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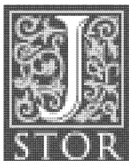

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IN MEMORIAM AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE HOMOSEXUAL

BY JEFF NUNOKAWA

> "So what do I know about being mature. The only thing mature means to me is *Victor* Mature . . ."
>
> —Mart Crowley, *The Boys in the Band*

"Descend, and touch, and enter; hear / The wish too strong for words to name" (*In Memoriam*, 93.13–14).[1] It is difficult for a contemporary audience to read these lines, in which Tennyson prays for Hallam's embrace, without thinking that the wish too strong for words to name is the love that dare not speak its name. Tennyson's critics have often resisted such interpretations by reminding us that expressions of devotion must be situated historically. Gordon Haight, for example, argues that "the Victorians' conception of love between those of the same sex cannot be understood fairly by an age steeped in Freud. Where they saw only pure friendship, the modern reader assumes perversion. . . . Even *In Memoriam*, for some, now has a troubling overtone."[2] As Haight's comment suggests, there is often more homophobia than history in the traditional appeal to the differences between Victorian and contemporary discourses of desire. Christopher Ricks, no sympathizer with Hellenistic readings of *In Memoriam*, dismisses the claim that such readings are necessarily anachronistic: "As so often, the position of the historical purist is itself unhistorical. . . . Some Victorians, who found Shakespeare's *Sonnets* troubling, found *In Memoriam* troubling."[3] *The Times*, for example, condemned *In Memoriam* for its "tone of amatory tenderness."[4] Tennyson's own trouble with this tone may be registered in his famous protest that while Hallam lived, he never called him "dearest."[5]

But the historical particularity of Tennyson's passion in the troubling passages of *In Memoriam* can be taken up to define, rather than deny, its homosexual character: what construction of the homosexual is registered and reproduced in the parts of *In Memoriam* which Victorians themselves could designate as such?[6] I want to begin with the suppressed phrase which has elicited so much attention from critics interested in denying or affirming the homo-

sexual character of Tennyson's poem. The invitation to matrimony that Tennyson excised from the manuscript version of section 93 ("Stoop soul and touch me: wed me") has been taken by various readers, including, perhaps, Tennyson himself, as a figure of homosexual desire. But it is the revision rather than the original, or better, the revision's relation to the original which we may more accurately designate as homoerotic: the site of homoerotic desire is constituted as the negation of the heterosexual figure of marriage. To apprehend the homoerotic in *In Memoriam* as that which is defined *against* heterosexuality is to gain a sense of it as part of the nineteenth-century formation of sexual abnormality that Michel Foucault points to, a formation which is constituted by, and in turn constitutes its opposite: sexual normality.[7]

And if, according to a logic that Foucault has made familiar to us, the homosexual in *In Memoriam* is formed by its relation to the heterosexual, the heterosexual is formed by its relation to the homosexual. More specifically, *In Memoriam* proposes a developmental model of male sexuality which establishes the homoerotic as an early phase that enables and defines the heterosexual. "The wish too strong for words to name" is not a desire for matrimony, but rather a primary stage in the formation of the husband and the father:

> How many a father have I seen,
> A sober man, among his boys,
> Whose youth was full of foolish noise,
> Who wears his manhood hale and green:
>
> And dare we to this fancy give,
> That had the wild oat not been sown,
> That soil, left barren, scarce had grown
> The grain by which a man may live?
>
> (53.1–8)

The "wild oats" and "foolish noise" which make up the patriarch's prehistory may be aligned with the boyhood love that Tennyson sets against the marital contract in section 59 of *In Memoriam.* This boyhood love is another version of early passion which makes way for, and a way for, heterosexuality:

> O Sorrow, wilt thou live with me
> No casual mistress, but a wife
> . . . .

