FEELING SUBJECTS:
SCIENCE AND LAW IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

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Feeling Subjects: Science and Law in Nineteenth-Century America challenges cultural assumptions about feeling and politics articulated by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s demand "to feel right" in opposition to the purportedly dispassionate disciplines of American science and law. By juxtaposing literature by African American and Asian American authors alongside works by white novelists of the American Renaissance and popular white women writers, this project analyzes literary portrayals of individual and disciplinary subject formation in relation to scientific and legal discourses in the culture of sentiment. The "Affectations" chapters argue that the practitioners of science and law use the language of sentimentality to reconfigure the limits of sympathy. I pair chapters on Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* and Martin Delany's *Blake* on the role of blackness. In Melville, I trace how Captain Delano's benevolent racism toward enslaved black subjects is achieved through the sentimental logic that undergirds race science and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. In contrast, Delany, as the founder of Black Nationalism, imagines a new form of sympathetic kinship between African Americans and Native Americans in order to reclaim science and law as part of a liberatory system of feeling that can unite black, indigenous, and Asian subjects in rebellion. Conversely, the "Disaffections" chapters examine how gendered and racialized forms of unfeeling resist normative oppressions naturalized through feeling. I examine women doctors who manipulated the unfeeling professionalism of medicine in

order to divert their emotional lives away from heteronormative imperatives. Sarah Orne Jewett's and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's novels dramatize this dynamic: the queerly frigid woman doctor clashes against her male antagonist/love interest, a lawyer who embodies the naturalized patriarchal order. My final chapter traces the trope of Oriental inscrutability in the Yellow Peril discourse articulated in race science and political speeches that led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In an examination of Sui Sin Far's short stories, I argue that Oriental inscrutability is a tactic for Chinese women to evade the epistemological mastery of whiteness. The project intervenes in the antisocial turn in queer and affect theory by proposing that unfeeling can be a survival tactic for marginalized subjects.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Christine “Xine” Yao hails from Toronto, Canada. She completed her Honours BA at Trinity College at the University of Toronto and her MA at Dalhousie University. She has weaknesses for taking on responsibilities, caring about (in)justices, and cats.

Dedicated to all those past, present, and future working toward the promise of a better world

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: To Feel Right 1

Chapter 1: What Feels Right: Naturalizing Science as Law and Law as Science in *Benito Cereno* 19

I. Sentiment, Science, and the Seeing Mania 23

II. Slavery and the Service of Justice 44

Chapter 2: Feeling Otherwise: Martin Delany, Indigeneity, and the Possibility of a New World Order 63

I. "That Old American Story" 66

II. "I Feel Somewhat As That Indian" 77

III. Re-Making the World 94

Chapter 3: Professional Frigidity: Women, Feelings, and the Field of Medicine 107

I. The Dispassionate Doctor 109

II. Professionalizing Feminine Sympathy 114

III. Marriage vs. Medicine: Navigating the Separate Spheres 125

IV. The Normative Power of Love 137

Chapter 4: Oriental Inscrutability: Sui Sin Far and the Inscrutable Feeling of Futurity 153

I. The Once and Future Race: Yellow Peril Discourse 156

II. The Fear of Inscrutable Aliens in the Chinese Exclusion Act 166

III. Wily Orientals: Oriental Inscrutability as Resistance 173

IV. The Subversive Futurities of Sui Sin Far's Paper Children 181

Conclusion: White Women's Tears, Black Women's Endurance 201

Works Cited 210

Introduction: To Feel Right

In the "Concluding Remarks" to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Harriet Beecher Stowe delivers her famous affective injunction to her readers:

> But, what can any individual do? Of that, every individual can judge. There is one thing that every individual can do, – they can see to it that *they feel right*. An atmosphere of sympathetic influence encircles every human being; and the man or woman who *feels* strongly, healthily and justly, on the great interests of humanity, is a constant benefactor to the human race. See, then, to your sympathies in this matter! (452).

This passage captures the cultural assumption about the role of right feeling motivating the right kind of politics in nineteenth-century America. The quintessential American sentimental novel aims to marshal sympathy for enslaved African Americans suffering under the legality of slavery that exemplifies unfeeling cruelty. In the third person Stowe admits her earlier avoidance of the issue of slavery until her right feeling was catalyzed in reaction to the evils of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850:

> But, since the legislative act of 1850, when she heard, with perfect surprise and consternation, Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizens, – when she heard, on all hands, from kind, compassionate, and estimable people, in the free states of the North, deliberations and discussions as to what Christian duty could be on this head, – she could only think, These men and Christians cannot know what slavery is (450).

Legal abstraction stunts natural human compassion, with Stowe's sentimental novel presenting slavery as "a *living dramatic reality*" (450). According to the logic Stowe lays out, the slave law is an aberration of sympathy that transforms "every individual owner [into] an irresponsible despot," but by appealing to people's innate feelings, one can spark right action on behalf of justice (451). Asks Stowe about "the practical result" of slave law, "If there is, as we admit, a public sentiment among you, men of honor, justice, and humanity, is there not also another kind of public sentiment among the ruffian, the brutal and debased?" (451). The implication is that the legal structure itself has the power to compel "another kind of public sentiment" that is the cold obverse of the right feelings Stowe and other abolitionists seek to inspire among white American citizens as feeling subjects of the nation.

In the wake of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s influence, the human heart was reaffirmed as the locus of ideological change in American culture. In a much-quoted anecdote in American literary history, Abraham Lincoln referred to Stowe as "the little woman who wrote the book that made great war" – the popularity of this apocryphal incident enforces the belief in literature's function as an important tool for feeling, and sympathy in particular, that can lead to social progress (Weinstein 1). The great orator and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, too, drew upon the power of sentiment as rhetorical strategy for rallying white audiences on the topic of racial justice. In his commencement speech to Western Reserve College on July 12, 1854, Douglass's callous adversary is not the law, but science. Calling "the neutral scholar" an "ignoble man," the address "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered" dismisses the stance of scientific objectivity as false in the context of the ongoing African American struggle for equality: "He that is not for us, is against us" (5, 6). Douglass affirms the worth of black people through according to "all the usual, and all the unusual tests, whether mental, moral, physical, or

psycological [sic]" with particular focus on their capacity as feeling subjects as indicators of humanity: "His good and his bad, his innocence and his guilt, his joys and his sorrows, proclaim his manhood in speech that all mankind practically and readily understand" (8-9). He sternly rebukes the pantheon of esteemed American scientists responsible for polygenetic race science – "the Notts, the Gliddens, the Agassiz, and Mortons" – by commenting on the popular theory of the separate evolution of the races:

> A mortifying proof is here given, that the moral growth of a nation, or an age, does not always keep pace with the increase of knowledge, and suggests the necessity of means to increase human love with human learning (10).

Much as Stowe wielded the sentimental banner of sympathy from her womanly purview in the domestic sphere, Douglass adapts the call to "feel right" into what P. Gabrielle Foreman calls "sentimental abolition" (150). Scientific progress does not equate to moral progress: he accuses science, with its authoritative claims to objectivity, of being devoid of sympathy.

The nineteenth-century in America saw the coeval development of both science and law as secular professions undergoing disciplinary consolidation. Power, knowledge, and community were regulated through further systemization: standardized educations and formalized degrees became norms and then requirements, along with the proliferation of professional societies, certifications and recognitions for both individuals and schools, and the necessity of membership in various regional and national governing organizations. The American Medical Association was founded in 1847, while the first national professional legal association began in 1874 (Rothstein 108; Bledstein 84). As Burton J. Bledstein relates in his history of American professionalism,

> What strikes the historian is the totality of the Mid-Victorian impulse to contain the life experiences of the individual from birth to death by isolating them as science. Describing the outer structure of the visible universe, Mid-Victorians believed that they also described the inner structure of the invisible one. Control of the physical movements of a person in his course of life meant control of the confines of his spiritual attitudes (55).

On the one hand, this ideology of control meant the promotion of a radical democraticization of skill and talent that affirmed a distinctly modern take on individualism, what Bledstein calls "a liberated person seeking to free the power of nature within every worldly sphere, a self-governing individual exercising his trained judgment in an open society" (87). On the other, professionalism's call for control also meant a widening gap between the expert and the layperson, not just in terms of knowledge, but cultural and moral power. Bledstein critiques the self-affirming coherence and rationality of scientific and legal professions by framing his analysis in deliberately magical terms in order to defamiliarize the force of their authorities:

> Hence, the culture of professionalism required amateurs to 'trust' in the integrity of trained persons, to respect the moral authority of those whose claim to power lay in the sphere of the sacred and the charismatic. Professionals controlled the magic circle of scientific knowledge which only the few, specialized by training and indoctrination, were privileged to enter, but which all in the name of nature's universality were obligated to appreciate (90).

As much as professionalization opens possibilities, others become closed, with structural inequalities justified through a new form of respectable meritocracy. Little wonder that for those of us who study the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class, we turn to science and law as ready evidence for the working of multiple axes of oppression. Our citation of racist or sexist

sciences and laws, like craniology and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, act as confirmation of these structural biases that infiltrate everyday life, creating the backdrop to our analyses of literary resistances and complicities. As this dissertation will explore, attending to science and law together uncovers their reciprocal affirmation of and dependency on each other's authorities as twin modernizing disciplines, with scientific discourse drawing upon the language of law, and legal discourse citing the precedent of science.

The two often overlap, whether deliberately or inadvertently, in contemporary discourse. Alexis de Tocqueville observes in *Democracy in America*, as first translated into English by Henry Reeve, "the English or American lawyer resembles the hierophants of Egypt, for, like them, he's the sole interpreter of an occult science" (354). In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson's generative and infamous statements on American race science appear in Query XIV entitled "Laws" with the subtitled question "The Administration of Justice and Description of the Laws?" (168). Among his litany of ethnographic racial details and differences, Jefferson argues for the scientific inferiority of black people in part by denying that they have the ability to express depth of emotion, therefore also denying their status as subjects. He judges their skin not just by aesthetic standards, but calls their darker skin "that eternal monotony which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race?" (176). According to Jefferson, a type of racialized insensibility numbs both physical and psychological feeling of black subjects: "Their griefs are transient. Those numberless afflictions, which render it doubtful whether Heaven has given life to us in mercy or in wrath, are less felt, and sooner forgotten with them" (177). Only after considering "the races of black and of red men" as "subjects of natural history" does Jefferson feel confident to suggest an appropriate code for chattel slavery and can justify the legality of the institution of enslavement (180).

What emerges through an extended comparative analysis is the positioning of science and law in the nineteenth-century American culture of sentiment: the rise of scientific objectivity and legal formalism, both professional strategies to enforce the self-serving performance of universal authority that depend upon the management of feelings. From the rhetoric of Stowe and Douglass we might get the impression that professionalized science and law were bastions of callous unfeeling that right feeling, guiding the right kind of politics, must overcome, thereby suggesting the inevitability of societal and moral progress through the embrace of sympathy and sentimentality. These didactic literary passages indicate the process of sympathetic feeling: the recognition of marginalized others as feeling subjects through which the dominant subject is in turn affirmed as a feeling subject. In *Feeling Subjects: Science and Law in Nineteenth Century America*, I want to ask new questions that take up the discussions about the tangle of complicity, coercion, and subversion embedded in the representative and political powers of sentimentality and sympathy that originated decades ago in Americanist criticism and the newer debates at the intersections of affect, feminist, and queer, especially queer-of-color, theories. I analyze the different ways that understudied writers, such as Black nationalist founder Martin Delany and the first Asian North American woman author Edith Maude Eaton/Sui Sin Far, alongside popular and canonical white novelists like Herman Melville, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps represent strategies of feeling and unfeeling in their portrayals of the modernizing professions of science and law in the culture of sentiment. To this end, my project studies literary representations of sciences like phrenology, evolutionary biology, and gynecology, as well as laws such as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. *Feeling Subjects*'s intervention in American literature of the long nineteenth century is two-fold: first, to uncover how sentimentality and sympathy structure the fields of science and law and thereby

naturalize their authoritative claims about identity; and second, to reveal how racialized and gendered modes of unfeeling can resist scientific and legal oppressions that appeal to sentiment. In doing so, I analyze how science and law themselves function as "feeling subjects," that is, disciplinary fields of knowledge and authority that contribute to hierarchies and limits to sympathy within structures of feeling. On the other hand, I want to explore what it might mean for those marginalized through differences of race and gender to overturn the imperative to represent themselves as "feeling subjects" within the conventions of sympathy and sentimentality. Significantly, the fraught sense of being subjected as a subject is relevant to the rhetoric of both science and the law where one gets constituted as a subject through the discourse of power-knowledge, but one can be considerably ambivalent about this status. What might it mean to expose unfeeling subjects like science and law in their affective workings, while opening the possibilities for the appearance of diminished feeling or even an apparent lack of feeling as a viable tactic for the oppressed and a new potential way of thinking about political possibilities?

Critics Ann Douglas and Jane Tompkins drew attention to the importance of scenes of sympathetic identification in early and nineteenth-century American literature; their differing approaches to the political possibilities of sentimentality continue to define the parameters of ongoing debates about the cultural and literary mode's functions, successes, and failures. Through readings of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Herman Melville, and Margaret Fuller, Douglas sets up the dichotomy between feminized, inferior mass culture and masculinized, superior elite art: mass culture's sentimentality presents a compromise with the existing order that does not offer true modernity or feminism. "Sentimentalism provides a way to protest a power to which one has already in part capitulated. It is a form of dragging one's heels," condemns Douglas, "It always

borders on dishonesty but it is a dishonesty for which there is no known substitute in a capitalist society" (12). In contrast, Jane Tompkins calls for a reconsideration of the once-popular texts and authors dismissed by Douglas and others by critiquing the implicit biases behind how we evaluate "good" and "bad" literature; instead, attention to these sentimental works will allow us to understand the influence of literature in culture and how literature works in historical conditions by offering solutions and means of survival. According to Tompkins during her discussion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the sentimental novel is "a political enterprise, halfway between sermon and social theory, that both codifies and attempts to mold the values of its time" (126). In implicit response to Douglas, Tompkins asserts a view of sentimentalism "not as degraded attempts to pander to the prejudices of the multitude, but as providing men and women with a means of ordering the world they inhabited, one has to have a grasp of the cultural realities that made these novels meaningful" (xii-xiii). For both Douglas and Tompkins, the political power of sentimental literature is unquestioned, but they clash over its value and capacity for real social change.

I will briefly gloss notable critical contributions that investigate the many dimensions of American sentimentality's discursive operations since the initial disagreement between Douglas and Tompkins. Shirley Samuels's edited volume brings together scholars discussing the multifaceted culture of sentiment as meaningful and influential, taking the body as the embodied locus of meaning encompassing signification for both the nation and the individual; according to Samuels, sentimentality "appears not so much as a genre as an operation or set of actions within discursive models of affect and identification that effect connections across gender, race, and class boundaries" (6). Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler's later collection challenges the gendering of sentimentality as feminine by providing manifold examples of the workings of

masculine sentiment. Both Elizabeth Barnes and Julia Stern separately examine how early American sentimental literature attempts to teach a form of reading based on sympathetic identification and homogeneity that lays the affective ideological foundation for democracy for the new nation; in her second book, Barnes extends her original argument to consider how these literary scenes of sympathetic identification allows for the simultaneous self-victimization and reconsolidation of white American masculinity's dominance. Dana Nelson builds on the concept of sentimental men with specific attention to white men, arguing that the hegemony of national white manhood of America is predicated upon an exclusionary system of fraternity identifications that undergird social, professional, and cultural relations. Karen Sanchez-Eppler identifies the sharing of sentimental rhetoric between the abolitionist and feminist agendas as a way of attempting to create a shared ground of resistance; she traces how these discourses end up reinscribing oppression through false equivalence and the erasure of black women's bodies and experiences. Laura Wexler is similarly concerned with the violences of sentiment: she tracks how white women in photography used sentimentality to bolster American imperialism at the expense of former enslaved African Americans, Natives forced into boarding schools, and immigrant populations in the streets of New York City. Cindy Weinstein takes a metacritical view of the field, pointing out that the debate between Douglas and Tompkins has meant the view of "sympathy as a litmus test for assessing a text's politics" (1). She defends sympathy, arguing that the genre anticipates its own critiques, and in actuality sentimental fiction outlines alternative models of feeling that are as much based on difference as similarity. In his 2015 review for *American Literary History* of recent monographs about the sentimental literary tradition, Sean McCann observes that the ongoing obsession about the opposition between the

antisentimentalists and revisionist sentimentalists gestures toward "the desire for literature to be distinctive and uplifting that remains a foundational narrative of our profession" (329).

Like Americanist scholarship on sentimentality, affect theory, along with its intersections with critical race, feminist, and queer theory, has grappled with similar issues about affect's potentials and limits. At least two different critical genealogies of affect theory exist: the philosophical tradition from Spinoza to Gilles Deleuze to Brian Massumi, and the other growing out of the different intersecting fields of queer and critical race theory with Eve Sedgwick's appropriation of psychologist Silvan Tomkins as one prominent strain. In her 2005 assessment of affect theory, Clare Hemmings identifies the field's commonalities: the turn to affect, she surmises, was an attempt to find a way out of the impasse of deconstruction and hegemony by attending to embodied experience, unpredictable attachments, and quirky textures as potentially transformative alternatives to norms. Although both Massumi and Sedgwick are drawn to affect "insofar as it resists or runs counter to the causal linearity through which we make sense of the world," for Sedgwick the attraction is that the "affective freedom of attachment becomes a mark of the critic's freedom," while for Massumi "the affective's autonomy places it outside the reach of critical interpretation" (562). Affect, Hemmings concludes, is useful but it is naïve to believe affect can exist outside the social realm. In her theorizations about the cultural politics of emotion, queer-of-color theorist Sara Ahmed variously analyzes how affective economies shape significations and relations between individual and collective bodies, both attending to how so-called positive affects wield normative force against gendered, racial, and sexual others and to how the accusations of negative affects function to define the marginalized but may also be reclaimed by them, such as the case of the feminist killjoy. The negative or "ugly" affects are Sianne Ngai's focus as productive sites for critical discussions about aesthetics and politics but

her work is marked by an ambivalence about the possible recuperation of these affects within the context of the capitalist system's obsession with functionality. For Indigenous feminist Dian Million (Tanana Athabascan), on the other hand, "felt theory" attends to Native women's narratives to trace "their sixth sense about the moral affective heart of capitalism and colonialism as an analysis," and, through this method avers that "A felt analysis is one that creates a context for a more complex 'telling'" (54 "Felt Theory" 2009). In this model, attending to feeling is not sentimental indulgence, but a form of critical analysis through kinship. Much as with sentimentality and sympathy, attention to affect's political potential and discursive realities is matched with skepticism. Rei Terada posits what she calls the expressive hypothesis: "The claim that emotion requires a subject – thus we can see we're subjects, since we have emotions - creates the illusion of subjectivity rather than showing evidence of it" (*Feeling* 11); she goes on to suggest that the subject as it is conceived in Western discourse would actually have no emotions at all. I would even suggest that the anti-social turn in queer theory, exemplified by Lee Edelman's *No Future,* is reminiscent of sentimentality's critics: in Edelman's condemnations of the empty consolations of the social, in particular, his scathing attacks on the figure of the Child and reproductive futurity, we can hear the same critiques of sentimentalism's complicity with normative oppressions.

Many terms like "sentimentality," "affect," and "feeling," in this dissertation may seem to be interchangeable and often are in both the popular imagination and scholarly discussions. In order to clarify my usage, I place these various words in two broad definitional categories: general theoretical concepts and historical contexts. In the first, "affect" is the deceptively naturalized experience of intensities and intimacies as well as responses and relations to other beings and objects that can then be converted and recognized as culturally legible expressions of

"emotion." Along this somatic to psychological spectrum, several terms like "sensation" and "passion" lean toward the bodily end; the ambiguous "feeling" acts as the central concept of my project because it has the capacity to encompass, and blur the lines between, the affective and the emotional.[1] "Sympathy" and "sentimentality" provide the key contexts and historical manifestations for these general concepts of feeling in early and long nineteenth-century American culture.[2] Sympathy is the central paradigm about affective identification and shared feelings between individuals and society that stems from philosopher Adam Smith's work; sentimentality, then, is the cultural, social, and political discourse of sympathy that marshals emotions toward ideological ends, which is expressed through, and gains representative power from, generic and aesthetic conventions labelled as "sentimental." As Samuels notes, "Sentimentality is literally at the heart of nineteenth-century American culture," positioned through the separate spheres ideology of gendered private and public realms as both central to, and removed from, the public sphere (4). In this period and nation, sentimentality is the dominant structure of feeling: structures of feeling, according to Raymond Williams, are organic and affective, reflecting "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" through the

[1] I draw upon Rei Terada's definitions: "affect" is physiological and somewhat unconscious although not necessarily precultural, while "emotion" is psychological and more interpretive; the more nebulous "feeling" can indicate both (4). I affirm my choice of the term *feeling* as well as *affect* in order to better understand the dynamic and individual process of epistemological complicity and resistance in relation to prescribed sentimentality as well as discourses on race, gender, and sexuality.

[2] My work in *Feeling Subjects* draws upon both sentimentalism and sympathy from Americanist and affect theory not only because of their shared focus on feelings in relation to individuals and greater society, nor because Americanist criticism provides crucial historical and cultural contextualization for affect within American literary studies. I write as someone inspired by both intellectual genealogies and aware of my own situatedness at an institution that boasts Shirley Samuels and Eve Sedgwick among its affiliated academics. Cornell University itself acts as an incubation site for the meeting between both approaches to feeling: in 2015, the Society for the Humanities under its theme "Sensation" brought back notable Cornell graduate alumnae Lauren Berlant, Ann Cvetkovich, and Dana Luciano. During her talk, Berlant jokingly referred to the "Cornell School of Sentimentality," a term that Cvetkovich and Luciano would also use in subsequent events. This quip points to a shared connection: all three critics began their research on sentimentality in nineteenth-century American and British literature, examining aspects of politics, citizenship, and culture, and are now more widely known for their work as critics at the intersection of queer, feminist, and affect theory with commitments not just to the nineteenth-century literary and cultural archive but through the twentieth century and today.

nuances and variable spectrum of relations between individuals and formalized systems of ideology and world view (132). Kathleen Stewart expands upon Williams through her exploration of ordinary affects, acknowledging the public facet of these feelings, but also the fluid intensities of affect in the lived space of everyday life as "a kind of contact zone where the overdeterminations of circulations, events, conditions, technologies, and flows of power literally take place" (3). Glenn Hendler modifies Williams's concept for the pre-twentieth century context by placing emphasis on the public and structured aspects of the structure of feeling rather than feeling as a purely private function: "in the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth Anglo-American culture of sensibility, feelings were not primarily the sorts of unique, individualized, interior emotions they are in our more psychologized culture. Rather, sentiments required the cultivation of a moral and proper repertoire of feelings, a sensibility" that Hendler identifies as closer to the oxymoronic phrase "public sentiment" (2). While Stewart deliberately refuses to "know" ordinary affects and instead attempts to follow their meandering and inchoate potentials, through my focuses on nineteenth-century American science and law I take up the problem of how Hendler's public sentiments interact with ordinary affects, structuring supposedly individual feelings in relation to ideology and power.

By juxtaposing under-studied literature by African American and Asian American authors alongside works by white novelists of the American Renaissance and popular white women writers, my dissertation analyzes literary portrayals of sympathy in terms of both individual and disciplinary axes of subject formation. Charting both affective expressions as well as the refusal to engage in the norms of sentiment, I assert the centrality of feeling in tracking coercion and critique in the politics of scientific and legal representations in literature. My first

two chapters, grouped in the section "Affectations," engage literary explorations of how masculine practitioners of science and law use the language of sentimentality to reconfigure the limits of sympathy through their professional discourses. Here the term "affectation" plays off of the tension between the presumed unconscious and natural aspects of "affect" with the artificiality and externality associated with "affectation" in order to draw attention to the constructed nature of feeling. Through "affectation," I explore what Sara Ahmed proposes in *The Promise of Happiness*, that we not only pay attention to structures of feeling, but also feelings of structure, because "feelings might be how structures get under our skin" (216); perhaps this helps to explain how affectations lead to affection for structures like scientific and legal institutions. The force of feeling in conjunction with the authoritative structures of science and law helps to explain how the noun "affect" leads to the verb "affect" in feeling's influence on people, experiences, and the world; in the "Affectations" section, Melville gives us his critique of the world as it *is* in how unjust laws and sciences are justified through sentimentality, but in the following chapter, I turn to the writings of Martin R. Delany, the founder of Black nationalism, for a look at his vision of the world as it *should be*.

Shifting from masculine to feminine negotiations with feeling in relation to science and law, the next two chapters in the "Disaffections" section explore the disruption of the traditional association of womanhood with sentimentality and sympathy. I use "disaffection" as a term for the tactic of unfeeling, a form of resistance against the dominant order normed by sentiment, thereby suggesting that feeling otherwise can hold the potential for the marginalized to begin to imagine otherwise. Not merely unfeeling as in "dis-affect," I draw upon the meanings of "disaffect": to be disaffected is to register discontent or disloyalty, while to disaffect suggests the alienation of sympathy and support; therefore, disaffection's appearance of unfeeling expresses

discontent with the dominant paradigm behind the structural inequalities of sympathy and risks – and, perhaps, sometimes even courts – alienation from social acceptance. "Disaffection" also owes much both etymologically and conceptually to queer-of-color scholar José Muñoz's "disidentification," the process through which the marginalized can transform mainstream culture to create new possibilities for themselves; I submit that disaffection may act as the affective first step towards the productive re-making of Muñoz's disidentification. Through the concept of disaffection I draw attention to female frigidity and Oriental inscrutability, gendered and racialized forms of unfeeling, arguing that these modes of disaffection refuse the relationality of affect in order to resist normative imperatives naturalized through feeling. My work brings together debates in Americanist criticism on both the political coercion and subversive potential of sympathy along with the implications of the antisocial turn in queer and affect theory.

The section "Affectations" pairs chapters on Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* and Martin Delany's *Blake,* where science and law quell one slave revolt but ignite another. Melville's novella has been read as a critique of the racism of white sentimentality exemplified by Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; I go further to argue that Captain Delano's alienation from enslaved black subjects is unexpectedly achieved through the sentimental logic that also undergirds race science and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Attending to the construction of Delano's sentimental sense of self and his narrative point of view, I trace how his benevolent racism echoes and references the scientists who promoted the "separate species" polygenetic theory of evolution from the eighteenth century through the nineteenth, and Melville's father-in-law Lemuel Shaw's judicial decisions about fugitive slaves. *Benito Cereno* illustrates how the scientific racism and unjust laws influence the white racist mind, cohering together and

naturalized through well-meaning sentimentality that can justify the limits of sympathy to racialized others.

In contrast to Melville's portrayal of how feeling can be complicit with systemized oppression, the next chapter explores how Delany, and one of the first black men to be accepted to Harvard Medical School, reclaims science and law as part of an assemblage of feeling that can unite black, Indigenous, and Asian subjects in rebellion. *Blake, or the Huts of America* was written as Delany's response to Stowe's sentimental depiction of slavery. Despite its criticism of white sympathy, exchanging docility for militancy, the novel does not abandon discourses of feeling in its revolutionary politics. Instead, the titular Blake, in his quest to sow the seeds for a revolt against slavery, creates a network of sympathy across the United States, Canada, West Africa, and the Caribbean. This network, I argue, reflects the narrative's construction of a grand schema predicated on feeling built upon Delany's imagined kinships with Native Americans as part of an organic ecology that connects all things in contrast to Western forms of science and law. Polygenesis and the Fugitive Slave Law are perversions of this cosmology; in *Blake*, manipulations of science and law by the dispossessed, as well as the revolt itself, attempt to return these disciplines to the natural order.

In "Disaffections," the fear of frigidity, a queer gynecological unwomanliness, haunts the entrance of women into medical science who must negotiate with the expectations of traditional feminine feelings resulting from the shift from private to public sphere. In this chapter I reframe this history of white women in medicine: I complicate feminist epistemologies of science, investigating how women manipulated the unfeeling professionalism of medicine as a subversive tactic in order to divert their emotional lives away from the imperatives of marriage and family. Through writings by women doctors, Sarah Orne Jewett's *A Country Doctor*, and Elizabeth

Stuart Phelps's *Doctor Zay*, I discuss frigidity as a tactic of disaffection: women doctors numbed the compulsion of the heteronormative affects that tied women to the private sphere of marriage and family by tapping into the dispassionate structure of feeling associated with masculinized medicine. Jewett's and Phelps's novels conclude their love plots with the woman doctor, determined to keep her career by remaining unmarried, and the male lawyer who woos her, serving as both antagonist and love interest. This clash between institutional authorities that both claim to reflect the natural order reveals the still-extant gender inequality: although the woman doctor has professional authority, the male lawyer's love represents the affective force of heteronormativity.

My final chapter turns to the liminal figure of the Chinese woman at the turn of the century. By tracing the genealogy of the Yellow Peril through evolutionary race science and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, I articulate how the Chinese threat was a racialized reproductive futurity that could displace the future of white America. I read Darwin's *Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* as an early work of scientific affect theory; Oriental inscrutability, as a manifestation of techno-Orientalism, designates the Chinese as alien on the basis of unreadable and unknowable affects. I propose a radical reconsideration of the work of Sui Sin Far: rather than trying to humanize the Chinese through sentimentality, Far uses Oriental inscrutability as a disaffective tactic to evade the condescending sympathy of white subjects by denying access into Chinese affective interiority. Far's short stories are her "paper children," not in the sentimental sense, but as a term that references the legal fictions that allowed many Chinese to defy the Exclusion Era, amplifying anxieties surrounding the incipient Yellow Peril. Far depicts alternate narrative realities for her paper children that go beyond Yellow Peril binaries of successful assimilated citizen and failed unassimilable alien, opening the horizon for inscrutable futures.

In my conclusion I connect the legal and scientific inequalities of affectations and disaffections across racial and gendered boundaries to present-day grassroots discourses about #whitewomenstears and #whitefragility in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement. Here I sketch out some further possibilities for exploring and comparing white middle-class women's headaches in Fanny Fern's *Ruth Hall* and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *The Story of Avis* and the enslaved black women's pain in the writings of American gynecologist J. Marion Sims and Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. The first, I suggest, acts as a medicalized affectation expressing the inchoate affects of their female protagonists' navigations of legal widowhood through phrenology's obsession with the inner and outer spheres of the head as an embodied metaphor for the separate spheres dichotomy. In the second, I want to tentatively consider racialized insensibility as a disaffective recuperation of Jefferson's accusations about the reduced feelings of enslaved black bodies.

Feeling Subjects situates science and law as part of, rather than in opposition to, the nineteenth-century American culture of sentiment. By attending to the capacity of both dominant and marginal subjects to manipulate and delimit the boundaries of sympathy through the performative power of literature and language, I claim that discourses of feeling were mutually constitutive with scientific and legal discourses in their structuring of race, gender, and sexuality. This project challenges cultural assumptions about right feeling and right politics by bringing together Americanist debates about coercion and subversion in sentimentality and sympathy with the anti-social turn in queer, particularly queer-of-color, and affect theory to envision new possibilities for marginalized subjects.

Chapter 1:
What Feels Right: Naturalizing Science as Law and Law as Science in *Benito Cereno*

Amasa Delano's heart is in the right place. The captain, from Duxbury, Massachusetts, is introduced in Herman Melville's novella *Benito Cereno* as "a person of singularly undistrustful good nature, not liable, except on extraordinary and repeated incentives, and hardly then, to indulge in personal alarms, any way involving the imputation of malign evil in man" (162). His "good nature" pairs "along with a benevolent heart," and the narrator suggests that whether the combination of the two may lead to "more than ordinary quickness and accuracy of intellectual perception, may be left to the wise to determine" (162). The language of sympathy and sentiment pervades not only the narrative's descriptions of Delano, but also his focalized perspective of the events unfolding on the slave ship *San Dominick*; styled by the narrator as the "American in charity," his point-of-view captures something quintessentially American about his belief in goodness and his own goodness at that, both truly heartfelt in the word's most literal sense (170). Delano embodies Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous affective injunction from the end of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1852 three years prior to *Benito Cereno*'s serialization in 1855: "There is one thing that every individual can do,—they can see to it that *they feel right*. An atmosphere of sympathetic influence encircles every human being; and the man or woman who *feels* strongly, healthily and justly, on the great interests of humanity, is a constant benefactor to the human race" (452). Following his right feelings, Delano the American contributes to the violent suppression of the African mutiny onboard the Spanish slave ship, leading to the restoration of the enslavers' authority and the deaths of the rebels. While for Stowe feeling right leads to the right kind of politics, Melville, however, disrupts this presumption by tying the captain's "good nature" to a deeply racist and sexist ideology based upon what kind of nature is right and good as dictated by contemporary science and law.

According to the prevailing reading by critics such as Eric Sundquist and Carolyn Karcher, *Benito Cereno* is "an exploration of the white racist mind and how it reacts in the face of a slave insurrection" (Karcher 128); the interloping Delano's notorious misunderstanding of the racial dynamics of the *San Dominick* is considered to be symbolic of the failure of white epistemological mastery. For James Kavanagh, Delano exemplifies how "ideology structures 'seeing' and 'feeling' before it structures 'thinking,' and in such a way that it will never itself be seen, felt or thought of *as* ideology, but only as the *natural* way of perceiving 'the real'" (131). Both Ezra Tawil and Peter Coviello suggest that this misreading speaks not just to feelings of ideology, but specifically to Melville's critique of Stowe's sentimental politics: Coviello states, "for Melville Delano is first and foremost a sentimental reader, whose racism and incompetence in fact follow from his sentimentality" (163). Yet I suggest that the implications of sentimentality's complicity with racism in *Benito Cereno* go beyond a counterpoint to Stowe's influence on popular discourse to an indictment of how sentimentality operates within specific American institutions. Echoes of Stowe's sentiments about sympathy appear in such contemporaneous texts as George Fitzhugh's 1854 *Sociology for the South*, where Fitzhugh argues "Love for others is the organic law of our society" (248). Decades prior to Stowe's novel, on June 11, 1811, Melville's own future father-in-law Lemuel Shaw proclaimed to the scientific and philanthropic Humane Society of Massachusetts, "How beneficial an exercise of the heart, to cherish and invigorate that powerful principle of universal sympathy, which, originating in the tenderest affections of domestic life, embraces at length in the arms of its charity, every individual of the human race?" (7). Fitzhugh's sociological text was a notorious pro-slavery argument, while Shaw in his capacity as Chief Justice of Boston would later deny fugitive Thomas Sims a writ of *habeas corpus* in the first major upholding of the Fugitive Slave Act of

1850. Rather than acting as challenges to racist science and law, in nineteenth-century America sympathy and sentimentality were constitutive of scientific and legal discourse, moralizing their authoritative claims as structures of oppression.

Through its attention to Captain Delano's affective interiority in relation to the public spectacles of Spanish enslaver Alexandro Aranda's skeleton and Senegalese rebel leader Babo's severed head, I argue that *Benito Cereno* articulates the processes of how power naturalizes itself through the rhetoric of feeling and, in turn, how feeling legitimizes itself as objective through association with power. In this chapter I consider the novella's two most striking images, Aranda's corpse displayed as the ersatz figurehead of the *San Dominick* and Babo's head impaled on a pole in the Plaza, as material artifacts of the scientific racism and unjust laws that undergird Delano's sentimental worldview of what is natural and good in the underlying system of order. The deliberate public exhibition of the bodily remains of both Aranda and Babo are central to the turn and resolution of Melville's novella; these scenes are significant deviations on the part of Melville who otherwise based his story on an episode from the real-life Amasa Delano's memoir *Narrative of Voyages and Travels* in which the American captain thwarts a revolt onboard a Spanish slave ship.[3] The asymmetrical treatment of Aranda's and Babo's remains are linked to the uneven treatment of racialized bodies as scientific specimens and as demonstrations of legal authority, illustrating the effects and performances of scientific and legal discursive power in visual and material culture. It is Delano's perspective as the benevolent American in charity, however, that illustrates how the language of sympathy and sentimentality enables the circulation of cruel scientific and legal "truths" as self-evident reflections of the

[3] In the memoir Aranda dies by being thrown overboard, while Babo is killed during the fight between the Americans and the Africans. It is Babo's son Muri who survives to be beheaded along with the remaining handful of African men.

natural order. Scientific and legal institutions, then, become sanitized from the taint of feeling's subjectivity through the rise of scientific objectivity and legal formalism.

My discussion of *Benito Cereno* has two parts: the first concerning the influence of scientific discourse, and the second, on the authority of legal discourse. Prior to his epiphany about the dynamics onboard the *San Dominick*, Delano's gaze draws upon the weight of scientific knowledge that naturalizes his sympathies toward those he observes, with attention to faces and heads varying based on the racial hierarchies of the "head sciences" of physiognomy, phrenology, and craniology. The gruesome spectacle of the corpses of Aranda and Babo points to the novella's exploration of the intersection of nineteenth-century everyday visual culture with race science's dependence upon morbid corporeality. Drawing upon Coviello, I argue that Melville exposes the connection between sentimentality and race science: in the schema of polygenetic race science, blackness is viewed as atavistic primitivism in relation to the future-oriented success of whiteness. This atavism is felt and processed by Delano on the level of affect, which converts scientific rationalizations for racial prejudice into naturalized order. Echoing the sentimental rhetoric of the supposed benevolence of race science, his view of the backwardness of the Africans is framed by his nostalgia for the hierarchy of race in his childhood experience as well as for an imagined past of undisturbed black primitivism and white nobility. Although critics consider the moment when Delano realizes the *San Dominick*'s peace is a farce orchestrated by Babo as the breaking point of white epistemological mastery, I track the flexibility of white supremacy's ideology that allows the unbroken continuation of race science's validity.

After the battle, the law takes up where the scientific gaze ends, exchanging the narration focalized on Delano with the legal deposition recounting the African revolt dominating the last third of the narrative. Despite the illusion of objective distance provided by the legal documents, the rationale undergirding the law is the same sentimental rhetoric shared by race science, predicated upon the nostalgic attachment to an imagined natural order of racial hierarchy. With Delano and his crew helping Cereno remand the Africans back into slavery in the name of justice, Melville engages the sentiments of proslavery lawyers who euphemize chattel slavery, setting up a critique of his own purportedly liberal father-in-law Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw's formalist upholding of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Babo's head on a pole undercuts the display of Aranda's skeleton: the law renders one justice, while the other is obscene. With the closing spectacle of Babo's head as a symbol of order restored, the law renders the rebel leader into a craniological specimen, reaffirming what Delano felt was right all along.

I. Sentiment, Science, and the Seeing Mania

From the beginning of *Benito Cereno*, the narrator establishes ironic distance from its focalizing character. Delano's sight is emphasized in conjunction with his apparent "good nature": "viewed through the glass," the ship is an object of intrigue as he "continued to watch her" and "the longer the stranger was watched the more singular appeared her maneuvers," but despite possible suspicions that might arise from these observations, with his "singularly undistrustful good nature" he does not fear evil from the Spanish ship (161, 162). The challenge to the reader from the narrator is to determine how the American's "benevolent heart" might affect his "quickness and accuracy of intellectual perception" – and to question both (162). The narrative focalization stays close to the American's perspective, obsessed with faces and heads as

signifiers of meaning, showing how his eye, and therefore, literal point-of-view, is informed by the expectations of race science. By shifting the original account of Captain Delano's encounter with the Spanish slave ship *Tryal* from 1805 to the fictionalized 1799, the 1855 novella's temporal scope captures the shifting visual developments of the various race sciences, from the field of physiognomy from the late eighteenth century through to the "head sciences" of phrenology and craniology popular in American culture by the mid-nineteenth.

In *The American Phrenological Journal*, one of the many phrenological texts published by his family, Orson Squire Fowler announces the impact that the popular science has upon vision: "Its observations so thoroughly interest as to create a SEEING MANIA which scrutinizes everybody and every thing. And the more you learn of it, the more it will promote still further observation" (331). While the phrase "SEEING MANIA" was coined by the Fowlers, this assessment of the science's impact on visual culture was not original to the Fowler dynasty of American phrenological popularizers, but an expression of the impact of science on ways of seeing. Through the influence of science on nineteenth-century American visual culture, faces, heads, and skulls acted as the visible material signifiers not just of character and ability, but of differences within the hierarchy of the human. The overlapping disciplines of physiognomy, phrenology, and craniology affirmed vision as a technology of scientific judgement; these now maligned "head sciences" allowed for the development of the respectable fields of anatomy, psychology, and neuroscience, but also influenced race science and the theory of polygenesis, the separate evolution of each "race." The late eighteenth-century field of physiognomy, based on the work of the Swiss writer Johann Kaspar Lavater, promoted the observation of faces and other outward physical traits as an objective means for judging the inner self and revealing the soul; for Lavater, this also meant the visible differences between peoples, for "That there is national

physiognomy, as well as national character, is undeniable," although he admits "it will, sometimes, be very difficult to describe scientifically" (85). Phrenology would give physiognomy the more rigorous and scientific description the later lacked: stemming from the work of German physicians Franz Josef Gall and his disciple Johann Gasper Spurzheim, phrenology adapted the principles of physiognomy into a more materialist critique of the head whose external bumps reflected and quantified the inherent faculties of the brain, presumed to be the seat of human ability; their analyses combined physiognomy's privileging of the critical eye with the authenticating tangibility of haptic evidence. The wide-spread acceptance of phrenology in nineteenth-century America stemmed from the work of phrenology's proselytizers such as the Scottish lawyer George Combe, whose 1823 *The Constitution of Man* was one of the bestsellers of the era with 200,000 copies sold before the Civil War (Colbert 23), and the Fowler family both printed numerous pamphlets on practical phrenology and gave many lecture tours and public demonstrations; the promise of access to scientific knowledge that would train the individual in the ability to interpret everyday life and enable self-knowledge and, therefore, self-improvement, were crucial to the successful dissemination of phrenology's precepts. Coeval to phrenology's life as a popular science, the study of skulls was practised by esteemed craniologists such as Samuel George Morton, expanding the analysis of individual heads and faces to the mass collection of data about comparative anatomy in relation to the differences between civilizations and peoples that justified the theory of polygenesis known as the American School promoted by Harvard scientist Louis Agassiz. These scientific discourses helped to train the average American gaze in the techniques of scientific visual evaluation, combining the expertise of the Foucauldian clinical gaze with a culture of everyday panoptic scrutiny, thereby providing widespread justification for racial prejudices naturalized to be as evident as sight itself.

