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The Trials of Manliness and Civilization:

The Ideology of “Nordicism” and “Manifest Domesticity” in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s
The Beautiful and Damned

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Women soil easily . . . far more easily than men. Unless a girl’s very young and brave it’s almost impossible for her to go down-hill without a certain hysterical animality, the cunning, dirty sort of animality. A man’s different—and I suppose that’s why one of the commonest characters of romance is a man going gallantly to the devil.

———*The Beautiful and Damned* (235)¹

We have even tapped the political sinks of Europe, and are now drawing large numbers of Greeks, Armenians and Syrians. No people is too mean or lowly to seek an asylum on our shores.

———William Z. Ripley (225)

[W]hat appears as the hindrance to society’s full identity with itself is actually its positive condition: by transposing onto the Jew the role of the foreign body which introduces in the social organism designation and antagonism, the fantasy-image of society qua consistent, harmonious whole is rendered possible.

———Slavoy Žižek (90)

Abstract

This study explores the ideological function of Nordicism and eugenics in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s work of *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922). Nordicism was a widespread, exclusive and discriminatory idea advocated by such eugenicists as Madison Grant and Lorthrop Stoddard. They considered those who migrated from Southern Europe and Asia as racially inferior and demanded for stricter limitations of their immigration into America. They attributed the corruption of their superior racial bloodline and the social chaos of traditional values and gender codes to racial mixture with these racially inferiors especially after World War I. Among the dismantled traditional codes, what these nativists were mostly concerned about was racial mixture between white females and black males, which they asserted would destroy the Nordic family and the nation itself. In the representation of the Nordic family of the protagonists Anthony and Gloria, we shall see the negotiations of power in terms of race (“intrusion” by Bloeckman), gender (the problem of Gloria’s reproduction).

Introduction

Fitzgerald tracks the downfall of Anthony and Gloria both in economical and physical ways, exposing the illusions in their lives and their physical degeneration. In the traditional study of *Beautiful*, critics see the tonal changes in the novel's former and latter halves as inconsistent. As Jonathan Enfield argues, "the consensus as to the novel's self-contradiction is strong enough that even its defenders carefully qualify their praise and note that Fitzgerald seemed deeply conflicted about the ethical status of his protagonist, Anthony Patch" (Enfield: 682).² Few scholars who deal with *Beautiful*, which seems to be apolitical with domestic storylines, regard and discuss it as a sociopolitical novel, though the centrality of the protagonists' fears of losing their physical and social superiority indicates that one cannot make sense of ideological implications in the novel without paying careful attention to these symptomatic depictions about racial anxiety. These social changes include significant historical features during and after World War I such as immigration, imperialism, industrialization, and the accompanying erosion of established gender roles and long-celebrated white Anglo-Saxon and Nordic superiority and identity. One can comprehend the politics of white American racial anxiety and fear of white racial loss in the novel by relocating this work in the social cultural context of the period of World War I and its aftermath.

Beautiful chronicles the relationship between Anthony Patch, a Harvard-educated aspiring aesthete, and his beautiful wife Gloria Patch, whose primary concern lies in love, money, and wealth: the protagonists seem to be preoccupied with how they can successfully inherit a fortune from Anthony's grandfather, Adam Patch. This novel also unfolds a meditation and condemnation of American society, in which the gloomy atmosphere of the era during and after World War I highlights the severe and tragic vision of the wasted lives of the principal characters. However, as the narrator tells readers at the end of the novel, Anthony is not thinking of his money. Rather, "[h]e was thinking of the hardship, the insufferable tribulations he had gone through" (448). Anthony emotionally and even sentimentally whispers to himself in an exaggeratedly tremulous voice, "It was a hard fight, but I didn't give up and I came through!" with tears running out of his eyes, as if he has experienced the brutality of war (449). This is when the interpretation of the novel requires us to reconsider what his "fight" is against. Though Anthony insists that he is exposed to "ruthless misery" by being penalized "for the mistakes of his youth," considering the content of the novel, it is far from being a "fight" or "ruthless misery" at all, and inevitably he gives the readers the impression that he is too naive and sentimental (which is totally

opposite from the image of the person formerly being portrayed as a national icon). Furthermore, the content of his fight and his self-punishment remains ambiguous and almost untold to us readers, or rather, in this paper's argument, the contradictions between what Anthony declares as victory at the end of the novel and what is narrated in the novel reflect Fitzgerald's ironic view against forging the universalizing ideology of the white American identity (448). Considering the protagonist's physical deterioration, his experience in the military training camp, and this novel's direct interpretation of World War I which entirely overshadows the novel, one should attend to its postwar values in society. Seen from this angle, Anthony and Gloria's insatiable pursuit of inheritance means more than the issue of money in this novel: it is ideologically concerned with the issue of genealogy that buttresses the whiteness system.

Moreover, as shall be seen later, once Anthony and Gloria are identified and epitomized as Nordic nationalized figures, his word "fight" and the chapter entitled "Civilization" ideologically resonate with each other and take on highly politically imbued significations in terms of class, race, and gender in the context of the white supremacy narrative. In *Beautiful*, the white American national identity is formed through race, class, and gender in the figuration of the protagonists Anthony and Gloria, based on the Nordic discourse. This becomes apparent especially when the body politics of the protagonists are highlighted through the ideology of eugenics and Nordicism. While they are represented as an ideal Nordic couple with vigorous, healthy and "clean" bodies, Anthony's body gradually degenerates as compared to the robust body of a rich Jewish character, Joseph Bloeckman. In this regard, Bloeckman functions as Anthony's foil from beginning to end, that is, as Anthony falls, Bloeckman rises financially and socially. This Jewish man, a parvenu who makes a career as a self-made movie entrepreneur, succeeds in society from poverty to richness achieving his version of the American Dream in the immigration/Americanization narrative. The focus of this paper leads to exploring the ideological functions in the contrasting descriptions of the abovementioned body politics by relocating them in the historical context of eugenics and Nordicism: how can we interpret the political signification of the protagonist Anthony's physical deterioration, which is sharply in contrast with the counter-narrative of Bloeckman in this context? Furthermore, critical attention is paid to the ideological significance of Anthony's loss of manliness, especially in the context of the historical facts of World War I. These questions are closely interlaced with what the ideological implications of Bloeckman changing his name to Blackman are after becoming successful in society.

In addition, this paper addresses the political meaning of Gloria's denial of

motherhood in terms of the idealized gender role by introducing the notion of “manifest domesticity,” and the political signification of the presence of Dorothy Raycroft, a working-class girl with whom Anthony has an affair. Although Gloria flatly refuses to become a mother in the first half of the novel, she is (unconsciously) forced to redefine herself as a mother in the latter half, which symbolically signifies the regeneration of Gloria as a nation’s mother. This ideological rewriting of national narrative, however, proves to be highly fragile and contingent on the exclusion of racial/ethnic others, paradoxically subversive and conformist at the same time. Amy Kaplan points out that the word domestic has a double meaning and that the ideology of conquest, colonialism, and expansionism was dependent on the complementary redefinition of the domestic and home (“Manifest.”). While the notion of domesticity in the nineteenth century signifies such binary oppositions as a public/private dichotomy regarding gender (men and women inhabit divided social terrains such as the market or political realm), “manifest domesticity” reflects reconceptualization of domesticity, in which domesticity is also opposed to the foreign. Both men and women are mobilized and imagined as “national allies” in opposition to the others and reunited in a national realm “to generate notions of the foreign against which the nation can be imagined as home” (Kaplan “Manifest” 582). In this logic of contradictory double forces, the nation, she contends, is infused with a sense of “at-homeness,” so that this ideally closed home/nation requires protection from the invasion of strangers. The national narrative can function, though unstably, as a homogenizing force to blur or silence otherwise chaotic elements within, in which those against whom the national narrative strives to protect and define itself and those who reject this homogenizing effect are regarded as threatening to others. In *Beautiful*, the presence of foreignness, in the form of Bloeckman/Blackman, signals the presence of the foreign as always already within the home. In the following pages, this paper traces the problematic effects of the “manifest domesticity” combined with the national narrative as a homogenizing force in relation to the effeminization/sentimentalization of Anthony and the formation of national manhood. Furthermore, once viewed as a domestic novel, *Beautiful* serves as a narrative of female self-discipline that focuses on a civilizing process in which a woman like Gloria plays the role of both savage and civilizer.

Even though this novel does not explicitly refer to the racial problem of the era, i.e., the problem of whiteness remains unquestioned and invisible, this novel still implicitly becomes an important locus for embodying the ambiguity of American racial identity and the challenge and ultimate impossibility of being white. The novel’s explicit claim, or, Anthony’s exclamation that “It was a hard fight, but I didn’t give up and I came through!”

on the last page, asserts itself to be interpreted as the novel representing Anthony's triumph over his "superiority" in terms of race, class, and gender. However, this claim is betrayed by the novel's own implied denials of white race supremacy by exposing the ambiguity of American racial identity and the ultimate impossibility of being white. Despite nativists' voices to reshape whiteness for the purpose of buttressing and protecting "authentic" white American identity, Fitzgerald delineates the complexity in which such whiteness ideologies fail to define who should be considered to represent white and who can be excluded from its scope. In so doing, rather than simply reinforcing the idea of the author as producer of a text inflected by the social values of the day, this study aims at highlighting the ways the dialectic of American whiteness is revealed through the representations of the struggle of the protagonist, asking us to rethink the stable appreciation of American whiteness with the portrayal of the resistance of racial and ethnic Others in the 1920s.

1: The Ideology of Eugenics and Nordicism

Beautiful is hinged on social and cultural paradigms of Nordicism and its fundamental idea, eugenics, in which, under the rubric of eugenic salvation of the white race and white American Identity, problems of a white man's ideals in term of race, class, and gender are exposed through references to the physical deterioration of Anthony. His loss of manliness and Gloria's refusal to become a mother herald a crisis and vulnerability of Nordic ideals buttressing the proper role of white women, the traditional patriarchal family, and white male superiority. Such concerns echo in *Beautiful*, which highlight the protagonist's effeminization and physical deterioration as a symptom of racial suicide in contrast to his rival Jewish character's social success and physical strength.

The characters are always caring about clean/dirty things, and such a dichotomy permeates *Beautiful*. The focus of this section is on discussing the political signification of so many aesthetic descriptions of beauty, cleanliness, and whiteness in this novel. The protagonist Anthony, who is the novel's partly autobiographical hero, is depicted in the section of "Past and Person of the Hero" as an intelligent and worthy member of the financial elite, living in a "clean" apartment kept by an English servant (12), which is completely free from the "stiffness, stuffiness, bareness, and decadence" of the lower classes (10-12). The text is abundant with these kinds of illustrations about him and Gloria: "One of those men devoid of the symmetry of feature essential to the Aryan ideal, he [Anthony] was yet, here and there, considered handsome—moreover, he was very clean in appearance and in reality, with that especial cleanness borrowed from beauty" (9); "Well

ordered and clean she [Gloria] was, with hair of an artificially rich gray; her large face sheltered weather-beaten blue eyes and was adorned with just the faintest white mustache” (39); “Always intensely skeptical of her sex, her judgments were now concerned with the question of whether women were or were not clean. By uncleanliness she meant a variety of things, a lack of pride, a lackness in fibre (sic) and, most of all, the unmistakable aura of promiscuity” (234-35); “She was clean, her features were small, irregular, but eloquent and appropriate to each other.” (325-26).³ Anthony (and Gloria is also implied in this category) is represented as “the Aryan ideal,” regarded as “handsome” and “very clean in appearance and in reality, with that especial cleanness borrowed from beauty” (10). In terms of “cleanliness,” the male/female protagonists of this novel take baths more frequently than any other character in Fitzgerald’s novels.

