Glances Backward—Glances Forward: Rodney Garland's *The Heart in Exile* in Context

Zsolt Bojti

Abstract: The first openly gay detective novel, one of the first overtly homosexual fiction published by a British press, and possibly the most popular fiction in the 1950s about male same-sex desire, *The Heart in Exile* (1953), was written under the pseudonym Rodney Garland. The author's identity has sparked debates since the very first publication of the novel. Although it seems to be the common consensus that the novel was written by Hungarian journalist Adam de Hegedus, there are disputes about the person of the real author and the authorship of the Garland series. This paper first addresses these questions of authorship. Then, it moves on to argue that the novelty of *The Heart in Exile* in the early 1950s was the juxtaposition of glancing backward and forward, with emphasis on the novel's treatment and uses of prior literary discourse.

Keywords: Gay detective novel, homosexual fiction, Garland series

Biography: Zsolt Bojti is senior lecturer at the Department of English Studies, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, Hungary). He defended his doctoral dissertation, *Wilde, Stenbock, Prime-Stevenson: Homophilia and Hungarophilia in Fin-de-Siècle Literature*, in March 2022. Currently, he is working on the new scholarly edition of *Imre: A Memorandum* (1906) by Edward Prime-Stevenson in the Oxford World's Classics series. bojti.zsolt@btk.elte.hu

Garland(s) and Hegedus

Publisher W. H. Allen had five novels in the mid-twentieth century with "Rodney Garland" as the author. The first one, *The Heart in Exile* (1953), was the most successful and an overnight sensation. Within a year, it was reprinted at least three times (Bartlett 2014, v–vi). Anglo-Canadian journalist Peter Wildeblood reported that more than 10,000 copies had been sold in three years (Houlbook and Waters 2006, 142), although several advertisements—like the one in *Saturday Review* (curiously listed under "Personals" and not "Books")—claimed that the novel was "[e]ndorsed by leading critics. 60,000 sold in England" (1954, 66) in a year. One of the allures of this openly homosexual novel was that nobody seemed to have met this "Rodney Garland." The only thing known, or rather alleged, by some reviewers at the time—most probably due to some misinformation on the dustjacket of the 1954 US edition—was that Garland was a psychiatrist writing under a pseudonym. Still riding the success of the first novel, the dustjacket of the last book by Garland, *Sorcerer's Broth* (1966), asserted that it was written by the author of *The Heart in Exile* (d'Arch Smith 1970, xxiii). It "left Rodney Garland fans with



New articles in this journal are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

This journal is published by the University Library System of the University of Pittsburgh as part of its D-Scribe Digital Publishing Program and is cosponsored by the University of Pittsburgh Press

a puzzle. Its style and satirical approach were utterly unlike anything previously published" by him. It was only much later, in 1997, that researcher Lance Hayman revealed (with the help of the A. M. Heath Literary Agency) the author's identity. *Sorcerer's Broth* was, in fact, written by Hungarian expatriate and novelist Peter de Polnay, who published dozens of books with the same publisher (Young 2009). W. H. Allen's stretch of publishing ethics suggests that few people knew (or know today) the identity and fate of the original "Rodney Garland," even though publisher Allan Wingate had already revealed the truth on the dustjacket of *The Struggle with the Angels* (1956) by Hungarian émigré and journalist Adam de Hegedus. "[Adam de Hegedus] died at a tragically early age just as this book was about to go to press. It can now be revealed that, under the name of 'Rodney Garland,' he was the author of two other novels which received wide notice: *The Heart in Exile* and *The Troubled Midnight* [1954]" (quoted in Young 2009).

Hegedus's authorship of *The Heart in Exile* was later confirmed by the 1995 edition of the novel with Millivres Books. The afterword to this edition by Jeffrey Simmons, a young employee of W. H. Allen in the 1950s, gave a first-person recollection of the novel's publication (Young 2009). As for the three books published under Garland's name after Hegedus's death, Martin Dines (2013, par. 24) asserts that "*Hell and High Water* (1962), *A World without Dreams* (1963) and *Sorcerer's Broth*, were almost certainly written by somebody else. (They are very unlikely to have been written earlier: a number of references, including to Gagarin and 'President Johnson,' firmly locate the latter in [the] mid-60s.)"