Science drew on art and, in turn, art drew on science.[4] The scientific dependence on the visual as a primary tool of analysis meant the proliferation of images of faces, heads, and skulls, in order to illustrate theory: one edition of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* boasts three hundred and sixty engravings on its title page, while practitioners of popular phrenology used its iconic diagrams of the head's faculties and organs for advertising their services. While physiognomic and phrenological texts were generally small for the sake of facilitating easier distribution and affordability, *Crania Americana*'s expensive folio format imbued Morton's ethnological findings with gravitas and delivered the impact of John Collins's striking seventy-eight lithographs depicting the scientist's extensive skull collection. Similarly, the scholarly *Types of Mankind* by Josiah Clark Nott and George R. Gliddon, boasting selections from Samuel Morton and Louis Agassiz among other scientific authorities, includes several foldout color prints that display schematic renditions of the faces, skulls, and characteristic fauna associated with each race's place of origin. The titular "types" are meant to be instantly recognizable by their displays of distinctive anatomy: "how indelible is the image of a type impressed on a mind's eye!" proclaims the tome (412). Incongruous to modern standards of evidence, the title page of *Types* declares that its research is drawn from "ancient monuments, sculptures, and paintings" as well as the expected crania, but the dependence upon art, under the presumption of mimetic representation, recurs throughout the head sciences: phrenologists regularly used busts and paintings at their demonstrations in order to affirm the timelessness of their principles and to use the visages of deceased famous individuals as examples. Standards of artistic representation in this period, however, was shifting in response to phrenological principles. Hiram Powers was inspired by phrenology in his sculpting and even distributed the movement's pamphlets, while

[4] Many thanks to the Center for Historic American Visual Culture 2014 summer seminar for giving me the opportunity to research this section at the American Antiquarian Society.

the popularity of the science mean that artists were pressured, in the case of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, or, like Henry Inman, savvy about altering their busts and paintings in order to give their sitters flattering phrenological portrayals (Colbert 41, 152). These aspirational representations indicate the bias of science's reliance on the visual: the faces of white, moneyed subjects have the privilege of signifying an idealized individuality, while racialized or otherwise othered faces are reducible to types. In his approach to ethics, Lévinas unintentionally channels the head sciences' fixation with their preferred object of study: according to the philosopher, "the face is meaning all by itself" and its epiphanic alterity demands an ethical relation (86). But this assumption about the irreducible alterity runs into the unexamined problem of universality that Deleuze and Guattari critique in their discussion of faciality: although the face acts as a way of tying meaning to a subject, the assumed face is "your average ordinary White Man": "Racism operates by the determination of degrees of deviance in relation to the White-Man face" (178). Tellingly, in one comparative diagram *Types* presents the contrast between racial norms and deviations by placing the caricatured faces of black men beside those of primates, while the representative face of whiteness is the classical bust of Apollo Belvedere (458).The chosen faces and heads of physiognomic and phrenological texts and demonstrations are of idealized white men reaffirmed as normative ideals by science.

The racism of American science during this period, and its intersections with the head sciences, have been well-documented through foundational studies by William Stanton, George Fredrickson, Stephen Jay Gould, Bruce Dain and others that track the shift from eighteenth-century theories of environmentalism and difference to the codified biological racism of the nineteenth-century. Phrenology and craniology have become contemporary shorthand for

scientific racism; as Fredrickson notes, craniologist and Morton collaborator Josiah Nott called his studies "the nigger business" or "niggerology" (78). Yet what is often elided in these accounts is how the rhetoric of sentimentalism and sympathy was an integral component of the racism of these sciences. In more general histories of science, Jessica Riskin has drawn attention to the key role of feeling in scientific thought, practice, and methodology from the eighteenth-century through the nineteenth. According to Riskin, "Ideas, emotions, and moral sentiments alike were expressions of sensibility," leading to what she calls "sentimental empiricism":

> by tracing emotions to sensory experience, [sentimental empiricism] implied that moral sentiments might be subjected to empirical scrutiny and manipulation, which was the foundation assumption of the moral sciences. However, by the same logic applied in reverse, sentimental empiricism also infused empirical experience, and therefore natural science, with sentiment and moral import (2, 5).

While primarily focused on French science, Riskin discusses Benjamin Franklin's moralist and scientific writings in terms of "empiricist sentimentalism, a naturalized approach to the moral world" (72); his popularity in France, she suggests, was in no small part due to his use of sensibility in science. More recently, Kyla Schuller takes up both Riskin's argument about French sentimental empiricism and Dana Nelson's work on the affiliations between American male scientists, in order to argue that the American School transforms ideas about organic sentiment and sympathy into theories about the molding of bodies and races. According to Schuller, "Sentimentalism is a particularly emotional regime, one that fantasizes about the ability of the civilized members of society to harness their own bodies and their affects in the service of racial progress" (296). Fredrickson takes a different tact, identifying how sentimentalism justified scientific racism. In the approach he calls "romantic racialism," which was "benevolent

in intent," and combined a "mixture of cant, condescension, and sentimentality," ideas from both pro- and anti-slavery camps merged through their associations between blackness and childlike good nature (125). Thus, for proslavery advocates, the "stereotype of the happy and contended bondsman" was propaganda that justified chattel slavery for the sake of the enslaved based on their nature (52). As for its persistence among white abolitionists, for both Schuller and Fredrickson, Harriet Beecher Stowe emerges as the prime example of the meeting of sentimentalism with beliefs about racial difference derived from science.

White supremacy and the attendant inferiority of other races came from a place of benevolence expressed through science, rather than cold rationalization. Returning to Lavater, his take on national physiognomy sowed the seeds of polygenesis with his assertion that "each must be ennobled according to its primitive nature," reassuring those lower on the racial hierarchy that they "Yet ought not the lowest of the human race be discouraged" for they were equally beloved to God (85, 127); after all, Lavater's work proclaims itself on its title page to be "designed to promote the knowledge and the love of mankind." Phrenology helped to systematize the connection between science and emotion: the major classes of the phrenological organs include those called the "sentiments" by Combe, and the "affective faculties, or feelings" by the Fowlers, which, in echoes of affect theory, "Every faculty stands in relation to certain external objects" (*Constitution* 57). Morton solicited an essay from George Combe for *Crania Americana* where Combe's comments on sympathy as the principle behind the phrenological organs feature alongside the lithographs of skulls belonging to Indigenous peoples murdered in the recent Seminole war. Combe writes without irony, "Sympathy is not a faculty, nor is it synonymous with moral approbation. The same notes sounded by ten instruments of the same kind, harmonise, blend softly together, and form one peal of melody" (290). Under the same

benevolent auspices, the Fowlers published lectures and pamphlets on the manipulation of the domestic feelings for better marriages and improvement of the race. Of course, these works on hereditary descent include statements on racial difference according to phrenological principles. The Fowlers could espouse that "The avenues to the human heart are the same in all… all yield to the power of love; all love their children," while also claiming in the same tract that the "colored race is characterized quite as much by the tone of their feelings, the peculiarities of their intellects and expressions, as by the color of their skin" (*Hereditary* 33, 34). With *Types of Mankind*, the racial hierarchy is merely the right kind of care: "the Negro thrives under the shadow of his white master, falls readily into the position assigned him, and exists and multiplies in increased physical well-being" (xxxiii). Dedicated fondly to the memory of Morton, *Types* opens with a short memoir of the craniologist, painting a picture of the founding skull collector as a sensitive soul with refined sensibilities befitting a romantic racialist and a sentimental empiricist: he had "nervous temperament, delicate fibre, acute feelings, and ardent sympathies" (xxi). These scientists and popularizers of science understood themselves to be on a mission of human betterment, motivated by the finest feelings, much as with Delano and his benevolent heart guiding his intellectual discernment of that he surveys. Rather than providing a sensory alternative to the supremacy of the ocular regime, in race science affects and emotions only reinforced the authority of sight.

The 1855 publication of *Benito Cereno* situates Melville's writing amidst this fraught intersection of visual culture and race science. Melville can be counted among those interested in both science and art: his reading included many works on art history by luminaries such as John Ruskin and Giorgio Vasari alongside scientific texts like Darwin's journal and a volume of Cuvier's *The Animal Kingdom* (Sealts 89, 102, 55, 54). Melville himself owned about four

hundred individual prints (Robillard x). As for his knowledge of the head sciences in particular, during his trip to England in 1849 he purchased a copy of Lavater's *Essays* for 10 shillings and an 1854 letter to Richard Lathers indicates the return of Lathers' copy of Combe's bestselling *Constitution* (*Journals* 24; *Correspondence* 260). In an August 16, 1850 letter to publisher and editor Evert A. Duyckinck, he jokes to his friend about the pandering of phrenologists: "A horrible something in me tells me that you are about dipping your head in plaster at Fowler's for your bust" (*Correspondence* 167-8). Lynn Horth speculates that Melville's knowledge of the phrenological Fowlers may have been as early as 1835 due to the active practices of the brothers and their students in Albany and Lansingburgh; John C. Hoadley, Melville's brother-in-law, had his head examined by Lorenzo Fowler (*Correspondence* 169). Melville's final published work *Timoleon* explores his love of art in poetry, while the scholarship of Samuel Otter and others have highlighted Melville's exploration of the corporeality of science in his novels.

Benito Cereno was published serially in a literary periodical dedicated to both subjects: *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art*, in which Melville debuted numerous other works such as "Bartleby the Scrivener" and *Israel Potter*, included regular updates about the fine arts and discussions of science. When *Types of Mankind* appeared in 1854 as a salvo for polygenesis's proponents, the July edition of *Putnam's* engaged in an extensive discussion of the book that ends up in agreement with its claims. The review "Is Man One or Many?" ends up on the side of polygenesis, accepting the use of art as evidence for the unchanging and separate nature of the races based on "different physiognomies" that "enable us, for the most part, to distinguish them at a glance" (9). In January 1855, however, the essay "Are All Men Descended From Adam?" returns to the debate and argues for monogenesis in part on the basis of the "mysterious sympathy which inspires whole nations with the emotions of a single

man," while still maintaining physiognomy as the distinctive characteristic of racial difference (88). *Benito Cereno* would be published in the last three issues of that year to a readership conversant in visual culture as well as antebellum debates about scientific racism.

Upon his introduction Captain Delano is recognizable as a participant in the "SEEING MANIA" associated with the accessibility of the tools of race science's visual assessments. Once aboard the *San Dominick*, Delano's "one eager glance took in all faces, with every other object about him," and when he first looks specifically at the people who are the ship's cargo, the old Africans picking oakum are described as having "heads like black, doddered willow tops" (165, 166). Throughout his guided tour of the ship, the captain's gaze is drawn to faces and heads as organized receptacles of legible meaning, but he parses them unevenly according to race: white faces are continually recognized and privileged with gazes that can be returned, while black faces are continually erased, ignored or downplayed, and often rendered simply as heads. While the physiognomic face holds the holistic representation of individual humanity, the head in phrenology, if one is not in the position to be pandered to by its practitioners as a subject of admiration, quantifies one's abilities as an object of study. During one of many instances when Delano is on the verge of revelation about the clever racial masquerade, he "stands with eye directed forward" and believes the Spanish sailors "returned the glance and with a sort of meaning. He rubbed his eyes and looked again, but again seemed to see the same thing" (195). When he then enters the scene, he only looks to white faces for answers, with "his eye curiously surveying the white faces, here and there sparsely mixed in with the blacks," and, after failing to get answers from a Spanish sailor, he looks "round for a more promising countenance but seeing none, spoke pleasantly to the blacks to make way for him" (197). By affectively prioritizing white faces, black faces barely register for him as subjects.

The visual evidence of race science gives reassuring authority to Delano's racist sympathies and directs his interactions, but in turn, sentiment is the tool that naturalizes science by allowing its ideological influence almost invisibly shape Delano's sentimental way of seeing through "the blunt-thinking American's eyes" (48). After noting the oakum pickers, with "that first comprehensive glance" that "rested but an instant upon them," he also notices the hatchet-polishers who have "the raw aspect of unsophisticated Africans," and frames their labors as "the peculiar love in negroes of uniting industry with pastime" (167). The same snap judgment of Delano's first glance onboard the *San Dominick* carries with it both race science's evaluation of black inferiority with the sentimentality's bowdlerization of enslaved labor. Rather than viewing blackness as evil, Delano's condescending stance instead renders blackness as a benign childlikeness: "There is something in the negro which, in a peculiar way, fits him for avocations about one's person" in subservient roles stemming from "the great gift of good-humor" (212). He takes as proof the phrenological and craniological "evidences" of racial mental ability: to him, these peoples are suited for servitude due to "the docility arising from the unaspiring contentment of a limited mind, and that susceptibility of bland attachment sometimes inhering in indisputable inferiors" (212). If even depressive types like Samuel Johnson and Cereno himself can benefit from having a personal slave, Delano muses to himself, how would such a slave "appear to a benevolent one?" (212-3). For Delano, Babo's attentions to the Spanish captain are seen merely springing forth from "that affectionate zeal which transmutes into something filial or fraternal acts in themselves but menial; and which has gained for the negro the repute of making the most pleasing body servant in the world" (269). Slavery becomes a mutually beneficial relationship in this mindset; despite his origin in relatively free Massachusetts, Northerner Delano's sentiments are not unlike those of Southerner George Fitzhugh in *Sociology of the*

South which argues "Slavery opens many sources of happiness and occasions and encourages the exercise of many virtues and affections which would be unknown without it. It begets friendly, kind and affectionate relations" (96).

For the American, the flat visual signification of black bodies acts as a comforting reminder of the fixed hierarchization of nature according to science whenever he becomes suspicious about any strangeness around him. In one such moment of anxiety, Delano's observation of a nameless black woman and her child cheer him by playing to his sympathies about the proper dual roles allotted by gender and race. Viewing them as "a pleasant sort of sunny sight," much has been made by critics about how he both dehumanizes and sentimentalizes both bodies through the language of nature: she is "like a doe in the shade of a woodland rock," a "dam," while her child is a "wide-awake fawn" and "its hands, like two paws" while trying to nurse like a piglet, "is mouth and nose ineffectually rooting to get at the mark; and meantime giving a vexatious half-grunt" (198). Even though a strange man is gawking at her breasts, the woman "started up, at a distance facing Captain Delano," and pretends not to see him, "as if not at all concerned at the attitude in which he had been caught," reinforcing his sense of voyeurism and confidence as the observer rather than the observed (198). By showering her child "with maternal transports, covering it with kisses," she elicits a smug sentimental response from the captain: "There's naked nature, now; pure tenderness and love, thought Captain Delano, well pleased" (198). Black women signify the natural order for him on both the racial and gendered axes:

> This incident prompted him to remark the other negresses more particularly than before. He was gratified with their manners: like most uncivilized women, they seemed at once tender of heart and tough of constitution; equally ready to die for their infants or fight for

> them. Unsophisticated as leopardesses; loving as doves. Ah! Thought Captain Delano, these, perhaps, are some of the very women whom Ledyard saw in Africa, and gave such a noble account of. These natural sights somehow insensibly deepened his confidence and ease (198).

Coviello claims that Delano "cannot but read this scene as a kind of sentimental apotheosis, an image of human benignity at its most naked and pure, and carried, appropriately, by the transports of the 'maternal'" (164). Justifications for slavery like Fitzhugh's used the oppressive construction of the domestic sphere to argue for the validation of slavery through the naturalness of familial affection:[5] slaves "are part of the family, and self-interest and domestic affection combine to shelter, shield and foster them," and Fitzhugh later clarifies his stance against women's rights through this same recourse to "the family government, from its nature, has ever been despotic" (46, 96). I highlight how the captain seamlessly connects the dual burden of race and gender that black women bear[6] through the rhetoric of sentimentalism as well as to explorer John Ledyard's travel writings as a source of ethnographical evidence.

The captain's rationalizations about the primitiveness of black bodies are justified through racist sentimentality, not just participating in the discourse of romantic racialism expressed by the sciences, but also personalized by his own nostalgia. The contrast in racial physiognomic worthiness is most apparent in how Delano sees Babo's black face only in relation

[5] Karen Sanchez-Eppler critiques how the abolitionist and feminist movements often made recourse to the other's struggle as metaphor and in doing so, erased the experiences of black women: the movements in order "to domesticate slavery, recast its oppressions in familial terms, demonstrating the complicity of the two institutions and hence the degree to which domestic and antislavery writings are implicated in the very oppressions they seek to reform" (16).

[6] This moment also exemplifies the painful paradox expressed by Hortense Spillers of the"materialized scene of unprotected female flesh, of female flesh 'ungendered'" for black women (68). I would also argue that the burden of black womanhood is heightened in the novel because all familial relations adhere to women alone; in Melville's adaptation of Delano's original travel narrative, he erases Babo's son Muri who is a key co-conspirator.

to Benito Cereno's white face. Initially, Babo's visage is rendered as a "rude face, as occasionally, like a shepherd's dog, he mutely turned it up into the Spaniard's" and later, when Delano questions the relationship between Spaniard and African, "Babo, changing his previous grin of mere animal humor into an intelligent smile, not ungratefully eyed his master" who affirms the man's value to him (167, 189). The American repeatedly notices Babo's preoccupation with Cereno's face, reading this attention as a slavish attentiveness to Cereno as a worthy subject like a dog to his owner; the canine comparison serves both to dehumanize Babo according to scientific scales of development, but also to sentimentalize his servitude in relation to Delano's boyhood memories. He later associates the incoming boat *Rover* with memories of his younger self "Jack of the Beach" and describes the boat "as a Newfoundland dog" docked by his Duxbury, Massachusetts home, with its loyalty and promise of support like "a good dog; a white bone in her mouth" (203, 204). Only good things happen to good people, Delano reassures himself – "Who would murder Amasa Delano? His conscience is clean" – and soon after he views Babo's presence as external confirmation mirroring his internal affective affirmation: he was "met by Don Benito's servant, who, with a pleasant expressions, [was] responsive to his own present feelings" (204). This childhood memory comes back to reinforce Delano's positive and nostalgic associations of faithful support as he watches Babo shave Cereno:

> At home, he had often taken rare satisfaction in sitting in his door, watching some free man of color at his work or play. If on a voyage he chanced to have a black sailor, invariably he was on chatty and half-gamesome terms with him. In fact, like most men of a good, blithe heart, Captain Delano took to negroes, not philanthropically, but genially, just as other men to Newfoundland dogs (213).

Fitzhugh, in his defense of slavery as "healthy, beautiful, and natural," declares "A man loves not only his horses and his cattle, which are useful to him, but he loves his dog, which is of no use. He loves them because they are his" (81, 46). We can hear echoes of Fitzhugh in Melville's line, "In fact, like most men of a good, blithe heart, Captain Delano took to the Negroes, not philanthropically, but genially, just as other men to Newfoundland dogs" (213). For the American whose "old weakness for negroes returned," Babo's solicitous care of Cereno can only be a reflection of loving loyalty like that of a dog's (213); during dinner Delano repeatedly views Babo's attention to Cereno in dog-like terms, "the black was still true to his master, since by facing him he could the more readily anticipate his slightest want" and "He only rested his eye on his master's (220, 222). The atavism of blackness in the schema of racial science becomes parsed as fond nostalgia for racial and natural order as well as for his bucolic New England past; it is little wonder that at one point Captain Delano tries to purchase Babo for fifty doubloons to be his own.

By contrast, Delano continually scrutinizes the subtleties of Cereno's face for deeper meaning, and despite his misgivings about the Spaniard, the American constantly offers his sympathetic support to his fellow captain. During their interactions Delano is attuned to numerous shifts and tics of Cereno's physiognomy such as when his "face lighted up; eager and hectic, he met the honest glance of his visitor" or "his pale face twitching and overcast" (178). Although many aboard the ship clamour for the visitor's attention when he first boards, he obeys hierarchy and gravitates to the captain in order to "[assure] him of his sympathies" (167). As fond as Delano may be of Babo, he never addresses him or offers him the same care he proffers Don Benito who appears to scorn it: after skepticism about the narrative of the *San Dominick*, he "drown[s] criticism in compassion, after a fresh repetition of his sympathies" to Cereno (177).

Although told that fever and lack of water has killed "whole families of the Africans," the narrator offers a sly racist rationalization for greater concern for the white sailors by adding, "and yet a larger number, proportionately, of the Spaniards" (175); when enslaver Alexandro Aranda's name is mentioned as the notable casualty of the fever, Cereno's "heart-broken" air causes Delano to believe "he divined the cause of such unusual emotion" by identifying with him, relating his own loss of a friend at sea: "I think that, by a sympathetic experience, I conjecture, Don Benito, what it is that gives the keener edge to your grief" (180-1). According to the perversity of benevolent race science, he views Benito Cereno as capable of deception and nuance because "the whites, too, by nature, where the shrewder race" while the blacks "were too stupid" (201). After entertaining the elaborate possibility that Cereno might be an imposter, Delano turns to a physiognomic reading of his fellow captain for reassurance:

> Glancing over once more towards his host – whose side-face, revealed above the skylight, was now turned towards him – he was struck by the profile, whose clearness of cut was refined by the thinness incident to ill-health, as well as ennobled about the chin by the beard. Away with suspicion. He was a true offshoot of a true hidalgo Cereno (187).

For Delano, Don Benito's face reads as testimony of his superior breeding: racial notions of inheritance come into play as biology and exterior physical traits becomes synonymous with character, ability, and morality. Science assuages Delano's anxieties by familiarizing the dangerously uncanny sights of the slave ship.

The subversive masquerade of the rebel Africans mirrors Delano's expectations of the natural order of white nobility and black subservience, once again hearkening to a nostalgic past.

Nostalgia operates as one of sentimentality's modes; that science and feeling would meet through the construct of nostalgia is not a surprise. Nostalgia, the word whose etymology was coined from the Greek *nosos* "return to the native land" and *algos* "suffering or grief," originated in 1688 with Johannes Hofer's medical dissertation about the phenomenon as a wasting disease that particularly young people who wish to return home, particularly young men in the military or away for study: it is "sympathetic of an afflicted imagination," connecting the brain to the body, "originated by arousing especially the uncommon and everpresent idea of the recalled native land in the mind" (380). Nostalgia, this pathologized affect, has been theorized by critics such as Linda Hutcheon and Fredric Jameson as less a longing for a place than a time, acting as a temporal projection that is always political in its manipulation of history. Hutcheon comments on the shift from nostalgia as a physical medical condition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to a psychological one in the twentieth; nostalgia's power "comes in part from its structural doubling-up of two different times, an inadequate present and an idealized past," this distance "sanitizes as it selects, making the past feel complete, stable, coherent" (Hutcheon). Within the American context, Michael Kammen critiques nostalgia in his study of tradition in American history: "the creative consequences of nostalgia helped them to legitimize new political orders, rationalize the adjustment and perpetuation of old social hierarchies, and construct acceptable new systems of thought and values" (295). Bluntly, "nostalgia is history without guilt" (Kammen 688). In her influential attack on sentimentalism as the feminization of American culture, Ann Douglas identifies nostalgia as a component of sentimental discourse: sentimentalism "attempts to deal with the phenomenon of cultural bifurcation by the manipulation of nostalgia," and gives the death of little Eva in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as an iconic example of a scene meant "to precipitate our nostalgia and our narcissism" (12, 4). Melville's

novella changes the date of Delano's encounter with the Spanish slave ship from 1805 to 1799, capturing the symbolic turning point at the turn of the century in both the development of the race sciences in its increased focus on biology as essence and nostalgia as medicalized and psychologized affect.

Insofar as Babo, along with the other black people on the ship, represent the happily unchanging nature of racial difference to the American, Cereno exemplifies the other end of nostalgia's racial idealization. Don Benito's wan refinement speaks to both nostalgia's romanticization as well as its original medical definition as a wasting disease. Delano sees him as "the Spanish captain, a gentlemanly, reserved-looking, and rather young man to a stranger's eye, dressed with singular richness" (167). Later, he returns to Cereno's attire for sartorial emphasis of the innate gap between the Spanish captain and the meagrely attired Babo:

> The Spaniard wore a loose Chili jacket of dark velvet; white small-clothes and stockings, with silver buckles at the knee and instep; a high-crowned sombrero, of fine grass; a slender sword, silver mounted, hung from a knot in his sash – the last being an almost invariable adjunct, more for utility than ornament, of a South American gentlemen's dress to this hour (176).

The incongruity of his decadent dress complements his aristocratic fragility, both making him deserving of Babo's obsequious care: the costume reminds Delano of "the image of an invalid courtier tottering about London in the time of the plague" (177). He is able to grasp that the Spanish captain is under some form of duress, an "involuntary victim of a mental disorder," but translates his ailments into a walking diagnosis of the original medical meaning of nostalgia, doubly representing the nostalgic past that Delano himself yearns for: "This distempered spirit

was lodged, as before hinted, in as distempered a frame" (171, 169). The American's attraction to the old world inequality of aristocracy is not depicted as hypocrisy, but as the standard exception to new world democratic ideology: when giving out water Delano "complied, with republican impartiality as to this republican element, which always seeks one level, serving the oldest white no better than the youngest black; excepting, indeed, poor Don Benito, whose condition, if not rank, demanded an extra allowance" (207-8). Delano's racism is given authoritative weight by visual scientific evidence and is filtered through nostalgia for both a personal past as well as a cultural past, the romanticized racial hierarchy of genteel servitude and *noblisse oblige* embodied by humble Babo and hidalgo Don Benito.

The persistence of Delano's dependence on this sentimental frame of race science allows for the creative flexibility of his bias even in the literal face of challenges to his bigotry. Other than Babo's canine deference, among the few named black characters he notices Atufal, who is represented in a way that emphasizes only brute physicality: "the moving figure of a gigantic black" (182). The only black face he lingers on is the steward Francesco's because he is of mixed race: "Captain Delano observed with interest that while the complexion of the mulatto was hybrid, his physiognomy was European – classically so" (219). The disjuncture momentarily throws off Delano's surety about the visual distinctiveness of the races and their inborn abilities, but he struggles to adapt the precepts of his race science despite misgivings about miscegenation:

> "Don Benito, whispered he, "I'm glad to see this usher-of-the-golden-rod of yours; the sight refutes an ugly remark once made to me by a Barbadoes planter; that when a mulatto has a regular European face, look out for him; he is a devil. But see, your steward here has features more regular than King George's of England; and yet there he nods, and bows, and smiles; a king, indeed – the king of kind hearts and polite fellows" (219).

He must affirm the inherent superiority of whiteness through the royal association, but when "a regular European face" is transposed onto darker skin, the resulting justification of Francesco's lowly position creates a hybrid by proposing his nobility among the caste of servants with a sentimental cast as "the king of kind hearts and polite fellows" (219). When he asks if Francesco "always proved a good, worthy fellow," Cereno's affirmative answer helps to re-establish the physiognomic connection between face and character (219). Miscegenation then, for Delano, has to be reformulated in order to fit his pre-existing views about race: of course the "mulatto" steward has to be good, "[f]or it were strange, indeed, and not very creditable to us white-skins, if a little of our blood mixed with the African's, should, far from improving the latter's quality, have the strange sad effect of pouring vitriolic acid into black broth; improving the hue, perhaps, but not eh wholesomeness" (220). Even though he does not want to completely condone miscegenation, to deny Francesco's heritage would mean to surrender a belief in the righteous goodness of nature and the current world order. Thus, he ends up imagining a white version of the one-drop rule that does not allow Francesco to ascend in the racial hierarchy, but maintains the American's uninterrupted belief in the white racial superiority's beneficial effect on the lower races in all areas.

The narrative turn in *Benito Cereno* is said to be when the titular character jumps over to Delano's boat and reveals that the Africans are no longer cargo, but actually the masters of the slave ship. This moment could be considered the shattering of Delano's racist delusions of white mastery; the reveal of Aranda's skeleton bookmarks this section much as Babo's execution closes the novella. Yet what I want to suggest is that Delano's sentimentality and dependence on race science are not so easily overcome: the battle does not act as a break in his ideology so much as a display of the persistence of structures of power. Before setting back to his ship, he

casts a glance over the *San Dominick* and "saw the benign aspect of nature" in its setting, while in order to receive Cereno's farewell Captain Delano reacts with "instinctive good feeling" (230). With Cereno's frantic escape onto his boat and Babo close behind, Delano's "flash of revelation swept, illuminating, in unanticipated clearness" leaves the captain "now with scales dropped from his eyes" (233). His recognition of Babo as leader of the revolt rather than loyal slave, however, does not constitute a break from the American's way of looking and thinking: he views Babo's "countenance lividly vindictive, expressing the centered purpose of his soul" as still a transparently legible sign according to the standards of race science (233). When Babo leaps onto the boat with dagger in hand, he seems to aim "at Captain Delano's heart," and in retaliation Delano "smote Babo's hand down, but his own heart smote him harder" (232, 233). Babo's true intentions would appear to literally attempt to skewer Delano's sentimental heart, but the disappointment only reaffirms the power of his sympathies as Delano acts with "infinite pity" for Cereno's safety (233).

The potency of visual signifiers informed by scientific racism endures with the public presentation of the dead. When the conflict between the Africans and the combined forces of the Americans and Spanish begins, Aranda's remains are discovered lashed onto the *San Dominick*:

> Suddenly revealing, as the bleached hull swung round towards the open ocean, death for the figurehead, in a human skeleton, chalky comment on the chalked words below, FOLLOW YOUR LEADER. (234)

Despite acting as "death for the figurehead," Aranda's bones are not a mere death's head, but an entire skeleton instead of a skull: even in death, the former enslaver has the privilege of not being reduced to the singular scientific object of Melville's day, instead remaining intact. When

Cereno cries out at the sight, "'Tis he, Aranda! My murdered, unburied friend!", he both identifies and identifies *with* the man's bones (234). The skeleton both retains Aranda's individuality and signifies *memento mori,* an unacknowledged racialized universality that privileges white bones. The white skeleton stands out, "seemed beckoning the whites to avenge it" and, indeed, one cries out "Follow your leader!" when boarding the Spanish ship (237). But Aranda's skeleton as a symbol succeeds in rallying white Americans and white Spaniards alike, and eventually after their victory and return to port, the enslaver's remains are given the dignity of burial in the vaults of St. Bartholomew, reflecting the living status of their owner. For all of Babo's clever control over American racist expectations, by the end of the novella, the hierarchy according to race science has been reaffirmed by the Africans' defeat to the combined forces of white American and Spanish sailors, and further justified by the ensuing trial and execution of Babo.

II. Slavery and the Service of Justice

The absence of law seems to typify the encounter between Captain Amasa Delano and those onboard the *San Dominick*: set off the southern coast of Chile, this environment is said to be notable for "the lawlessness and loneliness of the spot" (161). The purported "true history of the *San Dominick*'s voyage" claims to emerge through the legal documents compiled, certified, and declared "as much as is requisite in law" by a Don José de Abos and Padilla, "His Majesty's Notary for the Royal Revenue, and Register of this Province, and Notary Public of the Holy Crusade of this Bishropric, etc." (238, 239). The contrast between the lawlessness of the high seas to the legal documents and the trial's aftermath that takes over the rest of Melville's novella after the American and Spanish defeat of the Africans may seem like a stark transition from the state of nature and Delano's sentimentally scientific gaze to the imposition of Western forms of

legal power and legalized violence. Nonetheless, the shadow of the law haunts the entirety of the narrative: critics from Jean Yellin and Carolyn Karcher have noted how the Haitian Revolution, the *Amistad* case, and Nat Turner's rebellion variously form the background for the violences, triumphs, and losses of Babo's attempted mutiny. Legal scholar Robert Cover claims that with the portrayal of the *San Dominick*, Melville achieves the ideal conditions for testing abstract ideas about revolution and isolating the evils of slavery: "Finally the high seas themselves had something of the law of nature about them" (108-9). The novella was published in *Putnam's* over three issues in 1855, where under Frederick Law Olmsted's editorship the magazine was the first major national publication to take a stand against slavery, and *Benito Cereno* appeared alongside several articles about race and slavery, such as pieces on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and a review of Frederick Douglass's autobiography (Yellin 216). In this light, *Benito Cereno* dramatizes the relationship between the state of nature and different ideas of what constitutes the authority of the law, be it natural or formalist approaches in the nineteenth century. Susan Weiner claims, "Amasa Delano's mode of perception is similar to legal reasoning in the United States, in which it posits a realm of knowledge that is objective, clear, and readily accessible" (117). In her reading she unpacks a central paradox unveiled by the novella: "Melville explores how the law fails to find legal solutions to critical crises and instead subverts justice in the name of order" (Weiner 115). What I wish to draw out from an understanding of the law in the novella is its underlying connection to the aforementioned discussion about sentimentality and science: as another manifestation of the order naturalized by the discourse of feeling that influences Captain Delano's benevolently bigoted frame of mind. By considering the legal deposition and ensuing execution of Babo as a logical continuation of, rather than a break from, white epistemological

mastery naturalized through feeling, *Benito Cereno* gestures toward the proslavery sentiments legitimized by the ostensible turn to legal formalism.

Delano's "good nature" and his belief in the goodness of the natural world through the paradigm of race science intersects with the sentimentality of contemporary proslavery arguments defending the institution and laws of slavery, particularly the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Analyses of the debates about slave law often tend to take as fact the divide between sympathetic abolitionists and unfeeling proslavery apologists. In his discussion of Stowe and slave law, Alfred Brophy claims, "Abolitionists sought a jurisprudence based on love, while the proslavery responders emphasized the role of law in maintaining order" (456-7). The sentimentality of novels such as Stowe's were seen to combat the cold-hearted cruelties of slave law. Brophy asserts that the development of legal formalism came out of the "cool legal inhumanity" of proslavery discourse: "Where abolitionists believed that emotion might lead one to the correct path, proslavery writers believed that rigorous logic and application of practical morals were necessary. In their opinion, it was logical, dispassionate thought that ensured that best results for society" (457, 480). Likewise, Robert Cover argues that the 1840s and 1850s saw "an age of the retreat to formalism" in regards to slavery, a phenomenon where "The more mechanical the judge's view of the process, the more he externalized responsibility for the result" (234). In his history of American law, Morton J. Horwitz maps the shift from thinking about law in general "as an eternal set of principles expressed in custom and derived from natural law" to legislation as policy "governing society and promoting socially desirable conduct" (30). Legal formalism "gave common law rules the appearance of being self-contained, apolitical, and inexorable" (254); in other words, the illusion of objectivity to existing society and its inequalities. Echoes of similarity to scientific objectivity are no mere coincidence: as Horwitz

declares, "the attempt to place law under the banner of 'science' was designed to separate politics from law, subjectivity from objectivity, and laymen's reasoning from professional reasoning" (257). Sentimentality and sympathy would seem to be the antithesis of proslavery arguments in their connection to the dispassion of legal formalism's prominence.

Melville's knowledge of the law went beyond his relationship to his father-in-law Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw. Among his records of books owned and read by Melville, Merton Sealts lists the 1849 edition of Samuel Warren's *Moral, Social, and Professional Duties of Attorneys and Solicitors* (103-4). Although originally delivered in a series of lectures for the Law Institute in England, Warren's work informs the American legal context where the most notable British influence was Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which provided the foundation of the American legal system and influenced Shaw, among many others. Far from a dispassionate system of rules, in the first lecture Warren lays out the stakes of the legal profession in the culture of sentiment. The public's relationship to lawyers is an intimate one: they "open to you the most secret recesses of our hearts," and "To your eyes are exposed hearts bleeding and quivering in every fiber" (17). In response to the needs of the public, lawyers must give "sympathizing words of counsel and guidance" (18). The feelings that animate the law are not cold, but sentiments refined for the benefit of the sympathetic body of civilized society: "The law is the power by which civil society is constituted, and sustained in existence; overpowering the unruly elements of our fallen nature; with heaven-born energy converting the savage into the citizen" (24). Lawyers are motivated by this higher, inborn emotion: "The love of society, gentlemen, is an original instinct of tendency of our nature," negotiating between private emotion and public sentiments for the greater good (24). Balancing liberty and authority is at the heart of the legal professional's duty. Driven by the "spirit of affection and reverence for our free

institutions," lawyers have the authority to negotiate feelings: "Our hearts are trained into a patriotism and loyalty which warm, which enlighten, which strengthen the character, and discipline the will" (28). The modern professional lawyer must discipline his emotions in order to participate as an integral part of sentimental society. Moreover, this superior feeling does not obviate law's kinship with science: "the law necessarily and gradually assumes the aspect and acquires the character of a complicated science"; indeed, Warren speaks approvingly of the "scientific lawyer" (118; 33).

It is through these aspirations to imitate science that nineteenth-century American law reveals the connection of proslavery legal arguments to sentimentality – and not only in relation to science's imbrication with the culture of sentiment. Although legal formalism was wielded in slavery's favour, proslavery apologists, like their abolitionist opponents, were just as dependent upon the rhetoric of natural law; as Fitzhugh declares in his sociological study, "Love for others is the organic law of our society" (248). Lawyer Thomas R.R. Cobb bases his proslavery argument on the parallels between the state of nature, as elucidated by polygenetic race science, and slavery as the law of nature. Cobb's *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* cites *Types of Mankind* and the craniological work of Morton and his peers in order to argue how laws about slavery rise out of natural law. The future Confederate officer and founder of the University of Georgia School of Law states about enslaved blacks "that a state of bondage, so far from doing violence to the law of his nature, develops and perfects it; and that, in that state, he enjoys the greatest amount of happiness, and arrives at the greatest degree of perfection of which his nature is capable. And, consequently, that negro slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not contrary to the law of nature" (51). Fellow lawyer George S. Sawyer's *Southern Institutes* also defends the institution of slavery through the same references to Morton,

Nott, and Agassiz, illustrating the marriage of the sentiments of natural law with the justification of legal formalism. He posits a "philosophy of both the natural and civil law" for organic harmony and order (16). In a curious approach to precedent and legal formalism, Sawyer argues that the place of slavery in the Constitution and the existence of laws about slavery in itself serve to prove "that the negro race, by universal consent of the civilized, are considered a separate and distinct race of beings, suited only to their own peculiar state and condition" (201). By this circular logic,

> Inferiority is the position in which nature has placed them; and so long as they are in the same community with the whites, laws and institutions necessarily have been, and must be adapted to them in that condition. It is not the statute law that creates slavery, but it is rather an adaptation of itself to the precious condition in which it finds the slave (233).

To support slavery comes from right feeling, and even love: first, for the Union, for he opens stating, "It is the duty of every friend of the Union as well as of every true lover of his country, to cast his mite of oil upon the troubled waters," but most importantly, for the slave, "If there is one spake of true philanthropy, if there is one sincere emotion of friendship and kind regard for the welfare of the slave, known to the Anglo-Saxon race, that exists in its greatest purity and most unalloyed state in the benevolent heart of the Southern master" (iv; 224). After relating an anecdote about the tender care given to a dying old slave by his owner, he compares this "kindred sentiment" to feelings toward "some faithful old dog or horse, that has long since passed his days of usefulness" (226). In contrast to the love of the enslavers, the hypocritical North has an "entire want of social sympathy," only having "cold, distant, and repulsive feeling for the negro race in the free States" (230). References to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* abound: after recounting the death of a free black family by cholera in the North, he asks rhetorically, "But

where was Senator Bird, Honest Old John Van Trompe, Simeon Halliday, Phineas Fletcher, Giddings, and Senator Chase?" (229). Apparently the abolitionists are too busy "transporting Eliza and her little Harry, by underground railroad, to Canada" (229).

Captain Amasa Delano, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, however, is from the land of the abolitionists so scorned by Sawyer and Cobb. Melville is attuned to Delano's hypocrisy as a Northerner who both fondly reminisces about how in Massachusetts he took "rare satisfaction in sitting in his door, watching some free man of color at his work or play," while earlier having asked to buy Babo for fifty doubloons (213). Delano complicates any moral righteousness the North might have, reflecting its complicity with slavery's institutions. A year prior to the first issue of *Benito Cereno*, Boston minister Nehemiah Adams published *A South-Side View of Slavery,* a defense of slavery by a Northerner that would go through multiple editions. He claims to write "as a lover and friend of the colored race," structuring the book on his own unfolding affective experience of staying in the South as if asked by someone "How am I to feel and act?" (8, 9). Adams continually emphasizes how slavery inspires sympathy in the enslaver, who "love them greatly and feel an intense desire to protest them" (43). In fact, "Southern hearts and consciences, I felt reassured, were no more insensible than mine. The system had not steeled the feelings of these gentlemen" (69). As a result, "good and kind treatment of the slaves is the common law" (36). Adams devotes an entire chapter to critiquing the falseness of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* going so far as to accuse Stowe of racism in her portrayal of Topsy: "I was angry with myself to find how I had suffered poor Topsy to form my notions of childhood and youth among the slaves" (161). Ironically, *South-Side* was published by Ticknor and Fields, the same company that would later reissue *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1862. Delano embodies the sentimental hypocrisy of Northerners like real-life fellow Massachusetts citizen Nehemiah Adams.

The novella demonstrates this same lack of paradox between the everyday legality of the institution of slavery and its sentimentalization. Upon the first sighting of the *San Dominick*, the ship is said to be "a Spanish merchantman of the first class, carrying negro slaves, among other valuable freight," the description neatly categorizing the Africans as animate commodities (163). When Delano tries to rationalize the apparent unruly state of the ship's passengers, he observes that like "a transatlantic emigrant ship, among whose multitude of living freight are some individuals, doubtless, as little troublesome as crates and bales" while others are more recalcitrant (172). Delano can recognize Babo as such a piece of "living freight" according to the system where black bodies are property even while he praises him wholeheartedly, telling Cereno, "I envy you such a friend; slave I cannot call him" (176). Thus Adams can declare without a hint of irony that selling human beings is "not a reckless, unfeeling thing," and scorn the phrase "chattel slavery," complaining "it is obvious that this unfeeling law term has no counterpart in [Southern] minds, nor in the feelings of the community in general" (72, 73). Likewise, Sawyer speaks in echoes of Melville's "crates and bales" comparison: "The idea of a person becoming property, a mere chattel or thing, as a brute, a bale of merchandize and the like, subject to be bought and sold, is but a fiction of law, for mere form of convenience, that has no counterpart in reality" (312). The body of the slave is "a sacred trust placed in the master's hands by law for their mutual good" (313). As the novella indicates, it is precisely through the dehumanization of slavery that people such as Adams, Sawyer, and Cobb can view black people with sympathy and even affection.