Anthony’s health, beauty, and cleanliness correspond to those of Gloria, who is described as a young woman recently arrived from Kansas City, and is later called “Nordic Ganymede” (106). When Anthony first meets Gloria, her physical traits are also emphasized. He portrays her as “dazzling—alight; it was agony to comprehend her beauty in a glance,” and “her hair, full of a heavenly glamour, was gay against the winter color of the room” (57). He goes on:

Anthony, sitting at one end of the sofa, examined her profile against the foreground of the lamp: the exquisite regularity of nose and upper lip, the chin, faintly decided, balanced beautifully on a rather short neck. On a photograph she must have been completely classical, almost cold—but the glow of her hair and cheeks, at once flushed and fragile, made her the most living person he had ever seen. (57-58)

She appears just like an ideal Nordic figure. To Anthony, “her personality was infinitely softer—she seemed so young, scarcely eighteen: her form under the tight sheath . . . was amazingly supple and slender, and her hands” were “small as a child’s hands should be,” who is a “female Methuselah,” a “timeless,” representative woman of the nation (61-62). Just like Anthony, her eyes have irises of the “most delicate and transparent bluish white” and she has “yellow ripples of hair” (57-61). He reiterates her beauty, emphasizing her marvelous freshness and honorable eyes (210). These features of Gloria’s confirm her right to belong to the “superior upper class,” and she, as well as Anthony, symbolizes the features of the well-balanced Nordic race.

It is worth noting the way in which the dichotomy between clean/dirty operates at a more general level, though most accounts of the novel are clear about what Anthony and Gloria care about, the inheritance of money. Their life is a (futile) battle with and for money. He has a considerable income that is “slightly under seven thousand a year, the interest on

money inherited from his mother” (12). He always enjoys his visits to his broker, and to those of “the big trust company building” which is clearly linked to “the great fortunes whose solidarity he respected” and “assured that he was adequately chaperoned by the hierarchy of finance” (12). When his grandfather dies, he is supposed to inherit a big fortune and is always thinking about it. Even though these two topics, wealth and health, seem to be unrelated with each other, these themes are closely interconnected in this novel, in that his class status is firmly endorsed by the cleanliness of his genealogy, which is validated by his right to his inheritance. In the latter part, there is a line which endorses this interpretation: “Well, all I say is that if a person comes from a good family they’re always nice people” (408). Thus, once one’s genealogy is verified as being “clean” in the context of eugenics, these words “clean” and “nice” vehemently begin to contend strong eugenic discourse and the person’s valid identity of the Nordic race. As Walter Benn Michaels insightfully points out, “‘nice’ has its pedigree; indeed pedigree is its pedigree” (27). Eugenic discourse does affect their self-fashioning process, which is emblazoned in the daily practices and habits and institutions of the world shown to us as something that validates one’s class supremacy from the beginning of the novel.

That Anthony is positioned as a paragon of a perfect Nordic man by adjectives like handsome and clean with beauty can also be extended to emphasize his racial supremacy. As the text unfolds, we learn that Anthony regards himself as a supreme physical specimen. In the description of Anthony’s physique, he adopts a posture demonstrating his manliness before taking his bath like “the tiger-skin man,” which is without doubt suggestive of Tarzan:

Stripped, and adopting an athletic posture like the tiger-skin man in the advertisement, he regarded himself with some satisfaction in the mirror, breaking off to dabble a tentative foot in the tub. Readjusting a faucet and indulging in a few preliminary grunts, he slid in. (17)

This masculine performance of Anthony’s is one typical example of what Judith Butler calls the identification of “a stylized repetition of acts,” of “bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds,” which signal how gender performativity can be required by the dominant discourse in a mundane way, but, at the same time, “constitutes the illusion of an abiding gendered self” (*Performative* 519).

The fundamental notions of a beautiful and healthy race lie in the discourse of eugenics, as exemplified by Anthony’s physical strength. During World War I, one of the aims of eugenic ideology was to restore and maintain the beauty and finally the health of the national body. In the discursive economy of eugenics which constitutes the core theory of “Nordicism,” health and beauty have been complicatedly interlaced with the matter of

individual identity and collective identity. What should be recalled here is that in constructing such an idealized figure, an image of classical beauty was utilized. As Sander Gilman asserts, all of the representative cultural economy of health and disease in the nineteenth and twentieth century inherently entails the discursive opposition between the beautiful and the ugly.⁴ Then, the adjective “beautiful” is discursively put adjacent to “ugly” when associated with “illnesses” that are “not only deviations from an absolute aesthetic norm, but that ‘disfigure’ the body politic through the ‘infection’ of the individual” (Gilman 54). The healthy and beautiful images were incorporated into manliness, Gilman insists, while ugliness had its wide implications from “illness, deformity, loss of function, ageing, malproportion, infection, risk and—all the categories that in medical thought defined deviancy from the healthy norm” (200). The ugly must be got rid of by “scientific” methods. Therefore the image of disease and depravity had been juxtaposed against the up-and-coming national stereotypes of manliness, visualized by sun-tanned Greek statues or brawny body-builders whose vigor and energy were harmoniously balanced with fine proportion.⁵ In the beginning of the text, Anthony nicely fits these gender-related idealizations of a man’s masculinity.

In addition, social authorities created a variety of fitness narratives surrounding individual and national bodies, whose ideologies were most explicit concerning the gender-related notions of health, virility and productivity. The best epitome is expressed in Theodore Roosevelt’s *The Strenuous Life*. In this essay, Roosevelt contends that man’s primary task is to save or protect (or expand) the nation through his masculinity, strength, and military might (young, heterosexual, healthy men like Anthony are given high esteem as the fittest men), while women are incorporated into imaginative narratives in a different manner from men. Women are often deprived of opportunities of participation in aspects of national matters (and some kinds of sporting and competitive activities available to young men), and what is treasured most about them in terms of national concern is their capability to reproduce as an imperial mother. Thus, men’s virility reflected these gender-related scripts for the production of health and strength through exercise and body development; it was important to promote the means for improving reproductive fitness and national strength. Besides, bodies could be the locus where people locate fears about losing respectability and homosexuality, bodily aesthetics (beauty/ugly), and the threat of disease or moral corruption. Thus, both individual male/female bodies were inscribed with nationalistic ideologies. Such anxieties around the “fixing” of sex/gender categories (and appropriate gender-related behavior at the early twentieth century) were heightened by the conviction that American as well as European society was degenerating to the point where it

faced a physical/moral decay.

From a historical standpoint, during World War I, such stereotypes of heroic figures are most frequently disseminated traversing various cultural fields. Fitzgerald's texts such as *Beautiful* and *The Great Gatsby* are also profoundly involved with such a discursive network, carrying the centripetal residue of Nordicism more extensively. To take an example, Ellsworth Huntington, an influential professor at Yale University and president of The American Eugenics Society, who studied problems concerning health from the point of the geographer and evolutionist, asserts in his *World Power and Evolution* (1919), Americans must "give tenfold or a hundred-fold greater weight to the great problem of eugenics" (19). Then he advocates:

Our country's children must have a good inheritance. The best inheritance and the finest training, however, are not enough. Between the two stands health. How many human ills arise because well-trained people with a good inheritance fail to do their part through ill health or nervousness? Think of the business failures, the labor troubles, the bitter heart-burnings, and the lapses into sin which occur because people's nerves are unstrung. (*World Power and Evolution* 19-20)

In fact, an editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1921 recommends that *The Passing of the Great Race* and *The Rising Tide of Color* are the two books that "everyone American should read."⁶ In such an atmosphere of prevalent eugenics discourse in society, the Nordic's body is deemed the white national one.

In these historical contexts, Anthony is portrayed as the man representing the Nordic race and white civilization with supremacy in terms of race, class, and gender. He is in his heyday representing his whole society "America" and the Aryan race. What he exemplifies is a typical nationalistic Nordic figure with a robust body in the eugenic ideology, which makes his white race the supreme one among others, while regarding other races like Blacks, Jews, or so-called "racial inferiors" as degenerative groups in order to endorse his racial superiority.

In order to deepen our understanding of the comprehensive ideology of the idealization of Anthony and Gloria, more profound focus needs to be placed on the concept of "Nordics" and eugenics. In the context of nationalistic/eugenic body-politics, male/female familial roles are connected with the maintenance of culture and civilization. The bodies of whites were not only seen as such, but also deemed as a symbol of national body politics: the issues of health/illness grafted the individual bodies to that of the nation, centering around the issues of race, class, and gender. The eugenic presuppositions supporting this beauty-cleanliness ideology had permeated their individual bodies, and

sought to keep idealized the beautiful, healthy, and clean national “body.” From the viewpoint of eugenics, Anthony’s physical features like his “sharp” nose and “his blue eyes” with charm and “intelligence” vividly demonstrate that he belongs to the “superior” race. Anthony seems to be fully exhibiting his manliness at the beginning of this text. The wholesome bodies of Anthony and Gloria are repeatedly described with admiration, which at the same time demonstrate Nordic nationalistic figure images. They are the incarnation of the idea, representing nostalgically-constructed homogenous America.

Nordicism is the ideology of white racial supremacy supported by medicine, psychoanalysis, and evolutionary theory, especially eugenics. American economist William Z. Ripley tried to define the Nordic race “scientifically,” and created a tripartite model: Teutonic (Northern Europe, the Nordics belong to this category), Alpine (Central Europe) and Mediterranean (Southern Europe). Eugenicists, especially Madison Grant, who is the author of *The Passing of the Great Race*, a book that ranked the “Nordic race” as superior to other European races and that constituted the backbone of the eugenics movement, later popularized the idea, claiming that the Nordic race would become a master race because of its innate superior capacity in terms of emotion, psychology, and intellectuality. In Grant’s framework about the theory of white apocalypse, based on the appropriation of popular evolutionists Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, racial and class superiority are inseparably intertwined, and that is why, Grant explains, the Nordics have comprised the aristocracy.⁷ According to Grant, in terms of anthropology, Americans are “Nordics” and belong to the classic European type. Those ideologies prevailed mainly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Western Europe and North America, leading to a major influence on Nazism. The traits of a Nordic man are “his great height and fair skin, his blond hair and blue eyes, and his ‘splendid fighting and moral qualities’” (Spiro 152).