> My centered passion cannot move,
> Nor will it lessen from to-day
> But I'll have leave at times to play
> As with the creature of my love.
>
> (59.1–2, 9–12)

Tennyson's post-Marlovian proposal of marriage is preceded and occasioned by the loss of his earlier pastoral play: his bride is a metonym for the loss of Hallam, and his heterosexual situation is thus defined as the ghost of prior passion; marriage is an elegy for earlier desire.[8]

I will seek shortly to demonstrate more specifically how *In Memoriam* identifies these early regions of passion as homoerotic, but before I do this, I want to recall the historical situation of Tennyson's ordering of male desire. The conception of the homoerotic as an early term in the tutelary itinerary of the bourgeois British male, an itinerary which ultimately installs him in the position of husband and father, is a staple of Victorian and post-Victorian ideology. Certainly the definitive site of this erotic apprenticeship is the English public school where, in the words of one Etonian, "It's all right for fellows to mess one another a bit. . . . But when we grow up we put aside childish things, don't we?"[9]

In *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick examines the ideological efficacy for the Victorian bourgeoisie of this evolutionary model of male desire. Sedgwick suggests that the social distinctions within the class of Victorian gentlemen were figured as different developmental stages within an individual psychic career in order to promote "the illusion of equality . . . within that class."[10] We may begin to sense that importance of such a softening of social distinctions for Tennyson in his relation to Arthur Hallam when we recall the difference between Tennyson's rather vexed and confused class and financial circumstances, and Hallam's far more secure possession of wealth and aristocratic position. The difference in their social circumstances, while perhaps not dramatic to our eyes, was sufficiently significant that, in the words of Robert Bernard Martin, "it is surprising that the most celebrated friendship of the century should ever have begun at all."[11]

Sedgwick argues that the Victorian narrative of individual psychosexual development served as the form in which economic and social distinctions within the bourgeoisie were made to appear. In

Tennyson's poem, the figure of evolutionary scale not only promotes a conception of potential equality between terms situated at different stages of development, but also replaces a model of social organization where there is no such potential equality between vertically distinct terms. In other words, in *In Memoriam*, we can witness the decision to rewrite what the poem first designates as unchanging social differences as different moments in a narrative of development, a narrative which includes, as one of its passages, the exodus of the male subject out of the blighted pastoral regions of the homoerotic.

Throughout *In Memoriam*, Tennyson pictures the difference between himself and his dead friend as an insuperable vertical distance:

> Deep folly! yet that this could be—
> That I could wing my will with might
> To leap the grades of life and light,
> And flash at once, my friend, to thee.
>
> (41.9–12)

In section 60, Tennyson describes this difference in height as a difference of class; the terms that he employs here to measure the distance between himself and Hallam describe his sense of loss as a sense of socioeconomic inferiority:

> He past; a soul of nobler tone:
> My spirit loved and loves him yet,
> Like some poor girl whose heart is set
> On one whose rank exceeds her own.
>
> He mixing with his proper sphere,
> She finds the baseness of her lot,
> Half jealous of she knows not what,
> And envying all that meet him there.
>
> The little village looks forlorn;
> She sighs amid her narrow days,
> Moving about the household ways,
> In that dark house where she was born.
>
> The foolish neighbours come and go,
> And tease her till the day draws by:
> At night she weeps, 'How vain am I!
> How should he love a thing so low?'
>
> (60.1–16)

In the four sections of *In Memoriam* that follow, Tennyson enlists various models of organic progression which recast and qualify the

class difference figured here. The distinction between Tennyson and Hallam becomes, in section 61, the difference between a "dwarf'd . . . growth" (7) and the "perfect flower of human time" (4). For Tennyson to define himself as a dwarfed growth is, implicitly, to attribute to himself the unrealized potential for *full* growth. While the "soul of nobler tone" is simply inaccessible to what is below and behind him, the "perfect flower of human time" figures a completion of development which the stunted plant could have attained. In section 63, Tennyson collates the distinction between himself and Hallam with differences between lower and higher species of animals, and if this seems to substantiate rather than diminish their separation, we need to remember Tennyson's endorsement of both phylogenic and ontogenetic versions of evolution. In section 118, for example, the forlorn desire to "leap the grades of life" is rewritten as a prescription for a personal practice of evolutionary process: "Move upward, working out the beast, / And let the ape and tiger die" (27–8). And if the figure of lesser development can rise to a higher stage, according to the evolutionary models that Tennyson sets forth in sections 61 through 65, the higher rises by means of the lower. The inferior term of the developmental hierarchy is cast as the seed that moves the superior term to "noble ends" (65.12).