For a slave to escape became not just a matter of loss of property for the owner, but a personal offense and a threat to the entire natural order validated by race science and slave laws. Once Delano realizes Babo's masquerade, there is no question that the Americans will help the

Spanish to quell the revolt that threatens them on an existential level. While the rebels are still framed in the racialized language of animals, compared to "cawing crows escaped from the hand of the fowler," and their "red tongues lolled, wolf-life from their black mouths" while by way of contrast for the similar facial description "the pale sailors' teeth were set," a new term inflected by the legal frame of thinking emerges (234, 237). The *San Dominick* becomes the "fugitive ship," while the Africans are parsed as "the fugitives" (234, 235). This framing of the revolt in the terms of fugitivity, with even the once-slave ship now turned traitor to its original cause, speaks to the compulsion to remand escaped slaves exemplified by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. As part of the Compromise of 1850, an attempt to ameliorate growing antebellum tensions, the Fugitive Slave Act was signed into law by President Millard Fillmore on September 18th and was passed with a House vote of 109 to 76 (Campbell 23). The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 drew its validation from Article 4 Section 2 Clause 3 of the Constitution, which gave enslavers the right to pursue escaped slaves, and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which specified the surrender and rendition of fugitive slaves (Campbell 5, 8). The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 expanded and made more efficient the previous laws: the law was to be executed by commissioners appointed by the United States Circuit Courts; moreover, US marshals were tasked with aiding the commissioners and could be fined one thousand dollars if the fugitives were to escape in their care while commissioners were incentivized to remand fugitives to owners since they would earn $10 if they did, and only $5 if they did not (Campbell 24). As Stephen Middleton puts it, "Federal marshals were thereby made into de facto slave catchers, strategically stationed across the North to act on behalf of slave owners in hunting down runaways" (202). Owners were allowed to pursue their fugitive slaves either with a warrant or to even recapture them without due process (Campbell 24); moreover, the marshals and their deputies are authorized "to

summon and to call to aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the county" in order to aid with the recapture of fugitives, and "all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required" (Sec. 5). Both neutrality and resistance are criminalized, for Section 7 thoroughly addresses the possibility of any action in aid of a fugitive slave or to the hindrance of slave catchers, condemning such individuals to a fine of up to a thousand dollars and imprisonment up to 6 months (Sec. 7). Thus, recapture was nationalized as a social duty to maintain peace and cohesion in the Union and, symbolically, in the state of affairs presented as the natural order by the slave laws. Delano does not hesitate in his responsibility to Benito Cereno to recapture people as living property; he even incentivizes his own sailors on this mission as potential commissioners with both money and the economic value of the Africans as freight: the ship "and her cargo, including some gold and silver, were worth more than a thousand doubloons. Take her, and no small part should be theirs" (235).

Reading the shadow of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 in *Benito Cereno* does not just further ironize Melville's exploration of the racist complicity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s sentimentality, but his own uncomfortable proximity with the pervasiveness of what Thomas Brook calls, in his discussion of Melville and the law, "a way of thinking shared by many people in power during the antebellum period" (117). With his decision to refuse a writ of *habeas corpus* to Thomas Sims in Boston after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Melville's father-in-law Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw has the dubious distinction of being the quintessential example of the purportedly antislavery Northern judge who upholds the institution of slavery. The links between Melville and Shaw were both familial and financial: Shaw was friends with Melville's father since 1820 and was engaged to Melville's aunt before her untimely death;

Herman married Shaw's daughter Elizabeth in 1847; Shaw gave Melville loans and financial advice for travel as well as a New York residence in 1847 and a farm in Arrowhead in 1850; Melville borrowed books through Shaw's library membership at the Boston Athenaeum; Shaw helped Melville find work and supplied introductions abroad in 1849 (Weiner 12). Critics like Steven Winter read Melville's writings like *Billy Budd* as an indictment of his father-in-law's profession: according to Winter, Melville "well understood what kind of man his father-in-law, the revered judge, really was. He was an exceedingly ugly man" (2474). Cover, too, reads Shaw as *Billy Budd*'s Captain Vere, but perhaps overstates Shaw's abolitionist leanings when talking about his upholding of the Fugitive Slave Law: "The effort cost Shaw untold personal agony," in this "horrible conflict between duty and conscience" (5). By way of contrast, Leonard W. Levy claims, "there is nothing in the cast of the man's mind, temperament, or associations suggesting that his judicial obligation to enforce Congressional law necessarily conflicted with his personal opinions" (91). Nonetheless, whatever reservations the writer himself had about his generous father-in-law, the dedication of Melville's first novel *Typee* reads: "To Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, this little work is affectionately[7] inscribed by the author" (xli).

Shaw's moderate anti-slavery writings[8] demonstrate the contemporary sentimental negotiation of the right kind of feelings for the right kind of people. I look to two of Shaw's public writings cited by constitutional historian Leonard W. Levy as the primary examples of Shaw's antislavery thought, emphasizing moderation, national security, and gradualism (59). In his June 11th 1811 address to the powerful Humane Society of Massachusetts, a body of

[7] The English edition has "affectionately" while the American Revised edition has "gratefully" (Bryant 275).
[8] Thanks to American Studies for the research grant that allowed me to read the Lemuel Shaw papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

distinguished doctors, lawyers and ministers founded in 1791, Shaw praises their philanthropic efforts that are "interwoven with the best and strongest feelings of [their] hearts" (5). He admires their "proudest triumphs to science," but the topic of his speech are "the moral views, to the benign influences on the heart" (6). These doctors, lawyers and ministers are drawn together through a shared mission of sympathy:

> How beneficial an exercise of the heart, to cherish and invigorate that powerful principle of universal sympathy, which, originating in the tenderest affections of domestic life, embraces at length in the arms of its charity, every individual of the human race? (7)

This "moral excellence" raises the civilized man "in the scale of being, little lower than the angels" as opposed to "in the dust with the brutes" (9). Shaw turns to the abolition of the slave trade in Britain as his first example of the moral development of mankind, railing against "the power of interest, of prejudice, of corruption, to darken the mind, and paralize [sic] the feelings, of an enlightened, liberal, and benevolent community," but now "better principles have been diffused, and better feelings impressed" (11). He avoids discussing the issue of slavery and abolition in the United States at all; in fact, the "righteous cause of the injured African" ends up reflecting "infinite honor, not only to its advocates but to human nature" with no mention of the consequences for those enslaved (11). Shaw asserts that the names of Wilberforce and Clarkson will be "remembered and repeated, in the peaceful villages of Africa, until her native sons shall learn to emulate the virtues, whilst they aspire to the attainments of such illustrious men" (12). Shaw mingles the language of universal sympathy with the familiar paternalistic hierarchies of race and civilization; there was a distinct limit to this extension of charity, for abolition was not a cause supported by the Humane Society.

In his 1820 "Slavery and the Missouri Question" for *The North-American Review* Shaw claims to deplore the American slave trade, but complains that critiques of the domestic institution by outsiders "wound our feelings" (138). They need to recognize that "Slavery, though a great and acknowledged evil, must be regarded, to a certain extent, as a necessary one, too deeply interwoven in the texture of society to be wholly or speedily eradicated" (138). According to Shaw, there is a correct emotional stance for approaching the topic:

> It should be approached with great calmness and good temper, with great firmness of purpose, with pure, enlightened, and benevolent feelings; but at the same time with that sober and discriminating benevolence, which regards not merely absolute right, but attainable good, and which in the eager pursuit of a desirable end, will not blindly overlook the only practicable means of arriving at it (138).

These are purer, higher emotions appropriate to legal professionals, akin to those expressed by Samuel Warren's later *Moral, Social, and Professional Duties of Attorneys and Solicitors*. Despite calling the Atlantic slave trade a "continued series of crimes," with his refined and superior feelings he demurs on the matter of domestic slavery as different and subject to states' rights (141). As for race relations for the free blacks, he states that the separation of the races due to policy and circumstances as well as "impassable barriers, by mutual and long cherished feelings of contempt, detestation, and revenge" (158). In fact, Shaw's eventual 1849 decision in *Roberts v. The City of Boston* would be cited as precedent in the infamous "separate but equal" *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Thomas 123). For an example of Northern racism combining sentimentalism and hypocrisy, Melville had no further to look for a model for Amasa Delano than a man such as his father-in-law.

Legal formalism's illusion of self-contained inevitability washes Shaw's hands of personal culpability in his decision to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, thereby validating the sentimental rhetoric used to buttress racist arguments, legal and scientific, by transforming its vision of the natural order into objective reality. Likewise, the legal deposition in *Benito Cereno* that purports to give the "true history of the San Dominick's voyage" serves to retroactively authenticate the foundation of Delano's belief in "good nature" in the light that maintains racial hierarchy despite Babo's successful deception: the legal documents are "the key to fit into the lock of the complications which precede it" (238, 255). The deposition takes over the majority of the end of the narrative, with Melville reproducing the dry style of the excerpts in the original Delano's memoir with its performance of objectivity. The document presents Don Benito's account of the story; Yellin remarks, "Its archaic language and rigid conventions are appropriate both to the aristocratic character of the character and to the substance of his statement" (222). It recounts the slave revolt from the white perspective, revealing Babo's agency and leadership in the mutiny only in order to vilify both him and his people; enslaver Alexandro Aranda's conversion into the substitute figurehead of the ship becomes evidence of the evil of the black rebels' attempt to subvert slavery's naturalized moral hierarchy. The past in the form of legal precedent has a curious function in the novella: Jeannine DeLombard comments that "In a reversal of its usual function in law, the past threatened to deauthorize such civil agency by exposing the fugitive's illegitimate legal personhood" (35). While DeLombard suggests the instability of legal authority in the novella, Dennis Pahl comments on how the deposition instead reifies that authority. For Pahl the documents include "not merely the hard facts of the case but also a certain moralization of those facts: for it may well be in the nature of all history or historical narrative, to function exactly in this fashion" (172). Even though Delano's perception

of the *San Dominick* was wrong, his authority remains, much as the deposition "epitomizes the entire history in the way it tries to totalize events while at the same time revealing its own particular violences" (Pahl 180). According to Weiner, these documents "supply the official grounds for the preconceive verdict, thereby reflecting mid-nineteenth-century society which used the law to reinforce the already established fact of slavery" (22). As Pahl puts it, with the legal documents Delano can return to "the 'normal' order of the world, where masters and slaves are well defined" (180).

The past of the *San Dominick* codified by the deposition, I suggest, brings us back to the nostalgia captured by race science, now sanitized and legalized as legal precedent for the state of the status quo. Here, the law works in tandem with science as twin authorities: after all, Cereno's account opens with the certification of the royal notary "as much as is requisite in law," and closes with the authenticating signature not of the Spanish captain, but of Doctor Rozas, who has Benito Cereno under his care at the Hospital de Sacerdotes (239, 255). The revolt only verifies the proslavery claim that blacks need the benefit of white guidance through enslavement; for a black person to be free and, moreover, dominant over whites, is to pervert the natural order as it should be. Delano's perception of Babo as villain is not disconnected from Delano's perception of Babo as loyal slave; as Frederickson remarks about the contribution of race science to slavery as socializing institution,

> The notion that bestial savagery constituted the basic Negro character and that the loyal 'Sambo' figure was a social product of slavery served to channel genuine fears and anxieties by suggesting a program of preventive action, while at the same time legitimizing a condition 'affection' for the Negro. As a slave he was lovable, but as a freedman he would be a monster" (54-55).

While in the original text the enslaver Aranda is thrown overboard by the very people he tried to own as property, Melville's story takes a different approach: "but the Negro Babo stopped them, bidding the murder be completed on the deck before him, which was done, when by his orders, the body was carried below, forward" (244). Cereno begs to know the fate of the body but remains ignorant until the fourth day, when "the Negro Babo showed him a skeleton, which has been substituted for the ship's proper figurehead" of Christopher Columbus (245). Sundquist calls this display "the entire story of New World history told from the European American point of view – that is stripped down to the rudiments of its own carnage: the master becomes the sacrificial emblem of his own vicious system of power" (170). The fictive Babo's ingenious revision of the history of the "New World" challenges the order of white supremacy, but in doing so, this subversive parody, as portrayed the legal deposition used to sentence Babo to death, serves to confirm that to be free and black disrupts the basis of Western civilization. In this framing, the treatment of Aranda's bones becomes a twisted version of race science's relationship to visual signification and racial identification: with each member of the crew, starting with Cereno, Babo takes them to the remains and asks "whose skeleton that was, and whether, from its whiteness, he should think it a white's," threatening that unless the Spaniards help the Africans, they "shall in spirit, as now in body, follow [their] leader" (245). In response, "each Spaniard covered his face," a gesture of racial physiognomic recognition (245). With the subsequent battle in the main part of the narrative, Don Alexandro Aranda's skeleton becomes a symbol for rallying the Spanish and Americans alike, "beckoning the whites to avenge it" (237); in responding to the bones they make the mistake that Dana Luciano names, "To read the skeleton as simply allegorizing the human condition, then, risks producing an ethical

interpretation of the narrative at the expense of a historical one, sacrificing materiality for universality" (206). Their victory proves that the natural order was duly maintained.

Melville has Delano close the novella, affirming the character's sense of personal goodness and the goodness of nature. By returning to Amasa Delano, the story of the *San Dominick* and its passengers becomes neatly controlled, now made linear and understandable:

> Hitherto the nature of his narrative, besides rendering the intricacies in the beginning unavoidable, has more or less required that many things, instead of being set down in the order of occurrence, should be retrospectively, or irregularly given; this last is the case with the following passages which will conclude the account (255).

Like the order of the story, Delano's sense of order is also restored. Delano and Cereno are united as friends by the incident in which they, as fellow white men, faced the same black antagonist. By way of contrast, the original Delano's account portrays the Spanish captain as ungrateful: the actual legal proceedings are about the Spanish refusal to pay for services rendered by the Americans. Along with proper payment, the real-life Delano also receives a gold medal and records in his *Narrative* that he intervened in the affairs of the *Tryal* "from pure motives of humanity" (352). Melville's Delano engages in similar delusions of sympathy when he speaks with Cereno in "fraternal unreserved in singular contrast with former withdrawments" (55). When Don Benito lauds him for his bravery, Captain Delano replies,

> "Yes, all is owing to Providence, I know; but the temper of my mind that morning was more than commonly pleasant, while the sight of so much suffering, more apparent than real, added to my good-nature, compassion, and charity, happily interweaving the three" (256).

Self-satisfied Delano willingly dubs himself a philanthropist to his fellow man. He has not given up on his sentimental frame of mind, but finds another way to justify his perspective on the world as truth: "Besides, those feelings I spoke of enabled me to get the better of momentary distrust, at times when acuteness might have cost me my life, without saving another's" (57). Although his perceptions of the *San Dominick* were false, informed by race science and racist laws while naturalized by sentimentality, this is no epistemological break for him: he embraces his ignorance, for justice according to the law of nature has been served. Until the last, the novella ironizes Delano's insistence on his own innocence and goodness.

Babo's beheading functions as the abjected racial reversal of Aranda's death: the lawful execution versus the obscene murder. While both remains are publicly displayed in order to terrorize their respective racial communities with the consequences of following their leader, one can compare the divergences between white and racialized bodies in their post-mortem treatment and attendant visual signification: Babo's "body was burned to ashes" leaving only his head, while Aranda's intact "recovered bones" rest in peace (258). Placing Babo's head on a pole, "that hive of subtlety," in part reflects the phrenological fetishization of the head as the material object of visual analysis; as Delano emphasizes, the African's "brain, not body, had schemed and led the revolt" (258). Babo's severed head returns the reader to the multivalent violence of race science; one can trace the shift from living face to mute head to eventual skull specimen. Ann Fabian points out the contemporaneous correlation between Nat Turner's rebellion, during which "slaveholders executed suspected plotters and stuck their heads on stakes" as warnings, and Morton's skull collection for *Crania Americana*, which included "heads of African tribal leaders who led a bloody resistance to settlement on their lands by former American slaves" plucked from their stakes in Liberia for scientific research (Fabian 4). The authoritative science that

informs Delano's gaze and confirms his racial prejudices is based on empirical data wrested from exhumed bodies and a product of national and colonial projects; among Morton's careful description of each skull's origins, one "remarkably characteristic Indian head" belonged to a Seminole warrior killed during the Second Seminole War that was still ongoing during and after the publication of *Crania Americana* (166). Like legal formalism to Shaw's decision to remand Thomas Sims to slavery, the purported objectivity of science attempts to sanitize the means of its own production and its resulting effects. Melville's *Benito Cereno* returns context to the effects of race science on the American way of looking, reminding us that representative violence is inevitably linked to other forms of brutality.

Against abolitionist arguments for feeling as a weapon against unfeeling science and law, I argue that reading Melville's *Benito Cereno* reveals to us that both disciplines were a part of the nineteenth-century culture of sentiment. The ironic narrative focalization on Delano illustrates how the American's racism is justified by contemporary science and law but naturalized by love, not hate – this uncomfortable complicity haunts sentimentality's politics in the 19th century. What if right feeling does not lead to right politics? In real life it was Mure, Babo's son, who survives the battle and is executed, along with four others, for acting "as captain and commander of them" (341). Melville erases, too, the enslaved women and children forced to be present at the execution. The weight of representation literally rests on Babo's head alone; as a man who fought to escape the violence of being rendered property, in death his remains are held up as a legal example that may also eventually find use as a scientific example, trapped in the self-serving tautologies of righteous feeling. Although silenced, his head's accusing gaze "met, unabashed, the gazes of the whites" (258), glaring up towards the vaults where slave-owning Aranda's body rests, as a reminder of this injustice.

Chapter 2:
Feeling Otherwise: Martin Delany, Indigeneity, and the Possibility of a New World Order

In a famous argument between Martin R. Delany and Frederick Douglass over Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the role of white sympathy, Delany condemns the dubious support of white allies. In his April 18th 1853 letter, Delany, considered the father of Black nationalism, finishes his list of critiques of white abolitionists like Stowe with a curious anecdote:

> There is an old American story about an Indian and a white man, hunting game together; when they shot wild turkeys and buzzards, agreeing to divide, taking bird about; the white huntsman being the *teller*. In counting, the white man would say, alternately taking up either bird, "turkey for *me*, and buzzard for *you* – buzzard for *you*, and turkey for *me*." He growing tired of that method of counting the game, soon accosted his friend: "Uh! how's dis? All *buzzard* for me; but you never say, *turkey* for me, once." I feel somewhat as this Indian did; I am growing weary of receiving the *buzzard* as our share, while our tellers get all the *turkeys.* That "is not the way to 'tell' it" to me (2).

Delany identifies himself and, by extension, the lot of African Americans, with the frustrations of the Indian: hunting game becomes an analogy for the problems of American nation-building where cooperative ventures with white friends not-so-mysteriously still end up reproducing structural inequality. This is Delany's only turn to narrative as an argumentative strategy in the series of epistolary exchanges with Douglass that were published over a few months in the *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. He rejects what the white "teller" has to say, implying that he will be the one to "tell it" like "it" should be told; we can see this moment as a gesture toward Delany's later turn to fiction in his first and only novel *Blake; or, the Huts of America*, his response to how Stowe "tells" the story of African American experience and white sympathy in

Uncle Tom's Cabin. What I want to highlight is the role of Delany's nameless rhetorical Indian in this anecdote: he functions to legitimize Delany's complaint as a foundational "old American story" and acts as the voice of critique. Histories of racialized oppression speak to each other, but are not equivalent: by saying "I feel somewhat as this Indian did," Delany indicates a mode of cross-racial sympathy between African Americans and Native Americans that presents an alternative narrative to the story told by white America.

The importance of feeling to Martin Delany's political enterprise has been examined by Glenn Hendler as part of his project on public sentiments, while the role of indigeneity has received little substantive attention. Hendler views *Blake* and Delany's other writings in conjunction with the Negro Convention movement among free blacks as part of the deliberate exercise of sympathetic feeling in the public sphere he calls "public sentiments." According to Hendler, Delany's concept of citizenship "brings together nationalist scientific notions of race, population, and political citizenship with a more affectively based notion of subjectivity" (61). He regards Delany's use of the language of emotion not as sentimental, but as an affective rearticulation of the terms of civility that constitutes the novel's "alternative civil society or counterpublic" (79). The chapter dedicated to Blake's visit to the Choctaw Nation offers an opportunity for "a comparison of Native American and African forms of resistance to European imperialism" but does not play a part in what Hendler sees as the greater affective vision of the novel (73). This episode and other references to Indigenous peoples tend to be glossed in passing as a comparative gesture to shared black and Indigenous experiences of violence; as Timothy Powell puts it in his postcolonial reading, "What 'holds… together' blacks and Indians in Delany's vision is a shared sense of internal colonization externally imposed on them by the dominant white culture" (358). In his extensive study of Delany's life and writings, Robert

Levine offers the most pointed analysis, warning that the black nationalist's transnational vision is less coalitional than imperialist: "his project threatens to duplicate the European 'founding' of America, with all that it portended for natives and other subjugated groups" (67). By analyzing the roles of feeling and indigeneity together, I hope to build on Sharon Holland's and Tiya Miles's work on black-Indigenous intersections, and thereby trace how Delany strategically engages and appropriates Indigenous allies and discourses as part of his political enterprise and his turn to fiction.

In this chapter I connect the seemingly offhand example of the disgruntled Indian to the underexamined role of indigeneity throughout the writings of Martin Delany, with a focus on *Blake; or, The Huts of America*. *Blake* was partly serialized in the *Anglo-African Magazine* in 1859 and then published in its totality in the *Weekly Anglo-African* from 1861 to 1862. In contrast to much of African American writing at the time, Delany's novel imagines nothing less ambitious and fearsome than the makings of a black uprising in the Americas; as Eric Sundquist puts it in relation to Herman Melville's slave revolt novella *Benito Cereno*, Delany "wrote, that is to say, from Babo's point of view" (189). His protagonist Henry Holland, eventually revealed to be the titular Blake, is roused into action against the institution of slavery when his wife and child are sold; his journey takes him across the United States, Canada, West Africa, and Cuba, tracing the global tentacles of the slave trade and subverting them by establishing a transnational network of black revolutionaries. With its final chapters no longer extant, *Blake*'s revolt remains suspended with its potential untested, but also unrestrained. Like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Blake* takes the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 as the rallying moment of American legal injustice against African Americans; however, while for Stowe sympathy can act as a corrective to flawed institutions, for Delany the law is symptomatic of the irredeemable disconnect between the world

as it is and how it should be, with the inefficacy of white sympathy as only another symptom of this failure. Instead, the work of *Blake* is about envisioning the possibility of a new world order through the construction of new modes of sympathetic feeling that diverge from the constraints of white, domestic sentimentality. The centrality of Delany's vision of Pan-African solidarity, however, tends to obscure its connections to cross-racial coalition. What has been overlooked is that the revolution in the unfinished *Blake* seeks to re-envision the world in part through coalition with Indigenous peoples and to imagine what that solidarity might look like. With a focus on black-Indigenous connections, this chapter proposes to take seriously that feeling otherwise enables the conditions for imagining otherwise. In Delany's project of radical world-building, cross-racial sympathy becomes a model for a new science predicated upon the complex relationships between peoples as part of a greater ecology of interrelated animate and inanimate beings, thereby creating an alternative natural order to remedy an unjust world.

I. "That Old American Story"

Uncle Tom's Cabin is, declares Frederick Douglass to the readers of his newspaper *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, "the *master book* of the nineteenth century" (2). Douglass praises Harriet Beecher Stowe's sentimental novel:

> The word of Mrs. Stowe is addressed to the soul of universal humanity. That word, bounded by no national lines, despises the limits of Sectarian sympathy, and thrills the universal heart. *God bless her for that word!* The slave in his chains shall hear it gladly, and the slave-holder shall hear it; both shall rejoice in it, and by its light and love learn lessons of liberty and brotherhood (2)

According to Douglass, Stowe's novel successfully articulates and puts into effect universal sympathy. Through her writing, he avers, she "had unfolded the secrets of the slave's lacerated heart" (2). The March 1853 article, "A Day and a Night in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,'" glowingly recounts his visit to Stowe, who had invited him to her house for a discussion about the project of black elevation. "A Day and a Night" does not elaborate what these plans might be, but assures the reader that they will soon be revealed; and yet, for an ostensible dialogue about the future of black America, the majority of the essay dwells on Stowe's life and domicile as the epitome of white sentimental domesticity: her granite New England house is dubbed "the Cabin," she is both "exalted genius" and "a thoughtful, industrious manager of household affairs," with a picture-perfect family, including a daughter Douglass calls "a dear little '*Eva*'" (2). In this strategic gesture, Douglass yokes together the cause of black elevation with what Lauren Berlant calls the hidden "white universalist paternalism, sometimes dressed as maternalism" of sentimentality (6). Yet his public endorsement of Stowe's novel and its troubling sentimental politics did not go without criticism. In response to the publication of this essay, Martin Delany would send a scathing letter to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* that lambasted *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the politics it represents, thereby initiating a heated exchange between the two rival black leaders over the role of white allies and the value of white sympathy that would continue over the next few months in the pages of the newspaper.

I look to this iconic confrontation between Douglass and Delany as the starting point for teasing out the racial and sexual politics of sentimentality and sympathy that went into the writing of *Blake*. Citing Douglass's piece and another anonymous article published that same month which Delany saw as deferring to Stowe's authority, Delany's letter makes clear his view of their approach:

> Now I simply wish to say, that we have always fallen into great errors in efforts of this kind, going to others than the *intelligent* and *experienced* among *ourselves*; and in all due respect and difference [sic] to Mrs. Stowe, I beg to leave to say, that *she knows nothing about us*, 'the Free Colored people of the United States,' neither does any other white person – and, consequently, can contrive no successful scheme for our elevation; it must be done by ourselves (2).

Who might be "the intelligent and experienced" in the African American community to contrive a successful scheme for elevation and yet who has been otherwise ignored by his or her people? The unwritten suggestion is Delany himself. His political tract, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigrations, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, was published in 1852, the same year as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but received a fraction of the attention, accolades, and sales garnered by Stowe's novel; *Condition*, unlike *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, did not receive a review in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Delany's letter was published in the *Paper* alongside Douglass's defense of Stowe as a genuine contributor to the cause of black elevation that includes the following dig:

> When Brother Delany will submit any plan for benefitting the colored people, or will candidly criticise any plan already submitted, he will be heard with pleasure. But we expect no plan from him. He has written a book – and we may say that it is, in many respects, an excellent book – on the condition, character, and destiny of the colored people; but it leaves us just where it finds us, without chart or compass, and in more doubt perplexity than before we read it (2).

Douglass's pointed remark acts as a reminder of his newspaper's slighting of Delany's book and, moreover, suggests the superiority of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* over Delany's *Condition*. In a

racialized clash of literary genres, a sentimental novel that invokes white sympathy trumps the black political tract.

Delany critiques Stowe as the representative of the failures of racist white abolitionists, primarily drawing on literal readings of her work as evidence. In an April 15th letter entitled "Uncle Tom," he accuses Stowe of profiteering from the real experiences of the enslaved. According to Delany, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* draws upon slave narratives – including Douglass's own – which, when "clothed in Mrs. Stowe's own language" become respectably transmuted into the popular and acclaimed novel, with Stowe reaping the monetary reward (3). Perhaps a bit farcically, he cites Stowe's own *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* to bring up her inspiration for the titular Tom, Reverend Josiah Henson, and proposes that Stowe's publishers Messrs. Jewett & Co. should pay Henson "a portion of the profits," much as they have for Stowe, because they "have realized so great an amount of money from the sale of work founded upon this good old man, whose *living testimony* has to be brought to sustain this great book" (3). The authenticity that Henson brings to the narrative "will create the valuation of Mrs. Stowe's work very much in England, as he is well known, and highly respected there," but Delany accuses Stowe of finishing "his earthly career in New Orleans," giving the impression that Henson is deceased, but in actuality "Father Hanson *is still a slave* by the laws of the United States – a fugitive slave in Canada" (3). In the following April 18th letter "Mrs. Stowe's Position," he returns to flesh out his original assertion about Stowe's ignorance, admitting it was "ironical" but maintaining that white people "know nothing, comparatively, about us" and giving a list of grievances (3). He turns to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as evidence of the limits of her sympathies: she is a colonizationist, "having so avowed, or at least subscribed to, and recommended their principles in her great work of Uncle Tom"; the novel also illustrates her scorn for independent Haiti while elevating the colony

of Liberia; and finally, her single-minded focus on colonization to Liberia as the answer to black elevation results in the racist dismissal of the actual desires of black people, as in Delany's example where "she was very indifferent towards" one black man who spoke of his preference to stay in the United States, if not the West Indies or South America (3). Her righteous surety in knowing what is best for the black people of America ripples outward, Delany argues, into tangible negative effects, using as an example her proposal for an institution for black youth taught by white instructors: this is symptomatic of issues of self-respect and self-government in the black community, which can lead to "*preferences for color*, [which] have been engendered *from the whites*," as well as institutionalized material inequality, with yet another instance of "the pecuniary advantages arising from this position [going] into the pockets of white men and women, thereby depriving colored persons, so far, of this livelihood" (3).

These failures are indicative of what Delany sees as the unequal dynamic between white sympathizers and the black sufferers they pity, but he does not reject the use of sympathy or sentimentalism as affective strategies for social change; instead, he is looking to create new forms suitable for people of color. While he admits that Stowe "has ably, eloquently and pathetically portrayed some of the sufferings of the slave," he cites the hypocrisy in her support for "the little dependent colonization settlement of Liberia" while looking down on Haiti, "the only truly free and independent civilized black nation as such, or colored if you please, on the face of the earth" (3). Delany states,

> I must be permitted to draw my own conclusions, when I say that I can see no other cause for this secular discrepancy in Mrs. Stowe's interest in the colored race, than that one is independent of, and the other subservient to, white men's power (3).

Delany demolishes the universal sympathy that Douglass lauds in Stowe's work by exposing the racialized power dynamics, concluding that Stowe has "no sympathy whatever with the tortured feelings, crushed spirits and outraged homes of the Free Colored people" (3). This critique combined with his rhetoric of self-respect and self-governance draws attention to the need for modes of sympathy centered on blackness and independent of whiteness. Delany is stung by an earlier accusation by Douglass that he is divisive, responding by framing his critiques with an emotional plea:

> believe me when I tell you, that I speak it as a son, a brother, a husband and a father; I speak it from the consciousness of oppressed humanity, outraged manhood, of a degraded husband and disabled father; I speak it from the recesses of a wounded bleeding heart – in the name of my wife and children, who look to me for protection, as the joint partner of our humble fireside (3).

With the cliché of "a wounded bleeding heart," Delany presents his own take on Stowe's white domestic sentimentalism, recognizing it as an effective tactic, but modifying into a black equivalent that replaces the feminine domestic with a masculine, or rather patriarchal, ideal.

Despite Toalgabe Ogunleye's argument that Delany was an early womanist in his thought and practice, his questionable treatment of gender has troubled both his contemporaries and present-day critics. I suggest that these difficulties arise in part from reimagining sympathy: in decentering whiteness from his model of sympathy, he has difficulty disentangling Stowe's sentimentalism from its intersection with gender, placing black women in a compromised, if not subordinate, position in Delany's worldview. Anna Julia Cooper, one of the most prominent African American women activists in the latter half of the nineteenth century, singles out Delany as representative of the masculinist bias: "The late Martin R. Delany, who was an unadulterated

black man, used to say when honors of the state fell upon him, that when he entered the council of kings, the black race entered with him," but "no man can represent the race" (30). Cooper, instead offers that "Only the BLACK WOMAN can say 'when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole *Negro race enters with me"*"(31). Paul Gilroy similarly identifies Delany as "the progenitor of black Atlantic patriarchy," which has meant the attendant devaluation of black women (26). While noting that Delany called for black women's education, Robert Levine reveals that in his personal life, Delany foisted all domestic responsibilities onto his wife while he traveled for his career, and in his public intellectual life made gendered "connections between manhood and freedom" (18). This unfortunate thread is one that will recur in his work; in these letters Delany scapegoats the singer Eliza Greenfield, a free black women who comes under the thrall of a racist white man who encourages her in racial self-hatred. Delany's own wife Catherine acts as a buffer between the sentimental potency of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Delany's "outraged manhood": he admits that for all of his attacks on the novel, "I am not competent to judge, not having as yet *read Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *my wife* having *told* me the most I know about it" (3). Levine remarks that, despite this assertion, the exchange with Douglass demonstrates that Delany does have extensive knowledge of Stowe's views as well as the novel itself: "he does know that Stowe places special value on black religiosity and nonviolence, the very traits he had warned blacks against relying on" and makes references to both the plot of the novel, with its end in Liberia, as well as to characters such as George and Eliza (80). Delany's performance of his ignorance, whether real or symbolic, indicates his disdain for Stowe's novel and suggests that his wife is closer to, if not more vulnerable, to possible corruption and complicity with whiteness.

These epistolary discussions between Delany and Douglass about black-white race relations are viewed as representative of what Richard Yarborough calls "an early manifestation of a disagreement among Afro-American thinkers over tactics – both literary and political – that still persists" (71-72). Critics, however, have not remarked upon Delany's use of "the old American story about the Indian and the white man," and yet this anecdote stands out as a pivotal turn in this argument and in his writing on the whole. In suggesting a connection between African Americans and Native Americans, Delany is not original; he contributes unknowingly to the precedent set by the late eighteenth-century John Marrant. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black* is a variation on the conventions of the conversion narrative: Marrant is adopted into the Cherokee nation, but he converts some of them to Christianity. Marrant as the titular "Black" and Marrant as adopted Cherokee blurs conventional Western categories of identification and culminates in the confusion that occurs when he returns to "civilized" society because he's read as Native, causing white people to flee and his family not to recognize him: "My dress was purely in the Indian stile [sic]; the skins of wild beasts composed my garments, my head was set out in the savage manner, with a long pendant down my back, a sash round my middle without breeches, and a tomahawk by my side" (30). Marrant's intentions behind this comparative move, however, are decidedly different from Delany's: Tiya Miles comments that Marrant "trades on the idea of the idealized Indian to trade up his own position in the dominant racial hierarchy" by drawing upon the image of the noble savage so popular in early American democratic discourse (178). Aspiring to whiteness is Marrant's aim; he closes his narrative by asking for prayers "that the Indian tribes may stretch out their hands to God; that the black nations may be made white in the blood of the Lamb" (39). When he encounters the Creek, the Catawar, and the Housaw, he relates the unity between the

three nations in violently resisting settler colonialism, but comments, "I had not much reason to believe any of these three nations were savingly wrought upon," and returns to the Cherokee whom he does not represent as expressing such rebellious sentiments (29). In contrast, Delany evokes the image of a Native American to express discontent in kind in order to reject whiteness, more aligned with the Creek, the Catawar, and the Housaw than the Cherokee of Marrant's *Narrative.*

Delany's earlier political writings demonstrate his broad historical knowledge of the oppression of Native Americans that informs his portrayal of "the old American story" as well as the comparative racialization of Native Americans and African Americans. His 1852 tract *Condition* begins with a general history of the oppression of minorities: "in all ages, in almost every nation, existed a nation within a nation" defined "by the deprivation of political quality with others" (12). He de-essentializes race and other forms of difference as mere signifiers, noting, "the objects of oppression are the most easily distinguished by any peculiar or general characteristics" (18). The history of the Americas begins with the recognition that "colored people and Indians" were grouped into the same class, with the abuse of Natives providing a template for the later treatment of black people. As Delany acknowledges, "The Indians who in the early settlement of the continent, before an African captive had ever been introduced thereon, were reduced to the most abject slavery," estimating that "two millions and a half having fallen victim to the cruelty of oppression and toil" (20). The prejudice behind this exploitation and the shift from Native to African labour had to do with perceived alienness: "The Indians, who being the most foreign to the sympathies of the Europeans on this continent," were first selected, followed by Africans "consequently being as foreign to the sympathies of the invaders of the continent as the Indians" (22). The phrase "foreign to the sympathies" evokes all forms of alien

difference, but groups them together as ultimately beyond white sympathy. In moments that anticipate the work of scholars like Jack D. Forbes and William Loren Katz on black-Indigenous connections, Delany goes beyond the parallels of comparative racialization to discuss their shared heritages as a starting point for solidarity. He points out the familial connection: "The aborigine of the continent, is more closely allied to us by consanguinity, than to the European" (172); Katz estimates that one third of present-day African Americans have an Indian ancestor, with Forbes stating that "*Native-American-Black African intermixture was very common*" and provided "*the major source of the 'free' population of part-African descent everywhere prior to c.1650*" (3; 189, italics in original). The kinship between Native Americans and African Americans is therefore both symbolic and literal: Delany declares, "we have even greater claims to this continent on that account, and should unite and make common cause in elevation, with our similarly oppressed brother, the Indian" (*Condition* 172-3).

Yet while Delany admits common ground with Native Americans, in an echo of John Marrant, he still subscribes to pernicious falsehoods about Indigenous peoples as a way of elevating Africans in the racial hierarchy. In his history he invokes the myth of the vanishing Indian: "This noble race of Aborigines… They sunk by scores under the heavy weight of oppression, and were fast passing from the shores of time" (57). Despite acknowledging the shared experience of enslavement by Europeans, he claims that when faced by the same adversity, "the Indian sunk, and the African stood" (57). Anticipating criticism, he claims this is not an insult:

> We adduce not these historical extracts to disparage our brother the Indian – far be it: whatever he may think of our race, according to the manner in which he has been instructed to look upon it, by our mutual oppressor the American nation; we admire his,

> for the many deeds of noble daring, for which the short history of his liberty-loving people are replete: we sympathise with them, because our brethren are the successors of their fathers in the degradation of American bondage (62)

Rather than denigrating Indigenous peoples, he claims to be arguing against the idea that racial inferiority was what caused Africans "to be reduced to servitude," suggesting instead that "their superiority, and not inferiority, alone was the cause which first suggested to Europeans the substation of Africans for that of aboriginal or Indian laborers in the mines" (62). His fondness for this comparison was such that he repeats this passage in nearly identical language for his 1854 speech, "Political Destiny of the Colored Race on the American Continent," delivered at the National Emigration Convention of Colored People in Pittsburgh. Delany offers a rereading of colonial American history, but does not go far enough to dispel the misconceptions surrounding Native Americans. His vision of solidarity amongst these various oppressed peoples blurs the line between coalition and a new colonialism: in "Political Destiny" he speculates, "That the continent of America was designed by Providence as a reserved asylum for the various oppressed people of the earth, of all races, to us seems very apparent" (352). The "consanguinity" between blacks and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas leads Delany to assert, "we have even greater claims to this continent on that account" (172). As observed by Levine and Zuck, Delany uses the association between African Americans and Native Americans in order to justify the black connection to the land of the Americas. His language, according to Zuck, mirrors white responses to the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe "as proof of English domination over Powhatan lands" (46). His vision of cross-racial alliance seems to promise revolution, stating that "the West Indians, Central and South Americans, are a noble race of people; generous, sociable, and tractable – just the people with whom we desire to unite"

(*Condition* 354). Yet his frame of progress and success hinges on an American bias, claiming these people "who are susceptible to progress, improvement and reform of every kind […] now desire all the improvements of North America," although "they have no confidence in the whites of the United States" (354). Those in the rest of the Americas apparently "[place] every confidence in the black and colored people of North America" (354), making it apparent who the leaders of this new order should be.

Delany transmutes this knowledge of colonial American history into narrative: in his "old American story of an Indian and a white man," he begins to view Natives as fellow players in his political project of fellow feeling across racial lines rather than long-dead victims, opening up possibilities for coalition between African Americans and Native Americans. This turn in his thinking about Native Americans occurs in this allegory of racial exploitation that also signals the coeval shift to the realm of the figurative away from his earlier literal and material critiques of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This "old American story" is the occasion for critique but also the moment for creation: "That 'is not the way to "tell' it" to me," says Delany, who would engage in his own "telling" a few years later in *Blake*. If, as Douglass alleged in his first response, Delany could not effect the plan for black elevation through his political writings, this story begins to signal his shift to the realm of fiction in order to bring his vision into existence. By writing a novel as he does with *Blake*, he could devise a rebuttal to Stowe's genre-defining juggernaut on its own literary terms. Yet how might turning to a new model of feeling alter not just the racial politics, but perhaps the very principles, the laws and science, of Delany's narrative vision?

II. "I Feel Somewhat As That Indian"

To Delany, the present world is out of balance: like its primary intertext *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, his *Blake; or, The Huts of America* responds to the injustices of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, but unlike Stowe's novel, Delany's "tells" a different story: the inefficacy of white sympathy works alongside the cruel law as signifiers of the deep disconnect between the conditions of racial inequality under white governance and the justice of the natural order. This once-underappreciated novel has received a recent resurgence of critical appreciation for Delany's exploration of the legal, transnational, and economic dimensions of slavery; however, I take as my starting point how *Blake* functions as Delany's rebuttal to Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the cultural discourses about white allies. *Blake*, I argue, is trying to conceptualize a new model of feeling not beholden to white sympathy and sentimentality. Rather than viewing white sympathies as a corrective to the Fugitive Slave Act, *Blake* presents both as a reflection of the failures of the present state of moral law in the United States, a flaw that can be traced to the literal heart of its white population.

In conjunction with scholarly recognition of Delany's knowledge of legal discourses, I identify his specific critique of white sympathy as the remedy for those legal injustices. Rochelle Zuck views his engagement with both British and American legal rhetoric in the novel as part of a shift from African Americans as subjects of the law to "agents of its production": "Many African Americans who did not practice law professionally adopted legal language as a way to combat racist ideologies and practices during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (39, 52). Jeffory Clymer notes that legal references to the Act, as well as the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision and cases like *Lemmon v. People in the New York*, abound as part of Delany's critique of his contemporary legal system. Delany deftly appropriates racist legal rhetoric, with Clymer pointing out, "his most racist characters ventriloquize phrases from Chief Justice Roger B.

Taney's decision" (713). The novel's condemnation of the law may seem straightforward; at one point the narrator bluntly comments, "Law is but a fable, its ministration a farce, and the pillars of justice but as stubble before the approach of these legal invaders" (88). Yet when considered alongside Stowe's treatment of the Fugitive Slave Act, Delany's commentary takes on another aspect. Perhaps one of the most pivotal moments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that affirms the power of white domestic sentimentality is runaway Eliza's appeal to the sympathies of Senator Bird and his wife through the shared experience of losing a child. The Northern senator, who had supported the Fugitive Slave Act despite his wife's pangs of conscience, becomes convinced of the law's cruelty in the face of Eliza's plight and the Bird household illegally aids the runaway. Stowe's narrator proclaims triumphantly at the end of the scene, "We have reason to know, in Kentucky, as in Mississippi, are noble and generous hearts, to whom never was a tale of suffering told in vain!" (98). By way of contrast, *Blake* presents an analogous Northern politician and his wife, Judge Ballard and Mrs. Arabella, who open the novel by affirming their commitment to the maintenance of the institution of slavery. The judge had previously upheld the Act in a fugitive slave case, and his wife assures the slaveholding Franks that she and her husband "seek every opportunity to give the fullest assurance that the judiciary are sound on that question" (5). Later the judge laments "it was the incident of my life to be born in a nonslaveholding state," and affirms the Fugitive Slave Act as "a just construction of the law" (62). In a statement that Crane observes is a reference to Taney's *Dred Scott* decision, the judge affirms "persons of African descent have no rights that white men are bound to respect!" (61; Crane 529). Delany explicitly parodies Stowe's vision of the wife as the voice of sentimental conscience in the household: the judge notes that "my lady is the daughter of a clergyman, brought up amidst the sand of New England," but despite the prime abolitionist pedigree, "I

think I'll not have to go from the present company to prove her a good slaveholder" (61). Instead of Stowe's belief in universal sympathy that can sway all white hearts, including those in Kentucky and Mississippi, Delany shows that the Act is a reflection of heartfelt racism.