However, against the backdrop of a massive influx of immigrants, an increasing number of blacks migrating to the northern states (characterized by the “negrophobia” of the 1910s, exemplified by D. W. Griffith’s film *Birth of a Nation* and the riots in St. Louis, Chicago, and elsewhere during the Great Migration), the menace of the Germans and the Bolshevik, and the mounting participation of women in society, which is symbolized by the New Woman ([“the ever present menace of ‘women’” (74)]), eugenicists worried about the collapse and disorder of the traditional codes of race, class, and gender. So they attempted to recreate national identity by reestablishing authority and reconstructing the social order. Advocates of eugenics expressed their concerns over tensions in social institutions that surfaced in the guise of the continued rising divorce rates, the declining birthrate among the white Anglo-Saxon race with higher rates among non-whites, and a soaring percentage of

young women who professed little desire to marry at all. They believed that the decline of the West has been intertwined with the rising tide of colored people and the accompanying result of racial mixture. Besides, in the fratricidal World War I, Nordics killed each other, resulting in the demographic decline of European Nordics (he calls it “class suicide on a gigantic scale” [Grant 231]).⁸ Unlike anthropologist Franz Boaz, who declaimed that the continued mixture of the races in the United States would have a beneficial genetic outcome, Grant contended that as far as the Nordics are concerned, miscegenation would definitely lead to racial extinction, though they are truly the master race (it should be remembered that Grant’s editor at Scribner’s was Maxwell Perkins, who discovered some of the most outstanding American writers such as Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, and F. Scott Fitzgerald). Even though Nordic Americans are strong in terms of genetics, their degeneration to a lower type always remains to be a possibility, because their evolution is more recent than the other races and hence their characters are still considered relatively unstable. Eugenicists contended that the biological traits of the weaker race would govern those of the superior race when amalgamation occurred. (For Grant, Nordicism has a “recessive” trait.⁹) Grant summarizes the tenet that characterizes the “higher races” as follows:

Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew. (18)

Thus, the Nordics remain to be an endangered species, all the more likely to become extinct because of the rising threat of miscegenation.¹⁰ While the era goes into the 1920s the latter part of *Beautiful* is set, and the eugenic fear against the downfall of the Nordic race reaches its peak. As such social fears against racial mixture intensify and the climate of racism is getting fierce, the racism that lurks in the text emerges explicitly in *Beautiful*. In order to prevent racial intermingling and reversion, eugenicists advocated social policies like anti-miscegenation, immigration restriction, and sterilization, which would curb the number of immigrants: they especially regarded wayward Nordic female sexuality as needing to be saved and protected from the miscegenation threat of racial/ethnic others (just as resonating in Gloria’s remarks that “Women soil easily . . . far more easily than men in *Beautiful*.”)¹¹ The sexual struggle and the racial struggle unfold hand in hand sharing the same metaphor of violation of the border. Social interaction and racial amalgamation between whites and blacks, especially between white women and black men, was definitely believed to result in

the destruction of traditional white civilization with its future generations dominated by “inferiors” with racial characteristics, and therefore it was imperative that social order which depended on maintaining the purity of the white race be restored.

Furthermore, these eugenic ideologies not only identify white female sexuality as threatened by racial/ethnic others drawing on the interdependent ideologies supporting both racial and sexual hierarchies, but gender issues are also deeply intermingled with racial issues in the white male fantasy on domestication and patriotism narratives. Eugenic ideologies emphasize the tight connection between women’s familial role and the maintenance of culture and civilization. Responding to changing social norms and gender roles, eugenicists utilized their “scientific” notions to manipulate race, class, and gender stereotypes to manufacture a social crisis that appeared to be solved through eugenic policies. Proponents of eugenics offered seemingly veritable scientific justification for traditional ideals, and provided both a positive belief system and convenient rationale for counteracting changes in social and gender norms.¹² Eugenicists feared that changing gender roles and the decline of traditional institutions contributed to a falling birth rate, further leading to disaster in the form of “racial suicide.” All of these factors boosted gender insecurities among white men, especially during the war, which made clear the vulnerability of white male physicality.¹³ Eugenicists cautioned that if white Nordic males fail to maintain their manly strength, they may find themselves to be feminized because of the social milieu of the masculinization of women, where women asked for their advancement into society.¹⁴ In other words, eugenic concerns about racial order originated from women’s new freedoms and changing gender roles.

In order to buttress the institution of the Nordic family, which corresponds to the bedrock upon which civilization relies, eugenicists encouraged middle- and upper-class Anglo-Saxon white women to marry, stay at home, and raise children. Eugenicists prescribed women’s public role as inseparable from their reproductive duties: they claimed that social stability relied on controlling women’s sexuality as a means of assuring that those women, as the mothers of an empire, are virtuous enough to raise virtuous children.¹⁵ Thus, the domestic issue of gender chaos takes up the ideology of imperialism in the nation-building context: anxieties over national identity in terms of race, class, and gender hovers around the national projects of raising good, white, middle- and upper-class Anglo-Saxon Nordic children. As Amy Kaplan succinctly puts it, “United States nation-building and empire-building” were intertwined “as historically conterminous and mutually defining” (“Manifest” 17).

Once defined as representing the national body, the bodies of Nordic individuals

commit to preserving and policing the boundary of imperial domesticity upon which the integrity of the white patriarchal family and the purity of the blood of Nordic members are founded in the anxiety-ridden narrative of white supremacy.¹⁶ Moreover, considering the critical achievements in terms of race, class, gender, nation, and empire in the last few decades, it becomes significant to reconsider the notion of domesticity (one shall see the discussion of “manifest domesticity” in the case of Gloria in section 4 of this paper) and the complex relationship between domesticity and national narrative. As Kaplan argues, “international relations reciprocally shape a dominant imperial culture at home, and . . . imperial relations are enacted and contested within the nation” (“Left Alone with America” 14). The connection of the two seemingly separate domains (individual/national body, domesticity/politics) hinges on something outside and foreign against which they both define and constitute themselves. Under the ideological rubric of “manifest domesticity,” the boundary erected between domestic and foreign is ever-shifting, blurred and contingent, and is vaguely and fragilely sustained, always constituting the hegemonic dynamics of contesting and redefining itself. The domestic becomes an indeterminate and highly politicized space under constant negotiations of conflicts among different groups at home and overseas over what should be incorporated into and repudiated from the national body.

Even though words like “empire” or “nation-building” do not explicitly appear in *Beautiful*, and Kaplan mainly discusses literary works around the time of the intensive imperialist expansion by showing conflicts over the national narrative like Nordicism (where the foreign/savage were always envisioned to be lurking at the boundary of home/abroad), Fitzgerald demonstrates and emphasizes the lingering importance of the implied and shadowy role of American imperialism and empire by demarcating national identity in the early twentieth century.¹⁷ The description of the vicissitude of a Nordic family and its struggle for inheritance becomes a vehicle with which the author can illustrate the adhesive hegemonic struggle in constructing, reshaping, and problematizing dominant national narratives. In this sense, domesticity, as a hegemonic discourse, serves as always rewriting and challenging the meanings of domestic and foreign, extending or contracting the boundaries of home/nation, and its accompanying national identity.¹⁸ Thus, in this hegemonic struggle of “manifest domesticity,” the traditional idea of national manhood is rewritten into a more sentimentalized and feminized one. Male anxiety over their effeminization and white women’s sexuality (including their changing gender roles and their increasing sexual agency and independence) vividly demonstrate how the superiority of white civilization was predicated on the integrity of the white patriarchal family/domesticity and the purity of the blood of its members.

Historians have vehemently explored the history of the development of “manliness” and “masculinities,” especially since the 1990s, providing the central intellectual and theoretical frameworks, and methodologies. As to manliness and civilization, whose connotation also appears in one chapter of *Beautiful* as “A Matter of Civilization,” Gail Bederman persuasively documents in *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, the Victorian ideal of “manliness” with its identification of proper manhood with “sexual self-restraint, a powerful will, a strong character” gradually transformed into a glorification of “masculinity.” This is a term which didn’t begin to take on “aggressiveness, physical force, and male sexuality” until late in the nineteenth century (18-19). In *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, Mosse deals with the history of masculine stereotypes and their political consequences by examining the process of their formations in eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century Germany, with limited mention to French, English, Italian, and U.S. comparisons. Drawing on documents of Greek sculpture, art, postwar music and movies, and on the studies of the history of dueling, gymnastics, military training, and war, Mosse traces the evolution of the idea of manliness and scrutinizes the historicity of the notions of manliness and masculinity emergent in racism, decadence, homophobia, nationalism, fascism, socialism, and honor codes.¹⁹ A common set of virtues such as honor, courage, fairness, and mercy are positively ascribed to the ideal masculine character grounded in Hellenic ideals of masculine beauty, while negative terms like ugly, unhealthy, and unmanly masculinities are attributed to social others’ bodies such as Gypsies, homosexuals, mental idiots, Jews, and other marginal groups.²⁰ The ideal male body functioned as the glue that held modern society together, symbolizing a healthy and well-ordered society. In Mosse’s analysis, modern masculinity resisted any significant modification and was strengthened by World War I, even though it confronted social and political challenges from sexology, decadence, feminism, homosexual subcultures, and workforce changes, which threatened to blur traditional gender boundaries. He investigated the history of masculinity based on social and cultural fields, not psychology. Similarly, this paper’s concern is oriented toward a bodily representation of masculinity tracing historical conceptions of beauty, rather than one with the phallus as the central conveyor of meaning in an ahistorical symbolic order. Thus, in Mosse’s history of modern masculinity, “woman” is not the opposite term, but rather other men who are effeminate, decadent, homosexual, and Jewish are. His frame of reference of race, sexuality, and nationality in representations of the male body, along with Bederman’s study, offers a comprehensive corrective to the previous studies that regarded gender as the only locus of meaning in those representations and those

bodies.

In terms of “civilization,” Bederman clarifies that it was variable in its meaning and application, interweaving race, gender, and millennialism as staple components. In the context of the late nineteenth century’s popularized Darwinism, Bederman argues, civilization denoted a racial connotation: it signified not only “the West” or “industrially advanced societies” but also “a precise stage in human racial evolution—the one following the more primitive stages of ‘savagery’ and ‘barbarism.’” In this notion, human races evolved from wild savagery through violent barbarism, to intelligent and advanced civilization. Only white races, however, had evolved to the civilized stage. Civilization takes on a racial trait exclusively inherited by Anglo-Saxons and other “advanced” white races.²¹ Moreover, in these civilized races, civilized women are defined as “delicate, spiritual, dedicated to the home,” while civilized men with “self-controlled” characters are firm in character and “protectors of women and children.” In sharp contrast, “gender differences among savages seemed to be blurred.” Savage women are aggressive; they carry heavy burdens like men, and do all kinds of masculine labor, whereas savage men are emotional, unable to restrain their passions, and are irresponsible husbands and fathers. Thus, through the discourse of civilization, the declared sexual differences reflect middle class separate gender roles and their codes.²²

Finally, the discourse of civilization bridges white male dominance with “a Darwinist version of Protestant millennialism” (25-26).²³ Bederman explains:

Discourses of civilization gave millennialism a Darwinian mechanism. Instead of God working in history to perfect the world, believers in civilization described evolution working in history to perfect the world. Instead of Christians battling infidels, they envisioned superior races outsurviving inferior races. (26)

After the wide reception of Darwin’s theory of evolution, American Protestants who acknowledged Darwinism but could not give up the belief that they were “part of a cosmic plan to perfect the world,” found in civilization a way to reconcile “the seemingly contradictory implications of Darwinism and Protestant millennialism” (26). The most civilized races would be perfected through the evolution of the most perfect man and woman. Combined with racial evolution and gender specialization, the hegemonic discourse of civilization with millennialism is tightly harnessed to the white male supremacy narrative. Ideologies of “manliness” were interwoven with ideologies of civilization, especially in that it was something not intrinsic to men but something to be achieved and could only be achieved by the most civilized men.

