THE FEMINIST CLASSIC

KATALITIS



SEXUAL POLITICS

Kate Millett

Copyright © 1969, 1970 by Kate Millett

All rights reserved, which includes the right to reproduce this book or portions thereof in any form whatsoever. For information contact Doubleday and Company, Inc. Published in the United States by Ballantine Books, a division of Random House, Inc., New York, and simultaneously in Canada by Random House of Canada, Limited, Toronto, Canada.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 70-103769

ISBN 0-345-29270-7

This edition published by arrangement with Doubleday-and Company, Inc.

Manufactured in the United States of America

First Ballantine Books Edition: June 1978

Second Printing: May 1980

First Canadian Printing: July 1978

For FUMIO YOSHIMURA

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

SIGMUND FREUD

Excerpts from Civilization and Its Discontents by Sigmund Freud, 1930. Translated from the German and edited by James Strachey. Copyright © 1961 by James Strachey. Reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., publisher. Also found in a revised translation in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 21, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpts from "Femininity" from New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis by Sigmund Freud. Copyright © 1933 by Sigmund Freud. Copyright renewed 1961 by W. J. H. Sprott. Copyright © 1964, 1965 by James Strachey. Translated from the German and edited by James Strachey. Reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. Also found in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 22, revised and edited by James Strachey. Reprinted by permission of The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpt from "The Economic Problems of Masochism" by Sigmund Freud, 1924. Translated under the supervision of Joan Riviere for The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud, Vol. II, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., published by Basic Books, Inc. 1959. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc. Also found in a revised translation in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 19, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpt from "Some Character Types Met With in Psycho-Analysis Work" by Sigmund Freud, 1915. Translated under the supervision of Joan Riviere for The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud, Vol. IV, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., published by Basic Books, Inc., 1959. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc. Also found in a revised translation in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 14, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpt from "The Taboo of Virginity" by Sigmund Freud, 1918. Translated under the supervision of Joan Riviere for The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud, Vol. IV, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., published in 1959 by Basic Books, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc. Also found in a revised translation in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. II, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpt from "On Narcissism, An Introduction" by Sigmund Freud, 1914. Translated under the supervision of Joan Riviere for The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud, Vol. IV, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., published 1959 by Basic Books, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc. Also found in a revised translation in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 14, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpt from "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinctions Between the Sexes" by Sigmund Freud. Edited by James Strachey for The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud, Vol. V, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., published 1959 by Basic Books, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc. Also found in a revised translation in the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 19, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Excerpt from "The Psychology of Women" by Sigmund Freud, 1933. Translated by W. J. H. Sprott and edited by James Strachey for *The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. V, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., published by Basic Books, Inc., 1959. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc. Also found in a revised translation in the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 21, revised and edited by James Strachey; The Hogarth Press, Ltd., Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

D. H. LAWRENCE

Excerpts from The Letters of D. H. Lawrence edited by Aldous Huxley. Copyright © 1932 by the Estate of D. H. Lawrence, copyright renewed 1960 by Angelo Ravagli and C. Montague Weekley, executors of the Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli. Reprinted by permission of the Viking Press, Inc.

Excerpts from Sons and Lovers by D. H. Lawrence. Copyright © 1913 by Thomas Seltzer, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of the Viking Press, Inc.

Excerpts from Fantasia of the Unconscious by D. H. Lawrence. Copyright © 1922 by Thomas Seltzer, Inc., renewed 1950 by Frieda Lawrence. Reprinted by permission of the Viking Press, Inc.

Excerpts from "The Fox" from The Portable D. H. Lawrence edited by Diana Trilling. Copyright © 1923 by Thomas B. Seltzer, Inc., renewed 1951 by Frieda Lawrence. Reprinted by permission of the Viking Press, Inc.

Excerpts from Aaron's Rod by D. H. Lawrence. Copyright © 1922 by Thomas Seltzer, Inc., renewed 1950 by Frieda Lawrence. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of the Viking Press, Inc.

Excerpts from Lady Chatterley's Lover by D. H. Lawrence. Published 1932 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Published in England by William Heineman, Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Laurence Pollinger, Ltd. and the Estate of the late Mrs. Frieda Lawrence.

Excerpts from The Plumed Serpent by D. H. Lawrence. Copyright © 1926 by Alfred A. Knopf. Copyright renewed 1953 by Frieda Lawrence Ravagli. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf. Published in England by William Heineman, Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Laurence Pollinger, Ltd. and the Estate of the late Mrs. Frieda Lawrence.

