

Guineas (1938), are powerful pleas for women's creative independence. Yet her own feminism was fluid and variable, and thus not easily accommodated to present-minded uses. Throughout her life she struggled valiantly against mental illness, succeeding in building up an imposing corpus of writings while expressing her own emotional feelings in her deep relationships with women.

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Evelyn Gettone

WORKING CLASS, EROTICIZATION OF

For at least several generations, upper-class Englishmen have sought sexual companionship among the working class, including the enlisted men of the military (the availability at a fee of Guardsmen for these purposes has become legendary). While this practice, which Timothy d'Arch Smith termed the "Prince and Pauper Syndrome" after Mark Twain's 1882 novel, is hardly limited to England, it is there that it has been most documented, particularly in literature.

E. M. Forster, whose novel *Maurice* celebrates the aspiration for a permanent version of such a relationship, remarked: "I want to love a strong young man of the lower classes, and be loved and even hurt by him." (1938). Oscar Wilde described his own forays, which tended to involve the criminal underworld, in the striking image of "feasting with panthers." In a more idealizing fashion, John Addington Symonds wrote in 1893, "The

blending of social strata in masculine love seems to me one of its most pronounced, and socially hopeful, features. Where it appears, it abolishes class distinctions, and opens by a simple operation the cataract-blinded eyes to their futilities." One of the reasons why Walt Whitman had such an impact on English homosexuals of this period was that his praise of democracy was (mis)understood in large part as a veiled plea for such prince-and-pauper liaisons. In France, the leftist writer Daniel Guérin justified his innumerable one-night stands with blue-collar workers as a device for achieving collective revolutionary solidarity.

The psychological roots of the aristocracy's attraction to the working class have not been systematically examined, but are undoubtedly related to a sense that the upper class (in particular its intellectuals) has lost some of its masculine vitality, has become "effete," refined, sophisticated, removed from the exercise of physical power, while the (young) males of the lower class are more robust, earthy, grounded, more in touch with their sexuality, more physically aggressive, in short, more macho. For economic reasons alone, the ranks of male prostitutes tend to be filled from the underclass, and these are more readily available than the sons of the higher classes. There are suggestions of a streak of masochism connected with guilt derived from perceived inequities of class standing. Perhaps it is as much the attraction of opposites, the tension of distance temporarily resolved in the intimacy of sex. The homosexual aristocrat often appears to enjoy a reversal of usual power relationships, giving the working-class male the upper hand in the bedroom, yet paradoxically retaining a firm control over the general relationship. Indeed, the disparity in financial power between the two parties serves to strengthen the aristocrat's sense of overall security (the poor male being too dependent on the largesse of the rich one). At the same time the coarse machismo of the aggressive, disorderly,

non-law-abiding working-class male (and especially of the prostitutes, small-time criminals, and members of the armed forces who are most likely to be involved in such relationships) provides the spice of perceived danger to heighten sexual tension.

For the working-class male, there is in addition to financial incentives also the satisfaction of at least temporary domination—in a sphere which is a critical part of his self-imagery—of the otherwise loftily superior aristocrat, and moreover the adventure of obtaining glimpses of an otherwise fabled but unobtainable lifestyle. Psychologically, there is often, on the part of working-class men who remain in what they see as the “male” role, a sense of contempt for the “weak” aristocrat, which serves as compensation for the socially-propagated sense of inferiority of the class as a whole, and feelings of conquest which support a sense of masculinity and therefore help justify participation in homosexual acts.

In America there is a related phenomenon between members of the vast middle class and the working class, and to some extent between layers of the middle class itself. This motif is seen most prominently in the eroticization of such working-class occupations as construction worker, truck driver, cowboy, farmhand, enlisted serviceman, stock clerk, as reflected in gay-oriented art, **pornography**, and the like. It is also a factor in many if not most interracial relationships. An ironic twist to this theme has been the simulation of working-class play roles by members of the educated upper middle class when they dress for social encounters in gay bars; blue-collar work **clothes** are perceived as sexy, whereas tailored business suits are not.

There is some debate as to the extent of sexual democratization in the homosexual **subculture**. Observers have little doubt that non-commercial sexual liaisons cross class lines far more frequently than in heterosexual circles, and that an attractive young son of the work-

ing class can parlay his looks into upward mobility in a way known to the heterosexual culture only for a select few females. On the other hand, there is a question as to how many of these cross-class connections lead to long-lasting relationships; in the long run non-sexual affinities and differences may prove more powerful than the sexual stimulus of an interclass encounter. Even short-term relationships, however, provide exposure to differing class mores and economic situations, and it is at least arguable that these links have led to more political support for the working class among middle-class homosexuals than would otherwise be expected.

These class-crossing associations may be said to be part of a larger phenomenon whereby opposites attract. The parallel—and overlap—with interracial relations has been noted above. Other phenomena that may be psychologically related are intergenerational eroticism and the sexual pursuit of simpletons sometimes termed morophilia.

See also Fiedler Thesis.

Stephen Donaldson

WYNEKEN, GUSTAV (1875–1964)

German educator and pedagogical theorist. Born in Stade near Hamburg as the son of a Lutheran minister, Wyneken endured unpleasant experiences at the Ilfeld Boarding School that were one source of his impetus for educational reform. Through Hermann Lietz (1868–1919), the founder of the first Country Home School at Ilsenburg in 1898, he made contact with the educational reform movement. But after some years at Ilsenburg, Wyneken and a group of adherents, among them Paul Geheeb, split off in 1906 to form the Wickersdorfer Freie Schulgemeinde (Wickersdorf Free School Community). Located near the village of Wickersdorf in the Thuringian Forest, the school with its 140 pupils was an example of the pedagogical island: a nascent society of adolescents