In this reciprocal context of manliness and civilization, the ideology of eugenics

and Nordicism combined with the notion of “manifest domesticity” postulates the protagonists Anthony and Gloria as the ideal Nordic couple, emphasizing their physical beauty as the superior status symbol of class, race, and ethnicity. Their physical strength not only belongs to them as individuals but to the national body politics: they are the couple who symbolizes the healthy national body on which the white civilization is founded. As shall be seen in the next part, however, the physical degeneration of Anthony leads him to the “damned” place in sharp contrast with the counter-narrative of Bloeckman soaring up in society.

2: Jews, the Poor, Women, Immigrants and “Race Suicide”

The theory that races are virtually equal in capacity leads to such monumental follies as lining the valleys of the South with the bones of half a million picked whites in order to improve the conditions of four million unpicked blacks.

———Edward A. Ross (715)

Žižek points out that what seems to be an interruption to “society’s full identity with itself” actually serves as “its positive condition.” The fantasized illusion of society as “consistent, harmonious whole” is made possible through the ideological process of “transposing onto the Jew the role of the foreign body which introduces in the social organism designation and antagonism” (90). What is crucial in Žižek’s discussion lies in the fantasy-image or illusionary coherence which emanates from the dichotomy between the foreign/savage and the domestic/civilized. On this point, Žižek’s argument echoes with Kaplan’s assertion that the ideology of “manifest domesticity” not only monitors the borders between the domestic and the foreign but also demarcates “traces of the savage within itself” (Kaplan “Manifest” 582). In contrast to clean and beautiful impressions disseminated in the text, Fitzgerald employs dirty and ugly ones in illustrating the immigrants or hyphenated Americans. They are utilized to underscore dirty, unhealthy, and ugly people and things with uncomfortable impressions dispersed throughout the text. The following passage serves as an example which involves negative images toward the Jew:

Two young Jewish men passed him, talking in loud voices and craning their necks here and there in fatuous supercilious glances. They were dressed in suits of the exaggerated tightness then semi-fashionable; their turnover collars were notched at the Adam’s apple; they wore gray spats and carried gray gloves on their cane handles. (25)

Another example can be found in the descriptions of Times Square. As Anthony was going home through city areas, “[f]aces swirled about him, a kaleidoscope of girls, ugly, ugly,

ugly as sin—too fat, too lean, yet floating upon this autumn air as upon their own warm and passionate breaths poured out into the night” (31-33). Anthony and Gloria’s “superior” physical traits bear sharp contrast with those of other races. Here ill-balanced malproportions of their body traits are highlighted through such repetitive adjectives as “fat,” “too lean,” and “ugly.” On top of that, we are given another example which depicts the district of supposedly Jewish immigrants: “[t]hrough the dark light of the enclosed train-sheds their glances stretched across a hysterical area, foul with yellow sobbing and the smells of poor women” (309). Thus, we can see that the dichotomies of healthy/unhealthy, beauty/ugliness, and cleanliness/dirtiness (which involves good smell/bad smell) are utilized when Fitzgerald articulates the identity of classic and ethnic “others.”²⁴

Critics like Louis Harap, John Higham, Bram Dijkstra, and Michaels have already shown in full detail the prevailing anti-Semitism or ambivalence toward the Jew in their works. For example, Harap points out that the reason anti-Semitism was so dominant can be found “in the economic and ideological pressures of the decade” (61). The economic depression during 1920-1923, which followed the disputes over national peace negotiations, he states, gave “disillusionment” to an American people who were brought up in the prosperous climate of idealism in the progressive era. The Bolshevik Revolution brought “additional stimulus to an already existing Jew hatred,” and it provoked a “red scare with a wholesale round-up of radicals, especially the foreign-born, in Palmer Raids of 1920” (Harap 61). Higham contends, “the Jew offers the most concrete symbol of foreign radicalism,” and it was believed that all of the Jewish immigrants would become soldiers “in the revolutionary army assembling in America” in the streets of New York (279). A flood of Jewish immigrants augmented such a circumstance for the worse, resulting in the Immigration Restriction Act in 1924. Moreover, there was an anti-Semitic doctrine of the Ku Klux Klan, which was revived in 1915, setting its target as Blacks, Catholics, and Jews that accelerated its activities.

Concerning the attitudes of “the major” writers toward the Jew, Harap contends that even though anti-Semitic attitudes can be seen among them, they often “fluctuate in their attitudes,” are sometimes “ambivalent,” or “change over time.” He explains that “[s]uch changes are usually the effect of external events in society as a whole . . . when the horror of Nazism bore down on them” (63). Even though Harap tends to regard the shared notion of anti-Semitism among “major” writers as a socially reflected one, not as a reciprocally influencing one, his suggestion has its validity. It is Dijkstra’s *Evil Sisters* that clearly demonstrates that the close relationship between iconography of misogyny and anti-Semitism is in a distorted way depicted in popular and literary fiction, from Bram

Stoker's *Dracula* to the novels of Conrad, Faulkner, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald.²⁵ The racist imagery of high and popular culture in the 20th century, according to Dijkstra, portrayed the Jew as an economic predator and the sexual woman as a "consumer" of the masculinity of Nordica males, that is, a regressive, primitive force whose sexuality could eventually undermine and destroy the social order, the supremacy of the white male. In the ideology of white supremacy narrative in the early 20th-century, by the implied homologues of the Jew and the sexual woman, the Jew exemplified the very symbol of the contamination of Aryan women, a great menace to Aryan purity.

Bloeckman, in the earlier part of the text, ardently attempts to get accustomed to the upper-class American manners.

Born in Munich he had begun his American career as a peanut vender with a traveling circus. At eighteen he was a side show ballyhoo; later, the manager of the side show, and, soon after, the proprietor of a second-class vaudeville house. Just when the moving picture had passed out of the stage of a curiosity and become a promising industry he was an ambitious young man of twenty-six with some money to invest, nagging financial ambitions and a good working knowledge of the popular show business. That had been nine years before. (96-97)

Bloeckman's success helps him move from poor to rich, and subsequently he changes his name from Bloeckman to Blackman. He has achieved the American dream, just like David Levinsky in Abraham Cahan's biographical novel. What Bloeckman is longing for is Anthony's idealized figure, that is, Anthony's idealized Americanness. The characterization of Bloeckman parallels a sort of composite history of a number of European immigrants: among them, Jews like Bloeckman get into the movie industry, when "movies still bore the stigma of low-class amusement" and "became prosperous as the movies attracted larger and more affluent audiences" (Enfield 675). Though Bloeckman is a man with dignity and pride, who has already succeeded in business, in order to take Anthony's place, he tries hard to assimilate into New York's WASP society. His attempt to escape the status of being an outsider to American history and traditions makes his foreignness clear, especially when he endeavors to adjust his habits and behavior to appear completely American at a dinner party. It is even more distinctively articulated in the depiction of Bloeckman's attempt to be an exemplary American, which is portrayed in his first meeting with Anthony at the dinner party. Bloeckman apparently behaves in a good American manner, having knowledge of what it means to be an "American" with consciousness. Therefore he can easily identify Anthony as a grandson of Adam Patch, whom Bloeckman pronounces to be "a fine example of an American." The narrator announces with an air of criticism:

Bloeckman looked casually about him, his eyes resting critically on the ceiling and then passing

lower. His expression combined that of a Middle Western farmer appraising his wheat crop and that of an actor wondering whether he is observed—the public manner of all good Americans. As he finished his survey he turned back quickly to the reticent trio, determined to strike to their very heart and core. (94)

Anthony's "Americanness" conversely highlights Bloeckman's efforts to be a good American. Thus, the text gradually and in a symbolic way assumes an air of conflict between Anthony/Gloria's Nordics and other races competing for the two types of "true" Americanness. One type is exemplified by Anthony's white Nordic "Americanness," and the other is that obtained by newly-arriving persons after naturalization politics. To borrow Michaels's phrases, "it is only this transformation of identity into the object of desire as well as its source that will make the dramas of nativism—the defense of identity, its loss, its repudiation, its recovery—possible" (3). In this regard, Bloeckman threatens to transgress the demarcation line of Americanness by completely erasing his cultural peculiarity and assimilating into American society.

Typically bearing contrast with the descriptions of Nordic Anthony and Gloria's bodies, the descriptions of Bloeckman's body are at first symbolically associated with that of "inferior" immigrants, as if to remind us of the fact that he has an immigrant pedigree. To Bloeckman and those around him, Anthony says to himself, "Boiled looking! Ought to be shoved back in the oven; just one more minute would do it." While depicting Anthony and Gloria with such adjectives as healthy, beautiful, and clean, the narrator links the body of Bloeckman with those of other immigrants by emphasizing how they are "red," "ugly," and mal-proportioned.

Thus, the body can be referred to as a cultural situation, the field of ideological possibilities both received and reinterpreted, where a power-relationship could be explicit through reading phrases upon the bodies as inscribed discursive traces.²⁶ The body of Bloeckman (who is a hyphenated American), immigrants, and those who live in slums are all categorized at once, regarded as having ugly (against beautiful), unclean (against clean), and unfit (against fit) traits. Therefore, the adjective "clean" involves not only the meaning of hygiene itself, but also racial hygiene along with eugenic ideology determining who is the most fit, and who should survive in America to maintain the wholesome civilization.²⁷

3: Decline of the Nordic Race and the Ambiguity of American Racial Identity

To create souls in men, to create fine happiness and fine despair
she must remain deeply proud—proud to be inviolate, proud
also to be melting, to be passionate and possessed.

———*The Beautiful and Damned* (392)

Gradually, as the text proceeds, these apparently perfect Nordics get closer to a familial downfall. As a way to regenerate Anthony (as the symbol of the Nordic race), Fitzgerald sends him to the army, the ultimate emblem of loyalty. In the latter part of the text, Bloeckman's rise parallels and, indeed, represents Anthony's decline: Anthony's and Bloeckman's social places definitely come to be exchanged. Symbolically, Bloeckman changes his name officially to "Blackman," and succeeds in becoming "American." We learn that he has fit well into American society. In contrast, Anthony assumes an air of deterioration on a financial, spiritual, and physical level, which signifies nothing but his ("superior" Nordic races') degeneration in the context of eugenics. The Nordic family in the text, upon which white supremacy was founded, is gradually declining.

As Daniel Itzkovitz contends, in twentieth century America, Jews were forced to be categorized in a minor group by eugenics, thereby making the Jew's position in society ambiguous: "American but foreign; white but racially other," which is also seen in the case of Leo Frank (177). Because of their vague racial position, the Jews were considered to posit a threat to the white supremacy and white male American national identity.²⁸ American national identity, thus, can be considered as the hegemonic site of competing ideologies. It is this complexity and instability of the site of conflicting discourses that enables resistance against hegemonic power to be possible. It divided white races into the tripartite classification: Nordic, Alpines, and Mediterraneans in descending order (i.e., Italians, Portuguese, and Jews). The last race was considered as inferior stock that constituted a twofold threat to the United States.

