Those Extraordinary Twins

Marc Shell

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MARC SHELL

Those Extraordinary Twins

> So, then, an elongated Siamese ligature united us. Queequeg was my own inseparable twin brother; nor could I any way get rid of the dangerous liabilities which the hempen bond entailed.
>
> —Melville, "The Monkey-Rope"[1]

1. WHO'S WHO

> Do you know who your parents are?
>
> —Sophocles, *Oedipus the King*[2]

THE COMMONPLACE VIEW is that consanguineous kinship is real, or literal, kinship. Anthropologists and sociologists usually lump together all other kinds as pseudo-kinship (or kinship by extension), which they then divide into subcategories such as figural, fictive, and ritual.[3] However, the fundamental distinction between "real" kinship and "pseudo"-kinship—or between literal and figural structure—is the topic of a still-unresolved debate about whether kinship is essentially a matter of biology or sociology. For the substance or quality that makes people akin varies from culture to culture, as the skeptical Montaigne insists,[4] and it is ambiguous even within a culture. Which is more fundamental, for example, my likeness to my supposed genitor or my likeness to God, who created me in his image? Which substance is fundamental: the genes I share with my genitor, the love between my adoptive parent and myself, the milk I sucked from my mother, the blood I commingled with my blood brother, the wafer and wine I shared at a communal feast, or the dust from which all things (including myself) are made?

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The literalist view, even as it belittles the figural as merely fictive, itself involves a key fiction: that we can really know who are our consanguineous kin. For any particular consanguineous link is always deniable if not always denied. Who can deny that it is possible that her children or parents are not her children or parents? Bastardy, the stuff of fears and also hopes, is always possible. Who can know for sure that any given child is a changeling or not? Mothers and fathers can always find reasonable grounds to doubt or deny their children, and children can always find grounds to deny mothers and fathers. By the same token, it is always deniable, if not always denied, that one's lover is not one's consanguineous kinsperson. The logical reality, that my lover really may be my consanguineous kinsperson, merges on the oneirological dream or nightmare, that my lover is my consanguineous kinsperson. The particular family dissolves in the republic of dreams. The literal disappears in the figural.

This disappearance is the subject of jokes but it is itself no joke. For belief in the difference between literal and figural kinship—in the possibility of knowing for sure Who's Who in the kinship system—is necessary to society if, as psychoanalysts and structuralist anthropologists generally aver, obeisance to the taboo on incest is a precondition for the continuation of society or of society as we know it. This need to believe in the possibility of absolute knowledge of kin may be one reason so many people believe in it. Many thinkers aver, for example, that while the father-child bond is unknowable in an absolute sense the mother-child bond is knowable.[5] Some even project onto a male god the certainty about kinship relations they wrongly believe to obtain for human beings only among women, sometimes going so far as to deny to women any essential role whatever in reproduction.[6] The desire to know Who's Who in the kinship system may also help to explain the attraction to literalists of figural standards of kinship that are more dependent on witnessed political rites than on biology while at the same time including an incest taboo (as do some kinships by collactation).[7] Thus the mere fiction of knowing who are one's literal parents is matched by the actual knowledge of who are one's figural parents.

It makes as much or as little sense in this view to call "brother" the young man my sociological father thinks of as a "son" as to call any one else "brother." "Think of us as of a father"—King Claudius's command to young Hamlet—actually makes Claudius to all intents and purposes

Hamlet's biological genitor no less than Old Hamlet is Young Hamlet's father.[8] For it is finally no more or less fictive to say with the family literalist that "Only my consanguineous parent's sons are my siblings" than to say with the universalist Christian that "All human beings are siblings"[9]—or with the particular nationalist that "All Frenchmen are siblings [*enfants de la patrie*]." The traditional distinction between literal and figural family, or between real and nominal kinship, erodes as family is conflated with nation—or with species.

It is partly the free floating conditionality of kinship terminology that allows for the nationalist and universalist ideology according to which every person stands or stands potentially in relationship to any other person as a kinsperson. We are all siblings in this logic not because we are children of the same earth, though perhaps we are, but because consanguinity is ultimately unknowable and hence fictive. Put otherwise, if we are not all bastards or changelings, we may as well be: we are no more siblings than we are not siblings. In all cases (but one) our universal or national siblinghood can be counted on more than our particular familialhood.

2. SIAMESE TWINS AND CHANGELINGS: NEVER THE TWAIN

> Friends, we would not have it known for the world, and I must beg you to keep it strictly to yourselves, but the truth is, we are no more twins than you are.
>
> —Mark Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*[10]

The notion that we can know who are our kin is one of the great comforts of literary culture and religious cult. The Greek story of Oedipus, for example, proposes that kinship is ascertainable and depends, for its effective balance of fear and pity, on belief in that ascertainability. The spectator at Sophocles's version of the tragedy, though discomforted by Oedipus's horror at learning who Oedipus is, is comforted by the idea that, since it was possible for Oedipus eventually to know who he was, it is at least possible for the spectator himself to know who he is and hence to avoid the incestuous fate of Oedipus. However, we have no absolute warrant to believe that Oedipus was actually the infant once consanguineously attached to Jocasta by the

umbilical cord—except the Oracle's word. And as the wise Heraclitus says, the Delphic Oracle at the umbilic center (*omphalos*) of the Earth "neither speaks nor conceals, but [only] gives signs."[11] Similarly the Old Testament's tale of the Judgment of Solomon suggests that wise kings cannot know for sure Who's Who even when it is politically important to determine the "umbilical ancestress,"[12] as for it is the matrilineal Hebrew tribes. The sword-wielding Solomon does not figure out which of the two claimants is the literal mother, only which wants the child to live. In fact, we have no absolute warrant to believe that Solomon actually assigned the child to his consanguineous mother—except the word of the Old Testament God who, according to some commentators, informs Solomon that he did well.[13]

The ambiguous interference of Greek Oracle and Jewish God in these questions of matrilineal descent suggests that the brief period of ocular certainty about matrilineal kinship afforded to human beings by the visibility of the *omphalos* is not entirely forgotten after the umbicular scission (*Entzweiung*). (This brief period it is that distinguishes the epistemological situation of recently parturient mothers and their observers from that of most all other adults and children.) Umbicular certainty is erased only to be raised (*aufhebt*) to the ideological plane of religious cults and legal or literary fictions. For example, Christianity has its Sect of Quietists devoted to navel-gazing (omphalopsychita),[14] and it venerates umbicular certainty in its Cult of the Holy Umbilicial Cord.[15] This corporeal relic, the shrivelled remnant of the umbilical cord that once linked consanguineously the earthly body of the Virgin Mary to the partly divine body of Christ Jesus, is a major focus for the Christian debate about whether Jesus was of the same essential substance as Mary or was merely the divine seed that God planted in her as in a prosthetic receptacle. ("In his immortal and diviner part," writes Thomas Browne in a Christian tradition that applies to the Holy Family the ancient Greek notion that the woman has no essential role in procreation, "hee seemed to hold a nearer coherence, and an umbilicality even with God himself.")[16] "The [Christian] deity," writes Bryant with a nod toward Delphi, "was worshipped under the form of a navel."[17]

In purportedly secular and literalist societies like nineteenth century America, the ideological role of the short lived real umbilical cord (connecting ordinary mothers with children) and of the eternal ideal Umbilical Cord (connecting Mary with the extraordinary Jesus) is played out

by the long lived real Siamese ligature (connecting otherwise ordinary siblings). The quasi-religious role of the Siamese twin in America is already foreshadowed in the Siamese twinlike aspect of the Holy Mother and Child. (Mother and Child are, like Siamese sibling twins, physically conjoined, equal children of God the Father,[18] and, according to the Dormition, the same age.[19]) Nineteenth-century American sideshows displaying Siamese twins—heralded by marquees reading "Believe your Eyes" and "Marvel of Marvels"—thus have their counterpart in the Cult of the Umbilical Cord. What the idea of Jesus' Umbilical Cord is to Christianity the fact of Siamese twins is to Christendom.

The Siamese twin, then, is the only kind of person who really knows for long who his or her kinsperson is. The only real blood kin, he is the letter in the figure of consanguineous kinship—the incarnation, as it were, of the true spirit of kinship. The argument that we cannot know for sure who are our literal kin—hence that the fiction of assigning literal kinship matches the fiction in figural kinship—has to make exception of this person who, by virtue of a literal attachment to his sibling, knows who is her kinsperson.

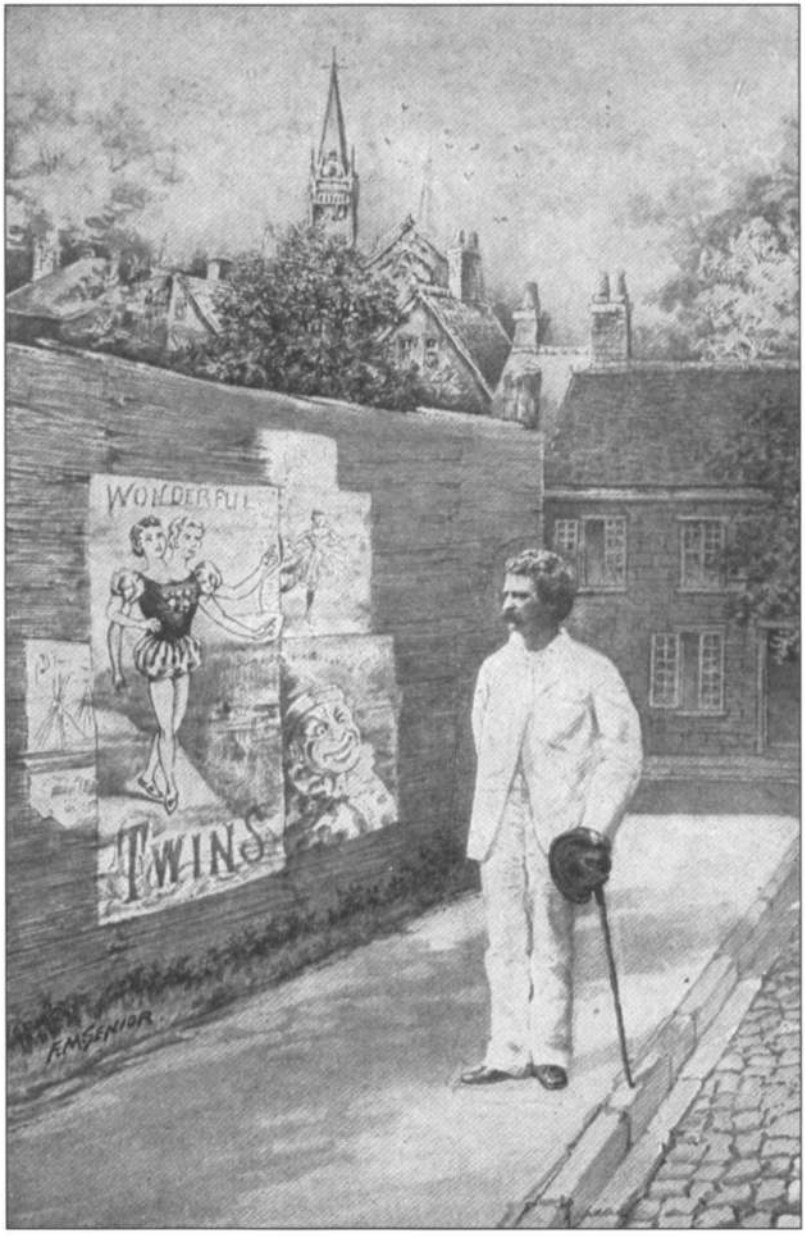
Mark Twain's America, with its interest in civil war and national unity, displayed Siamese twins in resorts of family "recreation." An advertisement for Barnum's new Wood's Museum and Metropolitan Theatre (1868), for example, read, "The long wants of A *Family Resort* now most satisfactorily supplied."[20] The theater announced the presence of "The Two," namely the Siamese twins Chang and Eng,[21] whose freakish challenge to "normal" family bonds and boundaries "recreated" the family by defining it. During the Civil War ("brother against brother"), "The Two's" one body literalized the figure of consanguinity for the American nuclear and national families: the same blood ran through the veins of both brothers.[22] Barring fanciful surgery or imposture, the Siamese twins showed the public the one case where consanguineous kinship relations were ascertainable. (For them, as for the Siamese felines in the Disney talkies, "We are Siamese if you please./We are Siamese if you don't please.") The very fact of their existence opposed the otherwise universal undeterminability of kinship that threatens the ideological security of the consanguineous and national family. The Siamese twins' monstrosity, to which Americans resorted, helped to create the "normalcy" of the American family and nation.

