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PART III
RELATIONALITY,
NETWORKS AND KINSHIP



WRITING WIDOWS OF LESBIAN MODERNISM

Hannah Roche

In the opening chapter of her autobiography *What Is Remembered* (1963), Alice B. Toklas recalls the unwelcome arrival of her baby brother, born when she was ten years old. 'I wanted to kiss my mother and confide my horror to her,' writes Toklas. 'He is red like a lobster, I said, are you going to love him? Taking me in her arms she said, Not like you, darling, you will always come first. And I was satisfied.'¹

For a woman who has been remembered not as a writer but as a writer's wife, whose fame has rested on her willingness to come second to 'genius' Gertrude Stein, Toklas's decision to foreground her own primacy is both compelling and telling. Where photographic portraits of the couple show Toklas positioned firmly behind Stein, with Cecil Beaton's 1937 portrait placing Stein's 'wife' so far in the background that she appears to be in miniature, *What Is Remembered* brings Toklas into focus. At the time of Stein's death in July 1946, Stein's typist, editor, general secretary and devoted supporter had long been seen to live in her partner's shadow – a position and perspective that Toklas may publicly have welcomed. While biographer Linda Simon observes that 'at the side of the gregarious Gertrude, Alice believed there was little in her own personality that acquaintances would find interesting,' the couple's friend Donald Sutherland points out that the 'self-effacement which Alice seems to have cultivated [. . .] became a form of publicity in itself.'² For Sylvia Beach, Toklas was the more sophisticated of the two: 'Obviously they saw things from the same angle, [but] Alice had a great deal more finesse than Gertrude.'³ Stein's

1 tricksy *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933) might present Toklas as
 2 its subject, but the narrator ensures that ‘Gertrude Stein,’ a name repeated so
 3 often that it gains the hypnotic power and seductive pull of a marketing slogan
 4 or trademark, is the text’s main attraction.

5 Two years before the publication of *What Is Remembered*, another lesbian
 6 ‘widow’ had at last published her biography of her writer-partner. In *The Life*
 7 *and Death of Radclyffe Hall* (1961), Una, Lady Troubridge, narrates the life
 8 of her beloved John ‘both before and since I shared it,’ claiming to provide
 9 ‘the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth’ about the author of *The*
 10 *Well of Loneliness* (1928).⁴ A sculptor, translator and daily diarist, Troubridge
 11 was eager to imply that her own skills lay in faithful reproduction and record-
 12 keeping rather than creation, imagination or composition: ‘I am no scribe,’ she
 13 writes in the foreword, ‘except that I am much addicted to letter-writing.’⁵ But
 14 when she claims to be ‘unskilled in writing,’ Troubridge is not to be taken at
 15 her word.⁶ Sally Cline is right to approach Troubridge’s ‘hagiographic’ biog-
 16 raphy with caution, describing the ‘colorful drama drawn and redrawn by Lady
 17 Troubridge’ in the diaries and day books kept during Hall’s lifetime and point-
 18 ing out that facts ‘were often for bending.’⁷ Where Troubridge prefaces her
 19 biography with the claim that she and Hall ‘dwelt of choice in the palace of
 20 truth,’ Cline draws attention to Troubridge’s autocracy and artfulness as well
 21 as her ‘alert artistic sense,’ suggesting that Hall ‘began to believe in and act out’
 22 the character that her partner created for her.⁸ ‘From 1915 onwards,’ Cline
 23 writes, ‘biographers have been hard put *not* to see the domestic and literary
 24 world of Radclyffe Hall according to Una’s version.’⁹ The monocle and arch
 25 eyebrow in Romaine Brooks’s portrait of Troubridge (1924) serve as fitting
 26 reminders of the subject’s wry lens, while the firm grip on the dachshund’s col-
 27 lar points to authority and control.

28 The relationship between truth and fiction in lesbian auto/biography is far
 29 from straightforward. Diana Souhami is right that there would be no mod-
 30 ernism without lesbians, but it is also true that there would be no lesbian
 31 modernism without imaginative life writing.¹⁰ In 1928, the year that saw the
 32 publication and ban of *The Well of Loneliness*, two books charted new spatial
 33 and temporal territory for both lesbian writing and life writing: Djuna Barnes’s
 34 satirical *Ladies Almanack* cast a fanciful eye at Natalie Clifford Barney’s Sap-
 35 phic salon, while Virginia Woolf’s fantastical tribute to Vita Sackville-West,
 36 *Orlando*, pushed the limits of what biography might be. Woolf’s vision of ‘The
 37 New Biography’ (1927) extended to her suitably playful *Flush: A Biography*
 38 (1933), a life of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s cocker spaniel that presented
 39 readers with a curious crossbreed of biography and fiction. Stein, whose indi-
 40 rect and altogether inventive take on autobiography was published in the same
 41 year as *Flush*, observed in 1934 that ‘it is of course perfectly natural that auto-
 42 biographies are being well written and well read.’¹¹ Three very different queer

autobiographies had emerged in 1930: the new decade began with Ruth Fuller Field's frank and accessible *The Stone Wall*, published under the pseudonym Mary Casal; *The Little Review* founder Margaret Anderson's witty and absorbing *My Thirty Years' War*, with a chapter devoted to partner, co-editor and 'the world's best talker' Jane Heap; and surrealist photographer and writer Claude Cahun's 'literary mosaic' *Aveux non avenue (Disavowals, or Cancelled Confessions)*, which had been rejected by Adrienne Monnier in 1928.¹² Cahun has a cameo of sorts in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*: Stein refers to her fellow guest at Sylvia Beach's apartment simply, and dismissively, as 'the niece of Marcel Schwob.'¹³ But where Stein, Barnes and Woolf were bending genres and blending fact and fiction, less celebrated lesbian writers were laying claim to the truth. The mysterious Diana Frederic's *Diana: A Strange Autobiography* (1939), which shares significant aspects of plot and structure with *The Well of Loneliness*, repeatedly insists upon the authenticity of its 'characters' and events.¹⁴ Like *The Well*, which was prefaced with a commentary by sexologist Havelock Ellis, *Diana* benefited from an introductory statement by a medical professional who could substantiate its narrative of inborn sexual difference.¹⁵ Literary flair and avant-garde experimentation were important to some, but Hall paved the way for lesser-known lesbians who were determined to show simply that we exist.