What is more crucial is the absent presence of blacks in the form of Bloeckman's name change, which signals the text's concern over whiteness that moves beyond the binary treatment of racial framework, black/white.²⁹ Seemingly, changing his name is just an example of his assimilation, yet, considering the words of Toni Morrison, "Even, and especially, when American texts are not 'about' Africanist presences or characters or narrative or idiom, the shadow hovers in implication, in sign, in line of demarcation" (46-47), black people's presence is well implied in the form of Jewish/Black. This novel can be interpreted not only as a conflict between Nordics and assimilated Jews, but as one between Nordics and racial others like blacks along with the text's and the nation's

obsession with American whiteness. Furthermore, by hinting at Bloeckman's "blackness," this novel concerns itself with the problem of racial passing (just as crystallized into Gatsby's ambiguous racial identity in *The Great Gatsby*) and racial miscegenation. As a symbol of social success along the Americanization narrative, this novel suggests that a b(B)lackman could be regarded as a national symbol after the assimilation, with the gradual erosion of whiteness as the touchstone of what it means to be American. He assumes the part of a racial other by approaching Gloria in the context of Nordic ideology, which simultaneously makes Gloria take up the role which introduces "savageness" into the home/nation.

Anthony's degeneration first manifests itself in the form of physical deterioration, and it serves as physical thresholds, which problematizes the postulated relationship between exterior and interior: the home and the Nordic national identity become fragile and threatened from within and without by the foreign forces in the form of the symbolic racial/ethnic transgressor of Bloeckmen. To paraphrase Butler, Anthony can no longer behave as an idealized national icon, and because of the possibility of a failure to repeat his expected part, "a deformity, or a parodic repetition that exposes the phantasmatic effect of abiding identity as a politically tenuous construction," the possibilities of transformation of or resistance against national narrative can "be found precisely in the arbitrary relation between such acts" (*GT* 179). This novel then explores the breakdown of the boundaries between internal and external domains, between the domestic and the foreign, as the Nordic couple struggle to renegotiate and stabilize these spaces.³⁰ In the latter part of the text, Anthony's beautiful body that symbolizes his superiority is demonstrating symptoms of degeneracy: "He was heavier now, his stomach was a limp weight against his belt; his flesh had softened and expanded" (405-6). The narrator tells us that "[h]e was thirty-two and his mind was a bleak and disordered wreck," and that his eyes, a definite mark of superior Nordicism, are "blood-shot," and "eyes that had once been a peep, clear blue, that were weak now, strained, and half-ruined." His once healthy-looking cheeks are now "pale" and "paler under two days growth of beard" (408). When he is asked why he says such awful things and is told "You talk as if you and Gloria were in the middle classes," Anthony just replies, "Why pretend we're not? I hate people who claim to be great aristocrats when they can't even keep up the appearances of it" (405-6). It is quite different from his former idealized Nordic beautiful and well balanced figure:

Turning about from the window he faced his reflection in the mirror, contemplating dejectedly the wan, pasty face, the eyes with their crisscross of lines like shreds of dried blood, the stooped and flabby figure whose very sag was a document in lethargy. He was thirty-three—he looked

forty. Well, things would be different. (444)³¹

Muriel even compares the couple to people in the slums. Anthony refutes her and contends that she “mustn’t talk like a lady slum worker even if you are visiting the lower middle-classes” (407). Here Anthony’s physical and mental degeneration reaches its peak: “Anthony became physically weaker” (351). As a consequence of this, he is forced to resign from his last club with some regret owing to his lack of money. Instead, he goes out with a man depicted as “a hairless ape” (414-16). His class and gender degeneration implies stark reference to racial degeneration as a symbol of whiteness.

While Bloeckman has risen from his poor career to a rich one, Anthony and Gloria begin to sink down financially, spiritually, and physically. It becomes completely obvious how dramatically Anthony’s and Bloeckman’s roles change in the course of the novel. When Anthony later meets him in the train, he has completely changed:

[H]is tone amplified the grandeur of the word. It seems to Anthony that during the last year Bloeckman had grown tremendously in dignity. The boiled looking was gone, he seemed ‘done’ at last. In addition he was no longer overdressed. The inappropriate facetiousness he had affected in ties had given way to a sturdy dark pattern, and his right hand, which had formerly displayed two heavy rings, was now innocent of ornament and even without the raw glow of a manicure. (207)

Thus, it is revealed to us that his economic success enables Bloeckman to socially jump beyond the boundary of class, which gives Anthony all the more anxiety. Though at the outset, Bloeckman’s kinship with other poor immigrants is stressed, he has completely changed himself into an “American.” He is “a well-conditioned man of forty-five,” having his body trained “through exercise every day” (437) with an air of elegance which Anthony and Gloria once carried themselves:

The process of general *refinement* was still *in progress*—always he dressed a little better, his *intonation* was mellower, and in his *manner* there was perceptibly *more assurance* that the fine things of the world were his by a natural and inalienable right. He called at the apartment [of Anthony and Gloria’s], remained only an hour, during which he talked chiefly of the war, and left telling them he was coming again. (305, emphasis added)

He fits well with the American style, and is no longer an “alien” man. When Gloria meets him after a long interval, he is “a dark suave gentleman, gracefully engaged in the middle forties, who greeted her with courteous warmth and told her she had not changed a bit in three years” (397-8). Gradually the Jew takes place of the idealistic Nordic with his healthy and strong body. It is as if he is the superior person in terms of eugenics.

Bloeckman’s “transgression” is not limited to just class boundary. He once

belonged to the poor-class, whose living conditions could have easily been a target of urban tourism. After being naturalized, however, he has completely lost his cultural inheritances. It means that his identity cannot be established by cultural criterion any longer, which is once validated by his “contribution” to allegedly vigorous, colorful, and culturally distinctive aspects of American life.³² Once such a cultural qualification has been discarded, Bloeckman’s identity has to be articulated exclusively in terms of race. It is elucidated that the prescription of one’s identity is displaced from cultural construction to a racial one. Michaels states, the racism in the twenties has changed the way of prescribing one’s identity from a culturally constructed identity to a racially constructed one, from “what one does” to “what one is.”³³ He, with the erased shadow of blackman (Blackman), occupies the position of “racial others,” because he is about to transgress the boundary of race, too. Then, the identity of Bloeckman is viewed in terms of race, deemed as threatening the wholesome White community through associating with Nordic women. What is silently cautioned here is that Nordic women’s social interactions with eugenically degenerative persons might cause a deterioration of white civilization. Even though the narrator of the text never tells its primary concern (racial purity) directly and explicitly, it nonetheless implicitly endeavors to reinforce the (apparently) lost social order all the more strictly by enthusiastically and persistently narrating an episode of the love affair between Gloria and Bloeckman. He was once a rival of Anthony when he was courting Gloria, and even after their marriage, Bloeckman has several associations with Gloria. The novel, when seen from the viewpoint of eugenics and Nordicism, implicitly indicates that America is in social crisis of the possibility of racial mixture.

Then, a crucial moment comes for their social conflicts. Anthony, who is “disgustingly and insultingly” drunk, pays a visit to Bloeckman to ask for money and help. He finds him at Bloeckman’s private club, where Anthony affronts him, blaming him for failing to prepare a desirable role for Gloria in the movie in which she wanted to appear. He claims “[f]irs’ place, my wife wants nothin’ whatever do with you. Never did. Un’erstand me” (436). Anthony’s language has receded into one that is less fluent than that of Bloeckman’s, no matter how we take his drunkenness into consideration. His English seems a little similar to that of “unfit” immigrants broken English. When Anthony attempts to proclaim “you Goddam Jew” for the second time, masculine Bloeckman “struck out” at Anthony “with all the strength in the arm,” until Anthony “cracked up against the staircase.” Even though Anthony comes to himself and makes “a wild drunken swing at his opponent,” Bloeckman bashes him “twice in the face with two swift smashing jabs.” Anthony “gave a little grunt and toppled over onto the green plush carpet, finding, as he fell, that his mouth

was full of blood and seemed oddly loose in front” (436-7). After that, a staff of the hotel, who is “a small man with a pockmarked face,” drags him (calling him a “bum”) toward the door, and the “bum” is “propelled violently to the sidewalk, where he landed on his hands and knees with a grotesque slapping sound and rolled over slowly onto his side” (436-7). On top of that, a bulky doorman prods him with a large foot, when Anthony lies there for a while with a piercing pain in his stomach. Anthony’s hurt body and his position in the street after having been thrown out of the party symbolically indicates that the stable social position of the Nordic heroic figure in America is subversively displaced by the hyphenated Americans. Bloeckman’s savage and virile violence within the structured narrative of “manifest domesticity” is viewed as necessary bravery as a “soldier,” which is sanctioned in the name of the national struggle for existence. Violence symbolizes manliness, and this violence as a barbarian virtue is the strength which is what Theodore Roosevelt believes is necessary for regenerating American national manhood in his *The Strenuous Life*. As Kaplan suggests in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U. S. Culture*, in the historical romance works by Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane, the disembodied male characters—in contrast to masculine identity which is conceived as embodied in the muscular robust physique, disembodied through the domestic threats on his identity—is given a chance to regenerate into something of a virile “Anglo-Saxonism” in imperial adventures abroad in the context of U.S. imperialism which is constituted in a hegemonic interaction of the foreign and domestic.³⁴ But there is no hope left for Anthony’s regeneration.

Indeed, *Beautiful* represents a young immigrant man’s entry into assimilation with this Bloeck(Black)man, who can be viewed as an exemplary model of assimilation in European American immigrant history. However, after reading the conflict between the idealized Nordic man and the assimilated immigrant, the role of Bloeckman needs to be reinterpreted in the imperialist stance as revealing how the dominant national identity is forged through the dynamic of in(ex)clusive ideology. By implying that the naturalized Bloekman could be a blackman, the text exposes that the articulation of assimilation is much more complicated than the reading which just regards Anthony as the epitome of a national symbol. Described in a decade when nativist criticism of immigrants was at its culmination, *Beautiful* attempts to make a space for immigrant lives within the national imagination, providing many contradictions in terms of race, which emerged with the gradual absorption of the immigrant into the melting pot. In the process of characterizing American national identity symbolized by Anthony and Gloria, the text provides readers with a new perspective on the nation that is overlooked by critics’ interpretation of *Beautiful*

as being a novel portraying the decline of the West.

In the textual context, in which the underlying flow of the racial/sexual ideology of anti-miscegenation turns out to be explicit, one has to be aware that the more the sexuality of women and the text's concern with sex is repressed from it, the more it becomes apparent as the primary concern for the text. The sexuality of women, through which "inferior" races might have been introduced into their society and have degenerated their wholesome race, comes to be regarded as something to be protected against social decline.³⁵ In an atmosphere full of fear of the downfall of the Nordic race, the social threat of hyphenated Americans intensifies because there is a possibility of racial mixture. Such fears are accelerated by the "collectivist" humanism announced in *Beautiful Anthony's* acquaintance Maury Noble:

Man was beginning a grotesque and bewildered fight with nature—nature, that by the divine and magnificent accident had brought us to where we could fly in her face. She had invented ways to rid the race of the inferior and thus give the remainder strength to fill her higher—or, let us say, her more amusing—though still unconscious and accidental intentions. And, actuated by the highest gifts of the enlightenment, we were seeking to circumvent her. In this republic I saw the black beginning to mingle with the white—in Europe there was taking place an economic catastrophe to save three or four diseased and wretchedly governed races from the one mastery that might organize them for material prosperity. (255)

According to Noble's Nordicism, Bloeckman/Blackman has not only lost his own cultural peculiarity as announced in the former part of the novel, but he is transgressing the boundary between black/white racial categories. His unstable and ambiguous racial position as a Jew comes to be a threat in the eugenic notion of keeping America "clean," that is, a homogeneous America especially during the 1920s. The relationship between Gloria and Bloeckman as a racialized other must be interrupted by resorting to any method, which otherwise will cause an ominous racial mixture.

