhelm II's *Weltpolitik* in Africa included the 1904–7 Herero and Nama genocide, and in Asia, the Kaiser notoriously instructed his army to treat the Chinese Boxers like Attila's Huns treated Rome in their fifth-century "barbarous" raids. "Huns" would become the racialized slur directed at the German Army by the WWI Allied forces. Du Bois supposed that a German victory would result in a "crucifixion of darker peoples unparalleled in history," whereas an Allied one might assist in a fading of the global color line. This potential fading was because a coalition of "black Africans, brown Indians, and yellow Japanese…fighting for Britain and France" (the latter two, compared to Germany, as more experienced colonizers who had "at least begun to realize the cost and evil of race prejudice") might lead to a cascade of "new ideas about the essential equality of all men."[58] Du Bois would be disabused of his wartime optimism by the mistreatment of black servicemen during the war, the 1919 Red Summer, Wilson's veto of Japan's Racial Equality Proposal, as well as postwar imperial inertia on the colonization question (vis-à-vis the vision of the 1919 Pan-African Congress that Du Bois organized with Ida Gibbs Hunt). His miscalculation is often paired with his 1918 "Close Ranks" error for which the African American community excoriated him: he coaxed the readership of *The Crisis* to, "for as long as the war lasts…forget our racial grievances and close our ranks, shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy."[59] Notably, Du Bois' reasoning during WWI can be likened to that found in Mohandas Gandhi's June 1918 leaflet entitled "Appeal for Enlistment" wherein Gandhi argued that "the easiest and the straightest way to win swaraj [home rule] is to participate in the defence of the [British] Empire."[60]

In contrast to reluctantly siding with experienced colonizers, Sun did not regard Germany as more "barbaric" than the Allies, but instead as "the least aggressive, and also the least ambitious" toward China.[61] The above-outlined lesson on Korea's gullibility Sun applied to what he called the "vital problem" of China's decision to join the Allies, rather than remaining neutral, in its hopes to gain sovereignty in a Westphalian system ill-designed for it. He decried China's leaders for naively choosing to side with Britain and France, who had conducted the Opium Wars, and against Germany to try to reclaim Shandong Province and lift unequal treaties, including the indemnities of the Boxer Protocol. Japan's initial request that China remain neutral, Sun described as a "kindness in saving China from danger" that also affected Japanese security. Chinese

leaders, however, interpreted this "kindness" as "depriv[ing] China of her diplomatic freedom." Sun warned that out of national pride and misguided tactics—namely, a "traditional, stupid policy" of "attacking the neighbor [Japan] with friends from a distance"—China would assuredly find itself suffering the longstanding British strategy of "sacrificing friends to befriend the enemy" in order to safeguard control over its crown jewel, India.[62] Put differently to highlight Sun's *realpolitik*, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (in place from 1902 in order to check Russia) superseded any Sino-British arrangement on Germany or Japan, but because Japanese power in the region could be offset by Anglo-U.S. cooperation, Sino-Japanese cooperation for "Asia" was, in Sun's view, practical. Instead, he saw China as choosing to forfeit the "opportunity of cooperating with Japan in developing East Asia, and played into the hands of the White peoples."[63] In his 2007 book *The Wilsonian Moment*, Erez Manela explains how the 1919 May Fourth Movement as the local response to China's humiliation at the Paris Peace Conference (Shandong transferred from defeated Germany to Japan with Anglo-French approval) was a turning point for Chinese nationalism. "Bolshevism as an alternative path for resisting imperialism" quickly gained appeal over the failed Wilsonian promise.[64] America would attempt to remedy the situation in favor of liberalism a few years later at the 1921–2 Washington Naval Conference by shifting Shandong back to China and curbing Japanese expansionism and Bolshevism with a long-sought internationalization of its open door policy: the Nine-Power Treaty.

But Du Bois, reflecting on this sequence of events in 1950 (the anticommunist enticement of China and various Anglo-U.S. measures to contain Japan: the Anglo-Japanese Alliance severed in 1923, the 1924 Immigration Act, and the restraining of Japan's naval buildup through the pretense of maintaining a "peaceful" balance of power) observed a "color prejudice in America, South Africa, Australia and even Britain… [an] unwillingness to link [their] fortunes with yellow people." He wrote that, after the 1922 conference, China was left "open to the Revolution under Sun Yat-sen"; but with the leader's 1925 death, the civil war after 1927, and Japan's 1931 seizure of "that part of China that was nearest anarchy…and England, America and the white world howled," China "let her bitterness toward Japanese aggression become a leading motive in her quest for a new unity and strength, forgetting all about the worse and longer aggressions of white Europe."[65]

By the time Du Bois visited Manchukuo in 1936, Sun's pan-Asianism had been appropriated for Japanese liberal pluralism and settlement. Wang Jingwei would later cite Sun for his collaborationist Reorganized Nationalist Government (1940–5) that claimed to be the true succession to the Kuomintang over Chiang Kai-shek's rule.[66] Still, my argument in this section is that describing Du Bois as capitulating to pan-Asianism

from above is too nation-centric and decontextualizing of the longer trajectory of pan-Asianism from below, of which he was well-aware, if not a participant. Du Bois adhered to a Sunian realist-idealist praxis for a pan-Asianism from below that by the 1930s had no practicable options. As he lashed out at a reporter in 1939 in response to a rumor that he was a spokesperson for Japan whose moral standing after the 1937 Nanjing Massacre had reached a new nadir: "It is not that I sympathize with China less, but that I hate white European and American propaganda, theft, and insult more. I believe in Asia for the Asiatics and despite the hell of war and fascism of capital, I see in Japan the best agent for this end."[67]

The Matter of Japanese Capitalism

I would contend that Du Bois explicitly bracketed liberal pluralism's rise in the transwar transpacific. In 1937, he described "two irreconcilable faces of white alarm" that were fixated on Japan's ruin. The first was a "white economic reaction based on imperial exploitation of colored peoples [that] wants Japanese capitalism to collapse lest it undermine white domination." The second was a "white economic reform [that] wants Japanese capitalism to collapse in order to advance the universal collapse of industrial imperialism." Both the "reformers and investors cheer heartily," he wrote, facing Japan with a "unanimity…[that has] too familiar earmarks of the Color Bar."[68] In this passage, Du Bois presents the moralistic teleology of the "end" of industrial imperialism, like the "end" of slavery before it, as enfolded into competition on the color line: the surplus generated by slavery and imperialism contributed to their transformations into more "ethical" modes of exploitation (e.g., America's free-trade empire against the European models). As he would summarize in 1947, "when looking at the facts frankly, slavery was a matter of economics…rather than a matter of right and wrong…[W]hen slavery became a source of vast income…[only then] there followed a frantic search for moral and racial justifications." Despite the tune of racial justice after America's delinquent abolishment of slavery, the nation did not aim for "freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap."[69] Moon-Ho Jung has summarized the coinciding trajectory of racial capitalism in the transpacific: Asian immigrant labor to America from the mid-nineteenth century onward, and the empire's increased efforts for trade with Asia—beginning with the 1853 "humanistic" opening of Japan contra Britain and France's Opium Wars—helped assuage the material and moral contradiction of slavery and freedom in the United States.[70] Postbellum anxiety about unmanageable racial difference on the U.S. frontier resulted in the gradual exclusion of immigrants from Asia, beginning with the Chinese in 1882, until the empire became comfortably rooted in Asia by way of victories over waning Spain (1898) and waxing Japan (1945). During the

transwar period, Du Bois saw as enfolded into the competition on the color line both the moralistic conceits of Wilsonian self-determination for a compulsory liberal world order, as well as Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere for consolidating power beyond Euro-American dominance. That is to say, he saw the transpacific emergence of liberal pluralism as symptomatic of the color line, not the American or Japanese versions as exits from it.

Mullen has argued that Du Bois' support of Japan showed his critical fault to reduce "the fight against capitalism to the fight against racial/colonial oppression, not exploitation and expropriation of labor."[71] I would instead argue that Du Bois' sense of competition on the color line advancing more "ethical" forms of exploitation made him doubt economically deterministic Marxism. In 1936, he wrote that the "essential truths" of Marxism concerning labor and class did not imply an "automatic power [of] socialism to override and suppress race prejudice."[72] While the surest means of fading the global color line he saw in regionalist organizing, he wrote in 1937 of Japan's world-historical calling as pertaining to capitalist exploitation: whereas the empire in the late nineteenth century had "saved the world from slavery to Europe" by altering the balance of power in Asia and revealing the limits of white dominance, early twentieth-century Japan was positioned to, albeit would fail to, "save the world from slavery to capital."[73]

To make his case for Japan's potential to meet the challenge, he experimented with strategic orientalism:

> Japanese industry is controlled by the great groups of capitalists [*zaibatsu*]. They are generous and patriotic men. …But they are capitalists, completely subjected to the domination of the private profit motive. They are allied with international capital. They fear communism. Yet their supremacy in government influence is not as great as in many European lands. Above them stands the tradition of Imperial authority, the power of the essentially communistic Japanese family and the deep belief in the Japanese people.[74]

Mullen has interpreted this passage as uncritical orientalism and as a symptom of Du Bois' failure to grasp basic Marxist tenets. I propose a different interpretation given what Iyko Day, in her 2016 book *Alien Capital*, has called "romantic anticapitalism." As seen in the rhetoric behind the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, American orientalism implicitly linked a white harnessing of capital with "good" (romantic) social reproduction against yellow/Asian harnessing with capital's abstract "evils." Romantic anticapitalism is not anti-capitalist, but

the ideology that splits the material and abstract dimensions of capital, facilitating racialization of the "other" as the living albatross of capital's dehumanizing effects (Day suggests a link between anti-Semitic and anti-Asian racism in this regard).[75] As alluded to in my opening paragraph, Du Bois recognized romantic anticapitalism in the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act: Japanese immigrants viewed not as "vagabonds and burdens but…too thrifty and too efficient"—that is, racialized as a material threat to the white working class, rather than capital itself as the culprit. He also saw romantic anticapitalism at work in Anglo-U.S. propaganda depicting Japanese imperialism as barbaric mimicry vis-à-vis the "more civilized" Wilsonian vision for international relations.[76] He seems to have been interested in neutralizing white romantic anticapitalism with an opposing idealism, or strategic orientalism.[77] To further explicate such an idealized path for Japanese modernity, Du Bois cited the Meiji Restoration as the consolidation of Japan's emperor system with the chief goals of unifying and modernizing the archipelago to deflect western incursion. Such deflection, he wrote, meant that the "Marxian interpretation must be changed to accord with a different set of facts."[78] These "facts" included his sense of how "primary [primitive] accumulation of capital in Japan [became] largely a government function, [so that] government control of capital is natural and awaited…. [C]ommunal welfare [is] considered far more than in Europe and America," resulting in a "contrast in class incomes [that] is not nearly as great as the money wage would indicate, since in the distribution of social satisfactions there is wide equality."[79] Given the more illiberal shape of Japanese capitalism in service of the nation as a whole, class-reductionist Marxism seemed to Du Bois too limited for grappling with the race-capital bind on the East–West axis, just as in his *Black Reconstruction* he treated such Marxism as inadequate for analyzing America's white–black labor relations.

Du Bois' sense of Japan's potential overlapped with Japanese thinkers who also configured the empire as materially capable and morally obliged to assist the region and world in "overcoming modernity."[80] For example, the philosopher Nishida Kitarō in his 1942 essay "The Principle of the New World Order" (*Sekai Shin-Chitsujo no Genri*), in making an argument generative for both pan-Asianism from above and below, reasoned that regionalism had the potential to move the world beyond the European models of empire, the Chinese tributary system that was too provincial and practically defunct, Wilsonian self-determination that would sustain liberal exploitation, and Marxist-Leninism that "still derives from the eighteenth-century abstract conception of the world based on individualism." Regionalism had the potential to serve as "formative globalism" where various peoples engaged not in self-determination, but "self-transcendence…in accordance with [their] own regional tradition."[81]

Significantly, Du Bois also applied strategic orientalism to China in

the same years he did to Japan, as he visited not only Japanese, but also Chinese universities during his 1936 trip.[82] In his unpublished 1937 "A World Search for Democracy," he paraphrased responses he received from interlocutors at Shanghai University on why China's tactics for reaching self-sovereignty were directed toward both Japan and the West:

> [The Chinese] were going to build a new Chinese industry which should emancipate them from European industry…they bitterly resented the intrusion of Japan coming in as though she were a western power destined to dominate orientals; as though she, the child culture of China, was going to show China…. The intrusion of Japan was resented because of its very success and because of its all too apt imitation of western technique. They were not called upon to take hold of the hands of their yellow brother and march side by side toward freedom and domination. They were asked rather to put their millions at the mercy of Japanese exploitation and let Japan finish what England and Germany and France had begun, but should never complete.[83]

Although Mullen and others have described Du Bois as stirred to reverse his support of Japan in the late 1930s and support China's march toward communism instead, the nation-centric teleology is unnecessary and unduly collapses the realist and idealist registers of Du Bois' rhetoric. Evinced in phrases such as Japan as "the child culture of China" and a potential Sino-Japanese "march…toward freedom and *domination*" (my emphasis), Du Bois' color line concept and positioning of nonwhiteness were, to borrow language from Vincent Schleitwiler, "not an appeal to a transcendent conception of justice." Rather, his strategic orientalism was historically contingent idealism against realism, or anticapitalist navigation of the "fissures between the disparate sites of racialization that competing imperialisms are unable to fuse together," including those of Japanese and Chinese empire.[84]

When liberal pluralism rooted with the postwar U.S. ascendance and a renewed anticommunist pact with Japan for the Cold War, and Third Worldism built upon the earlier regionalism from below, idealist pan-Asianism remained impressed on Du Bois' mind. Instead of shifting from pro-(Imperial) Japan to pro-(Communist) China, per se, he pondered in his unpublished 1950 manuscript "Russia and America" a world where communism might indeed fail. In this future scenario, he surmised that a just, global economic system would perhaps require a "new way of thinking on Asiatic lines." With a "stress on character, on goodness, on

spirit, through family loyalty and affection," a new system "out of India, out of Buddhism and Shintoism, out of the age-old virtues of Japan and China itself" might "stop the tendency of Western socialistic states to freeze into bureaucracy."[85] In the context of the 1955 Bandung Conference, he hoped such thinking would make common cause with an "ancient basic socialism" of Africa.[86]

When Japan Was the Antagonist of the Darker Races

I title this last section as a riff on Ernest Allen, Jr.'s seminal 1994 essay "When Japan was the 'Champion of the Darker Races.'"[87] Given that Du Bois is usually placed in the camp of African American thinkers who viewed pre-1945 Japan as a potential champion for nonwhite emancipation, the fact that his main Japanese character in his 1928 novel *Dark Princess* is the principal antagonist is a curiously underanalyzed counterpoint. Mullen has posited that the "color line within a color line" concept is "perhaps reflective of Du Bois' ambivalence…about Japan's rising national ambitions," but he and other scholars have not dwelt on the meaning of Japan across the text, focusing almost exclusively on the Afro-Indian heterosexual romance.[88] An exception is Lei Zhang, who has linked 1920s events to the novel's Japanese and Chinese characterizations, foregrounding Du Bois' doubts about Japan and his "embryonic" support of Communist China. In Zhang's view, neglect of the "other" Asian characters with sole attention on the romance has contributed to a view that "Asia" in *Dark Princess* is an "anticolonial unity" and points to "U.S.-based American studies scholars' lack of interest and efforts" in considering inter-Asian relations and overlooking Du Bois' own efforts.[89] This presumption of an anticolonial unity has likely effected interpretations of the meaning of "a color line within a color line" as between "Afro" and "Asia," rather than including the nuance of, say, India as colonized and Japan as colonizer.

As explained above, the line within a line concerns nonwhite relations "pounded together artificially" by colonial capitalism, as Du Bois put it in 1925. A bit like bone and marrow, the outside line is the imposed global white supremacy over the past several centuries, whereas the inside line is the replication of modern racism, not merely the type in service of white supremacy, but nevertheless dominatively hierarchical given how colonial racial capitalism functions. The outside and inside lines have historically been mutually reinforcing (e.g., U.S.-Japan cooperation for transpacific liberalism featuring both white and nonwhite hierarchies), but as the content of the outside fades with the decline of white dominance, the inside structure still remains. Homi Bhahba has explained that even as the inside line might seem to refer to the problem of antiblackness among Asians, it is actually not a "special pleading for the African American cause, [but] Du Bois [making] a larger point about the politics

of minoritization and its consequences for global solidarity…the risks and ruses that exist within revolutionary groups who claim to represent the wretched of the earth."[90] As Nico Slate has noticed, the novel "does not even attempt to resolve the challenges facing colored unity…the potential for a color line within a color line remain[ing] to haunt readers, as it would continue to occupy Du Bois."[91]

Dark Princess not only includes Asian characters beyond the princess herself, but the Japanese character, I argue, is vital to its formula. By choosing the romance genre that has formal requirements of a hero/ine, their lover, and a barrier who/that prevents the lovers from uniting until the end, Du Bois inserted "Afro America," "India," and "Japan," respectively, to develop a triangular relationship that explores the risks and ruses of an Afro-Asian alliance. The triadic arrangement consists of the African American protagonist Matthew Towns, the Indian princess Kautilya of Bwodpur, and a Japanese baron who later becomes the Prime Minister of the Darker Races. To outline the three constitutive dyads: the Afro-Indian one is a site of anticolonial idealism wherein the distance between provincialism (Matthew) and cosmopolitanism (Kautilya) is successfully traversed in the form of a heterosexual romance. The Indo-Japanese dyad is cosmopolitan and realist, taking the shape of a mentee/mentor relationship: the colonized (the princess) and a colonizer (the baron) are part of a realist-idealist pan-Asian alliance that eventually becomes an Afro-Asian one, albeit minus Matthew. Finally, the Afro-Japanese dyad registers the failed traversal of the realism-idealism binary in the form of a homosocial clash. Whereas the "black-brown" romance is realized as Matthew becomes a more cosmopolitan semi-realist, the "black-yellow" barrier is not overcome. In effect, the text's Afro-Asian alliance is intentionally rendered suspect.