My recent book, *The Outside Thing* (2019), explores the connection between literary production and reproduction for Stein and Hall, observing that both writers conceived of their creations as jointly produced offspring, or the happy results of a happy relationship. Though markedly different in their aesthetics, Stein and Hall engaged in imaginative role play in strikingly similar ways: Stein, who was both 'Baby boy' and 'little hubby' to 'wifey' Toklas, produced 'babies' using Toklas's 'little pen,' while Hall fostered the idea of her affair partner, Evguenia Souline, as both child and mother of the child – the text – that Hall herself would produce.¹⁶ An encouraging letter from Souline, with whom Hall conducted an affair from 1934 until her death in 1943, 'would hit the right spot, thus enabling Hall to (pro)create.'¹⁷ Troubridge, who had given birth to daughter Andrea in 1910, did not inseminate Hall's works but instead claimed to have 'christened' them, stating in her biography that she came up with the titles of four of Hall's novels (81). The idea of Toklas impregnating Stein while Troubridge named and nurtured Hall's children clearly has far-reaching implications for discussions of gender identity, butch/femme role play and queer family. But while it is tempting to linger on partnership and collaboration, celebrating the input and influence of modernist lesbian wives, the writing produced in sadness and in solitude by modernist lesbian widows also demands attention.

This chapter reads Toklas and Troubridge as strategic modernist memoirists, proposing an alternative to the accepted narrative of the lesbian writer's

1 wife as subordinate amanuensis, secretary and muse. In *The Passion Projects*
 2 (2019), Melanie Micir casts light on the ‘intertwined’ archives of an extensive
 3 range of queer couples and collaborators, showing how surviving partners and
 4 friends sought to shape and sustain writers’ literary legacies.¹⁸ Taking a closer
 5 look at memoirs by Toklas and Troubridge, this chapter makes a case for two
 6 lesbian widows not only as caretakers of their partners’ pasts and futures but
 7 also as creative practitioners of lesbian modernism. What happens when the
 8 seemingly self-effacing supporter is left alone in the spotlight, and the continu-
 9 ous present of life together has become the past? What becomes of the lesbian
 10 writer’s wife once literary labour is no longer a shared reproductive endeav-
 11 our? How, when memories have faded and ‘making it new’ has long grown
 12 old, might the lesbian modernist widow both remember and be remembered?
 13 Leigh Gilmore has argued that the form of the autobiography allows a writer
 14 to ‘emerge through writing as an agent of self-representation, a figure, text-
 15 tual to be sure but seemingly substantial, who can claim “I was there” or “I
 16 am here.”’¹⁹ How might the recently reinvigorated field of late modernism be
 17 expanded and enhanced by the inclusion of these belated or delayed memoirs,
 18 both of which recapture or resurrect a late writer-partner and reinforce readers’
 19 sense that the author ‘was there’ and ‘is here’?²⁰

WHAT IS REMEMBERED

22 It is somehow symbolic that a telegram composed on the day of Stein’s death
 23 simply reads ‘Gertrude died this afternoon. I am writing. Dearest love / Alice.’²¹
 24 In the years between Stein’s death and the composition of *What Is Remem-*
 25 *bered*, Toklas authored *The Alice B. Toklas Cook Book* (1954) along with
 26 articles in the *New York Times Book Review*, the *New Republic* and the
 27 *Atlantic Monthly*.²² With the publication of the *Cook Book*, a ‘mingling of
 28 recipe and reminiscence’ that bears little resemblance to a conventional cook-
 29 book, Toklas proved herself a creative writer despite the text’s concluding claim
 30 to the contrary: ‘As if a cook-book had anything to do with writing.’²³ In her
 31 autobiography, Toklas draws attention to her own talents not as a writer but
 32 as a classical pianist, suggesting that her musical training allowed her to attain
 33 ‘a professional accuracy and speed’ as Stein’s typist: ‘I got a Gertrude Stein
 34 technique, like playing Bach’ (59). While Toklas is clear that her work was
 35 secondary – reminding us that it was she who typed, edited, printed and pub-
 36 lished Stein’s writing, under the couple’s own Plain Edition imprint – she also
 37 emphasises the vital significance of, and her own unique suitability for, the role
 38 of Stein’s primary supporter. There are telling moments in *The Autobiography*,
 39 as Charles Caramello points out, where the narrator describes Stein’s texts as
 40 ‘my books.’²⁴

41 It would be wrong to suggest that Toklas’s centrality to Stein’s life and writ-
 42 ing has not been remembered. In 1984, Catharine Stimpson acknowledged the

inseparability of Stein and Toklas while expressing concerns about scholarly prurience and misinterpretation: ‘Perhaps the danger now is not that we will avoid their wedding and their bedding, but that we will linger there too long.’²⁵ In 1991, a second essay with ‘Gertrice/Altrude’ in its title, by Leigh Gilmore, cautioned against narrow biographical readings that threaten to ‘miniaturize [Stein] as a member of a sparring couple.’²⁶ Karin Cope has since suggested that Toklas may be seen as ‘architect’ rather than ‘satellite’ of Stein, and Janine Utell has similarly argued that all of the ‘arrangements’ in Stein’s world and work ‘depend on their arranger – Alice B. Toklas.’²⁷ In 2006, Anna Linzie placed Toklas centre stage with a monograph that would tell *The True Story of Alice B. Toklas*, reading Toklas’s own autobiographical writing in relation to Stein’s *The Autobiography*. While Linzie’s work provides a detailed and persuasive analysis of Toklas’s oeuvre, its series of ‘intertextual close readings’ that point out places where Toklas’s autobiography ‘mimics or echoes *The Autobiography*’ can only go so far in convincing readers of the value of *What Is Remembered* as a text in its own right.²⁸

It is significant that *The Autobiography* receives only brief mention in *What Is Remembered*. On 24 October 1934, having at last achieved fame in her homeland with the publication of *The Autobiography*, which the *Atlantic Monthly* had published in an abridged form in four monthly instalments from May 1933, Stein embarked on a triumphant lecture tour of America. Toklas, who accompanied her partner for the duration of the six-month trip, does not explain that *The Autobiography* had made Stein’s name in America but instead presents the tour in passive and prosaic terms: ‘In 1934 it was suggested by a lecture bureau that Gertrude should go to New York’ (149). In *Everybody’s Autobiography* (1937), a text that aimed to build on (but ultimately failed to replicate) the success of her first autobiography, Stein reveals that advances on *The Autobiography* paid for a new Ford car, a bespoke Hermès coat, two studded collars for Basket the poodle, and the installation of a telephone at each of the couple’s two homes.²⁹ ‘Being a celebrity,’ Stein recalls of the voyage to New York, beginning in the singular before turning tellingly to the plural, ‘we paid less than the full price of a small room and we had a very luxurious one’ (173). But where Stein expresses excitement about having earned both celebrity status and her ‘first dollar’ (42), Toklas remembers that ‘Bernard Fay got us passage on the S.S. *Champlain* at a reduced rate’ (149) and goes on to downplay an invitation to dine at the captain’s table: ‘They seemed to think that Gertrude deserved that distinction’ (152). When purchasing fruit on arrival in New York, Toklas is surprised to be recognised by an attendant: ‘How did he know who I was?’ (154). Five paragraphs later, after Toklas has seen a revolving electric light in Times Square announcing ‘Gertrude Stein has arrived in New York, Gertrude Stein has arrived in New York’ (154), the bestselling book that led to the lecture tour is finally introduced: ‘Mr Harcourt, who had published

1 *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* by Gertrude Stein [. . .] (155). Whether
 2 Toklas's curious decision to decentre *The Autobiography* from the story of
 3 Stein's success can be explained by coyness about a text bearing her own name
 4 or by a desire for readers to accept her work on its own terms, this episode
 5 serves as one illustration of the narrative play and temporal trickery that char-
 6 characterise *What Is Remembered*.