Excerpts from The Woman Who Rode Away by D. H. Lawrence. Copyright © 1927 by D. H. Lawrence. Copyright renewed 1955 by Frieda Lawrence Ravagli. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf. Published in England in The Complete Short Stories of D. H. Lawrence by William Heineman, Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Laurence Pollinger, Ltd. and the Estate of the late Frieda Lawrence.

NORMAN MAILER

Excerpts from An American Dream by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1964, 1965 by Norman Mailer. Published by The Dial Press, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Dial Press, Inc., the author, and the author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from The Naked and the Dead by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1948 by Norman Mailer. Published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Reprinted by permission of the author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from Barbary Shore by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1951 by Norman Mailer. Published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Reprinted by permission of the author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from The Presidential Papers by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 by Norman Mailer. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Reprinted by permission of the author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from Deaths for the Ladies and Other Disasters by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1962 by Norman Mailer. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Reprinted by permission of author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from The Deer Park by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1955 by Norman Mailer. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Reprinted by permission of author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from Why Are We in Vietnam? by Norman Mailer. Copyright 1967 by Norman Mailer. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Reprinted by permission of author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

Excerpts from Cannibals and Christians by Norman Mailer. Copyright © 1966 by Norman Mailer. All rights reserved. First published by The Dial Press. Reprinted by permission of the author and author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc.

ERIK ERIKSON

Excerpts from *Identity*, Youth and Crisis by Erik H. Erikson. Copyright © 1968 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

ORVILLE G. BRIM, JR.

Table entitled "Table of Traits Assigned to Male and Female" from the article "Family Structure and Sex Role" by Orville G. Brim, Jr., originally appearing in *Sociometry*, Vol. 21, p. 7, 1958. Reprinted by permission of the American Sociological

Association. Also appeared in Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family by Robert F. Winch, Robert McGinnis, and Herbert R. Barringer, 1962. Published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Excerpts from Saint Genet, Actor and Martyr by Jean-Paul Sartre, translated from the French Saint Genet, Comedien et Martyr by Bernard Frechtman. Copyright © 1952 by Librairie Gallimard. English translation copyright © 1963 by George Braziller, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Rosica Colin, Ltd. and George Braziller, Inc., Publisher.

JEAN GENET

Excerpts from The Thief's Journal by Jean Genet, 1964. Translated by Bernard Frechtman. Published by Grovè Press, Inc.

Excerpts from Our Lady of the Flowers by Jean Genet, 1963. Translated by Bernard Frechtman. Published by Grove Press, Inc.

HENRY MILLER

Excerpts from Sexus, The Rosy Crucifixion I by Henry Miller, 1965. Published by Grove Press, Inc.

Excerpts from Black Spring by Henry Miller, 1963. Published by Grove Press, Inc.

PREFACE

Before the reader is shunted through the relatively uncharted, often even hypothetical territory which lies before him, it is perhaps only fair he be equipped with some general notion of the terrain. The first part of this essay is devoted to the proposition that sex has a frequently neglected political aspect. I have attempted to illustrate this first of all by giving attention to the role which concepts of power and domination play in some contemporary literary descriptions of sexual activity itself. These random examples are followed by a chapter analyzing the social relationship between the sexes from a theoretical standpoint. This second chapter, in my opinion the most important in the book and far and away the most difficult to write, attempts to formulate a systematic overview of patriarchy as a political institution. Much here, and throughout the book, is tentative, and in its zeal to present a consistent argument has omitted (although it need not preclude) the more familiar ambiguities and contradictions of our social arrangements.

The second section, chapters three and four, are largely historical, outlining the great transformation in the traditional relationship between the sexes which took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and then giving an account of the climate of reaction which later set in, assuring the continuation of a modified patriarchal way of life, and frustrating the possibility of revolutionary social change in this area for some three decades. The later chapters of the book focus specifically upon the work of three figures I take to be representative of this latter period, examining their responses to the prospect of radical changes in sexual

politics and their participation in a mood of reaction against such an impulse. The final chapter, devoted to the writings of Jean Genet, is intended to present a contrast, first in approaching sexual hierarchy from the oblique angle of homosexual dominance order as Genet describes and exposes it in his novels, and secondly, through the emphasis given in his plays to the theme of sexual oppression and the necessity, in any radical program, for its eradication.