Tennyson thus relieves class differences by replacing the simple social barrier between the "poor girl" and the "soul of nobler tone" with a permeable boundary: the "dwarf'd growth" and the "perfect flower of human time" are related as figures situated at different stages of the same evolutionary narrative. I want to suggest that the scenario of social ascent that Tennyson sets forth in section 64, in which Hallam is pictured not as a noble, but instead as a case study of upward mobility, registers the ideological force of these developmental models. The description of Hallam as "some divinely gifted man, / Whose life in low estate began . . . who breaks his birth's invidious bar" (1–2, 5) is enacted by means of an implicit analogy to the scenarios of natural evolution that surround it.

Identified with these evolutionary models, the scale from homosexual to heterosexual is defined as another version of the developmental range that displaces the class differences of section 60. Here is Tennyson addressing Hallam in section 61:

> If thou cast thine eyes below,
> How dimly character'd and slight,

> How dwarf'd a growth of cold and night,
> How blanch'd with darkness must I grow!
>
> Yet turn thee to the doubtful shore,
> Where thy first form was made a man;
> I loved thee, Spirit, and love, nor can
> The soul of Shakespeare love thee more.
>
> (61.5–12)

When the stunted, shadowed growth locates his devotion to Hallam with Shakespearean love, he identifies his desire with a standard Victorian figure for the male homoerotic. It was the homoerotic reputation of the Sonnets which made some of Tennyson's contemporaries uneasy about his fondness for them. Benjamin Jowett, for example, was relieved by what he regarded as Tennyson's retreat from his devotion to the Sonnets. To do otherwise, Jowett, opined, "would not have been manly or natural. . . . The love of the sonnets which he [Tennyson] so strikingly expressed was a sort of sympathy with Hellenism."[12] Certainly it was the taint of Hellenism attached to the Sonnets which prompted Henry Hallam to "wish that Shakespeare had never written them."[13]

Tennyson begins section 62 by again affiliating his lower species of love for Hallam with Shakespearean devotion:

> Tho' if an eye that's downward cast
> Could make thee somewhat blench or fail,
> Then be my love an idle tale,
> And fading legend of the past.
>
> (62.1–4)

These lines allude to the conclusion of Sonnet 116: "If this be error and upon me proved, / I never writ, nor no man ever loved" (13–14).[14] We need now to notice what Tennyson does with Sonnet 116, and why he does it. If *In Memoriam* takes up the Victorian conception of the Sonnets as an exemplary figuration of male homoerotic passion, it revises the terms of Shakespearean desire to fit with the modern formation of the homosexual which gained hegemony in the nineteenth century. While Shakespeare's devotion is "the marriage of true minds" in Sonnet 116, it is defined as that which is *not* marriage in *In Memoriam*. In keeping with the construction of the homoerotic as an early point on the developmental agenda of male desire, a stage which *precedes* and is terminated by matrimony, Tennyson's poem draws marriage away from the form of devotion that Victorians attributed to the Sonnets and situates it at a height where that form has been transcended. Tennyson goes on in section

62 to compare his Shakespearean passion for Hallam with Hallam's own ascent to the higher species of heterosexuality:

> And thou, as one that once declined,
> When he was little more than boy,
> On some unworthy heart with joy,
> But lives to wed an equal mind.
>
> (62.5–8)

Shakespeare measures the permanence of his love in 116:

> Love's not Times fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
> Within his bending sickle's compass come;
> Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
> But bears it out even to the edge of doom.
>
> (9–12)

But Tennyson, again subjecting the sonnet to the Victorian conception of the homoerotic as an early stage of male erotic development, declares the impermanence of the devotion that it expresses, casting it as a kind of schoolboy passion which "wholly dies" (10), or becomes "matter for a flying smile" (12) when boys put away childish things to become husbands and fathers.

Thus, Tennyson's claim that his passion for Hallam rivals Shakespeare's, works less to aggrandize his own passion than to diminish Shakespeare's. The constitution of the homoerotic in *In Memoriam* is most fully registered in its revision of Sonnet 116, a revision which converts Shakespeare's claim for the deathlessness of his desire into an announcement of its mortality.