7 As an autobiography is written in the present about the past, by a writer
 8 who has the benefit of future knowledge about the events they describe, the
 9 relationship between autobiographical narrative and time is naturally unsta-
 10 ble. The chronology of Toklas's ostensibly accessible autobiography is further
 11 disrupted, repeatedly and often confusingly, by the past perfect tense and the
 12 introduction (to the text) of friends whom the couple have long known. After
 13 the discussion of the lecture tour, for instance, Stein and Toklas visit their good
 14 friends the Abdys, whom readers have not yet encountered. 'It was Bertie, Sir
 15 Robert Abdy,' Toklas recalls, 'who had said to Gertrude, You should write the
 16 history of your friends and time. Which she did, *The Autobiography of Alice B.*
 17 *Toklas*' (172). Many of Toklas's paragraphs begin with markers of time – 'One
 18 day,' 'One afternoon,' 'That night,' 'When,' 'Later' – but events do not always
 19 unfold in logical or linear fashion. 'In the summer of 1931,' begins one para-
 20 graph in chapter 8, 'Aaron Copland and Paul Bowles came to visit us at Bilignin'
 21 (147). Toklas then provides, in four paragraphs, anecdotes about Copland and
 22 Bowles, ending with the recollection that she met Bowles's wife 'later in Paris
 23 after Gertrude died' (148). The following two paragraphs open thus: 'One day
 24 Madame de Clermont-Tonnerre came to see Gertrude and took off her hat and
 25 said, What do you think of it? She had had her beautiful hair cut'; 'That night
 26 Gertrude said to me, Cut off my braids. Which I agreed to do.' Stein's famous
 27 haircut was carried out by Toklas in 1926. After a one-sentence paragraph
 28 on forgetting – 'Later Gertrude forgot that she had ever had two long braids'
 29 (149) – Toklas turns to 1934 and the lecture tour. Moving from 1931 to 1934
 30 via the unwritten dates of 1946 (Stein's death) and 1926, the narrative distorts
 31 and manipulates time, forcing readers to attempt to piece together individual
 32 stories ('One day') into a coherent narrative. While Stein observes in *Every-*
 33 *body's Autobiography* that '[a]n autobiography is not a novel no indeed it is
 34 not a novel' (200), the nonlinear storytelling, temporal distortion and narrative
 35 fragmentation of *What Is Remembered* require serious interpretative work.

36 Describing their good friend the Baroness Pierlot, Toklas writes that 'Ger-
 37 trude used to say she had a memory that rivalled mine' (131). It goes without
 38 saying, however, that the elderly Toklas – who was eighty-one when she began
 39 work on *What Is Remembered* in 1958 – may have struggled to arrange events
 40 into the 'correct' order. In an interview six years earlier, Toklas had been quick
 41 to correct the impression that her 'recollection of times and places and dates
 42 [was] quite astounding':

I don't think so. Oh, you should have known what it was. I could have begun with the beginning and given you *everything* connected with *every* day along the line, until Gertrude died. I lost my memory then, because I think I was upset and my head, when it came back, just wasn't clear about things.³⁰

Both Simon and Linzie document Toklas's aborted collaboration with Max White, a writer-friend who was enlisted to work with Toklas on her memoirs but who eventually gave up and threw away his notes, citing his subject's tendency to 'lie and deny it and contradict herself' as reason for the failure of the project.³¹ Linzie is right that White's search for a 'preexisting, factual, pure, complete, and verifiable' autobiographical 'truth' could only ever have been futile, but we might also understand Toklas's creative approach to autobiography as a narrative strategy rather than a simple failure to remember.³² Where Stein uses informative chapter headings to enforce a semblance of order and chronology on *The Autobiography*, Toklas's memoir appears purposely disordered and often impishly deceiving. Revealingly, the Toklas that we hear in the 1952 interview takes pleasure in teasing and misleading interested interlocutors. Having rejected interviewer Roland Duncan's suggestion that she may have 'contributed' to *The Autobiography*, Toklas recalls a conversation with a friend: "I suppose you are helping Miss Stein write her books, aren't you, Alice?" "Oh, surely. Most of them are mine," I said.³³ Similarly, in *What Is Remembered*, Toklas draws attention to her own unreliable narration: when meeting Charlie Chaplin, 'I said to him, The only films we have seen are yours, which flattered him but which was not exactly exact' (163–4). Discussing 'the kind and degree of "truth" that can be expected from autobiographical writing,' Laura Marcus recognises that 'the "intention" to tell the truth, as far as possible, is a sufficient guarantee of autobiographical veracity and sincerity.'³⁴ Toklas, however, is quite clear in her intention to secure her reader's (and Chaplin's) trust and affection through charm and beguilement rather than factual accuracy.

Elsewhere in her memoir, Toklas alerts readers to instances of interplay between reality and fiction. Remembering a little girl who asked her for money outside the Gothic cathedral in Burgos, Spain, Toklas writes that her 'green eyes and her ways suggested Becky Sharp [from Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*]' (74). So many of Toklas's memories are bound up in reading, from her paternal grandfather's 'read[ing] aloud to me Grimm's fairy tales' (8) and school days spent with Louisa May Alcott and Dickens (11) to her first walk with Stein, where Stein asked 'what books I had read on the steamer and were the Flaubert letters translated into English' (28). Where the appreciation and purchase of art are central to Stein's autobiography, Toklas spends her time in Paris 'looking at and buying books' (51). The impact of this literary preoccupation is twofold: Toklas reminds her readers that her bookish sensibilities are as fine-tuned as

1 Stein's, and she draws attention to the novelistic qualities of her own writing.
 2 Weaving references to fiction into her narrative, Toklas establishes interconnec-
 3 tions among her own 'store of well-wrought anecdotes,' to quote Simon para-
 4 phrasing White (302), and the expansive 'store' of stories that she has read. As
 5 she recalls that her daily typing of *The Making of Americans* (1925) was 'like
 6 living history,' with 'characters or incidents of the previous day' making their
 7 way into Stein's monumental family saga (60), Toklas again shows that the line
 8 between real life and fiction is not always easy to discern.