I will now detail the narrative arc of the triad to showcase what I consider to be Du Bois' queer praxis. In an early scene at a Berlin dinner party, the Japanese baron insists that the pan-Asian alliance that Matthew happens upon "know[s] no line of color." A Chinese woman explains that "it is dominating Europe which has flung this challenge of the color line, and we cannot avoid it." But the baron then draws lines of civilization, describing Asia as having "millenniums of history where Europe counts her centuries," while the black race has questionable "abilities, qualifications and…possibilities." American Negros in particular the baron describes as "cowards," for which he does not "blam[e] them, poor things"—stripped by slavery of the necessary world-historical consciousness and self-actualization needed to "fight unless put up to it like dumb cattle by whites," unlike the Japanese and Indians who as "Samurai have been lords a thousand years or more; the ancestors of her Royal Highness [Kautilya] who have ruled for twenty centuries." In *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois would combat the view of the enslaved as lacking agency by

incorporating slave revolts into Marxist historiography; in *Dark Princess,* Matthew sings a slave song of emancipation hoping to persuade the pan-Asian alliance of a black capacity for both "civilized" culture and political effectiveness. This early scene is where Du Bois presents the color line within a color line, the princess and the baron portrayed as cosmopolitan realists who lack the virtues of the protagonist's provincial idealism. Kautilya barely takes exception to the baron's framing of black ineptitude, envisioning American Negros instead as proto-Bolsheviks without a leader. When alone with Matthew, the baron instructs him to exit the princess's life, describing her as idealistically immature: after an "unfortunate visit to Russia"—a nod to Du Bois' own 1925 trip—"[she is] inoculated with…a Bolshevism of a mild but dangerous type."[92] The baron's anticommunism accords with real-world Japan's sizeable force that contributed to Woodrow Wilson's 1918–22 Siberian Intervention. Matthew will later describe Japan as "aping the West."[93]

Returning to Harlem, Matthew adheres to a mission that Kautilya gave him: to investigate a Marcus Garvey–like figure named Perigua and assess the possibility of a dark proletariat uprising in America. Rather than revolutionary, Matthew finds Perigua unorganized and dangerous and writes as much to Kautilya, but he receives no reply because he assumes the Japanese baron is intercepting his letters.[94] Working as a Pullman porter, Matthew witnesses the lynching of a friend named Jimmie. In response, he ineffectually tries to organize the porters (the real-world unionization success of A. Philip Randolph still years away). In a whirlwind of frustration and vengeance, and to prove wrong the "sneer of the Japanese" regarding Negros as provincial cowards, Matthew participates in Perigua's scheme to derail a trainful of Klansmen en route to a national Ku Klux Klan meeting in Chicago.[95] The terrorist plot is halted by the sudden reappearance of the princess on the train who is herself planning to attend the meeting, the Klan having invited "certain Japanese and other Asiatic guests" in an attempt to "adroitly…pit the dark peoples against each other."[96] Although scholars have suggested the princess appears serendipitously for the sake of the romance, her connection with the baron has been overlooked. As if forbearers of Whiteness studies, the baron and princess plan to investigate the rising-tide-of-color rhetoric at the meeting that aims to "discount in advance" their "Great Cause." The princess in this scene describes the baron as recently "converted" on the matter of the "tremendous possibilities of the American Negro." But rather than the romantic barrier removed at this early juncture, Matthew becomes "dumb and bewildered" at the "intricacies of the tactics of the Japanese," a symptom of his doubts, incapacity, and/or unwillingness to stand above the fray of antiblack racism in America for a more cosmopolitan outlook.[97] For Matthew, attending a Klan meeting for research is not a relatable course of action. His character arc is not

coward-to-hero or follower-to-leader, but provincial idealist-to-worldly semirealist. After a public trial attended by the princess and the baron, Matthew commits himself to prison where he will mull over his being a "mass of quivering nerves and all too delicate sensibility…liable to be a Perigua [an extremist] or a hesitating, complaining fool."[98]

Released from jail and convinced Kautilya is forever gone from his life, Matthew tries to adopt a realist perspective, finding himself entrenched in a Chicago political machine with social climbers Sara Andrews and Sammy Scott. Now a politician, he is drained of "all his enthusiasm, all his hope, all his sense of reality."[99] To solve for himself the "woman problem once and for all," with a view that marriage will stop "secret longings and wild open revolt," he marries the mixed black-white Sara who moves shrewdly between the black and white worlds, even making deals with the Klan in order to secure power for herself, Sammy, Matthew, and the local black community.[100] Sara's goal is to transform Matthew into a senator so that they can become a power couple. As Roderick Ferguson has described their relationship: "marriage, according to the novel, is a technique of liberal governmentality that gives legitimacy to black middle-class efforts to assimilate into liberal democracy, and acquire power according to its rules of engagement."[101] Their marriage implies the prospect of reproduction as a method for advancing the fledgling U.S. liberal-pluralist state, wherein multiracial bodies do not undermine, but instead prop up the state, as Sara's mixed-raceness and politics attest. Since Matthew and Sara's marriage is written as destined to fail, Du Bois' narrative in this section is queer in the sense of his rejection of the reproduction of the burgeoning interwar U.S. liberal pluralism.

In Alys Eve Weinbaum's reading, though, because Du Bois portrays Sara as unsuitable for reproduction with Matthew in terms of "sterile whiteness" against Kautilya's "fecund brownness," the novel extends heteropatriarchy and orientalism. Citing the birth of the black-brown child at the conclusion, Weinbaum describes Du Bois as advancing "heterosexuality and reproductivity as twinned motors of black internationalist anti-imperialist politics" and legitimizing "by reversal" racial requirements for belonging through an "uncritical naturalization of the heterosexual matrix out of which spring 'properly' gendered and sexed reproductive subjects."[102] Weinbaum's analysis is undermined by a couple of oversights. First, a now-canonical debate in Queer studies concerns the matter of reproductive futurity and the "child" as the sign of heteropatriarchy vis-à-vis racialization that undercuts futurity.[103] Rahul Rao has incisively pointed out that the very canonicity of the debate points to scholars presuming a global heterotemporality against which critical intervention is imagined.[104] Du Bois' web of relations in *Dark Princess* are organized under both the U.S. nation-state and a supranational Afro-Asian space (a fictional conjoining of real-world

pan-Asianism and pan-Africanism), but the heteropatriarchy of both are rendered incompatible with the text's prefigurative, emancipatory future. In order for racial reproduction to undergird this future, the birth of the child would need resolve the color line within a color line, but this is not the case (since, as I have explained, the line is not Afro/Asian specifically, but the structure of modern racial hierarchies generally). Matthew and Kautilya's relationship is consistently undercut by the elitist, masculinist members of the pan-Asian alliance: the Japanese baron and Indian members of Kautilya's entourage who view Matthew as unworthy and seek to control the princess's future. The baron is noticeably absent when the birth is celebrated, capping the ambiguous cohesion of the Afro-Asian alliance. In other words, Du Bois not only queerly forecloses racial reproduction of the liberal-pluralist U.S. state through the failure of the Matthew-Sara dyad, but also queerly targets its disciplining beyond America through the fought-for success of the Matthew-Kautilya one. Secondly, just because idealist Matthew chooses Kautilya's optimistic internationalism over Sara's cynical navigation of Chicago's political machine does not mean that Du Bois himself prioritizes one over the other. As Eric Strand has suggested, Sara, who expertly rallies black women voters, is perhaps the story's "American Dark Princess," which would suggest a contemporaneity of intra- and international tactics.[105] Evidence for this is the happy ending Du Bois gives Sara with Sammy after her divorce from Matthew, while the Matthew-Kautilya dyad does not spell full liberation.

Matthew never joins the alliance of which Kautilya is part. When the Japanese baron reenters Matthew's life in Chicago to inform him that the alliance has now, some years later, "full representation" of the black race and that Matthew is invited to hold the position of "Negro chairman," Matthew rejects the offer immediately, recalling the internationalist "dream in Berlin [as] false and misleading." He is unsure if his feelings are driven in part by animus toward the baron for having "wrecked his world."[106] Although the baron exits the story after this encounter, which permits the romance to advance, the baron-as-romantic-barrier appears one final time in the last section. Kautilya saves Matthew from being nominated to Congress where he would have become a cog servicing the cycle of U.S. liberal democracy; the reader learns that she has been laboring in Chicago, fulfilling her off-page character arc to ostensibly shed her elitist bias. Having finally overcome their provincial/cosmopolitan difference, Matthew and Kautilya debate how Asia's liberation can happen through emancipating black America and vice versa, both of them imagining in transpacific and regionalist terms. Kautilya recounts her school years in Britain, claiming to have transcended a colonial brainwashing before embarking on her present quest. Yet, her journey would have been impossible, she informs Matthew, without the council of her "great and

good friend whom you have met and dislike because you do not know him," the Japanese baron, whom she describes as "civilization":

> You do not realize him yet, Matthew. He is civilization—he is the high goal toward which the world blindly gropes; high in birth and perfect in courtesy, filled with wide, deep, and intimate knowledge of the world's past—the world, white, black, brown and yellow: knowing by personal contact and acquaintanceship the present from kings to coolies. He is a man of lofty ideal without the superstition of religion. He is our leader, Matthew, the guide and councilor, the great Prime Minister of the Darker World.[107]

Given their different perception of a man who had once described American Negros as "cowards" and "like dumb cattle," Matthew soon reverts to doubt about not just the Afro-Asian alliance, but his relationship with Kautilya. Before learning of the pregnancy, he begins to see with "increasing clearness, something that Kautilya, he thought, must begin to realize": that "her freedom from him and his people… from this entanglement from which the thoughtful Japanese and Indians had tried to save her—would mean an increased and broader chance for her own work in her own world. …[Their relationship] was self-deception."[108] Despite the birth of their child or even in light of it, Matthew's misgivings will undoubtedly remain. This is especially because, whereas Matthew learned from the train derailment sequence to reject violence as revolutionary (and Kautilya, a Gandhian, believes in "gradual emancipation"), the strongest group among a newly formed "Great Central Committee of Yellow, Brown and Black…believes only in Force." By democratic decree, they intend to, if necessary, "pound [white] arrogance into submission…kill them, conquer them, humiliate them." At this, Kautilya, who is the primary realist-idealist in the story, responds: "they may be right—that's the horror, the nightmare of it: they may be right."[109] The color line within a color line, across the text, only outstretches like a coil.

Du Bois' queer praxis in *Dark Princess,* beyond foregrounding the emancipatory limits of racial reproduction, can also be thought of in terms of the failed traversal of the realism-idealism binary and the negotiation of the provincial–cosmopolitan one. Jose Esteban Muñoz rendered "queer" as "not yet," given disidentification with the processes of nation-state, empire and race, and the attendant heteronormativity, which generates the pull between realist and idealist politics.[110] But following Rahul Rao's insight about presumptions of a global heterotemporality, "not yet" risks implying a cosmopolitan temporality that subsumes

provincial frames wherein queerness "was/is already." In *Dark Princess*, Matthew grapples not only with the universalizing temporality of white supremacy, but also elitist Asians who see themselves as on the cusp of a "global" history generated by the color line. As Chandan Reddy has noted, the concept of queerness as taken up in the Global South is used not only to challenge provincial heteropatriarchies and nation-statist models of selective inclusion of difference (liberal pluralism), but also for bridging the gap between the provincial (Reddy uses the term "vernacular") and the cosmopolitan, for claiming contemporaneity for transgressive raced/gendered sexual subjects in an era of global human rights.[111] Similarly, in a thought-provoking passage in the final section of the novel, Matthew posits in a letter to Kautilya the contemporaneity of emancipatory formations, leading him to wonder if any choice truly exists among "monarchy and oligarchy and democracy" or if the choice is only for "the objects for which we will enthrone tyrannical dictators… for the sake of aristocrats as in Czarist Russia, or dictators for the sake of millionaires as in America, or dictatorship for the factory workers and peasants in Soviet Russia." Kautilya responds: "Oh, my Matthew, your oligarchy as you conceive it…is democracy, if only the selection of the oligarchs is just and true…. [C]hoose well the Tyrants." Unlike her, Matthew remains unconvinced that what he calls a "divine Anarchy in some faraway heaven" will ever be reachable given the drive for "massed and concentrated power…to accomplish anything worthwhile doing in this muddled world."[112]

Sanda Mayzaw Lwin has made a useful conceptual link between Du Bois' political ontology in *Dark Princess* and Jacques Derrida's notion of "democracy to come" (*la démocratie à venir*) or ideal democracy as having a temporality of "never now."[113] To extend the link, democracy is contradictory and perhaps even self-destructing because of its implicit relation of individual/group sovereignty against the peril of the antidemocratic "other."[114] With democracy regarded as the only civilized form of social ordering, it has long been tangled in the mix of racial capitalism: since the Enlightenment, the "Oriental despotism" motif has been regularly reconstituted. Notably, today's strongest liberal democracies in the transpacific all but form a Sinophobic military bloc as they miscorrelate democracy with peace and freedom. Echoing the social contract theory of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Du Bois noted in 1938 that "democracy does not and cannot mean freedom. On the contrary, it means coercion…[the] submission of the individual will to the general will, justified in this compulsion only if the will is general and not the will of special privilege."[115] Perhaps to overcome democracy's paradoxical configuration on the global scale, the temporality of narration in the final section of *Dark Princess* sheds literary realism in favor of a "mythic rhythm," as Madhumita Lahiri has put it. The Afro-Indian child is

"bombastically produced": the "temporality of political possibility invested in that figure is more strictly messianic than futuristic."[116] Futurism connotes realism and realist-idealism and implies variables such as racial capitalism, racial reproduction, Westphalian relations, liberal democracy, and so forth. Utopianism is the end result of idealism, persistently "not yet." In contrast, messianism in both the religious and secular senses connotes a nonlinear, emancipatory "event" that is unforeseeable and unexpected—a queer temporality best apprehended through fiction. As the novel ends with the messianic event, Du Bois' use of it is an invitation for readers to imagine the route and shape of emancipation themselves.

Achille Mbembe has cautioned of a globally permeating "negative messianism": liberation believed no longer possible or even deserved, as liberalism would seem to no longer need democracy, while the anticipated Global North inaction/action in the decades ahead shall lead to planetary ruin and death, so why not "end it now?"[117] *Dark Princess* helps reorient readers from such pessimistic political paralysis. Du Bois' optimistic navigation of the tumultuous transwar period, when no single empire was dominant, can inform a sense of positive course plotting through the comparable present. Across this essay, I have resisted the too-common narrative that Du Bois' transwar optimism took a shape of simple support of Japanese empire as a speedy route to fade a global color line. *Dark Princess* shows that he pondered the problem of the durability of racial capitalism beyond the color line's fading. Notwithstanding his 1930s leaning into Imperial Japan's pan-Asianism, an incriminatory rhetorical strategy even if as an attempt to counterbalance Wilsonian moralism, I have argued that he more foundationally subscribed to regionalism from below as the main defense against the duplicity of the rising liberal pluralism. Had Du Bois been asked what would be the problem of this twenty-first century, I imagine he would have answered the problem of the color line within the color line.

My thinking for this article first blossomed during my yearlong enrollment at the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies, so I am thankful for my instructors and colleagues there who grappled with Du Bois and the transpacific with me. I thank Etsuko Taketani for seeing value in my ideas at that early stage. I also thank Vincent Schleitwiler for our many chats that helped clarify my thoughts over the past few years. The reviewers at *American Studies* provided supportive feedback, which was appreciated after some uncertainty about whether the article would find a home.

Notes

1. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Prospect of a World without Race Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology* 49 (March 1944): 451. "The idea of Japan was to invoke force—to drive Europe out of Asia and substitute the domination of a weak Asia by a strong Japan. The answer of China was cooperation and gradual understanding between Great Britain, France, America, and China. [But] Chinese leaders are under no illusions whatever as to the past attitude of Europe toward Chinese."

2. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dark Princess: A Romance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 204.

3. See Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

4. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Meaning of Japan (1937)," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 12, no. 1 (2012): 241.

5. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co, 1945), 6–7.

6. Pearl Buck, "Equality Issue Again Looms: China's Anticipated Request May Renew Bitterness of 1919," *New York Times*, 19 September 1944: 20.

7. "Chinese Drop Oaks Fight for Racial Equality," *Chicago Defender*, 2 December 1944: 3.

8. Marc Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 186–9.

9. As Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans During World War II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 8, 25, has explained, Manchukuo and the United States' 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act were parallel and competing experiments on the path to liberal pluralism, distinguished from the earlier cooperative practice of empire when Japan colonized Korea, and America the Philippines, to spread "civilization" to those deemed not yet developed enough for self-rule and/or too weak to defend themselves against "less benevolent" powers.

10. Lisa Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 19.

11. The concept of "racial capitalism" inheres "race" as a substrate across the history of capitalism, such as in the account of Cedric Robinson's 1983 *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), since Europe's grappling with ethnic difference in its feudal twelfth century. Race is a historically particularized composite that intersects with gender/sexual difference and so on, functioning as a modality of human differentiation for de/valuation that capitalism requires for its perpetuation. Thus, racial capitalism *is* capitalism, but the concept is distinguished from Marxist accounts of race as ideology for legitimating "primitive accumulation" during

feudalism and colonial modernity, but of secondary or residual importance to class stratification at a later stage. The racial capitalism concept rejects the stagist model as itself inscribed by race, given the unevenness of capitalist development and the contemporaneity of the enslaved or otherwise exploited and dispossessed across the rise and maintenance of industrial/postindustrial capital (e.g., settler-colonialism as ongoing).

12. Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). In an appeal to the United Nations in 1947, Du Bois questioned a postwar international order led by a United States that saw a "chance to make inflated profits from the want which came upon the world": the "want" being decolonization and racial equality. W. E. B. Du Bois, introduction to *An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress*, ed. W. E. B. Du Bois (New York: NAACP), 11. In a 1956 speech, "The New Negro Liberation Movements (1956)," W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 13, he described the 1948 integration of the U.S. military prior to its participation in the Korean War, and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), as a "partial breaking of the color line used to answer the stand of the Soviet Union against color discrimination and its fight on colonial imperialism…to split American Negros from union or sympathy for colonial people."