4: The Decline of Motherhood in the Ideology of "Manifest Domesticity"

[A] subject only remains a subject through a reiteration or rearticulation of itself as a subject, and this dependency of the subject on repetition for coherence may constitute that subject's incoherence, its incomplete character. The repetition, or, better, iterability thus becomes the non-place of subversion, the possibility of a re-embodying of the subjectivating norm that can redirect its normativity.

———Judith Butler *The Psychic Life of Power* (99).

It seems that, at the beginning of the text, Gloria belongs to the upper class——she was young, “clean,” and “beautiful.” But in the latter part, Gloria, a flapper, comes to show her degenerative aspects from the dominant discourse: Gloria is seen as “unclean” by a woman observing her, as if she belongs to the lower class of immigrants (448). Her natural kinship to “inferiors” and her unstable sexuality are focused and contradictory aspects that go against the superior Nordic traits Gloria had, which marches along with Gloria’s denial of motherhood and femininity. In her diary, she proclaims: “I refuse to dedicate my life to posterity. Surely one owes as much to the current generation as to one’s unwanted children. What a fate—to grow rotund and unseemly, to lose my self-love, to think in terms of milk, oatmeal, nurse, diapers. . .” (147). In this excerpt, “posterity” means not only her individual posterity, but as we have seen so far, it directly links to that of the Nordic race. Gloria always talks about her legs and her skin just “as a very charming child might talk.” Anthony notices that “[s]he was obviously interested, in a state of almost laughable self-absorption” in a rather childish way (60). She hates the idea of getting mature and especially of “[g]etting married,” she doesn’t “want to have responsibility and a lot of children to take care of” and denies her “task” as a member of the Nordic race (64). She would not even give up smoking in spite of Anthony’s advice that if she keeps smoking, she would lose her pretty complexion. She insists that she hates “reformers, especially the sort who try to reform” or tame her (59-64). With these anti-feminine traits developing, she denies her femaleness, that is, especially motherhood, and evidently she has broken out of old traditional social norms. Soon after this conversation, it is stated that she has no intention of being a mother. Blaming Gloria for her rejection of motherhood has a serious meaning in the context of eugenics, which echoes what Huntington remarks as follows:

The lamentable and most ominous failure of the more competent parts of the community to reproduce themselves and maintain their proportion among the general population is due in part at least to the weakened physique which results from a life of ease and luxury, especially among women. (*The Character of Races* 20)

It is evident from this quote that the sexuality of women is not only regarded as belonging to individuals but also to the nation or empire as part of “manifest domesticity.” In imperialist projects, as Kaplan has most clearly articulated about the linked discourse of home and empire, “domestic” has a double meaning; not only does it connect the familial household to the nation, but it also envisions both of them against everything “outside the geographic and conceptual border of the home.” The ideology effected by domestic policy becomes important only in its interwoven relationship to foreign policy, and “uncoupled from the foreign, national issues are never labeled domestic” (“Manifest” 581-82).³⁶

Though the idea of domesticity in the nineteenth century refers to separate spheres in terms of gender (men and women inhabit divided social terrains such as the market or political realms), “manifest domesticity” reflects the reconceptualization of domesticity, in which domesticity is opposed to the foreign and both men and women are considered as “national allies” in opposition to the alien and reunited in a national realm “to generate notions of the foreign against which the nation can be imagined as home” (Kaplan “Manifest” 582). In the logic of imperialistic/domestic ideology, “[t]he determining division is not gender but racial demarcations of otherness.” By regarding “domesticity not as a static condition but as the process of domestication,” the boundary between the domestic and foreign is deconstructed, and domestic is closely interlaced with imperial movement of civilizing.³⁷ Kaplan writes,

the conditions of domesticity often become markers that distinguish civilization from savagery. Through the process of domestication, the home contains within itself those wild or foreign elements that must be tamed; domesticity not only monitors the borders between the civilized and the savage but also regulates traces of the savage within itself. (“Manifest” 582)

Thus, discourses of domesticity conceptually and geographically serve to advance the imperial/nationalist goal of manifest destiny by disciplining racialized others/the foreign and consolidating dominant national narratives. Gloria even notes in her diary: “was it wrong to make Bloeckman love me? Because I did really make him” (147). At a cheap bar, she even states “I belong here” twice and “I’m like these people,” declaring her close kinship to those of the lower classes despite her Nordic racial identity (72-73). The refusal to accept motherhood by Gloria and social advancement of Bloeckman/Blackman epitomize the instabilities and incongruities of “manifest domesticity,” showing how they are located at the intersection of several conflicting cultural, racial, and gender axes. *Beautiful’s* version of manifest domesticity, which is implicitly depicted, highlights more complexities within the process of disciplining and domestication.

Between the 1860s and the turn of the century, the number of immigrants from northwest Europe had been almost fixed, whereas immigrants from southern and eastern Europe expanded from less than 2 percent to more than 70 percent of the total (Butts and Cremin 308).³⁸ In a drastically changing Western society on both sides of the Atlantic, as a result of imperialism territorial expansion, there were many people emigrating out of the country and immigrating there from the colonies with a variety of cultural backgrounds. Moreover, in the case of America, the World War brought about increasing “hordes” of immigrants pouring in from Europe and distant shores. The eugenicists tackled this social trend with alarm, stating that “the blond, blue-eyed race” has now encountered “undesirable races,” including the “new” immigrants: Southern Italians, Slavs, Poles, Jews, Hungarians,

Greeks, Russians, and others. They thought that the Nordic purity of American blood was in danger of contagion from these “inferior” races, so that they sought solutions to a supposed decline in family life by searching for new ways to ensure a “better,” more productive population, because they worried that these inferior aliens were proliferating at an appalling rate.

Against these fears, certain kinds of social authorities sought to re-prescribe traditional gender distinctions by reducing women’s primary social roles to “mothering.”³⁹ By the 1920s, several kinds of contraception had enabled women to be liberated from the burdens of childbirth through the practical availability of birth control, and it also provided and inculcated them with the idea that the aim of sex could not be just limited to a procreative act. As women’s role in sex thus transformed within the family, upon which the ideology of a patriarchal social order was dependent, the structure of the family, as eugenicists claimed, inevitably came into a crisis. Consequently a redefinition of the notion of “marriage” and desirable patterns of companionship between men and women were sought for. As Banner insists, once the existence of female sexual desire which had been rejected in nineteenth-century sexual ideology was recognized, women were regarded as the significant upholders of the new companionate partnerships. Therefore with these processes in mind, as Susan Hegeman also suggests, one can develop a new reading of Fitzgerald’s description of the 1920s as a “universal preoccupation with sex” in these historical contexts (*CU* 18).⁴⁰ Social authorities like eugenicists cautioned that the crisis in social institutions surfaced in the form of familial decline among white Anglo-Saxons. They reasserted, in this imperialistic context, that social stability hinged on women’s contributions to society by their being virtuous enough to raise virtuous children. During this period, there was a prevailing discourse that reified traditional gender distinctions and sought to reduce white women’s primary roles to mothers. Thus, in the imperial eyes with the eugenics ideology, what matters for the preservation of white civilization is imperial motherhood. Racial/sexual identity was firmly interwoven with their masculine/feminine subjectivity that was constructed out of a fear of loss, out of the aches of nostalgia longing for an eternal origin of a pure and stable white race. By making a connection between women’s familial roles and the maintenance of culture and civilization, they attempted to reinforce the institution of the family.⁴¹

Along with Gloria’s refusal to be a mother, one can see her masculine nature as follows:

She had been, probably, the most celebrated and sought-after young beauty in the country. Gloria Gilbert of Kansas City! She had fed on it ruthlessly—enjoying the crowds around her, the

manner in which the most desirable men singled her out; enjoying the fierce jealousy of other girls; enjoying the fabulous, not to say scandalous, and, her mother was glad to say, entirely unfounded rumors about her—for instance, that she had gone in the Yale swimming-pool one night in a chiffon evening dress. And from loving it with a vanity that was almost masculine—it had been in the nature of a triumphant and dazzling career—she became suddenly anaesthetic to it. (81)

Therefore it is no wonder that Anthony feels himself becoming feminized as a result of this: “It never occurred to him that he was a passive thing, acted upon by an influence above and beyond Gloria, that he was merely the sensitive plate on which the photograph was made” (105). He continues:

Instead of seizing the girl and holding her by sheer strength until she became passive to his desire, instead of beating down her will by the force of his own, he had walked, defeated and powerless, from her door, with the corners of his mouth drooping and what force there might have been in his grief and rage hidden behind the manner of a whipped schoolboy. (115-6)

Though at the beginning of the text Anthony’s powerful traits are frequently given emphasis, here only Anthony’s powerless state is highlighted in juxtaposition to Gloria gaining “a man’s mind” (134). It seems to Anthony that “Gloria had lulled Anthony’s mind to sleep,” and “of all women the wisest and the finest, hung like a brilliant curtain across his doorways, shutting out the light of the sun” (191). She is compared to the curtain through which he sees the sun, and after Anthony confessed his feelings, his downfall begins decisively. At this stage, if he had lost her, “he would have been a broken man, wretchedly and sentimentally absorbed in her memory for the remainder of life” (277).

Anthony’s feminization and sentimentalization is in a way supplemented by Gloria’s masculinity (transgression of gender boundary), and this is complicatedly concerned with Anthony’s physical deterioration, his indolence of work, and the rising tide of “the colored,” all of which lead his Nordic family (the epitome of America) into a crisis of downfall and financial bankruptcy without procreating children to maintain their familial inheritance (that eventually leads to the failure of preserving the white civilization). It follows that Gloria’s subversive behavior can be seen, though she used to be the idealized Nordic figure, as a threat to the preservation of white civilization.

5: Taking Zelda Seriously: Mothering of Gloria

Even though *Beautiful* is not apparently written as a kind of guiding etiquette book for women, it is quite effective to take into account the viewpoint given by Fitzgerald’s wife

Zelda to elaborate on the function of etiquette in the novel. She points out with her “brilliant insight” that *Beautiful* is to some extent written with an intention of giving ladies advice on how they should behave in society. In a review essay of *Beautiful*, she comments:

Now, as to the other advantages of the book——its value as a manual of etiquette is incalculable. Where could you get a better example of how not to behave than from the adventures of Gloria? And as a handy cocktail mixer nothing better has been said or written since John Roach Straton’s last sermon. (“Friend Husband’s Latest”)

Although Zelda’s remarks are made in a slightly ridiculing way, they are worth considering. As she has analyzed it, the text shows that Gloria is, to use the words of Zelda, just getting the knack of being “an artist,” of “being young, being lovely, being an object,” all of which seem to belong to her private matters (“What Became of the Flappers?” 397-99). In this article, Zelda reiteratively refers to the “etiquette,” “habit,” “routine,” and “discipline” in reviewing *Beautiful*. When developing our discussion drawing upon the framework of Zelda, one can claim that the problem is that the novel is pretending to delineate Gloria’s “willing” internalization of various sorts of disciplines. Kaplan argues, “[t]he narrative of female self-discipline that is so central to the domestic novel might be viewed as a kind of civilizing process in which the woman plays the role of both civilizer and savage” (“Manifest” 601). In fact, one of the most significant concerns for the text is regulating the behavior and eventually the sexuality of Gloria. After pretentiously describing the process of how Gloria voluntarily concerns herself with such personal matters as cleanliness, aesthetics, and health, the text gradually transforms the subversive subject Gloria into an idealistic imperial mother based upon “appropriate” gender roles against which she originally meant to resist. What should be emphasized is how much this novel assumes the function of etiquette or policing discipline without explicitly indicating its direct involvement with institutionalized social discourse. The eugenics/nationalistic ideology regulates the sexuality of Gloria through her “voluntary” internalization of various kinds of disciplines, which serves as the community’s ideological apparatus. Everyday social roles and their voluntary motivations internalized by Gloria naturalize this ideological apparatus effortlessly.

