

his A.M. radio broadcasts he says: "We can't even use the word dyke, you can't even say the word lesbian. It's women in comfortable shoes." Much lore surrounds Birkenstocks, including the belief that there is a good chance that a woman who wears Birkenstocks is a lesbian.

Favorite jewelry choices are crystals (unpolished) and woman-identified jewelry such as a labrys (double ax) or a double women's symbol. Cowrie shells woven into the hair are favored by many black lesbians. The primary lesbian community value expressed in how and what clothing and adornments are worn is comfort.

*Conclusion.* There are also other forms of lesbian folklore: legends, jokes, arts, crafts, and the like. Other regions of the United States would provide additions to and variations of the examples given. Imbedded within lesbian books are wonderful samples of lesbian folklore. The grassroots newsletter *Lesbian Connection* is another rich source of lesbian folklore. On the academic side several ethnographies give descriptions of lesbian communities. Lesbian archives located throughout the United States house primary data collections (letters, diaries, photographs, and the like) which contain folkloric information. Lesbians should be encouraged to preserve their heritage by donating documents to archives and by interviewing friends and donating tapes.

Aside from a few papers read at the American Folklore Society's annual meetings in the 1980s, folkloristic analysis of lesbian material is non-existent. By not including data about lesbians within folklore scholarship, a heterocentric bias has been allowed to permeate the scholarship. When lesbian data are part of folkloric definitions and theories, they will add to a better understanding of America, its folklore, and American lesbian culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Susan Krieger, *The Mirror Dance: Identity in a Woman's Community*, Philadelphia: Temple

University Press, 1983; Denyse Lockard, "The Lesbian Community: An Anthropological Approach," *Journal of Homosexuality* 2:3 (1985), 83-95; Gail Sausser, *Lesbian Etiquette*, Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1986; Deborah Goleman Wolf, *The Lesbian Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Jan Laude

## FORSTER, E[DWARD] M[ORGAN] (1879-1970)

English novelist, short story writer, and essayist. Forster's father died less than two years after his birth, and he was raised by a group of female relatives, who were connected with a stern evangelical sect. When he was ten, a great-aunt left him a legacy, which permitted him to obtain a good private education and to attempt a career as a writer. Forster detested public school, but found King's College, Cambridge, by contrast almost a paradise. Among students and faculty the atmosphere was strongly homoerotic, and Forster developed an intense Platonic relationship with another undergraduate, H. O. Meredith, whom he later was to depict as "Clive" in *Maurice*. Forster's sensibility took shape under the guidance of teachers of Hellenist bent, especially Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, and under the influence of the ethics of personal integrity that stemmed from the philosopher G. E. Moore. In 1901 Forster was elected to the elite secret society at Cambridge, The Apostles, leading to close ties with such other members as John Maynard Keynes and Lytton Strachey.

Uncertain what course to follow after graduation, he sojourned for a year in Italy with his mother. Not only did he find his vocation as a writer there, but he came to cherish to the end of his life a somewhat idealized concept of Mediterranean tolerance and "earthiness" in contradistinction to the Protestant uprightness and commercialism of his native England.

Returning to London in 1902 he affirmed his belief in reducing class barriers by teaching a course at the Working Men's College, a part-time commitment he would retain for over twenty years. Four novels followed in quick succession: *Where Angels Feared to Tread* (1905), *The Longest Journey* (1907), *A Room with a View* (1908), and *Howards End* (1910). This brilliant debut secured him fame and membership in the exclusive Bloomsbury group. Critical of Edwardian pieties, the novels adhere to an individualistic ethics of psychic integration and fulfilment through interpersonal relationships. Although in retrospect elements of male-bonding are evident, all these novels deal with heterosexuality.

In July 1914 Forster completed the first draft of a homosexual novel, *Maurice*. Realizing that it was not publishable in the England that had persecuted Oscar Wilde, he shared the manuscript only with a few friends, including D. H. Lawrence, who chose it as the model for his heterosexual *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Forster last revised *Maurice* in 1960, but it was not published until after his death, in 1971. After completing *Maurice* Forster felt that his novel writing was over, as he had exhausted his insights into heterosexual relationships and would not be allowed to publish about those that affected him most deeply.

In 1915 he went to Alexandria in Egypt with the Red Cross. There he came to know the great modern Greek poet Constantine Cavafy, whose work he helped to publicize. He also met a young tram conductor, Mohammed el Adl, with whom he enjoyed his first satisfactory sexual relationship. After Forster returned to England, El Adl died (1922).