13. Robinson, *Black Marxism*; Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 149–50.

14. Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan: Asianism Discourse and the Contest for Hegemony, 1912–1933* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

15. Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 83.

16. Du Bois provincialized the Gobineaurian hierarchy in a 1936 unpublished essay on miscegenation: "The effect of the growth of national consciousness and imperial rivalries has been an attempt to prove that all modern culture derives from an Aryan or Nordic race and that degeneration and relapses from cultural standards has been the result of racial mixture. This theory was first stated in its extreme form by Count Joseph A. Gobineau in the middle of the nineteenth century; and his thesis has been expanded and continued by H. S. Chamberlain in Germany, and Grant, Gould, Stoddard, and McDougal in America." W. E. B. Du Bois, "Miscegenation, 1936," W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 4–5.

17. For the United States-Japan War as a "race war," see John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986).

18. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Present Outlook for the Darker Races of Mankind (1900)," in *The Problem of the Color Line at the Turn of the Twentieth Century:*

The Essential Early Essays, ed. Nahum Dimitri Chandler (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 118.

19. For queer regionalism, see, e.g., Gayatri Gopinath, *Unruly Visions: The Aesthetic Practices of Queer Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

20. He made this case in a 1934 essay, W. E. B. Du Bois, "A Negro Nation within the Nation," *Current History* 42, no. 3 (June 1935): 265–270.

21. The five races were Manchu, Japanese, Han, Mongol, and Korean.

22. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 February 1937, in *Newspaper Columns by W.E.B. Du Bois,* vol. I, ed. Herbert Aptheker (White Plains, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1986), 166–7. Du Bois further claimed as "immaterial the question of whether Manchukuo was an independent state or a colony of Japan" so long as Japan was not "reducing the mass of the people to slavery and poverty…stealing the land and monopolizing the natural resources." He overzealously determined this as not the case.

23. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Winds of Time: War between Races," *Chicago Defender,* 25 August 1945.

24. Bill Mullen, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Revolutionary Across the Color Line* (Chicago: Pluto Press, 2016), 84–6.

25. Bill Mullen, *Un-American: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 137–8, 144.

26. Yuichiro Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in 20th-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* (New York: NYU Press, 2013), 92.

27. Etsuko Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014), chap. 5.

28. Bill Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

29. Etsuko Taketani, "The Cartography of the Black Pacific: James Weldon Johnson's Along This Way," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (2007): 81–3.

30. Nahum Dmitri Chandler, "Intro: On the Virtues of Seeing–At Least but Never Only–Double," *The New Centennial Review* 12, no. 1 (2012): 18–20.

31. Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 76.

32. The following 1937 quote from Du Bois has been read as evidence of uncritical orientalism: China under Chiang Kai-shek contra Japan as "licking the boots that kicked her," choosing to be a "coolie for England rather than acknowledging the only world leadership that did not mean color caste…the straight road to world dominance by the yellow race…ruined in Asia by the same spirit that animates the 'white folks' nigger' in the United States." W. E. B. Du Bois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 23 October 1937, in *Newspaper Columns by W.E.B. Du Bois*, *vol. 1*, ed. Aptheker, 245. Rather, as I will suggest, the hoped-for Sino-Japanese cooperation inhered in this quote is not "Afro-orientalism," but drawn from pan-Asianist discourse as strategic orientalism. For

strategic orientalism, see note 77, this article.

33. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Worlds of Color," *Foreign Affairs* 3, no. 3 (1925): 442.

34. Ibid., 423.

35. As Du Bois would write in a chapter titled "Asia in Africa" in his 1947 *The World and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 122: "It is probable that Chinese ships traded directly with Africa from the eighth to the twelfth centuries [during the flourishing Song dynasty, in particular]. When the Portuguese came, they found the Arabs intermarried and integrated with the Bantu [peoples of sub-Saharan Africa] and in control of the trade." The "shadow of Asia" as "barbarism" for Europeans harkened to the Mongol Empire's siege on Kyiv and attacking as far west as Vienna in the thirteenth century, as well as the earlier fifth-century attacks by the Huns on Rome. The shadow of Asia as "lapsed civilization" concerned how the first Atlantic crossings by Europeans were searches for maritime trade routes to prosperous Ming China and Mughal India after the Ottoman Empire effectively closed the Silk Road in the mid-fifteenth century after conquering Byzantium. In sum, the threat of the Asian shadow for Europe was, to Du Bois' mind, the interlinked Afro-Eurasian past and a projected future of Asian reascendance that revealed the false equivalence of "civilization" with Europe.

36. Du Bois, "Worlds of Color," 443.

37. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 16.

38. Sun Yat-sen, "Pan-Asianism (1924)" in *The Vital Problem of China* (Taipei, Taiwan: Sino-American Publishing Company, 1953), 164. Japan and China as "natural friends, unnatural enemies" is at 109.

39. Du Bois, "The Present Outlook for the Darker Races of Mankind (1900)," 118–9. That the First Sino-Japanese War was the first indication for Du Bois of a "struggle between East and West" is mentioned in his 1940 autobiography *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 15.

40. Du Bois, "The Meaning of Japan (1937)," 238.

41. Sun, "Pan-Asianism (1924)," 164.

42. Young-Seo Baik, "Conceptualizing 'Asia' in modern Chinese mind: a Korean perspective," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (2002): 280–2.

43. Sun, "Pan-Asianism (1924)," 168–70.

44. Ibid., 173.

45. Rajpat Rai met Sun Yat-sen many times in 1915 when the latter was exiled in Japan. During his 1915–20 stint in America, Rai befriended Du Bois, and as the story goes, commented on a draft of *Dark Princess*. Du Bois dedicated the novel to Rai, who died in 1928 from injuries sustained after a beating by British police during a protest of the Simon Commission, an inquiry into constitutional reform for India that consisted of entirely British parliamentary members and no Indians. Books by Rai with pan-Asianist content include his 1916 *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and a Study* (Calcutta, India: R. Chatterjee) and his 1918 *The Evolution of Japan and Other Papers* (Calcutta, India: R. Chatterjee).

46. Sun appears in Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 177, when the princess Kautilya mentions having met him in Beijing during her travels, and at 209: "Oh, why is it that Sun Yat-sen must die so soon?"

47. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 25 September 1937, in *Newspaper Columns by W.E.B. Du Bois*, vol. 1, ed. Aptheker, 240–1. In contrast to his positive view of Sun, Du Bois' opinion of Chiang Kai-shek was quite low. In his 1950 unpublished manuscript "Russia and America," W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 142, Du Bois described Chiang as a "greedy, crafty man of no ideals or integrity" who "pretended to keep Sun Yat-sen's principles of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood, but he married into the rich Soong family and ended in such dictatorship and reaction, that that even when I was in China, in December 1936, both warlord and Communist resented his surrender to Japanese imperialism, kidnapped him, hiding on a rock in his nightshirt and without his false teeth; and held him until he promised to fight Japan." Du Bois was referring to the Xi'an Incident.

48. Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative*, 170.

49. Du Bois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," 25 September 1937, 240–1.

50. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Listen, Japan and China (1931)," in *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line*, eds. Bill Mullen and Cathryn Watson (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2005), 74.

51. Representative of this view is Seok-Won Lee, "The paradox of racial liberation: W. E. B. Du Bois and Pan-Asianism in wartime Japan, 1931–1945," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 4 (2015): 523, who points out that colonial Korea was "not on Du Bois's itinerary [during his 1936 trip to Japan and Manchukuo]…. [T]his oversight, whether intentional or not, deprived Du Bois of an opportunity to see the wider reality of Japanese colonialism."

52. Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 129.

53. Sun, "The Vital Problem of China (1917)" in *The Vital Problem of China*, 110. Du Bois, "The Meaning of Japan (1937)," 238, on Korea and the First Sino-Japanese War: "[For control of] Korea which was almost a motherland to Japan and yet geographically a threat to her independence, Japan attacked China and in a short, swift war of a year, showed the weakness of the greater country and convinced Europe that the time for dismembering China and making her a colonial appendage to European commerce had come."

54. China was forced to relinquish suzerainty over Korea with the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki, but here Sun is talking about the U.S.' 1882 Shufeldt Treaty that weaned Korea from China with the enticement of commerce, "perpetual peace and friendship," and a seeming security guarantee "should other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government."

55. To which Korean intellectuals Sun is referring is beyond my scope. However, he was speaking to a broad sense of betrayal in Korea when the

Theodore Roosevelt administration disregarded the Shufeldt Treaty in favor of the Taft–Katsura Agreement for the U.S.-Japan "civilizing" missions in the Philippines and Korea. For a microhistorical account, see John Edward Wilz, "Did the United States Betray Korea in 1905?" *Pacific Historical Review* 54, no. 3 (1985): 243–70.

56. Sun, "The Vital Problem of China (1917)," 110–11. American officials pressed for Korean independence only when it became instrumentalizable during the United States–Japan transwar competition.

57. Lei Zhang, "Imagining Japan and China in *Dark Princess*: W. E. B. DuBois' Transpacific Imagination of World Revolution in the Late 1920s," *American Studies* 58, no. 4 (2019): 75–95.

58. W. E. B. Du Bois, "World War and the Color Line," *The Crisis* 9, no. 1 (November 1914).

59. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Close Ranks," *The Crisis* 16, no. 3 (July 1918).

60. Mohandas Gandhi, "Appeal for Enlistment (1918)," in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. 17* (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1965), 84.

61. Sun, "The Vital Problem of China (1917)," 13.

62. Ibid, 47, 78, 80. Sun colorfully described British treatment of its allies as like the "delicate care usually shown by farmers in the rearing of silkworms; after all the silk has been drawn from cocoons, they are destroyed by fire or used as food for fish."

63. Ibid., 54–5. Sun further wrote that Japan's Twenty-One Demands upon China were "drawn up not at Japan's dictation," but by Yuan Shikai to appeal to Japan in his "eagerness to mount the Throne." Sun would, however, be frustrated with Japan for the transactional acquisition of Shandong, as if China were "a pig." Sun, "How to Remove China's Antagonism (1919)," in *The Vital Problem of China*, 143–7.

64. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 196.

65. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 148.

66. Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 279–86.

67. Quoted in Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China*, 92.

68. W. E. B. Du Bois, "'Chapter 16—Jones in Japan': from *A World Search for Democracy* (1937)," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 12, no. 1 (2012): 260–1.

69. Du Bois, introduction to *An Appeal to the World*, 2, 5, 11.

70. Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

71. Mullen, *Un-American*, 135.

72. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Social Planning for the Negro, Past and Present," *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (1936): 110–25.

73. W. E. B. Du Bois, "What Japan Has Done," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 20 March 1937, in *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia*, eds. Mullen and Watson, 66–8.

74. Ibid.

75. Iyko Day, *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

76. Du Bois, "'Chapter 16—Jones in Japan,'" 261, on the Anglo-U.S. condemnation of Japan's 1931 invasion of Manchuria: "Why, [Japan] logically asks, is Europe, gorged with the loot of centuries, become suddenly so solicitous over the rights of backward peoples? Why is England today defending the integrity of that same China which she more than any people on earth, reduced to impotence and helpless disorganization? What new and lofty regard for human dignity is animating self-righteous America, which declares the yellow race even less worthy of citizenship in the republic than black slaves? And whose knight in shining armor refused at Versailles [Wilson], even to consider a League of Nations declaration in favor of racial equality?"

77. My sense of strategic orientalism follows the explanation from Homi Bhahba, "The Black Savant and the Dark Princess," *ESQ* 50, no. 1–3 (2004): 147–8, that the "anticolonial realignment of the spiritual and the material mimics the colonialist's color line of archaism and modernity, [only] up to a point.... [The] strategy introduces an inappropriatable or untranslatable element of juxtaposition that unsettles the temporal framing and the political spacing of polarities." Such "juxtaposition that unsettles" is consistent with Du Bois' and Sun's rhetoric of "natural" versus "artificial" relations, discussed above.

78. Du Bois, "'Chapter 16—Jones in Japan,'" 261–2.

79. Ibid.

80. For this discourse, see, e.g., Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

81. Yoko Arisaka, "The Nishida Enigma: 'The Principle of the New World Order,'" *Monumenta Nipponica* 51, no. 1 (1996): 100–105.

82. The most detailed English-language account of Du Bois' 1936 itinerary in Japan and Manchuria remains Reginald Kearney, "The Pro-Japanese Utterances of W.E.B. Du Bois," *Contributions in Black Studies* 13, no. 7 (1995): 201–17. Some additional detail on the Japan leg of the trip is at Furukawa Tetsushi **古川哲史**, "W. E. B. Dyuboisu no shōkai to jidai—Nihon hōmon (1936nen) nikakawaru shimon" **Ｗ・Ｅ・Ｂ・デュボイスの生涯と時代—日本訪問（1936年）に関わる試論** [Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois: His Visit to Japan in 1936], Ōtani daigaku kenkyū nenpō **『大谷大学研究年報』** [*The Annual Report of Researches of Ōtani University*] 69 (2017): 12–20. See Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative*, chap. 5, for analysis of the geopolitics.

83. W. E. B. Du Bois, "'Chapter 17—Jones looks back on China': from *A World Search for Democracy* (1937)," *The New Centennial Review* 12, no. 1 (2012): 276–7.

84. Vincent Schleitwiler, *Strange Fruit of the Black Pacific: Imperialism's Racial Justice and Its Fugitives* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 46.

85. Du Bois, "Russia and America," 149–50.

86. Du Bois, "The New Negro Liberation Movements (1956)," 15.

87. Ernest Allen, Jr., "When Japan Was 'Champion of the Darker Races': Satokata Takahashi and the Flowering of Black Messianic Nationalism," *The Black Scholar* 24, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 23–46.

88. Bill Mullen, "Du Bois, Dark Princess, and the Afro-Asian International," *positions* 11, no. 1 (2003): 226.

89. Zhang, "Imagining Japan and China in *Dark Princess*," 77.

90. Homi Bhahba, introduction to *Dark Princess*, by Du Bois, xxvi–xxviii.

91. Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 78.

92. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 15–22.

93. Ibid., 185.

94. Ibid., 44, 54.

95. Ibid., 61.

96. Ibid., 58.

97. Ibid., 67

98. Ibid., 77.

99. Ibid., 93.

100. Ibid., 101.

101. Roderick Ferguson, "'W.E.B. Du Bois': Biography of a Discourse," in *Next to the Color Line: Gender, Sexuality, and W.E.B. Du Bois*, eds. Susan Gillman and Alys Eve Weinbaum (Minneapolis, MN: University Minnesota Press, 2007), 284.

102. Alys Eve Weinbaum, "Interracial Romance and Black Internationalism," in *Next to the Color Line*, eds. Gillman and Weinbaum, 111, 116.

103. Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), critiqued by José Esteban Muñoz*, Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2009), 97; Reddy, *Freedom with Violence*, 179.

104. Rahul Rao, *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), 16–8.

105. Eric Strand, "The American Dark Princess: W. E. B. Du Bois's Antiracist Urban Sociology and African American Modernism" (paper presented at the Modern Language Association Annual Convention, Chicago, IL, January 5, 2019), abstract at https://scholars.ln.edu.hk/en/publications/the-american-dark-princess-w-e-b-du-boiss-antiracist-urban-sociol (accessed 21 January 2022). See also Eric Strand, "Du Bois's *Dark Princess*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, and the Welfare State," *PMLA* 136, no. 1 (2021): 83–85.

106. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 109–10.

107. Ibid., 188–89.

108. Ibid., 207.

109. Ibid., 213.

110. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*.

111. Jennifer DeVere Brody, Celine Parreñas Shimizu, Chandan Reddy, Ann

Cvetkovich, Carolyn Dinshaw and David Halperin, "GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies: Past and Present," *Institute for Cultural Inquiry,* video, 1:34:05, recorded 17 June 2021, https://www.ici-berlin.org/events/what-happened-to-lesbian-and-gay-studies/ (accessed 15 August 2021).

112. Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, 204–6.

113. Sanda Mayzaw Lwin, "Romance with a Message: W. E. B. Du Bois's *Dark Princess* and the Problem of the Color Line," in *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Racialization*, eds. Grace Kyungwon Hong and Roderick Ferguson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 190.

114. For the "autoimmunity" of democracy, see Jacques Derrida, *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005). I also see a conceptual link between Du Bois' rendering of democracy in *Dark Princess* and Friedrich Nietzsche's master–slave dialectic in his 1887 "The Genealogy of Morals" in *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo,* trans. and eds. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, 15–163 (New York: Vintage Books, 1989): although "slaves" reject the parameters of good and evil defined by "civilized" and materially dominant "masters," calling instead for a realization of concepts like equality, freedom and democracy, the risk is that the dialectic is soon reconstituted.

115. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Revelation of Saint Orgne the damned, June 8, 1938," W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 13.

116. Madhumita Lahiri, "World Romance: Genre, Internationalism, and W. E. B. Du Bois," *Callaloo* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 547.

117. Achille Mbembe, "Negative Messianism Marks Our Times," *Mail & Guardian*, 3 February 2017, https://mg.co.za/article/2017-02-03-00-negative-messianism-marks-our-times/ (accessed 21 January 2022).