"Two *me's* in one"—a motto of the Moliones, Siamese twins of Greek

mythology[23]—was a conundrum of the nineteenth century.[24] Such were Eliza and Mary Chalkhurst, the Kentish Siamese twins memorialized in redware at the start of the Industrial Revolution;[25] Chang and Eng, the twins from Siam who showed themselves at freak shows in post Civil War America; and the Italian twins Giacomo and Giovanni Tocci, the subject of *Scientific American* essays written in the nineteenth century.[26] Mark Twain focused on this conundrumed world of Siamese twins, and his little story *Those Extraordinary Twins*, together with its aftermaths, goes some way towards summing up and explaining his century's remarkable concern with Siamese beings.[27] (See Figure 1: "I Thought I Would Write A Little Story.") From the 1860s onwards, Twain worked intermittently on various versions of *Those Extraordinary Twins*, with its ordinary Siamese or conglomerate[28] twins. And he really completed *Those Extraordinary Twins* only in such forms as *The Prince and the Pauper*, with its exchange of identities, *Mysterious Stranger*, with its co-natal "duplicates,"[29] and *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*, with its changelings and identical twins.[30]

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) the "original" Siamese twins of *Those Extraordinary Twins* are recast farcically. They are cast first as identical twins who cannot be told apart for purposes of distinguishing an appropriate (i.e., non-incestuous) sexual mate from an inappropriate one, or a criminal from an innocent man; and they are cast also as inter-racial changelings who cannot be told apart for purposes of distinguishing a "black" from a "white" person.[31] Taken together, the Siamese twins in *Those Extraordinary Twins* and the identical twins and changelings in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* explore the philosophical and grammatical—and eventually also biological and racial—complexities of a binary dialectic involving kind and kin.[32] To mark the one in twain is the game in Twain[33]—as it is in Platonic mathematical dialectic, where "both are two but each is one," or in musical duets.[34] But Siamese twins, as Twain knows, are physically united or conjoined not as in some such figure as Pauline marriage, where "the two shall be one flesh," but by their naturally conjoined blood-bearing tissues.[35]

Siamese twinning emphasizes the inascertainibility of consanguineous kinship suggested by the always possible existence of changelings and foundlings, by presenting the rare case where consanguineous kinship is ascertainable. Changelings were not so rare as Siamese twins, however, either in American history or in America's fearful or hopeful



I thought I would write a little story.

literary mythologies. Changelings and concern with infant exchanges occur all the more frequently among the European aristocratic and American slave-owning classes dependent on nurseries and wet-nurses. In these conditions, many a nurse mother from the lower classes seeks to have her son raised, like a new Moses, as the son of some Egyptian Pharaoh's daughter. Or slave masters, like those in imperial Rome, fear that nurse mothers will seek such a substitution.[36] In these conditions the number of real and imagined changelings overshadows, at least in the popular imagination, the number of bastards and foundlings.[37]

Such "exchanges of infants in the cradle" as allow an American boy "with negro taint in his blood [to] substitute . . . for the legitimate white heir"[38] inform the plot of Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. In this chronicle of an ante-bellum town, Twain combines, with the general political fiction of the ascertainability of consanguinity, the particular American fiction of racially pure blood. For the American rule of "descent" or of "statutory homogenization," according to which a man was either black or he was not, relied not only on the fiction that one can know paternity, or at least maternity, but also on the fiction that a specific gener*a*tion makes a hugely consequential *ra*cial difference. In America, what made a man black might be a single drop of black blood.[39] (The notion that one drop of black blood turns an otherwise totally white person into a totally black person has roots in fifteenth-century Spanish Catholic antisemitism and has its counterparts in twentieth-century German Nazism.[40]) Thus Twain writes of the changeling in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* that the "black" nursemaid Roxana's son "was 31 parts white and he too [like Roxana] was a slave and by a *fiction of law* and custom a Negro . . . [with] blue eyes and flaxen curls like his white comrade."[41]

Any proof of race in America depends on the ascertainability of consanguinity. Yet we cannot tell for sure whether a man is my kin or even my kind—my family or even my race—either by examining his looks according to the Aristotlean adage "Like father, like son" or by scrutinizing easily faked or mistaken birth papers.[42] Kinship is all the more unknowable in an America filled with bastardizing white slave-owners having had sexual intercourse (incestuously) with their own black slave-daughters. In Twain's ante-bellum South, in fact, the "white [people] were enslaving themselves, as it were, in the form of their children and their children's children."[43] The result of white slave-

owners breeding with black slave women was that the "mixed" population increased rapidly. In 1795 one French visitor had already noticed that American people who were visibly "white" were nevertheless called "black" and on that account were enslaved.[44] A fictive biology lorded it over sociology.

It is no wonder in this racialist context that the desperate fiction that matrilineal descent is detectable (if not always detected) became near dogma.[45] The Judgment of Solomon—where King Solomon, considering a case concerning a purported changeling, manages to distinguish the real mother from the false—was a favorite text for slave-owning lawyers and moralists. Few white Southern moralists noticed, however, that the loving *mater* who won her case in the Book of Kings might well not have been the biological genetrix. It requires the Voice of God to say that Solomon did well.

The plot of Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* centers on the Solomonic-like trope of black and white changelings, born on the same day and one "as handsome as the other." Their exchange is undetected by the white slave master.[46] (He "knows" his son, or so he thinks, only by the clothes that his son wears.)[47] The black slave Roxana, who is the biological mother, by the substitution of her child for her mistress's thinks she has become, "by the fiction created by herself,"[48] her own son's slave. (And most readers of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* think so too. Her knowledge is, as it were, the unquestioned proof in Twain's pudding.[49]) But can mother Roxana be certain that her biological son is now really her master? How could she know whether some other substitution did not occur some time before or after the exchange she herself managed?

Roxana thinks she knows which child is her biological child. She exclaims: "Oh. *I* kin tell 'em 'part."[50] Oedipus in Sophocles' punning play similarly thought he knew who were his kin and who weren't. But Oedipus the Know-it-All turned out to be a Know-Nothing. And Oedipus's mother Jocasta did not recognize Oedipus as her own son despite his unusually marked feet.[51] (The foot printing carried out by obstetricians in modern hospitals is not more foolproof.) *Kin* mother Roxana know her kin any better than Oedipus and Jocasta? It's a wise woman who knows her own child. This is the case especially in certain demographic conditions, including American race slavery.[52] The puns of Roxana's dialect suggest the limits of maternal knowledge:[53] "Dog my cats if it ain't all I kin to tell t'other frum which."[54] Twain's puns tell of

bestiality and miscegenation: dogs turn into cats just as white babies turn into black ones.

Roxana, Twain writes, is "the dupe of her own deceptions" insofar as she has become through habit her son's slave.[55] But is she the slave of her black son? Most readers, accepting the sociologically needful and theologically sanctioned view that it is possible to know Who's Who, believe that Roxana endures servitude to her own son.[56] (Christian belief in the Virgin Mary's servitude to her masterful Son is the relevant comparison.) Since there may have been substitutions in the cradle beyond Roxana's ken, however, Roxana may be the dupe insofar as she believes that it is her kin that is master.

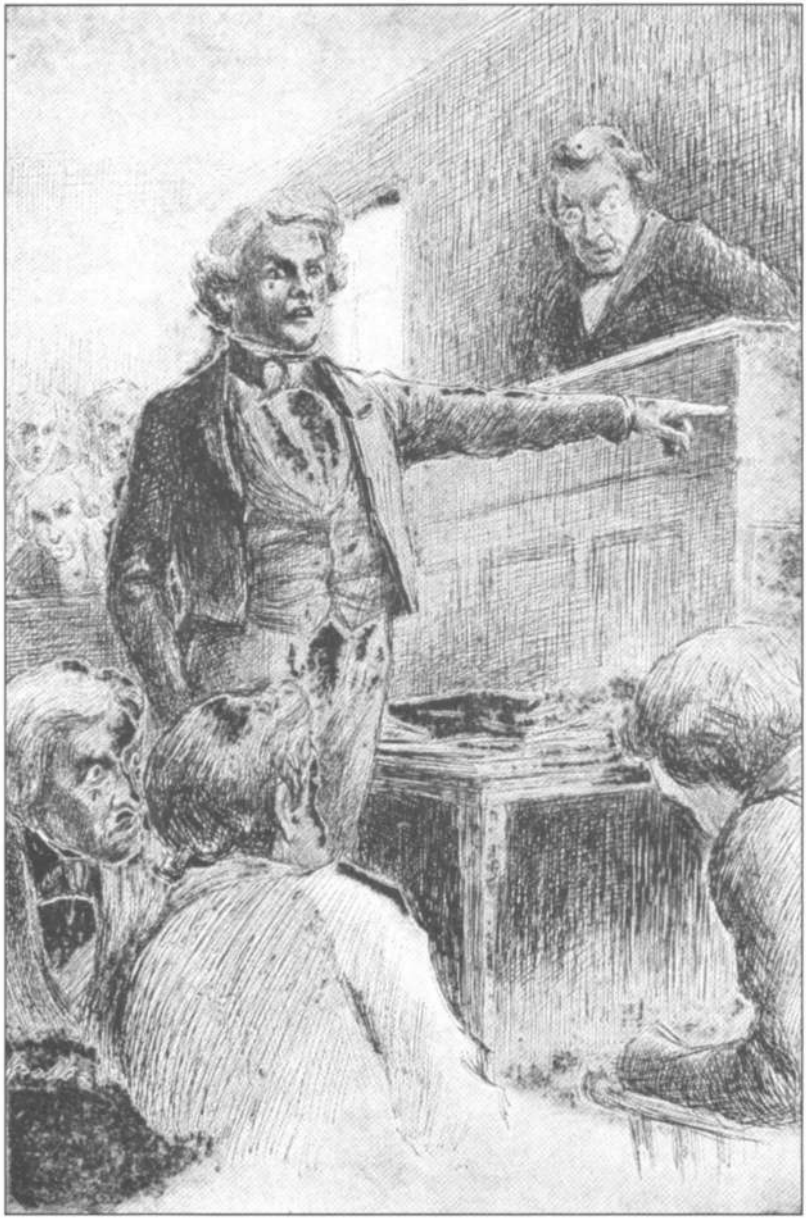
(There remains the possibility that there is, in any case, no essential filial or racial difference between "t'other" and "which." In some traditions, after all, kinship by consanguinity and kinship by collactation amount to the same thing. "The milk of human kindness" that a black nurse mother would give to her white foster child thus would not only wholly "blacken" the previously white child—as some racialists averred—but also would make incestuous any sexual relations between that child and his nurse mother's consanguineous kin. Perhaps this incestuous quality in sexual relations between a foster son and his black nurse mother's kin is one reason that Southern white males sometimes thought of sexual relations with black women as extraordinarily exciting or disgusting. Perhaps, too, a fear of this ambiguously incestuous quality in interracial sexual relations encouraged "aristocratic" white racialists to come to believe, as many did, that blacks were not really human: being nursed by an animal and having sexual intercourse with an animal would seem morally preferable to sexual intercourse with a human mother or her kindred.)[57]