I want now to examine a subtler announcement of the failure of Shakespearean devotion in *In Memoriam.* Tennyson alludes in section 62 to Shakespeare's designation of the permanence of his passion as the grounds upon which his writing rests: "If this be error and upon me proved, / I never writ nor no man ever loved." While Tennyson's echo of these lines slightly alters Shakespeare's contract, ("if an eye that's downward cast / Could make thee somewhat blench or fail, / Then be my love an idle tale, / And fading legend of the past"), I nevertheless want to suggest that the connection that Shakespeare sets forth between the existence of his text and the permanence of his passion remains in place in Tennyson's poem, only now in a negative form. When he recasts the passion of the sonnet as temporary rather than permanent, Tennyson cancels the condition upon which Shakespeare's text depends. And the proof of

Shakespeare's error is registered by the figure of Shakespearean devotion in section 61 that I referred to earlier, the figure who is "dimly character'd and slight." This fading legend of Shakespearean love is the negative realization of Shakespeare's covenant in Sonnet 116: here, the text disappears since the love that it represents is ephemeral, rather than eternal. The Shakespearean text is dimmed and slighted according to the terms of its own contract and according to the Victorian conception of its content.

The negative version of the Shakespearean contract which inhabits Tennyson's text suggests that "the wish too strong for words to name," another instance of desire contradistinguished from marriage, might as well be called the wish too *weak* for words to name. In "the wish too strong for words to name," the consequence of Tennyson's cancellation of Shakespeare's claim for the durability of his love is fully realized. The marriage of true minds is described now as the ephemeral predecessor of marriage, a transitional, transitory, and thus wordless "wish." Shakespeare's contract enables us to identify the place in *In Memoriam* where the homoerotic is extinguished, the place where Tennyson's love for Hallam is matured and his Shakespearean devotion expunged. Tennyson's fear that Hallam's death left him a dwarfed growth, permanently arrested at the stage of schoolboy love, is allayed in section 81 of the poem, where Death declares that through its intervention, Tennyson's devotion to Hallam was fully ripened:

> Could I have said while he was here,
> 'My love shall now no further range;
> There cannot come a mellower change,
> For now is love mature in ear.'
>
> Love then had hope of richer store:
> What end is here to my complaint?
> This haunting whisper makes me faint,
> 'More years had made me love thee more.'
>
> But Death returns an answer sweet:
> 'My sudden frost was sudden gain,
> And gave all ripeness to the grain,
> It might have drawn from after-heat.'
>
> (81.1–12)

We may locate the repository of the ripened grain of Tennyson's matured love when we gather together an allusion that is dispersed in sections 81 and 82, an allusion to Keats's "When I Have Fears":

> When I have fears that I may cease to be
> Before my pen has gleaned my teeming brain,
> Before high-piled books, in charactery,
> Hold like rich garners the full ripened grain.
>
> (1–4)[15]

Tennyson takes up not only the occasion of Keats's poem (the prospect of premature death), but also two of its figures—the grain in section 81, ("My sudden frost was sudden gain / And gave all ripeness to the grain") and, in 82, the garner that Keats pictures as the container for that grain:

> For this alone on Death I wreak
> That wrath that garners in my heart;
> He puts our lives so far apart
> We cannot hear each other speak.
>
> (82.13–16)

By reconstituting the reference to Keats's text in these sections of *In Memoriam*, we can discern the harvest of Tennyson's matured love in the rancor of his heart, a rancor whose source is the impotence of speech.

The dispelling of the homoerotic in these lines becomes visible when the resentment that Tennyson garners in his heart is placed next to the *words* that Keats garners, the "high-piled books, in charactery," which "hold like rich garners the full ripened grain." Tennyson's wrath, which, I have suggested, may be identified with his ripened love, represents two linguistic failures; not only his inability to hear or be heard by Hallam, but also the absence of the words, the "charactery," that Keats pictures as the ripened harvest that fills the garners. And according to the Shakespearean formula active in Tennyson's poem, a formula which equates the termination of what the Victorians constructed as homoerotic desire with verbal disappearance, this absence tells us that the maturation of Tennyson's love is the conclusion of its homoerotic phase. The ripening of love is built upon the disappearance of prior characters, the proof of Shakespeare's error. This verbal absence appears at the conclusion of a section of *In Memoriam* which includes a survey of the stages of evolutionary progress:

> Eternal process moving on,
> From state to state the spirit walks;
> And these are but the shatter'd stalks,
> Or ruined chrysalis of one.
>
> (82.5–8)

The "wild oat" of section 53, an early version of male desire whose passing is defined by verbal effacement, may be construed amongst the "shatter'd stalks" and "ruined chrysalis" as something else abandoned by that which is ripe. The absence of any reminder of this early desire may be the poem's most eloquent elegy for the homosexual; unlike the grain and the butterfly, matured male love leaves behind no mark, no souvenir of a kind of devotion whose failure can have no trace.[16]

But if the homoerotic disappears within the course of male desire as it is charted by Tennyson, this inexorable early loss is incessantly rewritten in subsequent constructions of the homosexual, rewritten and transliterated. If the homosexual is a stage, fated for extinction in the nineteenth-century conception of the homosexual that *In Memoriam* helps to construct, the doom attached to it is visited upon a population as the category of the homosexual passes from stage to subject in the years that follow Tennyson's elegy.[17] The funeral that Tennyson hosts for his own puerile homoerotic desire in *In Memoriam* has its afterlife in the glamorous rumor of preordained doom that bathes the image of live-fast-die-young gay boys such as Dorian Grey, Montgomery Clift, James Dean, Joe Orton, and, most recently, a French-Canadian airline steward who came to be known as Patient Zero, the spoiled child in whom the dominant media apprehended the embodiment of the lethal effects of a new virus. The youthful fatality of homosexual desire, the youthful fatality which *is* homosexual desire in Tennyson's poem, prepares the way for the story of the bathhouse boy's frolicsome progress to an inevitable early grave. "Blanch'd with darkness" still, the figure "dimly character'd and slight" helps explain why the dominant media inaccurately identifies AIDS with, even *as*, the early death of gay men. The "dwarf'd" "growth of cold and night" haunts such representations of the current crisis, the "dwarf'd" "growth of cold and night" that defines the homosexual as that which dies young.

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NOTES

[1] *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Longman, 1969). All subsequent citations of *In Memoriam* refer to Ricks's edition.

[2] Gordon Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), 496.

[3] Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 219.

[4] Quoted by Ricks, *Tennyson* (note 3), 219.

[5] Quoted by Valerie Pitt, *Tennyson Laureate* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 117. The point that I am rehearsing here, that the homoeroticism of *In Memoriam* has troubled even its first readers, is made most decisively by Christopher Craft, in his investigation of the poem's homosexual rhetoric, " 'Descend, and Touch, and Enter': Tennyson's Strange Manner of Address," in *Genders* 1 (1988): 85–86. See also Craft's analysis of the sometimes complex strategies deployed by generations of Tennyson's readers to evade or contain the homosexual elements of the elegy (86–87). Craft's reading of *In Memoriam*'s "same gender eroticism" (87) touches my own. See note 8.

[6] See, of course, Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I. An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978) for an account of sexual categories as the product of historically specific discursive practices, rather than timeless essences.

[7] See especially part 2 of *The History of Sexuality*, "The Repressive Hypothesis."