The "white gap" Blake identifies between white people's sentiments and their love of money gestures toward the greater rift between the efficacy of those white sentiments and the possibility of social change. Blake tells his companions "money is your passport through that White Gap to freedom" and it will carry them "across the White river to liberty" (84). Indeed, the metaphor is literalized: One white boatman initially refuses to help Blake and his runaway party, but with the strategic exchange of coins, the man claims "I don't go in for this slaveholding 'o people in these Newnited States uv the South, nohow, no I don't" (135). Yet another white ferryman cites the "Nebrasky Complimize Fugintive Slave Act" that makes him "'bliged to fulfill it by ketchin' every fugintive that goes to cross this way, or I mus' pay a thousand dollars," but Blake presents him with coins as his "free papers" and the man is quick to aid them (140). On the other hand, sincerely-held white sympathies turn out to be ineffective. When Blake's wife Maggie is sold, the slaveholder's wife attempts to help: "'You have been kind and faithful to me and the Colonel, and I'll do anything I can for you!' *sympathetically* said Mrs. Franks," but her scheme to have Blake sold to Cuba along with his wife fails (21; emphasis added). Blake learns not to trust well-intentioned white people: when he makes his successful escape from the plantation, Colonel Franks assumes he was helped by a Mrs. Van Winter, but Mrs. Franks assures him that despite "her strange notions that black people have as much freedom as white," the abolitionist woman "heartily *sympathizes* with us" (58; emphasis added). Outpourings of white feeling do not lead to institutional change: even Judge Ballard "[wipes] away the tears" from viewing the spectacle of the whipping of an enslaved child named Reuben,

but the boy dies from the beating while the men retire for brandy and water (68). When Blake is on the slave ship *Vulture*, Captain Paul has an epiphany about the error of his ways: "the human heart manifested its most delicate sympathies" and the slaver decides "he would offend Heaven no longer – he had gone his last voyage, and then would have quit, but could not get from the vessel" (205, 206). Nonetheless, his pangs of conscience do not change the plans to pick up slaves from Africa to sell in Cuba, nor does he stop his crew from throwing sick slaves overboard in the echoes of the Zong massacre nearly a century before, and he plays no role in the revolution. For Delany, white feelings are not one of the master's tools that can dismantle the slavemaster's house.

Instead, returning to his letters, Delany's rejection of the existing order comes from a partial affective identification with Indigeneity. By saying "I feel somewhat as this Indian did," Delany is, on the one hand, alluding to the reigning paradigm of Western sympathy as influentially defined by Adam Smith: "By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some idea of his sensations" (4). On the other hand, however, Delany is also claiming that the way he feels is somewhat as his figurative Indian *felt*, which is to say, he is inspired by what he imagines to be an Indigenous mode of feeling outside of the norm. This ambiguous negotiation between the dominant Western and alternative Indigenous approaches to feeling illustrates the tension between resistance, appropriation, and homage in the novel's representation of cross-racial alliances. I agree with Hendler that Delany's project is about creating a counterpublic through the affective intimacies between rebels, but I suggest that in order to formulate that new discourse of feeling in his novel, he looks to his fictive Indian in order to fantasize an alternative to Western sympathy and

sentimentalism. By placing blackness in tandem with Indigeneity against whiteness, Delany can imagine the possibility for a more just world system.

The novel explores what it might be to "feel somewhat like that Indian" as a means of bringing about change through affective solidarity between peoples of color. In *Condition*, Delany posits there are three realms of "fixed laws of nature": spiritual, moral, and physical laws, and each realm can only be affected by action within its respective realm (38). There is a natural justice in the world: he asserts people have "natural rights, which may, by virtue of unjust laws, be obstructed, but never can be annulled" (49). The mistake of domestic sentimentality espoused by Stowe and so popular among those still enslaved, he claims, is the turn to religion when "there are no people more religious in this Country, than the colored people, and none so poor and miserable as they" (39). To change moral law, one must not pray, but "exercise their sense and feeling of *right* and *justice*, in order to effect it"; while altering "things of earth" one must look to physical law and "go to *work* with muscles, hands, limbs, might, and strength" (39). Reaching out to other oppressed peoples enacts real change that can reverberate outward to bring each strata of the world's laws back into balance with the feeling of justice.

The details of the protagonist's plans for effecting such a total revolution are not revealed, just hinted at, with the loss of the novel's final chapters perpetually suspending its potential at the cusp of narrative realization just after the pan-African meeting of leaders in Cuba. Contrary to Jean Yellin's description of the novel as a "revolutionary handbook outlining the organization of a guerrilla army of black liberationists," Rebecca Biggio argues that the scheme's specifics are not the point: rather, Delany is interested in playing into white supremacy's paranoia about the threat of black community tied to Blake's spreading of black conspiracy nationally and transnationally; according to Biggio, "black community, as it is manifest in

conspiracy, is more abstract and thus more dangerous" (Yellin 199; Biggio 452). I agree that the novel is about building a revolutionary community, but while the centrality of blackness is imperative, this community both includes Indigenous peoples and draws upon Indigenous thinking. The protagonist's travels within and beyond the borders of the United States, Canada, West Africa, and Cuba trace out the territory of a new nation, connecting with their local communities as a way of building and grounding affective legitimacy to land and place. He repeats the same pattern of behaviour at every new place: he bonds with other like-minded people of color, learning their names and struggles, and orients them to the possibility of a new world to come through the expansion of his revolutionary community. Through his actions Blake functions as a catalyst whose movements enact, but also make visible, the transnational web of feeling that redraws the global network of racial injustice, replacing relationships of exploitation with organic responsibilities to one another. When the novel abruptly ends on the eve of the revolt, Blake has brought together leaders that include former American slaves, free black Cubans, and allies from Sudan. He has successfully assembled a multicultural collective that reflects the breadth of his transnational journey: "the free Negros and mixed free people being in unison and sympathy with each other," and "masses of the Negroes, mulattoes and quadroons, Indians, and even Chinamen, could be seen together" (245). In place of the colonial nation-state, Delany imagines a new, more inclusive order that, according to Crane, is based on "a present consensus established in open dialogue by an ethnically diverse group of men and women" (537).

Before he can come to this moment of crossracial solidarity, however, Blake visits the Choctaw Nation in Arkansas and the Dismal Swamp, two places that stand out as two oases of deep resistance in the midst of white supremacist enemy territory; they are rebel *imperio in*

imperium that Blake needs to recruit as allies for the future nation he wants to found. Through these two episodes Delany stages encounters with earlier, alternate models of military, cultural, and epistemological resistance that can be converted into seeds of future rebellion. Ernest John places *Blake* in the African American tradition of what he calls "liberation historiography," "a mode of reading history in a way that respects the authority of the fragmented communities of experience," creating "agency in a self-determined understanding of history" (18). In this vein, it is not insignificant that Blake must meet Native Americans before the maroons of the Dismal Swamp: Delany draws attention to the need for recognition that black revolution against slavery cannot be extricated from the historical precedent set for the Indigenous resistance to settler colonialism. Just as with his citation of the allegory of the "old American tale," he pays homage to Indigenous peoples for creating the conditions of possibility for his revolution. To escape from the unequal dynamic of white sentimentalism as the dominant means of inciting political action and social change, he needs a new affective foundation for the revolutionary community of a better world yet to come, looking to Native histories for alternate templates of relationality.

The first of the two rebel communities Blake makes contact with is the Choctaw Nation near Fort Towson, Arkansas, where Delany delves into the complicated, messy history of African Americans and Native Americans. Unlike the generalized and often figurative Indian of his earlier work, Delany engages in the specifics of the Choctaw and Seminole relationships with African Americans. The older Mr. Culver and his nephew Josephus Braser, both chiefs among the Choctaws, welcome Blake and his mission with open arms; "Make yourself at home, sir" implores Culver, who asks Braser to "attend" to their guest (85). Despite this hospitality, this episode is more than a sharing of anti-imperialist tactics between oppressed peoples as quickly glossed by critics, or, as Zuck characterizes Delany's approach to Native Americans, the creation

of "a fantasy of political collectivity and shared ethnic solidarity," erasing "any cultural differences that exist" (46). Blake responds to this invitation by the Choctaw chiefs with the bold observation, "You are slaveholders, I see, Mr. Culver!" (85). In doing so, he enters a fraught discussion about the historical exploitation of blacks by Native Americans that complicates any utopian dream of a crossracial alliance. The Choctaw are part of what were called the Five "Civilized" Tribes by white European colonists for their adaptation of Western culture; this included the uneven assumption of plantation slavery along with the attendant development of Slave Codes and the use of Western ideas of race, particularly among the Choctaws and Chickasaws (Katz 135). During the period Delany sets this encounter, the Choctaw were settled in Arkansas, having been relocated from Mississippi to Arkansas as part of the Indian Removal Act of 1830; it was this removal to Indian Territory that historian Wyatt Jeltz claims transformed slavery among the Choctaw and Chickasaws into a full institution, taking advantage of enslaved black labour to create and tend plantations (28). Culver responds to Blake by straightforwardly admitting he has about two hundred slaves on two plantations, but also adds they are "not like the white men" in their use of slavery (85). Blake, as anti-slavery crusader, cannot help but retort, "I can't well understand how a man like you can reconcile your principles with the holding of slaves and –" (85). It is here that this frank dialogue is cut off by a white man.

"We have had enough of that!" interrupts a Dr. Donald, who is said to be "a white man, married among the Indians a sister of the old Chief and aunt to the young, for the sake of her wealth and a home" (85, 86). This brief disruption illustrates the white imposition of an agonistic binary in the midst of a painfully complex history – a literal distraction. He is related to the two chiefs through marriage, a reflection of the historical influence that white America norms have had upon the Choctaw. It was through white traders that the slave trade was brought into

Choctaw society, and the treatment of slaves by their Indian owners varied depending on their degree of whiteness: according to Jeltz, "The Choctaws of mixed blood opened up extensive plantations and grew wealthy from the cultivation of cotton with their large numbers of slaves. The full blood Choctaws depended upon their livestock for a livelihood and found slave labor of little value to them" (28). As a healer who does not heal, but instead sows discord, Dr. Donald is also representative of the deep divide between what is right and good in the world and the failure of its corrupt, white institutions: "A physician without talents, he was unable to make a business and unwilling to work" (86). When the younger Braser shouts Donald down and Culver sternly admonishes him to civility, the white doctor claims, "He'll make the Indians slaves just now, then Negroes will have no friends" (86). Ousted from the discussion by the Choctaws, Donald mutters "nigger!" as he leaves (86). His actions reflect the kind of divide-and-conquer tactics that white supremacy fosters between marginalized groups by playing into the fears of blackness; he represents a divisiveness that the two chiefs reject.

Once Donald, the spectre of white influence, is banished, the difficult conversation is able to resume, allowing their common cause, stemming from historical and filial bonds, to emerge from the intersection of Native American sovereignty and African American emancipation. Before that moment of mutual respect and epiphany can arrive, both sides spar with each other over past injustices and stereotypes. Culver contends that there is a major difference in the institution of slavery between white masters and Native American ones:

> "Indian work side by side with black man, eat with him, drink with him, rest with him and both lay down in shade together; white man won't even let you talk! In our Nation Indian and black all marry together. Indian like black man very much, ony [sic] he don't fight 'nought. Black man in Florida fight much, and Indian like 'im heap!" (86)

This excuse has a cultural basis: slavery, as practised by Native Americans, was a less vicious system than the chattel slavery of the South, with "relative freedom and absence of severe labor" to the point that those enslaved were seen as "badly spoiled," causing the white slave owners of Missouri and Arkansas to view them as "difficult to control" (Jeltz 29). While the Choctaw chief slips in a dig against African Americans who are not actively resisting, the "Black man in Florida fight much" references the Seminole Wars with the black Seminoles. In response to the critique of black passivity the conversation shifts to the dynamics of colonialism in Africa versus America, with Blake defending Africa as not completely colonized, unlike the lands of Indigenous Americans who are "fast passing away" (86). Although it appears Delany is returning to his earlier use of the vanishing Indian myth, the chief responds by modifying Blake's phrase to point out the genocide waged against his people: Native Americans are "passing away before the gun of the white man!" (87). The frustration and anger on both sides is allowed expression; these deeply felt wrongs must be recognized in order to create more just relationships. Rather than the false equivalence of sympathy, both sides trade misunderstandings and wrongs; the shared violence of settler colonialism leads them to recognize the enemy they share. Nonetheless, the stereotypical broken English of Culver's dialogue contrasts with Blake's eloquence, shifting the argument in favor of Delany's hero.

Impressed by the will of Native peoples to survive under such conditions, Blake views them as worthy allies, asking, "whether in case the blacks should rise, they may have hope or fear from the Indian?" (87). In his affirmative answer the Choctaw chief invokes the previously-alluded-to Seminoles, who earned their name "runaways" by splitting from the Creek, only to settle near runaway slaves; according to Kenneth Porter, this "association originally limited to mutual material advantage became cemented by reciprocal respect and affection" as well as

intermarriage (6). Their solidarity grows out of a kind of community-oriented love. The Seminole Wars are seen by Culver as evidence that the unity between the black Seminoles and their Native "masters" in both battle and blood are their great strength: "You see the vine that winds around and holds us together. Don't cut it, but let it grow till bimeby, it git so tout and strong, with many, very little branches attached, that you can't separate them" (87). This organic metaphor of African American and Native American intertwinement anticipates Sharon Holland's discussion of the "crossblood," who "consistently cross[es] the borders of ideological containment" in their identification and embrace of both heritages; the crossblood illustrates that "it is possible to move into the space of Afro-Native literatures with both emancipation and sovereignty in mind" (335). Indeed, it is strongly implied that the Native American anti-colonial struggle is the template for the revolt envisioned by Blake: after confiding his enigmatic plans to the elder Choctaw, Culver exclaims "Ah hah! Indian have something like that long-go. I wonder your people ain't got it before! That what make Indian strong; that what make Indian and black man in Florida hold together" (87). Indigeneity, as associated with resistance, is what gets transferred in the metaphoric vine of crossblood entanglement; the Choctaw chief bequeaths it to Blake for his campaign's success, proclaiming "may the Great Spirit make you brave!" (87). Delany draws attention to this pun with a reminder in the next sentence that Culver is "the venerable old brave" (87). With the affirmation of past affiliations, and the promise of future alliances, Blake continues on his journey, taking the "brave" blessing with him.

That Delany decides to set this scene with the Choctaw Nation is a curious choice, acting as a statement of the aspirational quality of his project, both accepting and reimagining troubling histories of Native American and African American collaboration and exploitation. Of the Five Tribes, the Choctaws were second only to the Chickasaws in their near adoption of the chattel

slavery, with its restrictive ideas about racial purity and the exploitation of labor; on the other end of the spectrum were the Seminoles, "who considered their slaves as members of their households, on equality with their masters, counsellors, and in extreme cases rulers of their masters in dealing with whites" (Jeltz 31). Despite Culver's assertion that "Indian and black all marry together," while there were individuals in the Choctaw Nation of both Native and African ancestry, intermarriage and cohabitation had been officially prohibited by the Choctaw National Council only a few decades prior (87; Jeltz 31). The seriality of *Blake* also adds an element of time manipulation: when the entirety of Delany's novel was re-serialized and completed in *The Weekly Anglo-African* from 1861 to 1862 – with this chapter republished – the Choctaw and Chickasaw had actually entered an alliance with the Confederacy in July 1861, in part to keep their sovereignty (Jeltz 32). Even after Emancipation, both nations enacted laws similar to the notorious Black Codes in the South (Krauthamer (107); nonetheless, the black and crossblood freedmen still identified more strongly with their former masters than with white America, causing them to push for formal inclusion into the nations, with the Choctaw Nation finally extending citizenship in 1885 and the Chickasaw not to follow until the next century (Krauthamer 115). In Katy Chiles's study of *Blake*'s periodical publication considered in conjunction with Delany's compression of past and present in the narrative, she suggests that the novel "imagines a black community that exists simultaneously throughout time," exceeding the seriality of its own production in order to remake the time and history of America (335). In this vein, I suggest that rather than sheer ignorance, through these willful omissions and rewritings Delany presents a wishful fantasy of an alternate universe. His decision to have the Choctaw cite their fellow tribe, the Seminoles, who treated their slaves as equals and fought alongside them, comes across as hope in the potential for the best in Indigenous-black relations uncorrupted by

white influences. In his treatment of the complicated history between African Americans and Native Americans, Delany chooses to affirm kinships, attempting to accept and reimagine transgressions; in doing so, he incorporates Native Americans as the foundational allies in his transnational affective network of revolutionaries.

Much more has been made by critics of the significance of Blake's visit to the maroon community in the Dismal Swamp, viewed as Delany's deliberate yoking of his fictional revolution to existing legacies of black resistance in America. The Dismal Swamp, the notorious wetlands of Virginia and North Carolina, is a place in defiance of white America: figured as "the mystical, antiquated, and almost fabulous Dismal Swamp," it is the "fearful abode for years of some of Virginia and North Carolina's boldest black rebels, the names of Nat Turner, Denmark Veezie, and General Gabriel were held by them in sacred reverence" (112, 113). This tradition of black resistance also includes ties to the American Revolution; as one old man by the name of Maudy Ghamus claims, "I an' Gennel Gabel fit in de Maultion wah, an' da want no sich fightin' dare as dat in Gabel wah!" (113). In this exchange with Blake, Ghamus connects the uprising of Gabriel Prosser with the spirit of the Revolution: "dat 'e did fit in de Molution wah, Gabel so, an' 'e fit like mad dog!" (113). According to Andy Doolan, this pivotal episode offers a revisionist history of America through Delany's use of narrative, with the swamp as "a symbolic location, which both compresses chronological time and telescopes the hidden histories of slave resistance" that also makes black rebels the true heirs of the Revolutionary War (158). The acknowledgement of Blake's leadership by what Levine describes as "Revolutionary community" of the Dismal Swamp, confers the implication that Blake is "more in the tradition of Gabriel Prosser, Vesey, and Turner, than themselves" (198).

Renegade violence is not the only foundation of the Dismal Swamp community; while the use of force is part of their past and promise for the future of Blake's rebellion, the maroons engage in cultural and epistemological resistance to Western norms through their practice of hoodoo, African American folk magic. Amid the rituals of welcoming and protection, Blake notices that Gamby Gholar's conjure paraphernalia includes "many articles of mysterious character," including "scales which he declared to be from very dangerous serpents, but which closely resembled, and were believed to be those of innocent and harmless fish" (112). Still, the community's perpetuation of this liminal tradition indicates a living alternative tradition:

> Gamby Gholar, Maudy Ghamus, and others were High Conjurors, who as ambassadors from the Swamp, were regularly set out to create new conjurers, lay charms, take off 'spells' that could not be reached by Low Conjurors, and renew the art of all conjurors of seven years existence" (114).

The High Conjurors, also known as Heads, anoint Blake "conjuror of the highest degree known to their art," rendering him "licensed with unlimited power – a power before given no one – to go forth and do wonders" (115). Delany's protagonist moves from skepticism about their methodology to recognition of its efficacy; as Monique Allewaert puts it, "Delany moves from a concept of the fetish as evidence of a mode of (misguided) belief to a recognition of the fetish as an artifact that enables a mode of practice that produces certain effects that are positive, even politically transformative" (130). Whether or not the magic is 'real' is not the point: the rituals are part of the community's sustained commitment to resistance through the creation of a hybrid, alternative culture. When Blake returns to his plantation, he shares his encounter with the Heads of the Dismal Swamp despite his critiques of some of their methods: "we must take the slaves, not as we wish them to be, but as we really find them to be" (126). These men represent the

revolutionary roots of America itself and the survival of a diasporic African tradition, with Blake assuming their authority to continue these traditions of resistance.

What has been neglected in the Dismal Swamp episode is how its representation of an American history of black rebellion is intertwined with Indigeneity as part of its radical sociopolitical community. Levine sees the characters of the Dismal Swamp as "'revolutionary pure-blood' blacks" in contrast to the "self-loathing mulattoes" encountered in Charleston (198); however, although the Swamp is most famous for harbouring communities of escaped slaves, its inhabitants also included various Indigenous peoples like the Chesapeakes and the Tuscaroras (Sayers 85). Runaway slaves added to the population of the region as early the late seventeenth-century, with the first extant documentation of the black presence in the Dismal Swamp showing that both African Americans and Native Americans had joined forces to raid nearby farms (Sayers 88). The one mention of race in this section is of the men as "black rebels," yet the rituals at the end of Blake's visit include "blessings, wishes, hopes, fears, *pow-wows* and promises of a never failing conjuration," signifying the inclusion of Native practices into the assemblage that is hoodoo (113, 115; *emphasis added*).The Dismal Swamp is the site of this shared history explicitly linked to anti-colonialism; moreover, the conversation about the black fighters of the Revolutionary War gestures toward, but does not outright name, Crispus Attucks. Attucks, the first American martyr of the Revolution, was of mixed black and Natick Indian heritage; Delany lauds him in *Condition* as "a patriot of the purest character" (67). To trace a genealogy of black resistance is to also acknowledge intersections with Native Americans; thus, the episode with the Choctaw comes before the Dismal Swamp in order to acknowledge that the struggle against white people in what became the United States began with the defiance of Indigenous peoples.

This cross-racially imbricated history of the Dismal Swamp is a felt palimpsest, due to Delany's representation of the deep affiliation between resistance and place. Entering the region is like a transition from the enemy territory of the rest of the United States to a new country,[9]

> Here Henry [Blake] found himself surrounded by a different atmosphere, an entirely new element. Finding ample scope for undisturbed action through the entire region of the Swamp, he continued to go scattering to the winds and sowing the seeds of a future crop, only to take root in the thick black waters which cover it, to be grown in devastation and reaped in a whirlwind of ruin" (112).

The Swamp is literally fecund ground for his conspiracy, with potentially volatile consequences; Ghamus claims "that the Swamp contained them in sufficient numbers to take the whole United States," if only they were able to convince those still enslaved of their efficacy (114). Yet the vegetal metaphor indicates the Swamp is not just a setting for fomenting anticolonial action, but repeatedly emphasized as a living place of great power: it is the "mystical, antiquated, and almost fabulous Dismal Swamp," the "fearful abode," the "much-dreaded morass" (112, 113, 114). Blake's encounter with the denizens of the Swamp provides the hero with historical precedents for the adoption and appropriation of Indigeneity in traditions of black resistance. In her study of competing knowledges of the natural world in colonial America, Susan Scott Parrish links Native practices with African American conjuration, both connected to swamp terrain: "As colonials had in the 1670-1760 era linked the warring Indian with the dark meanders of the swamp," so too did they "increasingly [associate] the runaway slave with the tangled botanical skein, unstable ground, and mysterious impenetrability of the *pocoson*, or swamp" (270). The centrality of the physical world in both traditions, Parrish suggests, indicates that "Africans in

[9] Delany does not attempt to connect the Choctaw to the land, possibly avoiding stereotype or, perhaps, doubting a

North American would have had something in common with native Americans" in terms of shared epistemologies (295). The hoodoo practices of the High Conjurors are centered on the potency of the Swamp itself: one of Gholar's charms is a blue stone for the ceremony to protect Blake, which he "got at a peculiar and unknown spot in the Swamp, whither by a special faith he was led – and ever after unable to find the same spot" (112-3). The Heads' magical paraphernalia includes organic detritus from the land, like "onionskins, oystershells… eggshells, and scales," with "a forked breastbone of a small bird" as a charm (112, 113); the maroons' connection to the animal world of the Swamp is such that "a large sluggish, lazily-moving serpent" is their pet (114). Their gathering spaces are only in spaces submerged totally in the Swamp: "the forest, a gully, secluded hut, an underground room, or a cave" (114). It is in the cave that Blake is anointed as a messianic figure by the Conjurors. While Blake's wanderings mean the extent to which he can partake in this groundedness is limited, it is nonetheless important for Delany to show that his hero pays homage to what the Dismal Swamp represents.

III. Re-Making the World

Despite the unnatural disharmony of white sympathy and unjust laws, the laws of the world itself still reflect what should be the natural order. In *Blake* science must be separated from its oppressive authoritative institutions and instead realized as a liberatory practice of knowledge. Martin Delany published essays on science alongside chapters of *Blake* in *The Anglo-African Magazine*; these short articles on comets and planets constitute part of the paratext of his novel, integral to the project of racial uplift. Delany is the focus of Britt Rusert's work on the reconsideration of black people as practitioners and participants in nineteenth-century science, not just its victims and objects. According to Rusert, the novel's engagement with science

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connection to the region in Arkansas given that the nation was forcefully displaced there only a few decades prior.

"transforms the archetypal slave narrative into speculative fiction" (814). These subversive uses of science are what she calls "fugitive science," drawing from Deleuze and Guattari to articulate this implicitly black praxis of fugitivity as a minor science that can challenge racism and its institutions; instead of "cold, affectless objectivity," this new science "would be animated by the power of human 'love' instead of radical hate, a radically egalitarian science that would forge – instead of break – affective and political bonds not only between groups of people in the United States but across the globe" (810). While I am indebted to Rusert's readings of Delany, I believe she neglects the dimension of his approach to science that reflects the ethos of crossracial sympathies writ large. "The Attraction of the Planets" and "Comets," published in January and February 1859, express theories on energy and physics that Rusert views as akin to Delany's "political and fictional writings on black fugitivity and revolutionary movements," suggesting how fugitive bodies "become vectors of force and affect change in the world" by pointing out the correlations between the articles and the chapters on fugitives (813, 814). In these essays, Delany rearticulates the latest findings in astrophysics for a black audience through language that emphasizes the natural relations between all matter. In "The Attraction of the Planets" he speaks of attraction and repulsion as "a law essential to matter" that coheres both on the level of particles and the solar system, praising "the beautiful economy of their revolutionary arrangement" (20). "Comets" takes these forces one step further to speculate that "The purpose of comets would seem to be to distribute electricity throughout universal space, re-supplying the continual loss that must be sustained to systems and planets by various causes, and thereby giving life, action, health and vigor to both animate and inanimate creation, to this and distant worlds, worlds to us unknown" (60). Science is a reflection of the natural laws of relationality that constitute the affective web of life.

After making connections with the Choctaw and the rebels of the Dismal Swamp, Blake's consciousness of the world grows from affirming his individual affective experience with the worldly phenomena to a greater schema of kinship between humans and the world that can bring justice if they remain true to its principles. Blake gazes up at the night sky from the deck of a ship on the Mississippi:

> Now shoots a meteor, then seemingly shot a comet, again glistened a brilliant planet which almost startled the gazer; and while he yet stood motionless in wonder looking into the heavens, a blazing star whose scintillations dazzled the sight, and for the moment bewildered the mind, was seen apparently to vibrate in a manner never before observed by him (124).

Blake is "filled with amazement," first inclined to "attach more than ordinary importance to them, as having especial bearing in his case; but the mystery finds interpretation in the fact that the emotions were located in his own brain, and not exhibited with the orbs of Heaven" (124). Rusert views Blake's response as a shift from a supernatural outlook to "a didactic lesson in rationalism" that would later be unravelled as he discovers the "speculative roots of black metaphysics" hidden within Western science (819). More specifically, I suggest, this event indicates Delany's philosophy about a more expansive view of sympathy initiated by his alliances with other oppressed peoples: rather than a science of detached objectivity, he centers the sympathetic human body – feeling and cognition together with "the emotions were located in his own brain" – as the entrance into participation with the energies of the universe. While the brilliance of the stars has no "especial bearing in his case," that is because he recognizes that his ability to process the phenomena is shared with other peoples. Through storytelling Delany makes his theoretical ruminations about astrophysics come alive through the eyes of his

protagonist who recognizes himself as a part of the cosmos. Nonetheless, rather than comforted, Blake alone on the run is a "heart-stricken fugitive, without a companion or friend with whom to share his grief and sorrows" (124). He still needs to fully connect this experience of the natural world to his project of building a revolutionary community.

A few chapters later, Blake shares his experience stargazing when he leads his runaway band from their miserable plantation onward to freedom by teaching them how to use the natural world to find their way. In what Rusert says "reads like an elementary science lesson" (817), Blake explains to the fellow fugitives from his former plantation how to find North in order to get to Canada by instrumentalizing the celestial bodies as a tool in the service of freedom. Exchanging awe for practicality, he emphasizes the communal practice of knowledge and the place of their bodies in nature. He sketches a picture of the Big Dipper, numbering each of the stars to explain how linking them together into the constellation helps to indicate the way North: "This is the North Star, the slave's great Guide to Freedom!" (132). The pragmatic still contains wonder; Delany inserts a verse from John Pierpont's poem "Slaveholder's Address to the North Star" where the ignorant slaveholder has no sense of the star's importance or grandeur, comparing its remote size to a diamond in his ring, "Yet every black star-gazing nigger, / Looks up to thee as some great thing!" (135). Blake also explains how a compass works by delineating its magnetic properties in terms of a set of relations: its needle in relation to the cardinal directions in relation to the safe spaces of the free states and Canada and, finally, in relation to their own bodies: "When your face is to the north, your back is to the south; your right hand to the east, and your left to the west" (133). Orienting oneself means attention to one's body and the senses, with even the haptic playing a role in the process of grounding: "'When the North star cannot be seen,' continued Henry, 'you must depend alone upon nature for your guide. Feel, in

the dark, around the trunks or bodies of trees, especially oak, and whenever you feel moss on the bark, that side on which the moss grows is always to the north'" (133). Nature is not an adversary to freedom, but part of the system of relations that can guide one to a better existence by literally feeling your way. In contrast to Blake's solitary stargazing, these lessons are part of an extensive dialogue with his fellow escaped slaves – the elderly Mammy Judy and Daddy Joe, the younger Andy and Charles, Clara and little Tony – that contributes to their affective cohesion as a community. While Andy and Charles serve as Blake's main interlocutors, working to understand and question these new practices, it is the comical Mammy Judy who gives voice to the chapter's title "Studying Head Work." To her husband, she says, "I tole yeh dat boy studyin' head wuck, an yeh 'uden bleve me!" and when Daddy Joe is impressed by Blake's knowledge of the compass, his compliments reveal the origin of "head wuck": "I 'fess dat's all head wuck! .. dat boy's nigh up to Maudy Ghamus! Dat boy's gwine to be mighty!" (132, 134). The older generation serves to make the link between the older practices of hoodoo and Blake's fugitive science that confirms Delany's hero as the new "Head" in both the conjuring sense as well as his social role as leader and teacher. With science as a catalyst, they are galvanized as a rebel community.

While scientific institutions are mostly absent in the novel, suggesting *Blake*'s vision of an engaged everyday practice of living in the world as the true expression of science, Delany himself was torn between repudiating formal recognition and seeking it. His love of science was first manifest in his study of medicine, apprenticing under sympathetic white doctors in Pittsburgh; he was one of the first three black students to be accepted to Harvard Medical College, after having previously been refused admission to the medical schools of the University of Pennsylvania, Jefferson College, and those at Albany and Geneva (Rollin 69). Harvard's

liberal progressiveness found its limit in the midst of the furor around the Fugitive Slave Act: Delany's fellow students successfully petitioned to have him and his fellow black students dismissed from the school, with Oliver Wendell Holmes as dean forcing Harvard Medical's first class of black students to withdraw without finishing their degrees (Levine 62). Levine identifies this moment in the fall of 1850, with both the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and Delany's ignoble dismissal from Harvard, as the trigger for his "large-scale disillusionment with white abolitionists" (60). Yet while this precipitated Delany's disgust with the law as symbolic of the flawed status quo, his connection to medicine and science only deepened with a keener sense of its relationship to race and power. In *Condition*, he devotes chapters to brief biographies of notable African Americans who are contributing to the cause of black elevation, with a focus on doctors and scientists. Within the novel, for instance, he distinguishes between the falseness of the aforementioned white Dr. Donald who attempts to disrupt talks between Blake and the Choctaws, and the symbolic presence of the characters Pino Golias and Justin Pampo, both introduced as "black surgeon[s]," among the rebel council in Cuba as representative of black talent and the need to heal and suture together their new community (252, 309). The following year after his ejection from Harvard Delany sought a patent for an invention involving an improvement for train engines, only to discover that African Americans were not legally allowed to hold patents (Levine 62). Later in his career he was proud to be invited as America's representative to the 1860 International Statistical Congress in London where he delivered a paper on his research in Africa; however, Delany's inclusion caused the withdrawal of pro-slavery white American delegates, led by a Judge Longstreet from Georgia, who took offense to his presence. Frank Rollin's 1883 *Life and Public Services of Martin R. Delany*, written while Delany was in his 50s and probably in conjunction with his help, documents the letters and

speeches by Longstreet, Delany, and other members of the Congress, capturing the transnational power play on the topic of race in the international scientific forum.

Despite the personal frustrations he faced due to racist institutions, Delany's faith in science endured, leading him to find redemption even in the now-discredited race sciences. In a moment of strategic erasure Rollin's biography omits why Delany had to leave Harvard; instead, the chapter entitled "Practising Medicine" shifts from his training to his subsequent lecture series on physiology and his work in Pittsburgh as a doctor, known for his treatment of a cholera outbreak. His work takes on a public dimension explicitly oriented toward the good of the community, emphasized to be a natural outgrowth of what she calls his "native benevolence and scientific ardor" (69). His lectures discuss the scientific basis for racial equality by reworking "the comparative anatomical and physical conformation of the cranium of the Caucasian and negro races," the same standards of evidence popularly employed by scientists of the infamous American school of polygenesis to justify racial hierarchies (Rollin 69). He was, in the words of his character Mammy Judy, studying head work of a different sort. Delany's list of distinguished African Americans in *Condition* includes a number of doctors who were also phrenologists despite the science's notoriety: Dr. James Joshua Gould Bias of Eclectic Medical College, who wrote a pamphlet on phrenology, and Dr. Lewis G. Wells of Washington Medical College, whom Delany calls " a most successful practical phrenologist" (143). In 1879, Delany contributed his own thoughts on race science in *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color* that refuted the polygenetic arguments of craniologists Josiah Nott and George Gliddon who insisted on the separation of the races. As Rollin puts it, Delany's arguments used "acknowledged scientific principles," but derive from his "peculiar and original theories" (69); I

suggest that he draws from Western science but infuses it with a radical epistemology of social justice inspired by imagining solidarity across racial differences.

Delany continually pushes the limits of conventional science through a praxis inflected by his model of sympathy centred on peoples of color: the novel's engagement with science builds from Blake's individual, affective moment with the cosmos to a communal practice of embodied knowledge and, finally, to a way of reimagining the world itself by turning to cross-racial sympathies. The rebel congress in Cuba is characterized by the gathering together of diverse peoples and the overflow of feelings that bind them together as a revolutionary community. "Never before had the African race been so united as on that occassion [sic], the free Negros and mixed free people being in unison and sympathy with each other," with this pan-Africanism leading to connections with fellow oppressed peoples of color: "There was a greater tendency to segregation instead of a seeming desire to mingle as formerly among the whites, masses of the Negroes, mulattoes and quadroons, Indians, and even Chinamen, could be seen together" (245). Delany adds a footnote to his inclusion of the Indians, noting "For many years the Yucatan Indians taken in war by the Mexicans were sold into Cuba as slaves," a fact that authenticates Indigenous presences at this gathering, however shallowly (245). Emotions run high in order to catalyze the attachments between individuals: the music opening the great meeting generates an effect on the crowd that was "electrical – every kind of demonstration indicating the soul's deep sympathy and heartfelt hatred to oppression," recalling Delany's writings on the cosmic energies that join the universe together (251). Throughout the speeches and discussions "The greatest emotions were frequently demonstrated, with weeping and other evidences of deep impressions made" and evocations of "deep emotions of sympathy" (259, 284). Throughout the novel Blake had worked hard to build the foundations for this new

transnational world order: these displays of affective solidarity between peoples of color undermine the American school of race science's white supremacist hierarchy as well as its divisive separation of the races.

At the revolutionary summit in Cuba this symbolic gathering exposes the principles of polygenesis, which posited the separate nature of the different human races based on environmental context, as a perversion of what Delany proposes is the true relationship to nature: a holistic relationship to the land and all other peoples of the world. The rationale for the revolution is presented as scientific, thereby naturalizing the coalition's vision as lawful and righteous:

> Their justification of the issue was made on the fundamental basis of original priority, claiming that the western world had been originally peopled and possessed by the Indians – a colored race – and a part of the continent in Central America by a pure black race. This they urged gave them an indisputable right with every admixture of blood, to an equal, if not superior, claim to an inheritance of the Western Hemisphere" (287).

In this worldview, the separate developments of the races theorized by polygenesis usurped the organic web of relationships between people and place. Once again, Delany highlights shared black-Indigenous histories as a powerful political move of cross-racial alliance, with Indigeneity allowing for the grounding of the diasporic black presence in the Americas as natural and not an alien imposition. These assertions are not voiced by any specific character; indeed, the ambiguous third person pronoun throughout suggests that this overthrowing of Western science arises naturally out of the collectivity of rebel peoples of color, an expression of the world they want to bring into being:

> The colored races, they averred, were by nature adapted to the tropical regions of this part of the world as to all other similar climates, it being a scientific fact that they increased and progressed whilst the whites decreased and continually retrograded, their offspring becoming enervated and imbecile. These were facts worthy of consideration, which three hundred years had indisputably tested. The whites in these regions were there by intrusion, idle consumers subsisting by imposition; whilst the blacks, the legitimate inhabitants, were the industrious laborers and producers of the staple commodities and real wealth of these places (287).

Here, Delany cites race science used to justify the subordination of peoples of color as laborers, but manipulates its logic to affirm their place as the rightful citizens, and even, leaders, of the Americas. Unlike Delany's own necessary negotiations with existing structures of power, his hero Blake does not need to pander to racist institutions: the performative iteration of "fact" works to replace the racist polygenetic status quo of American science with a "new" science that has always already been. Whiteness becomes decentred and denaturalized: critiques of settler colonialism and slavery come together with the parodying of scientific justifications of racial inferiority turned against whiteness. Nonetheless, in this sequence where the novel is quick to cite Indigenous peoples in its discussion of the past, in the shift to the scientific discussion of race in the present moment, Indians disappear from discussion or are at best subsumed by the category of "colored races."

The ambivalence of only "feeling somewhat as that Indian" allows for the opening up of bonds between peoples and claims to the land as part of an overall schema, but nonetheless these relationships are not entirely lateral. While Delany envisions diverse communities bonding together over interlocking circumstances of oppression across racial formations, the leaders at

the forefront of the revolution are black men. The absence of Native voices on the rebel council, despite Native bodies authorizing the new order's legitimacy, is not the only conspicuous "somewhat" concession in the novel that taints its radical vision of emancipation for all. Black women occupy an uncertain position in this process of elevation: critics take Delany to task for what Biggio calls the limited role of women in "a system of closed fraternity" such as the rebel congress, and Clymer accuses Delany of seeing "women of color almost entirely as symbols of purity and its potential violation" (446; 727). While Delany's character Henry Blake is a reimagining of Stowe's portrayal of black masculinity, there is no such development of black womanhood, perhaps as the consequence of developing a hybrid mode of feeling that consciously rejects not only the racialization of sentimentality but also its gendering.

For a novel whose opening parallels *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Blake takes the place of George Harris and Maggie occupies the position of Eliza Harris; however, in contrast to the novel's focus on Blake, Maggie fades out of the narrative after she is sold, only to be rediscovered in Cuba as the amnesiac Lotty who has been tortured by her owners. Maggie has no equivalent to Eliza's daring escape over the icy river – while her memory is restored when Blake rescues her, her story remains erased, never told by Maggie herself and merely related through the narrator's accounts of her ordeal. While Maggie's plight does not provoke a scene of white sympathy as did Eliza's, her lack of agency flattens her suffering into one of the personal outrages against her husband's pride wounded by the institution of slavery: "she had been almost daily beaten, frequently knocked down, kicked and stamped on, once struck and left for dead; and even smoked and burnt to subdue her" (190-1); Delany uncritically reproduces what Hortense Spillers denounces as the "materialized scene of unprotected female flesh – of female flesh 'ungendered'" that is a fundamental part of the violence inflicted upon black womanhood in the

American historical imaginary (68). In *Condition*, Delany declares that "No people are ever elevated above the condition of their *females*; hence, the condition of the *mother* determines the condition of the child. To know the position of a people, it is only necessary to know the *condition* of their *females*; and despite themselves, they cannot rise above their level" (199). To this end it is necessary to save Maggie, but to develop her as a character on equal footing with her husband is beyond the scope of the novel: tellingly, she regains her memory by calling Blake "Henry Hol--" instead of his true name, and soon after pleads with him not to engage in politics "but be satisfied as we are among the whites, and God, in His appointed time, will do what is required" (180). Later, she is guilty of attempting to hold her husband back from his rightful role as leader, exclaiming, "I suppose then I may give up all hope of ever having you with me at all!" (242). The Cuban poet Placido admonishes her for her selfish concerns, modifying Delany's attempt at equality in his earlier writings into one where the gendered hierarchy is more legible: "The position of a man carries his wife with him; so when he is degraded, she is also, because she cannot rise above his level; but when he is elevated, so is she also" (242). While Indigenous peoples and black women are essential to the transnational project of self-determination, they constitute the limits of Delany's revolutionary imagination: they must be content to be represented by black men such as Blake and to have their stories "told" by him. In *Blake* Delany can reimagine the fundamental laws of the world through radical feelings of kinship, but this brave new world still feels too much like the old.

Delany cannot escape the problems of appropriation: his primary focus on the elevation of blackness still means that Indigenous peoples should follow, rather than lead, and his strategic use of these cross-racial alliances to naturalize revolutionary claims still trades in clichés about Native associations with the natural world. As Tiya Miles and Sharon Holland acknowledge in

their exploration of the relationship between the African diaspora and Indian country, "African American projections of liberation, economic success, community belonging, and ease of life into Indian lands and people have not been free from logical flaws and exploitative gestures" (10). Maybe Delany's approach to sympathy would have had greater success had he fully committed to a cross-racial coalition that would have brought in Indigenous perspectives on social relations and nature in order to build a truly revolutionary alternative to the existing order.[10] At its worse, Delany still reproduces the myth of the vanishing Indian from his earlier work *Condition* that reinstates settler colonialism, save for a black, rather than white, colonial nation. Yet at its best, creating a model of feeling by centering the importance of solidarity between peoples of color provides Delany materials for the project of radical world-making: it becomes a way of establishing a more inclusive, embodied and experiential version of science as opposed to the increasing institutionalization of science as an elite professional discipline in the nineteenth century; it allows for a more just system of laws that benefits all as part of the natural consequence of responsibilities to others and the world at a time of the outrages of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; it affirms the importance of communities in a greater web of relationships that can unite people transnationally; it builds legitimacy for dispossessed peoples through affective connections to the land. Perhaps most importantly, in its rejection of the false comforts of white sentimentality, *Blake*'s flawed exploration of feeling somewhat like an Indian allows for the beginnings of an alternative discourse of feeling for the marginalized to imagine the possibility of a better life.