It has been my conviction that the adventure of literary criticism is not restricted to a dutiful round of adulation, but is capable of seizing upon the larger insights which literature affords into the life it describes, or interprets, or even distorts. This essay, composed of equal parts of literary and cultural criticism, is something of an anomaly, a hybrid, possibly a new mutation altogether. I have operated on the premise that there is room for a criticism which takes into account the larger cultural context in which literature is conceived and produced. Criticism which originates from literary history is too limited in scope to do this; criticism which originates in aesthetic considerations, "New Criticism," never wished to do so.

I have also found it reasonable to take an author's ideas seriously when, like the novelists covered in this study, they wish to be taken seriously or not at all. Where I have substantive quarrels with some of these ideas, I prefer to argue on those very grounds, rather than to take cover under the tricks of the trade and mask disagreement with "sympathetic readings" or the still more dishonest pretense that the artist is "without skill" or a "poor technician." Critics who disagree with Lawrence, for example, about any issue are fond of saying that his prose is awkward—a judgment purely subjective. It strikes me as better to make a radical investigation which can demonstrate why Lawrence's analysis of a situation is inadequate, or biased, or his influence pernicious, without ever needing to imply that he is less than a great and original artist, and in many respects a man of distinguished moral and intellectual integrity.

The ambitious, often rather overwhelming, undertak-

ing this study became as I proceeded, could not have been accomplished without the guidance, the support, and the much-needed criticism of a number of people: I should like to thank George Stade, Theodore Solataroff, Betty Prashker, Annette Baxter, Mary Mothersill, Lila Karp, Suzanne Shad-Somers, Catherine Stimpson, Richard Gustafson, Laurie Stone, Frances Kamm, and Sylvia Alexander for providing all of them. I am particularly grateful to Steven Marcus who gave the manuscript the most careful reading and could always find time and patience to insist rhetoric give way to reason.

-Kate Millett New York, 1970

^{*} Lucinda Cisler's annotated Women: a Bibliography was an invaluable aid.

CONTENTS

| I SEXUAL POLITICS | 1 |
|--|-----|
| 1. Instances of Sexual Politics | 3 |
| 2. Theory of Sexual Politics | 31 |
| II HISTORICAL BACKGROUND | 83 |
| 3. The Sexual Revolution, First Phase: 1830—1930 POLITICAL 85 POLEMICAL 124 LITERARY 179 | 85 |
| 4. The Counterrevolution: 1930–60 A. REACTIONARY POLICY The Models of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union 222 | 222 |
| B. THE REACTION IN IDEOLOGY Freud and the Influence of Psychoanalytic Thought 249 Some Post-Freudians 288 The Influence of Functionalism 310 | |
| III THE LITERARY REFLECTION | 331 |
| 5. D. H. Lawrence | 333 |
| 6. Henry Miller | 412 |

xii

Contents

| 7. | Norman Mailer | 440 |
|----|---------------|-------------|
| 8. | Jean Genet | 470 |
| | Postscript | 506 |
| | Bibliography | 5 08 |
| | Index | 527 |

SEXUAL POLITICS

ONE

Instances of Sexual Politics

I would ask her to prepare the bath for me. She would pretend to demur but she would do it just the same. One day, while I was seated in the tub soaping myself, I noticed that she had forgotten the towels. "Ida," I called, "bring me some towels!" She walked into the bathroom and handed me them. She had on a silk bathrobe and a pair of silk hose. As she stooped over the tub to put the towels on the rack her bathrobe slid open. I slid to my knees and buried my head in her muff. It happened so quickly that she didn't have time to rebel or even to pretend to rebel. In a moment I had her in the tub, stockings and all. I slipped the bathrobe off and threw it on the floor. I left the stockings on—it made her more lascivious looking, more the Cranach type. I lay back and pulled her on top of me. She was just like a bitch in heat, biting me all over, panting, gasping, wriggling like a worm on the hook. As we were drying ourselves, she bent over and began nibbling at my prick. I sat on the edge of the tub and she kneeled at my feet gobbling it. After a while I made her stand up, bend over; then I let her have it from the rear. She had a small juicy cunt, which fitted me like a glove. I bit the nape of her neck, the lobes of her ears, the sensitive spot on her shoulder, and as I pulled away I left the mark of my teeth on her beautiful white ass. Not a word spoken.1

This colorful descriptive prose is taken from Henry Miller's celebrated Sexus, first published in Paris in the forties but outlawed from the sanitary shores of his na-

¹ Henry Miller, Sexus (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 180.