9 Reviewing *What Is Remembered* for the *New Republic*, Joseph Barry (mis-
 10 identifies the couple as a 'Platonic pair' while commenting upon 'the fullness
 11 of a relationship that makes wife a feeble household word.'³⁵ Although she is
 12 careful to conceal specific details, Toklas provides key insights into her inti-
 13 mate relationship with Stein. Stein appears as 'Gertrude Stein' throughout *The*
 14 *Autobiography* – and Toklas is 'Alice Toklas' in *Everybody's Autobiography* –
 15 but Toklas pinpoints the moment at which she 'was to call her Gertrude' (39)
 16 and continues to do so for the remaining nine chapters. Toklas chooses not to
 17 give away any secrets about the beginnings of the relationship, but her explicit
 18 refusal to tell makes it clear that there is something worth telling. Toklas recalls
 19 having arrived half an hour late to their second meeting:

20
 21 I did not know what had happened or what was going to happen.

22 Nor is it possible for me to tell about it now. After she had paced for
 23 some time about the long Florentine table made longer by being flanked
 24 on either side by two smaller ones, she stood in front of me and said,
 25 Now you understand. It is over. It is not too late to go for a walk. You
 26 can look at the pictures while I change my clothes. (27)

27
 28 Moving swiftly from ignorance to secrecy to closure ('It is over') to possibil-
 29 ity ('It is not too late'), Toklas not only shows readers that it was Stein who
 30 drove the relationship forward but also uses Stein's voice to ask for acceptance:
 31 'Now you understand.' After providing some detail about the walk, Toklas tells
 32 travelling companion Harriet Levy 'only of the walk and nothing of what had
 33 occurred before' (28) before symbolically tearing into shreds a letter that she
 34 had received from a commodore with whom she may have 'lacked discretion'
 35 (23) on the voyage to Paris. As Linzie argues, this incident represents a 'slight
 36 but significant subplot of heterosexual (im)possibility.'³⁶ 'Well, that episode
 37 was closed' (29), Toklas declares emphatically, at once consigning heterosexu-
 38 ality to the past and echoing Stein's 'It is over,' demonstrating the similarity and
 39 inseparability of Stein's voice and her own.

40 While temporal shifts, silences and deferrals allow Toklas to sidestep the
 41 subject of sexuality, there are moments where she favours an 'exactly exact'
 42 approach to time, punctuality and the details of domestic life. Picasso is

introduced as being always ‘on time’ (30); Stein ‘had her breakfast coffee at the lunch table at one o’clock’ (60); and, narrating a bizarre episode where Levy claims to have seen God, Toklas remembers that ‘I looked at my watch. It was half-past eight’ (42). Such claims for temporal ‘truth’ serve as carefully placed reminders that Toklas *can* remember, but as writer and narrator she is in a position to decide what to share and what to obscure. Readers are not initially privy to Toklas’s plans to move in with Stein at the rue de Fleurus, hearing the news belatedly via a conversation between Toklas and a friend: ‘it is already arranged that I should go to stay with Gertrude and Leo’ (67). But while Toklas appears a passive spectator in certain private affairs – ‘it is already arranged’ – she does not shy away from seizing narratives of public, professional and philanthropic life. ‘We decided that we would at once have to busy ourselves with some war work,’ Toklas begins chapter 6 (100), before switching from ‘we’ to ‘I’ in the next sentence. ‘I suddenly saw a Ford car’ is followed by ‘I said to Gertrude, wait a minute, I am going in to enquire about this.’ Toklas is insistent that it was she who secured the couple’s war work for the American Fund for French Wounded, and she who arranged for the printing of postcards to produce additional funds (104). With the amusing recollection that ‘I gave Gertrude a half cold chicken to eat in one hand while she was driving’ (104), readers are playfully reminded that while Stein was in the driver’s seat in a literal sense, Toklas fuelled their endeavours in more ways than one.

Though Toklas’s character is in no way subsumed by Stein, their togetherness is emphasised by unexpected slips in subject/object positions and by the merging of autobiography and biography. On a trip to Seville, ‘I ate innumerable ices during the day, which disturbed Gertrude’s stomach’ (81). *What Is Remembered* poses as straightforward autobiography, beginning ‘I was born and raised in California’ (5), but it ends with Stein’s death. While Toklas introduces her text as autobiography, the idea that the text offers a performance of the autobiographical mode is subtly suggested by the first chapter’s preoccupation with theatre and spectacle. In the opening five pages, we encounter opera, the circus, and a young Toklas waltzing and dancing the cachucha, and in chapter 3, the theatre is host to both modernism and modernity. After having seen and been shocked by ‘the most questionable of the comedies,’ Toklas attends a Henri Bernstein play where she sees ‘one of the first portable telephones’ (50) on the stage. The audience ‘buzzed with excitement as the curtain went up and revealed it’ (50). Toklas’s interest in technology and machinery extends from her delight in her ‘formidable’ new Smith Premier typewriter (59) to a charming anecdote about Stein’s wartime attempt to repair their truck’s fan belt using a hairpin (110). Aspects of artistic and literary modernism are introduced with more scepticism. Toklas overhears ‘not entirely friendly’ discussions at the vernissage of the Salon d’Automne, and she appears to observe rather than participate in applause for a ‘very small Russian girl’ who claims

1 that her art strives for '[t]he modern, the new' (33). Joyce and Stein have little
 2 to say to one another (141), and 'Mrs. [Vanessa] Bell' and the 'very beautiful'
 3 Woolf – 'daughters of Sir Leslie Stephen' (88) – are noted not for their work
 4 but for their part in the Dreadnought Hoax, 'a very English prank' (89). Con-
 5 tinuing the work of *The Autobiography*, where the narrator insists that it was
 6 Stein's 'Melanctha' (in *Three Lives*, 1909) that made 'the first definite step
 7 away from the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century in literature'
 8 (61), *What Is Remembered* upholds the idea of Stein as the most prominent
 9 and pioneering of literary modernists.