Confessional Crossings: American Protestants, post-*Risorgimento* Italy, and the anti-Catholic Gothic

Katherine Moran

In 1876, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, a writer who would later become editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, published in that magazine an account of his visit to a "certain old gentleman" in Rome. The gentleman, he said, had "formerly occupied a high official position, but now he was retired, so to speak, into private life." During his career, he had "exercised almost unlimited influence, and for the most part with moderation and wisdom." Aldrich's language is fond if a bit patronizing: He describes a "gentle and altogether interesting figure…with his small, sparkling eyes, remarkably piercing when he looked at you point-blank, and a smile none the less winsome that it lighted up a mouth denoting unusual force of will. His face was…the face of a man who had led a temperate, blameless private life." He was, Aldrich concludes, "a very beautiful old man."[1] Aldrich—a Unitarian—was talking about Pope Pius IX.[2]

A wealthy Bostonian traveling through Italy, Aldrich is in one sense a familiar figure. For much of the nineteenth century, the well-educated sons and daughters of white, northeastern Protestant elites had been sailing and steaming across the Atlantic to educate themselves amid the treasures, tastes, and textures of the "Old World." For many, the experience included an encounter—real or imagined—with the Roman pontiff. In their writing—everything from polished essays to long letters home—the pope was most often described as a gilded despot, the head of a hierarchical, obscurantist, and territory-hungry church.[3] If Aldrich's itinerary meant that he was almost literally following in the footsteps of

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his predecessors, his sympathetic depiction of a "certain old gentleman" appears to be something new.[4]

And Aldrich was not alone. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many American travelers described themselves encountering an Italy transformed by the *Risorgimento*—the decades-long struggle for Italian independence and unification—and wrote this sense of transformation into their depictions of encounters with Italian Catholicism. After 1870, when the Italian army occupied Rome and Pope Pius IX retreated to the Vatican as a self-proclaimed prisoner, U.S. travelers composed narratives suffused with a sense of rapid change, filled with commentary on how the Catholic Italy of the past was morphing into something new before their eyes. They repeatedly depicted the end of the *Risorgimento* as a radical historical break, one that they believed marked the decline of Catholic power in Italy and perhaps even throughout the world. And they depicted this radical break by writing newly positive depictions of the pope and monks.

In their tales of adventure and observation, travel writers such as Aldrich adopted Pope Pius IX's characterization of himself as a "prisoner in the Vatican." They figured the imprisoned pope (Pius and those who came after him) as a sympathetic symbol of thwarted patriarchy and territorial desire. They also visited formerly inaccessible monasteries, newly opened to travelers, and wrote at length about their movement through these storied buildings and their new, friendly relationships with the monks. These were not the only ways U.S. travelers wrote about encounters with Italian Catholicism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: some waxed rhapsodic about Catholic art and architecture; others issued blistering critiques of what they took to be Catholic theological error. But it was a common theme among white, well-off, non-Catholic Americans: in their travel narratives, anti-Catholic tirades against the pope and monks receded, replaced by depictions of friendly tête-à-têtes and shared pleasures.[5]

On the surface, this might look like a radical rejection of the anti-Catholicism that was so popular in the nineteenth-century United States. But this is a story of consistency as much as it is of change. Even when writing in newly positive tones, Aldrich and his compatriots were still playing with the themes and settings of the anti-Catholic Gothic, a mode of writing that had long suffused U.S. travelers' accounts of Italy. They wrote about the pope in ways that invoked the Gothic trope of captivity in Catholic space, casting the pope now as a prisoner. Writing about visits to monasteries, they invariably raised the specter of monasteries as lurid, secret, low spaces before revealing monastic life to be benignly domestic and monks to be charming hosts. In short, in American travelers' depictions of post-*Risorgimento* Italian popes and monks, there is both a rejection

of anti-Catholic vitriol and a continuation of anti-Catholic Gothic scenes, characters, and plot conventions.

And this was not just a neat literary trick. The anti-Catholic Gothic was a language about power and authority, and late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American travel writers were participating in a decades-long conversation about Catholic figures as a way of thinking about appropriate forms of authority. Like their forebears, they continued to reflect on the uses and abuses of authority through reflections on encounters with Roman Catholicism; what changed was what they wanted to say. Writing in the wake of both the *Risorgimento* and the U.S. Civil War, they were no longer concerned with defining American liberties against Italian Catholic despotism. They registered, instead, an identification with deposed forms of authority, a rejection of the idea that these forms were threatening to American individuals or social order, and a nascent fear that the real roots of social disorder lay in a breakdown of such authority.

In short, the travel writing of Aldrich and his compatriots provide us with examples of explicit rejections of anti-Catholicism that cannot be fully understood as either an advance in religious toleration or a step along a putative path toward liberal pluralism.[6] Instead, they present a more complicated picture, one that acknowledges the continuity between these accounts and older anti-Catholic ones: their writing points to the persistent, protean, and densely packed connections between language about authority and order and about Catholicism, particularly when articulated by elite, white Americans.

This essay sits at the intersection of two overlapping bodies of scholarship: first, scholarship on Grand Tour travel literature (which stretches back to the sixteenth century and includes travelers from Britain, the United States, and elsewhere) and, second, scholarship on the place of Catholicism in U.S. culture and society (which extends from the colonial period to the present). Anti-Catholicism is a central theme in both.

Scholars of the Grand Tour argue that anti-Catholicism is one of the most consistent features of travelers' narratives. Art historian Clare Haynes, for example, notes that it was a "constant" element of British Grand Tour literature from the late sixteenth century into the nineteenth.[7] Historian Daniel Kilbride claims that, though "Americans disagreed over how they should behave toward aristocrats, whether free government would ever thrive in Italy, if poverty was endemic to the Old World, and practically every other issue," one issue was a source of agreement: "Anti-Catholicism was the single most consistent characteristic exhibited by American travelers in Europe from 1750 through 1861."[8]

The picture, however, is less monolithic than it may initially seem. Grand Tour anti-Catholicism was neither unitary in form nor static over

time, and it was often rhetorically combined—sometimes even in the same texts—with attractions to certain elements of Catholicism. Scholars have found it useful to distinguish between different kinds of anti-Catholicism—between zealous theological or nativist anti-Catholicism on the one hand and more casual and easily dispensed with nods to common anti-Catholic prejudice on the other.[9] As the historian Gerrit Verhoeven argues about early seventeenth-century Dutch burgers on the Grand Tour, "Despite extreme anti-popish slander in sermons, pamphlets, prints, and songs, ordinary Calvinists, Lutherans, and Anglicans were not necessarily turned into blind adversaries of the old church."[10] Others note that during periods in which Britons felt that the "papist threat [had] receded" or were more concerned about other threats, travelers' anti-Catholicism became less intense.[11] Scholars demonstrate that non-Catholics on the Grand Tour expressed admiration for, among other things, Catholic art and architecture, Catholic devotional culture, and even sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholic hospitals.[12] According to literary scholar Elizabeth Harrison, the Russian thinker Vasilii Rozanov pushed back against widespread Russian anti-Catholicism, admiring what he saw on a 1901 trip to Italy as Catholic strength and action.[13] In short, scholars demonstrate that whereas anti-Catholicism was a consistent theme among various travelers on the Grand Tour, many travelers nonetheless revised, rejected, and played with anti-Catholic ideas as they wrote.

Anti-Catholicism is also a central concern among scholars of American religion. Much academic ink has been spilled tracing the forms and fates of anti-Catholicism in the United States from the anti-popery of the early national period to the anticonvent scare of the antebellum years to (and beyond) the nativist anti-Catholicism of the 1920s.[14] Whereas successive waves of Catholic immigration fueled bursts of anti-Catholic nativism—including the Italian immigration of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—anti-Catholicism in the United States, as elsewhere, has not required a reliable supply of Catholics. Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church has proven, over the years, to be a constant foil, useful for American Protestant self-fashioning. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Aldrich and his compatriots were writing, anti-Catholic ideas, publications, and organizations flourished in the United States: from the Protestant clergyman Josiah Strong's panicked paean to "Anglo Saxon" civilization, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885), to the rise of the American Protective Association, which counted more than a million Americans as members in the 1890s, to the existence of an early twentieth-century anti-Catholic press with titles such as *The Menace* and circulations exceeding that of the nation's largest dallies.[15]

As with Grand Tour scholarship, however, scholars of American religion have been successfully chipping away at assumptions of anti-Catholic dominance, pointing to myriad ways in which appreciations of, or attrac-

tions to, Catholicism could exist alongside and in contrast to anti-Catholic rhetoric. Some scholars point out that, from at least the mid nineteenth century, middle-class and elite American Protestants sometimes cast themselves in opposition to anti-Catholicism and did so in a way that turned anti-Catholic logic on its head. In their depictions of their own tolerance and insight into Catholic faith and ritual, American Protestants tarred anti-Catholicism with its own "Romish" brush, depicting those who hated Catholicism as blind and incapable of independent thought.[16] Other scholars illuminate a sporadic history of American Protestant attractions to elements of Catholicism, ranging from the popularity of Catholic church design among nineteenth-century Protestant ministers to turn-of-the-century Protestant commemorations of historical Catholic missionaries as American founding fathers to the Depression-era rise of Hollywood films featuring charming and heroic urban priests.[17] Clearly, alongside the history of anti-Catholicism in American thought and culture, there is another history of attraction to and even admiration for the "Romish" other.

In short, scholarship on the Grand Tour and on Catholicism in U.S. culture is clear about the importance of an often-powerful, always multifarious anti-Catholicism. But recent work also pushes back against the notion of an entirely hegemonic anti-Catholicism, pointing to many examples of persistent, equally multifarious attractions to or appreciations of Catholic faith, forms, and people. The Italian travel writing of Aldrich and his compatriots is one such example, testifying to the limitations of any straightforward narrative of overwhelming anti-Catholicism, either in U.S. Grand Tour narratives or nineteenth-century American Protestant culture more generally.

But the writing of Aldrich and his compatriots also points in another direction, away from the anti-/pro-Catholicism binary altogether. Their writing is not only, or even primarily, a refutation of anti-Catholic animus. It is also, significantly, a continuation of the long-standing Protestant practice of talking about power and authority while talking about Roman Catholicism. It, thus, both rejects and carries forward the conventions of the anti-Catholic Gothic, constituting a literature of both change and continuity. The methodological argument at the heart of this essay is that if we only ask where Aldrich and the other writers might be placed along a linear anti- to pro-Catholic spectrum (or, even worse, where they stand in a putatively progressive historical trajectory from American anti-Catholicism to religious pluralism), we miss how their language about Catholicism registers and advances other hopes, goals, and assumptions. The distinction between anti- and pro-Catholicism is important: anti-Catholicism has wrought considerable violence on Catholic lives and communities. But if we focus primarily on valence—on whether non-Catholic observers are celebrating or deriding Catholicism—we lose our ability to explain what is going on. We risk missing how talk about Catholicism has historically

been a mode for talking about questions of power and authority, gender and sexuality, individuality and community, and much more. To engage those histories, we must attend to the long public conversations that move from anti- to pro-Catholicism and back again and that sometimes—as in a winking reference to a winsome pope—play in the space between.

Roman Catholicism, the Anti-Catholic Gothic, and the American Grand Tour

Though the Grand Tour is most commonly understood as an eighteenth-century British phenomenon with Americans following suit and a little delayed, scholars trace its origins to sixteenth-century English travels for diplomacy, trade, and pilgrimage.[18] Most U.S. travelers followed a route inspired by the eighteenth-century British Grand Tour: They began in London, crossed the channel to Paris, and then laboriously made their way over the Alps to Italy, heading for Rome.[19] Whereas, in the antebellum years, this activity was open only to those Americans with wealth and leisure, pleasure tours to Europe became more popular and somewhat more widely available toward the end of the century, inspired by cheaper steamship fares and the new availability of package tours.

The most universal theme among the many Americans who wrote narratives of travel to Europe was the difficulty of finding anything new to say.[20] Already by the nineteenth century, travel writers from the United States were contributing to an already enormous and popular body of Grand Tour literature. What they wrote was triangulated through a transnational body of literature stretching back centuries. By 1869, the conventions of American Grand Tour travel literature had become so familiar to U.S. audiences that Mark Twain could satirize them in what would become his first big popular success, *The Innocents Abroad*.[21]

When American travelers passed through the Italian peninsula, they were often struck by what literary critic Van Wyck Brooks called a "gothic mood." Italy inspired reflections on death: American travelers mused on the malarial fogs that descended upon the ruins of the Roman coliseum in the summer or the threat of brigands patrolling the back roads.[22] Italian Catholicism seemed, in particular, to evoke flights of Gothic fancy. Protestant travelers reported on what they deemed the excessive corporeality of Roman Catholic images of the suffering Christ and the martyrs. They compared Italian convents and monasteries to sites in Gothic novels such as Anne Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), focusing on what they described as the dark, secret enclosures that characterized the interior architecture of Catholicism.[23] The comparison became so common that it even made it into a children's magazine: in 1884, in an attempt to describe a European abbey to the young readers of *St. Nicholas*, Frank R. Stockton found the Gothic the most obvious reference point. "Did any of you ever read 'The Mysteries of Udolpho,' by Mrs. Radcliffe?" he asked

his young readers. "If you have, you will remember that the story is full of secret passages, concealed door-ways, trap-doors, and dungeons. The two great round towers which stand on each side of the main entrance to this abbey are very much like my idea of the Castle of Udolpho."[24]

American travelers' "Gothic mood"—particularly its anti-Catholic elements—drew on fiction such as Radcliffe's, on Gothic themes in British Grand Tour narratives, and on homegrown Gothic dramas of convent captivity.[25] Gothic novels frequently employed Catholic characters (priests, monks, and nuns), Catholic settings (monasteries, convents, and churchyards), and Catholic materials (church bells or incense) to evoke a sense of mystery and power. They drew on and advanced anti-Catholic stereotypes about the titillating, dangerous interiority of the Church's secret spaces and fears of the intimate authority possessed by Catholic priests in the confessional.[26] Closer to home, the popular proliferation of anticonvent speakers and exposés in the 1830s and 1840s invited American Protestants to imagine the horrors of Gothic captivity as threatening their own sisters and daughters. The most famous of these, Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery* (1836), was a gripping, fabricated testimonial of a young Protestant woman being lured first into conversion by a clever priest and later into a convent's secret world of rape, murder, and infanticide.[27]

The anti-Catholic Gothic was always more than just a shiver up the spine. U.S. writers' tales of imagined captivity in Catholic spaces were, in literary scholar Jenny Franchot's words, "a strategic displacement for actual and ongoing captivities in antebellum America": these narratives achieved their fantastic antebellum popularity because they allowed white, Protestant Americans to project anxieties about enslavements—political and psychic as well as physical—onto a politically safe imaginative space.[28] Scholars point to the ways the anti-Catholic Gothic indexed Northeastern white anxieties about the corruptions of Southern slavery as well as fears about how the art of persuasion might corrupt deliberative democracy (American Catholic converts were, after all, persuaded to offer themselves, of their own free will, as "slaves" to the pope).[29] The anti-Catholic Gothic defined American freedom and independence against a putatively Catholic despotism. It offered a way to rhetorically construct the Protestant, democratic virtues of the nascent republic against an authoritarian foreign Catholic foil, while at the same time registering a fear that the seeds of the republic's corruption already lay within it.

The "Gothic mood" of antebellum-era Americans traveling in Italy constituted, then, a ritual of casting out the nation's demons and projecting them onto the Catholic people and places of Italy. But neither those demons nor that Catholicism remained unchanged as the nineteenth century unfolded. The U.S. Civil War ended in 1865 and, in 1870, so too did the Italian *Risorgimento*.[30] What happened, then, to this travelers' language?

The Risorgimento

The *Risorgimento* is a term usually given to a nineteenth-century political movement for Italian national unity and independence. Its roots extend to the liberal and republican ideas of the French Revolution and to eighteenth-century Italian reformers. Its proximate cause in the nineteenth century, however, was the 1815 Congress of Vienna, which established Restoration governments throughout the Italian peninsula and made the Habsburg monarchy the dominant power in Italy. A number of attempts to unify the peninsula and throw off Austrian hegemony followed, including the Italian Revolution of 1848–49, the creation of the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849, and the 1859–61 Wars of Italian Unification. By the early 1860s, much of the peninsula was united under the Kingdom of Italy, but Rome remained the territory of the pope, protected by French forces. In 1870, Napoleon III withdrew his Roman garrison after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, leaving the pope defenseless. On September 20, 1870, Italian forces overcame a token defense by papal troops and took the city. The last remaining site of papal temporal power was incorporated into a unified, secular Italian state.[31]

The term *Risorgimento*—or "rebirth"—reflects nationalists' claims that the peoples of the peninsula shared a common history of Italian greatness, ready to be renewed and reborn into an Italian nation. Historians since have denaturalized the notion of a pre-existing Italian people: they point to local and regional divisions, cast doubt on the idea that the *Risorgimento* marked a radical historical break, and seek to de-exceptionalize Italian state formation by placing it in a larger European and global context.[32] Yet the nationalist romance of the *Risorgimento* was itself a powerful cultural construct: powerful to Italians themselves and powerful as a story told by many across the world.[33]

The Italian Revolution was a popular topic of conversation among Americans in the antebellum era, particularly among New England literary elites and those who read their work. Andrews Norton, a leading Unitarian preacher and theologian in New England, translated Alessandro Manzoni's romantic *Risorgimento* novel *I Promesi Sposi* in 1834, and his wife Catharine translated Silvio Pellico's memoir of imprisonment in Habsburg dungeons, *Le Mie Prigioni*.[34] The writer and transcendentalist Margaret Fuller, in Europe as the *New York Tribune*'s foreign correspondent, wrote dispatches from Italy supporting the Revolution, worked for the cause in an Italian hospital, and married a revolutionary.[35] A number of *Risorgimento*-related books were written by Americans, including the first book-length account of the Italian Revolution, *The Roman Republic of 1849* (1851) by the New England writer Theodore Dwight.[36]

When Pius lost Rome to Italian forces in September of 1870, many American Protestants were jubilant. Newspaper editorials proclaimed it a victory for liberalism and—in response to American Catholic rallies in

support of the pope—Protestants held rallies in New York, Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Lawrence, and San Francisco. Rally participants sang a new composition by Julia Ward Howe—the author of the Battle Hymn of the Republic—called the "Hymn for the Celebration of Italian Unity."[37] Many imagined (falsely) that Italian nationalists were primarily inspired by and intent on following the United States' own revolutionary, republican path.[38] Optimistically conflating Italian Catholic anticlericalism with anti-Catholicism, the U.S. Protestant religious press celebrated what it perceived to be a decline in the hegemonic power of Roman Catholicism in Italy. It reported jubilantly on the conversion of Italian monks and priests to Protestantism and made confident predictions for the future of Protestant Christianity in Italy. "It is pleasant," notes a writer for the *Friends Intelligencer* in 1875, "to see that the world is moving onward, and that the experience of the long generations tends ever to wisdom and light."[39] As historian Peter D'Agostino demonstrates, Protestant criticism of the pope's continued ambitions to regain control of a territorial state remained alive in American political debates for generations, constituting a key source of political division between American Catholics and Protestants until the 1920s.[40]

For many American observers, the *Risorgimento* was understood as a part of a progressive historical narrative of Italy moving from a land of the past into a land of the present. American travelers in Italy saw this in the changing landscape around them. They marveled at the civic and technological changes, particularly in Rome: at the free press, freedom of religion, railway, telegraph, healthier drainage systems, boulevards, electric lights, beautiful shops, and "five or six theaters and the opera every night during the season."[41] To one observer, it seemed that, as a result of the *Risorgimento*, "the great railway train of human progress and civilization [was] on the move."[42] Yet there was also a nagging sense of loss. As Henry Tyrrell pithily observed in 1891 to the readers of *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*: as his train approached Rome through "kitchen gardens and machine shops, and gas plants and factory chimneys…[one] *could* find it in one's heart to wish that Rome looked a little more unlike Newark, N.J."[43] And so astonishment and admiration for what was perceived to be a rapidly modernizing Italy—what many Americans took to be a new nation following in the United States' footsteps—was also accompanied by nostalgia: one did not travel to Rome, after all, to muse upon the loveliness of Newark.