The line of inquiry, however, does not end here as there is a lot of misinformation in the secondary literature about the real author: much like the person of Garland intrigued readers in the 1950s, the person of Hegedus intrigues scholars of today. Although there is no direct evidence to corroborate the speculation, it is still often rehearsed that Hegedus committed suicide by way of poison in 1958. Given the statement on the dustjacket of *The Struggle with the Angels*, some scholars date his death to 1956. Only a few researchers know that he, in fact, died in 1955. To be precise, Adam de Hegedus died on 9 October 1955 at Westminster Hospital, according to a "Certified Copy of an Entry of Death" and a document by the Principal Probate Registry. His death was registered three days later with "acute adrenal failure due to bilateral adrenal hemorrhage due to thrombocytopenic purpura" as the cause. He died without having made a will, which entitled his sister to the estate. However, it appears that even scholars of the more meticulous kind tend to make a mistake as to where Hegedus was born. The difficult point here, according to G. F. Cushing, is that Hegedus's name "cannot be found in cyclopedias and bibliographies; therefore, his life can be reconstructed by reading his writings only" (1989, 100; translation my own), but some of his writings are not available in English but Hungarian only. Cushing (1989, 100)² writes that the Hegedus family moved to Budapest after the Treaty of Trianon (1920/21). Adam was born in 1906 in Kolozsvár/Cluj and not in Budapest, as it is commonly believed in Anglocentric criticism.

Although he published novels and several volumes of non-fiction under his own name, Hegedus's greatest success was *The Heart in Exile*. The publisher did well on the dustjacket to intrigue the reader and is worth quoting in full:

¹ I am grateful to independent scholar Tom Sargant (Brighton, UK) for sending me a copy of these documents.

² See also Gulyás (1993: 46–47). Before further speculation, please also note that, although his name sometimes appears as "dr. Hegedűs Ádám," he was not a psychiatrist. He had a doctorate in law.

Every so often a publisher receives a manuscript that makes him sit up and take notice. Here is just such a book. It is easy to exaggerate the merits of a novel, but we believe that this is among the most compelling—and, incidentally, unusual—books or its particular theme.

The Story is straightforwardly told by a young doctor. With fear and alarm in his heart he enquires into the reasons for the death of a friend of his youth, and in the course of his investigation—which has all the excitement and surprise of a really well-constructed thriller at an adult level—certain aspects of the London homosexual world are revealed with a stark and startling actuality.

But there is more to it than that. Even though the book deals largely with what its author calls "the underground," it tells more of the structure of contemporary English society than many a good sociological treatise; in fact, it opens a window on our time.

This is a serious and moving novel that is certain to be widely discussed.

The publisher was right. The novel was discussed, although with mixed reviews.

Reception

On the one hand, readers appreciated the happy ending that had been rare, or rather inaccessible to a general readership (a point I will come back to), in English-speaking openly gay novels. One reviewer writes in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*:

Of late at least two novels—*Finistere* by Fritz Peters and *Look Down in Mercy* by Walter Baxter—have dealt openly and decorously with homosexuality. As in most novels on this difficult theme, the climax of both these stories was one of tragedy. The latest novel on this subject *The Heart in Exile* by Rodney Garland ... differs from the majority of its predecessors in having a happy ending. (C. R. M. 1953, 43)

Another reviewer, Glendy Dawedeit (1954, 7B), writes that "[a] good many novels about homosexuality published in the last decade have been impressive in their sincerity but painfully inept in the writing. This British import, which is said to have sold 60,000 copies in England, reverses that formula. ... [T]he author ... departs from convention by giving his story a happy ending." And, although with somewhat mixed feelings, Julian M. Sherr (1954, 1503) of the Doctors' Library writes that "interested, tolerant readers may ... understand why psychiatrist Rodney Garland (pseudonym) demonstrates the sincerity of homosexual 'love' or 'marriage." He finds the book "informatively written" and without "even the slightest tinge of sensationalism or sordidness." As for "long-range value," he adds, "the novel could become assigned reading in college sociology or abnormal psychology courses to reveal the unbelievable ramifications of the problem into every social stratum."

On the other hand, as one might expect, some reviewers did not read the novel with unprejudiced attention. A psychiatrist, Clifford Allen ([1954] 1965: 166–167), for instance, claims that "[t]he publishers state that this is amongst the most compelling and, incidentally, unusual of books. However, it is not so." He implies that the book fails as a novel and concludes that "[t]he author shows some definite powers of characterization which he could turn to good use if he would use them on types of people he knows, and could find a more compelling theme for his narrative ability." Allen's problem with the book, it seems, is that the novel allows itself a

happy ending instead of rehearsing contemporary prejudiced views on male same-sex desire. Another short review, in *The Psychiatric Quarterly* (1956, 549), writes that "[t]he characters of this novel are shadowy, the motivations worse than dubious. The book is a disservice to the cause of mental hygiene and is a dangerous misrepresentation of modern psychiatric views on homosexuality."