Just as the generational and hence racial "identities" of the changelings in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* can never be known with certainty, so that book's "identical" twins seem indistinguishable or interchangeable. *Pudd'nhead Wilson* poses this merger of the identical twins' identities as a juridical matter: the "identity [of the criminal twin] is so *merged* in his brother's that we have not been able to tell which was him. We cannot convict both because only one is guilty. We cannot acquit both because one is innocent. Our verdict is that justice has been defeated by the dispensation of God."[58] Since one cannot hang a literally identical twin

without also hanging his sibling,[59] *Pudd'nhead Wilson* requires a dialectical scission of the one identity into two. It is as in James Joyce's discussion of the death of Siamese twins, where Joyce refers to a "heated argument . . . regarding the juridical and theological dilemma in the event of Siamese twins predeceasing the other."[60] It is in this juridical context that the Midrash interprets Solomon's determination in the Book of Kings as to which of the two women is the consanguineous mother in terms of his determination in Menahot as to whether a two-headed human being has one legal identity or two.[61]

The "anatomical" separation of identical twins in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is the job of the detective Wilson, known in the town as the man who once said that he wished he owned half a dog. "The idiot," remark the townspeople of this detective. "What did he reckon would become of the other half if he killed his half. Do you reckon he thought it would live?"[62] Wilson eventually discovers Who's Who, or so it seems, by relying on the comforting hypothesis, born of Galton's ideas about fingerprinting,[63] that "one twin's patterns are never the same as his fellow twin's patterns. . . . There was never a twin born into this world that did not carry from birth to death a sure identifier in this mysterious and marvelous natal autograph."[64] This rationalist thesis, which would mark the uniqueness of each "identical" twin, provides *Pudd'nhead Wilson* with its comedic conclusion. (See Figure 2: "Make the Finger-Prints That Will Hang You."[65])

In the end, though, only "in-womb genetic markers" could determine absolutely Who's Who in such cases of changelings as occur in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, with its interracial aspect, or such cases of child abandonment as occur in *Oedipus the King*, with its incestuous aspect. The universal potential for changelings implies "no possible return to any point of origin."[66] So far as we now know, absolutely reliable in-womb genetic markers, long heralded in science fiction and in legal fictions, are in the early 1990s still "just around the corner" in the biological sciences. Except in the case of genuine Siamese twins, only omniscient judges—the Oracle at Delphi, say, or God in the Judgment of Solomon—can testify adequately about the detection of kin and kind. Otherwise all people are changelings, or may as well be. They are interconnected both figuratively and literally as conglomerate children of the earth.



"Make the finger-prints that will hang you."

3. INCEST AND BASTARDY: THE AMBIGUITIES

> What he sees often, he does not wonder at, even if he does not know why it is [*la cause*]. If something happens which he has not seen before, he thinks it is a prodigy.
>
> —Montaigne, "Of a Monstrous Child"[67]

Many Americans, *Sons* of Liberty and *Daughters* of the American Revolution, would want to hold that a national fraternity or siblinghood of some divine or political sort is "the first objective, ethically . . . of the democratic way of life."[68] Thomas Paine's radical American assertion about the familial unity of humankind in *The Rights of Man* (1791), as it erases and rises above the line between consanguineous family and both nation and species, belongs to this universalist tradition that toes the line between literal and figural Siblinghood:

> Every history of the creation . . . agrees[s] in establishing one point, *the unity of man*; by which I mean that men are all of *one degree*, and consequently that all men are born equal, and with equal natural right, in the same manner as if posterity had been continued by *creation* instead of *generation*, [generation] being the only mode by which [creation] is carried forward; and consequently every child born into the world must be considered as deriving its existence from God.[69]

The ideal of American republican liberty involves this free association of siblings, or *liberi*. (The term *liberty* means both "son" and "free.")[70] But this liberty, as it conflates family with nation, collapses the ordinary distinction between incest and chastity, or between bastardy and illegitimacy.

The collapse is thus not without its discomforting political aspect. And already in the fifth century B.C., Plato in his *Republic* had gone so far as to argue that the people of the ideal republic should think that they are member siblings of one family. (That is the "noble lie" of national kinship that Plato compares with the fiction of common autochthony in Oedipus's Thebes.)[71] And if all people in the *polis* are essentially siblings, then every act of sexual intercourse with a fellow member of the *polis* must be incestuous.[72] Thus Plato, formulating a political ideology of kinship, raises for the first time in Western political

theory the consequential question of the withering of the incest taboo and its connection with nationalism.[73]

As important to America as a Platonic concern with the incestuous implications of the idea of universal siblinghood was a similarly disconcerting Christian concern with how Jesus's injunction "All ye are brethren" might conflate family with species and hence make all sexual relations for human beings essentially incestuous. In this context all sexual relations are incestuous not because, as in a dream, the lover figures the parent (as Freud might have it), but because all people are really or essentially siblings. In the law of Roman Christianity it is therefore incestuous for a nun or friar—for a Sister or Brother—who are equal Siblings in Christ, to have sexual intercourse with anyone.[74] The conflation of species with family means that only acts of sex with non-human beings—animals, extraterrestrial creatures, and gods—can be chaste, literally "non-incestuous." Where the species is the family, human beings will die out if they are afraid to breed in.

Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods in Christ imitate the transcendence of ordinary kinship relations that is the quintessence of the Holy Family in Christian ideology. In that Holy Family, Jesus is the Parent, Spouse, Sibling, and Child of Mary, and He retains his role as Father and/or Son of Himself and as Father and/or Brother to all (other) human beings. The New Testament, recognizing this incestuous aspect of Christ's generation from Himself, includes in Jesus' genealogy the incestuous sons of Tamar, and it notes that the first outsiders to greet the newborn Jesus were magi—priests born of incestuous unions among a nation, the Persians, supposed to practice incest without guilt.[75] In this way Christianity incorporates ordinary incestuous relations and raises them, as Stendhal suggests in *The Cenci*,[76] to a spiritual plane where the incestuous backgrounds of such saints as Albanus, Julian, and Gregory make them all the more holy.[77]

By the nineteenth century, the extraordinary kinship structures that the religious Siblinghoods had figured (before the destruction of their houses in Elizabethan England and Revolutionary France) were not so much destroyed as removed to a quasi-secular plane.[78] Ideologically important to the process of apparent secularization would be the sixteenth century French notion of affinity by *alliance*, which moves towards an infinitely generalizable free friendship,[79] and the romantic German idea of the "elective affinities" of things to each other not in the blood so

much as in the spirit, which likewise challenges both the primacy of kinship by consanguinity and the distinction between literal and figural kinship.[80] The influential cult of brother-sister love in romantic Christendom includes Lord Byron's depiction of sibling love in such works as "Cain," Hegel's consideration of like-unlike siblings in the *Phenomenology*, Vico's elaborate theorizing about sibling love in the *New Science*, and Karl Marx's premise that "in primitive times, the sister was the wife, and that was moral."[81] The premise figures the old idea of a perfectible Siblinghood under God.

In republican America too the idea of a perfect siblinghood, or "liberty," did not lose its incestuous aspect. The quintessential practical American social experiment in this regard was John Noyes' ninteenth-century Perfectionist Society, a commercially successful society centered in Oneida, New York. Noyes takes literally the injunction of Jesus in the Gospel, "All ye are brethren." He recognizes that a universal brotherhood requires either celibacy for the imperfect or incest for the perfect. (Noyes' followers were to be perfect: "Be ye therefore *perfect*, even as your father which is in Heaven is perfect.") Noyes explains his Society's system of pantogamy—or universal marriage—by arguing that free sex without shame *is* possible within a holy community where "all things are lawful for me" (as Saint Paul said). And he stresses the corresponding view that free sex, including incest, is a sign of the "liberty" that grace confers.[82] He bases his argument for universal physical love, hence incest, on the same premise of universal siblinghood that the monastic orders use when they argue against any physical love whatever and celebrate the perfect life. "Love between the children of God," writes Noyes, "is exalted and developed by a motive similar to that which produces ordinary *family affection*."[83] Ellis wrote in 1870 that "according to the doctrine of the Oneida community, a man may have sexual intercourse with his grandmother, mother, daughter, sister, or with all of them, and be blameless. . . . At the Oneida Community [this] is regarded . . . as perfectly lawful and right."[84]

The Oneida Community was the most radical and commercially successful familist experiment of the century. There were, however, less radical familist, or Fourierist, communities, including New Harmony in Indiana and Brook Farm as presented in Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance*.[85] (Fourier's "familism" included a communalist ideology based in the fraternal/sororal feeling supposed to exist between members of a

more-or-less homogeneous family or tribe.)[86] And there were thinkers besides Noyes who considered the relationship of practical politics to the ideal of universal brotherhood and incest. George Lippard's best seller *The Monks of Monk Hall: A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery, and Crime* (1844)—published in "the city of sibling love" and dedicated to William Hill Brown's bestseller incest-novel *The Power of Sympathy; or, The Triumph of Nature* (1795)—focused on a transitional family *ménage à beaucoup* which "seems all siblings and no parents."[87] In Lippard's book, alternatively titled *The Quaker City*, the author suggests how the Quakers' "Society of Friends" attempts to realize on earth "the great idea of Human Brotherhood."[88] Reciprocal friendship among the *liberi* was to make for liberty just as *Freundschaft* in American-German idealist thought makes for *Freiheit*.[89] In the American movie *Philadelphia Story*, the universalist spirit of the "Society of Friends," or Quakers, breathes life into the plot. There is "a Quaker spirit in the house" as near-brothers and near-sisters become free husbands and wives in their pursuit of happiness in republican remarriage.[90]

Herman Melville's *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities* moves from the commonplace *topos* of individual brother-sister incest,[91] in terms of which it has often been considered, towards the incorporation and transcendence of incest and its taboo in a secularized universal siblinghood.[92] At the novel's outset, Pierre and his mother Mary, whom Pierre calls "sister" and whom Melville compares to the Virgin Mary, express "a venerable faith brought over from France,"[93] Their idyllic and class-conscious aristocratic family estate,

> seemed almost to realize here below the sweet dreams of those religious enthusiasts, who point us to a paradise to come, when etheralized from all drosses and stains, the holiest passion of men shall *unite all kindreds* and climes into one circle of pure and unimpairable delight.[94]

Yet the American Pierre, "a youthful Magian,"[95] comes to fall in love at first sight with the servant Isabel, who has come to America from a post-revolutionary Catholic France. The ambiguity of the possible family relationship between Pierre and Isabel constitutes the key element in the novel. Pierre fears that Isabel may be the unacknowledged bastard daughter of his revered dead father, but the novel insists throughout on the ultimate undeterminability—the ambiguity—of this quasi-

orphan's parentage.[96] In this context it is not overdetermination in relation to kinship but non-determination—not desire for incest but its actual inevitability for the universalist—that informs Melville's novel.