Imprisoned Popes

Among travelers on the peninsula, nostalgia for an older Italy was often expressed as nostalgia for the exotic Catholic beauty of the "papal" era. This yearning could be about aesthetic appreciation or an imagined escape from the enervating forces of modernization. But it was also, distinctly, about the pope. When referencing the "papal" era, American travelers harkened back to an era of papal temporal power. In descriptions

of Pope Pius IX and later Pope Leo X and Pius X, they cast the current popes as sympathetic protagonists, weakened by forces beyond their control. They contrasted the earlier days of papal freedom and power with the current era of papal constraint. In doing so, they continued the Gothic tradition of rendering stories about Catholicism and power in Italy in terms of imprisonment and captivity, but now reversed. The post-*Risorgimento* popes became inverted Gothic victims: the head of the Roman church now trapped in his own Catholic castle.

Perhaps the most famous connoisseur of the Catholic picturesque, Henry James, put it best when he bemoaned in 1873 that he missed "the elements of picture and colour and 'style'" that had permeated "fully papal Rome."[44] Expressions of yearning for the colorful past continued throughout the next few decades. Lillian Gilbert Browne, writing in the *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* in 1880, was typical in remembering that "in the old days of Rome, when the Pope was absolutely ruler…the last week in Lent…used to be celebrated so prettily that strangers went from far and near to see the spectacle. There were all sorts of processions in the streets, fine music in the churches, ceremonies in the great basilica of St. Peter, and everybody looked happy."[45] And as late as 1902, Katharine Putnam Hooker struck the same note. She recalled that, during a Holy Week visit to Florence, she and her traveling companion had "looked for more pomp and circumstance," but were disappointed. She quoted an Italian friend as explaining, in mournful color, that, "as black is to white, so is the Holy Week of to-day to that of Pio Nono's [Pope Pius IX's] time," and solemnly observed, "It is not now as it once was."[46]

Even those writing in Protestant religious publications, who expressed less regret over the end of papal rule, occasionally also eulogized the old, beautiful Catholic Italy: a writer signing herself "J.A.S" wrote in the *Christian Union* of 1884 that, though as a "Christian and a lover of mankind," she "rejoice[ed]" at the "perishing of a power that has always held men's souls in slavery," she still felt a loss. "To my artistic and romantic sensibilities," she distinguished, "there is something sad in thus daily witnessing the decay of institutions so venerable and invested with so much picturesque beauty."[47]

Aesthetic attractions to Catholicism were not new: Grand Tour narratives are littered with appreciations of Catholic art and architecture. Throughout the nineteenth century, American travel writers so often celebrated Catholic beauty that scholars argue that American Protestants had a divided perception of European Catholicism, one that distinguished between the aesthetics of Catholic practice—which they admired—and dogmatic or theological Catholicism—which they abhorred. In his 1958 study of American writers and artists in Italy, Brooks explains Harriet Beecher Stowe's tender descriptions of Catholic ritual in the otherwise anti-Catholic antebellum novel *Agnes of Sorrento* as rooted in such a

distinction and argues for evidence of an aesthetic attraction to Catholicism in James Russell Lowell's writing as well.[48] Historian Paola Gemme notes that even Margaret Fuller—who worked with Italian revolutionaries for the establishment of the Roman Republic in 1849—was drawn to the poetic aspects of Italian Catholicism and quotes her admitting with a touch of regret that the Republican Carnival of 1847 "has not been as splendid as the Papal."[49] And T.J. Jackson Lears, in his path-breaking *No Place of Grace*, argues that a growing antimodernist attraction to Roman Catholic forms appeared among elite Northeastern American Protestants in the late nineteenth century as they found in these forms an available—and ultimately commodifiable—answer to modern feelings of weightlessness and alienation.[50]

As American travelers came increasingly to identify the old Catholic forms with a "papal" era, however, their expressions of nostalgia went further: they could bleed into an affection for the figure of the pontiff himself. Recall that James and Hooker reflect not only on an earlier Catholic age, but an age they identified with papal power, and Hooker even uses Pope Pius IX's affectionate nickname. Browne connects the "processions in the streets" and "fine music in the churches" not only to "pretty" celebrations, but also explicitly to a time when the "Pope was absolutely ruler." When writing about papal audiences—a feature of the Grand Tour for some travelers since at least the eighteenth century—post-1870 American Protestants turned affectionate.[51]

Some, like Aldrich in his "certain old gentleman" essay, explicitly express affection for the head of the Roman Catholic Church. After 1870, along with Aldrich, other American Protestants in Rome wrote about the pope as "the good old man at the Vatican, whom none can see without loving"[52] or as a "kindly old grandfather."[53] They frequently repeat a story about him, about how he was, in the words of Henry Tyrrell:

> …that most gracious and sociable of Popes, [who] used to ask his foreign visitors the duration of their stay in Rome. If it was only a few days, he would say at parting, "Well, good-by;" but if the stranger was tarrying for weeks or months, then it would be, "A rivederci!" For who, after having eaten the lotus of the Tiber-side, could depart thence for good and all, nor hope ever to taste it again?[54]

After Pius died in 1878, American writers continued to use similar language to talk about subsequent popes, often expressing fondness for and even identification with the pontiff. In a 1903 *Lippincott's* essay, Maude Howe—Julia Ward Howe's daughter—claims that, despite her politics, she "feel[s] a personal sympathy for the Pope." She describes Leo XIII as her neighbor in Rome and notes her own feeling of similarity to the man even

while registering the oddness of such a claim. She cheekily declares that she, like him (but unlike the fashionable set), did not leave Rome for the summer, and imagined herself as his personal friend, a friendship that was "one-sided, like a book friendship."[55]

A year later, *Harper's Monthly* published an account of the humorist Booth Tarkington's audience with the pope—who, by that time, was Pius X. Like Aldrich, Tarkington framed his papal visit as a lark, but his tone becomes more earnest when he gets to the depiction of the pope himself. The arrival of the pope brought "inexplicable tears" to the eyes of a young American couple standing nearby, Tarkington writes,

> For Pius X has the effect of pathos; perhaps it is the transparent and touching quality of the simple goodness that is in his face. Many a town in the United States has been blessed with a citizen (but usually not more) whose look was of this type; a strong and kindly "Uncle Billy Jackson," an old fellow carrying the radiance of a life spent in good works, the service of those in need; one whose hale greeting on the street made the recipient better and gayer all day; that rare thing, a genial philanthropist, whose heart and hand and scanty store were not for the orphan alone, but for all who lacked, or sinned, or mourned; for the grieving child, the lame dog, the drunkard, for the stranger fallen sick.[56]

Tarkington's reference to "pathos" and Howe's to her "sympathy" for a pope who could not (or would not) leave Rome, derive from the fact that, after the loss of Rome, Pius IX declared himself a prisoner in the Vatican, and subsequent popes followed suit. Some American Protestants—at home and abroad—mocked the popes for this claim, accusing them of playing prisoner to drum up support. But others took a different approach, adopting the papal language of imprisonment and expressing sympathy. In 1871, the children's author "Oliver Optic" told his young readers that Pope Pius IX "was practically a prisoner in the Vatican, with the soldiers of United Italy in possession of his dominion."[57] A *Christian Union* article from 1878 describes Pope Leo XIII as enfeebled by captivity and "slowly dying of confinement, want of air and exercises, and more than all, of a broken and wounded spirit."[58] Tarkington, too, concludes, "Looking upon the Pope, one feels the great pity of it that the man should be a prisoner."[59]

Maude Howe dwells at length on the idea of a captive pope in her 1903 description of Pope Leo XIII, particularly in her account of his aborted attempt to give his first public benediction. "Like Pius," she writes,

> Leo began by trying for a liberal policy. The power behind the throne…was too strong for him. When he was elected he wished to give his benediction to the people in the Piazza outside from the window over the door of St. Peter's, like his predecessors. This was opposed, but the news spread through the city that the new Pope stood firm. The Piazza was crammed with waiting people; at the Quirinal the royal carriage stood ready to bring the Queen to the Piazza to receive the blessing. Those who watched with glasses saw a small white figure hurrying down the passage which leads to the window. The Pope was coming! Suddenly the white figure hesitated, paused, turned back, retreated. The way had been barricaded with benches![60]

In Howe's account, Leo XIII is a diminished pope and man—a "small white figure"—thwarted by benches. In fact, Leo XIII most likely did not hopefully rush into the expectant arms of the faithful but strategically waited, deciding not to appear when it became clear that the government would not fire the customary cannons from Sant'Angelo Castle in honor of his election.[61] Whether or not she heard rumors about this strategizing, Howe could have chosen to cast the pope's failure to appear as a rejection of the democratic act of speaking to the people. Instead, she foregrounded the pope's status as a prisoner.

These expressions of affection for a beleaguered pontiff did not represent an embrace of all things Catholic. Indeed, whereas there was almost universal interest in the pope's prisoner status, there was disagreement about the identity of his jailer. Some U.S. writers joined Oliver Optic in finding "the soldiers of United Italy" responsible. Others, like Howe, argued that the popes were imprisoned for public relations reasons by forces within the church. Whatever affection American writers expressed for the "imprisoned" pope did not necessarily extend to the church as a whole. Nevertheless, the pope himself, once so consistently described as a threatening despot, was now frequently cast instead as a beleaguered, sympathetic figure of declining authority.

This focus on the pope as prisoner was new, but the link between captivity and Catholicism was not. Post-*Risorgimento* American Protestant travel writers recapitulated common Gothic plot devices when talking about the prisoner-popes. Maud Howe's description of Pope Leo XIII's attempt at a public benediction—in which he is "hurrying down the passage" only to find it "barricaded"—echo Gothic scenes of captive heroines rushing through the narrow corridors of their prisons, attempting (mostly futile) escape. Discussions of the popes' loss of territory resemble a common tale of Gothic misfortune, in which the heroine's imprisonment

prevents her from claiming her rightful inheritance. And like Gothic heroines, the "imprisoned" popes were depicted as both captive and physically threatened: their bodies described as weakened from lack of access to the outside world.[62] This writing did not so much reject the anti-Catholic Gothic, then, as invert it, turning the popes themselves into Gothic victims.

What made Catholic settings so compelling in Gothic literature was the anti-Catholic conviction that Roman Catholicism in general—and papal rule in particular—was premised on enforced obedience and a refusal of independent thought. It was, in short, enslaving. For antebellum Americans, it was not hard to make the leap from Gothic heroines fictionally held captive in anti-Catholic Gothic stories to enslaved people quite literally held captive in the U.S. South.

Throughout the antebellum and Civil War period, not only were slavery and an abstract notion of "popery" linked, but Roman Catholicism was often explicitly equated with U.S. chattel slavery. Prior to the Civil War, U.S. abolitionists repeatedly called for an end to the "twin evils" of slavery and "popery," an association that was only strengthened by the Catholic Church's position that, whereas racial slavery was an evil, slavery itself accorded with accepted understandings of natural hierarchy.[63] This connection was also a staple of antebellum and Civil War–era travel narratives. Traveling in Italy in 1829, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote to his sisters that Italian Catholics were similar to enslaved people in the United States, but he found the enslaved people better off.[64] In treating U.S. racial slavery as a broad rhetorical referent, Longfellow ignored the specific horrors and brutalities of enslavement in order to argue that Catholic clerical authority prevented freedom of thought and behavior. (His sisters may well have been unsurprised by his claim: at the same time, other white U.S. writers were depicting nuns as occupying positions equivalent to enslaved people, arguing that U.S. abolitionists should extend their concern to convents.)[65] Gemme argues persuasively that "the primary, if often unnamed, subject of many U.S. narratives of the Risorgimento was, in fact, chattel bondage, as becomes evident when the commentary over the condition of foreign subjects is interrupted by analogies with the circumstances of the domestic slaves."[66] Margaret Fuller notes this herself—that Americans in Italy tended to compare the Italian state to slave states at home—and she too became more sympathetic to American abolitionism as she fought what she understood to be a similar battle in Italy.[67] Finally, this analogy appears in abolitionist fiction, most notably in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: toward the end of the book, Augustine St. Claire describes the threat of slave uprising as similar to the unrest brewing in Italy under the dominion of Austrian and papal rule.[68]

White Americans were not the only ones comparing Catholic power in Italy to U.S. chattel slavery: so too were some Italians. For example, the parallel drove Giuseppe Rota's popular 1853 adaptation of *Uncle Tom's*

Cabin, the ballet *Bianchi e neri* (Whites and Blacks).[69] The argument was also made in the press, from the liberal Florentine newspaper *La Nazione*'s claim that, in the words of the historian Axel Körner, "the Roman Question and the emancipation of the American slaves" could be compared, to the Republican almanac *L'amico di casa*'s claim in 1863 that it "saw no difference 'between Jews in the Papal States and Negroes in America.'"[70]

The anti-Catholic Gothic mode of writing about encounters with Catholicism focused on captivity, and related—sometimes indirectly and sometimes directly—to questions raised in both U.S. and Italian contexts about the parallels between Catholic power and U.S. chattel slavery, about the morality of enslavement and the limits of appropriate authority. In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travel writing, then, American writers were not just rejecting anti-Catholic depictions of the pope in favor of something more humorous or more affectionate. Rather, they were invoking and playing with old anti-Catholic Gothic conventions about papal power and captivity and inverting them. The Gothicized setting of Catholic Italy remained, but the roles had switched: the pope was no longer a shadowy force enslaving the faithful, an object of liberal American horror, but rather a captive himself, an object of pity, affection, and affiliation.

Welcoming Monasteries

U.S. travelers' fascination with figures of Catholicism often followed them out of Rome, beyond the pope, and to the doors of Italian monasteries. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travelers often visited these monasteries, newly opened to tourism by the forces of the *Risorgimento.* Like the pope, monks and monasteries had been cast in a villainous light in anti-Catholic Gothic literature, but here, they were benignly transformed. The monks themselves were depicted as hospitable hosts, denizens of domesticated space. Like the popes, the monks too were depicted as disinherited, the monastic spaces they used to control now populated by a skeleton crew obliged to serve the needs of curious travelers. And, as in travel writing about the popes, American writers did not simply embrace the monks and monasteries, laying aside prior anti-Catholic language. Rather, they explicitly engaged and played with readers' expectations, placing themselves in the context of reworked Gothic scenes. If encounters with the pope were depicted as a reversal—the representative of an enslaving "popery" now cast as a Gothic victim—encounters with monks and monasteries involved an often-gleeful rejection of the idea that Catholic power could imprison at all. The men and women who wrote about post-1870 encounters with monks describe themselves as breaking through the surface of anti-Catholic Gothic notions of monastic evils and safely entering Catholic space to discover a benign sociability within.

During the course of the *Risorgimento*, antimonasticism was a topic

of intense debate in Italy: the introduction of an 1854 draft law for the suppression of religious orders created such an upheaval in Parliament that approximately 100,000 people signed an (ultimately unsuccessful) petition against the law, and the pope threated to excommunicate its supporters. Antimonastic feeling ran high among Italian liberals; was championed by some of the Italian press; and was embraced by the Prime Minister of Piedmont, Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, among others. By the 1870s, monasteries throughout the Italian peninsula were secularized: some were closed entirely, their buildings and lands converted to public property, and others remained in a semi-operational state with a few elderly monks remaining as caretakers for buildings remade into hostelries.[71]

Though post-*Risorgimento* U.S. travelers wrote as if they were exploring new precincts when they visited monasteries, some monasteries had already been stopping points on the Grand Tour. Remote monasteries provided places to stay in areas where accommodations were few; others functioned as private museums, allowing visitors to see the collections of art contained within. In fact, these visits were common enough that eighteenth-century British women on the Grand Tour wrote in frustration about monks who barred their entry into these all-male preserves.[72] By the late nineteenth century, American travelers—women included—found themselves with increased access to monasteries and new opportunities for conversation with individual monks.

In 1886, Elizabeth Robins Pennell wrote and her husband Joseph Pennell illustrated an account of their own version of a Grand Tour. Like other such tourists, they began in England and headed south, over the Alps, to Italy. But they did so by tricycle, publishing an account of their unconventional trip in *Century Illustrated Magazine* as they went. More than a fifth of the narrative of travel through Italy was dedicated to their stay at the Mt. Oliveto monastery in Tuscany, where the Catholic writer and her Quaker husband found a friendly welcome.

Pennell reports that the monastery had been taken over by the government and turned into a "public art gallery and *pension* for artists" with a few monks remaining as innkeepers and guides. "[T]he strangest part of this dream-life," she testified about her time there,

> was the friendship that sprang up between us and the monks. I would not have been more surprised if St. Benedict and Blessed Bernardo had come back to earth to make friends with us…. [H]e [the Abate] came to our room early in the morning to drink his coffee with us, and in the evening, after he had said his Office, for a little talk. And when we finished our supper we sat together long over our wine, talking now in French, now in English, now in Italian, and occasionally understanding each other. Like

> all good fellows, we too had our jokes. But the Abate's favorite was to tell how he had seen us coming up the mountain, monsieur push-pushing the *velocipede* and madame puff-puffing behind him.[73]

At the center of Pennell's "strange" account is the blurring of the line between American tourism and Italian monastic seclusion. Not only did the Abate become her and her husband's "good fellow," but they, in turn, became temporary members of the community. On their last day, she wrote, unexpected visitors arrived at the monastery, and Pennell and her husband found the Abate grumpily preparing a last-minute dinner for the new guests. "Were they to dine with us [at the refectory table, with the monks]? we asked. No, indeed, was his answer. They were not members of the community." His answer proved that Pennell and her husband belonged: as Pennell joked, "This confirmed our doubts as to whether we might not be monks without our knowing it."[74] Insider–outsider distinctions at the monastery turned out to be surprisingly malleable.