10 It is easy to see why Linzie would argue that *What Is Remembered* 'repeats
 11 and mimics Stein's text in such a way as to unsettle the fantasy of original-
 12 ity.'³⁷ Along with the 'double takes' that Linzie identifies, there are clear nods
 13 to the earlier text in Toklas's narrative: the bells that ring in San Francisco in
 14 the second paragraph, for instance, echo the first chapter of *The Autobiogra-*
 15 *phy*, where a bell rings within Toklas each time she encounters a 'genius' (9).
 16 Similarities in style and structure place the two texts in a 'classical chicken/egg
 17 situation,' familiar to readers of collaborative queer writing: did Toklas write
 18 her autobiography in the voice that Stein had assigned her, or was the narration
 19 of *The Autobiography* an attempt by Stein to capture Toklas's authentic voice?³⁸
 20 As Toklas ends her own autobiography with Stein's death, we might conclude
 21 that the literary construct of Toklas, first introduced in *The Autobiography*,
 22 dies with Stein. Toklas herself may well have supported this idea, as is evident
 23 in a particularly poignant letter written to curator Donald Gallup on 11 March
 24 1947: 'You realize surely that Gertrude's memory is all my life.'³⁹ But as this
 25 chapter has shown, Toklas's writing life extended beyond Stein, and her mod-
 26 ernist legacy amounts to much more than the texts that she typed and printed
 27 for her partner. Where Stein claims in *Everybody's Autobiography* that 'auto-
 28 biography is easy like it or not autobiography is easy for any one' (4), *What Is*
 29 *Remembered* is a deceptively complex and challenging amalgam of auto/biogra-
 30 phy and invention by a writer with an unexpectedly unique literary imagination.

31 THE LIFE AND DEATH OF RADCLYFFE HALL

32 While the title of *What Is Remembered* does not claim Stein as the book's
 33 subject – Toklas's suggested title, *Things I Have Seen*, an echo of Stein's 1945
 34 memoir *Wars I Have Seen*, was ignored by the publisher – *The Life and*
 35 *Death of Radclyffe Hall* makes its status as biography clear. In her foreword,
 36 Troubridge introduces her text as 'a perfectly truthful biography [. . .] in the
 37 form of a long letter addressed to those who will read it.'⁴⁰ Gilmore's claim that
 38 biography 'begins in mourning' and 'give[s] voice to the dead, [who] seem to
 39 be withholding something that the living want' is apposite here: as Micir has
 40 observed, Troubridge's decision to document Hall's past was driven in part
 41 by a desire to secure her partner's 'posthumous reputation' and to 'provide
 42

necessary information about Hall to generations of future readers.⁴¹ But, 1
 unsurprisingly, Troubridge's insistence upon the veracity of her narrative has 2
 been met with scorn. Souhami observes that 'Una had a psychopath's skill to 3
 convince herself of the truth of her lies,' while an otherwise forgiving Richard 4
 Ormrod admits that 'in a court of law some of her statements and omissions 5
 would amount to perjury!'⁴² Reflecting on her own experience of writing Hall's 6
 life, Cline outlines the 'fraudulent' actions taken by a woman who was 'utterly 7
 determined that only her version of Hall as a stern lesbian icon should be in 8
 the public domain.'⁴³ Troubridge's letter-biography was written at great speed 9
 from 19 February to 18 March 1945, but it remained unpublished until 1961, 10
 three years after the death of Hall's affair partner Souline – who, as Troubridge 11
 was well aware, could have sued for libel. 12

The inclusion of 'Lady' on the book's cover may raise eyebrows. Troubridge 13
 had taken the title in June 1919, despite having been legally separated from 14
 her newly knighted husband Admiral Sir Ernest Charles Thomas Troubridge 15
 for four months. While the 'form of a long letter' may seem like a reasonable 16
 choice for a woman who had continued to write to Hall every day since her 17
 death on 7 October 1943, aspects of the text's structure and style might also 18
 arouse suspicion. Troubridge kept meticulous records of Hall's professional 19
 life, but the absence of chapter breaks and scarcity of specific dates here do 20
 not point to a partner bent on precise documentation. For Ormrod, the form 21
 of Troubridge's biography goes some way in letting its author off the hook: 'It 22
 meanders confusingly, showing little concern for accurate dating, but in fair- 23
 ness some license must be granted in a "letter."⁴⁴ Troubridge quite clearly uses 24
 any 'license' granted by a letter to her advantage, presenting her biography 25
 not as a carefully edited record but rather as a spontaneously produced 'story' 26
 (44) or string of recollections that may at any point pull her off track: 'as I 27
 write this, a memory crops up' (20); 'once again I have wandered up by-ways' 28
 (93, 134). At the same time, Troubridge does pay attention to certain conven- 29
 tions of biography: the narrative starts reluctantly with a discussion of Hall's 30
 ancestry and family crest ('I suppose I ought to begin [. . .],' 7), and there is an 31
 attempt to impose chronology despite the many distractions and digressions. 32
 Acknowledging the tension between the present narrating self and the past 33
 subject who could not foresee future events, Troubridge looks back 'with the 34
 eye of one who knows the sequel' (42), often providing flashes of what 'was 35
 hidden in the impenetrable future' (47). 'Being now nearly sixty,' she writes, 36
 'most of my vision works backwards and I can visualize what seemed at the 37
 time a mere vortex of impulses and coincidence and tragedy as a pattern' (47). 38
 Though Hall's death does not occur until we reach the last page, we are made 39
 privy to a discussion that took place 'shortly before her death and when we 40
 both knew that bodily separation was imminent' (60) in the first third of the 41
 narrative. Where temporal disorder in Toklas's narrative has been interpreted 42

1 as confusion or a failure to remember, Troubridge's apparently effortless leaps
 2 across time create a confident impression of comprehensive knowledge and
 3 god-like omniscience.

4 Cline may be right to describe Troubridge's biography as hagiographic, but
 5 the Hall who emerges from the first part of the text does not inspire veneration.
 6 'Throughout her adolescence and her maturity until the age of thirty-
 7 four,' claims Troubridge, 'she was idle, bone idle' (18). When Troubridge first
 8 encounters Hall on 1 August 1915, she finds her 'not only devout but, to my
 9 mind, bigoted in the extreme' (48). Most repellent to readers is a second-hand
 10 account of a year spent in America as a reckless twenty-something, where Hall
 11 'drove her cousin Jane Randolph (later Caruth) all over the States in a primi-
 12 tive car with one spark-plug at the back and a revolver handy for obstreperous
 13 negroes [*sic*]' (19). The couple's later politics are troubling to say the least:
 14 forerunner to Italian fascism Gabriele D'Annunzio is given more space in the
 15 narrative than any other acquaintance (118–25), and both partners prize their
 16 'Fascist medal' (68) and a dedicated photograph of 'the Duce' (151) – though
 17 Hitler, whom they see in person during his visit to Florence in 1938, is 'a criminal
 18 lunatic' (150). While Troubridge does not explicitly marry up the age of
 19 thirty-four and the date when she and Hall met, the not-so-subtle implication is
 20 that Hall was not only 'a mass of sharp corners, prejudices and preconceptions
 21 that she was sure nothing was ever going to modify' (48) but also 'resolutely
 22 and remorselessly idle' (28) until she had the fortune of falling for Troubridge.
 23 Thus, although Troubridge claims that she will 'try to omit, so far as possible,
 24 my personal concerns and history' (44) from her narrative, to the point that
 25 she does not once mention her own daughter, she nonetheless presents herself
 26 as the sole saviour and architect of Hall's life and career. Her supposed self-
 27 effacement is nothing but performance.