Smiles are "the chosen vehicle of all ambiguities" in this novel,[97] and the ambiguous smiles of the father-like portraits in *Pierre*—the "strange" closeted portrait that prepares Pierre to meet Isabel and the "stranger's head" portrait that hangs opposite the Cenci painting[98]—bear on the undeterminability of parentage. The closeted portrait speaks the words, "I am thy *real* father," to Pierre much as the ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* says, "I am thy father's spirit."[99] Like the ghostly spirit of Old Hamlet in Shakespeare's play, the talking picture in *Pierre* emphasizes the question of who and what is real and nominal. It is a question especially for people who would just as soon *not* answer Tiresias's question to Oedipus, "Who was your father, son?", or for people who would answer that question with a slightly amended version of the Christian *Pater Noster*, "My Father, who art in Heaven."

Pierre and Isabel eventually divest themselves of mortal parents. "Henceforth, cast-out Pierre hath no paternity," the novel tells us.[100] Says Isabel, "I never knew a mortal mother."[101] Now Pierre is a parentless child—like the foundling Billy Budd on the "high seas" in the ship in Melville's *Billy Budd* called "Rights of Man." And like the abandoned Ishmael in Melville's *Moby-Dick*, Pierre is "driven out . . . into the desert, with no maternal Hagar to accompany him."[102] In the central love scene, Pierre demands that Isabel no longer call him brother. "Call me brother no more! How knowest thou I am thy brother? . . . I am Pierre, and thou Isabel, wide brother and sister in the common humanity."[103]

Instead of calling his mother "sister," Pierre now calls his Madonna-like sister "wife." With his sibling/spouse Isabel, Pierre wavers between consummating and not consummating the love that is the principle ambiguity of *Pierre*.[104] His love cannot be contained within the confines of ordinary brotherly love: "Pierre felt that never, never would he be able to embrace Isabel with the mere brotherly embrace."[105] He loves Isabel as a kind of Sister: "Isabel wholly soared out of the realms of mortalness, and for him became transfigured in the highest heaven of uncorrupted love."[106]

It is in the commercialized "Church of the Apostles" that the brother-husband and sister-wife set up their Mettingen-like utopian house-

hold.[107] This Church, renovated as a secular business center in New York City, recalls the community of Christian Apostles: it is the new Blackfriars.[108] Those who live at the Church are "suspected to have some mysterious ulterior object, vaguely connected with the absolute overturning of Church and State, and the hasty advancing of some great unknown political and religious Millennium"[109] And Pierre himself begins to formulate a plan to further "the march of universal love"[110] with which the Apostles are linked and which forms a keystone of their general ideology: "The great men are all bachelors, you know. Their family is the universe."[111]

Modeling himself on the figure of God and literalizing the meaning of "Isabel," or "Elizabeth," as "consecrated to God,"[112] Pierre begins to "gospelize the world anew."[113] He is himself the rock, the *pierre*, on which he plans to build a new church. ("On this rock I will build my church.") The doctrinal and practical basis of Pierre's church is the transcendence of the distinction between vice and virtue,[114] a transcendence that involves erasing and rising above all distinctions between kin and non-kin. For Pierre all human beings are essentially autochthonous siblings "of the clod" and universalist "children of Primeval gloom."[115] From the unity of humankind in a common autochthony (like the one that the French national anthem "La Marseillaise" praises),[116] Melville figures into his novel the Platonic theme of a simultaneously spiritual and physical incest. Towards this end Pierre's tripartite familial *ménage* comes to include not only his ambiguously Sisterly sister (Isabel) but also his nun-like fiancée cousin (Lucy).[117]

Pierre would transcend the taboo on incest. (He is like Mohammed and the other holy and profane personages that Melville culls from the Western tradition—including Paolo and Francesa, Byron, the Aspasia-like Ninon de Lenclos, Semiramis, Cain, Enceladus, and the Cenci.)[118] Yet transcending the distinction between chastity and incest, or good and evil, means an end to being human as we know it.[119] In secular or commercial Protestant America, Pierre's libertine Catholic Gospel is thus acted out as an individual fratricide: he kills his cousin. And his doctrine of transcendent neutrality to kinship is acted out as a suicidal neutering. Between perfect liberty and death, which the optimistic American Revolutionary Patrick Henry set forth as comedic alternatives, there is, tragically, no essential difference—as probably there was not for Melville himself.[120]

At first blush Melville appears to harness, in the interests of conserving class structure, the general fear of committing incest. Like much American literature, his *Pierre* suggests that if you marry outside your class you are likely to marry inside your family. People who are apparently of different classes, like Pierre and Isabel, can rise above social class difference by recognizing their common descent—from the clod, say, or from Christ[121]—and by intermarriage. The common descent two people share can, however, rule out the possibility of chaste, or literally nonincestuous, sexual between them.

Marriage across class boundaries is therefore often represented in universalist literature as incestuous by the same means used to present sexual liaisons with members of the Catholic orders as incestuous: The offending pair who intermarry in the belief that people of all classes are brothers and sisters in the universalist sense turn out unwittingly to be blood relatives in the consanguineous sense. In early American literature, masters who marry slaves and bourgeois factory owners who marry factory workers thus discover too late that their spouses are also their siblings.[122] In these works, the penalty for marrying outside one's class is to discover that one has married inside one's family. As in Greek tragedy, the taboo against familial endogamy bolsters class exogamy. Where Oedipus in Sophocles' tragedy sees class exogamy, for example, Jocasta sees only familial endogamy. Oedipus says: "I at least shall be willing to see my ancestry, though humble. Perhaps Jocasta is ashamed of my low birth."[123] Where Pierre's mother sees only class exogamy, as if Pierre were just another Romo, Pierre himself sees familial endogamy transcended in a new utopian community.[124]

4. WAR OF THE STATES

> In Canada I found two nations at war in the bosom of a single continent.
> —Lord Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839)

The political figure of "We, the people," the voice of the American *Declaration of Independence*, announces itself first of all out of a bloody *Entzweiung*, or "divorce into two,"[125] within a single brotherhood. It is a division of one group into two groups which, from its inception, has the appearance of being a struggle between two separate groups. Jefferson, the principal author of the *Declaration*, emphasizes thus the English

colonialists' fraternal/political kinship with their English brethren in Great Britain. In a draft of the *Declaration of Independence* he refers to "our British brethren" and complains that "we have appealed to [the] *native* justice [of the British magistrates] . . . and . . . have conjured them by the ties of *our common kindred* to disavow these usurpations."[126] Similarly in the *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms* the authors refer to their common fore-fathers and fore-mothers;[127] and in the *Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress* they emphasize that "Our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their immigration from the *mother country* entitled to all the rights and liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England."[128] In the same vein an early draft of the *Declaration of Independence* complains that now the *mother country* permits its magistrate "to send over . . . soldiers of *our common blood* . . . to invade and deluge us in blood" and "to impress our fellow citizens . . . to the high seas to bear arms against their country to become the executioners of their friends and brethren or fall themselves by their hands."[129]

The American Revolution declared thus an *Entzweiung*, or twinning, of the brotherhood of Englishmen. Where once there had been one brotherhood now there were two. Unlike the English and French in Upper and Lower Canada, to whom Canada's Founding Father Lord Durham addressed his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* about twin nations in conflict in the bosom of one continent,[130] the American colonists founded their one nation with an annulment of the bonds of kinship that had connected them with Britons. On "the high seas" of the mind beyond the jurisdiction of any merely familial or national authority, Jefferson declared a new family or nation. (In a manner of speaking Jefferson was piloting a "ship of the mind"—called "The Rights of Man"—with the foundling child Billy Budd.) "Manly spirit," he said, "bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies at war, in peace friends."[131] "You know a kingdom knows no kindred," wrote Queen Elizabeth some two centuries earlier.[132]

In the moment of divorce, as in that of marriage, a person both is and is not kin to the other party. Likewise in the moment of fraternal scission, as in that of national constitution, people both are and are not akin. In the moment of American foundation the nation in America

thus foundered between civil war, which is endogamous (brother against brother), and international war, which is exogamous (brother against other).

The rhetoric of brotherhood and otherhood that informs this moment of foundation is not empty figuration. It is no more figural, in an absolute wise, for Americans to call the British their brethren than for any individual to call another brother. (Nor is it less figural.) What are brethren in political context but people who we think of as brothers? Already in the Renaissance period to which Melville alludes in his *Pierre*, Alberico Gentili had written in his *Law of War* that "an agreement to be brothers, although it does not make men brothers, surely has some effect." Gentili's statement is true enough, so far as it goes, though it is misleading insofar as it suggests that there is something different from an "agreement to be brothers" that might "make men known to one another as brothers." Agreement in this context is all there is. National siblinghood depends upon agreement or belief just as siblinghood in the family does. As a national family can be split apart by agreement, moreover, so it can be extended. Thus the Romans, to whom the French and American revolutionaries looked as republican models, agreed to call "brethren" the Haeduans and the Batavians; Haeduan and Batavian "others" became Roman "brothers" merely by being so called, as Gentili says.[133] Jeffersonian rhetoric moves from praising "the ties of our common kindred" to "renounc[ing] forever these unfeeling brethren" as the American people is founded in the slide of the British from their status as "brothers" to that of "others."

Where brothers so easily become others the dream of liberty for all American people was bound to falter. American Hegelians like Denton J. Snider and Henry C. Brokmeyer speculated with good reason that a second tempering by blood of the itinerant national spirit was inevitable because "divorce does not a nation make." The blood of Abel would again cry out from the earth. In the 1860s "Northerners" and "Southerners" fought a bloody and intemperate war. This conflict, like the earlier one, was an intra-national or "civil" war between political brethren. (Mark Twain and others in the 1860s compared the war to a contest between Siamese twins much as Montaigne had done during the French Civil War of the sixteenth century.)[134] And it was also an international war between two brotherhoods or states. By the so-called "War Between the States," which name the Southerners naturally preferred,

the South and North might have become two states under God—much as the Thirteen Colonies and England had done and as French and English Canada may still do. By "The Civil War," which name the Northern victors preferred, the American national siblinghood emerged as one nation.