For different reasons, it is not very straightforward what readers of today can or should make of the novel. Many pre-Stonewall novels of this theme feel dated and—no matter how pioneering they were at the time—are discarded as mere precursors to today's gay culture. At worst, they remain just bibliographical data with a few words of praise. In this case, Garland's popular work is often considered to be the first openly homosexual detective novel, as its narrator was "the prototype of" and "[t]he first self-acknowledged gay sleuth" (Gunn 2005, 14), which, however, does not guarantee that the novel has still anything to offer to a general readership. At best, these novels are read as important cultural documents by those interested in the longer historical and literary development of male same-sex desire. However, it is debatable how meticulous the novel is as an introduction to the gay cultural milieu and moment of the early 1950s. Although Neil Bartlett (2014, vii) claims that "[i]t is thoroughly entertaining to hear de Hegedus trying in all earnest to explain the latest technical terms of 1953—pouf, butch, trade, haveable, camp, drag-party," other scholars point out what these explanations lack in terminology:

In his unprecedently candid book *Against the Law*, published in 1955, Peter Wildeblood wrote, of Oxford after the war: "I met a man with whom I had been at school. He had been a naval officer, with some staff appointment in Ceylon. He said that most of the officers at the station had been 'gay,' and looked at me as though this was some password to which he expected me to reply. I had not heard the word before, but apparently it was an American euphemism for homosexual." However *The Heart in Exile* ... never uses "gay" to mean homosexual. Colin Spencer in *Which of Us Two?*, commenting on a letter written in 1957, remarks that he used the phrase "gay bar." (Sinfield 1999, 112)

In a similar vein, Max Décharné (2016, 139–140) laments,

Yet *polari* is nowhere to be seen. The activity which in more recent times has become known as *cruising* is often described, but the name used here is *hunting*. Sexual activity is mostly called *play*, while effeminate homosexuals are generally called *poufs* or *pansies*, and those less so are termed *inverts*, *queers* or, very occasionally, *homosexuals*. Much is made of the attractions of tough men of the working class, but they are not yet referred to by the later term of *rough trade*. No sign of the word *gay*, perhaps not surprising in the same year that the Royal Navy still felt confident enough to proudly name its newly launched 75-foot motor torpedo boat *The Gay Bombardier*.

One can, of course, argue that the term "gay," meaning homosexual, arrived in Britain from the United States after the novel's publication. Moreover, as the dustjacket quoted above also claims, the book was meant to open a window to English society *per se*. What problematizes the debate about terminology is that the narrator claims to have lived in the United States. Although it is not a gross neglect, Garland seems to have missed the opportunity to address a telling clash of two cultures.

Glances Backward—Glances Forward

Nevertheless, the novel is a well-informed and reliable guide to its particular time. The narrator, psychiatrist Dr. Anthony Page, is commissioned to investigate the death of a former friend (and lover?), Julian Leclerc. Page needs to rekindle or feign to rekindle friendships with gay men of his past (as he severed ties with London's gay "underground" long ago) in order to shed light on Leclerc's alleged suicide before his marriage to a woman. In a sense, the novel picks up the thread where the standard narrative of prior gay literature usually ended. *The Heart in Exile* utilizes the standard plot of crime fiction so that it does not end but starts with the tragedy, and Page needs to weigh the possibility of blackmail, murder, and suicide to find the truth. During his investigation, "Page is Garland's cartographer of queer London," as "he maps, in minute detail, the characteristic structures of queer life" (Houlbrook 2005, 215). But the Leclerc case seems to reveal more about Page himself than the deceased, as the case is closed "with Page having redrawn both his map of the queer city and of his own self" (Houlbrook and Waters 2006, 151).