28 Like Toklas, whose 'fingers were adapted only to Gertrude's work' (*What Is*
 29 *Remembered*, 59), Troubridge felt herself uniquely suited to the role of 'watch-
 30 ing, serving and subordinating everything in existence to the requirements of
 31 an overwhelming literary inspiration and industry' (39). 'Serving' Hall involved
 32 deciphering handwriting, reading aloud, correcting spellings, incorporating revi-
 33 sions, exercising tact, and 'repeatedly read[ing] the riot act' (77) when it came
 34 to the destruction of early drafts. Describing the 'one respect in which I trained
 35 John,' as though she were one of the couple's pet dogs, Troubridge explains
 36 that she 'exact[ed] a solemn promise that never, never again would she destroy
 37 anything until we had finally examined it together and she had confirmed her
 38 verdict' (77–8). Though Troubridge credits Hall's first long-term partner, her
 39 own cousin 'Ladye' Mabel Batten, with recognising Hall's talent 'even in the
 40 egg' and taking steps that led to her career (39), she questions whether Batten
 41 would have been up to the task of sustaining Hall's writing life. Souline was
 42 certainly not fit for the role: 'She had less than no appreciation of the conditions

essential to the production of creative work' (116). Only Troubridge, in whose hands the decision to write *The Well of Loneliness* was apparently placed (82), could achieve an intimate knowledge of Hall's working mind. 'I have reason to believe,' Troubridge asserts, 'that even after a number of years Evguenia hardly knew the names of the characters that John had created' (116).

In Troubridge's memoir, Hall's fictional characters are very much alive. Troubridge recalls how, 'collecting copy' for *Adam's Breed* (1926), the couple followed the novel's hero 'step by step to the New Forest [. . .] and found him at last' (80). Travelling through Fréjus, on the Côte d'Azur, Hall spies the place where Christophe Bénédict was 'born' (101) before writing his character in *The Master of the House* (1932). According to Troubridge, Hall 'wrote herself' (103) into the martyred Christophe, a carpenter's son with spiritual healing powers, only to develop 'an angry-looking red stain' (105) at the centre of each palm. Though she admits that Hall shared 'practically none of her circumstances or experiences' (103) with her earlier martyred messiah, Stephen Gordon, Troubridge also hints at connections between Hall and the protagonist of *The Well of Loneliness*. From childhood, Hall had 'protection mania' (16); later, '[a]thletic diversions' give way to 'intellectual, artistic and religious understanding' (42). The descriptions of Hall's working practices, where she writes and smokes through the night with Troubridge growing ever weary of her outbursts of temper and self-doubt, mirror scenes between Stephen and Puddle in the third book of *The Well*. Two aspects of Troubridge's own writing style are of particular note: like Hall, she has a tendency to begin sentences with 'And,' and she often describes how she and Hall were 'like' fictional characters. 'Like Hilary and Susan Brent in *The Forge*, [. . .] we decided that what we wanted was a small house in London' (65); 'like Stephen Gordon, we both loved [the *Sacré Cœur*]' (84). While Troubridge evidently imagines the recipient of her 'letter' to have a detailed knowledge of Hall's oeuvre, her phrasing also implies that fictional characters somehow prefigure reality.

Fiction shapes Troubridge's biography in other ways, too – and not just because Troubridge, like Toklas, was a voracious reader who 'seemed to breed' books (181). We are confronted with significant omissions and outright lies: Troubridge claims that Hall's affair with Phoebe Hoare in 1913–14 was a 'trivial, passing lapse' that Batten dismissed 'with a tolerant smile' (38), but Cline has pointed out that Batten meticulously 'measured and calculated' Hall's meetings with Hoare in her diaries and grew increasingly estranged from Hall.⁴⁵ Troubridge discusses the couple's sittings with trance medium Gladys Osborne Leonard and their 'war work' (59) for the Society for Psychical Research (SPR), but she does not make reference to Hall's 1920 slander trial against SPR member St George Lane Fox-Pitt, who had described her as a 'grossly immoral woman.'⁴⁶ Both Cline and Souhami have documented Troubridge's active role in shaping – or sculpting – lasting perceptions of Hall's mannish persona. When

1 Hall was ten or eleven years old, her stepfather Alberto Visetti made sexual
 2 advances towards her. Having initially described this abuse and its effects in
 3 forty pages of her biography, Troubridge then removed all trace of it ‘lest we
 4 have psycho analytic know alls saying she would have been a wife and mother
 5 but for that experience.’⁴⁷ Ever insistent upon the innate masculinity of her
 6 ‘John,’ Troubridge arranged for a portrait of a five-year-old Hall with long
 7 curls, which would appear in the biography, to be doctored in order to depict
 8 a more boyish child. Hall was forty when she cropped her waist-length hair,
 9 on 17 December 1920: much like Stein before Toklas carried out the ‘monk’
 10 haircut in 1926, the younger Hall usually wore her hair ‘in tight plaits closely
 11 twisted round her small and admirably shaped head.’⁴⁸ Nonetheless, for her
 12 partner, Hall’s face was always that of ‘a very handsome young man’ (46).