[10] Delany's failing perhaps anticipates Frantz Fanon's inability to draw upon Indigenous values in *Wretched of the Earth* as a way beyond the existing binary; such an expansion of Fanon's paradigm through a turn to Indigeneity could achieve, in Eric Cheyfitz's words, "redistribution in terms of achieving social justice for all people" (295).

Chapter 3:
Professional Frigidity: Women, Feelings, and the Field of Medicine

In *Sex in Education: Or a Fair Chance for the Girls* (1873), Dr. Edward H. Clarke argues against higher education for women, using what he claims is objective medical science while also appropriating the language of well-intentioned concern as indicated by the subtitle. According to Clarke, his condemnation of women's education is objective for "[p]ure reason, abstract right and wrong have nothing to do with sex"; moreover, his investigations and conclusions are scientifically grounded for the "solution must be obtained from physiology, not from ethics or metaphysics" (11, 12). Women cannot engage in intellectual labour for it redirects the energy needed for her reproductive system and overall health; as a result of the implicit Cartesian mind/body dualism, women are so embodied in a morass of feelings, they cannot abstract themselves for the acquisition of truly detached and impersonal knowledge. Therefore, to educate a woman is to make her queerly masculine, transforming her "into the hermaphroditic condition that sometimes accompanies spinsterism" and leading to "neuralgia, uterine disease, hysteria, and other derangements of the nervous system" (14, 18). For Clarke these are unbiased facts gleaned through the scientific method and the dispassionate eye of the clinical gaze:

> Clinical observation confirms the teaching of physiology. The sick chamber, not the schoolroom; the physician's private consultation, not the committee's public examination; the hospital, not the college, the workshop, or the parlor, – disclose the sad results which modern customs, modern education, and modern ways of labor, have entailed on women (61).

Modernity inflicts a queer and tragic fate of frigidity and infertility upon the women who succumb to the allure of education. Originally delivered as an address to the New England

Women's Club in Boston, Clarke's position was hardly marginal: he was a Harvard College professor, member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. A woman could attempt to assail the misogynistic argument, but without access to similar professional credentials, she would merely be an uneducated amateur. But in 1876 Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi's essay "The Question of Rest for Women During Menstruation" was published on the topic of women's health, disproving the intellectual and physiological incompatibility claimed by Clarke. Nonetheless, despite this professional refutation from within the medical field that won Harvard's Boylston Prize, Clarke's treatise went through at least twenty re-printings before the end of the century, suggesting the ongoing chill cast by the frigid spectre of the queer educated woman.[11]

Clarke's essay is characteristic of the male-dominated professionalized field of medicine that, as argued by Dana Nelson and other scholars, authorizes power and redirects anxieties about white manhood onto the bodies of women and people of colour who are relegated to the position of ignorant amateurs. The rise of women practitioners in medical science in mid-nineteenth-century America would appear to redress that gender imbalance, but the popularity of *Sex in Education* reveals the ongoing tensions that undergird implicitly male professional authority even when women gain access to those institutions. In this chapter I delve deeper into this dichotomy by tracing the "gendering of feelings" in relation to American medicine and the ensuing pressures on the woman doctor to choose either career or marriage. Through Herman Melville's *White-Jacket*, that features a memorable caricature of a surgeon, I set up the masculinized structure of "unfeeling" associated with the clinical gaze in American medicine, the appearance of dispassionate objectivity that is tied to the maintenance of professional

[11] Research help from Fred Muratori, reference librarian at Olin Library.

authority. I then discuss the battle by advocates of women's rights to justify women as doctors that repurposed the feelings associated with normative cult of domesticity, arguing that by the logic of the separate spheres women had a naturalized claim via feeling to the public and professional work of doctors. Thus the entrance of women into medicine has been read as a progressive history of medicine's "feminization"; my analysis, however, troubles this conventional narrative. I investigate how marriage acted as the symbolic fulcrum of feeling that could validate or invalidate a woman's suitability as a doctor, allowing or disallowing a range of feminist and queer possibilities through analyses of writings by the first generation of women doctors and their attendant debates as well as novels centred on women doctors by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Sarah Orne Jewett. I suggest that women doctors were not only able to exploit conventional ideas about their womanly access to feeling as a way to enter the profession, but through embracing frigidity, were also able to numb the call of the heteronormative affects that tied women to the private sphere of marriage and family by tapping into the dispassionate structure of feeling associated with masculinized medicine.

I. The Dispassionate Doctor

In man's world of *White-Jacket* (1850), Melville explores the relationship between the infliction of pain and the perpetrator's suppression of feeling in the context of masculinity through his focus on exposing flogging in the Navy as a gratuitously cruel punishment. When two black seamen get into a fight, the Captain disregards his fondness for one and metes out equal retribution: "He flogged both culprits in the most impartial manner" in front of the entire crew (276). White-Jacket, the titular narrator, observes that during the event all the other officers "had *shipped their quarter-deck faces*" (276). This expression is one that White-Jacket learned earlier, defined as "an old man-of-war's-man's phrase, expressive of the facility with which a

sea-officer falls back upon all the severity of his dignity, after a temporary suspension of it" (95) – a phrase that he identifies as a form of emotional hypocrisy:

> But surely, if there is any thing hateful, it is this *shipping of the quarter-deck face* after wearing a merry and good-natured one. How can they have the heart? Methinks, if but once I smiled upon a man – never mind how much beneath me – I could not bring myself to condemn him to the shocking misery of the lash (276).

The outrage that the narrator works to instill in the reader is heightened by the contrast with the dispassionate demeanor of those complicit in the lawful violence. *White-Jacket* decries the inequality within this system of power that presumes those higher up in the chain of command can be removed from biased concerns and therefore are removed from the consequences of justice to which they cruelly subject their subordinates. Melville's narrator poses this dichotomy through the language of emotion: "Who put this great gulf between the American Captain and the American sailor? Or is the Captain *a creature of like passions with ourselves*?" (301; emphasis added).

While the publication of the American edition of *White-Jacket* in March 1850 successfully raised awareness about flogging, leading Congress to ban its use in the Navy later that year in September, Melville's novelized memoir also held a mirror up to another ongoing phenomenon in America about the connection between feeling and unfeeling. Melville's darkly comic portrayal of Dr. Cadwallader Cuticle, Surgeon of the Fleet and scientific sadist, dominates several chapters. Dr. Cuticle's professional accolades are emphasized in his introduction, making him representative of America's medical finest: he is an "Honorary Member of the most distinguished Colleges of Surgeons both in Europe and America" and "had the name of being the foremost Surgeon in the Navy, a gentleman of remarkable science, and a veteran practitioner"

(248). The narrator makes explicit that Dr. Cuticle is typical of his profession, for "[l]ike most old physicians and surgeons who have seen much service, and have been promoted to high professional place for their scientific achievements, this Cuticle was an enthusiast in his calling" (248). Cuticle has a blood-thirsty enthusiasm for the pain of others: "In private, he had once been heard to say, confidentially, that he would rather cut off a man's arm than dismember the wing of the most delicate pheasant" (248). His personal philosophy is the parodic epitome of Founding Father Benjamin Rush's "heroic" approach that dominated American medicine up through the nineteenth century with its aggressive, often fatal, treatments such as blood-letting.

Melville's presentation of Dr. Cuticle's emotional tactics, his equivalent of "shipping the quarter-deck faces," show how they are intrinsically linked to his work in medical science; despite the Hippocratic dictum to "do no harm," his professional status as a physician is the root cause of his uncaring coldness. In the narrator's description of the doctor at work, he unveils the paradox of his professionalism: the purported dispassion of his scientific training acts as a socially acceptable sublimation for his sadistic passion:

> Indeed, long habituation to the dissecting-room and the amputation-table had made him seemingly impervious to the ordinary emotions of humanity. Yet you could not say that Cuticle was essentially a cruel-hearted man. *His apparent heartlessness must have been of a purely scientific origin* (251; emphasis added).

White-Jacket quips, by modifying a popular saying, that not "even Cuticle would have harmed a fly, unless he could procure a microscope powerful enough to assist him in experimenting on the minute vitals of the creature" (251). Perversely, the doctor's pleasure in doing (un-anaesthetized) surgery is directly proportional to how much he decries "the necessity that forced a man of his humanity to perform a surgical operation," particularly "when the case was one of more than

ordinary interest" (251). Dr. Cuticle "would vail his eagerness under an aspect of great circumspection, curiously marred, however, by continual sallies of unsuppressible impatience," this tension between his supposedly detached demeanor and his enthusiasm for science exposing "the compassionless surgeon himself, undisguised" (251). Through Dr. Cuticle's "apparent heartlessness [that] must have been of a purely scientific origin," Melville reveals the constitutive relationship between unfeeling and feeling: the disavowal of feeling can be predicated upon feeling as much as the unfeeling can be the catalyst for feeling.

When a seaman is accidentally shot in the leg Dr. Cuticle uses the occasion to display his prowess as the Surgeon of the Fleet to his fellow naval surgeons. The ensuing scene in the operating theatre resembles a parodic precursor to Thomas Eakins's iconic medical paintings; indeed, the doctor claims that the setting recalls his younger days leading classes of medical students at the Philadelphia College of Physicians and Surgeons (257). Despite his decrepit body – toothless, one-eyed – Cuticle asserts himself over his once-vital patient through his medical authority, standing "over him like a superior being, and, as if clothed himself with the attributes of immortality, indifferently discoursed of carving up his broken flesh, and thus piecing out his abbreviated days" (259). It does not even occur to Cuticle nor to the other doctors to communicate with the patient, for what could the injured man know about his own treatment as a mere amateur? Since Dr. Cuticle has the modern force of science behind him, his status is unquestionable as a symbol of an "enlightened age"; he reminds them that in the dark ages of the past "the general ignorance of our noble science" led to far more barbaric approaches to amputation (259).

Dr. Cuticle transforms the nameless wounded man into a patient and, therefore, a scientific subject, illustrating the power of what Foucault calls the clinical gaze that developed

through shifts in the medical episteme in the late eighteenth century. The clinical gaze, which Foucault claims is the basis of scientific observation, supposes a link between sight and rationality; this gaze is presumed to be truth since "[w]hat was fundamentally invisible is suddenly offered to the brightness of the gaze, in a movement of appearance so simple, so immediate that it seems to be the natural consequence of a more highly developed experience," laying claim to objectivity "with the purity of an unprejudiced gaze" (195). Consequently, the clinical gaze not only affirms the primacy of empiricism but the prerogative of the scientific physician: "it was no longer the gaze of any observer, but that of a doctor supported and justified by an institution, that of a doctor endowed with the power of decision and intervention" (89). Cuticle's narration of the amputation of the seaman's limb to his fellow doctors performs what Foucault calls the relationship between the clinical gaze and language: "a new alliance was forged between words and things, enabling one *to see* and *to say*" (xii). He turns to the assistant Surgeons to "describe to [them] the most-interesting operation [he is] about to perform" by first designating on a skeleton where he intends to perform the operation, declaring "Now, young gentleman, you can not but perceive, that the point of the operation being so near the trunk and the vitals, it becomes an unusually beautiful one, demanding a steady hand and a true eye" (260, 261). Amidst his descriptions of the operation and the patient's screams, the Fleet Surgeon coolly refers to his unnamed patient variously as part of an "excellent preparation" and "our illustration" (260, 262). His screams, his pain, his very life are less consequential in Cuticle's clinical gaze than his status as a legible body and an experiment, for medicine impacts humanity not only as methodology, but also as ontology, "in that it concerns man's being as object of positive knowledge" (Foucault 197). Unsurprisingly, the patient becomes the surgeon's victim: his death goes unmourned. Through Dr. Cadwallader Cuticle Melville reveals another aspect of

the clinical gaze that Foucault does not discuss: with medical science's attempt at objectivity, the physician is required to be dispassionate – in all senses of the word.

II. Professionalizing Feminine Sympathy

Medical science acts not just as a professional practice and a form of knowledge production, but also as a structure of feeling. Structures of feeling, according to Raymond Williams, are organic and affective, reflecting "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" through the nuances and variable spectrum of relations between individuals and formalized systems of ideology and world view (132). Glenn Hendler modifies Williams's concept for the pre-twentieth century context by placing emphasis on the public and structured aspects of the structure of feeling rather than feeling as a purely private function: "in the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth Anglo-American culture of sensibility, feelings were not primarily the sorts of unique, individualized, interior emotions they are in our more psychologized culture. Rather, sentiments required the cultivation of a moral and proper repertoire of feelings, a sensibility" that Hendler identifies as closer to the oxymoronic phrase "public sentiment" (2). One might say that pre-twentieth century America had *structured feelings*, rather than *structures of feeling* in the modern sense of Williams's definition.

Unlike the feminized sentimental structure of feelings that Hendler explores, however, Melville's *White-Jacket* depicts the prevailing paradigm of medical professionalism in nineteenth-century America as a masculinized structure of *unfeeling*. Stephanie Browner argues for the masculinization of empiricism concurrent with the development of the doctor as the "national icon of refined masculinity" in America (137). American professionalism draws its history from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, where medicine was one of the three

original professions along with law and divinity and tied to "status as a gentleman" (Pernick 23). According to Paul Starr, "In America, no one group has held so dominant a position in this new world of rationality and power as had the medical profession," for "Unlike the law and the clergy [the other original professions], it enjoys close bonds with modern science, and at least for most of the last century, scientific knowledge has held a privileged status in the hierarchy of belief" (4). Their power exceeded the professional realm, for doctors were "intermediaries between science and private experience, interpreting personal troubles in the abstract language of scientific knowledge" (Starr 4). As Robert Nye argues, the "pervasive 'masculinization' of professional culture that took place within the medical profession in the nineteenth century was a consequence of social practices that were not aimed originally at excluding women but at admitting, controlling, and retaining a certain kind of man. The historic *ethos* that has anchored masculine professional culture operated informally to limit access to 'outsiders' and reinforce solidarity in the ranks" (143). Founding Father Benjamin Rush's influence on American medicine further emphasized the importance of masculinity since he "promoted his therapies in part by convincing practitioners and patients alike that they were 'heroic,' 'bold,' 'manly'" since he focussed on the necessity of inflicting pain through treatment (Pernick 108). The connection between the emotional and physical aspects of feeling meant that "pain allegedly played a vital role in emotional health, especially in the formation of appropriate sexual characteristics. For men, pain was necessary to the development of masculine endurance" (Pernick 46).

As a consequence, manly control over emotions became a requirement of professionalization. According to Burton J. Bledstein, the central precept of American professionalism was control: "What strikes the historian is the totality of the Mid-Victorian impulse to contain the life experiences of the individual from birth to death by isolating them as

science," allowing for complete control of both the physical and the spiritual (55). The professional is "a self-governing individual exercising his trained judgment in an open society" whose command over his subject and clients is matched by his command over himself (87). Indeed, this connection between masculine professionalism and controlled emotions is found in Daniel Webster Cathell's doctor's manual *Book on the Physician Himself and Things That Concern His Reputation and Success* first published in 1881, which went through 11 editions by 1902 (Furst 5). Cathell speaks to his audience to act "as a man and a physician" which means one avoids "personal sentiments; you are emphatically a public man, and your office a public place" (1, 6). Among the mannerisms and business sagacity necessary for a successful physician,

> If you have the self-command to control your emotions, temper, and passions, and to maintain a cool, philosophic equipoise under the thousand irritative provocations given to you by foolish patients and their friends… it will give you great advantage over nervous and excitable physicians who cannot. (45)

White-Jacket's man-of-war is truly a man's world where Dr. Cadwallader Cuticle exemplifies the extreme of the callous physician in the "uniquely painful" practice of American medicine where men like pioneering gynecologist J. Marion Sims "developed new operations that, they bragged, Europeans had been too sensitive and timid to perform" (Pernick 109). For an American doctor, to inflict pain while feeling nothing was a badge of professional as well as masculine pride.

This professional medical insensitivity works as a gendered strategy for men to argue that women are inferior because they cannot extricate themselves from their messy affects due to their physiological limitations as proven by science. The clinical gaze and the male gaze are coextensive and interrelated in the history of medicine. Browner analyzes the changes from

Eakins's paintings of American medicine, *The Gross Clinic* (1875) to *The Agnew Clinic* (1889), calling attention to a shift from "the doctor as master of the somatic world and the brutal world of surgery" to "the second [as] an allegory of refined masculinity and professionalism" where the female patient's bare breast is prominently displayed to the male audience (144). Cathell's popular manual specifies how the male doctor can manipulate his female patients:

> cold logic and rigid mathematics, chemistry, physiology, and other high theoretical attainments, however much admired abstractly, are not a certain guarantee of popular favor, since they are often attained at the expense of the endearing sentiments [The doctor must] appeal to the weak side of woman – *her emotions* (10; emphasis in original).

One of the cornerstones of doctors' legitimacy came from how "they often derive power from the dependent emotional condition of their clients" (Starr 11). In Bledstein's discussion of doctors, he touches upon the gendered nature of this dynamic: while he notes the importance of science to the purported objectivity of the professional for "Science [was] a source for professional authority transcended the favoritism of politics, the corruption of personality, and the exclusiveness of partisanship," the medical professional "could easily adapt a personal perspective to an intellectual one" (90). For Bledstein, the key example is the treatment of hysteria among middle-class women by male doctors "convinced they were diagnosing a medical problem with a specific etiology" originating from the female sexual organs signified in part by unacceptable emotional displays (90, 109).[12] Similarly for Dana Nelson, the growth of the field of gynecology in the nineteenth century allowed white American men to displace their anxieties about themselves and other white men onto the bodies of women; this endeavour was part of a

[12] Similarly in Foucault, although the omnipresence of the male doctor also goes unremarked other than the ubiquity of male pronouns, the example he chooses to open *The Birth of the Clinic* is the detached description of the treatment of hysteria in a female patient (ix).

larger project: “Professionalizing the desire(s) of national manhood meant institutionalizing as ‘sameness’ the abstracted qualities of ‘white’ manhood through physicalizing, abjecting scientific/medical investigations of otherness, now mobilized as careers” (135). The growth of professionalism allowed these male “experts” to shut out female practitioners by abjecting them from the position of authoritative holders of knowledge by labelling them “amateurs.” Barker-Benfield critiques the narrative of scientific progress that guided these male doctors by identifying the feelings undergirding their ostensible medical professionalism: “It was men’s anxieties about themselves, their fear of the changing status of women, and their desire to conquer and control the innermost power of nature that explains the overturning – in the controlled, medical sphere – of the traditional shibboleth” that previously separated women’s health from male physicians (62). Despite drawing on allegedly objective science, male doctors, however well-intentioned, could use such rationalization as an excuse without concern for its coherent argumentation.

The entrance of women into the profession of medicine meant the reshaping of the attendant structure of feeling for the field characterized by Rush and caricatured by Cuticle. The rush to consolidate and professionalize medical science in the nineteenth century in order to demarcate mainstream American medicine from Indigenous, folk, and alternative forms of healing led to the rise of medical societies and certifications, with the founding of the American Medical Association in 1847 (Coulter 6); however, while the American Medical Association did not admit women or people of colour for decades, the turmoil over certification indicates how the definition of professionalism was in flux during the mid-nineteenth-century, allowing these people to redefine what it means to be a doctor. In 1849, a year before the publication of *White-Jacket*, Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman to graduate from a recognized medical

college, the Geneva College of Medicine. Around the same time period Harriot Hunt repeatedly applied to Harvard Medical College without avail, but had been studying medicine with a Thomsonian physician since 1835 (Schwarzer 165). The first generation of American women physicians included Mary Putnam Jacobi, the author of "The Question of Rest," and Marie Zakrzewska, who founded and ran hospitals and medical schools. By the end of the nineteenth century, women comprised 4 to 5% of the profession, and it attracted more women than any other profession except teaching (Morantz-Sanchez "The Female Student" 63; *Sympathy and Science* 50).[13] In her inaugural address at the opening of the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary on October 1, 1880, Mary Putnam Jacobi declares,

> Human minds are not pint-pots, into which we may pour water or milk or wine at our option; nor are they often Danaides, which may be quickened simply by immersion in a golden rain from heaven. They are living organisms which can only use what they have assimilated and digested, and wrought into the texture of their inmost fibers (346).

Medical knowledge is organic and embodied, not detached from the practitioner. The leading historian on American women doctors, Regina Morantz-Sanchez, identifies feeling as the mode that allowed these women to argue that medicine was a logical extension of the cult of domesticity rather than a violation of the reigning separate spheres ideology; this "domestic feminist" approach, whether conservative in its acceptance of the two spheres or revolutionary in its subversion, played out the ideology's dichotomous paradoxes. After all, according to the "truths" about women's empathy and intuition that naturalized the woman's place in the home,

[13] By 1890 there were 909 practising black physicians, 115 of which were women (More 5). While there were traditions of healing among African American communities outside of the official American profession, in 1847 Dr. David J. Peck was one of the first black men to get a degree from a medical college, Rush Medical College of Chicago, and in 1864 Dr. Rebecca Lee graduated from New England Female Medical College, the first black

"medicine appeared especially suited for women because it combined the alleged authority of science with a dedication to alleviating suffering that seemed inherently female" (*Sympathy* 5). Adam Smith's exploration of sympathy in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) gestures toward the link between feeling and sensation: the feeling of sympathy allows one to imagine the sensations of others, wherein "we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some ideas of his sensations, and even feel something which, though weaker in degree, is not altogether unlike them" (4). Sympathy would allow for a more holistic knowledge of another body than the clinical gaze alone, allowing for treatment of an individual more as a patient than scientific subject. While the fields of gynecology and obstetrics wrest power from midwives, women doctors could feminize science and make scientific the family as part of an evolving definition of womanhood in the mid-nineteenth century. These women could transform the field of Rush and Cuticle by fighting their way from amateur healers to professional doctors under the auspices of bringing a sympathetic approach to the modern American physician of the mid-nineteenth century.

But the one contemporaneous American medical invention credited with ushering in the change from Rush's heroic model as well as the acceptance of women into the profession disrupts the easy essentialist narrative of a progression from masculine insensitivity to feminine sensitivity in professional medicine. On October 16, 1846 Boston dentist T.G. Morton used the vapor of sulphuric or diethyl ether as an anesthetic in a Massachusetts General Hospital demonstration and by 1848 nitrous oxide and chloroform were also accepted anesthetic compounds (Pernick 3). The technology of anesthesia spread more rapidly than vaccination and became commonplace within 7 years of Morton's demonstration (Pernick 3). With anesthesia no

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woman to receive a medical degree (More 4). Since black doctors were excluded from the AMA, they formed the

longer did surgeons have to choose between preserving life and inflicting pain; according to Martin Pernick in his study of the effects of anesthesia on the medical profession, due to increased rates of surgery and a lower death rate, "[w]ith the amount of suffering vastly diminished, the surgeon no longer needed quite so thick a self-protective emotional armor" as had Melville's Dr. Cuticle (235). Subsequently, "the introduction of anesthetics made it possible for women to enter the operating room in a professional capacity, without abandoning their 'feminine sensibilities'" (Pernick 227-8). Morantz-Sanchez agrees, noting that in the earlier mode of American medicine

> "The necessity for manly detachment – which women, it was argued, could not achieve – was often used as an objection to women in medicine. But the use of ether and chloroform weakened this argument and 'feminized' medicine by undermining more generally the heroic image of the physician (60).

The importance of control that Bledstein identified as central to professionalization became more refined since now "professional authority expressed itself, not in claims to abolish pain universally, but in the power to eliminate it selectively – not simply as a result of anesthesia, but of a professional ideology that gave the physician the right to decide who shall suffer and who shall be relieved" (Pernick 234). A far more complicated negotiation of power, knowledge, and feeling comes into play through this medical innovation beyond the Modernist image of T.S. Eliot's passive patient etherized upon a table; as Pernick puts it, "anesthesia made possible a greater range of medical sentiments toward patients – both more routine callousness and more benevolent sensitivity" (235). Given that anesthesia opened up the possibility for the "masculine" cessation of feeling as much as it would allow "feminine" sensibilities not to be

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National Medical Association in 1870 (Pernick 6).

offended by the infliction of pain, I suggest that this gestures not just toward how women practitioners and discourses of feminized feeling softened the medical profession, but toward how women doctors were also given access to the structures of feeling associated with dispassionate science and the unfeeling clinical gaze. Female frigidity was not a pathologized emotionless state but rather a professional choice.

The question of the status of feeling tied to the importance of gender complicates the early history of women doctors in America. In her study of the memoirs by Blackwell, Hunt, and Zakrzewska, Nina Baym comments that all three believed in entering the profession "as a way for women to serve other women" and that "the fact of being a woman is all-determining," implying "a felt need to justify the profession in gender-specific terms" even as "[g]ender is both motive and impediment" (177). Morantz-Sanchez contrasts trailblazers Elizabeth Blackwell and Mary Putnam Jacobi, with the first an example of the prevailing type of "domestic feminists" with a strong sense of a mission for all womankind and the later as the "rational" type. According to Morantz-Sanchez, "This stress on the primacy of the maternal qualities of sympathy and instinct troubled Jacobi because she objected to female-centered, moralistic, and separatist standards for women. Her concern for objective science and the centrality of intellectual endeavor remained fundamentally universalistic and assimilationist" (*Sympathy* 197). Despite her position as a universalist, Jacobi's inaugural address to the Women's Medical College illustrates the difficult balance between her profession and gender as a practitioner. She asserts that the doctor "must be capable of sympathy with physical suffering, at once delicate and profound. To be efficacious, this sympathy must be fine and not blubbering" (347). A patient should "be conscious, also, that notwithstanding this personal sympathy, the physician is studying his case as coolly, impartially, abstractly as if it were a problem in algebra" (348). Here,

Jacobi's admission of the importance of feeling is tempered by detachment and shadowed by her continual use of the male pronoun throughout her speech. The conclusion of her address draws a comparison between the opening of the Women's Medical College and the founding of America: "Theirs is the stuff, these are the characters, this is the austere, self-denying, intelligent heroism, which is needed for our enterprise – for this also still deserves to be called heroic" (356). Through the invocation of "heroism" she re-appropriates the strict masculinity of Rush's philosophy and puts herself and the female medical students in the direct line of descent from the founding father of American medicine. However, earlier in her speech she admits that the embodied experience of a male doctor differs from that of a female one, for a woman requires a different approach to self-presentation so that she may gain the same respect:

> To produce upon the mind of the average public the same impression as may be made by a masculine physician, the woman must exhibit comparatively more force of mind and character, because the force of body is so much less, and in a question of forces the impression unconsciously received from physical size must be taken largely into account (351).

While Jacobi strives toward an impartiality that is traditionally coded as masculine, she acknowledges that "the mass of knowledge, power, and force is still overwhelmingly on the masculine side" (351). Moreover, in an 1891 essay "Woman in Medicine," Jacobi traces the history of women doctors from her perspective and notes the persistence of the separate spheres even in medicine. She pre-empts Barker-Benfield's critique of the rise of gynecology: she notes that the bifurcation of midwifery from medicine was based on the presumption that women needed only "kindness, patience, and native sagacity" while men had access to scientific knowledge (140). She inveighs against the racism and sexism that made possible J. Marion

Sims's gynecological innovations – such as his experiments on unanesthetized enslaved women in Alabama and taking advantage of what she calls the "alert sympathies and open purses" of women philanthropists – allowing men to take leadership roles in the fields of gynecology and obstetrics even while women are often sidelined into these disciplines as "the new medical spheres" rather than going into general practice or scientific research (155, 154).[14] While Sims can take advantage of his gendered and professional privilege to play the part of the unfeeling and objective doctor, Jacobi attacks the still prevalent negative attitude toward women doctors as "purely sentimental" and accuses male physicians of having "abandoned the sentiments proper to their own profession" (196).

While men have used the authority of medical science to proclaim the limitedness of women's abilities based on their alleged affects, even with professional credentials on their side, can women prevail against the underlying imbalance of power? This acquisition of professional power as a practitioner of medicine may seem to elevate the woman doctor, typically an upper middle class white woman, to a status approaching equality with white men – surely, the argument goes, if male doctors had authority over female patients by virtue of the unequal relationship between professional and amateur, might not a woman doctor even have an advantage over an amateur man by dint of her professional knowledge? In other words, shouldn't the doctor know best? I question the limits of a gender role reversal, asking whether the dispassionate clinical gaze can naturalize authority for a woman the way it can for a man by contextualizing the conflict of gendered professionalism in relation to the heteronormative imperative dramatized by the marriage plot that is central to the women doctor novels.

[14] Indeed, the effect of woman-to-woman medical support networks meant that most of a woman doctor's practice was limited to other women and children since "most of the training available to them was at women and children's hospitals founded for the purpose of training women" (Schwarzer 172).

III. Marriage vs. Medicine: Navigating the Separate Spheres

In her memoir *Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women* (1895), Elizabeth Blackwell discusses the circumstances that led her to become the first American woman doctor to graduate from a recognized medical college. Despite a "natural repugnance to the medical line of life," a euphemism for the indelicacy of physiology,

> Other circumstances forced upon me the necessity of devoting myself to some absorbing occupation. I became impatient of the disturbing influence exercised by the other sex. I had always been extremely susceptible to this influence […] But whenever I became sufficiently intimate with any individual to be able to realise what a life association might mean, I shrank from the prospectus, disappointed or repelled (28).

Blackwell turns to a journal from her youth and quotes from it to express the conviction she still holds: "I felt more determined than ever to become a physician, and thus place a strong barrier between me and all ordinary marriage. I must have something to engross my thoughts, some object in life which will fill this vacuum and prevent this sad wearing away of the heart" (28). Her personal investment in her career must come at the cost of marriage; while Blackwell figures her romantic impulses as natural – and her initial disinclination for medicine as inborn – she portrays her chosen profession as the artificial result of transforming heterosexual desire into a vocation, a justification for what might be seen as frigidity. This dichotomy of marriage versus medicine reflects a deep skepticism about the possibility for a complete abandonment of the two spheres ideology; if traditionally feminine emotions could be directed toward the profession of medicine in the public sphere, can there be any feelings left over for the woman's life in the

private? Or does the medical professional structure of feeling act as an anodyne to numb the feelings associated with the normative obligations of husband and family?

The rationale behind this zero sum affective equation for the professional woman inverts Alexis de Tocqueville's famous observation of the two spheres. In *Democracy in America* (1835), de Tocqueville remarks upon the strict gender binary: "In America the independence of woman is irrecoverably lost in the bonds of matrimony" (213). Moreover, he comments, "In no country has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace with the other, but in two pathways which are always different"; however, in his eyes American women seem to accept this division and "It appeared to me, on the contrary, that they attach a sort of pride to the voluntary surrender of their own will, and to make it their boast to bend themselves to the yoke, not to shake it off" (224-5). In her memoir Blackwell expresses the reverse of de Tocqueville's conclusion: the woman physician must lose herself in her profession and bend herself to that yoke and not to the marital one. Marriage and the fear of frigidity haunts the debate surrounding women doctors throughout the century. Jacobi feels an obligation to discuss the inevitable topic of marriage in her 1880 address: "The question of marriage again, which complicates everything else in the life of women, cannot fail to complicate their professional life. It does so, whether the marriage exist or does not exist, that is, as much for married as for unmarried women" (353). By the end of the century, as Clarke's *Sex in Education* still went strong through multiple reprints despite Jacobi's Harvard-award-winning medical rebuttal, Gertrude Stuart Baillie wrote an essay in *Woman's Medical Journal* entitled "Should Professional Women Marry?" (1894). Baillie still feels the need to refute Clarke's argument that women's education has made women "become more or less womanly and lose those charms of person and sentimentality which are supposed to be the

birthright of every woman," stating "[Professional women still have the] same natural instincts as their mothers before them, with the exception, that their liberal education has stored their minds with the fundamental truths of nature. They are not stunted ascetics by any means, but they have learned to make their bodies subservient to their wills" (293). Baillie's language echoes Blackwell's in her insistence that the feelings associated with marriage and motherhood must be re-associated with medicine: women physicians "could not conscientiously give their hand where their heart was not, for their heart was given to their work […] [they] cannot work well under the yoke of matrimony. She lives by and for the people and hence must ever be in readiness to answer their summons, which, should she be married, it might not always be propitious to do so" (294). The demands of the profession offer women doctors an excuse to numb themselves to the emotional demands of domesticity. Like those in the traditional cult of domesticity, women doctors view their work as a moral calling and springing from an innate femininity, but "[t]hey are no longer compelled to sacrifice themselves to their own emotions" and instead work toward greater contributions for the race as a whole (294). Baillie also claims that there are "fewer marriages among women in medicine, than any other profession" (294). It might be said a woman can lose herself irrecoverably either to the bonds of matrimony or to the bonds of vocation.

But despite the ubiquity of this debate, the historical reality belies this impression: women doctors found success both in heterosexual and queer relationships. Morantz-Sanchez states that, contrary to popular assumptions,

> marriage rate for women physicians was disproportionately high in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, until other professionals caught up in the 1940s. Between one-fifth and one-third of women physicians married in the nineteenth century, and by 1900 their

> marriage rate was twice that of all employed women and four times the rate among professional women. (*Sympathy* 135)

She claims that there were successful unions with supportive husbands who were not emasculated by the accomplishments of their wives and in fact celebrated them, as with Thomas Longshore and Hannah E. Myers (*Sympathy* 138). Notably, Mary Putnam Jacobi, the proponent of the rational and scientific assimilationist mode, was married to Dr. Abraham Jacobi. Outside of this heterosexual framework, Morantz-Sanchez asserts that "[m]any [women doctors] were undoubtedly homosexual" and in lifelong relationships with other women (*Sympathy* 133). In some cases, two women doctors would collaborate as colleagues and life partners, with examples such as Lillian Welsh and Mary Sherwood in Baltimore, or Elizabeth Cushier and Emily Blackwell in New York (*Sympathy*133). The majority of the first "cohort" of women doctors did not marry: maternal and sentimental Elizabeth Blackwell remained single as did Harriot Hunt, who called the twenty-fifth year of her professional practice in 1860 her "silver anniversary"; Marie Zakrzewska, who saw her hospital as her love and child; and Harriet Belcher, who said her graduation day from medical school was her wedding day (*Sympathy* 130). These accomplished women doctors created alternatives to the constraints of the separate spheres and embraced the queer spinsterly state to which Clarke condemns intellectual women, rerouting their emotional energies to their professions and to other women.

Still, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the publication of several novels about American women doctors, all of which either revolve around the question of marriage as the narrative's central action or integrate its possibility as part of the plot's climax. In 1881, William Dean Howells started the trend of novels with women doctors as protagonists or major characters with the publication of *Dr. Breen's Practice*; *Doctor Zay* by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, the prolific

author of *The Gates Ajar*, one of the bestselling novels of the century, came out in book form in 1882 after first having a run in Howells's literary magazine the *Atlantic*; regionalist writer Sarah Orne Jewett's *A Country Doctor* emerged in 1884; and suffrage and women's education activist Annie Nathan Meyer finished the century with *Helen Brent M.D.* in 1891.[15] In Howells's *Dr. Breen's Practice*, the titular Grace Breen, a homeopath, [16] struggles with her vocation and ends up marrying factory owner Walter Libby after rejecting Dr. Rufus Mulbridge, an allopath or doctor of conventional medicine. While she gives up a conventional medical practice, Grace does treat the families of the workers in her husband's factory. Phelps's homeopathic[17] Zaidee Atalanta Lloyd, known as "Doctor Zay," coolly rebuffs the advances of her patient Waldo Yorke while continuing her work, but eventually returns his affections by the narrative's end when he promises she can keep her profession. Jewett's *A Country Doctor* is the bildungsroman of the headstrong orphan Anna "Nan" Prince who shows a natural aptitude for medicine under the tutelage of Dr. John Leslie; the novel concludes with Nan turning down a chance at marriage in order to pursue her vocation through medical school. Annie Nathan Meyer's Dr. Helen Brent opens her story by winning a prestigious grant and founding a medical school, but her fiancée cannot handle her professional aspirations and marries another. While Dr. Brent continues to do exemplary work, her ex-lover learns the error of his ways when his frivolous bride runs off with a notorious rake; Meyer ends her novel with the fiancée's letter admitting his narrow-minded

[15] Women doctors appeared as minor characters in stories such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's "My Wife and I" (1871), Rebecca Harding Davis's "A Day with Doctor Sarah," Mary Louise Alcott's *Jo's Boys* (1886), and Henry James's *The Bostonians* (1886).

[16] Perhaps of the many reasons Howells' and Phelps' novels have received less attention is due to the fact that their women doctors practice homeopathy as opposed to conventional medicine. According to Harris L. Coulter, homeopathy represented the greatest threat to orthodox medicine as opposed to other schools or medical trends because it had "an integrated and coherent doctrinal basis for its therapeutic practices" and "it recruited its practitioners to a large extent from among the ranks of orthodox physicians" (6). This threat is what prompted the creation of the American Medical Association – to destroy public confidence in homeopathy. Nonetheless, homeopathy was fashionable among the upper classes in America through the end of the nineteenth century (Rothstein 166).

foolishness and pleading for the doctor's affection once more on her terms. Of these four works, Jewett's *A Country Doctor* has garnered the most critical attention, with Howell's and Phelps's novels receiving recognition through analysis in relation to Jewett's. Meyer's *Helen Brent M.D.* largely remains an obscure footnote to the other three. The persistence and popularity of the debate about the alleged incompatibility between medicine and marriage in the women doctor novels illustrates its importance in dramatizing the tensions between the two structures of feeling as women professionals navigated between the two spheres.

On the surface, the four novels in their order of publication roughly suggest a triumphant evolution of the woman doctor's struggle to achieve work-life balance according to her own terms. The British doctor Sophia Jex-Blake[18] reviews Howells and Phelps in an 1893 essay "Medical Women in Fiction" in a piece on books about women doctors from both sides of the Atlantic without the pretense of "any literary estimate of the books mentioned,"[19] only to evaluate the novels for the accuracy of their representation of women doctors (261). Jex-Blake gives a scathing review of Howell's *Dr. Breen's Practice*, calling Grace "the kind of woman who never ought to have undertaken a medical career," who can barely diagnose pneumonia, but the true indignity is that Grace's impetus for going into medicine stems from "the inevitable 'disappointment,'" a euphemism for a failure in love (265). Jex-Blake concedes that Howells had reasons to choose Grace as a character, but laments that "those who know even a few of the hundreds of hard-headed, cool, and capable medical women of America can hardly avoid regret

[17] One tenth of all physicians were sectarian in the nineteenth century (Squier 121).
[18] Sophia Jex-Blake was in a lifelong relationship with Dr. Margaret Todd who later became her biographer. At the end of "Medical Women in Fiction," Jex-Blake praises *Mona Maclean, Medical Student* for its accuracy – this novel was written by Todd under a pseudonym.
[19] The one other American text Jex-Blake discusses is James's *The Bostonians*. She praises his depiction of Dr. Mary J. Prance for "such vivid touches" that "present a far more living personality, and enable medical readers to imagine more correctly even the standard of professional ability implied" (268).

that it was not one of these that was taken as the type to be portrayed on Mr. Howells's picturesque canvas" (266). She turns to Phelps's novel, commenting

> I do not know whether *Dr. Zay* was written as a practical protest against *Dr. Breen's Practice*, but it would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast than is presented by the heroines in the two books. If Dr. Breen was exceptionally weak and morbid, Dr. Zay is almost preternaturally robust and healthy, in mind and body; and the amount of work she gets through without perceptible effort, and without loss of physical beauty and bloom, is enough to excite envy in the minds of most practitioners of either sex (266).

Jex-Blake is disconcerted by the "shadowless perfection of the heroine," but appreciates "that we are in this case spared the traditional 'disappointment'" (267, 266). She does not, however, mention how the narrative ends.[20] While Howells only began the serialization of Phelps's *Doctor Zay* after his *Dr. Breen's Practice* was completed, he encouraged her work; however, Phelps wrote back to Howells to say, "I don't feel that Dr. Breen is a fair example of professional women; indeed, I know she is not for I know the class thoroughly from long personal observation under unusual opportunities" (qtd. in Masteller 135). With the publication of Jewett's *A Country Doctor* a few years later, a review in the *Nation* commented on the trend of three acclaimed and popular authors writing about women doctors that it "makes it worthwhile to compare their stories closely" (Masteller 135). After Howell's weak Grace Breen and Phelps's strong although eventually dependent Dr. Zay, Jewett's defiantly single Nan Prince is viewed by critics such as Jean Masteller and Marjorie Pryse as the "symbol of the future" and truly modern (141; 230). As for Meyer's Helen Brent, the force of her professionalism and righteousness is able to bend her partner into accepting her own terms of what a marriage should be; notably,

[20] Neither of the books lives up to her standard for an accurate portrayal of medical science, but this might be due to an anti-homeopathic bias since Jex-Blake dealt in conventional medicine. See footnote 5.

Meyer was the editor for the *Woman's Work in America* volume in which Mary Putnam Jacobi's essay on women doctors appeared, and in Meyer's introduction to the collection she defends her choice not to have an essay on women and marriage, because "so far as I knew women had never been denied that privilege, and so it could have no legitimate place in my book" (iii). These novels depict the range of women doctors' affective negotiations with the structures of feeling delineated by the separate spheres through the narrative's depiction of marriage.

It is easy to look down upon Howells's Grace Breen for not acting as a towering pillar of strength like the subsequent women doctor characters; feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton objects to Howells's portrayal of women, claiming there is "a lamentable want of common sense in all his woman" but admits that in light of the genre of realism that he helped to found, "They may be true to nature, but as it is nature under false conditions, I should rather have some pen portray the ideal woman, and paint a type worthy of our imitation" (qtd. in Masteller 144). Undeniably Dr. Grace Breen is described variously by the narrator as having "a child's severe morality," and acting like an "inexperienced girl," and a "shame-smitten child" (14, 76, 248). But I suggest that a generous reading of Grace Breen would note the realistic portrayal of the pressures of the burden of representation and the debilitating effects of continual sexist undermining; Howell's problematic and ambiguous depiction of his protagonist illustrates her negotiations with the affect, gender, and professional power. She does choose a medical career in homeopathy because "she had an unhappy love affair" and decides to redirect her affective energies into vocational work "with the intention of giving her life to it, in the spirit in which other women enter convents, or go out to heathen lands" but the narrator notes "probably this conception had its exaggerations" (11, 12). Grace feels the shadow of such unnamed medical luminaries as Elizabeth Blackwell and Mary Putnam Jacobi and her 'failure' at the cult of domesticity: "I

wished to be a physician because I was a woman, and because – because – I had failed where – other women's hopes are" (43). The newly graduated Grace Breen wanted to go to a factory town to practice under the guidance of an older physician, but her plans are derailed by the needs of her only patient, her friend Louise, who is separated from her husband and continually prefers to defer to male doctors; she dismisses Grace's recommendations by telling her "that's what the doctor *said*" – for Louise, the word "doctor" is always implicitly male (9). Later on, Louise makes this assumption explicit when she states, "'I want a *man* doctor'" (64). Moreover, there is the implication that she has an inability to adopt the professional structure of feeling required as a doctor and cannot unpack her own ingrained assumptions about the separate spheres. She cannot "coldly bear the confusion to which her being a doctor put men" and even her "show of calm" is a "tense effort" (11, 14). Thinking back to medical school, she used to prize "masculine simplicity […] but the over-success of some young women, her fellows at the school, in this direction had disgusted her with it, and she had perceived that after all there is nothing better for a girl even a girl who is a doctor of medicine, than a ladylike manner" (96). Her self-doubt extends to other women attempting to make their work in the public sphere: when told that women work as telegraph operators, she wonders, "Can they trust young women with such important duties?" (111). Grace's affective inclination toward the cult of domesticity means she could not sublimate these feelings into the dispassionate structure of feeling required of a medical professional.