As Matt Houlbrook and Chris Waters (2006, 162–163) argue, *The Heart in Exile* "is a novel deeply haunted by the ghosts of a queer past, pervaded by a sense not just of its own *historicity*, but also of its own *history*. Garland's writing is shaped by an engagement with the past—his own 'backward glance.' Consciously, it seems, he echoes themes established in earlier queer cultural moments." It is not by chance that at the end of one of their conversations, Page nonchalantly asks his in-house assistant whether he went to the Serpentine where "the usual crowd" consists of "[m]ostly men who have night jobs" (Garland 1953, 26). From the late nineteenth century, "[a]t the Serpentine in Hyde Park there was scope for cross-class fraternization, and working-class men could be observed bathing in idyllic pastoral setting," which appealed to and was commemorated by John Addington Symonds and George Ives (Cook [2003] 2008, 35–37). Another telling example of London's queer past is how Leclerc's fiancée talks about Julian's sympathies with the working class:

You see, I always felt he didn't like well-to-do people. I mean, he never told me that in as many words. It may be I'm only thinking this because Julian liked working people so much. He knew a lot about them and he said he'd liked them ever since he could remember. While he was up at Oxford he got very interested in a thing called the University Settlement. It was somewhere in the East End of London, and while he was at Oxford he used to work there once a week during the holidays. (Garland 1953, 81)

Again, University Settlements became sites of suspicious cross-class same-sex contacts at the end of the nineteenth century (Cook [2003] 2008, 37–38). These seemingly irrelevant instances, however, initiate an interpretation for insider readers based on London's gay history. Page's assistant, Terry, does not simply visit the Serpentine for casual sunbathing but as a potential cruising site. Leclerc's fiancée does not quite understand his interest in University Settlements, but Page understands that Leclerc spent time there for some cross-class fraternization that went beyond philanthropy.

In addition to Houlbrook and Waters, I argue that Page's conundrum regarding his simultaneous detachment and proximity with this gay London is not simply the result of the clash between a queer past and their particular and present moment. It is also due to the winds of

change in the early 1950s which suggest that the opinions of various discourses about homosexual men would not be sustainable or would alter shortly.

Progress is seen in the medical conceptualization of same-sex desire in the novel: "Garland presents Page's loosely Freudian understanding of homosexuality as enlightened and engages with more retrograde notions of sexual deviance in order to dramatize the scientific case for understanding" (Houlbrook and Waters 2006, 156). However, one should also note the ease with which the novel uses the medical language of same-sex desire. Neologisms coined in the second half of the nineteenth century, such as "invert" and "homosexual," were virtually incomprehensible and, what is more, inaccessible to Anglo-American laymen and doctors who did not read German, French, Italian, and Russian even at the beginning of the century. However, neither Garland nor Page feels the need anymore to explain these terms to the reader, as the terminology of male same-sex desire had become part of the English language by the early 1950s. Even more intriguing for the alert reader is what Page might make of these psychiatric conventions. As a psychiatrist, Page tests his patients for introversion and extraversion, using the first male-female test by Lewis M. Terman from 1936. In Terman's (1936, 467) words: "It does not measure homosexuality, as that term is commonly used, but it does measure, roughly, degree of inversion of the sex temperament, and it is probably from inverts in this sense that homosexuals are chiefly recruited." Terman (1936, 468) believed the test would help "early identification" because at that stage "defects of personality can be compensated for and to some extent corrected." Although he uses this test in his practice, by the end of the novel Page as a person most probably would not agree that almost all homosexuals are inverts to some degree, or that this "defect" should or can be corrected.

In addition to the medical field, Page also hears of possible progress in legislation. He meets John Tidpool, who got into Parliament, at the House of Commons and asks him about a rumor: "I heard some of you have been thinking about amending the Labouchère Act," to which Tidpool replies, "It's very, very difficult. ... Plimsoll and a group of doctors worked out an amendment to propose that the thing should be illegal only when it concerns people under the age of consent. But they didn't find enough support" (Garland 1953, 102). Their conversation refers to section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which invented the charge of "gross indecency" that, for instance, Oscar Wilde and Alan Turing were convicted of. Little could Garland have known, but suspected, that a year after the novel's publication, a committee chaired by John Wolfenden would start their meetings, resulting in the *Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution* (1957) and leading to the Sexual Offences Act of 1967 that decriminalized same-sex desire.

Reading Anthologically

The novel's scrutiny of the transitory nature of its period as to the perception and prospects of the community can also be seen in how it treats literature. Page's investigation starts in Leclerc's flat and he observes the following:

Nor did the books give the slightest indication of Julian's real personality. The top row consisted almost entirely of law books, the *Oxford Dictionary* and a volume called *With Silent Friends*. On the second row there were practically all the books of G. M. Trevelyan, the second volume of the Greville Diary, a few books by Maurois and Arthur Bryant, *Cassell's French Dictionary*, the history of the Coldstream Guards. The fact that

he had the one-volume Havelock Ellis and Walker's *Physiology of Sex* in the Penguin Edition, was completely meaningless; practically everybody above a certain level has read them.