13 Throughout the biography, Troubridge works hard to convince her reader of
 14 the ‘truth’ of her account, drawing attention to both spontaneous memories and
 15 her sustained effort to remember. As we have seen, she also uses her ‘backward’
 16 vision to allow her to identify ‘patterns’ in the past. Though she admits to know-
 17 ing very little about Hall’s childhood, Troubridge reports that she ‘hated dolls,
 18 loved drums and noisy toys, but such tastes are common to many girl children
 19 and might seem to have had little if any significance had the future not confirmed
 20 the fact of her sexual inversion’ (19). The discussion of a photograph of Hall as a
 21 ‘sturdy-looking baby’ with ‘hard-clenched fists’ appears to borrow directly from
 22 *The Well*, where Hall describes the infant Stephen’s ‘hard little arrogant fists.’⁴⁹
 23 As Troubridge is writing about this photograph, which is not reproduced in the
 24 biography, ‘a memory crops up that she was told at one time that throughout
 25 her infancy strangers always mistook her for a boy’ (20). In this way, Troubridge
 26 nurtures a narrative of gender difference while also suggesting that her own role
 27 is merely that of messenger or medium. Though some recollections appear to
 28 reach Troubridge as if from nowhere, she also takes pains to record her attempts
 29 to remember on the page: ‘And there the curtain – so far as my memory serves –
 30 comes down on the anecdotes [. . .]. No, there is one more glimpse’ (12). Mak-
 31 ing repeated turns to metaphor, describing any forgotten moments as ‘dropped
 32 stitches in the fabric of my knowledge’ (25), Troubridge creatively diverts atten-
 33 tion away from her many deliberate fabrications and omissions. The holes in
 34 the text are not ‘dropped stitches’ but rather purposely placed gaps – or, to mix
 35 Troubridge’s metaphors, an obfuscating ‘curtain’ – between her subject and the
 36 reader-recipient. While her style is lively and her tone often intimate, Troubridge-
 37 as-biographer maintains a careful distance: she knew Hall ‘better than anyone on
 38 this earth’ (103) and will not readily share her knowledge.

39 Though she claims to be ‘unskilled’ as a writer (182), Troubridge is quite
 40 clearly in control of her story. At times, the perceived interests of the letter’s
 41 recipient are taken into account – ‘And, you may begin to ask, where in all this
 42 do we find any traces of Radclyffe Hall, the future writer?’ (27) – but Troubridge

will rarely be swayed from her narrative path. Having introduced an American cousin with whom Hall was romantically involved in her mid-twenties, Troubridge states that ‘Dorothy Clarke [was Diehl] is dead now, and you might well say, “*de mortuis*”, but this record is to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth’ (27) before giving a one-sided account of Clarke as ungrateful and disloyal. Troubridge’s dismissal of her love rival, the ‘violent and uncontrolled’ (112) Souline, is to be expected, but her insistence on Hall’s and her own mutual dependence and isolation from others is concerning. Recognising that she has included ‘very little’ about friends, Troubridge claims that ‘the very fact of our perfect companionship precluded their assuming any great importance or entering very closely into our lives’ (113). In a chapter on Hall in her 1963 work *Me – and the Swans*, the couple’s friend Naomi ‘Mickie’ Jacob writes as though she were trespassing on another’s property: Troubridge, who ‘understood her as no one else could possibly do,’ is ‘the only person who could really write’ an account of Hall’s life.⁵⁰ Jacob reports her regret at having dared to ask to see Hall on her deathbed, a request that Troubridge firmly refused, and makes it clear that she will not attempt to cross boundaries again. In my work on Hall’s obsessive relationship with Souline, I identify Hall’s behaviour as coercive control.⁵¹ Here, asserting absolute authority over her subject, Troubridge exercises a form of textual control, excluding family and friends (the word ‘friends’ is placed in inverted commas on page 128) and manipulating her reader – through wit, charm and a feigned intimacy with ‘you’ – into accepting her distorted version of events.

Noting that others remember Hall for her laughter (177), Troubridge steers her narrative between grief and humour, offering telling insights into the couple’s domestic and intimate life together. The word ‘orgy’ describes the pleasures of homemaking (62, 108), reading (74) and sightseeing (143). We are invited to smile at the description of Hall and Troubridge filling the bottom of their car with ten kilograms of cherries on a journey from Châteauneuf-du-Pape to Avignon (98), and at the account of how Hall, Troubridge, Souline and a tan dwarf pinscher named Mary Rose travelled from Merano to Florence in a ‘turquoise-blue charabanc of immense proportions’ (127). In Florence, a domestic servant surprisingly refers to ‘Donna Una and the Signorina’ (133). Troubridge’s steadfast dedication to Hall, particularly as she nears the end of her life, is presented in powerful, moving and increasingly distressing terms. Recalling how she prayed for a miracle as Hall’s condition worsened, despairing at the thought of surviving her beloved, Troubridge observes that ‘separation on earth was the universal lot unless people had the amazing luck to die or be killed together’ (189). The couple’s Catholic faith provided hope for reunion, and – though she carried out Hall’s wish that she destroy the draft of her last novel – Troubridge evidently found comfort in the knowledge that Hall’s texts would survive. The biography brims with pride in Hall’s fiction: the obscenity trials of *The Well of Loneliness* are given little space, but chance encounters with admirers and

1 supporters are interspersed throughout. Importantly, Troubridge highlights the
 2 positive after-effects of censorship, drawing attention to the notorious novel's
 3 extraordinary reach. Hall 'would have felt less tired' at the time of the trials,
 4 she observes wryly, 'had she known that fourteen years after publication *The*
 5 *Well of Loneliness* in America alone would have a steady annual sale of over
 6 one hundred thousand copies' (94). The last line of the biography is spoken by
 7 Hall herself, as Troubridge quotes from a letter by Hall discovered in her wid-
 8 owhood: 'God keep you until we meet again . . . and believe in my love, which
 9 is much, much stronger than mere death' (190). Where *The Well* ends with Ste-
 10 phen sacrificing her relationship with Mary Llewellyn, Troubridge's life of Hall
 11 concludes with an enduring and emphatic lesbian love.

CONCLUSION

14 Attending her first bullfight with Stein, Toklas wears 'what I called my Spanish
 15 disguise, so that I remained unnoticed' (78). Although they have not reserved
 16 tickets, Toklas requests and receives 'the very best [seats] in the first row in the
 17 shade under the President's box' (78). Showing a curious combination of invis-
 18 ibility and prime positioning, with more than a hint of privilege and entitle-
 19 ment, this short episode somehow captures the character and self-presentation
 20 of the lesbian modernist wife.

21 Despite differences in style and approach, there are remarkable similarities
 22 between the two memoirs discussed here. Ormrod briefly outlines 'surprising
 23 parallels' (292) between Toklas and Troubridge, and we might enhance his
 24 discussion by adding a number of shared passions: the association of past
 25 happiness with 'food and drink' (*Radclyffe Hall*, 90), for instance, or an
 26 insatiable appetite for reading. Both writers' accounts of domestic life with
 27 adored pet dogs have much to offer to scholarship on alternative families;
 28 both texts' temporal disruption could contribute to debates around queer
 29 time. Both memoirs – written by women who only took up their own 'little
 30 pens' after the death of the author-partner-parent – might enrich the fertile
 31 fields of late modernist and lesbian auto/biography studies. When it comes to
 32 sexual and textual relationships, the queer force of this work is clear: only
 33 through writing about their late partners do Toklas and Troubridge find their
 34 own voices as lesbian modernists.