Forster's connection with India began earlier, in 1906, when he met a handsome young Indian in England, Syed Ross Masood. Forster then visited the subcontinent in 1912-13 in the company of G. Lowes Dickinson. In 1921-22 he served as private secretary to the Mahara-

jah of Dewas State Senior. During this period he gathered the material for his novel, *A Passage to India*, which on publication in 1924 was acclaimed his masterpiece. Offering a sharp critique of British imperialism, the novel nonetheless portrays human connections as possible even across national and class lines.

Having resettled in England for good, in 1927 he gave the Clark Lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge, which were published as *Aspects of the Novel*. He became concerned with civil liberties, and in the following year he rallied public opinion to protest the suppression of the lesbian novel of Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*. The most significant personal event of this period was Forster's friendship with the heterosexual police constable, Bob Buckingham, which lasted for the rest of his life.

In 1946, forced to leave his ancestral home at Abinger, he accepted an offer to become an honorary fellow at King's College Cambridge, where he lived for the rest of his life. After 1924 he wrote no further novels, just reviews and essays, but the five that he had published in the first quarter of the century sufficed to secure his reputation as a novelist. As he had feared, however, the posthumous appearance of *Maurice* (1971), even in the liberal climate of the "sexual revolution," caused a furor. Several critics who had formerly admired his work now began to speak of "homosexual bias," and the novel was generally relegated to an inferior place outside the canon of his major works.

These criticisms are unjustified. While *Maurice* is not flawless, it is certainly as good as his first four novels. Forster's homosexual novel falls into two parts. In the first, the impressionable hero is under the domination of the highminded, but insubstantial Platonism of his Cambridge friend, Clive; in the second, he comes to find his true destiny with a working-class boy, the gamekeeper at Clive's estate with whom he then elopes "into the greenwood." Although this ending has struck

some readers as romantic and unlikely, it is modeled on the successful life of Edward Carpenter, who ran a farm together with his proletarian lover, George Merrill. With minimal changes, the film version released by the Ivory-Merchant-Jhabvala team in 1987 emerged as fully credible.

In his novels Forster was a conservative **modernist**, with roots in the social comedy of Victorian times, but also showing affinities with the work of his friends D. H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf. Although the revelation of Forster's homosexuality diminished him in the eyes of some critics, his familiarity with the ideas of the early homosexual rights movement was actually a source of strength. He succeeded in translating the insights of Carpenter, John Addington Symonds, and others into universal terms, and for this all his readers should be grateful.

BIBLIOGRAPY. P. N. Furbank, E. M. Forster: *A Life*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978; Claude J. Summers, E. M. Forster, New York: Frederick Ungar, 1983.

Wayne R. Dynes

## FOUCAULT, MICHEL (1926-1984)

French historian and social philosopher. After completing his university work, Foucault was active in the French cultural services in a number of European cities. His first major book was *Folie et déraison: histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1964; translated only in an abbreviated version: *Madness and Civilization*, New York, 1967). This monograph shows Foucault's characteristic ability to frame bold historical hypotheses and to give them literary form in gripping set pieces. As the audience for his work grew, however, more conventional historians began to flag gaps between evidence and inference.

Developing his ideas further, Foucault advanced the guiding concept of "archeology," the notion that western

civilization had seen a succession of distinct eras, each characterized by its particular "episteme," or style of thinking. He then extended the scope of his investigation into clinics and prisons; as "total institutions" these sites display in concentrated form the strategies of social surveillance and subjugation that regulated the whole society. Foucault's work in the 1960s was often viewed as structuralist, but he denied this affiliation. Although he was out of France at the time, he was deeply marked by the Paris uprising of May 1968, which created a general climate of activism; in Foucault's case this commitment found expression in concern for prisoners, mental patients, the Afghan rebels, and human rights generally.

The 1970s saw him increasingly involved with the problem of power, which he perceived as universally diffused though not in very different measures. The modern state in particular has learned to harness to its purposes such bodies of knowledge as medicine and the social sciences, which serve to colonize and subjugate the individual. The individual can confront this phalanx of domination with only a stubborn recalcitrance. At this time the concept of archaeology yielded to the more corrosive and dynamic "genealogy," derived from Friedrich Nietzsche, probably the most important influence on Foucault's later thought. His increasing iconoclasm and skepticism led him to deny that historical record yields any evidence of a stable human subject, of a human "condition," or of human "nature."

In the mid-70s he turned to the matter of sexuality, issuing a programmatic statement in 1976 (*La Volonté de savoir*, Paris, 1976; translated as *The History of Sexuality*, vol. I, New York, 1978). The five volumes that were to succeed this little book, treating the early modern period and the recent past, never appeared. Yet at the end of his life he surprised the world with two successor volumes with a different subject matter: the management of sexuality in ancient Greece and Rome.