People sometimes leave things in books, so I went through all of them, but the search yielded nothing beyond a telegram from his father many years old and a few notes in the law books in his own handwriting. (Garland 1953, 47)

Page's scrutiny of Leclerc's library goes against the idea of what Nat Hurley (2010, 84) calls "reading anthologically," referring to a time just a few decades before *The Heart in Exile*: "Reading anthologically is a way of understanding the conditions under which that pattern became legible as such"; therefore, it is "the object of ... analysis as well as ... methodology." The idea is based on American music critic Edward Prime-Stevenson's short story, "Out of the Sun" (1913), in which the reader is presented with Dayneford's library. Hurley (2010, 82) asserts that Prime-Stevenson "took for granted the ways in which sexuality as a social type was marked 'by innermost *literary* sympathies.' By his account, the genesis of this sense of an inner sympathy, which today goes by the name 'homosexuality,' was not (primarily) sexological or psychoanalytic but the effect of books"; thus, the "description of the books on Dayneford's shelves" is "a historical model of queer 'making-up."

Prime-Stevenson's short story indicates to us that even in the first half of the twentieth century, queer subjects had to resort to literary discourse to construct a sexual identity. It could not have been sexological for the so-called Hicklin Standard (1868) which, according to Joseph Bristow (2011, 23), "opened a door for judges to apply the insidious verbs 'deprave' and 'corrupt' to any printed work that touched on sexual subject-matter, regardless of whether it had pornographic content. It was in this legal context that works on homosexual topics that could scarcely be labelled pornographic proved especially vulnerable to prosecution." It was not only the literary discourse that was targeted by this standard but the medical press as well: the publisher of Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* (1897), the first book-length study of same-sex desire by a British doctor with British case studies, was prosecuted for selling a copy to an undercover policeman. The British Hicklin Standard was soon adapted as federal law in the United States, and Prime-Stevenson (1909, 376) understood what was at stake:

In the United States and adjacent British possessions, the prejudices and restrictions as to literature philarrhenic [sic] in accent, are quite as positive as in Great Britain. The authour [sic] or publisher of a homosexual book, even if scientific, not to speak of a belles-lettres work, will not readily escape troublesome consequences. Even psychiatric works from medical publishers are hedged about with conditions as to their publication and sale. Nevertheless, similisexualism is far from being an unknown note in American belles-lettres, and has even achieved its classics.

Although the results of the new classificatory science of sexuality could not have been publicly distributed, Prime-Stevenson also understood that the literary discourse had prominent representations of same-sex desire. Hence, he offered an anthology of gay literature in the form of Dayneford's library, which tied in with the first anthologies of world literature about homosexuality, such as *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur* (1900) by Elisar von Kupffer and *Ioläus: An Anthology of Friendship* (1902) by Edward Carpenter.

Leclerc's library, however, is unlike Dayneford's: it is not at all indicative of his sexuality, even though he has a volume by Havelock Ellis. Page's conclusion shows that the Hicklin Standard was not as strict anymore and was about to be replaced in a couple of years; as a result, "practically everybody above a certain level [could] read" texts like Ellis's book, and of course, *The Heart in Exile*.

Although reading anthologically and observing Leclerc's library do not show his sexual non-conformity anymore, Garland still uses the library to hint at criminal sexual inclinations. At one point, Page pays a visit to his mentor, Howard Weblen:

... I was shown into his large study, which had all the opulence of the nineteentens, except that a Philpot drawing of a small girl's head hung over the mantelpiece.