NOTES

- 37 1. Alice B. Toklas, *What Is Remembered: An Autobiography* (London: Cardinal,
 38 1989), 7–8. Subsequent references will cite page numbers in-text.
- 39 2. Linda Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas* (Lincoln and London: University of
 40 Nebraska Press, 1991), 266; Donald Sutherland, 'Alice and Gertrude and Others,'
 41 *Prairie Schooner* 45, no. 4 (1971/2): 284–99, 288.
- 42 3. Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,
 [1959] 1991), 27.

4. Una, Lady Troubridge, 'Foreword,' in <i>The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall</i> (London: Hammond, Hammond, 1961), n.p.	1
5. Ibid.	2
6. Ibid., 182.	3
7. Sally Cline, <i>Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John</i> (London: John Murray Publishers, 1997), 108.	4
8. Ibid., 110, 108.	5
9. Ibid., 108.	6
10. Diana Souhami, <i>No Modernism Without Lesbians</i> (London: Head of Zeus, 2020).	7
11. Gertrude Stein, 'Portraits and Repetition,' in <i>Lectures in America</i> (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 184.	8
12. Margaret Anderson, <i>My Thirty Years' War: An Autobiography</i> (New York: Covici-Friede, 1930), 103. Tirza True Latimer describes <i>Aveux non avenues</i> as a 'literary mosaic' in her chapter on "'Narcissus and Narcissus": Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore,' in <i>Women Together/Women Apart: Portraits of Lesbian Paris</i> (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 68–104, 80.	9
13. Gertrude Stein, <i>The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas</i> (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 211. Subsequent references will cite page numbers in-text.	10
14. As Julie Abraham points out, 'On the cover, in the introduction, and in the text, <i>Diana</i> tells you that what it is telling you is true.' Julie Abraham, 'Introduction to the New Edition,' in Diana Frederics, <i>Diana: A Strange Autobiography</i> (New York and London: New York University Press, 1995), xxii. Frederics claims that the 'characters and events in this book are real' in her foreword (xxxix).	11
15. Physician and medical journalist Victor Robinson, MD, provides the introduction to Frederics's text.	12
16. See Hannah Roche, <i>The Outside Thing: Modernist Lesbian Romance</i> (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 61–6, 114–18.	13
17. Ibid., 115.	14
18. Melanie Micir, <i>The Passion Projects: Modernist Women, Intimate Archives, Unfinished Lives</i> (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 10.	15
19. Leigh Gilmore, <i>The Limits of Autobiography: Trauma and Testimony</i> (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 9.	16
20. See Julia Jordan, <i>Late Modernism and the Avant-Garde British Novel: Oblique Strategies</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). Jordan acknowledges scholars including Laura Marcus, David James, Rebecca Walkowitz and Urmila Seshagiri who have 'recently made the field of late modernism so capacious' (25n87).	17
21. Alice B. Toklas to W. G. Rogers, 27 July 1946, in <i>Staying on Alone: Letters of Alice B. Toklas</i> , ed. Edward Burns (London: Angus and Robinson, 1974), 3.	18
22. For a full list of Toklas's publications, see Simon, <i>Biography</i> , 374–5.	19
23. Alice B. Toklas, <i>The Alice B. Toklas Cook Book</i> (New York: Anchor, [1954] 1960), 298. Toklas describes the text as a 'mingling of recipe and reminiscence' in its preface, 'A Word with the Cook,' n.p.	20
24. Charles Caramello, <i>Henry James, Gertrude Stein, and the Biographical Act</i> (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 160.	21
25. Catharine R. Stimpson, 'Gertrice/Altrude: Stein, Toklas, and the Paradox of the Happy Marriage,' in <i>Mothering the Mind: Twelve Studies of Women and Their</i>	22

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2 London: Holmes and Meier, 1984), 122–39, 128.
- 3 26. Leigh Gilmore, ‘A Signature of Lesbian Autobiography: “Gertrice/Altrude,”’ *Prose*
4 *Studies* 14, no. 2 (1991): 56–75, 56.
- 5 27. Karin Cope, *Passionate Collaborations: Learning to Live with Gertrude Stein*
6 (Victoria, BC: ELS Editions, 2005), 166; Janine Utell, *Literary Couples and Twentieth-*
7 *Century Life Writing* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2020), 59.
- 8 28. Anna Linzie, *The True Story of Alice B. Toklas: A Study of Three Autobiographies*
9 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 107, 103.
- 10 29. Gertrude Stein, *Everybody’s Autobiography* (Cambridge, MA: Exact Change,
11 [1937] 1993), 173. See 41, 44–5.
- 12 30. Alice B. Toklas, ‘The Bancroft Library Interview,’ conducted by Roland Duncan,
13 November 1952 (Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley,
14 2012), 94.
- 15 31. Quoted in Simon, *Biography*, 303.
- 16 32. Linzie, *True Story*, 116.
- 17 33. Toklas, ‘Bancroft Library Interview,’ 93.
- 18 34. Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Man-
19 chester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 3.
- 20 35. Joseph Barry, ‘Miss Toklas on Her Own,’ *The New Republic*, 30 March 1963, 21.
- 21 36. Linzie, *True Story*, 130.
- 22 37. *Ibid.*, 125.
- 23 38. *Ibid.*, 133.
- 24 39. Toklas, *Staying on Alone*, 54.
- 25 40. Troubridge, ‘Foreword,’ n.p. Subsequent references will cite page numbers in-text.
- 26 41. Gilmore, *Limits of Autobiography*, 93; Micir, *Passion Projects*, 25.
- 27 42. Diana Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson,
28 1998), 360; Richard Ormrod, *Una Troubridge: The Friend of Radclyffe Hall*
29 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1984), 290.
- 30 43. Sally Cline and Carole Angier, eds, *Life Writing: A Writers’ and Artists’ Companion*
31 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 38–9.
- 32 44. Ormrod, *Una Troubridge*, 291.
- 33 45. Cline, *Radclyffe Hall*, 91.
- 34 46. See Jodie Medd, ‘Séances and Slander: Radclyffe Hall in 1920,’ in *Sapphic Moder-*
35 *nities: Sexuality, Women and National Culture*, ed. Laura Doan and Jane Garrity
36 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 201–16.
- 37 47. Quoted in Souhami, *Trials*, 17.
- 38 48. Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, 148, recalls how Sherwood Anderson told Stein that
39 she looked ‘like a monk’; Troubridge, *Life and Death*, 45.
- 40 49. Troubridge, *Life and Death*, 20; Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (Paris: The
Pegasus Press, 1928), 16.
- 50 50. Naomi Jacob, *Me – and the Swans* (London: William Kimber, 1963), 121.
- 51 51. See chapter 4 of Roche, *Outside Thing*.