With the *Emancipation Declaration* and slavery's end, all human beings, recognized by the *Declaration of Independence* as self-evidently created equal, stood undivided as one national family, one brotherhood. Well, almost undivided. If all humans are created equal, then those beings whom "We, the people" do not happen to recognize as having been created equal, we are compelled to regard as other than people. Black people, for example, whom Martin Delany called a "nation within a nation"[135]—had been unequal by policy before the *Declaration of Independence*. (In 1789 Clermont-Tonnere had used the same phrase, "nation within a nation," to vilify French Jews;[136] the Maranno Cardoso previously had called the Jews "a Republic apart."[137]) John C. Calhoun, among others, had argued that blacks were not included among the beings whose equal creation the *Declaration* certified. Calhoun's view was opposed by Lockean theorists who looked to a theory of natural rights as opposed to civil rights. But it was, unfortunately, not always non-American to argue that blacks were not Americans. Thus Cartwright in *The Prognathous Species of Mankind* and Nott in *Types of Mankind* insisted that blacks were a separate species, and George Fitzhugh claimed in *Cannibals All!* "that the Negro was something less than human."[138] Racialists put into question whether blacks had the same humanoid blood as whites; the 1833 essay entitled "Are the Human Race All of One Blood?" thus had suggested that the blood pools of whites and blacks were separate. Melville, knowing only too well the terms of this false debate, added in small print to an inscription in his *Mardi*, "In-this-re-publi-can-land-all-men-are-born-free-and-equal," the bitter words—"Except-the-tribe-of-Hamo."[139]

Remarkably, most proponents of abolition and equal rights in the United States did not oppose the racialist (and Christian) conflation of species with family. They tried instead to use the idea of the siblinghood of humankind to their own ends; they appealed to a common generation, or racial descent, for all human beings black and white. They harkened back to the American argument, already venerable from the sixteenth century, that since all men are sons of Adam none ought

to be enslaved.[140] For universalist American abolitionists and Christian preachers the favorite biblical passage was that God "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."[141] A few abolitionists, however, recognized that this conflation of species with consanguineous family—like the worshipful myth of the famously native American *alma mater* Pocahontas ("We by descent from her, become a new race")[142]—ultimately could not protect despised creatures from exclusion from the human family. They argued that what really binds people together in the American nation is not biological descent but autochthonous descent (as in Greece),[143] religious consent (as in Christian "rebirth in Christ"),[144] or national regeneration (as in revolutionary France). National regeneration in America, like the *régénération* promised to the Jews of France by Abbé Grégoire and Napoleon, represented for some American abolitionists the hope for full political status for everyone regardless of generation or nativity.[145]

However, calling black men and women less than human or treating them as such was a factor in America's political foundation—even in its sexual history—which distinguished it from the foundation of modern France.[146] Many Americans blamed the massacre of white people in Haiti on such arguments as the Marquis de Condorcet's well known claim that the revolutionary doctrine of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" makes every black man a human brother (*frater*) to every white man.[147] They were threatened by the gist of the cosmopolitan French and English abolitionist motto, "Am I not a man and brother?"[148] And they were discomforted by such potentially coalescent lyrics as those of "The Rainbow" which, in the 1849 edition of Montgomery's *Songs on the Abolition of Negro Slavery*, ring out,

> Black, white, and bond, and free,
> Castes and proscriptions cease;
> The Negro wakes to liberty,
> The Negro sleeps in peace;
> Read the great charter on his brow,
> "I AM A MAN, A BROTHER *now*."[149]

Many white racists, sure or fearful that blacks could be no brothers of theirs, said contemptuously that the doctrines of the French and English abolitionist movement were merely "the sentiments of man and brotherism."[150]

Perhaps denying to American blacks the status of brother humans had the conservative effect of maintaining even after the 1860s America's familial vacillation between endogamous and exogamous conflict—familiar already from the scission where one nation became two (the War of Independence) and the twinning where two nations became one (the Civil War). The role of "brother becoming other" or of "other becoming brother" in the speculative theater of American ideology—a role once played by the distant British and then by the neighboring Northerner or Southerner—could now be played out, in the tradition of Twain's *Those Extraordinary Twins* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, by the part of "blacks becoming white" or "whites becoming blacks."

Consider here the importance to American ideology of the legal fiction of the "statutory homogenization of the races," a fiction according to which every person is simply either white or non-white. (It was in the tradition of this fiction that a grand jury before the Emancipation, deliberating the expulsion of "free colored" people from South Carolina in the late 1850s, argued that "we [Americans] should have but two classes, the Master and the slave, and no intermediate class can be other than immensely mischievous to our peculiar institutions.")[151] No satire, certainly not Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, could do better than such legal rulings and fictions. For by classifying a person of "mixed race" as a Negro, the court was "denying that intermixture had occurred at all."[152] (Louisiana courts held in the 1970s that a person with 1/32 "black blood" was legally a "Negro.")[153] The white racialist idealist insists that there are only two terms to describe people, brothers ("whites") and others ("non-whites"), and he bolsters his view by the legal fiction that white blood, though it can be wholly "blackened," cannot be diluted partly. As in universalist thinking generally there is no intermediating term between brother and other, so in the United States there were rarely intermediating terms between white and non-white—terms of the sort one does find in Canada and the West Indies.[154] (It is worth comparing here the view of Thomas Jefferson, who in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* makes the usual segregationist, though not necessarily dehumanizing, Enlightenment analogy between species and race: "Will not a lover of natural history, then, one who views the gradation in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them?")[155]

Who had better grounds, in such a monstrous historical context, to demand the immediate abolition of slavery in America than those people who really recognized the practical consequences of the doctrine that all men are equal brothers. Who, indeed, better than the radical Perfectionist John Noyes. Noyes claimed to undertand the radical implications of such brotherhood as the American Declaration seemed to espouse. His Perfectionist experiment, as we might expect, demanded abolition along with both liberty and that guiltless incest which he and other communalists believed that *libertas* required. (Liberal nationalists, fearing the apparent similarity between the "nationalism" they pretend to espouse and the "racism" they pretend to hate, are always quick to attribute to pure racism the tendency towards incest—which is easy enough to do, thanks to such explicitly pro-incest racialist ideologists as Joseph Gobineau and Richard Wagner—but they are slow to attribute to national liberalism the same tendency.)[156] Noyes, through his monthly paper *The Perfectionist*, made converts to his ideas about the universalist brotherhood of mankind and racial equality.[157] Among the more prominent subscribers to Noyes's views on abolition were Edmund Quincy, the Quaker sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Henry C. Wright, and other abolitionists, including William Lloyd Garrison, who writes eloquently of Noyes in his biography. In a letter to Garrison, Noyes describes his "hope of the millennium beginning . . . At The Overthrow Of This Nation."[158] It was the overthrow of all nations, as of all families, that Noyes wanted. Instead of a world of many nations, Noyes hoped for the one family nation of humankind—what John Gower in fifteenth century England had called the primal "man's nation."[159]

5. KINSHIP AND KINDNESS

Much about the relationship between literary figures and kinship terminology and about the political implications of the idea of national kindred remains unsaid here. But three problems should be specified briefly at this point. The first problem concerns the idea that it is a common genitor, who is not quite one of us, that makes us all siblings. That is, we are often able to call ourselves brothers and sisters only by assuming a common parent. *Alle Menschen Brüder werden*! [All men are, or become, brothers!], writes Schiller in the great *Ode to Joy*. But

people become brothers, according to Schiller's *Ode*, only because, "Above the stormy canopy/There must dwell a loving Father"—a parentarchal God, perhaps, or a national mythology of Parental Founding or autochthony.[160]

The second problem is that it is only our opposition to another group of siblings, who are not quite us, that makes us siblings. Here the uncompromising conflation of species with family has made universalist nationalism a dangerous and cruel ideology. For the universalist ideology of love and kinship leads—has led—inexorably, to actions of hatred and unkindness. From the position "All men are my brothers" it comes to follow easily that "Only my brothers are men, all others are animals." When only my siblings are human, all others are not human. *Volk* is conflated with a species. In much the same way, confusing species and family becomes the basis for the institution of a particularized fraternity ("We men are brothers, they are others"), not for the institution of a universalized Siblinghood ("We are all Siblings"). In many languages the word for "human being" and that for "fellow tribesperson" are consequently one and the same.[161] The universalist confusion of species with family becomes thus an effective ideological basis for the institution of particularist siblinghoods defining variously one nation against another by means of specific exclusionary tactics like misogyny, racism, anti-semitism, and planet-centered anthropocentrism. Muslims and Jews in sixteenth-century Spain and Afro-Americans in nineteenth-century America came to play out the ideological role of the other species, for example, while in revolutionary France the Platonic ideal of sexual and propertal communalism—of *Égalité*—was obscured as women were excluded conceptually and politically from the human species and the *alma mater* "Lady Liberty" was won, if at all, only at the expense of a Rousseauist sororal oppression.[162]

The third problem is that deniability of kinship, taken apart from other conditions, means neither that kinship will be acknowledged nor that kinship will be denied. I can acknowledge that my child is mine, *thank God*, even as I know that it is deniable that my child is mine; and I can deny that my child is mine, *God help me*, even as I recognize that my child probably is mine. Children thus fantasize that they are the offspring of royal parents, men hope that they have unknowingly fathered children or fear they have not fathered the children that they call theirs, and mothers deny that their children are theirs. There are

various demographic as well as psychological and political factors at work here—all cultured, to some extent, by a skeptical focus on the impossibility of absolute knowledge of kin. In some societies, for example, there may be an unusually high rate of sexual intercourse whose participants either know that they do not know who their partners are (as in Amazons' anonymous matings in Greek myth)[163] or believe wrongly that they know who their sexual partners are (as in the bed tricks of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama). And where bastards, foundlings, or changelings are known or believed to be widespread there will often develop, by way of socially needful compensation, specific types of figural kinship. The large number of foundlings and oblates in medieval Europe, for example, helped to set the stage for the political fictions of pre-modern familial nationalism in the sixteenth century. In eighteenth century France the foundling d'Alembert was aware that the growing number of parentless children and orphans was tending to make Frenchmen equally kin or nonkin;[164] revolutionaries generally were concerned with establishing a *liberté* in *fraternité* where everyone would be equally legitimate and illegitimate; and Rousseau, theorist of *liberté*, sent off to the foundling hospital his five illegitimate infant children partly in order that he might recognize them thereafter not at all as particular consanguineous children of his own but only as fellow multiple twins of the republic and equal children, or *liberi*, of the nation.[165]

University of Massachusetts

NOTES

1. Melville, "The Monkey-Rope," in *Moby-Dick*, 318.

2. Sophocles, *Oedipus*, 1. 415; my interpretative translation.

3. See Pitt-Rivers, "Pseudo-kinship."

4. Montaigne even discusses in his *Essaies*, which were translated into English in 1603, societies supposed not to have ordinary incest taboos (*Essaies*, 1:15–17). Charron, whose *De la sagesse* was translated into English in 1606, argues that the incest taboo is a "mere custom" that "mastereth our souls, our beliefs, our judgments, with a most unjust and tyrannical authority" (*Of Wisdom* 310).

5. Bachhofen in his *Mutterrecht* made the absolute certainty of the mother-child link the basis of a social anthropology that survives to this day. Engels in his *Origin of the Family* argues in the same vein that "descent can be proved on the *mother's* side and therefore only the *female* line is recognized."

6. The debate involving politics (Orestes) and family (Clytemnestra) in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* is ended by the argument of the virgin goddess Athena (born from

the head of Zeus), who proclaims that, since "no mother gave me birth, only the male of the human species is the begetter" (*Eumenides* l.736). In an Orphic hymn (31.10) Athena is called both male and female, and in a Homeric hymn (9.3) she is called a virgin divinity (W. Smith, *Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Athena"). Athena's argument was backed by Aristotle's view that in human reproduction "the male provides the form and the principle of the movement; the female provides the body, in other words the material" (*Generation* 1.2 729a). See also Plato's similar view of the male Eros of begetting (*Timaeus* 73, 90–91) and related evidence collected by Onians (*European Thought* 108–9). In Anaxagoras the mother is merely the "breeding ground" and the father is "the seed"; in Diogenes of Apollonia the father, not the mother, provides the offspring (Freeman, *Pre-Socratic Philosophers* 272, 282). Cf. Jesus's claim that (the male) God is His only parent.

7. On "nominal" incest generally, Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, passim. For a discussion of the purchase of family names in relation to incest, see Thomas, "Writer's Procreative Urge in *Pierre*." For kinship by adoption, see my "Children of the Nation" and for kinship "in law" see my *End of Kinship*. One might also include in the list of kinds of pseudo-kinship or kinship by extension that can make for a diriment impediment to marriage the relationship between trading partners, between feudal lords and their servants, between brothers-in-arms, and so on.

8. Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 1.2 107–8. For the view that in *Hamlet* there is no-one either kin or nonkin but thinking makes him so (cf. *Hamlet* 2.2.256), see my *Children of the Earth* (forthcoming), ch. 5.