Of the four women doctor characters, Nan Prince and Helen Brent are the most legible as exceptional role models, meant to shape the future of both the profession and personal lives through sheer representational force. Meyer's understudied novel is didactic in its empowerment of women. Dr. Helen Brent's exchange with her lawyer fiancé Harold Skidmore is explicit about

the symbolic power of their relationship. Feeling emasculated by Helen's professional success, Harold demands that she surrender her career for the sake of their upcoming wedding: "a woman who can deliberately give up a man's love, a wife's sphere, the only true and real life for a woman, is not capable of suffering. If you really loved me, you would have given up all this, your ambition, your profession – everything. That is love," he cries (25-6). Helen flips around the scenario to the "sphere of the husband," asking him, "Have we not both devoted our lives, our hopes, and thoughts to our professions?" and reverses the demand: "I dare not link my life to yours unless you will give up your law" (31). Harold enters a marriage with an intellectually lightweight woman while Helen continues her professional successes; she proves to be as apt at diagnosing people as diseases since she predicts the nature of the rake who runs off with Harold's wife. The reunion of Helen and Harold is predicted by the dialogue between the doctor and her sister about the importance of marriage to the women's movement: "How can the woman of the future be happily married? Or is she to renounce it forever," citing an editorial in "a prominent woman's journal lately, which seemed to think the problem would be solved if professional women would not marry" (128). Helen asks, "Is it wise for women simply to give up the struggle, and to turn their backs on marriage, saying 'Such is not for us?'" (129). This is not a struggle that Helen intends to give up for her own sake as well as for all womankind, but she refuses to be the one who gives in; it is Harold who writes contritely to his former love at the novel's end that "some day there will come at your gates a broken Harold, as a supplicant he will come, hat off, eyes lowered, kneeling in the dust" (195-6). Meyer's novel concludes on an optimistic note: if women's roles change, so must men's for everyone's mutual betterment.

In contrast to the straightforward force of *Helen Brent MD*, Jewett's *A Country Doctor* views the potential queerness of the woman doctor as a source of strength. Jewett naturalizes

Nan's affinity for medical science, by making her an inheritor of the masculine profession whose sympathies are invested in her work and not in the domestic sphere. The daughter of a doctor herself, Jewett portrays Nan's mentor Dr. John Leslie as the epitome of the ideal doctor whose authoritative gaze encompasses the diagnosis of life itself: he is "singularly self-reliant and composed," "wielder of great powers over the enemies, disease, and pain," whose "true manhood, his mastery of himself" allows him to "instinctively [take] command" (33). As a child, Nan puts a turkey's broken leg into a splint after watching how Dr. Leslie did it; Marilla remarks, "Her father studied medicine, you know. It is the most amazing thing how people inherit" before she cuts herself off from speaking about Nan's deceased father (62). Nan inherits a predilection for medicine both from her biological father, "a young assistant surgeon who was on the old frigate Fortune" (in echoes of Melville's Dr. Cuticle), and her spiritual father, Dr. Leslie (98). While this lineage of male doctors validates her interest, the novel works to decouple the profession from gender; as Ann Shapiro argues about Jewett's work, "In fact, women, like men, must follow their inner yearnings and perform life roles that are suitable for the individual, regardless of gender" (75). Dr. Leslie defends Nan's dream to be a doctor from his friend Dr. Ferris's criticisms: "'I don't care whether it's a man's work or a woman's work; if it is hers I'm going to help her the very best way I can'" (106). Dr. Ferris retorts, "but don't be disappointed when she's ten years older if she picks out a handsome young man and thinks there is nothing like housekeeping" (107).

Despite Dr. Ferris's false prophecy, he does express the underlying affective logic that Jewett's novel holds reminiscent of trailblazing Elizabeth Blackwell: if Nan gives her heart to medicine, she cannot give her heart in marriage. Or, rather, this affective equation acts as an excuse for her to be strategically frigid: unfeelingly indifferent toward the idea of matrimony and

the limitations it poses to her professional ambitions. Dr. Leslie agrees, "I believe it is a mistake for such a woman to marry" for "the law of her nature is that she must live alone and work alone" (137). Even at the end of the novel, he asserts that "The two cannot be taken together in a woman's life as in a man's" (335). In her transgression between the spheres, there is something a bit queer about Nan: [21] her mentor notes that "Nan's feeling toward her boy-playmates is exactly the same as toward the girls she knows" (137). Similarly, the other girls try to ward off the possible lesbian undertones tied to Nan's love of medicine: "They assured themselves that their schoolmate showed no sign of being the sort of girl who tried to be mannish and to forsake her natural vocation for a profession" (160). As for Nan, her professional aspirations are naturalized through feelings: as she grows up, "her inward sympathy with a doctor's and surgeon's work grew stronger and stronger" and upon graduating from school "Her whole heart went out to this work" (161, 166). When Nan almost becomes involved with lawyer George Gerry, it is because he "had none of the manner which constantly insisted upon her remembering that he was a man and she was a girl" (244). She does not even notice his growing affections as she professes "And my whole heart is in it" when talking about her career (248). Nan's relationship with George symbolizes her affective struggle between profession and personal life as well as against the traditional gendering of both. George "had a great prejudice against the usurpation of men's duties and prerogatives by women, and had spoken of all such assumptions with contempt" and he proposes to her because "all his manliness was at stake, and his natural rights would be degraded and lost, if he could not show his power to be greater than her own" (294, 295). To such a man a woman like Nan as a doctor is an emasculating spectre: when the two of them come across a man with a dislocated shoulder, Nan handily fixes it and George "felt weak and

[21] Josephine Donovan is one of the first critics to note the queerness of Nan and claims that the character is Jewett's answer to influential nineteenth-century sexologist Krafft-Ebing "who saw women's choice of masculine vocations

womanish, and somehow wished it had been he who could play the doctor" (266). George, too, draws upon the realm of feeling to naturalize his conservative bent since he professes to love her; as Nan acknowledges, "I know that all the world's sympathy and all tradition fight on his side" (321). But though she might be called insensitive, she is responding to an even greater calling than the feelings of heteronormativity: "The law of right and wrong must rule even love" and "Most girls have an instinct toward marrying, but mine is all against it" (317, 320). Despite the emotional tug of the structure of feeling associated with the domestic sphere presented by George Gerry's entreaties, Nan's affects bind her to the vocation of medicine and she can detach herself from the demands of heterosexual love. Nan's confident refusal of George's love indicates her embrace of the queer possibilities implied by the role of the woman doctor.

IV. The Normative Power of Love

In Clarke's *Sex in Education,* the doctor attempts to invoke the support of female voices, citing the "gifted authoress of *The Gates Ajar*" as a source of evidence about feminine weaknesses (24). His choice of citation is poor: in one of the most notable rebuttals to Clarke's popular treatise, Julia Ward Howe's edited volume *Sex and Education: A Reply to Dr. E.H. Clarke's 'Sex in Education'* (1874), Elizabeth Stuart Phelps herself writes a scathing riposte in Howe's volume. She promotes women's ways of knowing as more embodied and experiential: "Thousands of women will not believe what the author of 'Sex in Education' tells them, *simply because they know better*. Their own unlearned experience stands to them in refutation of his learned statements" (127). Instead, Phelps asserts, "Every healthy woman physician knows better; and it is only the woman physician, after all, whose judgment can ever approach the

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as unnatural, indeed pathological" (24).

ultimate uses of the physician's testimony to these questions" in terms of women's health and overall nature (130).

Written by a champion of women doctors, Phelps's *Doctor Zay* is troubling since it depicts a character who fits the mold of the exceptional woman and seems committed to her personal independence, but finally acquiesces to a man's love at a time when marriage acts as a fraught symbolic choice in the battle of feeling that can validate or discredit a woman doctor's career. Unlike the other novels about women doctors and, indeed, Phelps's other works about women and their careers, *Doctor Zay* stands out as the only one that focalizes exclusively upon the major male character, unemployed lawyer Waldo Yorke, and not the woman doctor, Dr. Zaidee Atalanta Lloyd herself. The corollary to my discussion of the professional woman is the amateur man threatened by the shift in institutional authority – and it is no coincidence that this new type of man is often both love interest and challenger to the new type of woman. It is not insignificant that the word "amateur" comes from the Latin *amare* "to love" (OED "amateur"). Carolyn Dinshaw argues for attention to the potential of the amateur to open up "different ways of knowing and sources of knowledge" beyond the demarcated sphere of the professional (24); she claims that the love and desire of the amateur can open up heterogeneous possibilities and temporalities away from the progressive or developmental modernity defined by detached professionalism. Amateurism in the woman doctor novel offers a caveat: here, amateurism operates to empower these men's affective and nostalgic attachment to the separate spheres ideal of the pre-professionalized woman in the family and in the home. It is worth remembering that the name of love can be marshalled for reactionary ends: as Sara Ahmed points about the language of love, "Love becomes a sign of respectable femininity, and of maternal qualities narrated as the capacity to be touched by others. The reproduction of femininity is tied up with

the reproduction of the national ideal through the work of love" and therefore sanitizes and naturalizes the injustices (124). Masculine anxiety over the new woman could swathe its chauvinism in well-meaning affection, thereby domesticating the professional woman and drawing her back into the private sphere.

As we have seen in Meyer and Jewett, the male lawyer appears in the woman doctor novel as the romantic challenger to her authority, representing the force of gender inequality sometimes naturalized as the law of nature. I wish to contrast Phelps's doctor-lawyer dyad, Zay and Yorke, against both the triumphant queerness of Nan, who rejects Gerry for her career, and the equally triumphant Helen with her Harold, who has both medicine and marriage. I read against the ostensibly happy ending of the novel in order to tease out a more skeptical and complex negotiation of feeling, gender, and knowledge: despite the seeming reversal of the gendered power dynamic through a conflict between professional woman and amateur man, *Doctor Zay* explores the split between the clinical gaze and the male gaze and how women's access to professional authority does not overcome the divide between the separate spheres. Instead, heteronormativity reasserts itself through feeling since, in a perverse parallel of women's use of feeling to justify entering the field of medicine, Yorke uses the "natural" imperatives of heterosexual love and the position of the amateur against the "artificial" construct of professional unfeeling.

In *Doctor Zay* Phelps presents a woman who appears to agree that a career is enough through the eyes of a man who wants to impose his love on her. Waldo Yorke of Boston is presented as the opposite of a professional: he is so idle that despite his training as a lawyer his well-bred mother remarks, "Your having a profession so seldom occurs to one, Waldo" (6). On his trip through Maine, "He leaned to the splendors through which he journeyed, enthusiastically,

but criticised Nature, like an amateur, while he drank" (7). He soon gets impatiently hungry and tries to ask for directions to the town of Sherman but is unsuccessful with the local people until he comes across a young woman riding alone in a phaeton. He immediately reads her gender and class as part of his unthinking prerogative: she is "unmistakably, a lady. The young man – being a young man – took in with subtle swiftness a sense of her youth, for she was young; of her motions, which were lithe" (17). She gives him directions and lets him follow her to Sherman. She addresses him "simply as one gentleman might have spoken to another," but his subsequent close reading of her helpful directions reframes her words in a feminine, almost flirtatious way:

> "If his horse were not too tired," – what a delicate fashion of comparison the exhausted and now abject-looking Bangor pony with her own sturdy little steed! "Distantly in sight," – could language more? Faint, swift, maidenly afterthought to the kindly impulse! Yorke had wrought himself into rather a glow (20).

But soon the mysterious woman's phaeton easily outpaces his horse, leaving Yorke to lag behind. He is left trailing in her wake and becomes disoriented at a crossroads when she is out of sight, but then he sees "an apple-blossom" in the dust and sees it as a possibly romantic sign from her as well as directions to the town (25). In an inversion of the Greek myth, Atalanta has defeated Meleager in the race and it is he who is left behind, with the apple-blossom acting as a catalyst rather than as a distraction.

Finally in Sherman, Yorke is injured in an accident with his horse, leaving him to the ministering of a mysterious doctor who turns out to be the woman from before. Before his doctor's gender is revealed, Yorke is willing to accept the professional's authority. When Yorke demands to see his physician, Mrs. Isaiah Butterwell, the co-proprietor of the hotel, tells the invalid what the doctor said: "he was to be the judge when it was best possible for you to see

your physician. If you asked, I was to say that you will have every possible attention, and I was to say that all depends on our obedience" (37). In response, "He understood perfectly that he was a subject for science" (38). But when he awakes, he finds a woman by his side and demands to see the doctor again: "'The doctor has been here,' said the woman who was serving as nurse, 'nearly all night'" (40). Yorke is unable to conceive that this woman is anything but a nurse, which she exploits with aplomb by saying that the doctor will be changing his bandages. Yorke cannot turn his head to see the doctor and notes the hand possessed "a practiced touch," but then "The color slowly struck and traversed the young man's ghastly face": "But this is a woman's hand!" he repeatedly exclaims (42, 44). Yorke's preconceived notion of the separate spheres becomes complicated through the sensation, or rather, feeling of her hand upon his injured body. Dr. Zay responds in the language of the medical professional who knows how to control pain and feeling: "It is not a rough hand, I hope. It will not inflict more pain than it must […] it will inflict all that it ought. It is not afraid" (43).

In order to reorient himself from the shock of being under the care of a woman doctor, Yorke asks, "Come round here […] I want to look at you" (43). Timothy Murray claims that Yorke eroticizes Zay through her professional ethics as part of "a romantic, erotic fantasy in order to teach [the novel's] readers how to value a professional woman" and claims "The narrative, from Yorke's perspective, becomes one of erotic suspense: will the cold professional front of the physician ever melt?" (no page). But I suggest that this reading does not take into consideration the subtle power negotiations between the duelling authorities of Dr. Zay's professional clinical gaze and Waldo Yorke's amateur male gaze. The doctor complies with her patient's request and Yorke beholds "a woman of medium height, with a well-shaped head" and "repeated his nervous phrase: – 'I'm in a woman's hands!'" (44). His agitation leads to the

displacement of a bandage that exposes a severed artery. Dr. Zay reacts with "a motion remarkable for its union of swiftness with great composure. Her face had a stern but perfectly steady light," and she acts "calmly" and "quietly" as she uses an artery forceps to ligate the artery with "a firm and fearless touch" (46-7). While a later conversation reveals her knowledge of anesthesia, she uses none and completes the surgery with a skillful minimization of the pain, thereby setting up the novel's central dilemma of feeling between doctor and patient: frigid, she appears to feel nothing while he feels everything that she inflicts on him. Yorke faints and later awakens, with the two of them looking at each other, revealing the very different perspectives of their gazes: "She saw a very haggard-looking young fellow, with a sane eye and a wan smile. He saw a blooming creature" (49). Throughout this scene she only acts professional as she performs the checkup, asking questions and assessing his vitals: she takes his pulse "in a business-like way" whereas he "experienced a certain embarrassment" from her clinical attention (51). He tries to wrest answers from her, but she avoids his questions, instead forcing him to remain passively in bed for the sake of his convalescence. Yorke complains, "'You are arbitrary, Miss – Dr. Lloyd.' She gave him a cool, keen look. 'That is my business, she said'" (52). In the midst of her work diagnosing his injuries and the state of his health, Yorke has been trying to diagnose whether or not she meets his standard of beauty: "He thought it was a fine, strong face; he did not know but it might be safe to call it beautiful" (50). When she asks him her probing, professional questions, he thinks "She is not beautiful" (50), but when she says she appreciates his confidence in her as a medical professional, "he thought once more she was a beautiful woman" (50, 53). Her status as a doctor in his eyes is inextricable from his evaluation of her as a woman.

Dr. Zay embodies the consummate professional homeopath, but Phelps illustrates how the structure of feeling required for doctors leads to this affective slippage, with Yorke desperately trying to read her care for him as affection. Homeopathy was a particularly feminized form of medicine in nineteenth-century America: sectarian medical colleges were more likely to accept women as shown in an 1884 survey of Chicago in which 40% of women practitioners were regular versus 60% sectarian compared to 70% of male practitioners who were regular versus 25% sectarian (Fine 252). Homeopathy was particularly popular among female patients due to "the avoidance of regular medicine's harsh therapies" and in 1869 the American Institute of Homeopathy claimed that two-thirds of all its patients were women since women patients would recommend homeopathy to other women (Squier 121, 128). In her memoir, Phelps adds to her personal creed: "I believe in the homeopathic system of therapeutics. I am often told by skeptical friends that I hold this belief on a par with the Christian religion; and am not altogether inclined to deny that sardonic impeachment!" (252). She expands on what she believes must be the balance of feeling for the medical professional in an 1909 essay "Sympathy as Remedy" for *Harper's Bazaar*:

> It may require a certain element of apparent indifference to take care of the continually and painfully sick. It is said behind the scenes that our nurses are taught by the medical staff in their training schools not to cultivate sympathy with patients, lest it wear out the nerves of the nurse [but Phelps believes] Every school of medicine should give a series of lectures upon the nature and value of human sympathy. A diploma in tenderness is as necessary to a doctor or a nurse as a course in dissection (745).

Thus, homeopathy was a school of medicine that required caring and sympathy as part of its professional makeup; Pernick comments that another reason for its sectarian success had to do

with the push against heroic medicine's callousness and a call for greater sensitivity (114). Yorke does not understand that her sympathetic attention is professional and just thinks that "Many of her questions were more personal than he expected" and is uncertain why she asks him intimate details that seem unrelated to his injuries (50).[22] She is attentive to his needs and even entertains his questions before she goes off to another case; her affective investment is in her career for the sake of other women since her mother was only helped during her illness by women doctors in Boston and Paris and she hopes to "do as much for some one else's mother" (76). Indeed, her mother believed that a particular feeling was needed for the vocation of medicine and her mother "encouraged that feeling" for "no one was fit to enter the profession who did not have it" (161). Moreover, Yorke asks for homeopathic care because of his mother's preferences and Mrs. Butterwell calls it "better, kinder" than regular medicine (39); not insignificantly, Starr adds that due to the nature of the homeopathic doctor-patient relationship, "The parallel with certain schools of modern psychiatry will be obvious," and it is difficult not to observe some form of transference happening in Yorke's mind and heart (97).

While the frame of female doctor and male patient might be assumed to overturn the conventional gendered power dynamic by creating a role reversal, in fact Dr. Zay's medical professionalism is paradoxically a tactic of unfeeling frigidity as much as it is a catalyst for Yorke's feelings for her.[23] Mrs. Butterwell tries to discourage Yorke's affections by pointing out the context of Dr. Zay's professional responsibilities: "I wouldn't waste your feelings sir, […] Feelings are too rich cream to be skimmed for nothing. Doctor would have done her duty by you,

[22] Notably, some women doctors' records of their patients were known as "heart histories" (Wood 46).
[23] The ensuing relationship is always read by critics as a triumphant gender role reversal due to the assumption that the frame of female doctor and male patient overturns the conventional gendered power dynamic. The claim goes that if Dr. Zay is masculinized through medicine, Waldo Yorke is feminized as a patient. A popular line of argument contextualizes the relationship in terms of the prevalent treatment of female hysteria by male doctors.

anyhow" (57). But the realm of feeling is precisely Yorke's battlefield and strategy as an amateur pitted against a professional in her domain. Professional woman versus amateur man is not a true role reversal: as with many so-called reversals such as reverse racism or sexism, the mere act of flipping conventions does not undo the pre-existing imbalance of power and in fact presumes a false equivalency, confusing the strategies that power uses to justify itself with the determining origins of power. Much as the domestic feminists were able to use the naturalized importance of domestic feelings within the separate spheres ideology to shift from the private sphere to the public, Yorke also uses the "natural" amateur imperative of heterosexual love to fight against Dr. Zay's "unnatural" professional edifice of unfeeling; the warmth of his passion attempts to melt her frigidity. Here, amateurism operates to empower Yorke's affective and nostalgic attachment to the separate spheres ideal of the pre-professionalized woman in the family and in the home. The benevolence of love cloaks Yorke's anxieties about the new professional woman and becomes a means of control – in a parallel to Dr. Clarke's seemingly well-meaning concern in his infamous treatise's subtitle "A Fair Chance for Girls," he loves her not just for himself but for her own good.

Yorke as a character, however, is not a complete amateur in the professional world, although he is in terms of his interactions with Dr. Zay: his training as a lawyer points to the allegorical clash between law and science. Recalling the origin of the doctor as professional, law is one of the three original gentlemanly professions and, like medicine, lays claim to "esoteric knowledge about the universe" and thereby hold a "moral authority" through this claim to power (Bledstein 90). Unlike medicine, however, the field of law did not open to nineteenth-century women to the same degree despite a similar upheaval in terms of organizational licensing, the growth of specialized schools, and shifting definitions of professionalism: by the end of the

century, there were only about 1,000 female lawyers to 113, 500 males as compared to 7,400 female doctors compared to 124, 600 male doctors (Bledstein 120). Morantz-Sanchez compares the entrance of women in the two professions: "Though women lawyers justified their legal work in a similar fashion, it was harder for them to prove that law was an extension of women's natural sphere; indeed, few women preferred law to medicine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (*Sympathy* 62). Yorke's status as a non-practising lawyer gestures to the law's symbolic value as another powerful (and more masculine) regime of truth to rival Dr. Zay's scientific authority – a law that poses as natural. I suggest that this gendered clash of knowledge-power discourses narratively coded through the dichotomy of law versus science explains the reoccurring trope of male lawyers versus female doctors, usually in a romantic context or some other form of conflict, in almost all of the American novels about women doctors in the nineteenth century: not only lawyer Waldo Yorke versus Dr. Zay, but lawyer George Gerry versus doctor-to-be Nan Prince in Jewett's *A Country Doctor*, lawyer Harold Skidmore versus Dr. Helen Brent in Meyer's *Helen Brent, M.D.*, and, to a lesser extent, even lawyer Basil Ransom versus Dr. Mary Prance in Henry James's *The Bostonians*.

Phelps's novel raises the possibility of the gender role reversal between Yorke and Doctor Zay, but only to critique that reversal as a self-pitying strategy of Yorke's that obfuscates structural gender inequality. It is true that his sense of abandonment when Dr. Zay is too busy to tend to him gives him some perspective, 'How *dare* men ridicule or neglect sick women?' thought Waldo Yorke" (84), and his illness might be interpreted as feminizing him: "that beautiful submission to the inevitable which he flattered himself he was cultivating to an extent that *might almost* be called feminine, and assuredly was super-masculine" (69; emphasis added). And her mannerisms are sometimes read by Yorke as masculine: "She leaned back in her chair

with a look of annoyance, drumming lightly upon the table, with that nervous protest of the fingertips, which is a more natural expression of irritation among men than women" (95). Yet there are continual reminders that she cannot truly be masculine nor have access to its attendant privileges: when returning from hard work treating diphtheria, "If she had been a man, one would have said she strode by him into the house. As it was, she had a long nervous, absorbed step" (106). Whenever Yorke entertains the possibility that there might be a gender role reversal, it is to comfort himself with a sense of wounded victimhood: "It was apt, he remembered, to be the woman whom nature or fate, God or at least man (the same thing, doubtless, to her), had relegated to the minor note. It occurred to him that in this case he seemed to have struck it himself" (97). Similarly, when he guiltily realizes how busy she has been with her work to the point of affecting her health he muses,

> If he could have arisen like a man, and bridged it, or like a hero, and leaped into it, she would never, he said to himself doggedly, have this exquisite advantage over him. He lay there like a woman, reduced from activity to endurance, from resolve to patience (119).

In these cases the reversal occurs in Yorke's mind to heighten his sense of the unnatural fairness of the situation. Notably during the first near acceptance of gender role reversal, his prerogative of the male gaze still remains: while she has "the decisive step which only women of business acquire," "he liked to see that she had not lost the grace of movement due to her eminently womanly form. She had preserved the curves of femineity [sic]" (97). Dr. Zay herself acknowledges that she cannot deny her womanhood and in fact feels it keenly through her profession: "'There are new questions constantly arising,' she went on, 'for a woman in my position. One ceases to be an individual. One acts for the whole, – for the sex, for the cause, for a future'" (122). She breaks down the double standard that women require both "force" and

"fineness" in order to master healing, a requirement that "will be demanded of women, because they are women, such as has never been expected of men, or perhaps been possible to them" (165). Due to this continual slippage between her role as a woman doctor and her presence as a woman, she is put into an impossible position of fending off his advances since she can never be just a doctor in Yorke's eyes.

While she has given him an opening to declare his love, it does appear that she is victorious because her medical knowledge brutally refutes his amateur's knowledge of himself; however, she cannot completely invalidate his feelings. The increasing lack of power she has over him is apparent even though she repeatedly uses her medical expertise to freeze his heart when he declares his love, diagnosing it as mere nerves:

> "Do you presume to tell a man he doesn't know when he loves a woman?" cried Yorke, quivering, stung beyond endurance.
>
> "You are not in love," she said calmly, "you are only nervous" (191).

But he does not give up. Earlier he longed, with an amateur's nostalgia, for a simpler past of heterosexual love, "How was a man going to approach this new and confusing type of woman? the old codes were all astray. Were the old impulses ruled out of order, too?" (186). Yorke answers his own question by continuing to act upon those "old impulses." She tries to shut him down when he asks "Are you a woman?" by answering "I am a doctor" (193). He takes this opportunity to brandish the gendered imperative of the separate spheres and turn her medical authority into a liability through the dichotomy of natural feelings versus unnatural unfeeling. To put it simply, he accuses her of frigidity: "'You are wrong! He cried. 'You are cold, unnatural! It was unwomanly in you to tell me I was only nervous!'" (195). He forces his male emotional prerogative upon her: "'I will love you. You cannot help it. I will tell you so. You cannot help it.

You must accept it. You must endure it. You must remember it. I shall not allow you to forget it,'" and ultimately despite the temporary frame of doctor-patient, "'It is insufferable that any woman should treat any man as you treat me. Because I am a patient, am I not a man?'" (197). In their final conversation before Waldo Yorke returns to Boston, he echoes arguments against the totalizing effects of scientificity through the validation of alternate ways of knowing and feeling: "The physiological basis is not the only [valid perspective] on which life to be taken, Doctor Zay. I have told you before, that I am a man as well as a patient" (206). She calls this confrontation "a case of aphonia and aphasia," that is, "inability to speak" and "inability to say certain things" which Yorke dismisses as "a scientific reply" (207). Perhaps in the most telling moment, he persists, "'I love you,' he repeated, – 'I love you!' as if the fact itself must be an appeal inexorable as the laws of light, or gravitation, or any natural code which she could not infringe without penalty," which reminds us that as a non-practising symbolic lawyer he is representative of such a naturalized code of authority (208). Although he promises he would not have her give up medicine, her rejection makes him speak bitterly on behalf of the separate spheres dichotomy exemplified by Dr. Clarke that she has lost the womanly capacity for feeling: "I believe they are right […] A woman cannot follow a career without ruin to all that is noblest and sweetest and truest in her nature. Your heart is as hard as your lancet. Your instinct has become as cruel" (210). She seems to embrace the unfeeling adjectives he uses for her frigidity – she claims them as "my 'heartlessness,' my 'cruelty,' my 'unwomanliness'" – and labels this talk of love mere "pathological sentiment" (211).

The change that takes place in Dr. Zay when Waldo Yorke returns to the town of Sherman may look bizarre after her rhetorical successes in their fraught conversations. Atalanta seems to choose to surrender in the race of love, for the novel ends with her "glid[ing] across the

little distance that lay between them" to accept Yorke's proposal. Perhaps the aphonia and aphasia she spoke of was her own diagnosis of herself and not of Yorke because she was so bound up in her professional obligations as a doctor that her feelings were numbed and muted. Or, as I suggest, Dr. Zay was slowly worn down by the inevitability of marriage in a totalizing heteronormative world. Yorke returns to the town because he receives a letter from Mrs. Butterwell that the previously hale doctor had come down with diphtheria. It is no coincidence that he frames his return as taking advantage of her weakness: "I am too strong, now, to be denied. I have come back for you" and the previously unassailable doctor acts "as if she would take flight, like a caged thing" before him who claims "You fear me because *you* love *me*" (228). Heteronormativity is too powerful to deny and love is its tool: he tells her the feeling "is natural" and he is too much of a gentleman to take "advantage of your natural emotion," but she must come to him of her own will and accept this inevitability (229, 230). He is offering her a deal she cannot refuse, the Helen Brent ideal of having it all for her own good, since he loves her for her profession and will not ask that she give it up: "I am proud of you. I feel my heart leap over everything you achieve. It is as if I had done it myself, only that it makes me happier, it makes me prouder" (238). Despite her professional training in the control of emotion, she admits that she believes "Love should be like a mighty sea. It should overflow everything. Nothing should be able to stand before it. Love is a miracle. All laws yield to it" (242). She fears that his love cannot overcome the difficulty of being a husband to this new generation of woman:

> "The trouble is that a happy marriage with such a woman demands a new type of man. By and by you would chafe under this transitional position. You would come home, some evening, when I would not be there […] You would think of the other men, whose wives

were always punctual at dinner in long dresses, and could play to them evenings, and accept invitations, and always be on hand, like the kitten. I should not blame you" (244).

But he can heal her frigidity. While for him it was love at first sight, she admits "I can't. It took me some time. I cared most about the case, till you got better. And then I was so busy!" (255). He quotes her own words on love back at her, that "love was like a mighty sea. It has overflowed everything. Nothing has been able to stand before it" (256). While she says she has "a scientific mind," the implication is that she still has a heart (256). Like the power of the sea, the force of emotion flows inexorably despite what practical and professional considerations she might have or even her initial reticence and lack of interest in Yorke's advances: it might be said that heteronormativity is the path of least resistance. What initially seemed to be Yorke's bad readings of Zay's professional but womanly exterior turn out to have the prophetic power and performative force, transforming her inchoate and uncertain affects into the emotion of love and foreclosing. Her consent by the end is the yielding of mind to heart, which, when following the naturalizing assumptions about emotion, forces a reading of this synthesis, or rather, marriage, as productive instead of troubling.

Phelps's *Doctor Zay* questions whether women's access to professionalism can completely overturn the asymmetry of the American nineteenth-century's gendered separate spheres. The clear-cut optimism and unflagging professional excellence of Jewett's proud spinster Nan Prince and Meyer's soon-to-be happily married Helen Brent are the novels' attempt to enact the ideals they narrativize, but the women doctor novels of Howells and Phelps bring out the affective uncertainties that attend the women professionals' negotiations between the structure of feeling associated with the cult of domesticity and the professionally dispassionate structure of feeling in medicine. While the professional diagnoses of doctors such as Cuticle,

Clarke, and Sims have the performative power to impose readings upon their patients, Dr. Zay's medical knowledge alone cannot ensure her authority over her patient Waldo Yorke when it comes to the conflict of feelings between doctor and patient. In Phelps's retort to Dr. Clarke's *Sex and Education*, she declares that women's "own unlearned experience stands to them in refutation of his learned statements" and advocates for women physicians (127), but in her novel she explores the asymmetry that occurs in the corollary of a reversal. The structures of feeling and gendered dynamic that undergird professional versus amateur ways of knowing and reading open up the possibility for Yorke's reparative diagnosis of love[24] onto Dr. Zay's professional exterior and makes it a reality. Affect theory works to open up alternative, contingent, and queer ways of knowing and amateur reading outside of or in opposition to official and authoritative discourses of knowledge; Phelps's novel, however, acts as a reminder of the multivalent instability of affect in how it can appease or be complicit with normative frameworks of power, allowing for the continuation of power through the re-appropriation of the tools of subversion. What can be justified in the name of love? *Doctor Zay* acts as a caveat to the romantic claim that love conquers all when feeling is foundational to the legitimacy of the woman doctor as professional.

[24] Notably in her influential essay "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading," Eve Sedgwick remarks that "Among [Melanie] Klein's names for the reparative process is love" (128).

Chapter 4:
Oriental Inscrutability: Sui Sin Far and the Inscrutable Feeling of Futurity

"I have come from a race on my mother's side which is said to be the most stolid and insensible to feeling of all races, yet I look back over the years and see myself so keenly alive to every shade of sorrow and suffering that it is almost a pain to live" writes Edith Maude Eaton under the penname Sui Sin Far in her 1909 memoir essay "Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of an Eurasian (127). Oriental inscrutability, the Yellow Peril trope about the inaccessible affects of the Chinese, shadows her life and her writings during the era of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882-1943). Against the racialized assumption of unfeeling, the half-Chinese Far declares to her readers, "I am small, but my feelings are big – and great is my vanity" (132). Although Far positions herself as a writer who speaks to the democratic ideals of America through the sentimental literary tradition,[25] her project goes beyond the affirmation of personal feeling as a means of humanizing the inhuman Chinese. Despite calling herself "the connecting link" between Orient and Occident (132), Sui Sin Far chooses to validate moments of deliberate, affective disconnect between the races.

Her portrayal of Oriental inscrutability in her brief autobiography is more than simple refutation. During a dinner discussion her boss comments on the inhumanity of the Chinese people, unaware that Edith Maude Eaton is half-Chinese. He remarks, "I cannot reconcile myself to the thought that the Chinese are humans like ourselves. They may have immortal souls, but their faces seem to be so utterly devoid of expression that I cannot help but doubt (129). In response, Far states defiantly to the group, "the Chinese people may have no souls, no expression on their faces, be altogether beyond the pale of civilization, but whatever they are, I want you to

[25] The memoir's title, as Martha H. Patterson notes, references both Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and Fanny Fern's *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port-folio*.

understand that I am – I am a Chinese" (129). Mixed-race Edith Maude Eaton shatters the façade of passing and risks unemployment by embracing the alleged inhumanity of the inscrutable Chinese. At the end of her essay, instead of claiming a definitive place in America for herself, she is torn between East and West, but affirms this space of transnational ambivalence: "After all I have no nationality and am not anxious to claim any. Individuality is more than nationality" (132). Not only acting as the "connecting link," Far also affirms the importance of disconnection, ending with the statement that acceptance into mainstream America is not worth the cost of assimilation.[26]

In this chapter I turn to anti-Chinese sentiment at the turn of the century and the writings of the first Chinese North American woman writer Edith Maude Eaton, who wrote under the name Sui Sin Far. In *Immigrant Acts*, Lisa Lowe examines the Asian American racial formation through the literature and history of the "legislation of the Asian as *alien* and the administration of the Asian American as *citizen*" in order to complicate the construction and agency of the Asian American subject in relation to national institutions and global tensions (10). In order to address the Chinese American identity formation of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the first part of this chapter takes anti-Chinese legislation, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Page Law, as its locus of investigation in conjunction with anti-Chinese scientific and popular discourses in order to unpack the evolutionary racial logic reified by the law. Here inscrutability emerges as the major concept behind the scientific and legal formations of the Chinese subject as Yellow Peril: it is through the stereotype of Oriental inscrutability that the Chinese are seen as unassimilable aliens beyond human sympathy and understanding – and, therefore, beyond the possibility of American citizenship. Yet the alienating trope of inscrutable feelings reveals the greater epistemological implication of racialized unknowability, slipping

[26] See Mary Chapman's "The "Thrill" of Not Belonging"

outside the boundaries of Western knowledge. In the post-Darwin paradigm of eugenics, the future of the white race is threatened by the immigrating Chinese who are as inscrutable as the nation's future is uncertain. I argue that the figure of the Yellow Peril is structured upon white America's fear that the immigrating Chinese, and specifically Chinese women, represent a racialized reproductive futurity that threatens to displace the implicitly white reproductive futurity of the nation with inscrutable possibilities.

In the second half of this chapter, I propose a re-examination of the work of Sui Sin Far in relation to the affective and epistemological inscrutability of the Yellow Peril. Typically viewed as a literary cultural ambassador who humanized the Yellow Peril through sentimentalism, I argue that Sui Sin Far subverts white sentimentality due to her narrative engagement with the very threats of alienness and futurity at the heart of anti-Chinese discourse. In her short stories Far explores the potential for appropriating inscrutability in order to evade the privilege of Western epistemology by denying access into Chinese affective interiority. Inscrutability emerges as a tactic used by her Chinese and mixed race female and child characters, the dreaded embodiments of Chinese futurity, to defy white sympathies by confounding expectations of raced and gendered legibility – a queer form of registering dissatisfaction, if not outright resistance. Against the tendency in Sui Sin Far criticism to read these short stories individually or at most in thematic clusters, I situate them within the structure of the *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* short story collection, tracing character iterations as they travel and transform between different stories. I suggest that Far's short stories are her "paper children," the term used for the legal fictions created by documents that allowed many Chinese to circumvent Chinese exclusion, amplifying anxieties surrounding the creeping Oriental invasion. The short fictions of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* together resist the limitations of the Exclusion Era by

exploring the inscrutable possibilities of Chinese Americans through different narrative temporalities.

I. The Once and Future Race: Yellow Peril Discourse

In the infamous "separate but equal" *Plessy v. Ferguson* legal decision, Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan declares "There is a race so different from our own that we do not permit those belonging to it to become citizens of the United States" (58). Yet in this 1896 ruling that inaugurated the foundation for the post-slavery American system of racial segregation, the judge is not referring to African Americans: rather, he states, "I allude to the Chinese race" (58). Here, Justice Harlan speaks not as the majority opinion for *Plessy v. Ferguson,* but as the lone dissenter; this moment of anti-Chinese prejudice appears in his minority opinion where he otherwise writes passionately "of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race" (58). Harlan compares the ruling to the landmark *Dred Scott* case in its continuation and further institutionalization of inequality based on race despite America's alleged commitment to liberty: "We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law" (59). Nonetheless, although Harlan identifies the hypocrisy of American law in its treatment of African Americans, he denies the excluded Chinese similar sympathy. The "separate but equal" doctrine of racial segregation allowed for a place, however degraded, for African Americans within the boundaries of the national consciousness as defined by the law; *Plessy v. Ferguson* authorized the legislation of a separate temporal reality for African Americans, supposedly alongside the forward-marching time of white America; however, this temporality was concurrent but hardly parallel – instead, atavistic, a throwback that reinforced

the primitivism associated with the racialization of blackness. Yet even Justice Harlan, who otherwise rejects the racist logic of what he saw as an unjust legal decision, accepts the abjection of the Chinese from the United States as authorized by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.[27] According to the law, the Chinese are truly alien to America and have no future there.

The trope of Oriental inscrutability that Sui Sin Far defines herself both with and against grew out of a particular configuration of scientific and legal discourses that constituted the rhetoric of the Yellow Peril at the turn of the century. The Yellow Peril, I argue, must first be understood as a racialized temporal discourse: the fear that the Chinese, rather than being inferior, might actually be a dormant force awakening for a new future in America; in Asian American studies, this phenomenon has been recognized as "techno-Orientalism," the production of a dehumanized futuristic Asia against which the West is defined. In his landmark study of the Yellow Peril, William Wu points out the contradictory elements of the portrayal of Chinese Americans: "of low intelligence, and of high and complex intelligence. They are described as extremely able workers yet low on the evolutionary scale" (4). Wu identifies a significant subgenre of Yellow Peril fiction that obsesses over the possibility of a future invasion of America by the Chinese; influenced by naturalism, these stories depict "the inherent conflicts that Social Darwinists believed existed between old and new societies" (40). What I want to draw attention to is the reoccurring importance of the futuristic setting of the race war between the Chinese and white America in these novels and short stories. Pierton W. Dooner's *Last Days of the Republic* (1880) projects the racial tensions he sees in his time to the future fall of the United States to Chinese forces at the end of the century, while both Robert Woltor's novel *A*

[27] This moment of comparative racialization in the American context can be seen as the difficulty of grappling with the shift from enslaved African Americans as labourers to the ostensibly free cheap labour of Chinese "coolies," balancing the need for their presence as workers and the degraded racialization that distances them from full citizenship.

Short and Truthful History of the Taking of Oregon and California in the Year A.D. 1899 (1882) and William W. Crane's "The Year 1899" (1893)[28] focus on the cusp of the new century as the turning point in the race wars. The twentieth century, still on the horizon of imagination, becomes the possible victim to Chinese global supremacy: Oto Mundo's *The Recovered Continent: A Tale Of the Chinese Invasion* (1898) envisions 1933 as the date when China will begin a war to create a global empire, while in "The Revelation" (1911) by R.J. Pearsall, a white character has visions of the future induced by hypnosis where the Chinese eliminate all foreigners in China and then invade the United States in 1928 (37, 45). Even the twenty-first century becomes viable territory for Yellow Peril anxieties: "The Battle of Wabash" (1880), by an author writing under the name Lorelle, pictures a dystopia where in 1940 the governor of California will be Chinese American and in 2080 a Chinese American billionaire is on the verge of becoming president of the United States before the country erupts in conflict (42). Wu observes that common themes in these invasion narratives are the Chinese as inhuman "masses of mindless automata" as well as "uncaring of human life, and diabolically clever. Militarily, they are uncountably numerous and unstoppably victorious" (40, 68). Immigration, miscegenation, and reproduction are the weapons that allow the alien Chinese presence a foothold in the vulnerable nation.[29] These science-fictional stories capture the fear that the Chinese will claim the uncharted future and prove themselves to be the people of tomorrow.

[28] What is fascinating about Crane's "The Year 1899" is that he imagines the Chinese invasion happening through alliances with Native Americans and African Americans all working together to overthrow white America. "Yellow Peril" could act as a reappropriated phrase that can complement the threat of Black Power; notably, a famous 1968 photograph by Roz Payne shows Asian American men holding up signs that say "Free Huey" and "Yellow Peril Supports Black Power." In 2014 a hashtag #YellowPerilBlackPower started by online activist Suey Park encouraged thinking Asian-black coalitions. Likewise, Park's #NotYourAsianSidekick inspired #NotYourMascot among the online Native American community. I suggest that the shift from Yellow Peril to model minority might be in part to defuse the subversive possibilities of the Yellow Peril.