[8] Here is the most significant point of convergence between my reading of *In Memoriam* and Christopher Craft's. Like Craft, I locate the homosexual in Tennyson's poem as a primal moment in a developmental narrative that terminates with a form of heterosexual desire that appears removed from the earlier stage that precedes and enables it. But my sense both of the character of this developmental narrative and of its calibrations—the categories homosexual and heterosexual—differ from Craft's. While Craft emphasizes the status of this narrative as "a disciplinary trajectory" (95), more or less continuous with the project of sublimation that Havelock Ellis prescribed for same-gender desire, my reading takes up an evolutionary narrative in the poem, which casts the homosexual not as the target of proscription or aversion, but rather as something that a person, or population, naturally, necessarily, outgrows. Craft's reading, like my own, is inflected by a Foucauldian recognition of the dialectical dependence which marks the relation between the heterosexual and homosexual. Craft reads this dependence as the condition of what he sees as the ambivalent persistence of the homosexual within the very structure of the heterosexual: "The erotics of such a substitutive structure are irreducibly ambivalent: since the homo is lost or banished only to be rediscovered in and as the hetero (which is itself thus constituted as a memorial of a former undifferentiated sameness) all longing remains longing for the homo even as it submits to the mediation of the hetero. Difference itself thus bespeaks a desire for sameness—speaks, like the poet, *in memoriam*." (97–98) My reading, on the other hand, seeks to describe a version of heterosexuality characterized by the radical abandonment of a prior homoeroticism which also supplies the condition of its existence. Craft's conviction that the "homo" persists in the very structure that displaces it depends on his identification of the homosexual with the general category of sameness, and, correlatively, of the heterosexual with the general category of difference. (This identification is compactly performed in Craft's abbreviation of heterosexual and homosexual in the passage I have just quoted.) My reading of the heterosexual and homosexual in Tennyson's poem seeks to consider a different construction of these terms.

[9] Michael Nelson, *Nobs and Snobs* (London: Gordon & Cremonski, 1976), 147, as cited by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1985.) In *The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality* (1969; reprint, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1983), Ronald Pearsall discusses the remarkable extent and intensity of homoerotic activity in the English public schools in the nineteenth century, and the comparatively tolerant or indifferent attitude of school authorities towards even overtly sexual relations amongst students (551–60). (See also Louis Crompton, *By-*

ron and Greek Love: Homophobia in Nineteenth-Century England [Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1985]). While the figuration of male homoerotic activity as schoolboy love, a term in the growth of the patriarch, casts this version of such activity as a part of, rather than apart from heterosexual hegemony, this is, of course, not to suggest that all instances of sexual intercourse between males in Victorian England were tolerated by or instrumental to heterosexual authority. Pearsall quotes William Stead's observation during the Wilde trial about the discrepancy between the prevailing attitude toward fleshy versions of schoolboy love and the fierce prosecution of homosexual behavior when it took place beyond the bounds of early development: "Should everyone found guilty of Oscar Wilde's crime be imprisoned, there would be a very surprising emigration from Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester to the jails of Pentonville and Holloway. . . . boys are free to pick up tendencies and habits in public schools for which they may be sentenced to hard labour later on" (Pearsall, 555).

[10] Sedgwick (note 9), 178. Sedgwick's book first alerted me to the activity during the Victorian period of the notion that homosexuality is "just a phase."

[11] Robert Bernard Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), 69.

[12] Hallam Lord Tennyson, *Materials for a Life of Alfred Tennyson* (privately printed, no date). Quoted by Ricks (note 3), 215. For a detailed discussion of the complicated career of "Hellenism" as a signifier of male homosexuality, see Crompton (note 9), especially chapter 2.

[13] Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (1839), 3:501–4. Quoted by Ricks, *Tennyson*, 215.

[14] *The Sonnets, Songs and Poems of Shakespeare*, ed. Oscar James Campbell (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), All subsequent citations of Sonnet 116 refer to this edition.

[15] *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. Miriam Allott (London: Longman, 1972).

[16] The psychosexual itinerary that I have sought to identify in *In Memoriam* is, of course, an exclusively masculine model of improvement. It is in section 60 of the poem, where the vertical distance between Hallam and Tennyson is figured as an impermeable boundary, that the difference between lower and higher is the difference between a woman and a man. The replacement of "some poor girl" in section 60 with the figure of Shakespearean desire in the sections that follow reflects a crucial dimension of the strategy that Tennyson enacts in *In Memoriam*; to convert a masculine itinerary of desire into a social program for upward mobility is to confirm the position of women as a permanent underclass, excluded categorically from the potential for ascent. The embarrassed maiden of section 60 serves to remind us of who must be left behind by Tennyson's stairway scenario.

[17] On the construction of homosexuality as a subject position, see Foucault (note 6), and Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quarter Books, 1977). Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick considers how the discourse of evolution that I have sought to isolate in Tennyson's construction of the homosexual informs contemporary homophobic accounts of AIDS. See "*Billy Budd*: After the Homosexual," in *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1990), 185–190.