The monks at Mt. Oliveto reappear in an account of travel in Italy written almost two decades later by the Los Angeles writer Hooker. Perhaps unfamiliar with Pennell's account, Hooker notes that, at first, she was cautious:

> I could not help feeling that the padres must still harbor resentful feelings toward intruding women who come to invade a retreat once closed against their objectionable sex, but to my surprise when the last course, of small sour raisins and tough cheese, was served, Don Giuseppe came in, seated himself at the table with us and affably entered into conversation.[75]

And this camaraderie was not limited to the monks at Mt. Oliveto: by the end of her travels, Hooker seems to have come to expect such camaraderie from monks in general. Later in her book, having evolved as narrator from ingénue to expert, Hooker advises fellow visitors to Perugia that "there are old monasteries hidden among the mountains where if you would carry pleasure with you it is well to take an offering of coffee to the monks, keenly relished by them but rarely enjoyed."[76]

Even a Presbyterian minister, writing for the *Congregationalist and Christian World* in 1906, reports a similar experience. William Byron Forbush was not known for his love of Catholicism: in 1926, he edited an edition of the gory anti-Catholic classic *Fox's Book of Martyrs* (a book that one scholar describes as an Ur-text of the anti-Catholic Gothic).[77] But, when recalling a visit to the Franciscan monastery of La Verna in the Tuscan Apennines, he describes him and his wife befriending a jolly corps of monks. Forbush recounts "photographing Brother Samuel in the act of

throwing his arms charmingly across the shoulders of two peasant boys whom he had called to his side, when the Superior Father Saturnino da Caprese, joined us. 'Here is our president,' said Brother Samuel, laughing gayly [sic] at the republican allusion." When Forbush and his wife "audaciously" asked to take the reverend director's photograph, "nothing could delight him more and he smiled with the blandness of a child as he meekly suffered himself to be posed against the chapel wall. And when we said our adieux and looked for the last time into such kind and courteous faces we felt that the barriers of faith and nationality between us were completely obliterated."[78] Just as Pennell jokes that she and her husband had become monks without knowing it, Forbush describes how he and his wife easily surmounted the differences between themselves and their new friends.

In anti-Catholic thought, monks and monasteries were not symbols of Catholic authority in the same way the pope was.[79] They did not, after all, claim territorial, political power. But the fact that monasteries could be held apart from prying outsider eyes was itself a sign of power and privilege. Monks, in these protected spaces, were cast as men free to commit gross crimes with impunity.[80] Conversely, the idea that monks took vows not only of celibacy, but also of obedience positioned them in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anti-Catholic thought as willingly, unnaturally subservient.[81]

Indeed, in the anti-Catholic Gothic, monasteries were at best secret spaces and at worst dens of sloth (because the monks were perceived as not engaging in "productive" labor) and debauchery (because the pressures of celibacy were imagined to encourage explosions of sexual vice).[82] The monk in Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764)—arguably the first Gothic novel—was merely an interference, but an early imitation of the book, William Hutchinson's *The Hermitage: A British Story* (1772), made the monk into a more threatening character.[83] In subsequent works—including Walpole's own and, notably, the popular work of Ann Radcliffe—the lecherous, dangerous monk became a stock Gothic character. Matthew G. Lewis' *The Monk*, published in England in 1796 to excited and horrified reviews, is perhaps the most notorious example: it features a title character drawn by supernatural forces into first breaking his own vow of chastity and then committing rape, murder, and incest. Lewis's text inspired legions of imitators, including at least a hundred cheap chapbooks spreading the tale of the murderous monk to less literate readers and printed in both the United Kingdom and the United States.[84] Whereas nineteenth-century Americans may have been loath to admit to reading books such as Lewis'—arguably the most pornographic of the eighteenth-century Gothic novels—travel writers to Italy did frequently cite Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun*, which features a sinister monk appearing like a specter in the underground catacombs of St. Calixtus in Rome.[85] At the end of Hawthorne's novel, the innocent Hilda disappears for days into a fortress-like monastery, the de-

tails of her visit there never fully explained.[86] The meanings of monasteries were closely tied to their opacity.

After the *Risorgimento*, the very fact that American travelers were visiting Italian monasteries belied this opacity. The authors played with this contradiction, repeatedly invoking Gothic themes only to deny them. Hooker does so obliquely, calling attention to her presence as a woman in what had previously been an all-male space, even figuring herself as an "invader," in sharp contrast to the image of threatened female captives in male-dominated Catholic enclosures. Pennell and Forbush were more explicit.

Before Pennell describes her and her husband's blossoming friendship with the Abate at Mt. Oliveto, she invites her readers to recall that she was stepping into Gothic space, reporting how her own Gothic imagination was stirred upon their late-night arrival at the monastery:

> [I]t was so dark that we groped our way through the hall and a small cloister. Then we came to a flight of steps where, at the bidding of the Abate, as if to reassure us that we were not being led to secret cells or torture chambers, the man carrying our bags struck a solitary match. By this feeble light we walked up the broad stone stairs, and through many passage-ways, not a sound breaking the stillness but our steps and their loud echoes, to a door where the Abate left us, and at the same time the match burnt out.[87]

They were rescued by the jolly Abate, but Pennell's references to darkness and "secret cells or torture chambers," orient the reader to a specific set of Gothic expectations.

Forbush also invokes and denies the Gothic: when describing the friendliness of the Franciscan monks at La Verna, he imagines their midnight devotions in Gothic color:

> Twice a day the brown cassocked file of monks marches chanting down the long moldy gallery to the chapel of the Stigmata. Three times a week they kneel at midnight around its [the chapel's] central marble slab, and as the five lamps in memory of St. Francis's five wounds are extinguished they scourge themselves in the darkness, and the clashing of their chains and the wail of the Miserere meets the howls of the winds around the stone corridors without.[88]

In evoking the "clashing of…chains" and the "howls of the winds around the

stone corridors" at midnight, Forbush moves beyond simple description into Gothic atmospherics. His doing so throws into sharp relief his and his wife's friendly (and technologically modern) attempts to photograph the monks and renders his claim that "the barriers of faith and nationality between us were completely obliterated," all the more heroic.

American travelers had long fantasized about invading the inner sanctum of European Catholic spaces and expressed this fantasy in ways both physical and literary: by making tourist visits to Catholic cathedrals where they could gaze upon Catholic interiors and rituals as spectators, and by writing and reading anti-Catholic Gothic narratives that claimed to expose the secret abuses going on behind Catholic doors. Indeed, as Franchot's reading of Robert Weir's 1863 painting *Taking the Veil* makes clear, for some antebellum American Protestant travelers to Italy, the pleasure of Catholic tourism was at least in part the pleasure of voyeurism.[89] Hooker, Pennell, and Forbush play with this idea of secret, closed spaces. Hooker figures herself as an "invader," Pennell dwells on the way she and her husband became like monks themselves, and Forbush draws attention to his ability to represent his visit (in photography as well as in narrative) to other outsiders: all of them rewrite monasteries as suddenly devoid of opacity, now open and transparent to the eye (or camera) of the curious visitor. Yet, even as they figure themselves as agents of invasion or exploration into a formerly closed Catholic interior, they do not aim to expose the corrupt heart of these monasteries: rather the opposite. Allowed finally inside a hidden Catholic space, they report that within its Gothic trappings lay something much more benign.

The anti-Catholic Gothic cast Catholic spaces as dangerous in a particular way, drawing on the widespread Protestant notion of Catholicism as physically and theologically transgressive and disordering. Catholic worship was often derided by Protestants as an unholy mixture of the physical and the spiritual. Protestant travelers in Italy found that Catholic images of the suffering Christ and martyrs, meant to inspire devotion, were surprisingly gory. Alternately disgusted and amused, they commented frequently on blood-soaked images of saints or the way the Catholic faithful would approach statues of the crucified Christ and kiss his wounds. Lou J. Beauchamp, a temperance speaker from Ohio who published an account of his European sojourn in 1896, wryly notes that "all over Europe [St. Sebastian] is to be found exposing his arrow ridden person, and looking as if he were saying to each beholder, 'Go thou and do likewise.'"[90] Hooker even reports coming across a statue of Christ "terribly real, and covered with wounds ghastly in their verisimilitude and crimson with streaming or coagulated blood."[91] Catholic images of torn and bleeding bodies were cast as transgressive of both the theological categories of matter and spirit and the bodily integrity of the pierced and bleeding figures. This

characterization seems especially apt in reference to images such as the monastic scourging of the self that Forbush describes, wherein an act of prayer broke the body's skin and produced physical (and potentially erotic) extremes of feeling.

In the anti-Catholic Gothic, the notion that Catholic faith and practice was transgressive of categories became linked with the threat—directed toward those who adopted the Catholic faith or entered Catholic space—of the transgression of their physical selves. The threats to the victim and even the general atmosphere of Gothic novels are filled with the crossing of bodily barriers: sex, rape, violent death, and decaying bodies surround the heroines menacingly. Catholic interiors themselves often figure as architectural renderings of these bodies, characterized not by boundary integrity but by invasion and flow, filled with twisting, dirty corridors through which victim and villain rushed. Accordingly, Pennell's and Forbush's depictions of their visits to monasteries contain references to their potentially low, Gothic character: both Forbush and Pennell explicitly draw their readers' attention to the "long mouldy gallery" or the "many passage-ways" of the monasteries. Their narratives of monastic visits are narratives of their own entrances into transgressive spaces.

But their narratives end by highlighting not physical and mental disorder, but health and well-being—often tied to food as both pleasure and nourishment. Hooker advises bringing monks "pleasure" by bringing them, simply, coffee, which they "relished." In Pennell's monastery tale, she too focuses on shared meals with the monks, even noting that the Abate entered their room—a potential intrusion into intimate space—only to chat over coffee. She plays with the idea of being physically endangered but simultaneously highlights her own physical strength and ability: she describes her muscles working and her lungs "puffing" to propel her forward on her tricycle. And Forbush, too, describes his monastery stay in connection with his own physical fortification: on their arrival, Forbush and his wife were met by a "kindly-faced monk" who provided each with "an enormous bowl of thick rice soup containing nourishment for six men."[92] The couple enjoy their visit and their meal. In the last paragraph of his travel narrative, Forbush even points to an enduring sense of well-being, one that mixes pastoral nature and Catholic ritual:

> As we went down the mountain, the shepherdesses were returning to their farms, the lambs were bleating before the fold, the birds were singing vespers, the sun hung like the Host over a mountain altar, and at the Inn of the Little Brothers at Bibbiena we found clean rooms and quiet rest.[93]

The picture he paints is of social and natural order, of everything in its

proper—and Catholicized—place.

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American travel writers (and their readers) stepped into monasteries with certain expectations. Long imagined as secret Catholic redoubts, monasteries became the sites of repeated and playful acts of unveiling: in each account, the monastery is depicted as a potentially secret, threatening space and then revealed to be safely domestic. Like sympathetic depictions of the pope, these appealing monastery stories were not simply rejections of anti-Catholicism, but were, in fact, a continued engagement with anti-Catholic Gothic plots and figures. When Hooker, Pennell, and Forbush described their stays in monasteries as physically and psychically nourishing, they were not only deriding the Gothic flights of fancy of previous writers. They were also denying the logic behind that fancy, the idea that the greatest threat to the American body politic was to be found in strongholds of "Old World" authority and privilege. Travel writers played with the idea that spaces of Catholic secrecy and power could be bodily threatening and instead repeatedly revealed such ideas to be comic misapprehensions, dark fantasies that did not accord with the benevolent affection of the monks and the calming, even restorative atmospheres of these monasteries.

Threats to Rome and Newark

In real or imagined encounters with the Pope or on visits to Italian monasteries, some American writers turn blithely away from critiques of Catholicism as the embodiment of excessive power and authority, secrecy and captivity. But references to problems with authority are not absent from post-1870 American travel writing in Italy: they just turn in another direction. When U.S. travelers walked the streets of Italian cities or advised others on planning trips through the countryside, they sounded a constant drumbeat of concern for Italian crime, bemoaning the lack of a restraining authority in post-*Risorgimento* Italy. And, just as the anti-Catholic Gothic echoed U.S. domestic concerns about the fragility of a republic committed to slavery, so too did these worries about Italian crime echo U.S. domestic worries: this time the concerns of middle- and upper-class white Americans about the perceived social "disorder" of the Gilded Age.

While Aldrich was admiring the pope and Forbush visiting a Tuscan monastery, other American writers reported with alarm on what they claimed was the lawlessness of independent Italy. An eyewitness to the end of the *Risorgimento*, writing in *Lippincott's* in 1871, recalls that, after the pope's retreat to the Vatican, "the brigands have escaped from Civita Vecchia and are out on the Campagna, and…prices of apartments, carriages, everything, in short, have risen frightfully. Indeed, the coachmen, with pleasant Italian knavery, laugh and say there exists no tariff any longer, and they can charge what we [sic] please."[94] In 1872, *The Albion*, a New

York weekly, explains,

> It is supposed by a great many honest people that the Italian bandit exists nowadays only on the stage. United Italy and the railways together, in the fancy of these optimists, have finally routed him from his fastnesses, and either eliminated him entirely from society, or transfigured him into the harmless and happy peasant, or the peaceful, if exasperating, organ-grinder.

But it was not true: "Some of the exploits related of the modern banditti take us back to that hey-dey [sic] of romantic villany, when the Abruzzi swarmed with swarthy and beribboned desperadoes."[95] According to reports like these, the triumph of the *Risorgimento* had not produced a law-abiding, orderly society. It may even have made things worse.

Twelve years later, the *Christian Union*'s Rome correspondent sounded an even more dire note of ever-increasing disorder. J.A.S., the writer who called the pope a "kindly old grandfather" and expressed sympathy for him in his imprisonment, also worried about what was happening outside the Vatican doors.[96] In 1884, she tells her readership:

> It is now war to the death between the upper and lower classes, between the governing and the governed. Here in Rome newspapers daily print insolent attacks on the Government, for which even four or five years ago they would have been sequestrated and even prosecuted: but the Government now knows that it is impossible to prevent this and has, alas! too much cause to blush to dare even to notice the attack. Mingled with all this resistance to authority there is at the same time a great increase of crime. Murder, stabbing, and suicide are of daily occurrence, and seem to have lost their horror. For a slight offence, for a few hot words, the knife is drawn and a life taken.

She claims that "[t]here seems to have come among the lower classes a climax of carelessness and wickedness beyond remedy. There is no religious influence that could overtake this nor is there one that even tries." She concludes the article by noting that the newspapers could not even find a leader to champion—and, remarkably, she suggests that even papal rule would be better than the current state of affairs. "It is not the old cry, 'Le roi est mort! Vive la roi!'" she declares, "or the old saying, 'The Pope never dies;' it is, 'The king is dead, and there is no king to succeed!'"[97] In

the face of an "insolent" press, widespread "resistance to authority," and lower class "wickedness," this correspondent for a Protestant paper cannot fully endorse the return of the pope as religious and political ruler. But she can, and does, mourn the loss of his steadying hand.

Running like a bright seam through these warnings about crime and corruption is a particular characterization of the Italian people. Unlike in U.S. *Risorgimento* literature—which often presents Italians as incipient republicans, the younger brethren of American patriots—now Italians are presented as possessing an essential "wickedness" or "knavery," crying out for a restraining hand. Travelers describe the Italians they encountered abroad as looking "a great deal more like grown-up children than like men and women" and worry aloud that they are childish, impulsive, violent, and ultimately incapable of self-rule.[98] This language echoes what many middle- and upper-class, white Americans were saying back home about new immigrants and the growing industrial working class (many of whom were themselves Italian) and also about African Americans fighting through and beyond Reconstruction for equity, opportunity, and a full measure of citizenship.

Notably, amid this widespread concern for social order in independent Italy, the old American Protestant claims to an equivalence between Catholic rule in Italy and chattel slavery at home were almost completely dropped. Tracking antebellum arguments in the United States, Gemme notes that Frederick Douglass's "1861 comments on Garibaldi constitute one of the last instances of the articulation of the debate on slavery through the discussion of Italy's political situation."[99] And, as we see, after the end of the Civil War and the *Risorgimento*, U.S. travel writers in Italy did not celebrate recent victories over the "twin evils": slavery eliminated at home, "popery" perhaps fatally injured in Italy. Rather, once the pope declared himself a prisoner, they murmured their condolences.

One might, of course, assume that the decline of papal power would inevitably lead to a newly sympathetic language about the pope or that rhetorical connections between enslavement and Roman Catholicism would naturally cease to be relevant after emancipation. Yet these were choices: whereas most travel writers dropped earlier allusions to Catholic enslavement, not all of them did.

In 1913, Booker T. Washington—the African American educator and leader of the Tuskegee Institute—published an account of his 1910 travels called *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe.* The book was written with the sociologist Robert E. Park, whom Washington hired to be his researcher and ghostwriter. The title derives from the premise of the book: the first chapter tells readers that Washington went to Europe to learn about "the condition of the poorer and working classes in Europe, particularly in those regions from which an ever-increasing number of immigrants are coming to our country each year,"

and also to compare national "race problems."[100] "I believed," he writes,

> that I would find in some parts of Europe peoples who in respect to education, opportunity, and civilization generally were much nearer the level of the masses of the Negro people in the South than I was likely to find anywhere in America. I believed, also, that if I went far enough and deep enough I should find even in Europe great numbers of people who, in their homes, in their labour, and in their manner of living, were little, if any, in advance of the Negroes in the Southern States, and I wanted to study at first hand, as far as I was able, the methods which European nations were using to uplift the masses of the people who were at the bottom in the scale of civilization.[101]

His descriptions of Italy are suffused with comparisons to the American South, from the "soft southern air" of Rome, "such air as I had not found anywhere since I left my home in Alabama"[102] to the "popular superstitions of Sicily," which reminded him of "many of the notions that the Negroes are supposed to have imported to America from Africa." He even describes the Virgin as having "become, among the lower class of people, little more than a fetish, a thing to conjure with."[103] Like his white compatriots, Washington bemoans the rate of murder and other violent crime in Italy. But, unlike them, he does not mourn the loss of a "papal" era. Instead, he blames the Catholic Church in Italy for keeping the people in a state of poor education—much like enslaved people were kept in the United States—and prescribes the same remedy for both: his own form of industrial education.