9. Cf. Matt. 23:8. Christianity's universalist doctrine both incorporates and transcends ordinary kinship by means of an extraordinary uni-familial kinship. Cf. Gal. 3:26–28: "For in Christ Jesus you are all sons [or children] of God . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Church Fathers who urge Christians to obey the implications of Matt. 23:8 in such a way as to call all men their "brothers" and to call no-one by the name "father" include: Ignatius of Antioch, "To the Ephesians," 10.3, in PG, 5:653; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 7.14.5, in GCS, 3:61; Justinian, *Dialogue with Tryphon*, 96, in PG, 6:704; and Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 39.8–9.

10. Twain, *Pudd'nhead* (*Century Magazine*, 1893–94), in Authorized Edition, 245.

11. Heraclitus, frag. 93.

12. *N & Q* 7th series V 493-2 (1888).

13. Solomon's ruling in this case is harshly criticized by the great rabbi Judah bar Ila'i, who says that "had he been present, he would have put a rope around Solomon's neck" (*Jewish Ency.*, s.v. "Solomon"). Elsewhere in the Talmud doubt about the fairness of Solomon's verdict is dispelled by the story that a heavenly voice proclaimed, "This is the mother of the child" (Makkot 23b; cited in *Ency. Judaica*, s.v. "Solomon"). It is worth adding that not only Solomon but also neither of the women could really have known for sure which of them was related consanguineously to the living child.

14. One sect practiced navel gazing as a means of inducing hypnotic reverie. Vaughn, *Hours with the Mystics*, I.272, writes that, "They call these devotees Navel-contemplators."

15. Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire*, 2:45.

16. Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, v. v. 240.

17. Bryant, *Ancient Mythology*, 1.245.

18. For the background to this relationship, see the Introductory Essay to my edition of Elizabeth Tudor's *Mirror*.

19. *Dormition*, or *koimémsis*, refers to the specific "dying" of the Virgin Mary: she passes from being the mature Mother of God (the infant Son) to being the infant Daughter of God (the mature Father), as discussed in the body of church literature called the *Transitus Mariae* (*Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. Lampe, s.v. "*koimésis*"). Cf. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 88–89. Dormition is illustrated in such works as the twelfth century mosaic in the church of La Martorana in Palmero (Sicily) where Jesus gives new life to Mary's soul, which resembles a baby in his arms. (For other illustrations see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 4:1017B). Julia Kristeva, citing Dante's well-known line *Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio*, says that "not only is Mary her son's *mother* and his *daughter* of Jesus [as in dormition], she is also his *wife*. Thus she passes through all three women's stages in the most restricted of all possible kinship systems" (Kristeva, "Stabat Mater," 105). But as we shall see, Mary is also the *sister* of God the Brother. And it is this Sisterhood, which makes equal siblings of all mankind, and that reaches even beyond the restriction that Kristeva remarks.

20. *New York Herald*, 31 August 1868; emphasis mine. For this and other references, see Gillman, *Dark Twins*, esp. 53–73.

21. Wallace, *The Two*.

22. On the freak show: Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 232, 295, 45–46.

23. According to Schweitzer, *Herakles*, 19, Kteatos and Eurytos, the twin sons of Molione, were originally Siamese twins. For the view that they were originally regular twins, see Farnell, *Hero-Cults*; Farnell argues that the Siamese twin version of the legend is Hesiodic and hence comparatively late. In Homer the twins are normal and mortal (*Illiad*. 11.750), though sons of Poseidon; they marry and have sons (*Iliad* 2.621). See Smyth, *Poets*, 278.

24. The medical anatomist Serres, in his *Theory of Organic Formation and Deformation, Applied to . . . Duplicate Monsters* (1833) influenced by Montaigne's "Of a Monstrous Child" (written during the French Civil War), says of a set of Siamese twins with four legs and a single head that "there is a perfect unity produced by two distinct individualities. There are sense organs and cerebral hemispheres for a single individual, adapted to the service of two, since it is evident that there are two *me's* in this single head" (quoted by Gould, "Living With Connections," 75; Gillman, *Dark Twins*, 61).

25. Mankowicz & Haggar, *Pottery and Porcelian*, 202/1. The Chalkhurst twins died in 1734.

26. See *Scientific American* (1891).

27. Twain, *Those Extraordinary Twins*, 123.

28. For the term "conglomerate": Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 213. References are to the 1922 Authorized Edition.

29. The "Duplicates" in *Mysterious Stranger* say, "Although we had been born together, at the same moment and of the same womb, there was no spiritual kinship

between us" ("No. 44" in *Mysterious Stranger*, 334). Twain writes of the identical twins in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* that "one was a little fairer than the other, but otherwise they were exact duplicates" (Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 43).

30. It is worth noting that Twain performed the part of one of a pair of Siamese twins at a private dinner party at his home in 1906 (Gillman, *Dark Twins*, 181) and that he died in 1910 murmuring inchoately about the "duplicates" Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Fiedler, *Freaks*, 270; quoting Paine, *Mark Twain*, 3:1575). The female Siamese twins Millie and Christine—a "wonderful two-headed girl"—he discussed in his "People and Things" column in the *Buffalo Express* 2 September 1869; for other references to Siamese twins in Twain's journalistic writings, see note 134.

31. Twain "took those [Siamese] twins [of *Those Extraordinary Twins*] apart and made two separate men of them [the identical twins or changelings of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*]." In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, moreover, the identical twins become Siamese (Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 212, 295, 245). For the boundaries of nation and race: Twain, *Those Extraordinary Twins*, 216–17.

32. Anthropological studies at once phonetic and sociological might focus on the significance of the term "Siamese twins"—or the lack of one—in languages throughout the world, but few do. For one of these, see Naden, "Siamese Twins in Mampruli Phonology;" and on the the Gur language of the Mampruli in the northern part of Ghana, see also Rattray, *Ashanti Hinterland*.

33. Dreiser, "Mark the Double Twain."

34. Plato, *Republic*, 524; *Theaetetus*, 185; *Hippias Major*, 300. In the ideal realm, the music of the spheres rules supreme. There "the two [identical twins] become one" conglomeration and knock . . . out a classic four-handed piece on the piano in great style" (Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 49). Twain's "combination consisting of two heads and four arms joined to a single body and a single pair of legs" becomes a single harmony (Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 208).

35. For the biological aspects of Siamese twins, whose connections with each other can vary widely, see Newman et al., *Twins*, xiii, and David Smith, *Psychological Profiles of Conjoined Twins*. For Pauline marriage, see 1 Eph. 5:31–32.

36. There were strict Roman laws that aimed at avoiding *substitution* and the creation of changelings. Their existence suggests how in some circumstances it is easy for babies to pass for one another in cases of institutionalized fraud and private deception (Boswell, *Kindness*, 110, 114).

37. On the prevalence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the institutions of the nurse maid and foundlings, see Laslett et al., *Comparative Bastardy*.

38. Boyeson, in "World of Arts and Letters" (1894), 379.

39. For "a single drop": Frederickson, *White Supremacy*, 130.

40. Nazi ideology claimed that if an Aryan woman had even one sexual encounter with a Jew none of her children would ever be Aryan. Julius Streicher, for example, said: "One single cohabitation of a Jew with an Aryan woman is sufficient to poison her blood forever. Together with the *alien albumen* ['the sperm of a man of alien race . . . which is partially or completely absorbed by the female and thus enters her bloodstream'] she has absorbed the alien soul. Never again will she be

able to bear purely Aryan children . . . they will all be bastards" (quoted in Reynolds et al., *Minister of Death*, 150).

41. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 12; emphasis mine.

42. "Children are everywhere thought to be of the same substance as their parents," says one anthropologist, "because they are produced by them: 'like breeds like' in every system of thought" (Pitt-Rivers, "Kith and the Kin," 92). Cf. Langland, *Piers Plowman*, Text B, p. ii, 1. 28; and Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.2 (1255b): "From good parents comes a good son." On legal fictions, see esp. Lon Fuller, *Legal Fictions*.

43. Williamson, *New People*, 63.

44. Williamson, *New People*, 47, citing the French Count de Volney.

45. Cf. note 5.

46. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 13.

47. "The father of the white child was able to tell the children apart . . . by their clothes" (Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 12).

48. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 12.

49. The saying, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," is at least as old as Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (4.10).

50. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 13.

51. There are those who would say, though, that Jocasta did recognize Oedipus early on; see Vellacott, "Guilt of Oedipus."

52. In other places—imperial Rome, medieval Christendom, and eighteenth century France, for example—the number of foundlings raised as foster children was sometimes more than one quarter of the child population. See Shell, "Children of the Nation."

53. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 21.

54. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 21.

55. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 19.

56. See Gillman, *Dark Twins*, 74.

57. On lactation and kinship: Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 2:230; Koran, ch. 4, "Women." For the racialist argument that blacks are non-human: section 4 below. For collaction by goats and other animals: Montaigne, *Essays* 2:8.

58. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 266–67.

59. Hanging Luigi means ending the history of "those extraordinary twins" (*Pudd'nhead Wilson*, 294). Says Luigi: "If I had let the man kill [Angelo], wouldn't he have killed me too. I save my own life, you see" (*Pudd'nhead Wilson*, 91–92).

60. Joyce, *Ulysses*, 404.

61. The following story is told in the midrashic Tosafot, or gloss, to the Talmudic tractate Menahot (37a): "Asmodeus [the evil spirit] brought before Solomon from under the earth a man with two heads, who, being unable to return to his native place, married a woman from Jerusalem. She bore him seven sons, six of whom resembled the mother, while one resembled the father in having two heads. After their father's death, the son with the two heads claimed two shares of the inheritance, arguing that he was two men; while his brothers contended that he was entitled to one share only. They appealed to Solomon, whose sagacity enabled

him to decide that the son with two heads was only one man; and the king consequently rendered judgment in favor of the other six brothers" (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* 4; *Revue des Etudes Juives* 45:305ff; *Jewish Ency.*, s.v. "Solomon").

62. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 6.

63. Galton admitted that fingerprints do not reveal racial groupings (Galton, *Finger Prints*, 1–2, 26).

64. Twain, *Pudd'nhead*, 193.

65. From Twain, *Those Extraordinary Twins* (*Century Magazine*, 1893–94), in Authorized Edition, 150–51.

66. Cf. Gillman, *Dark Twins*, 6.

67. "*Quod crebo videt, non miratur, etiam si cur fiat nescit. Quod ante non vidit, id, si evenerit, ostentum esse censet*" (Montaigne, "D'un Enfant monstrueux", *Essaies*, 2:300; in *Oeuvres*, ed. Thibaudet and Rat, p. 691; tr. Frame, 539). Montaigne's essay, which here quotes Cicero, *De divinatione*, 2:27 (like Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Burnschvieg. no. 90), concerns a case of Siamese twins.

68. Smith and Lindeman, *Democratic Way*, 19.

69. Paine, *Writings*, 2:304–5.

70. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "Liberi," defines the word as "sons and daughters, children in connection w[ith] their parents."

71. For "noble lie": Plato, *Rep.* 414c–415d. For autochthony and the Theban tale: Plato, *Laws*, 663e; and Odysseus' stories among the Phaeacians. Thebes is the birthplace of Sophocles' Oedipus. Plato's *Lysis* proposes to unify the people of the state by turning autochthony into an ideology of real estate: "Born of the earth herself, they possessed the same land as motherland and fatherland." In the Bible, of course, *adam* means something like "of the earth."