[29] It is tempting to read the Yellow Peril invasion narratives as transference about anxieties surrounding American imperialism, as well as Manifest Destiny and the usurpation of land from the Indigenous peoples. After all, within

Thus, they will disturb the racial hierarchy with serious consequences for white supremacy's dependence upon the metaphor of temporal development as indicative of superiority or inferiority in race science's interpretation of evolutionary theory.

The Yellow Peril association with futurity complicates the common schema of racial temporalities that places all people of colour into the category of the primitive past while whiteness occupies the normative time of progress. This past/present dichotomy elides the nuances of comparative temporal racial hierarchies in popular and scientific thought of the period. The shadow of primitivism has uneven effect on the temporalities associated with different racial formations: Indigenous peoples in the Americas and elsewhere have to struggle against the perception that they are extinct or otherwise signify a bygone era that is at best naively prelapsarian, while as discussed earlier, cases such as *Plessy v. Ferguson* indicate that the "backwardness" of African Americans forces them to inhabit an atavistic version of the present time.[30] Those in the racial group now known as Asian American[31] are burdened by associations with Oriental ancientness, but since the nature of that ancient history is legible as civilization to the Western perspective, there are hints of a threatening potential for modernity. By analyzing the discourses of racial science and of the Yellow Peril in turn-of-the-century America that led to the Chinese Exclusion and the ensuing Exclusion Era (1882-1943), I argue that the paradoxical temporal construction associated with Chinese identity was both ancient and

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the Social Darwinist logic of naturalism, what becomes of white America if another race proves itself to be the fittest?

[30] Lloyd Pratt discusses the complicated temporality experienced by African Americans: "rather than simply alternating among different modalities of time, African Americans lived a conflict of time, one in which they experienced time as simultaneously progressive and recursive; one in which the past and present were both the same and different. The simultaneity of experience that was required for a holistic sense of community was absence (185).

[31] The creation of the term "Asian American" is traceable back to Yuji Ichioka at Berkeley in 1968 (Lee 1). Since the category of Asian America is anachronistic for the majority of my discussion and the presence of the Chinese and the Japanese were treated and regarded very differently in America up until the mid-twentieth century, I am focusing on the Chinese American racial formation.

modern, subhuman and superhuman. The fear behind the Yellow Peril is that the Chinese are the once and future race.

In order to unpack how the contradictory temporality of the Chinese, I look to Samuel George Morton's *Crania Americana* (1839), the iconic work of race science in mid-nineteas the exemplification of the racial thought of his day that continued beyond the introduction of Darwinism. Before his famous discussions on craniology and elaborate plates of skulls, Morton, an acclaimed professor of anatomy at Pennsylvania College[32] and member of numerous scientific and professional societies, begins with an essay on the varieties of the human species. Crucial to note, Morton was a proponent of polygenism, a school of American scientific thought whose roots go back to Thomas Jefferson (Gardner 18). Morton as a polygenist believed that there was no singular human race, but rather several races that developed separately, influenced by their respective locales and climates, with very different and immutable levels of ability. Temporality is an important marker of development for Morton: he opens by claiming,

> The Arabians are at this time precisely what they were in the days of the patriarchs: the Hindoos have altered in nothing since they were described by the earliest writers; nor have three thousand years made any difference in the skin and hair of the Negro (1-2).

Discussing the theories of racial classification by such scientific luminaries as Linnaeus, Georges Cuvier, and Comte de Buffon, Morton settles on the latest taxonomies in the anthropological field developed by Johann Blumenbach: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, American, and Ethiopian, five categories of race that have further subdivisions of "families" according to linguistics and ethnicity (4). The rough present-day correspondent racial categories for Mongolian, Malay, and American are respectively East Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native

American.[33] The order of this list establishes the hierarchy of races from superior to inferior abilities and, of course, of implicit worth and humanity. The Mongolian race is in a comparatively laudable position in the racial hierarchy just one tier down from Caucasian, although described as "ingenious, imitative, and highly susceptible of civilization," they will never be able to ascend to the top of this supposedly objective scientific system (5). Even with the decline of polygenism in America due to the arrival of Darwin's monogenic theory of evolution, the hierarchy of racial inequalities was merely transposed onto a new framework that further validated the temporal metaphor of a spectrum of human development. Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in 1859; through the work of popularizers such as Asa Grey, John Fiske, and Herbert Spencer, by the 1870s Darwinism was accepted in America (Numbers 24). Rather than dismantling racial oppression through the scientific reaffirmation of the universal human race, the shift to monogenism in a post-Darwin discourse of race gave new support to racist thought: "Despite their insistence on man's single origin, the monogenists were not egalitarians. Races, during centuries of formation, acquired characteristics that, upon comparison, established an inequality 'impossible to deny'" (Haller 73). Evolution only continued to fuel scientific justifications of racial inferiority since the linear temporal reading of evolution implicitly assigned a teleology to the process, allowing scientists to suggest that lower races were less evolved. The principles of polygenesis were retrained within the temporal logic of monogenesis.

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[32] Now known as University of Pennsylvania.

[33] The Middle East and Southeast Asians are included in the category of Caucasian. Notably, Egyptians are also said to be "Caucasian" but despite complexion and hair Morton denies any connection to what he calls the Ethiopian race due to Egypt's history of civilization and enslavement of other African peoples: "The hair of the Nubian is thick and black, often curled either by nature or by art, and sometimes partially frizzled, but never woolly. In fact, judging from the painting and sculpture of their temples, the ancient Nubians, like the modern, were in no respect analogous to the Negroes, excepting in the occasional blackness of their skin: and it is also worthy of remark, that their most frequent scenic decorations represent their triumphs over the Negroes, who uniformly appear as menials or as captives" (26).

Despite this racial hierarchy, Morton's anxieties about the precarious supremacy of Western civilization emerge in his profile of the Chinese family within the Mongolian race. [34] The conundrum for Morton has to do with his evaluation of Chinese intellect and civilization: while he admits that the "intellectual character of the Chinese is deserving of especial attention" and "their mechanical ingenuity is universally known," he claims "in letters, in science and in art, they are the same now what they were many centuries ago" and "[have] probably remained stationary for thirty centuries" (45, 46); he acknowledges that the Chinese possess advanced attributes according to his scale of value, but has to relegate them to a static and ancient past in order to diminish his praise. While on the one hand, the Chinese lack originality since "Their faculty of imitation is proverb," on the other he states "their national pride prevents their adopting the arts of other countries" (45). Rather, it is the West that imitates China: "European civilisation has borrowed largely from China, the Chinese nothing from Europe" (46). Morton may even appear to say that the Chinese outpace the West: "when the nobility of England were sleeping on straw, a peasant of China had his mat and his pillow, and the man in office enjoyed his silken mattress" (46). Again, what ameliorates the seeming admission of the advanced nature of Chinese civilization is the assertion that these are a people who are frozen in time: "These were equally the luxuries of their ancestors, and they have not chosen to improve upon them. To prevent innovations, the laws prescribe for every thing […] Hence it has been observed that unmovableness is the characteristic of the nation" (46). The same terms seen in Morton's polygenist account of race when it came to the Chinese remain in the monogenist; once again, as John Haller puts it, "the Chinese posed a peculiar dilemma for American race concepts," since in many aspects they fulfill the Western criteria for advanced civilization: "Sociologists knew well

[34] Morton includes the Japanese and Korean peoples under the umbrella of the Chinese family, both warranting only a few lines of discussion.

the aptitude of the Chinese for adaptability in various climates, industry, and intellectual ability. Their facial angle, cephalic index, prognathism, and past history were not without praise" (Haller 147). Once again, the method of rejecting the probability of Chinese equality, not to mention possible superiority, was to accuse the race of rigidity: "In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon the suffocating weight of ancestral worship had burdened the Chinese with a race character that looked almost wholly to the past and gained little from present experiences" (Haller 150).

Unable to deprive the Chinese of humanity based on Western standards of intellect and civilization, Morton turns to the realm of feeling, wielding the justification of inscrutability. He quotes other scientific experts to say that "The Chinese are generally selfish, cold-blooded and inhumane" and their religion is "heartless" (45, 46). No small amount of cultural projection seems to be occurring when he cites an expert who claims that the Chinese "are barbarously cruel; that human suffering, or human life, are but rarely regarded by those in authority, when the infliction of the one or the destruction of the other, can be made subservient to the acquisition of wealth and power" (45). The Chinese fail the test of humanity based on what Rei Terada calls the "expressive hypothesis": the assumption that the expression of feeling reflects and proves that one is a human subject (11). I suggest that inscrutability is closely tied to the panic over Yellow Peril futurity: by painting the Chinese as unknowable, the trope makes them inhuman aliens by vilifying their intelligence and denying their feelings. Through inscrutability white America's anxieties about the uncertainty of the future of the nation and the white race became displaced onto the unknowability of the Chinese who are beyond understanding and beyond sympathy.

Fears of advanced Chinese intelligence are thus paired alongside the trope of Oriental inscrutability in popular literary works influenced by eugenics such as Bret Harte's poem "Plain Language from Truthful James" and Jack London's "The Yellow Peril." First published in

Overland Monthly, Bret Harte's popular poem describes its Chinese character Ah Sin with the following description that is repeated at the beginning and end of the poem: "That for ways that are dark/ and tricks that are vain/ the heathen Chinee is peculiar" (15, 18). The speaker Truthful James notices that fellow gambler Bill Nye is trying to cheat Ah Sin at a game of euchre, but it is Ah Sin who manages to out-cheat Nye and throw off James until Nye decides to assault the Chinese man for winning. Ah Sin claims not to understand euchre and uses his inscrutable "ways that are dark" to mask his expressions as part of the con, deceiving the white characters with a smile that they read variously as "pensive and child-like" and "child-like and bland" (15, 16). The white characters' reliance on the developmental stereotype of racial others is part of Ah Sin's trick that reveals how his gameplay is more advanced than Nye's, pre-empting Nye's attempt to cheat him and succeeding in defeating the white man – at least, until brute strength prevails. While Harte allegedly meant for the poem to satirize anti-Chinese sentiment among the Irish in California, the poet instead inadvertently rallied the fear of the Yellow Peril (Scharnhorst 394). Harte's awareness of the racial stakes in the discourse of eugenics, however, are suggested by his poem "Further Language from Truthful James" that follows "That Heathen Chinee" in his 1871 poetry collection *That Heathen Chinee and Other Poems Mostly Humorous*. The poem returns to the same speaker as well as the gambler Bill Nye, opening and closing with the lines "Is our civilization a failure? / Or is the Caucasian played out?" (19, 22). "That Heathen Chinee" conveniently packages the Yellow Peril in pithy, humourous narrative verse; despite Harte's alleged attempt at satire, the poem experienced a revival later in the century leading up to the Chinese Exclusion Act, when politicians quoted the poem to prove their stance against the Chinese (Scharnhorst 394).

Less subtly, Jack London's non-fiction 1904 essay promotes the Chinese as the titular Yellow Peril,[35] using the seeming slur of the title as a term of perverse praise. The Chinese are the exemplar of capitalism: "the perfect type of industry" for "Work is what he desires above all things, and he will work at anything for everybody," giving for an example of Chinese enterprise their supposed willingness to pick shrapnel from corpses to sell as scrap (294). In contrast to the American love of freedom, "Liberty to [the Chinese] epitomizes itself in access to means of toil" (294). London dismisses the Chinese association with stagnation: "Nor is the Chinese the type of permanence which he has been so often designated. He is not so ill-disposed toward new ideas and new methods as his history would seem to indicate" (298). He confronts the fear of Chinese futurity and warns about the possibility of a pan-Asian alliance between the Chinese and the Japanese:

> Here we have the Chinese, four hundred millions of him, occupying a vast land of immense natural resources – resources of a twentieth-century age, of a machine age, resources of coal and iron, which are the backbone of commercial civilization. He is a defatigable worker. He is not dead to new ideas, new methods, new systems. Under a capable management he can be made to do anything. Truly would he of himself constitute the much-heralded Yellow Peril were it not for his present management (299).

But while Asians succeed at these measures of modernity, he returns to their alien inscrutability as the true danger of their success: "There was no feel, no speech, no recognition. This Western soul did not dream that the Eastern soul existed, it was so different, so totally different" (304). Jack London's essay warns that the Chinese are the alien and inscrutable once and future race.

[35] London separates the Japanese from the Chinese Yellow Peril by calling them the "Brown Peril."

II. The Fear of Inscrutable Aliens in the Chinese Exclusion Act

The scientific and popular anxieties around the Chinese presence in America were reinforced, codified, and further enflamed by an escalating series of state and national legislative decisions and acts leading up to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Legislative discriminatory action against the Chinese began in 1852 with the Foreign Miners' Tax in California and in 1854 the *People v. Hall* decision by the California Supreme Court included the Chinese alongside African American and Native Americans as peoples ineligible to testify in cases involving a white person (Luibheld 32; Salyer 8). Despite the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 that gave the right to both Chinese and Americans to emigrate to each other's countries, the Chinese became scapegoats for the depression in the 1870s and the anti-Chinese Workingmen's party won one-third of California's seats in 1878 (Salyer 12). The Chinese were also excluded from naturalization despite petitioning in 1878 on the basis of the 1870 amendment that allowed African Americans to naturalize; Senator Charles Sumner made a failed attempt to change the act through a bill that would remove "white" as a criteria in the laws (Salyer 13). In particular, the Page Act of 1875 put severe limits on Chinese immigration through restricting and fining "coolie" laborers and effectively barring most Chinese women from the United States under the suspicion that they were sex workers who would, as Eithne Luibhéld puts it, corrupt "'white' values, lives, and futures" (37). The Act vilified "any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country" by putting them under suspicion of entering "for lewd and immoral purposes" with a particular focus on Chinese women for their dangerous sexuality" (*Page Act*). With the previous legal decisions and laws on various levels of government reinforcing the perception of the Chinese as Yellow Peril, the conditions were set for the successful passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 as well as future restrictions on immigration based on race, gender, and

class. Previously, the denial of Chinese naturalization carried the implication that the Chinese were not only different, but unnatural to America. The Page Act, in turn, vilified "any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country" by putting them under suspicion of entering "for lewd and immoral purposes" with a particular focus on Chinese women for their dangerous sexuality ("Page Act"). The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 extends these logics of alienation by opening with the acknowledgement of the wholesale threat that Chinese bodies pose to the nation: "Whereas in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof" ("Chinese Exclusion Act").[36] Yet this endangering of the good order of America does not mean, as Lucy Salyer observes, that the Chinese Exclusion Act was born "out of concern that individual Chinese laborers would become financial burdens upon the community. On the contrary, Americans worried that Chinese succeeded *too* well" (7). The recourse for an angry and frightened white America to ward off a race war for the future of the nation that they might lose was to force the Chinese outside the law's boundaries of belonging and thereby render them aliens.

The confluence of scientific and popular discourses on the Yellow Peril comes together in the Chinese Exclusion Act through the rhetoric of Californian Senator John F. Miller's speech on the Senate floor that accompanied his presentation of the immigration bill on February 28th, 1882. First referring to the issue at hand as variously the "Chinese invasion" and the "Chinese evil," Miller does give some quantitative data on his constituency's opinions on the immigration

[36] Welke comments on how the nineteenth century in America saw "the labeling of entire groups as outside the bordres of belonging" and uses the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Fugitive Slave Act as the two primary examples of implicit and explicit labeling of outsiders based on race: "The Chinese Exclusion Laws rendered all Chinese in the United States at risk of being falsely identified and deported. But the pattern has begun earlier than this: following passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1950, compounded by the act's provisions barring the fugitive from giving testimony, no black in a free state was safe from the allegation of being a fugitive slave" (71).

debate: a California survey in 1878 showed that only 883 votes were pro-Chinese while 154,638 were anti-Chinese (1482). Miller's speech, however, acts as a grand summation of the racist argumentation of evolutionary science that explicitly addresses the Yellow Peril as an alien danger to the future of America, possibly of the world, and frames his discussion as a race war. With phrasing that both claims grounded objectivity as well as sets up the literalization of the Chinese as alien, the senator states, "we shall keep our feet firmly upon the earth. This question relates to this planet and the temporal government of some of its inhabitants; it is of the earth earthy" (1482). His depiction of the clash of East and West echoes the Social Darwinist language of the Chinese invasion literature: "In truth, the history of mankind is for the most part descriptive of the racial conflicts and struggles between nations for existence. By a perfectly natural process these nations have evolved distinct civilizations, as diverse in their characteristics as the races of men from which they have sprung" (1483). Miller appeals to the notion of Chinese stagnation by saying, "they have remained fixed in their habits, methods, and modes of life as if they had all this time lived in the Mountains of the Moon," combining it with the tropes of evolution: "Their modes of life remain the same, which they and their ancestors have pursued for fifty centuries in their fierce struggle for existence" (1483). Much as they are developmentally frozen in time, they as a people are frozen as well: "They remain Chinese always and everywhere; changeless, fixed, and unalterable. In this respect they differ from all other peoples who have come to our shores," and, consequently, "The Chinese are alone perfectly unimpressible, and even their offspring born on American soil and who have grown up surrounded by American influences are Chinese in every characteristic of mind, feature, form, habit, and method, precisely the same as their fathers and their ancestors in China" (1483). The Chinese defy assimilation since they are so profoundly different from all other races, or rather,

the human species. Miller manages to preserve the separate and immutable races of Morton's polygenesis within the framework of Darwinian monogenesis by isolating the Chinese alone in their strangeness.

Although Miller still uses the figures of Chinese racial inferiority, the turn in his argument comes from the fear of Chinese futurity and superiority in the race war to come. He admits, "it may seem strange that the apparently insignificant, dwarfed, leatherly little man of the Orient should, in the peaceful contest for survival, drive the Anglo-Saxon from the field" (1484). But if the Chinese are unassimilable, therein lies the risk that they might assimilate white America: "the American people are far more impressible than the stoical Chinese" who are the ultimate invaders as "the most inert and pusillanimous of all peoples" (1483). The suggestion is that as much as Europeans took the land from its Indigenous peoples, so too might the Chinese colonize America. Miller delves into the full implications of the commonly held perception about Chinese stagnation by revealing how this supposed weakness of the ancientness of Chinese civilization is actually a form of strength that illustrates evolutionary fitness:

> It is the history of a people whose form of government, institutions, and civilization have endured without change through forty centuries or more, and survived the rise and fall, the death and decay of the mightiest nations and empires ever established on the earth (1484).

Without irony, the senator invokes the popular slogan of Herbert Spencer that helped to spread acceptance and awareness of Darwinian evolutionary theory:

> In this persistent dreary struggle for existence the law of the 'survival of the fittest' has had full play, and from the process of induration which has been so long at work a race of men has resulted whose vital organism is adapted to the smallest needs of human life, with a capacity or physical endurance equal to that of the most stalwart races (1484).

Thus with this powerful "capacity," the image of the hordes of the Yellow Peril are a consequence of the success of Chinese reproductive futurity, for they "are a people who have increased and kept up their numbers constantly to the limit of subsistence without the interposition of any intelligent restraint" (1484). And like the writers of Yellow Peril fiction, Miller too turns to tropes of emotional inscrutability in order to emphasize Chinese alienness which he embraces to the fullest extent: "They have remained the same through all the changes of the world, and they are now a people as different from all other peoples in their characteristics, habits, methods, and physical appearances *as if they were the inhabitants of another planet*" (1484; emphasis added); later on, he calls them an "alien and servile race" (1487). The only explanation for the possibility of Chinese superiority must be that they are not human, but instead, "through centuries of time, [they] have become machine-like in every physical characteristic […] they are automatic engines of flesh and blood; they are patient, stolid, unemotional, and persistent" (1484). As a result, "Competition with such a machine by the free white man is impossible" (1484).[37] Through his use of science fictional images of aliens and robots, Miller pushes the scientific associations of Chinese futurity to hyperbole in order to dramatize the need for Chinese exclusion.

The conclusion of Miller's speech deftly intertwines the need for the bill to become law with the imperative of the dictates of science as natural law. Having earlier used Spencer's phrase "the survival of the fittest" as an example of evolutionary "law," the senator returns to the symbolic power of the law in his conclusion (1484). According to him, ""The law of self-preservation, if not the higher law, antedates all other human laws, and is instinctively recognized by all peoples as a fundamental law of national life" (1486). At the speech's climax,

[37] Miller's portrayal of the Chinese as machines in the free market creates a hybrid state between subject and object in comparison to the system of chattel slavery that reduced African Americans to objects.

he proclaims, “The land which is being overrun by the oriental invader is the fairest portion of our heritage” (1488). In this seeming digression Miller continues to wax poetic about the pastoral landscape with “the homes of a free, happy people, resonant with the sweet voices of flaxen-haired children, and ringing with the joyous laughter of maidens fair” and quotes lines from Tennyson, Lord Byron, and Sir Walter Scott (1488). This extended use of bucolic imagery further naturalizes his chosen metaphors of Chinese presence as an alien dissonance that disrupts the harmony of the American scenery and the natural sentimentalism of its people’s happiness. Therefore, to create federal legislation to exclude the Chinese, or in the words of Miller, “preserve our national life from the gangrene of oriental civilization,” is merely an affirmation of scientifically proven truth of existence and a tangible universal right (1487). Here, science and law act as mutually affirming systems of power and authority: the natural law revealed by science affirms the right for the passage of the law that will become the Chinese Exclusion Act, and in turn the authority of the Act validates the rightness of racial science. The Chinese, so it seems, are the future and America needs to fight that alien future.

The law was passed with an effortless majority followed by approval in the press, indicating that the senator’s invocation of the race war and Chinese alien futurity were not seen as absurdity but as reality. The *New York Times* called Miller’s speech exemplary, demonstrating “patient study, perfect candor, and great breadth of view” (“China in the Senate”). His rhetoric and arguments were seen as “admirable in temper and judicial in fairness” (“China in the Senate”). Staving off the Yellow Peril hordes meant the restricting Chinese immigration to a trickle, building on the Page Law’s suspicions about the dangerous sexualities of Chinese women. With few women allowed to enter the country, the threat of Chinese reproductive futurities could be controlled, resulting in childless Chinatown bachelor societies. The Chinese

Exclusion Act of 1882 was only meant to last 10 years, but in the ongoing atmosphere of Yellow Peril fears the Act was extended a decade later and then made permanent in 1902. It would only be repealed in 1943.[38] In "Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of a Eurasian," when Sui Sin Far's boss proclaims, "I cannot reconcile myself to the thought that the Chinese are humans like ourselves," citing for evidence that "They may have immortal souls, but their faces seem to be so

[38] The ordinariness and ubiquity of Yellow Peril rhetoric during the Exclusion Era is best shown through Theodore Roosevelt's writings before and after his presidency that encapsulate the American attitude toward the preservation of white reproductive futurity. In "The Strenuous Life," an 1899 speech later published in an eponymous collection, Roosevelt lays bare the synecdochal relationship between America as nation and the (white) American family: "a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, vigorous, health lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavour, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk" (15). Roosevelt uses the family in a classic example of what Louis Althusser could later recognize as an ideological state apparatus and forces women to fulfill their state-sanctioned biological destinies: "The woman must be the house-wife, the helpmeet of the homemaker, the wise and fearless mother of many children" (15-16). In order to live the quintessentially American strenuous life, therefore, the reproductive futurity of the American family and in turn the nation must be ensured; social reproduction is intertwined with heterosexual reproduction. In his 1905 speech "On American Motherhood," Roosevelt returns to this sentiment in full paranoid form and makes the connection to race more explicit: he tells American women to stay fast in their roles as housewives and mothers, a crescendo of admonishment which culminates in his famous assertion about race suicide:

> the nation as a whole would decrease in population so rapidly that in two or three generations it would very deservedly be on the point of extinction, so that the people who had acted on this base and selfish doctrine would be giving place to others with braver and more robust ideals. Nor would such a result be in any way regrettable; for a race that practised such doctrine--that is, a race that practised race suicide--would thereby conclusively show that it was unfit to exist, and that it had better give place to people who had not forgotten the primary laws of their being. ("Motherhood")

As Jennifer Fleissner points out, Roosevelt's fear about race suicide meant "the threat to the nation itself posed by immigrant women having too many children and white, middle-class native women having too few" (99). The peculiar nature of Roosevelt's speech is that he acknowledges the precarious status of whiteness dependant on the abjected status of people of colour: according to his eugenical paradigm, there is the possibility that non-white Americans could be the ones with "braver and more robust ideals," who have, as a race, "not forgotten the primary laws of their being." The logical corollary to Roosevelt's preoccupation with success of white American reproductive futurity is the possibility of its failure and the rise of a more racially diverse America in the future.

While Roosevelt does not outright name the racial spectres that haunt his speeches, an examination of "The Strenuous Life" exposes the ongoing influence of the anti-Chinese paradigm that undergirds part of his fixation on eugenics and futurity. China is the only specific nation against which he defines America: "We cannot, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes beyond them, sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk" (6). Like others before him, Roosevelt's use of the stereotype of Oriental indolence works in opposition with the strenuous life of America; he staves off the threat of China by building a barrier of rhetoric to isolate the Chinese. Yet what is once again telling is that Roosevelt's paranoia does not necessarily derive from a belief that China and its people are diametrically opposed to America, but from the threats of the similarities between the two nations and peoples; later, he speaks about American intervention in the Philippines and states that American military imperialism is crucial "if [America] is not to stand merely as the China of the western hemisphere" (16).[38] Roosevelt's disparaging of the Chinese exposes its place in his all-American argument: as a genuine threat that can overtake America.

utterly devoid of expression that I cannot help but doubt" (129), his pronouncements reflect how Oriental inscrutability has become an everyday marker of Chinese alienness during the Exclusion Era (129).

III. Wily Orientals: Oriental Inscrutability as Resistance

What form can resistance to the depiction of the Chinese as Yellow Peril take? In one of the earliest sympathetic historical accounts of the Chinese in America, Mary Coolidge begins her 1909 monograph by admitting that alien inscrutability is the primary falsehood she must attack:

> Yet in the average mind, the traditional Chinaman – a left-handed, cunning, industrious, stolid, cruel and in-human creature – is still the typical Chinaman, in spite of a long acquaintance which has proved him as human as ourselves (3).

The obvious answer would seem to be to pierce the stereotype of Oriental inscrutability and humanize the Chinese.

Sympathy and sentimentalism have been viewed as the tools of Sui Sin Far in her journalistic and literary work advocating for the Chinese during the Exclusion Era. Ever since *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers*, a 1975 collection edited by Frank Chin, Jeffrey Chan, Lawson Inada, and Shawn Wong, Sui Sin Far has been reclaimed as the point of origin for the genealogy of Asian American writers. "She was one of the first to speak for an Asian-American sensibility that was neither Asian nor white American," they proclaim in their introduction in order to prove the existence of a uniquely Asian American literary tradition that can trace its roots back to the nineteenth century (3). Edith Maude Eaton, who wrote under the Chinese name for the narcissus flower *sui sin far*, was a woman of mixed Chinese and English

descent who grew up in Canada[39] and then lived variously in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Boston. She was a prolific journalist and short story writer who published during the end of the nineteenth-century and into the first decades of the twentieth; her only book *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* was published in 1912 in a single edition of 2,500 copies that compiled an assortment of her previously published short stories (Ling and White-Parks 5). Although lost to the mid-twentieth century resurgence of Asian American writers, Far has now achieved near-canonicity and wide academic recognition through Amy Ling and Annette White-Parks's 1995 collection of assorted journalism pieces and selected short stories from *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*, Hsuan Hsu's edition of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*, and Mary Chapman's forthcoming anthology of Far's re-discovered short works. Critics generally agree that Edith Maude Eaton used sentimentalism as her tactic for humanizing the Chinese during the Exclusion Era when they were seen as inhuman. Given the fear of Chinese success inherent in the construction of the Yellow Peril, it would even be counteractive to affirm Chinese competence according to rational criteria; rather, to channel the discourses of feeling and portray the Chinese as subjects with feelings, insofar as feelings are held to be an inherent property of recognizable human subjectivity, was to validate their place in the human race and give access to their seemingly inscrutable interiority. In the thirteenth issue of the California magazine *The Land of Sunshine* in 1900, where Far had previously contributed several stories, the editor Charles Fletcher Lummis gives an overview of Far's biography, calling her the "the delicate little Sui Sin Fah," and appraising her works as "the only Chinese woman in America who is writing fiction" (336). While questioning the literary merit of her work, he calls her stories "simple, unstudied, but dramatic and intensely human," highlighting their "insight and sympathy which are probably unique. To others the Chinese, or "alien Celestial," is at best mere

[39] In 1885 Canada passed an act that levied a prohibitive head tax on all Chinese immigrants. In 1923 Canada had its own equivalent of America's Chinese Exclusion Act that banned most forms of immigration for the Chinese. It was

'literary material;' in these stories he (or she) is a human being" (336).[40] It is through sympathy, then, that Far attempts to get her readers to accept the Chinese into their hearts and into their country.

If, in this view, Far is trying to do for Chinese Americans what the abolitionists did for African Americans in changing the perception of the racial other into a man and a brother, as it were, similar problems stemming from the asymmetrical dynamic of sympathy emerge.[41] The initial publication of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* garnered a mixed review in *The New York Times* under the heading "A New Note in Fiction": while "Miss Eaton has struck a new note in American fiction," the reviewer comments, "She has not struck it very surely, or with surpassing skill" (BR405). Nonetheless, the review allows that "The thing she has tried to do is to portray for readers of the white race the lives, feelings, sentiments of the Americanized Chinese" with a focus on "half-breed children" and the "lives, thoughts and emotions of the Chinese women who refuse to be anything but intensely Chinese" (BR405). But in spite of this emphasis on feeling in *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*, "In some of the stories she seems not even to have tried to see inside the souls of her people, but has contented herself with the merest sketching of externals. In others, again, she has seen far and deep, and has made her account keenly interesting" (BR405). There

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repealed in 1947.

[40] Far's role in the shift from perceiving Chinese as alien to human being by way of feeling is ubiquitous in the academic literary criticism. Ling and White-Parks speak of her "well-intentioned and sincere empathy," while Hsu stresses the importance of sentimentalism to Far along with Christian and Confucian discourses (6; 221). Xiao-Huang Yin discusses Far's portrayal of the cost of assimilation through "sympathetic and empathic depiction" with an eye on the recurring theme of lovelorn Chinese American couples demonstrating "demonstrates that the Chinese have the same feelings as Americans, thus breaking the widespread racist concept that Chinese are incapable of experiencing love, the highest form of sentiment" (66, 71-2). Patricia Chu's analysis of the unequal pressures on Chinese men and women to assimilate in Far's short stories includes the creation of "sympathetic subjectivity" through "invoking codes for that privileged subject of sentimental fiction, the domestic woman" (117).

[41] In an early work of criticism, Lorraine Dong and Marlon K. Hom agree that the stories "reveal a sympathetic, if not empathetic, perception of Chinese Americans and insight into the complexity of racism as manifested in her white characters," however, they claim, "It also reveals how, despite her sincere desire to defend the Chinese during a period of Chinese exclusion in the United States, she has nevertheless perpetuated certain negative images of the Chinese in her characterizations" (140). Likewise, the *Aiiieeeee!* anthology concedes that she had to work "within

appears to be an ambiguity if not a limit to what Far is able to accomplish through feeling in her fiction.

I suggest that we need to move beyond the mode of viewing Far's goals for literary representation in terms of didactic sincerity while still maintaining a focus on the centrality of feeling. Indeed, another major school of thought in the burgeoning field of criticism on Sui Sin Far attributes a more subversive and potentially queer element to her writing. Annette White-Parks argues that Sui Sin Far is a trickster, "setting up images she sees as false […] then bowling them over" (4), while Bo Wang claims Far uses tropes of orientalism as a masquerade: "In other words, stereotyped images are used as a means of identification to change the audiences' opinions in some respects" (251). Similarly, Guy Beauregard talks about the popularity of the often derogatory local colour Chinatown tour subgenre, suggesting that Far's use of it "is a classic example of how Sui Sin Far engages with and perhaps undermines scopic desire" (347). Earlier recovery efforts by Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse as well as Kate McCullough categorize Far's work under the genre of regionalism thereby viewing her work as a rebuttal to the local colour genre: as Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse state, the distinction between regionalism and local color "can be summarized as the difference between 'looking with' and 'looking at'" (36). But what if Far might not just be using her fiction to allow white readers to sympathetically "look with" the Chinese American experience but also to offer Chinese American subjects the option to "look away" from the imperatives of white supremacy?

By placing Far's literature in direct dialogue with the scientific and popular discourses surrounding the Chinese Exclusion Act, I want to suggest that Sui Sin Far is taking a more radical approach than just humanizing her subjects: Far is unapologetically taking up the sinister

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the terms of the stereotype of the Chinese as laundryman, prostitute, smuggler, coolie, she presents 'John Chinaman' as little more than a comic caricature, giving him a sensibility that was her own" (3-4).

tropes of Chinese inscrutable futurity to assert the presence of the Chinese in America. Her focuses on Chinese and mixed race women and children are not merely sentimental, but end up foregrounding the very alien reproductive futurity of the Yellow Peril that the Chinese Exclusion Act attempts to ward off. Again, the *New York Times* review of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* complains that while sometimes humanizing her subjects by revealing Chinese interiority through feeling, other times "she seems not even to have tried to see inside the souls of her people, but has contented herself with the merest sketching of externals" (BR405). From the perspective of the *Times*, in some stories she has failed to create characters with emotional depth, instead sketching flat figures that do not let her white readers gain any sympathetic purchase on an alienated people. Yet I argue that what this review recognizes as failure is in fact strategic: Far's Chinese characters, in other words, remain inscrutable to the white reader who expects privileged access to Chinese interiority and experiences. It may seem counterintuitive to promote inscrutability since it was a racist tool to produce the Chinese as Oriental alien, but this vilified trope of the Yellow Peril contains re-appropriative potential for creating alternatives to the assimilationist narrative of Chinese inclusion into America. After all, what is inscrutability? Inscrutability means a resistance to being known, being deciphered. While inscrutability entails the inability for feelings to be read, foreclosing sympathy and understanding, the appearance of unfeeling inscrutability acts as a tactic of subversion.[42] What I want to suggest is that Oriental

[42] Rei Terada explores what she calls "looking away" or "phenomenophilia," as a fleeting method of queer dissatisfaction that escapes the pressure to accept or endorse the world as it is. This form of what she calls "epistemological therapeutics" allows for the registration of discontent even though the dissatisfied may believe their disquiet is invalid:

> Unlike straightforward derogations of the given world that believers in *another* reality feel free to express, it insinuates a reservation it never articulates. Yet in spite or because of the fact that the phenomenophile's mild implication of dissatisfaction promotes no violent thoughts or feelings, it's often attached to an internal intolerance of its presence so cruel that it brings real suffering after all. The phenomenophile is convinced that he has 'no right' – this legal and political figure runs throughout the texts at hand – to his dissatisfaction (24).

While this type of discontent can have the potential for change, its validity is inherent and not proportionate to the

inscrutability as a tactic of disaffection, allows for relief and discontent, if not actionable resistance, for the Asian subject in a hostile world. Thus, while I agree that part of Far's aim in her stories is to humanize the Chinese by feeling, she also reserves the right of her characters to "look away" from the white reader's gaze, using inscrutability to preserve a sovereignty of self that can reject or at least complicate the binary for the Chinese of assimilable potential citizen and nonassimilable alien.

Inscrutability offers a tactical means of resistance to the Western scientific epistemological privilege that pervades the reading of affect. By slipping outside of the realm of knowability, the embrace of inscrutability can mean a rejection of the category of the scientific object to be understood, studied, and mastered. As previously explored, the change from polygenesis to monogenesis in scientific discourse did not mean any cessation or amelioration of racist thinking, but instead allowed for other forms of violence within the universal category of the human. Sympathy requires a dependence on the assumption of universal feelings as a corollary of the universal human, coming with the same colonial baggage as other aspects of Darwinian influence. While the history of scientific racism often focuses on Darwin's *Origin of Species* and later *Descent of Man*, I bring into this conversation another of Darwin's works that I suggest can be considered a forerunner of thinking about affect: his 1872 *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* in which Darwin espouses the universality of readable expressions and feelings that cut across races and species. As Darwin states, one of his goals was

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probability it can lead to change. In this light Terada defends more extreme or so-called unrealistic approaches to transgression, such as Lee Edelman's embrace of negativity, which are often critiqued on the basis of feasibility:

> not only the capacity for insight in the phenomenophile's look away is respectable. *Its very desire to withdraw from what it perceives is worthy of respect*, and this desire does not need to be linked to any future possibility (for genuine sociality, critical perspicuity, etc.) It is a desire that remains after the suspension of ephemeral perception has ended, after the ability to withdraw from a perceived demand has been exhausted (29).

to "ascertain whether the same expressions and gestures prevail, as has often been asserted without much evidence, with all the races of mankind, especially with those who have associated but little with Europeans" (14-5). Based on this evidence, he aimed to prove "that the same state of mind is expressed throughout the world with remarkable uniformity; and this fact is in itself interesting as evidence of the close similarity in bodily structure and mental disposition of all the races of mankind" (17). To this end he circulated questionnaires in 1867 among observers such as missionaries, attempting to collect information on "several of the most distinct and savage races of man" (17). The "distinct and savage" races they ended up surveying included the aborigines of Australia, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Dyaks of Borneo, and other Indigenous peoples of the Americas, but also Indians[43] and the Chinese, the last of whom were observed by the consul and naturalist Robert Swinhoe (19-21). This data is inextricable from the work of race science and empire: Darwin's collection of evidence relies upon missionaries, merchants, scientists, diplomats, and other extensions of the political and economic power of the British Empire. *The Expressions of Emotion* had great impact: as Gesa Stedman asserts, "Darwin's materialist study, with its minute attention to the body and juxtaposition of humans and animals, was read widely by fellow scientists and writers of fiction" (22). The influence of Darwin's study stemmed in part from its claims to scientific objectivity, rendering the intangibility of feelings as tangible evidence: his project eschewed uses of subjective forms of representation such as art and instead used observation, questionnaires, and photographs as what were considered to be concrete evaluations of emotion.

Terada's "looking away" models a form of dissatisfaction that gives space to transgressive desires for alternatives and other forms of imagining, no matter how inarticulate or fleeting they may be in their expression of disquiet and frustration.

[43] The appearance of unfeeling helps to thwart the ethnographic efforts among the Indians due to "their habitual concealment of all emotions in the presence of Europeans" (21).

In the American context Darwin's *The Expressions of Emotion* received reviews in major publications such as *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, *The Literary World*, *Scribner's Monthly*, and *The Popular Science Monthly*.[44] *Harper's* lauds Darwin in its Popular Science column for drawing together "a record of observations prosecuted by disinterested witnesses all over the world" (932). *The Popular Science Monthly* praises the volume for advancing the science of emotion from physiognomy to expression, since the "former is statical, the latter dynamical," shifting from analyses of character to the "natural language of feelings" (435). This review also makes the most explicit connection between this work and Darwin's theory of evolution, offering the validation for the great scope of the project: "The simple before the complex; the lower forms of life as interpreting the higher, and the whole as a connected scheme of development, is now the method of biology, and for this investigation it is, therefore, necessary to study the manifestations of character in their simplest forms" (435). Thus within this familiar temporal schema of development, the magazine asserts it was important "to ascertain how far the same expressions and gestures prevail among all races of mankind, especially among those who have associated little with Europeans" (436). The ability to read the feelings of others cannot be separated from the deep colonial divide of scientific knowledge between those who can know and those who are known. Given the violence that predicates the conditions that enable the category of the universal human, what happens when on chooses to deny, or at least complicate, the move to declare universal humanity as redemptive? The trope of Oriental inscrutability hinders a gaze; rather than seeming to be affected through the reading of affect, one might say that *inscrutability acts as a disaffection*, a refusal of the relationality of affect. As much as race science tries to define the Chinese and anti-Chinese laws attempt to restrict and control them, the feared "inscrutable Oriental" can slip away.

[44] Many thanks to Fred Muratori of Olin Library for helping me find these reviews.

IV. The Subversive Futurities of Sui Sin Far's Paper Children

In the short story "Tian Shan's Kindred Spirit," the intrepid Tian Shan crosses national boundaries without heed to the anti-Chinese laws, "recorded by the American press as a 'wily Oriental, who, 'by ways that are dark and tricks that are vain,' is eluding the vigilance of our brave customs officers'" (224). If Tian Shan had been an American in China, the narrator pointedly remarks, 'his daring exploits and thrilling adventures would have furnished inspiration for many a newspaper and magazine article, novel, and short story" (224). Far references Bret Harte's description of Oriental inscrutability, illustrating how Chinese ingenuity becomes vilified as the work of a "wily Oriental." Tian Shan's "kindred spirit" is the equally wily Fin Fan; when Tian Shan is thrown into jail, Fin Fan passes as a boy and allows herself to be arrested on the border so that they may both be deported together. The evasion of the law and the subversion of white scrutiny also take place in "The Smuggling of Tie Co." Jack Fabian runs a business smuggling Chinese from Canada into the United States and when he laments a lack of customers, Tie Co volunteers to be human contraband. During the border crossing, Tie Co responds to Jack's questions about wife and family by stating "I not like woman, I like man," going so far as to tell Jack, "'I like you,' said Tie Co, his boyish voice sounding clear and sweet" (189). When he senses that border guards are on their trail Tie Co sacrifices himself so that Jack may go free; when Tie Co's body is discovered, he is found to have the body of a woman, leaving Jack to ponder "long and earnestly over the mystery of Tie Co's life – and death" (193). "Tian Shan's Kindred Spirit" along with "The Smuggling of Tie Co" are the two stories that pair border crossing and gender passing in Sui Sin Far's *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* short story collection and are among the most studied of her short stories, perhaps because of the legibility of their racialized queer transgressions. Yet I want to suggest that this reclaiming of Oriental

inscrutability is not confined to these stories, but slips across their borders, appearing throughout *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* as both a tactic wielded by its characters and as the collection's underlying logic.