The story makes Gloria acquire the traits of motherhood in a rather ironical way. When Gloria’s beauty and clean skin begin to wane, Gloria once again asks Bloeckman (now Mr. Black) to put her into pictures, a request which is firmly declined because a younger woman is needed (396-403). Her contacts with Bloeckman make Anthony furious because Bloeckman had once wanted to marry Gloria. On the surface, the narrative of the text here sounds like that of melodrama. But what underlies beneath the anecdote of the

love affair is a primary motif of the novel: to prevent the interaction between the Nordic race with “undesirable” races. Immediate association of Gloria’s immoral behavior with her physical deterioration informs us of the validity of such an interpretation. Even though at the outset, in terms of race and class Gloria belongs to the upper class and has been idealized as a representative heroine, she is no longer a beautiful and clean nationalistic symbol as was shown before. Her gender “deviancy” deprives her of idealized Nordic qualification. The contemporary eugenic ideology has given her a repay as her denial of imperial gender roles, especially motherhood. The narrative regards her sexual desire toward such an “undesirable” race (Bloeckman) as a menace to their community for the preservation of white America.

However, the text once again attempts to restore Gloria’s qualification as a member of the Nordic race by placing her into the gender role of motherhood. After she loudly declares that “she had never wanted children,” she thinks that “[t]he reality, the earthiness, the intolerable sentiment of child-bearing, the menace to her beauty—had appalled her” (392). Then, Gloria’s bad dream is described:

“Millions of people,” she said, “swarming like rats, like apes, smelling like all hell . . . monkeys! Or lice, I suppose. For one really exquisite palace . . . on Long Island, say—or even in Greenwich . . . for one palace full of pictures from the Old World and exquisite things—with avenues of trees and green lawns and a view of the blue sea, and lovely people about in slick dresses . . . I’d sacrifice a hundred thousand of them, a million of them. (394)

What immediately emerges in this abstract is that the rising tide of immigrants is just ideologically linked together with rats, apes, and monkeys, which all symbolize degeneracy. She expresses her feeling of guilt not performing an “appropriate” imperialistic gender task, which means contributing to reproduce “superior” generations through her motherhood. Suffering from a sense of guilt, Gloria increasingly comes to embrace motherhood as a result. As if endorsing it, the class difference between Gloria and the trained nurse Miss McGovern, who takes care of Gloria in her bed, is stressed: McGovern cannot understand what Gloria is worrying about. Here again, Gloria’s status as a member of a higher class is narrowly preserved.

When Anthony gets drunk every day and is deeply depressed after being turned away from his favorite club, Gloria comes to feel as if she were a housewife: “She was being bent by her environment into a grotesque similitude of a housewife. She who until three years before had never made coffee, prepared sometimes three meals a day.” (424)

Even though she does not frankly show her desire to have children, her behavior has completely changed from that in the former part of the novel, and thus enters into the stage

of “normal” womanhood and motherhood. Her daily habits are to walk “a great deal in the afternoons, and in the evening she read—books, magazines, anything she found at hand” (424). The text requires us readers to notice some remarkable changes in her attitudes thought there is no concrete reason given to us. The imperialist gaze in the text has not necessarily restored Gloria as an idealized nationalistic figure, but it is evident that she seems to have become an idealistic domestic woman with a little motherhood definitely burgeoning inside her. All of these factors reinforce the white imperialist aspect of manifest domesticity through the delineation of the exclusion/separation of Blackman from Gloria and the reincorporation of Gloria into imperialistic ideology. She repositions herself as the nation’s mother at the time of a heightened national crisis. This rewriting/reclaiming of Gloria’s identity, thus, remains to be paradoxically subversive and (self-)regulative at the same time. It delineates the problematic effects of the “manifest domesticity” in relation to the effeminization/sentimentalization of Anthony and the formation of national manhood. On the one hand, in terms of gender subversion, Gloria has rebelliously enjoyed pleasures by deviating from the norm, and seems to have explored non-domestic arenas by upholding anti-traditional ways of gender norms. On the other hand, in terms of the question of racial purity, she threatens to transgress the racial boundary underscoring the importance of white national identity through the relationship with Bloeck(Jewish)man (later Blackman). She eventually incurs the threat that foreign or racialized others in the form of Blackman potentially pose, and needs to be contained in the name of the white supremacist nation. Though her rebellion and its subversive power seem to be contained in the end of the novel, still the novel leaves the traces of hegemonic struggle between these two disparate forces competing against each other.

On the surface, it seems that Gloria has eventually been separated from Bloeckman just because she is too old to make her appearance on the stage. When we consider the Foucaultian notion that “[p]ower has taken hold where hold seemed least given in the irrelevant,” however, it is just at this point power takes policing sway over the sexuality of Gloria.⁴² Superficially, by the ideological demand of the text, it is her old age that becomes the primary reason of her failure to appear on the stage. Such a private matter is seen at first glance as being totally out of ideological practice, and genuinely the matter is reduced to only an aesthetic problem of whether one is still young and beautiful or ugly (damned) and old. Taking into account the textual strategy to secretly but effectively exert its policing power by the manipulation of the relationship between private and public, however, it is hard to separate Gloria’s breakup with Bloeckman/Blackman from the eugenic ideological fear and prevention of racial mixture. The regulation of these

subversive behaviors of Gloria is most required, for the serious problem of miscegenation is about to take place. Though black/white racial tensions and the question of its accompanying result of racial mixture may temporarily be stalled, the text inscribes the possibility that they are still lurking and lingering somewhere and waiting to resurface.

According to eugenicists, the desirable qualities would be diluted within the superior races by an inevitable interbreeding between old-stock elements and Mediterraneans (Brigham 190). Therefore, the absent but firmly functioning master voice has to make Gloria go back to the proper gender/sexuality sphere in *Beautiful*, and secretly but eagerly try to prevent Gloria from associating freely with Bloeckman to avoid the crisis of miscegenation by telling another story.⁴³ Then, the sexuality of females, through which “inferior” races might have been introduced into their society and degenerate their wholesome race, is regarded as something to be protected against social decline. In the context of eugenics, their blonde goddesses should be watched out for, or they might degenerate into the primitive stage and consequently drag the Aryan males into downfall with them. Madison Grant affirms:

In Nordic populations the women are, in general, lighter haired than the men, a fact which points to a blond past and a darker future for those populations. Women in all human races, as the females among all mammals, tend to exhibit the older, more generalized and primitive traits of the race's past. The male in his individual development indicates the direction in which the race is tending under the influence of variation and selection. (23)

Regarding women who declare their own rights (especially feminists), Huntington also asserts in *The Character of Races*, that “the women who stand strongly for women's rights are rarely the mothers of the next generation” (361). He puts an emphasis on the passive traits of females, while regarding feminists as women lacking in motherhood skills who would eventually lead his society into destruction owing to their lack in contributing to reproduction, and having subversive notions about gender roles.⁴⁴

By depicting her failure as a mother and then her own internalization of various eugenic disciplines, the narrator ends the novel by emphasizing the seeming success in containing her subversive attitudes and even reinforcing the traditional gender roles which are established by the imperialistic demands. Thus, *Beautiful* is incorporated into the imperialistic battle over hegemony, delineating an anxiety of the decline of white American identity by tracking its lineage and demarcating its borders by a dominant regulating system. It surreptitiously describes how characters internalize various sorts of disciplines. The traces of mothering instincts in Gloria and the text's description of too sudden changes in Gloria's attitude (who was once considered as the symbol of American national identity), however,

indicate the textual conflicts between domestic/nationalistic ideologies over American national identity. This oscillation reflects the narrative's function of female self-disciplining, a kind of civilizing process where the woman plays the role of both civilizer and savage.⁴⁵ This paper has stipulated the interrelationships between domestic and implied foreign affairs through symptomatic reading of the text. As Kaplan suggests,

Foregrounding imperialism in the study of American cultures shows how putatively domestic conflicts are not simply contained at home but how they both emerge in response to international struggles and spill over national boundaries to be reenacted, challenged, or transformed. ("Left Alone with America" 16)

In literary works, especially of the nineteenth century, the domestic and the foreign have long confronted on "the Frontier," while the numerous contacts and collisions in *Beautiful* are enacted in the domestic realm but beyond home, especially around Gloria's racial purity, sexuality, gender, and motherhood.

Conclusion

Thus, in the historical context of World War I, through the representations of the epitomic Nordic couple Anthony and Gloria who are staged to embody it, the purported boundaries of the white American identity in terms of race, class, and gender are exposed and contested in this novel, especially regarding their masculinity and femininity. In the world of *Beautiful*, masculinity is interwoven with American nationality and whiteness. Yet, the presence of Bloeckman/Blackman, metaphorically along with Anthony's own insecurity in maintaining his identity as a national icon, points to the soaring difficulty in sustaining American whiteness. Though these Nordic boundaries are threatened to be violated and are actually already deconstructed by the menacing presence of Bloeckman/Blackman, the refusal of the imperial motherhood by Gloria, the narrative voice ironically observes the triumphant but pitiable exclamation of the Nordics by Anthony: "It was a hard fight, but I didn't give up and I came through!" in the final page, drawing somewhat inconsistently on the white supremacy narrative and the narrative of "manifest domesticity." Eugenics and Nordicism, two of the master ideologies of validating white supremacy, serve as the ideological subtexts in this work, with its function lurking implicitly but its effect explicitly working on the mothering of Gloria's femininity (policing the familial order) and sexuality (policing the prevention of interbreeding of races, especially degeneracy).

When the narratives of Americanization, Nordicism, eugenics, "manifest domesticity," and racial/sexual ideology of anti-miscegenation turn out to be explicit in the

historical context of World War I, this text can be regarded as serving as a kind of etiquette text policing and reorganizing the boundaries of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Fitzgerald charts the quest, failure, and the underlying cracks of maintaining the fixated boundaries of white American identity.

All these ideological battles over hegemonic white racial identity are tonally articulated in terms of “civilization” and “fight.” Anthony’s fight can be, thus, viewed as one that is against the rising tide of colored empires, a Nordic war against other races in order to preserve and reestablish their nostalgically lost causes about social norms. The problem of the sexuality of women and racial intermixture are repressed under the guise of the text’s superficial descriptions of the era’s fashion, the presence of flappers, and the dissolution of the established norms in the early 1920s.