72. "With everyone he happens to meet, he will hold that he's meeting a brother, or a sister, or a father, or a mother, or a son, or a daughter, or their descendants or ancestors" (Plato, *Rep.* 463). Cornford, in a note to his edition of the *Republic* (161–63) argues that "Plato did not regard the . . . connections of brothers and sisters as incestuous." Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 414d. The Platonic argument that incest is politically necessary to a liberal republic runs counter to other arguments; since Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* one common view has been that incest was actually the cause of republican *decline* in Rome (Fowler, "Incest Regulations").

73. The Marquis de Sade, in the wake of the republican French Revolution, argues like Plato that for a people to become a geniune republic where all people think of and treat other people as equal citizens they must refuse to recognize any difference between consanguineous and non-consanguineous kin, thus practicing either incest or celibacy. See Sade, "Français, encore un effort si vous voulez être republicains," in *Philosophie*, esp. 221–22.

74. For the history and theology of the legal definition of "spiritual incest" as a Brother or Sister having sexual intercourse with anyone at all, see such documents as Council of Rome (A.D. 402), can. 1,2, in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* 2:87; Pope Gelasius I (A.D. 494), letter to the bishops of Lucania, c. 20, in Gratian, *Decretum*, causa 27, q. 1, c. 14; Council of Macon (A.D. 585) can. 12, in Hefele, *Concilien-*

geschichte 3:37; Gratian, Decretum, causa 30, q. 1, c. 5.10; Oesterlé, "Inceste," in Viller, ed., *Dict. Spirit.*; and my *End of Kinship*.

75. On the incestuous relationship between Jesus and Mary: Heuscher, *Psychiatric Study*, 207. On the Athanasian doctrine that Father and Son are not literally the same, so that the Son is the Father of Himself: the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325. For Tamar: Matt. 1:3 and Gen. 38:26–30. Rehab, a harlot, and Bathsheba, an adulteress, are included among the human ancestors of Jesus, whose mother was a kind of harlot, since His conception was extramarital. On the genealogy of Jesus: Santiago, *Children of Oedipus*, 50; and Layard, "Incest Taboo," 301–2. For the magi: Rankin, "Catullus," 119; and Moulton, *Early Zoroastrians*, esp. 204, 249–50. For the Persians: Antisthenes of Athens, *Fragmenta*, cited in Ranken, "Catullus," 120; and Sidler, *Inzesttabu*. See Nietzsche's remark that "an ancient belief, especially strong in Persia, holds that a wise magi must be incestuously begotten" (*Gebürt*, sect. 9, 56–57; trans. Golffing, *Birth*, 60–61).

76. The father in the *The Cenci*, Francesco Cenci, "taught [his daughter Beatrice] a frightful heresy, which I scarcely dare repeat . . . that when a father has carnal knowledge of his own daughter, the children born of the union are of necessity saints, and that all the greatest saints whom the Church venerates were born in this manner" (Stendhal, *Cenci*, 181–82).

77. For Saint Albanus, see Rank, *Inzest-Motiv*. For Saint Julian, see Bart and Cook, *Flaubert's Saint Julian*, and Berg et al., *Saint Oedipus*. For the story of Gregory, see Hartmann von Aue, *Gregorius*. On the motif, see Harney, *Brother and Sister Saints*.

78. See Intro. in Shell, ed., *Mirror.*; and Shell, "Children of the Nation."

79. The alliance between Clément Marot and Anne d'Alençon, parodied by Rabelais in his chapter entitled "The Island of Ennasin," is a good example of kinship by *alliance*. See Telle, "L'ile des alliances."

80. Ottilie in Goethe's *Elective Affinities* expresses "a strong belief in the existence of some law of male and female friendship and kinship higher than our actual marriage would in every case now imply." Goethe's Lotte says that "it seems to me that these things are related to each other not in the blood, so to speak, so much as in the spirit" (Goethe, *Elective Affinities*; translated in Dixon, *Spiritual Wives*, 361, 365). "Blood Relations of Choice" or "Chosen Kin" is how Brodsky translates "*Wahlverwandschaften*." However, since we do not know who *are* our blood kin, electing who we *call* blood kin is the usual situation for human beings.

81. For the phrase "cult of fraternity," see Sandell, "'A very poetic circumstance,'" ch. 2. See too Durbach, "Geschwister-Komplex," 61–63; Rank, *Inzest-Motiv*; Praz, *Romantic Agony*, 111–12; and Schelly, "A Like Unlike." For Byron, see his "Manfred" (1817); his "The Bride of Abydos" (1813); his "Cain" (1821), esp. 1.1.187–89, 1.1.380; and VanDerBeets, "Note." Engels reports Marx's view from a letter to him from Marx about Richard Wagner; Engels himself writes that "not only were brother and sister originally man and wife, sexual intercourse between parents and children is still permitted among many peoples today" (Engels, *Origin of the Family*, 100, cf. 102). For Vico: before the establishment of specifically human

"institutions" men lived in what might be called a "nefarious promiscuity of things and women" in which "sons often lay with mothers and fathers with daughters" (*New Science*, para. 16, 17).

82. For Paul, see 1 Cor 6:12. For Noyes, see his letter of January 15, 1837, to David Harrison; quoted in Dixon, *Spiritual Wives*, 2:55–56.

83. *Bible Communism*, 27. Noyes continues: "The sons and daughters of God, must have even a stronger sense of blood-relationship than ordinary brothers and sisters. They live as children with their Father forever, and the paramount affection of the household is . . . *brotherly* love. . . . A brother may love ten sisters, or a sister ten brothers, according to the customs of the world. The exclusiveness of marriage does not enter the family circle. But heaven is a family circle; and . . . brotherly love . . . takes the place of supremacy which the matrimonial affection occupies in this world."

84. Ellis, *Free Love*, 187–88. Noyes counters the usual objection to "amative intercourse between near relations"—that 'breeding *in and in*' deteriorates offspring"—with his own genetic theories. Cf. Noyes' monograph on eugenics, "An Essay on Scientific Propagation." For other references to Noyes' writings, see Kern, *Ordered Love*.

85. Morison, *People*, 524–25.

86. *Tait's Magazine* (15 [1848]:705) remarks that there was a strong "propensity to group" that "embraces love, friendship, ambition, and a fourth passion, called familism." The American feminist Margaret Fuller published in 1844 her *Women in the Nineteenth Century* in the tradition of both Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin and Fourier. On Emerson and familism see Bercovitch's "Emerson" (forthcoming).

87. Fiedler, Introduction to *Quaker City*, xxx.; cf. vii. Fiedler writes that what "sets Lippard's book apart from those on which he modelled it is a peculiar emphasis, somehow characteristic of America, on the sanctity in a world otherwise profane of the brother-sister relationship." The booksellers sold 60,000 copies in 1844.

88. Lippard, Preface to *Quaker City*, 2. On the Brotherhood of Union, see Fiedler, Introduction to *Quaker City*, viii.

89. See Easton, *Hagel's First American Followers*; and Webber, *Escape to Utopia*.

90. The Quakers were associated with the doctrine of Familism; see, for example, Hallywell's *Familism as it is revised by the Quakers* (1673). On the brother/sister theme in *Philadelphia Story* see Cavell, *Pursuits of Happiness*.

91. For the romantic topos, see Thomas, "Writers' Procreative Urge in *Pierre*." Damon, "Pierre the Ambiguous," puts *Pierre* squarely in the group of literary works about incest; Mogan, "*Pierre* and *Manfred*," 231, discusses the incestuous crime of Byron's Magian hero in relationship to *Pierre*." The topos was already an important theme in American letters, including the first American novel, Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*, and such works as Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*, where Miriam and her mysterious follower are likely Astarte and Manfred revisited, and Hawthorne's "Alice Doane's Appeal," which tells the story of Leonard Doane's love for his sister. Consider also S. Anna Lewis's "Child of the Sea" (1848), in which it is revealed that the affair is not after all incestuous. See also See, "Kinship of Metaphor."

92. At first the ordinary romantic topos was not quite recognized by the critics. Damon, "*Pierre*," 110, writes that "the nineteenth century literally did not know enough even to guess what the book was about." Some early readers could think of *Pierre* only as a hoax (Note, in Melville, *Pierre*, ed. Hayford, 393).

93. The conjunction of the Catholic *sponsa* with incestuous urges is not uncommon in American literature. Irwin (*Doubling*, 129–30) focuses on Christian mother-son incest in the writings of William Faulkner, for example: "The fecundation of Mary by God is a supplanting of Joseph . . ., and since Jesus, the son, is himself that God, then he is, in a sense, the son who has impregnated his mother, and Jesus' birth, as befits the birth of a god, is incestuous."

94. Melville, *Pierre*, 37.

95. Melville, *Pierre*, 58.

96. In Disraeli's *Alroy* (1833), as Murray points out, the hero knows not love, "save that pure affection which doth subsist between me and this girl, an orphan and my sister" (Murray, Intro. to *Pierre*, lxvi).

97. See Brodsky, *Imposition*, 244.

98. The portrait of Beatrice Cenci appears also in the *The Marble Faun* of Hawthorne in 1860.

99. Melville, *Pierre*, 91, 200; Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 1.5.9.

100. Melville, *Pierre*, 232.

101. Melville, *Pierre*, 141.

102. Melville's Billy Budd is "a foundling" who, when asked "Who was your father?," has to answer, "God knows, Sir" (Melville, *Billy Budd*, 298). Budd's "entire family was practically invested in himself" (*Billy Budd*, 297). For the reference to Ishmael, by which name the narrator of *Moby-Dick* calls himself, see Melville, *Pierre*, 116.

103. Melville, *Pierre*, 310.

104. Isabel, in describing her relationship with Pierre, says: "I am called woman, and thou, man, Pierre; but there is neither man nor woman about it. Why should I not speak out to thee? There is no sex in our immaculateness" (Melville, *Pierre*, 178).

105. Melville, *Pierre*, 171, 178.

106. Melville, *Pierre*, 171.

107. This community would be a political utopia that perfects the communities of Mettingen in Brown's *Wieland* (which has only four people, a pair of sibling-pairs) and at Saddlemeadows. Cf. Wilson, "Incest," 7.

108. Melville, *Pierre*, 304.

109. Melville, *Pierre*, 304–5.

110. Melville, *Pierre*, 56–57.

111. Melville, *Pierre*, 318–19.

112. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, 45.

113. Melville, *Pierre*, 56–57, 304–5, 318, and 333.

114. Melville, *Pierre*, 338.

115. Melville, *Pierre*, 342. On the abiogenetic hypothesis that living things sometimes arise from such "lifeless" matter as the earth—without either human or

divine parents—see Nigrelli, ed., "Modern Ideas on Spontaneous Generation;" Thomas Huxley, in his *Address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (1870), wrote that "To save circumlocution, I shall call . . . the doctrine that living matter may be produced by not-living matter, the hypothesis of Abiogenesis."

116. Nationalists in France, whence came Isabel, refer to "enfants de la patrie" [children of the fatherland] who die and are reborn or regenerated from the earth. In "La Marseillaise" fighters for liberty are "produced from the earth;" *la terre en produit de nouveau.*

117. Lucy becomes convinced that she has been called "to do a wonderful office" towards Pierre, and, thinking him to be the complete incarnation of all her family—her "brother and mother . . . and all the universe," Lucy comes to the Church of the Apostles to serve Pierre as a kind of nun just as Isabel serves him as a kind of Sister (Melville, *Pierre*, 350, 351, 353, 364).

118. Bayle in his *Dictionary* reports that Mohammed, though he forbad incest for his followers, allowed it to himself by a special privilege.