... I stopped on my way to the settee, because among the old book backs I caught sight of the spine of a brand new dust jacket. It was glossy, large and pink: the portfolio of Lewis Carroll's photographs. I put my finger on the shiny surface, and I saw there was quite a collection of Carolliana. There were his mathematical treatises, his letters, his poems, four or five books on Carroll and, of course the two volumes of *Alice*. There was no need to pull them out. They were obviously first editions. (Garland 1953, 209–210)

Page goes into a case of his patient, which inadvertently leads to talking about his own sexuality and anxiety to Weblen. After their rather personal conversation, the reputed senior psychiatrist concludes that Page's "particular mood... has come to many psychiatrists" and shows Page a little bronze bust of a small girl with a bittersweet smile on his face. Page suddenly becomes aware of the girl's "overwhelming innocence and sweetness" and faces the rumors he has heard but also disregarded about his mentor out of respect. He concludes: "Now I thought I understood his interest in Lewis Caroll" (Garland 1953, 215). The comparison of Leclerc's and Weblen's libraries indicates Garland's ambivalent relationship with reading anthologically. It is not applicable as a methodology to Leclerc's bookshelves, but the novel still makes use of its historicity to hint at Weblen's problematic interest in little girls.

Writing a Happy Ending

Despite the novel's ambivalent use of literary discourse, Garland is very self-reflexive on two occasions regarding the role which *The Heart in Exile* consciously assumes in gay literary history. One comments on the genre of the novel in Page's words:

... I was *living* a novel. All my life I had been attracted by the romantic figure of the private detective. ... But how much more absorbing it was to *be* the private detective than just to read about his doings—actively to live not just some of his doings, but every small detail of his investigation.

The detective story takes one to the edge of the abyss, but only for a brief moment, thanks to the author's care. Now I was living a real-life detective story... (Garland 1953, 167)

Assuming the role of the amateur sleuth, Page juxtaposes the experience of reading and "actively" living the novel. And what he finds is the seldom-seen queer agency: he is not circumscribed, but he is the one propelling the story forward. His narrative agency allows him to

start with the tragedy and, as seen above, engage in both the private and public culture of gay men, while his position as detective retains a degree of objectivity in his first-person narration.

The other self-reflexive occasion also pertains to a seldom seen phenomenon in gay literary history until the 1950s: the happy ending. It appears that Garland was not or could not have been familiar with two major works with a happy ending from the first half of the twentieth century. One is Prime-Stevenson's *Imre: A Memorandum* (1906), where an Englishman meets and falls in love with the title character, a young Hungarian officer. Eventually, they come out to one another and conclude that their "rest" has finally arrived and begun with their life together, making the novel one of the very first openly homosexual novels in English with a happy ending. *Imre*, however, was privately printed in approximately 500 copies under the pseudonym "Xavier Mayne" and passed most probably from hand to hand, as Prime-Stevenson knew that his work could not have been publicly promulgated in Britain and the United States due to the Hicklin Standard. Although it reached some of the most prominent figures of sexology and gay literature at the time, such as Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter, and Marc-André Raffalovich, the novel soon went into oblivion, which does not come as a surprise, given the extremely limited circumstances of distribution.

The other novel is *Maurice*, which E. M. Forster wrote in 1913–14 and revised a few times later. He did not publish it during his lifetime, and it was eventually released a year after his death in 1971. It is often considered to be one of the very first openly homosexual novels by a British author. It does not come as a surprise why an established novelist like Forster did not want to take the risks of publishing an openly homosexual novel in the first half of the twentieth century. What is more interesting is the reason that made it seem impossible for him to publish the novel, which Forster explains in the terminal note added to the manuscript in 1960:

A happy ending was imperative. I shouldn't have bothered to write otherwise. ... Happiness is its keynote—which by the way has had an unexpected result: it has made the book more difficult to publish. Unless the Wolfenden Report becomes law, it will probably have to remain in manuscript. If it ended unhappily, with a lad dangling from a noose or with a suicide pact, all would be well, for there is no pornography or seduction of minors. But the lovers get away unpunished and consequently recommend crime. ([1960] 2005, 220)

In other words, Forster writes that there is nothing obscene in the novel in legal terms, except the happy ending, which would not pass the Hicklin Test, as it may be an incentive of homosexuality and, therefore, "deprave" and "corrupt" the reader — an asinine presumption which Hegedus would be surprised to find still existing in his home-country today. What Forster did not seem to understand completely is that the Hicklin Standard did not prohibit the *publication* of texts about homosexuality but determined obscenity based on the *distribution* of a given work. What is even more interesting here is that he was not familiar with Prime-Stevenson's *Imre*, the publication of which could have served as a model for him to publish *Maurice*. It is somewhat odd because the terminal note claims that "[*Maurice*] was the direct result of a visit to Edward Carpenter" (Forster [1960] 2005, 219), whose *The Intermediate Sex* (1908) in its appendix quotes *Imre* in length, most probably out of Carpenter's respect for Prime-Stevenson's novel.