What Washington interprets as social disorder in Italy was not a native Italian "knavery" let loose without the restraining hand of religious authority, but rather a people who needed education in order to take up the mantle of responsible citizens. The point here is not that one vision of Italy was more accurate: both read Italian politics and society in Italy through faulty comparisons to the United States.[104] The point is that Washington's narrative illuminates the ideological work in either the continuation or the more common erasure of antebellum-era rhetorical associations between American slavery and Italian Catholic authority.

In short, white U.S. travel writers' rejections and inversions of anti-Catholic Gothic tropes should be read together with a rising American concern about social unrest and crime in Italy, concerns tied to a perceived failure of the *Risorgimento* and articulated in language that mirrors domestic fears among well-off white Americans about new immigrants, the working class, and freedpeople. In this sense, the topic of U.S. slavery re-entered the conversation but notably not—for most white writers—in

an ongoing abolitionist key, as a celebration of modern liberal victories over authority and (a broadly writ) enslavement. Instead, it entered as a rejection of earlier anti-Catholic Gothic fears of enslaving power and secrecy in favor of nostalgic appeals to paternalist authority and anxious allusions to rising disorder.

Aldrich's tale of his visit to "a certain old gentleman" can seem, on the face of it, too tongue-in-cheek to be taken seriously. The Boston Unitarian could never fully embrace the pope's own convictions or goals. Even as Aldrich expressed sympathy for the pontiff, he did not advocate for what Pius IX and legions of Catholics the world over were fighting: the return of territorial authority to the head of the Catholic Church. And so Aldrich's expressions of sympathy and admiration for the pontiff can seem insincere, possibly the stuff of comedy.

Yet, understood as part of a larger pattern of inversions and rejections of the anti-Catholic Gothic, Aldrich's account of his visit to Pius IX appears, in the end, to look more like tragedy. In writing about the pope as a "certain old gentleman," Aldrich wryly signals that the pope he admired was a pope who represented not specific claims to Catholic temporal power, but rather a more general claim to paternal authority. Cavil as he might about what he took to be the superstitions of Catholic ritual, he could also mourn a time when a "gentleman" might "exercise almost unlimited influence, for the most part with moderation and wisdom," all while living a "temperate, blameless private life."

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Europe began to seem to American travelers less like, in the words of Daniel Rodgers, "the Old World, the continent of decadence and decay," and more like a site of modern industry and technology.[105] In study-abroad programs and investigative junkets, visits to slums and settlement houses, even socially conscious package tours, progressive-minded Americans crossed the Atlantic to search Europe's cities for answers to the so-called "social question." Convinced that the United States and Europe were similarly plagued by the social disruptions—the misery and conflict—brought on by the rapid and uneven growth of industrial capitalism, they turned to their European colleagues for advice and ideas. In the process, they rejected American exceptionalism, positioning themselves as Americans in relation to Europe not as forerunners and exemplars in an age of revolution and republican nation building, but rather as colleagues and interlocutors in an age of industrial modernity and social politics.

Many white, well-off American travelers in Italy expressed different concerns and ambitions—and spoke the language of religion rather than that of policy and planning—but they voiced a similar rejection of American exceptionalism. Catholic Italy, for them, was no longer a corrupt and fascinating Romish other, but rather a society much like their own, weath-

ering familiar changes and facing familiar problems. One young American woman might have a "book friendship" with a pope, tourists on tricycle might find themselves welcomed as part of a monastic community, and Rome might even turn out to be—to recall Henry Tyrell's lament—quite a lot like Newark.

In this vision, as in that of the Progressive solution-seekers, both the United States and Europe were similar societies on similar paths. But, if reformist travelers in England and Germany pointed to settlement houses and sewage systems as what they might hope for the future of modern, industrial American society, white American travelers in post-*Risorgimento* Italy charted the underbelly of those hopes: a disorder that seemed to beg for the controlling influence of a pope.

Anti-Catholic Gothic travel narratives written by early nineteenth-century Americans visitors to Italy told an optimistic story about how American republican democracy was banishing the dangers and corruptions of Rome. Stories such as Aldrich's—late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century stories rejecting or inverting the anti-Catholic Gothic—added a discomfiting coda. Perhaps, the United States-as-republican-exemplar had not, actually, solved the riddle of history. When one demolished papal power and opened sites of monastic seclusion, only to find a weakened old man and sociable communities of coffee-loving monks, one might conclude that popish despotism and monastic privilege were not the dangers they had seemed to be. In writing about imprisoned popes and hospitable monks, well-off white Americans argued that the real thing to fear—in Newark as in Rome—might be the challenge to authority itself.

Notes

1. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "A Visit to a Certain Old Gentleman. Leaves from a Roman Note-Book," *Atlantic Monthly* 37, no. 223 (May 1876): 541, 549–50. Aldrich's essay, slightly modified, was also published in his travel book *From Ponkapog to Pesth* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1883).

2. For a different reading of Aldrich's essay, see William L. Vance, *America's Rome: Volume Two, Catholic and Contemporary Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 39–40. Vance argues that Aldrich "trivializes" the pope, but also calls his description of the pope's "force of will" "remarkable," noting a distinction between Aldrich's overall tone and his particular depiction of the pope.

3. My understanding of American Protestant engagements with Catholicism in Europe and Italy is influenced by the work cited throughout, but in particular by T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981) and Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

4. This essay is based on an analysis of nineteen book-length post-1870 travel narratives and approximately 200 articles on travel in Italy published in both the secular and Protestant press as well as a survey of pre-1870 travel narratives for the purposes of comparison.

5. Whereas I cannot be sure that everyone quoted in this essay would have understood themselves to be white—some of their bylines include only their initials—my survey of narratives published by non-Catholic African American travelers in Italy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not reveal similar expressions of attraction to the pope and monks. For more on travel in the Black Atlantic, see Alasdair Pettinger, ed., *Always Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic* (London and New York: Cassell, 1998); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); and Eve Dunbar, *Black Regions of the Imagination: African American Writers Between the Nation and the World* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012).

6. For other work that challenges the oft-presumed link between rejections of anti-Catholicism on the one hand and the development of liberal pluralism on the other, see Fenton, *Religious Liberties;* Fessenden, *Culture and Redemption*; Anna Su, *Exporting Freedom: Religious Liberty and American Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016); Tisa Wenger, *Religious Freedom: The Contested History of an American Ideal* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); and Udi Greenberg, "Catholics, Protestants, and the Violent Birth of European Religious Pluralism," *The American Historical Review* 124, no. 2 (April 1, 2019): 511–38.

7. Clare Haynes, "'A Trial for the Patience of Reason'? Grand Tourists and Anti-Catholicism after 1745," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 2 (2010): 195-7. In addition, travelers during the *Risorgimento* would have encountered forms of anticlericalism and—as Manuel Borutta argues—anti-Catholicism among Italians and within contemporary Italian print culture. Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy," in *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy*, ed. Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall (New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2012), 191-213.

8. Daniel Kilbride, *Being American in Europe, 1750-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 115. See also Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., and Susan Cragg Ricci, "American Painters and the Lure of Italy" in *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760-1914*, ed. Stebbins and William H. Gerdts (Boston and New York: Museum of Fine Arts and Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 48.

9. Gerrit Verhoeven, "Calvinist Pilgrimages and Popish Encounters: Religious Identity and Sacred Space on the Dutch Grand Tour (1598-1685)," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 3 (2010): 615-34; Kilbride, *Being American in Europe,* 119-20; and Steven Conn, "'Political Romanism': Re-Evaluating American Anti-Catholicism in the Age of Italian Revolution," *Journal of the Early Republic* 36, no. 3 (September 9, 2016): 521–48.

10. Verhoeven, "Calvinist Pilgrimages," 616.

11. Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 147, 268. Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 168.

12. On art and architecture, see Kilbride, *Being American in Europe*, 119-20; Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 148; and Brigitte Bailey, *American Travel Literature, Gendered Aesthetics, and the Italian Tour, 1824-1862* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 198. On devotional culture, see also Vance, *America's*

Rome: Volume Two; Stebbins and Ricci, "American Painters," 48-9; Lears, *No Place of Grace*, chapter 5; and Franchot, *Roads to Rome,* chapter 10. On hospitals, see Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998), chapter 11.

13. Elizabeth Harrison, "'Italy Opened the Doors of My Religious Consciousness': Catholicism in Rozanov's Italian Impressions" *Slavonic & East European Review* 94, no. 1 (January 2016): 1–28.

14. The classic historical surveys of U.S. anti-Catholicism are Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of the American Nativism* (New York: The MacMillan Company,1938); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992); and David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (Sept. 1960): 205-24. More recent surveys include Jay P. Dolan, *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Philip Jenkins, *The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Mark Massa, *Anti-Catholicism in America: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2003); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003); Timothy Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism : France and the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Maura Jane Farrelly, *Anti-Catholicism in America, 1620-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

15. Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1885); Les Wallace, *The Rhetoric of Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association, 1887-1911* (New York: Garland Science, 1990), 2; and Justin Nordstrom, *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 8-10.

16. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 86-181; Franchot, *Roads to Rome,* 107, 140, 160; Farrelly, *Anti-Catholicism in America,* 143-5. For examples of rejections of anti-Catholicism from American travel narratives specifically, see George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, 6th ed. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1857), 210 (in which he advises that one should avoid behaving like the "sourest of Puritans" when traveling abroad) and Rebecca Harding Davis, "In Old Florence," *St. Nicholas: an Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks* 25, no. 7 (May 1898): 592 (in which her protagonist, a boy named Tom Ross, from "Freetown" U.S.A., learns to recognize Italian Catholic ritual not as a lack of "common sense," but rather as having "a solemn and sacred meaning to these people").

17. Ryan K. Smith, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Anthony Burke Smith, *The Look of Catholics: Portrayals in Popular Culture from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010); and Katherine D. Moran, *The Imperial Church: Catholic Founding Fathers and United States Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020). See also Lears, *No Place of Grace* and McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*. Jenny Franchot's *Roads to Rome*, often cited as a study of

American anti-Catholicism, is also a careful study of the dynamics of both attraction and repulsion in American Protestant attitudes to Roman Catholicism. Readers interested in other work that complicates an anti-/pro-Catholic binary should see Paula M. Kane, *Separatism and Subculture: Boston Catholicism, 1900-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Michael P. Carroll, *American Catholics in the Protestant Imagination: Rethinking the Academic Study of Religion* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Colleen McDannell, ed. *Catholics in the Movies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); James T. Fisher, *On the Irish Waterfront: The Crusader, the Movie, and the Soul of the Port of New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Elizabeth Fenton, *Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Kathleen Holscher, *Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters and the Captured Schools Crisis in New Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Tracy Fessenden, *Culture and Redemption: Religion, the Secular, and American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Kristy Nabhan-Warren, *The Cursillo Movement in America: Catholics, Protestants, and Fourth-Day Spirituality* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Brett Hendrickson, *Border Medicine: A Transcultural History of Mexican American Curanderismo* (New York: New York University Press, 2014); David Mislin, "'Against the Foes That Destroy the Family, Protestants and Catholics Can Stand Together': Divorce and Christian Ecumenism" in *Faithful Republic: Religion and Politics in Modern America*, ed. Andrew Preston, Bruce J. Schulman, and Julian E. Zelizer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 9-21; and Hendrickson, *The Healing Power of the Santuario de Chimayó: America's Miraculous Church* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

18. For an introduction to scholarly literature on the Grand Tour (some of which have a particular focus on Italy), see Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London: Thames Methuen, 1987); James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999); Clare Hornsby, ed. *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: British School at Rome, 2000); Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001); Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Michael G. Brennan, ed. *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu Lord Mandeville (1649-1654) William Hammond (1655-1658) and Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2004); and Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*. See also Stanford University's digital history project "The Grand Tour Project" (https://grandtour.stanford.edu/).

19. For surveys of American travel to Europe and travel writing, see: Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964); William H. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University

Press, 1994); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), chapter 4; and Kilbride, *Being American in Europe*. For work on nineteenth-century Americans in Italy (a scholarship focused largely on artists or literary men and women), see Van Wyck Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760-1915* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1958); Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Nathalia Wright, *American Novelists in Italy. The Discoverers: Allston to James* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965); Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., and William H. Gerdts, *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760-1914* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992); Vance, *America's Rome*; Beth L. Lueck, Sirpa Salenius, and Nancy Lusignan Schultz, eds., *Transatlantic Conversations: Nineteenth-Century American Women's Encounters with Italy and the Atlantic World* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2017); and Brigitte Bailey, *American Travel Literature, Gendered Aesthetics, and the Italian Tour, 1824-1862* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

20. This was not just an American and not just a nineteenth-century phenomenon. Buzard argues that, during the period after the Napoleonic Wars, British and some American travelers felt "their attentions much divided between the sights they saw and the consciousness of their own belatedness in seeing them." Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 106 for the quote; see also pages 156-8.

21. Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869; New York: Book-of-the-Month Club, 1992).

22. Brooks, *Dream of Arcadia,* 22.

23. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance,* edited and with an introduction and notes by Jacqueline Howard (1794; London: Penguin Books, 2001).

24. Frank R. Stockton, "Personally Conducted," *St. Nicholas: an Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks* 12, no. 1 (November 1884): 21. Stockton remains most famous for writing the story "The Lady, or the Tiger."

25. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, chapter 6.

26. For more on Catholic themes in Gothic novels, see Mary Muriel Tarr, *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction: A Study of the Nature and Function of Catholic Materials in Gothic Fiction in England (1762-1820)* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), especially chapter 5, in which she advances the argument about the mystery and power of Catholic materials, as well as Victor Sage, *Horror Fiction in the Protestant Tradition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Patrick R. O'Malley, *Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Gothic Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Maria Purves, *Gothic and Catholicism: Religion, Cultural Exchange and the Popular Novel, 1785-1829* (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 2010); Diane Long Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology: Religious Hysteria and Anti-Catholicism in British Popular Fiction, 1780-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014); and Farrell O'Gorman, *Catholicism and American Borders in the Gothic Literary Imagination* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017). For work that, like this essay, is interested in American writers' explicit rejections of anti-Catholic Gothic conventions, see Yael Shapira, "'Whatever Bigots Say': Isaac Harby's The Gordian Knot and the Anti-Catholic Gothic," *Studies in American Jewish Literature* 33, no. 1 (2014): 107-29.

27. Maria Monk, "Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery," in *Veil of Fear: Nineteenth Century Convent Tales by Rebecca Reed and Maria Monk*, ed. Nancy Lusignan Schultz (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1999), 1-137. On antebellum convent captivity narratives, see Mary Ewens, *The Role of the Nun in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 161-200; Joseph G. Mannard, "The 1839 Baltimore Nunnery Riot: An Episode in Jacksonian Nativism and Social Violence," in *Urban American Catholicism: The Culture and Identity of the American Catholic People*, ed. Timothy J. Meagher (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 194-5; Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, chapters 4-7; Mannard, "Protestant Mothers and Catholic Sisters: Gender Concerns in Anti-Catholic Conspiracy Theories, 1830-1860," *American Catholic Studies* 111 (2000): 1-21; and Susan M. Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 1. For a larger discussion of the popularity of the Gothic in the United States, including a reconstruction of the appearance of English and German Gothic novels in American book catalogs, see Ringe, *American Gothic: Imagination and Reason in Nineteenth Century Fiction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), especially chapter 2. On the American Gothic, see also Teresa A. Goddu, *Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Robert K. Martin and Eric Savoy, eds., *American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1998), and Robert Miles, "Transatlantic Gothic," in *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660-1830*, ed. Eve Tavor Bannett and Susan Manning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 202-18.

28. Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, 103-6, 171.

29. Tracy Fessenden, "From Romanism to Race: Anglo-American Liberties in Uncle Tom's Cabin," *Prospects: An Annual Journal of American Cultural Studies* 25 (2000): 229–68; and Fenton, *Religious Liberties,* chapters 4 and 5. On the Gothic and American antislavery, see also Karen Halttunen, "Gothic Imagination and Social Reform: The Haunted House of Lyman Beecher, Henry Ward Beecher, and Harriet Beecher Stowe" in *New Essays on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

30. Most scholarship on the American Grand Tour stops in the 1860s, and some scholars argue that this moment—marking the unification of most Italian states and the start of the U.S. Civil War—combined with the development of railroads and steamboats marks the end of an era. For arguments about the difference in late-century travelers, see Stebbins and Ricci, "American Painters," 59; William L. Vance, "Seeing Italy: The Realistic Rediscovery by Twain, Howells, and James" in Stebbins and Gerdts, *The Lure of Italy*, 97; and Kilbride, *Being American in Europe,* 7-8.

31. For an introduction to the *Risorgimento*, see Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society, and National Unification* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Derek Beales and Eugenio F. Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy* (London: Pearson Education, 2002); and Riall, *Risorgimento: The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation-State* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

32. Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento*.