119. Isabel says to her brother, Pierre, the Brother of all men, "Were all men like to thee, then were there no men at all,—mankind extinct in seraphim" (Melville, *Pierre*, 186).

120. The universalist viewpoint I am pursuing militates against assuming the importance of the subject's place in a consanguineous family, an importance that the narrative structure of biography often assumes. However, much could be said about Melville's relationship to his mother, sister, grandfather, and so on. Among the facts: Melville "purposed to write his spiritual biography in the form of a novel." "Melville used the name of his mother [Mary], not that of his wife, on the birth certificate of his son." Melville's "vigorous and pious" sister Augusta, presumably a model for Isabel in *Pierre*, copied his manuscripts. Melville longed for the pre-nuptial state after his marriage. Isabel is also modeled on Melville's cousin. Pierre's grandfather is like Melville's. (*Pierre*, ed. Murray, xxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii, 430; ed. Hayford et al., 339, 397, 399.)

121. One hero of American-German socialists of mid-century America, the cosmopolitan Stoic Epictetus, says that the common origin of all human beings rules out essential class differences: "Slave, do you not want to help your *adelphos*, who has Zeus for father, who is born of the same germs as you and is of the same heavenly descent?" (Epictetus, *Discourses*; cf. Zeller, *Philosophie*, 299–303). Epictetus agrees with the gist of Christian monachism. (For sociological treatment of inter-class equality within the orders, see Campbell-Jones, *In Habit*, esp. 196–99, and Séguy, "Sociologie," 347.) Paul too held that "there is neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ" (Gal. 3:28).

122. "The earliest American fictionalists," speculates Dalke "unconsciously used the incest theme to express their deepest anxieties about class upheavals" ("'Had I known,'" 88). Cf. Wagenknecht's remark, *American Novel*, 2, that, "judged by their fiction, the Founding Fathers might appear primarily devoted to incest." For a Marxist condemnation of incest in American literature as "a neurotic practice of the decadent upper class," see Zelnick, "Incest Theme."

123. In Sophocles' drama, which is partly about class upheaval during the period of equalitarian democratization under the Greek tyrants, Oedipus ascribes Jocasta's outburst at learning he is not the biological son of Polybus and Merope (*Oedpius*, 1077–79) to her fear that he may have been born from the lower classes. It is thus in an egalitarian and democratic spirit that Oedipus speaks the words I quote.

124. Pierre marries outside his aristocratic class, earning his mother's ire, and inside the family, committing incest. ("But you, Pierre, are going to be married before long, I trust, not to a Capulet, but one of our own Montagues; and so Romeo's evil fortune will hardly be yours. You will be happy.")

125. For this term, sometimes translated as *scission* or *diremption* in English descriptions of Hegelian *Aufhebung*, see the nineteenth century American translation of Hegel's *Logic* by Lt. Governor Brokmeyer (Missouri).

126. *Documentary Source Book of American History*, doc. 50; emphasis mine.

127. *Documentary Source Book of American History*, doc. 47.

128. *Documentary Source Book of American History*, doc. 43; emphasis mine.

129. Quoted in Decker, *The Declaration of Independence*, 149; my emphasis.

130. For Durham, see the epigraph to this section; Durham, *Report*, ed. Craig, 22-3. In "O Canada," the anthem of my birth place, Canada is called the "home and native land" of all citizens English- and French-speaking, whether they are indigenous or foreign-born. Whether such genuine "natives" as the Mohawk Indians of Québec call Canada their homeland remains ambiguous. See my "Forked Tongue."

131. Decker, *Declaration of Independence*, 160.

132. Elizabeth, *Letters*, ed. Harrison, 47.

133. Gentili, *De jure belli libri tres* (1598), bk,. iii, ch. 18, tr. Rolfe, 387–88; Nelson, *Usury*, 156.

134. Mark Twain, in his "People and Things" column in the *Buffalo Express* (Sept. 1869) and in an 1869 article in *Packard's Monthly* (August, 1869) entitled "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins," takes up the question of Siamese twinning and civil war: "During the war they . . . both fought gallantly—Eng on the Union side and Chang on the Confederate." Siamese twins come to stand for the interdependencies of masters and slaves, say, or the Northern pole and the Southern. One pundit, considering the case of the Siamese twins Chang and Eng, wonders "what General [William Tecumseh] Sherman would do if one [of the twins] were disloyal and had to be sent South, while the other remained loyal" (*Alta* [1864]: 1). Another pundit notes that "whether the Chang part was for the North, or the Eng part for the South, or *vice versa*, is not yet made public" (Downieville *Mountain Messenger* [28 April, 1866]; see Gillman, *Dark Twins*, 57–58). Montaigne, in his "On a Monstrous Child," speaks of the one-headed multi-limbed Siamese twin [*ce double corps et ces membres divers, se rapportans à une seule teste*] in terms of the French civil war (Montaigne, *Essaies*, 2:30; ed. Thibaudet and Rat, 691).

135. Delany, *Condition*, 12–20, 209; cited Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 48.

136. Clermont-Tonnere, *Opinion relativement aux persecutions qui menacent les Juifs d'Alsace*.

137. Cardoso, *Excelencias*, 374; trans. Yerushalmi, *Cardoso*, 469–70. See also Shell, "Marannos."

138. Fitzhugh's *Cannibals All!* is quoted in Morison, *American People*, 512. Cartwright, *Prognathous Species*, follows Nott, *Types of Mankind*, in arguing that natural history and the bible "prove . . . the existence of three distinct species of the genus man," including the "white" and the "black" (*Ency. Phil.* 7:60).

139. Melville, *Mardi*, 2:224; cited Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 38. In *Mardi*, the inscription is to be found over the arch of the "tutelary deity of Vivenza" in *Mardi*.

140. Sewell, *Selling of Joseph* (1700), argues, "that all Men, as they are the *Sons* of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal Rights unto Liberty" (in Ruchames, ed., *Racial Thought*).

141. Acts 17:26. That God "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth" (Acts 17:26, cf. John 3:16) was a common text for black American preachers. It can be also be found in numerous other texts: Frederick Douglass's "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro" delivered in Corinthian Hall, Rochester, on July 5, 1852 (Foner, *Douglass*, 199–200); Delany's *Condition*, 36–37); and William Wells Brown's *Clotel; or The President's Daughter*, a novel of 1853 about the children that Jefferson fathered with the slave woman Sally Hemings (Brown, *Clotel*, 115). Not surprisingly, the text sometimes became the occasion for discussing the evolutionary connection between men and animals, as in the 1833 essay entitled "Are the Human Race All of One Blood?" (361–62). W.E.B. DuBois uses Acts prominently at the beginning of *Darkwater* (1920) when he writes "I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell" (DuBois, *Darkwater*, 3). See Timothy Smith, "Slavery and Theology," and, on many of the references above, Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 58–65.

142. "We by descent from her, become a new race, innocent of both European and all human origins—a race from earth, . . . but an earth that is made of her" (Young, "The Mother of Us All," 408). Cf. Hubbell, "Smith-Pocahontas Story;" and Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, esp. 246n7.

143. For Americans as "a race from earth": Young, "The Mother of Us All," 408.

144. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 85 ff, discusses the analogy between Americanization and Christian rebirth.

145. See Shell, "Children of the Nation."

146. Concerning sexual history: The universalist doctrine that all human beings are siblings, insofar as it requires that people who want to avoid incest must either become celibate or commit bestiality, would encourage some white Americans to think of blacks as somehow animals, Cf. Shell, "Family Pet."

147. Cf. Fiedler, *American Novel*.

148. This motto was approved for the seal of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on 16 October 1787.

149. Montgomery, "The Rainbow," in *Works*, 2:361; capitalization and italicization are from this edition.

150. For "man and brotherism," see *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 March 1865, 3/1.

151. Quoted by Williamson, *New People*, 66.

152. Jordan, *White Over Black*, 178.

153. Dominguez, *White By Definition*, points out that in 1970 in Louisiana this legal fraction, 1/32, was still legally enforced.

154. Whereas in the United States there were only whites and others (non-whites) elsewhere there were legally significant intermediate terms. In the West Indies, for example, there were mulattos (half whites), sambos (one quarter whites), quadroons (three quarters whites), and mestizos (seven eighths whites). In bi-lingual and -racial Canada, by analogy, there were not only English Protestants and French Catholics but also *métis*. Such non-univeralist, intermediating terms and the gradations of political rights that they seem to require are disconcerting to those who would insist in unmediated and idealist fashion on the equal creation of all men. But these terms can have some certain practical benefits. As they force recognition of the reality of racial miscegenation (which the United States did not), they allow for the conceptual distinction of race from class and hence make less credible the racialist hypotheses that confuse the legal boundaries of class and/or race with those of species.

155. Quoted in Takaki, *Iron Cages*, 46, 49–50; cf. Gillman, *Dark Twins*, 82–84.

156. Nationalist liberals often seek to distance themselves from "mere racialists" by claiming that whereas the racialists want to violate the incest taboo, presumably in order to keep the blood pure, nationalist liberals want to be chaste (literally, non-incestuous). The liberals are correct about the racialist's tendency towards the endorsement of incest. For example, Gobineau criticizes French attempts to ratify in law prejudices against consanguineous marriages and praises the Seleucids, Ptolemies, and Incas, whom he supposes married their sisters as a means to keep their tribes pure (*Human Races*, 2nd ed., 234); he lauds in his play *The Renaissance* the supposed incest of Lucretia Borgia (199–200); he draws parallels, after befriending Richard Wagner in 1876, between race and species, endorsing incest in the same way he condemns miscegenation; he encourages incest among the pure *Volk*; and he attacks that "liberalism" which, in its dislike of "parochial exclusiveness . . ., celebrates the union of Negro and white man as much as possible—hence the mulatto" (Forward, *Human Races*, 2nd ed., 234). But the nationalist liberals, by the same token, are incorrect about liberalism. Even universalist liberal ideology, which would enlarge the particular siblinghood to include all humankind, compels all people either to marry within the same siblinghood or not to marry. The liberal maxim "All men are brothers" requires a lifting of the incest taboo in much the same way as the racialist rule "Marry only your brother."

157. Few abolitionists were willing to follow Noyes's ideas to the point where they accepted equality within the family (hence incest) or even miscegenation within wedlock, however.

158. Quoted from a letter of 1837 in Parrington, *Romantic Revolution*, 336. On Perfectionism from this perspective, see also Garrison, *Life*.

159. Gower, *Confessio Amantis.*, 1.55. writes "Out of mannes nacion Fro kynde thei be so miswent, / That to the likenesse of Serpent Thei were bore."

160. Schiller's "Ode to Joy." Beethoven's music for Schiller's ode was first conceived in 1812, when Percy Bysshe Shelley was also making "the earth one brotherhood" ("Prometheus Unbound," 2.2–95).

161. See Douglas, *Implicit Meanings*.

162. On this role of Lady Liberty, see Paulson, *Representations*, 16. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 84, argues that the American Statue of Liberty recalls the *alma mater*.

163. Strabo describes the mating practices of the Amazons: "Unions occur unseen (*aphonós*) and in the dark between whatever man happens by with whatever women happens by" (Strabo, *Geography*, 11.5.1). See also Tyrrel, *Amazons*.

164. Mme. de Tencin denied throughout her life that the foundling d'Alembert was her son.

165. For the view that it was not only a simple moral failing that led Rousseau to abandon his five illegitimate children but also a political program, see Shell, "Children of the Nation." Rousseau writes that "Plato wanted all children raised in the republic. Let each child remain unknown to his father and let all be children of the State" (Rousseau, *Oeuvres* 1:1431).

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