This paper has explored how Fitzgerald rewrites intercultural and transnational histories by presenting social critiques and questioning the possibilities of the political agency of the Nordic characters Anthony and Gloria. *Beautiful* engages in elucidating the incongruous, complicated, and multi-layered process of the Nordic national narrative, where the validity of “manifest domesticity” is put into question and alternative versions of myth-making (the negated possibility of the success story of Blackman) and ideological predicaments (the refusal of motherhood by Gloria and Anthony’s affair with his lover) are reinterpreted in the implicitly-shown ubiquitous presence of the dominant national narrative. Gloria, who flatly declines to be a mother at first, comes to assume the role of the nation’s mother in the latter half of the novel. In this regard, *Beautiful* takes up the role of a domestic novel in which the narrative of female self-discipline is so central that it serves as a kind of civilizing process in which the woman plays the part of both savage and civilizer (as Gloria suddenly changes her role into domestic and devotional wife). This ideological rewriting or reclaiming of Gloria in the context of “manifest domesticity,” however, remains to be highly contingent and unstable, paradoxically subversive and conformist at the same time, providing the problematic effects of the “manifest domesticity” in relation to the effeminization/sentimentalization of Anthony and the formation of national manhood. To conclude, by introducing such complex words as civilization and Nordic, Fitzgerald grafts the domestic novel with national narrative, in which he problematizes the boundaries of race, class, gender, and sexuality by depicting or hinting at the lurking possibilities of the downfall of Anthony’s manhood, Gloria’s refusal of motherhood, the social advancement of Bloeckman/Blackman, the problem of possible racial mixture between Gloria and Bloeckman/Blackman, and Anthony’s affair with his lover. Nevertheless, be it viewed as sentimental or even feminized, the specter of the attempt to regain traditional manhood still

haunts the whole story. Fitzgerald ironically compromises the subversiveness of Gloria's sexuality in the context of "manifest domesticity" and criticizes U.S. racism in the early twentieth-century by attempting to make a space for immigrant lives within the national imagination. *Beautiful* foreshadows many contradictions in terms of race, which emerged with the gradual absorption of the immigrant into the melting pot.

Notes

- 1 All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922). The title of this work is abbreviated as *Beautiful* below.
- 2 As to this point, see further, for example, Roulston and Gross.
- 3 *The Beautiful and Damned*, for example, includes a lot of reference to the bath (17, 219, 238).
- 4 According to Gilman, the association of the beautiful and the good can be traced back to ancient philosopher Hippocrates. This firm affinity was repeated and found in the thoughts of Miton and Kant, by whose time it was simply accepted in the philosophical discourse of the time by the eighteenth century. See Gilman, 52-53.
- 5 See Gilman, 51-61.
- 6 "The Great American Myth," *Saturday Evening Post*, 7 May 1921.
- 7 Bert Bender argues that Fitzgerald was well aware of Spencer's *Principles of Biology* (1864) and Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Decent of Man* (1871), which is also reflected in Maury Noble's remarks in *Beautiful*.
- 8 Grant, 476.
- 9 As to Grant, see Spiro. Grant committed to the passing of the U. S. government pass immigration restriction laws.
- 10 As to this point, I referred to Spiro, 153. For the discussion of the "scientific" eugenics, see Kevles.
- 11 To paraphrase Abby L. Ferber, for white supremacists, what matters most was the construction of racial purity based on "a policing of the racial boundaries." They viewed interracial sexuality and its transgression as the greatest danger to this "border maintenance" (24). The quotation is from *BD*, 235.
- 12 In regard to this point, Dorr clarifies in her discussion of the function of eugenics in the Racial Integrity Act in Virginia.
- 13 Nies also mentions this point.
- 14 As to this point, I referred to Bram Dijkstra.
- 15 I referred to Dorr, 146.
- 16 Matthew Jacobson and Ann Stoler also emphasize the need to contest the divide between domestic and imperial histories.
- 17 The usage of "empire" in the present discussion refers not to be the static result of negotiations between the domestic and the foreign, but rather to one enacted from ambiguous and anarchic constellations of disorder (*Anarchy* "Introduction"). Kaplan contends that the foundations of the American national identity are comprised by both anarchy and empire, emphasizing how this "anarchy of empire" has been manifested through a complex interplay of dominant and subaltern groups.
- 18 In this regard Kaplan argues that "Domestic discourse both redresses and reenacts the contradictions of empire through its own double movement to expand female influence beyond the home and the nation while simultaneously contracting woman's sphere to police domestic boundaries against the threat of foreignness both within and without" ("Manifest" 585).
- 19 The appearance of this modern male stereotype and ideal, he argues, which crystallized in the figuration

- of male body, was traced back to and fully formed in the time of Napoleonic Wars and rapidly spread across the West as normative and indispensable.
- 20 Pertaining to the discussion of woman as a foil to manliness, see Theweleit's *Male Fantasies*, which interprets the fascist image of the male soldier body as a reaction to fears of the female.
 - 21 As to this point, Bederman 25. For the analysis of the history and development of the discourse of civilization, see Stocking.
 - 22 On this point, see also Russett.
 - 23 Hofstadter documents how Darwinism was received in the United States.
 - 24 There is little evidence in his letter that Fitzgerald was concerned with the Jews, but to appreciate the function of fitness narrative in *Beautiful*, we must examine the descriptions about both Jews and poor immigrants in his other works. Then the explicit/implicit ideology operating in this part of the novel presupposes will become clear.
 - 25 His essay also involves such dichotomy: "There were certain spots, certain faces I could look at. Like most Middle Westerners, I have never had any but the vaguest race prejudice—I always had a secret yen for the lovely Scandinavian blondes It strays afield from the fact that in these latter days I couldn't stand the sight of Celts, English, Politicians, Strangers, Virginians, Negroes (light or dark), Hunting People, or retail clerks, and middlemen in general, all writers (I avoided writers very carefully because they can perpetuate trouble as no one else can)—and all classes as classes and most of them as members of their class. . . ." (*CU* 43); "Jews lose clarity. They get to look like old melted candles, as if their bodies were preparing to waddle. Irish get slovenly and dirty. Anglo-Saxons get frayed and worn" (*CU* 151).
 - 26 This idea is based on Butler's "field of cultural possibilities" in *GG* 115.
 - 27 Angus McLaren, based on Foucault, investigates a variety of judicial trials involving men charged with transgressing norms of masculinity during the turn from nineteenth to twentieth century when "boundaries" to normative masculinity were set in the West including England, France, and North America. He demonstrate how these discourses constructed gender/sexual norms that categorized various new negative concepts of manhood, such as the sadist, the exhibitionist, and others, contributing to narrowing down and censuring the boundaries of respectable masculinity behaviors. Thus, McLaren's study provides how gender norms are defined in the transgression of the boundaries: judicial and medical gender discourses function as redrawing the boundaries, policing of what falls outside, which in turn highlights that inside the circle of respectable masculine behaviors.
 - 28 Pertaining to the discussion of how Jew became "white," see Brodtkin.
 - 29 In "The Pursuit of Whiteness: Property, Terror, and Expansion, 1790-1860," David R. Roediger has welcomed the scholars' efforts to go beyond the dichotomy of white/black racial framework of *The Wages of Whiteness*.
 - 30 I referred to Kaplan, 600.
 - 31 Alcoholism is another reason that makes Anthony's physical degeneration worse: "Except when Anthony was drinking, his range of sensation had become less than that of a healthy old man" (388). His habit of drinking nearly robbed him of inheriting his grandfather's possessions (the reason of his financial downfall), who is a strong advocate of prohibition. And "[a]s he grew drunker the dreams faded and he became a confused spectre, moving in odd crannies of his own mind, full of unexpected devices, harshly contemptuous at best and reaching sodden and dispirited depths" (388).
 - 32 In her study on the relationship between Americanization and the picturesque ideology, Carrie Tirado Bramen clarifies the ideological dynamics of the discourse of the urban picturesque. The urban picturesque functioned as a form of local color, which depicted the customs in the Old World. She suggests that "a process of Americanization occurred in aesthetics practices of the period, a process in which European immigrants were deemed 'charming' precisely because they were a different shade of white," even though they were in poor or impoverished circumstances (449). It transformed the racial,

- economic, and ethnic divisions among slum populations, which were characteristic aspects of urban space, into an aesthetic spectacle.
- 33 Michaels, Introduction.
- 34 As to the difference between embodied/disembodied masculine identity, see Kaplan's "Romancing the Empire" in *Anarchy*.
- 35 Such a discourse depicted in Fitzgerald's text is particularly given attention during the late Victorian period, when the formation of gender are established with scientific and medical discourse that idealized woman as reproductive vehicles and focused upon pathology, cast the feminine body as the malfunctioning organism that embodied society's ills. .
- 36 Kaplan continues to state that "the idea of foreign policy depends on the sense of the nation as a domestic space imbued with a sense of at-homeness, in contrast to an external world perceived as alien and threatening. Reciprocally, a sense of the foreign is necessary to erect the boundaries that enclose the nation as home" (581-82).
- 37 Kaplan gives an example of conquering and taming the wild, the natural, and the alien.
- 38 For more extensive study, see Higham.
- 39 We can understand how widely such discourse spread among people through the voices of Zelda. Zelda disavows the relationship between rising divorce rates and "neurotic" characteristics of flapper in her essay, which first appeared in *Metropolitan Magazine*. She states:
- I came across an amazing editorial a short time ago. It fixed the blame for all divorces, crime waves, high prices, unjust taxes, violations of the Volstead Act and crimes in Hollywood upon the head of the Flapper. . . . I know no divorcées or neurotic women of thirty who were ever Flappers. ("Eulogy on the Flapper" 392)
- 40 See Hegeman, 535.
- 41 Even though dealing with the case of Britain, Anna Davin's thesis is efficacious. The concern about the "quality" of the population looms large with economic change, immigration, and a supposed decline in family life as a background. Social authorities sought for new ways to make sure a "better," more productive population. Examples of such institutionalized ideological practices are compulsory sterilization and government-supported maternal and child health services, like a method of legalized birth control. In order to make bringing up of infants more well-organized and expectable, they strive to "rationalize" reproduction and bring it under human control. Such social reformers' ideas of Progressive Era were based on the optimistic belief that society could be improved through science and "expert" intervention.
- 42 See Miller, 28.
- 43 Another interpretation is made by Sy Kahn, insisting that Amory, Anthony, and Gatsby are the innocent Adams (Kahn "This Side of Paradise," 57). I also referred to Aiping Zhang's discussion about protagonists of Fitzgerald's novels. See also Zhang, "City: A Land of Glamour and Despair" 137.
- 44 Huntington, *The Character of Races*. According to a eugenicist W. McCougall, such a problem as declining birth rates among white race is brought about by feminists, since they dissuade the "best" women from marriage and motherhood, which would possibly lead to "the entire extinction of British and American" better stock within the following generations. Bert Bender indicates how much Fitzgerald was familiar with eugenics, about which wrote a poem "Love or Eugenics" at Princeton (Bender 400). In this poem he deliberates on "whether young men are most attracted by women of vigorous stock, with 'plenty of muscle, /And Avoirdupois to spare,' or by modern flappers who know the value of 'good cosmetics'" (Bender 400). In *Paradise*, the name of Darwin and his theory is sometimes mentioned, in 142 and 144-45.
- 45 I referred to Kaplan 601.

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