Mrs. Spring Fragrance as a project navigates and undermines the transparency and subjugation required to meet the standards for assimilation. In the acknowledgements page of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*, Sui Sin Far thanks the editors of 23 different magazines, national and regional, American and Canadian, for allowing her to collect her previously published short stories into the collection. As she puts it, they "were kind enough to care for my children when I sent them out into the world," and now they are "permitting the dear ones to return to me to be grouped together within this volume" (i). For Far, a lifelong spinster, to call her stories her children or "dear ones," indicates how futurity both reproductive and literary, are tied together symbolically in her work. There is, however, also a deliberate racialized valence to Far's chosen metaphor that gives an almost aggressive edge to her wording. As a result of the restrictions of the Exclusion Era, most Chinese were only able to immigrate into the United States through "the assumption of 'paper lives' – elaborate fictions that included not only assuming a new name, but also memorizing a new past to pose as a member of the exempt classes," which meant documentation as a traveler, merchant, student, or teacher (Welke 76). By exploiting a loophole in the Act, U.S. citizens of Chinese descent could help others immigrate regardless of place of birth by creating fictional or "paper" forms of kinship. According to Estelle T. Lau, "nearly 25 percent of Chinese in the United States in 1950 had illegally entered using this subterfuge" (5). These legal fictions engendered real forms of kinship and affective relations for, as Lau argues, "As the network of paper kin developed and was maintained over time, the Chinese became mutually interdependent, liable, and obligated to each other" (7). Far's stories, like the paper kin,

have been scattered throughout North America, creating new affiliations and defying the Chinese Exclusion Act by crossing borders like Tian Shan, Fin Fan, and Tie Co – literal fictions instead of legal fictions, putting Chinese representations where they would be otherwise excluded and persecuted. In uncollected pieces published both before and after the short story collection, Far affirms the link between Chinese children and Chinese futurity. In the 1896 short story "A Chinese Feud" in *The Land of Sunshine*, which relates a Romeo-and-Juliet style tale of love and death, the doomed Wong On indulges in the fantasy of a future in America, the "wonderful To-Come," with his beloved Fantze and their future child, earning "the congratulations of all the wifeless, motherless, sisterless, childless American Chinamen" (237). The much later 1913 journalistic "Chinese Workmen in America" for *The Independent* Far discusses the mutually beneficial transactional and transnational networks created by "Chinese-Americans, as I call them," vouching for the continued presence of Chineseness in the nation despite the renewal of the Chinese Exclusion Act:[45]

> There are hundreds of Chinese children in America. Most of them are born here, and as their environment is more American than Chinese, it is safe to say that the next generation will see many Americans whose ancestors were Chinese (57).

By claiming her stories as her children, Far simultaneously draws upon sentimental associations that make her writings palatable and ties her work to the fear of the Yellow Peril as the coming race.

In recognizing the care with which Far calls her stories her "dear ones," I wish to draw attention to a neglected aspect of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*: its structure. Whereas critics tend to

[45] Far's journalism articles tend to be less radical in tone and more straightforward; in "Chinese Workmen in America" she is far more occupied in showing the Chinese ability to assimilate, possibly because of her awareness of the demands of different audiences and genres. For instance, she makes a point of saying about the Chinese

analyze the short story collection by grouping together thematic clusters, I consider both the primary division of the collection and the holistic arrangement and relationship between stories as a vital part of Far's project for Chinese American literature and her place in its subject formation during the Exclusion Era. On the macro level, *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* is divided into two sections: the first bearing the same title as the volume with 17 stories about the lives of the Chinese in North America and the second entitled "Tales of Chinese Children" containing 20 other stories that read more like fables set in an ambiguous and timeless space. On the micro level, the stories appear to have no coherent threads other than the appearance of the titular character in the first two stories, another two stories following the perspective of a white woman who remarries a Chinese man, and the reoccurring focuses on Chinese and mixed race children as well as romances, both doomed and successful, between Chinese and mixed race couples. However, throughout the stories there is not only the repetition of themes, but also the repetition of names such as Pan, Ah Oi, Ku Yum, and Fin Fan, as well as close variants, like Adah Charlton and Adah Raymond. I intend to trace the connections and disconnections between these names and their cognates: these differing variations signify not the clear-cut continuity of characters, but rather the myriad narrative possibilities that Far envisions for her "dear ones." While the shared names allow for threads of coherence throughout the short story collection, at the same time, these diverse iterations of names also allow for the destabilization of any potential limitation to Chinese potential against the restrictions of the Exclusion Era America.

The titular Mrs. Jade Spring Fragrance appears in the first two stories of the collection, "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" and "The Inferior Woman," as the respectable face of Chinese America. Before the start of the story with Mrs. Spring Fragrance's arrival in Seattle, she would have

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American children, "I was told that in some cases, the ancient dress was obliged to be worn as a punishment, the modern permitted as a reward" (58).

needed to pass through the disciplinary sieve of immigration by proving her status as her husband's "real" wife; the Chinese Exclusion Act allowed for the exception of a few categories of people such as merchants and their wives. Due to the suspicion surrounding the supposed contagious immorality of Chinese women, immigration officials pioneered new techniques to "differentiate 'real' wives from prostitutes through the elicitation of biographical details, photography, and the creation of case files" (Luibheid 53). In addition to her respectability in the eyes of the state, Mrs. Spring Fragrance is described in her introduction as quick to assimilate, from first being "unacquaintanced with even one word of the American language" to five years later her husband claiming "There are no more American words for her learning" (1). She is said to be "even more 'Americanized'" than her husband (1). In the first story, Mrs. Spring Fragrance helps two American-born Chinese lovers get married in defiance of Chinese tradition by drawing upon Western ideals and in turn her husband learns a lesson about the way of Western love by overhearing a few lines of poetry by Tennyson spoken by his wife. June Howard claims that Far "portrays her characters' Americanization as not only a matter of learning how to talk, but also learning how to feel," with the continual quotation of Western poetry acting as "pedagogy for emotion" (148). It would appear that Chinese inscrutability can be overcome by appropriate Western socialization. In addition, both star-crossed lovers are acceptably Americanized: Mai Gwi Far goes by "Laura," and Kai Tzu is said to be "as ruddy and stalwart as any young Westerner" and is great at baseball to boot (2). The happy ending of the story for both the younger and older couples appear to allegorize the molding of the Chinese into passive and assimilable American subjects.

However, tensions within the narrative belie a reading of unquestioning apolitical assimilation with the Spring Fragrances registering their dissatisfaction with the present order of

things in America. When Mrs. Spring Fragrance writes her husband from San Francisco, she tells him about a lecture she went to with a Mrs. Samuel Smith on the topic of "America, the Protector of China!" and shares what she has learned:

> It was most exhilarating and the effect of so much expression of benevolence leads me to beg of you to forget to remember that the barber charges you one dollar for a shave while he humbly submits to the American man a bill of fifteen cents. And murmur no more because your honored elder brother, on a visit to this country, is detained under the roof-tree of this great Government instead of under your own humble roof. Console him with the reflection that he is protected under the wing of the Eagle, the Emblem of Liberty. What is the loss of ten hundred years or ten thousand times ten dollars compared with the happiness of knowing oneself so securely sheltered? (9)

Her facility for the new "American language" does not mean ideological quiescence, but instead gives her a weapon to attack the effects of racism and exclusion. It is after reading his wife's letter that Mr. Spring Fragrance punctures their white neighbor's cheerful assertions about the American ideals of freedom by dryly asking, "What about my brother in the Detention Pen?" (12). Their neighbor, a young man named Carman, acts as a resource for Mr. Spring Fragrance's understanding of the American view of love, but in no way is the Chinese merchant a passive recipient since he reframes Carman's unthinking patriotism with the realities of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Carman is the connecting character that signals the shifts that occur between "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" and "The Inferior Woman," indicating a greater upheaval of American norms within the restrictive definition of Chinese inclusion. The young white male character is unnamed throughout the majority of the first story except for one reference to him as "[y]oung

Carman" (13). Described as "a star student at the University of Washington, [who] had not the slightest doubt that he could explain the meaning of all things in the universe," he is the authority Mr. Spring Fragrance turns to for an analysis of the key lines from Tennyson (4). Later, he also wants exclusive access to Mr. Spring Fragrance's party as the only white person since he's "a sort of honorary reporter for the *Gleaner*" (12); here it is clear that his position is as an authority and as someone with the prerogative to create and disseminate knowledge. "The Inferior Woman," however, inverts the plot of "Mrs. Spring Fragrance.": Will Carman becomes one of the star-struck lovers along with a new character named Alice Winthrop, the so-called Inferior Woman, who is a self-made woman from a lower class background. The young couple are up against the white middle-class ideals of Will's mother Mrs. Mary Carman who opposes the union because she favours the "Superior Woman," Ethel Evebrook who is an educated suffragist from an appropriately genteel background. The final twist in "The Inferior Woman" is that this time the people who educate the young man and his overbearing mother about feelings are Mr. and Mrs. Spring Fragrance.

The racialized balance of knowledge is reversed. The discussion of literature is now in different hands since it is Will Carman who is curious about Chinese literature, coming to Mr. Spring Fragrance to discuss poems such as the "Odes of Chow" and the "Sorrows of Han" (24). Mrs. Spring Fragrance is the main actor helping to mediate between white characters, now a member of the *humanitas*: the story opens with Mrs. Spring Fragrance contemplating about writing a book for her Chinese women friends about Americans because "The American people were so interesting and mysterious" (22). The young white lovers become her subject of interest, with Mrs. Spring Fragrance adopting the role of amateur anthropologist: "These mysterious, inscrutable, incomprehensible Americans! Had I the divine right of learning I would put them

into an immortal book!" (30). In this passage much quoted by critics, Mrs. Spring Fragrance parodies the colonial knowledge impulse by suggesting that inscrutability is in fact culturally relative. Nonetheless, it turns out that she does have insight into the affairs of the heart. After collecting her ethnographic observations about the dynamics of the white social scene, which lead her to eavesdropping on a conversation between Ethel and her mother about feminism and classism with the daughter advocating for her supposed romantic rival Alice, Mrs. Spring Fragrance uses this knowledge to give Will Carman's mother a sentimental education so that she will relent in her opposition to her son marrying Alice. The Spring Fragrances conclude the story by lauding the "Inferior Woman" for her hard work, but hope to have a daughter who is a "New Woman" like the "Superior Woman." By changing herself from object of knowledge to knowing subject, it is Mrs. Spring Fragrance untangles American inscrutability and pushes the white characters to a more progressive and compassionate stance in the name of love.

After this second story Sui Sin Far moves away from Mrs. Spring Fragrance, but the character is the necessary opening for the overall short story collection. By naming the book as well as the first division, and the first short story, after Mrs. Spring Fragrance, Far does not have her character represent acquiescence to the narrow definition of the acceptable Chinese American, but symbolizes how she acts as a necessary jumping off point for more complex and more subversive possibilities for Chinese Americans. Far sees women like Mrs. Spring Fragrance as emblems of modernity that counteracts the perception of a Western monopoly on progress, particularly in relation to forms of feminism. Mary Chapman argues that "The Inferior Woman" illustrates Far's take on different modes of female agency beyond white Western suffrage: since China enfranchised women before America, "U.S. suffragists began to imagine Chinese women as the very essence of the modern and at the forefront of international suffrage

developments" (995). In her 1897 essay "The Chinese Woman in America" for *The Land of Sunshine*, Far pushes against the notion that the Chinese woman is a "relic of antiquity" and asserts that "despite the popular idea that the Chinese are a phlegmatic people," "she is brimful of feelings and impressions" (59). Monica Patterson claims that Far uses Oriental exoticism to portray Chinese women as "both already new and enticingly old" and as an alternate model for womanhood: "she Americanizes the Chinese woman by associating her with a most familiar type, the American New Woman" (102). Far ends the essay by pointing out the meeting of Western modernity and ancient Chinese tradition: the Chinese term for new brides is "New Women" (64). But what I think is important to stress in this essay is that Far defends inscrutability as a tactic for Chinese women to deflect prying Western eyes:

> The Chinese woman in America differs from all others who come to live their lives here, in that she seeks not our companionship, makes no attempt to know us, adopts not our ways and heeds not our customs. She lives among us, but is isolated as if she and the few Chinese relations who may happen to live near were the only human beings in the world (59).

As Far writes, the reader must seek her out "but you might wait for all eternity and she would not come to you" (59). These women who combine both ancient and modern traits have the right to refuse assimilation.

Insofar as Mrs. Spring Fragrance and her husband slipped through the cracks in the legal bastion of Chinese exclusion, their respectable inclusion in the opening stories of the collection allows them to drive a wedge into the cracks of anti-Chinese American hegemony. In doing so, the Spring Fragrances enable Far to include even abject Chinese characters who signify the most dangerous aspects of the Yellow Peril along with narratives that complicate any simple plea for

Chinese acceptance under the conditions of assimilation. The title of the final story of the Mrs. Spring Fragrance section of the collection reveals its focus on respectable Mrs. Spring Fragrance's polar opposite: "The Sing Song Woman." The term "sing song woman" was synonymous with the term "actress" for Chinese women, and like the history of the word "actress," it was used as a euphemism for sex worker. The sing song woman was the representative of the most abhorred type of Chinese immigrant, who threatened to infect America with the contagion of the Yellow Peril, requiring legislation such as the Page Act to ward them off from American shores since "The majority consensus was that Chinese prostitutes represented a distinct threat to the lives of white families" (Luibheld 35). Ah Oi is the name that links this final story with the story "Mrs. Spring Fragrance": in the first story, Mrs. Spring Fragrance meets Ah Oi in San Francisco, "a young girl who had the reputation of being the prettiest Chinese girl in San Francisco, and the naughtiest" and rather than shaming her, Mrs. Spring Fragrance ignores the gossip and takes "a great fancy to Ah Oi and invited her to a tête-à-tête picnic" (7). This is the only mention of Ah Oi in the story, but Ah Oi, or at least a girl by the same name, appears later in the collection as the titular sing song woman. Ah Oi takes the place of her friend Mag-gee at her wedding; of mixed race, Mag-gee embodies the ultimate in assimilation and abhors the idea of marrying a Chinese man since she rejects her Chinese side, claiming "I'm not Chinese in looks nor in any other way. See! My eyes are blue, and there is gold in my hair; I love potatoes and beef, and every time I eat rice it makes me sick, and so does chopped up food" (237). Despite the uproar when Ah Oi's identity is revealed after the ceremony, her new husband Ke Leang accepts his less-than-proper wife, rather than chasing after Mag-gee who rejects her heritage, and brings the sing song woman back with him to China (240). Although Mrs. Spring Fragrance and Ah Oi are on the opposite ends of the spectrum both

in terms of respectability and assimilation, Far treats both with care, declining to portray either as success or failure, and implies that a greater sisterhood binds the two of them as her paper children.

Children link the first part of the short story collection to the second: the Mrs. Spring Fragrance stories both carry the seeds of Chinese futurity that connect to the second section of the collection "Tales of Chinese Children." In the first, Mai Gwi Far and Kai Tzu's marriage signals the potential for reproductive futurity. Moreover, while in San Francisco, Mrs. Spring Fragrance meets

> more than a dozen babies who had been born in the families of her friends since she last visited the city of the Golden Gate. Mrs. Spring Fragrance loved babies. She had had two herself, but both had been transplanted into the spirit land before the completion of even one moon (7)

At the end of "The Inferior Woman," however, Mrs. Spring Fragrance fantasizes about a future daughter. Granting entry to respectable documented women like Mrs. Spring Fragrance, who fit the narrow definition of Chinese female acceptability, does not stave off the fear of Chinese futurity in America and it is no coincidence that the section that follows the Mrs. Spring Fragrance cluster is "Tales of Chinese Children." Hsu speculates that these stories were "probably intended to be read by (or read aloud to) white children," situating "their narrator as a sort of Chinese mission teacher using exotic myths to provide moral and sentimental instruction to Anglo-American children," while in contrast White-Parks muses about multifaceted significations of the title: "does the proposition 'of' in 'Tales of Chinese Children' connote not *for* but *about*, or perhaps coming *from*" (121, 15). I suggest that the shift between the two sections illustrates the temporal progression from the feared sexuality of the Chinese woman to

the assumed results of her exotic sensuality: the spectres of Chinese futurity through the Chinese Child that challenges the implicitly white Child of America's politics. Within the context of the Yellow Peril discourse during the Exclusion Era, Far's title plays with the ambiguity of the preposition "of": if "of" means "Tales about Chinese Children," its subversion masquerades as palatable sentimentality for a white audience, while if "of" means "Tales for Chinese Children," the title contains the implication of a Chinese futurity that looks away from the immediacy of the American context, disaffecting itself in order to present an alternative reality made by and for the Chinese in America.

The division between the "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" and "Tales of Chinese Children" sections is not strict, but the intermingling between the two reveals the complex relationship between them. While in the first section, the stories are more clearly tales of Chinese lives in North America and in the second the stories read more like fables with magical elements and talking animals, the real life concerns and settings of "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" still seep into "Tales"[46] and a little of the fantastical also makes its way into "Mrs. Spring Fragrance."[47] In order to illustrate the dynamic between these sections, I turn to "The Prize China Baby" from "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" and the final story of the collection, "The Crocodile Pagoda" from "Tales of Chinese Children." The Fin Fan character slips out of the deportation to China at the end of "Tian Shan's Kindred Spirit" and into "The Prize China Baby" as a hardworking mother living in San Francisco's Chinatown with a beloved baby named Jessamine Flower. Unfortunately, her husband, who bought her as a slave, is more obsessed with the success of his factory and would rather that Fin Fan worked there instead of tending to little Jessamine. In an

[46] The short stories "Children of Peace," "The Chinese Boy-Girl," and "Pat and Pan" all locate themselves in America.

attempt to have her husband value their child, Fin Fan enters her into a baby beauty contest. Although Jessamine wins, both child and mother perish in a freak street accident, with Fin Fan triumphantly claims the baby as "hers forever" (219). Jessamine Flower returns as one of the two little girls in "The Crocodile Pagoda" whose mother tells them a whimsical fable about foolish anthropomorphized crocodiles as a way of resolving the children's dispute about porcelain cups. This tale reinforces the importance of narrative as well as the connection between older and younger generations, much as Far puts her stories, her paper children, out into the world. The two stories illustrate how the fantasy opens up possibilities for the tragedy, while the tragedy moderates the fantasy: while Jessamine dies in the grim San Francisco story, Far resurrects her for the playful tale, able to learn from the story-within-a-story. Even the supposedly innocent Chinese child Jessamine can also be a "wily Oriental" whose potential is inscrutable to Western eyes, transgressing the boundaries between stories and the collection's divisions and defying even death itself. Thus, the queer transgressions and use of inscrutability that appear in the more realistic "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" stories such as "The Smuggling of Tie Co" and "Tian Shan's Kindred Spirit" also appear in "Tales of Chinese Children."

The figure of the Chinese Child acts as a dangerously inscrutable challenge to the normative representation of white children that defies not only racial, but gendered, expectations. Ku Yum is the name shared by four most likely distinct characters that appear in four separate stories, each time as a playful and transgressive Chinese child. In "The Heart's Desire" the fairy tale princess Li Chung O'Yam[48] is not happy with riches but requires for her heart's desire "a little girl named Ku Yum, with a face as round as a harvest moon, and a mouth like a red vine

[47] In "The Three Souls of Ah So Nan" the ghost of the fiancée's mother orders him to stop mourning her and marry O'Yam. Set in San Francisco and in the "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" section, this is the most obvious example of the magical making its way from the "Tales" portion.
[48] O'Yam also appears as the name of the love interest in "The Three Souls of Ah So Nan"

leaf" to be her companion and little sister (302). From this innocuous girlish beginning, Ku Yum becomes a more subversive trickster character in subsequent iterations. In "The Inferior Man" Ku Yum is the daughter of Wen Hing, the schoolmaster, and beloved of all the schoolboys taught by her father. When the teacher detects that someone is eating candy in class, asserting "He who thinks only of good things to eat is an inferior man," the boys all refuse to reveal the perpetrator and take blows from the rattan in order to protect Ku Yum (309). Ku Yum comes out of hiding with her candy and reveals herself to be the "inferior man," thereby usurping gender norms (311). Ku Yum is also the guilty party in "Misunderstood" where she tries to look after her baby brother and ends up punished by her parents for trying to feed him bugs and putting him into mud. These more conventional children's stories lead up to the final Ku Yum story, "A Chinese Boy-Girl," that takes place in Los Angeles. Ku Yum is now the name of a mischievous child under the schooling of Miss Mason, a well-intentioned young white woman. Ku Yum possesses a perversity that leads Miss Mason to believe her student was not raised properly: the child "took an almost unchildlike interest in the in the rules and regulations, even at times asking to have them repeated to her; but her study of such rules seemed only for the purpose of finding a means to break them, and that means she never failed to discover and put into effect." Since Ku Yum is motherless, Miss Mason places herself in the position of a surrogate mother with all the imperative of motherly feelings combined with institutional authority as a teacher: "She felt that she had a duty to perform toward the motherless little girl" (328). She overrides the father's authority by calling upon the legal power of the Superior Court of the State to discipline the child known for breaking rules, requiring Ku Yum to enter a home for Chinese girls run by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (327). To her surprise, Miss Mason misjudges both the situation and where Chinese sympathies lie; the situation leads to "all Chinatown being in

sympathy with [Ku Yum] and arrayed against Miss Mason. Where formerly the teacher had met with smiles and pleased greetings, she now beheld averted faces and downcast eyes" (330). Disagreement does not have to register on the level of violence, but simply through looking away and withholding emotion. When Miss Mason goes to find Ku Yum, it turns out that she not only misread popular sentiment but also gender: when she asks the child to promise to be a "good little girl," Ku Yum responds "Ku Yum *never* be a good girl" (331). After speaking with Ku Yum's father Ten Suie, she realizes that the man has been protecting his child from evil spirits by passing his son off as a girl and recognizes herself as one such evil spirit. As well-meaning as Miss Mason is, as a middle-class white woman and the typical sentimental heroine[49], she eventually accepts that she cannot know everything about the Chinese and ill comes from the privileged assumption that she can. The Ku Yum tales disrupt white sentimental expectations in queer ways, eventually showing that Chinese children can embody a kind of inscrutable unpredictability to Western eyes.

Perhaps the most threatening of Far's stories in relation to the tropes of the Yellow Peril are "Its Wavering Image" and "Pat and Pan." Although the first story is in the "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" section and the second is in "Tales of Chinese Children," both are set in American Chinatowns and feature a female character named Pan. In "Its Wavering Image" Far plays with the expectations of the Chinatown tour genre through the disastrous love affair between Pan, a girl of mixed Chinese and white parentage, and the enterprising white reporter Mark Carson who exploits Pan for his journalism. In his analysis of the story, Beauregard comments, "Here, exposure of the Chinese community parallels exposure of a woman's body; race and gender intersect in the exploitative practices of the white male character" (348). Yet what is telling is the

[49] Indeed, the well-intentioned white woman is a reoccurring character type in Far's stories, usually tied to a

radical implication of Pan's final decision to identify as a Chinese woman in opposition to Carson's desire to see her as white. After using Pan to get the insider's scoop on Chinatown for his paper, Carson is as certain of Pan's affection as he is about the rightness of his exploitative journalism: "so appreciative, so inspiring, so loving. She would have forgotten that article by now" (93). His arrogance is unfounded and instead he finds himself "strangely chilled" by the uncanny sight of Pan in Chinese attire when he previously saw her only in American dress: "But for her clear-cut features she might have been a Chinese girl" (94). In response to Carson's denial of her Chinese heritage – "You are a white woman – white. Did your kiss not promise me that?" Pan declares "I would not be a white woman for all the world. *You* are a white man" (95). She rejects his love by a turn to an embrace of Oriental inscrutability that renders her unreadable to the knowing prerogative of his gaze as a white man; a disaffection where he attempted to read affection. After making explicit the racial stakes of their conflict, the story ends with Pan sick with rage until "a little toddler who could scarcely speak" cuddles up to her (95). The child's mother reassures Pan by saying "Thou wilt bear a child thyself some day, and all the bitterness of this will pass away," causing the story to end with this final line: "Pan, being a Chinese woman, was comforted" (95). Where does the comfort come from? While it can be interpreted in a sentimental fashion, that the wonder of motherhood will drown Pan's romantic sorrows, I sense a more drastic implication: Pan as a Chinese woman will have revenge upon Carson and his representative bigoted whiteness since the reproductive futurity she represents will be the very thing mainstream America fears.

The love of a Pan is also the focus of "Pat and Pan," in which Pat, a white boy, is adopted by a loving Chinese family alongside a devoted foster sister, Pan. Anna Harrison, another well-

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pernicious form of sympathy.

intentioned white woman, is horrified to see a little white boy napping with a little Chinese girl and makes it her business to sort out this race mixing: “A white boy in America talking only Chinese talk!” she exclaims (335). Despite Anna Harrison’s worries, or perhaps further provoking them, Pat is more than content with his Chinese foster family: “he was in great glee over a row of red Chinese candles” while Pan “applauded him in vociferous, infantile Chinese” (336). When Anna convinces the family that they should teach Pat the English language, the parents let “the little ones practise ‘American’ together when at home” (337). Even at the Mission school the two go together although Pan is too young be formally enrolled; nonetheless, “she had a better English vocabulary than had Pat. Moreover, she could sing hymns and recite verses in a high, shrill voice; whereas Pat, though he tried hard enough, poor little fellow, was unable to memorize even a sentence” (338). Nurture appears to win out over nature: try as Pat might, Pan continually outperforms him at school and, even though “she was the originator of most of the mischief which Pat carried out,” Pat is the one who gets in trouble, with Pan chiding him, “Why not you be good like me?” (340). Although Pat and Pan would appear to be on an equal bilingual playing field, in her broken English the Chinese American Pan admonishes the white American Pat for not matching her academic, linguistic, and personal achievements. In this relationship the worst fears of the Yellow Peril are realized. If the Chinese are unassimilable, there lies the risk that white Americans can be assimilated by them; as Senator Miller said, “the American people are far more impressible than the stoical Chinese” (1483). On the other hand, the imitative trait of the Chinese also carries the worry that the Chinese can outdo white Americans at the very accomplishments that should be theirs by right as the superior race. To recall Morton laying the foundation for Yellow Peril fears of Chinese success in race science as well as the seeds for the model minority myth, they are “ingenious, imitative, and highly

susceptible of civilization" (5). Harrison succeeds in persuading the foster family to return Pat to his birth mother who allegedly had him in bad circumstances, with Pat crying out, "I am Chinese too! I am Chinese too!" (342). After an undisclosed period of time, Pan comes across Pat now Americanized with his school friends. Pat condescends to Pan who is eager to share details from his old life until one of his schoolboy friends laughs, "Hear the China kid!," causing Pat to yell at her, "Get away from me!" (344). Although Pan relinquishes her connection to Pat, it is she who is sad for him: "Poor Pat! said she. "He Chinese no more; he Chinese no more!" (344). Reversing norms around assimilation dependent on a binary of racial and cultural superiority and inferiority, Pat's integration into white America is seen by Pan as a tragedy for Pat rather than a success. Through the characters named Pan, Sui Sin Far achieves the paradox of both connecting and disconnecting possible facets of the Chinese American experiences: on the one hand, the two Pans illustrate disparate adaptations of the tropes of the Yellow Peril, but on the other, they are linked through their names and circumstances by the shared, or rather, *pan-*, Chinese experience.

Since the publication of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* the image of the Chinese in America has shifted from Yellow Peril threat to deserving model minority. Yet rather than opening up possibilities for Chinese Americans and Asian Americans more broadly in the post-Exclusion Act Era, the model minority myth has come with its own set of suffocating exclusions that are partially self-imposed. In a reaction to the legal designation of Asians as "aliens ineligible to citizenship," many Asians turned to conformity with dominant American expectations of behavior that included the perpetuation of anti-black racism: as Ellen Wu notes, "Self-representations of Japanese and Chinese American masculinity, femininity, and sexuality, purposefully conforming to the norms of the white middle class, were crucial in the reconstruction of aliens ineligible to citizenship into admirable – albeit colored – Americans" (5).

Asian Americans, she argues, were complicit in the creation of the model minority myth as a problematic strategy to create an exemplary category for racial minorities in the American cultural imaginary that disavows any associations with blackness. The framework of her discussion is what she calls the "yellow-peril-model minority binary" that delimits the possibilities for Asian American identity in the United States as either alien menace or aspirational and almost white (258). The model minority myth tries to impose a bowdlerized narrative of Asian American history: as Vincent Bascara remarks, it is "a way of reading progressive historical change. That is, the present has reckoned with uncomfortable pasts and is doing right by the wronged by incorporating them, or, more precisely, by allowing a putatively color-blind and gender-neutral market to sort things out. The resulting vision is the smooth and compliant incorporation of Asian difference into American civilization" (1-2). The dubious accolade of the label "model minority," however, creates more insidious forms of discrimination for those bearing its mark: "In lionizing Asian America as the embodiment of capitalist democracy's promise, social commentators have suggested that the entire nation, not just racial minorities, would benefit from mimicking model minority behavior. Many Americans have come to see Asians in their midst as *too* successful, however, outwhiting the whites yet again and again" (Wu 253). I suggest that the Yellow Peril and the model minority do not act as the diametrically-opposed poles of Asian American possibility, but rather, the model minority myth is the updated and respectable face of the Yellow Peril, both predicated upon the fear of Asian inscrutability and its attendant success in America.

The model minority myth, no less than the Yellow Peril, works to trap the abject Chinese subject, damning them if they fail but also damning them if they succeed. While both the Yellow Peril and the model minority imply the potentially dangerous future success of the Chinese in

America, the model minority myth attempts to depoliticize the Chinese American subject by suggesting that the end point of (the people of colour's version) American Dream has been achieved, effectively forestalling the imagining of other futures and possibilities. Yet by going to the past of Asian American literature, we may imagine other futures. Through her paper children gathered together in *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*, Far opens the horizon of possibilities for the Chinese in America by depicting alternate narrative realities that go beyond Yellow Peril and model minority binaries of successful assimilated citizen and failed unassimilable alien. While she depicts Chinese American subjects full of feeling, she does not reduce them to passive objects of white sympathy; she alternates between the quietly subversive stories of the Spring Fragrances and the more radical affective refusal of characters such as Pan in "Its Wavering Image." Indeed, Far does not try to lay out her characters as objects to be known for the prerogative of the knowing gaze – even if it means the nominal acceptance of the Chinese into the category of the universal human, thereby making them worthy of white sympathy. She reserves for her people the right of dissatisfaction, to look away and tap into inscrutability in order to shield themselves. While Far wishes the best for what she calls her "dear ones," the nature of inscrutability means that she cannot limit the potential of their many possible futures, giving space for them to feel otherwise and imagine otherwise.

Conclusion: White Women's Tears, Black Women's Endurance

On June 5, 1850, Lydia Folger Fowler graduated from Central Medical College and became the second American woman to earn a medical degree and would go on to become the first woman professor at an American medical college. Fowler was conscious of her position as a symbol of and activist in women's rights movements, participating in conventions such as Seneca Falls, and eventually earning acclaim from Elizabeth Cady Stanton who would dedicate *The History of Woman Suffrage* to Fowler alongside such feminist luminaries as Mary Wollstonecraft, Lydia Maria Child, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, and Margaret Fuller. Her place in the vanguard of American women's progress may seem uncontested, but Lydia Folder Fowler M.D.'s name may hold other associations for sharp-eyed readers of this dissertation: Dr. Fowler was married to Lorenzo Fowler, the famed phrenologist, and she was a well-known phrenologist in her own right. Here I bring together the themes of my first chapter on the violent legacies of race science and my third chapter on the entrance of white middle-class women into medical science: phrenology was both a technology of racial hierarchy and a tool for white women's elevation. In her 1850 *Familiar Lessons on Physiology, Destined for the Uses of Children and Youth in Schools and Families,* Fowler presents lessons about human bodies and self-knowledge for truly caring parents and teachers to give to children, a scientific sentimental education. "The only difference between the blackest person who ever lived and the whitest, is in this liquid on the surface of the second skin, which is either black, or white, or red," so she writes on the topic of skin, but this declaration does not hold true for the rest of the text that combines phrenology's self-help ethos with its inbuilt racism: the correct functioning of phrenological faculties is continually contrasted with the so-called savage races (58). The Hindus, for instance, have the organ of Veneration but "they have not sufficient intellect to choose for themselves the proper

object of worship" since their religion has a monkey god, while the Chinese have Imitation well-developed "without much intellect to guide them" (104, 128). At the back of the book, there is an ad for other texts published by the Fowler family, including the *American Phrenological Journal* that promises to its progressive white middle-class woman reader: "Woman, her duties, education, influence, and natural sphere of action, will be unfolded, and many points of dispute will, by the aid of the science of Phrenology, be settled, by which woman may know and maintain all the powers allotted to her by the laws of Nature." For Lydia Folger Fowler, the impetus for white women's advancement could easily be adapted to the benevolent imperatives of right action and right feeling captured by Melville's Captain Amasa Delano without disrupting its foundation in an ideology of right racial and social relations.

In the conclusion to this dissertation on feeling subjects, I want to suggest some future avenues of exploration. In the area of "affectations," how might Walt Whitman's explorations with phrenology in order to represent new feelings of queerness prefigure Eve Sedgwick's appropriation of affect theory through psychologist Silvan Tomkins' updated take on physiognomy? Can the concept of "disaffections" help us better understand the affective labor of sex workers against white sentimental and sensationalist narratives of exploitation in the context of the pathologization and legislation of Black, Asian, and Indigenous women's bodies in the nineteenth-century through the turn of the century?

Here, I can briefly sketch a comparison between gendered and racialized affectations and disaffections as indicators of the worthiness of certain bodies as accorded by science and law in nineteenth-century America. I look at the often inchoate feelings, the range of emotions, affects, and pain, in nineteenth-century American literary depictions of white women and black women, the first through the structure of affectations and the second through the lens of disaffection.

Taking Lydia Folger Fowler's connection to phrenology and mainstream nineteenth-century feminism as the starting point for analyzing the depiction of working white women's headaches, I note the prevalence of the depiction of headaches suffered by the protagonists in Fanny Fern's *Ruth Hall* and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *The Story of Avis*. As shown by Lydia Folger Fowler's successful career, phrenology was known for its championing of women's rights. The Fowlers promoted bloomers and deplored corsets; Lydia Folger Fowler, Mary Grove Nicholas, and Mrs. E. Oakes Smith lectured to female audiences about women's health (Davies 110). Sarah J. Hale of *Ladies' Magazine* encouraged women to go to Spurzheim's lectures because of "the necessity of female participation in the science" (qtd. in Davies 82). Hale's rhetoric about phrenology echoes Baym's assertion that the women of her study affiliated themselves with science as a part of the project of women's rights, while also being restricted to the domestic sphere: "excepting Christianity, phrenology will do more to elevate woman than any other system has ever done. It gives her a participation in the labors of the mind. She must understand its principles and practice them in the nursery. And her influence it is which must mould the minds of her children and improve the world" (qtd. in Davies 82). Hale's shift from the nursery to the world reflects Shirley Samuels's observation that "the family was both made public and publicized; the image of the family was thus reinscribed in public institutions that maintained its private status while ensuring its public function" (16). Although headaches are pathologized in the scientific medical literature of the time as a gendered ailment, I argue that these novels transform this localized form of pain into a medical metaphor of affectation through phrenology's obsession with the inner and outer spheres of the head; the trope of the headache allows for the articulation of the conflicting affective imperatives between the domestic and public spheres as their white feminist

protagonists navigate the working world and the legal consequences of widowhood in *Ruth Hall* and the impossibility of divorce in *The Story of Avis*.

Phrenology itself serves as a crystallization of the two spheres ideology's relationship to epistemology. In the introduction to *No More Separate Spheres!*, an edited collection based off of their special issue of *American Literature*, Cathy N. Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher raise the challenge of pushing criticism using the separate spheres ideology to have more complexity and flexibility beyond the limiting structural binary of male/public and female/private: "Post-spheres criticism is more fluid in its evaluation of how power operates and is coopted and therefore tends to be both less hyperbolic in its appreciations and more temperate in its condemnations (neither of which makes it any less politically engaged or motivated)" (15). Linda K. Kerber, in her detailed study of the use of the separate spheres as a tool of scholarly analysis, notes how critics are considering the two spheres in the 'literal sense" of spheres as space by "[s]tressing the interplay between the metaphorical and the literal," used "not only as metaphor but as descriptor, to use it to refer to domain in the most obvious and explicit sense" (49, 50). By taking the trope of the separate spheres in its most literal incarnation, I argue that they can be seen as analogous to the sphere of the head itself taken up as the prime object of analysis by phrenology: the interdependence between the private inner sphere of the mind and the public outer sphere of the skull. Through schematizing the outside of the head, phrenology promises to make the domain of the private, of personality and ability, both rational and scientific through presenting the public surface as ordered and readable. Even as white women writers like Fern and Phelps strive to redefine the sentimental novel for a new kind of female protagonist, they are bound within the genre's sympathetic conventions, unable, like the pain within their heads, to fully break out of the limitedness of sentimentality's expressive significations.

In comparison, consider the affective and sensory stupefaction attributed to black people's expressiveness that goes back to Thomas Jefferson's pioneering anthropological observations in *Notes on the State of Virginia* where he claims that black "griefs are transient" because of "that immovable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race" (176). This racialized appearance of unfeeling, I argue, becomes reformulated into the double-edged trope of the "strong black woman" who endures, in Alice Walker's words, as "the mule of the world." I build upon Sianne Ngai's conception of "stuplimity," the so-called "ugly feeling" of the passivity and stupefaction that defies coherence and systemization, in order to conceptualize insensibility as a form of racialized disaffection that acknowledges the small resistances of unfeeling, but also illustrates the troubling consequences with outright reclamation of such a vilified mode. During the same time I conducted research on headaches and Lydia Folger Fowler at the Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, I also went through the archive of J. Marion Sims, the doctor who honed his surgical craft on the un-anaesthetized bodies of enslaved black women both from his family's plantation and purchased from colleagues. Sims would go on to be the founder of American gynecology, using this technology wrought through the legal institution of chattel slavery for the founding of a New York women's hospital geared to white women and funded by rich white women philanthropists. I want to examine Sims's writings for the suppressed voices and pain of these often unnamed black women, putting them into relation with the suffering and endurance ambivalently expressed by Harriet Jacobs in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Black women's insensibility emerges as a disaffective tactic of strength and resistance that does not pander the expectations of the emotional pornography demanded by a white sentimental gaze, but does so at the cost of refusing the affective transparency demanded as the base criteria for white sympathy and political action. This disaffection perhaps contributes

to the dismissal of black women's suffering under the auspices of the figure of the "strong black woman."

The afterlives of these gendered and racial disparities in sympathy and sentimental discourse can be seen in cultural and activist discourse today. By way of contrast, pair the historical figure of Lydia Folger Fowler with the prominence of Sheryl Sandberg's *Lean In* as significant examples of the limitations and legacies of what is now popularly called "white feminism." Or Harriet Jacobs and the unnamed enslaved women of Sims's experiments with the callous uncaring of society and lack of justice from institutions that greets the lives and deaths of Sandra Bland, Mya Hall, Megan Hockaday, and far too many other black women victims of police brutality whose names need to be preserved by the Say Her Name campaign. #whitewomenstears and #whitefragility began circulating on Twitter with increasing frequency in the ongoing wake of the Black Lives Matter movement against police brutality and anti-black racism. Both hashtags name the growing mainstream recognition of how race in America conditions sympathy and political action despite the supposed universalism of emotions as evidence for the intrinsic value of individuals as human beings. These phrases originate from academic work published in the past decade by Mamta Motwani Accapadi and Robin DiAngelo, finding significance resonance in social media where grassroots activists adopted the language as a shorthand for phenomena they had long identified as endemic to racial discourse in America. Accapadi's article "When White Women Cry" discusses how white women's tears oppress women of color by derailing conversations about privilege and systemic oppression: "the White woman's reality is visible, acknowledged, and legitimized because of her tears, while a woman of color's reality, like her struggle, is invisible overlooked, and pathologized based on the operating 'standard of humanity'" (210). I connect Accapadi's "white women's tears" to the

cluster of affective responses and defense mechanisms triggered by the vulnerable state that DiAngelo calls "white fragility": "the reduced psychological stamina that racial insulation inculcates," produced by the privileges of whiteness, that renders white people intolerant of discussions about race (56); DiAngelo would later be interviewed by the popular press about white fragility in relation to Black Lives Matter, a 2015 article first published by *Alternet* and then by *Slate*. In both cases, the terms articulate the re-centering of whiteness as dominant against any challenges to change that status quo, on the basis of the precedence of white feelings. Pain is gendered, but also racialized: according to the comprehensive overview of medical research by Diane E. Hoffmann and Anita J. Tarzian in the *Journal of Law, Medicine, and Ethics*, considering both biological and sociological factors, women's pain receives less attention than men's in health-care settings, and, implicitly, society as a whole. In particular, Hoffmann and Tarzian highlight the slippage in the definition of feeling that affects women disproportionately because of the Cartesian bias: "Women's pain tends to be viewed as more emotionally based and thus less credible – or likewise, less credible *if indeed it is* emotionally based" (22). As the existence of #whitewomenstears and the absence of #blackwomenstears implies, an intersectional perspective, as always, reveals the racialized hierarchy within the category of 'woman' that relatively privileges some and further marginalizes others.

These terms from critical race studies targeting white sensitivity are made into Twitter hashtags in deliberate, ironic juxtaposition with the violences enacted against people of color, especially African Americans, laying bare how the asymmetrical attention to white feelings distracts from racialized experiences of pain. Police brutality against black men, women, and children is part of the legacy of Captain Delano's violent lawful intervention on the *San Dominick* and the legalized violences and surveillances born from and perpetuated by chattel

slavery and the broad jurisdiction of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 critiqued in *Blake*; however, much as the slippery ambiguity of the concept of "feeling" indicates a spectrum that encompasses both physical sensation and emotion – with affect uncertainly positioned in-between – "white women's tears" also indicates the dismissal of black feelings writ both large and small based on the fundamental whiteness of sympathy's discursive foundation. Coeval to ongoing legalization of black pain and oppression through what Michelle Alexander calls "the New Jim Crow," the legacies of unethical scientific experimentation on black bodies continued from the infamous Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment and the medical appropriation of Henrietta Lacks's cells to make the HeLa cell line for cancer research. Where white Americans can use white fragility to disengage from any challenge to their centrality, African Americans suffer the accumulated effects of John Henryism, the physical and psychological impact of the everyday stressors of individual and systemic racism.

The uneven cultural weight placed upon racialized expressions of pain, and feeling more broadly, is even finding attention with one major institutional perpetuator, the field of medical science. In September 2015, the journal *Pediatrics* published by the American Medical Association released a study that showed black children were significantly less likely to receive pain medication for appendicitis than white children. The researchers Monika K. Goyal et al. conducted their study on children to build on existing scholarship demonstrates racial and ethnic differences in wait times, hospital admission rates, the management of closed head trauma, and the administration of painkillers. In the summary of the importance of their research, the scientists conclude, "Further work to understand the causes of these disparities must be undertaken" in order to take action for more equable health care (996). A few months later in the same journal, Eric W. Fleeger and Neil L. Schechter wrote an editorial that reviews a broad

range of scientific studies on racial discrimination and pain treatment from the 1970s onward, asking "How do we explain the persistence of these disparities in treatment?" and concluding, "we are left with the notion that subtle biases, implicit and explicit, conscious and unconscious, influence the clinician's judgment" (992). Indeed, we might say this manifestation of white supremacy in the realm of affect recognition and sensitivity is related to Accapadi's "white women's tears" and DiAngelo's "white fragility." The doctors propose a few potential changes in hospital protocols to try to remedy this inequality, ending with the statement, "Strategies and available knowledge exist to remedy this unfortunate situation; we can and should do better" (992). This "available knowledge," I suggest, can be found by turning to the humanities.

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