33. Recently, *Risorgimento* scholars have worked to make the subject accessible to scholars outside the field of Italian history and so to expand the range of

scholarship available on the international dimensions of the *Risorgimento* in part by publishing and arranging conferences in English. As a scholar of U.S. history and culture, I am indebted to this work. See Axel Körner and Lucy Riall, "Introduction: The New History of Risorgimento Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 15, no. 3 (2009): 396–401, and Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall, eds., *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2012). For additional work reflective of the transnational turn in Risorgimento historiography, including but hardly limited to work on U.S.–Italian connections, see Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Tim Roberts, "The United States and the European Revolutions of 1848," in Guy Thompson, ed., *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002); Peter R. D'Agostino, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Paola Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005); Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of Hero* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Dennis Berthold, *American Risorgimento: Herman Melville and the Cultural Politics of Italy* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2009); Silvana Patriarca, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Simon Sarlin, "The Anti-Risorgimento as a Transnational Experience" *Modern Italy* 19, no. 1 (February 2014): 81–92; Nick Carter, ed., *Britain, Ireland, and the Italian Risorgimento* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015); Conn, "Political Romanism"; Axel Körner, *America in Italy: The United States in the Political Thought and Imagination of the Risorgimento, 1763-1865* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017); and Ann L. Tucker, *Newest Born of Nations: European Nationalist Movements and the Making of the Confederacy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020). For a classic take on U.S. responses to the *Risorgimento*, see the work of Howard J. Marraro, especially *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); "American Travelers in Rome, 1848-1850," *Catholic Historical Review* 29 (1944): 470-509; "American Opinion of the Occupation of Rome in 1870," and "The Religious Problem of the Italian *Risorgimento* as seen by Americans," *Church History* 25 (1956).

34. James Turner, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 31, 33. Van Wyck Brooks depicts the Nortons as a *Risorgimento* power couple: in his words, their son Charles Eliot Norton, the future art historian, was "brought up on the *Risorgimento*." Brooks, *Dream of Arcadia*, 125.

35. On Fuller in Italy, see Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life*. Vol. 2, The Public Years (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Leonardo Buonomo, *Backward Glances: Exploring Italy, Reinterpreting America (1831-1866)* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996); Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles*, chapter 3; Charles Capper and Cristina Giorcelli, eds., *Margaret Fuller: Transatlantic Crossings in a Revolutionary Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007); and Ernesto Livorni, "American Writers in Rome during the Risorgimento" *Forum Italicum* 47, no. 2 (August 2013): 364-96.

36. Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles*, 109, 111.

37. D'Agostino, *Rome in America*, 48; Marraro "American Opinion" 240-1.

38. Axel Körner's work has neatly refuted this myth of American influence. Körner, *America in Italy*.

39. S.R., "From our European Correspondent, No. 62: Ecclesiastical and Mythological," *Friends' Intelligencer* 32, no. 27 (28 August 1875): 428.

40. Peter R. D'Agostino, *Rome in America*. See also Conn, "Political Romanism."

41. The quote is from Eugene Didier, "Some Phases of Italian Life," *Christian Union* 34, no. 11 (September 9, 1886): 7. The list was taken from Didier's article as well as George F. Fiske, "Italy from a Bicycle," *Outing* 11 (1887): 165-9, and "Modern Rome," *The Friend* 49, no. 29 (March 4, 1876): 230.

42. Bidwell, "Some Jottings in Rome," 1.

43. Henry Tyrrell, "Roma—Amor," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 32, no. 4 (October 1891): 390.

44. Henry James, *Italian Hours*, edited by John Auchard (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 123. Originally published as "A Roman Holiday," in the *Atlantic Monthly* 32 (July 1873), 1-11.

45. Browne, "Easter In Rome," *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* 39, no. 26 (27 March 1880): 4.

46. Katharine Hooker, *Wayfarers in Italy* (San Francisco: D.P. Elder and Morgan Shepard, 1902), 63.

47. J.A.S., "Modern Italy—A Dark Picture," *Christian Union* 29, no. 19 (18 May 1884): 440.

48. Brooks, *Dream of Arcadia*, 128-30. For more on Agnes of Sorrento in the context of the Grand Tour, see Bailey, *American Travel Literature,* chapter 5.

49. Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles*, 103.

50. Lears, *No Place of Grace.*

51. See Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, 138-9; Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 170; and Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 149-51. The attention did not only go one way: Ilaria Bignamini argues that the popes of the late eighteenth century made "clever, planned use of the Grand Tour" by shrewdly negotiating with British and other Europeans who wanted to excavate nearby archeological sites, building the collections of Vatican museums in the process. Bignamini, "The Italians as Spectators and Actors: The Grand Tour Reflected" in Hornsby, ed., *The Impact of Italy*, 45-7).

52. C.C., "Rome on the Twentieth of September: Extracts from a Diary," *Lippincott's Magazine of Literature, Science and Education* 7, February 1871, 141.

53. J.A.S., "A Visit to the Pope," *Christian Union* 12, no. 22 (29 May 1878): 385, 387.

54. Henry Tyrrell, "Roma—Amor," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 32, no. 4 (October 1891): 385, 387.

55. Maud Howe, "A Presentation to Leo the Thirteenth and Other Roman Notes," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 72, no. 430, (October 1903): 460.

56. Booth Tarkington, "A Vatican Sermon" *Harpers Monthly Magazine* 109, no. 649 (June 1904): 72.

57. Oliver Optic [William Taylor Adams], "Editorial Correspondence," *Oliver Optic's Magazine* 10, no. 216 (July 1871): 481.

58. Quote from J.A.S., "The Sick Pope," *Christian Union* 17, no 26 (26 June 1878): 533. Also see J.A.S., "An Important Ceremony," *Christian Union* 25, no. 2

(12 January 1882): 30.

59. Tarkington, "A Vatican Sermon," 72.

60. Maud Howe, "A Presentation to Leo the Thirteenth and Other Roman Notes," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 72, no. 430 (October 1903): 466. See also her depiction of Leo XIII as feminine and feverish. Maud Howe, "A Presentation to Leo the Thirteenth and Other Roman Notes," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 72, no. 430, (October 1903): 465.

61. David I. Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican: The Popes' Secret Plot to Capture Rome from the New Italian State* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 155.

62. For examples of a corridor a scene, see Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 403-8, 423-4. For common tropes in anti-Catholic Gothic tales—which include "disputed estates"—see Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, "Introduction."

63. The phrase is borrowed from John R. McKivigan and Mitchell Snay, "Introduction: Religion and the Problem of Slavery in Antebellum America," in McKivigan and Snay, eds., *Religion and the Antebellum Debate Over Slavery* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 4. "Twin evils" language was also applied to Mormonism in nineteenth-century United States. For a study of Mormonism and tourism that has informed my understanding of religion and tourism generally, see David Walker, *Railroading Religion: Mormons, Tourists, and the Corporate Spirit of the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

64. Charles C. Calhoun, *Longfellow: A Rediscovered Life* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 56-7.

65. Kara M. French, *Against Sex: Identities of Sexual Restraint in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 30.

66. Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles*, chapter 4.

67. Bell Gale Chevigny, "Mutual Interpretation: Margaret Fuller's Journeys in Italy" in Capper and Giorcelli, eds. *Margaret Fuller*, 11-2, 14, 17. Livorni notes that Fuller even uses Gothic language to describe Pius IX's role as prisoner after 1848 though she was not a fan of the pope and felt betrayed by his decision. Livorni, "American Writers," 370-1.

68. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. Elisabeth Ammons (1852; New York: Norton, 1994), 234, quoted in Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles,* 121.

69. Körner, *America in Italy*, 200. See pages 200-17 for a general discussion of *Bianchi e neri* and the Italian reception of Stowe.

70. Körner, *America in Italy,* 214.

71. Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War," 195-7. See also D'Agostino, *Rome in America*, 38, 45 and Riall *Risorgimento*, 28.

72. Haynes, "A Trial," 200; Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism*, 622. On women, see Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 55-6.

73. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, "Italy, from a Tricycle," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 31, no. 5 (March 1886): 664.

74. Pennell, "Italy, from a Tricycle," 664.

75. Hooker, *Wayfarers in Italy*, 68. Hooker calls the monks "padres," a term commonly used in Southern California—where Hooker lived—to refer to the history of Spanish friars there.

76. Hooker, *Wayfarers in Italy*, 203.

77. On the *Book of Martyrs* as an Ur-text of the anti-Catholic Gothic, see Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology,* 6 and 101.

78. William Byron Forbush, "The Mountain Eyrie of St. Francis," *Congregationalist and Christian World* 91, no. 35 (1 September 1906): 273-4.

79. This distinction should not be too finely drawn. As Bailey notes in discussing the *Marble Faun*—in which monks play important roles as symbols of Catholicism—"the Catholic Church generally serves in this Protestant romance as a representation of the power and potentially repressive authority of the state, especially the state seen as an archaic European institution, controlling its subjects through a mixture of coercion and idolatry." (Bailey, *American Travel Literature*, 200.)

80. On Gothic monks as "aristocratic criminals," see Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, 145. For more on antimonasticism, particularly in earlier Grand Tour narratives, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 91; Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 167; Haynes, "A Trial," 200; and Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War," 198.

81. O'Malley, *Catholicism*; and Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, chapter 3. For a related discussion of Euro-American anti-Catholic themes of male religious as challenging binary gender roles, though not specific to the Gothic, see Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism*, especially chapter 4 and Monika Mazurek, "Perverts to Rome: Protestant Gender Roles and the Abjection of Catholicism," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 44, no. 3 (September 2016): 687–723.

82. Tarr, *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction*, especially chapter 5.

83. Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, 41.

84. Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, chapter 3, See also her appendix, particularly 322-41, for a list of anti-Catholic Gothic chapbooks about monks. Farrell O'Gorman notes that Poe referenced a murderous monk in "The Black Cat," in which the narrator cites Medieval monks as inspiration for interring his victim's corpse in a wall. O'Gorman, *Catholicism and American Borders*, 14.

85. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun,* edited and with an introduction by Susan Manning, Oxford World's Classics ed. (1860; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Stephen King, in his introduction to the Oxford World's Classics edition of the book, describes *The Monk*'s author as the "Johnny Rotten of the Gothic novel." King calls the novel itself "a black engine of sex and the supernatural" and notes that the Marquis de Sade was a fan. King, "Introduction," in Matthew Gregory Lewis*, The Monk*, Oxford World's Classics Edition (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), vi-vii.

86. Bailey, *American Travel Literature*, chapter 5 and Buonomo, *Backward Glances*, chapter 2.

87. Pennell, "Italy, from a Tricycle," 661.

88. Forbush, "The Mountain Eyrie of St. Francis," 273.

89. Franchot, *Roads to Rome,* 182-93.

90. Lou J. Beauchamp, *What the Duchess and I Saw in Europe* (Hamilton, Ohio: privately printed, 1896), 65.

91. Hooker, *Wayfarers in Italy*, 58.

92. Forbush, "Mountain Eyrie," 273.

93. Forbush, "Mountain Eyrie," 274.

94. C.C., "Rome on the Twentieth of September: Extracts from a Diary," *Lippincott's Magazine of Literature, Science and Education* 7 (February 1871): 146.

95. "Fra Diavolo Again," *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics and Literature* 50, no. 32, (10 August 1872): 507.

96. J.A.S., "A Visit to the Pope" and J.A.S., "The Sick Pope."

97. J.A.S., "Modern Italy—A Dark Picture," *Christian Union* 29, no. 19 (18 May 1884): 440.

98. Browne, "Easter In Rome," 4. See also James, *Italian Hours*, 9. Paola Gemme considers this characterization in relation to American immigration debates. Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles*, 134-5.

99. Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles,* 129.

100. Booker T. Washington, *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe* (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913), 3-4. For more on Washington abroad, see Gary Totten, *African American Travel Narratives from Abroad: Mobility and Cultural Work in the Age of Jim Crow* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015).

101. Washington, *Man Farthest Down*, 7-8.

102. Washington, *Man Farthest Down,* 105.

103. Washington, *Man Farthest Down*, 172-3.

104. For arguments about Italian unrest in the 1860s and 1870s as part of political violence and in the context of an economic crisis, see Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 76 and Riall, *Risorgimento*, 149.

105. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 34. For his larger discussion of this change, see pp. 33-52.

Book Review

AGAINST SUSTAINABILITY: Reading Nineteenth-Century America in the Age of Climate Crisis. By Michelle C. Neely. New York: Fordham University Press. 2020.

Michelle C. Neely's *Against Sustainability: Reading Nineteenth-Century America in the Age of Climate Crisis* opens with one of the most compelling gambits in recent ecocriticism: that the roots of the contemporary US's inability to respond to the climate crisis lie not only in the problems that we have inherited from our forebears, but also in the solutions that they have passed down to us. Taking up the nineteenth-century origins of contemporary environmental solutions including recycling, preservation, and sustainability, Neely shows how these concept-practices have been imbricated from the beginning with settler colonialism, slavery, anthropocentrism, and unbridled consumption. If we are to develop an environmental ethic more suitable for our age of crisis, Neely argues, we will have to look for other possibilities lying latent in the past that can "guide us toward more genuine forms of solidarity and community—with each other and with other forms of life" (2).

The book is structured to facilitate a dialogical relationship between the critique of received environmental practices and potential alternatives, and between past and present. In the first half of the book, Neely ingeniously reads Walt Whitman's vision of recycling and composting as an appetitive approach that reduces both the land and the other to objects of voracious consumerism. Through a powerful reading of Lucille Clifton's twenty-first century poetic responses to Whitman, Neely argues for the importance of finality, death, and non-fungibility for an environmental ethic that can move away from the ideal of self-renewing nature as a license to consume. In the second chapter, Neely returns to the nineteenth century to find an alternative to Whitman's recycling-enabled consumerism in the work of Henry David Thoreau and Emily Dickinson. Putting their literary work in conversation with broader nineteenth-century conversations

about frugality and political being, Neely extracts a counterhistory of "joyful frugality" that stands against "capitalist imperatives" and "[relocates]… pleasure to sites other than consumption" (84). The second half of the book repeats this structure. In the third chapter, the genocidal preservationism of nineteenth century figures including George Catlin and Francis Parkman Jr. is put into conversation with contemporary critiques of its logics by Louise Erdrich and A.S. Byatt. The fourth chapter turns to novels by Hannah Crafts and Harriet Wilson to excavate "radical pet keeping" as an alternative model for thinking about being and relationality, one which depends, as does more recent work in Black feminisms, on troubling the foundational distinction between human and animal that has structured so much of both racialized violence and ecocide in the United States.

Against Sustainability is a beautifully written book with a compelling and important argument about the need to interrogate our received solutions as well as our inherited problems. While there were moments where I was less convinced by Neely's analyses—I identified more with the poor family who did not take well to Thoreau telling them to eat less to become more independent even as I accepted Neely's argument that Thoreau did really see frugality as a route to political liberation, and the status of the pet as property remained troubling to me if pet keeping is to become a model for responsible human-animal encounters and an ethic of care—the book offers both a useful recuperation of latent modes of ecological being and a model for thinking about the past in relation to the present in a time of crisis. In the book's powerful conclusion, Neely writes that "there is action left to take, if we imagine that other futures are possible. If we can believe that we are traveling and have not yet arrived" (155). *Against Sustainability* weaves the past and present together to animate this journey, modeling an engagement with the past as a vital aspect of utopian visioning and collective care.

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Book Review

THE CONTINUING STORM: LEARNING FROM KATRINA. By Kai Erikson and Lori Peek. University of Texas Press, 2022.

The Continuing Storm is part of the series *The Katrina Bookshelf* edited by Kai Erikson and published by the University of Texas. This series is arguably the most comprehensive set of scholarly books on a single natural disaster ever published, and Erikson and Peek are two of the most experienced researchers of disasters. It is reasonable to ask, after multiple highly regarded volumes in the series, if there is much left to learn about the Katrina disaster. This latest volume underscores the vital point that Erikson made decades ago with his landmark study of a flooded town: that natural disasters become ongoing, long term human disasters over time.[1] *The Continuing Storm* shows that when we pull back and look more broadly across space and time at the unfolding of a disaster like Katrina, much of what we did not see initially becomes clearer, and importantly for scholars in American Studies and a range of fields, the connections between Hurricane Katrina and race, class, gender, the media, politics, economics, and institutions in American society are deeply interwoven.

The book is organized into three sections, each approaching the topics from what could be described as different standpoint episetemologies. The first section provides an overview of the human, physical, and political ecology which Katrina devastated, and provides some insight into some of the worst excesses of the disaster. Vitally, Erikson, and Peek continually emphasize how such disasters are not just a product of nature, but also the engineered landscape and human decisions. We are reminded that while bodies were floating in rank water, and others took refuge on rooftops, this was also a *human* disaster. Over 100,000 citizens in America were in desperate need of help and lives were at risk, yet little was done, leading so many critics to state that this was the worst response to a natural disaster in human history. Of particular note, the responses by FEMA and

the media are placed under scrutiny, and scholars of public policy and journalism will benefit from the hard, critical analysis.

The second section locates Katrina in time and space. Their analysis reminds us that disasters unfold over days and years and in different dimensions: mental illness, ongoing problems with the built environment, fundamental needs like housing, all remain challenges and sometimes get worse in the aftermath, making the disaster an ongoing, chronic condition long after the floodwaters have withdrawn. Spatially, we also see how Katrina became a site for displacement, both natural and human-caused. Thousands of public workers, notably school teachers and officials, were forced out or re-located; the city of New Orleans and surrounding areas became sites for neoliberal privatization pushes. Tragedy was turned into an opportunity for capital accumulation, while displacing poor, particularly poor people of color, from already fragile ecological and economic conditions. This is documentation of conditions and decisions which are vital to our understanding of not just Katrina, but the politics of race, class, and gender which clearly shaped the response and aftermath.

Finally, Erikson and Peek discuss the human experience of Katrina: an ethnographically and historically informed view of the lives and actions and experiences of people suffering some of the worst aspects of this multi-dimensional tragedy. One of the most significant findings is the importance of path-dependency, seeing how the past shapes the impact of Katrina which continues to this day. Concentrated poverty and racial discrimination, combined with historically discriminatory housing policies and changes to the built environment, resulted in differential impacts of Katrina on the poorest black communities. Overall, this work is incredibly valuable, particularly when taken as part of the whole series on Katrina, in providing detailed, often heavily data-driven, insight into the effects of not just a tragic natural disaster, but of the historically accumulation of decisions, policies, and institutions shaping inequality in the United States. This book will be of particular interest to scholars in American Studies, among other fields, especially for providing new ways of connecting public policy, history, and politics with our understanding of inequality, ecologies, and public policy in the United States.

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Notes

1. Kai Erikson, *Everything in Its Path*. Simon and Schuster, 1976.

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