Garland misses the happy ending when reading anthologically. Consequently, Page's inhouse assistant, Terry, laments the lack of possibly happy prospects of gay men in prior literature: "What I wanted to ask you, ..., is why all plays and novels dealing with queers have an inevitably tragic end. I mean, there's always murder suicide, insanity or imprisonment" (Garland 1953, 185). To Terry's inquiry, Page explains that this is the standard narrative that "normal society" accepts, as the tragic end acknowledges the homosexual's criminal status, and this is the only way the author can appeal to the social sensitivity of the reader. Terry replies in naïve defiance: "If ever I could write a book on the subject, I'd try to tell the truth. I'd write about the majority for whom it isn't really tragic ... I suppose disaster is always there, well... a sort of threat, in the background, but the real trouble is that most of them are afraid of love. ... It's the only thing in life, isn't it? I mean love. That's the message" (Garland 1953, 185–186).

What Terry says is exactly what Garland does. The novel starts by glancing backward at tragedy, and Page during sleuthing faces his own past and the history of queer London. Backward glances, however, are insufficient, as seen in the rather anticlimactic result of the investigation. There is nothing sensational about Leclerc's death: he was not blackmailed, he was not murdered, and he did not face any imminent danger except the burden of his glances backward. Although Page faces similar demons of his own, what differentiates his experience from Leclerc's is his glancing forward. As a psychiatrist, he sees the progress of the medical discourse, and his meeting with Tidpool gives him hope that same-sex desire would be soon decriminalized. Concluding his investigation, he sees that there is life after tragedy, and homosexual men might actually be able to take matters into their own hands in the future and live a happy life together. Although it is debatable whether he settles down with or settles for the slightly effeminate Terry at the end of the novel, the morale of the story remains the same: Page needs to rid himself of traditional prejudices and backward glances so that both he with Terry and the novel can reach a happy ending; or, in Dines's (2013: par. 2) words, "a conclusion which suggests that queer sexuality may indeed be successfully managed within a loving, monogamous and domestic configuration."

The Heart in Exile, as a result, paved the way for future novels by Garland as to the means by which queer agency should be given visibility. Dines (2013: par. 24) asserts that "A Way of Love and Sorcerer's Broth both conclude with their protagonists determined to write their own stories, which is rather a way of saying these otherwise invisible, respectable queer lives merit being written and read about; they have pedagogical value." In many similar respects, especially in terms of glancing forward, The Heart in Exile is one of the first novels of its kind. It is, however, also one of the last books of its kind. With the replacement of the Hicklin Standard with a more lenient test of obscenity in the late 1950s, the decriminalization of homosexuality, and the start of a new wave of gay rights movement in the late 1960s, the Garland franchise seems to have run its course.

Works Cited

- Allen, Clifford. "The Heart in Exile. A Novel by Rodney Garland." The British Journal of Deliquency 5, no. 2., 1954–55, 166–167.
- d'Arch Smith, Timothy. Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English "Uranian" Poets from 1889 to 1930. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Bartlett, Neil. Introduction. *The Heart in Exile*, by Rodney Garland, Richmond, VA: Valancourt Books, 2014, v–viii.
- "Book Reviews." *The Psychiatric Quarterly*, 30, nos. 1–4, 1956, 518–549, doi:10.1007/bf01564366. Accessed 15 Jan. 2023.
- Bristow, Joseph. "Homosexual Writing on Trial: From Fanny Hill to Gay News." The Cambridge Companion to Gay and Lesbian Writing, edited by Hugh Stevens, Cambridge University Press, 2011, 17–33. https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521888448.002
- "Classified Advertisements." Saturday Review 37, no. 40, 2 Oct. 1954, 65-66.
- Cook, Matt. *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, 1885–1914. 2003. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Cushing, G. F. "Két elfelejtett könyv [Two Forgotten Books]." *Nyelvünk és Kultúránk [Our Language and Culture]*, no. 76, 1989, 98–105.
- Dawedeit, Glendy. "Happy Ending: Homosexual Novel Given New Twist." *The Washington Post and Times Herald* 77, no. 309, 10 Oct. 1954, 7B.
- Décharné, Max. *Vulgar Tongue: An Alternative History of English Slang*. London: Serpent's Tail, 2016.
- Dines, Martin. "Bringing the Boy Back Home: Queer Domesticity and Egalitarian Relationships in Postwar London Novels." *The Literary London Journal* 10, no. 2, autumn 2013, pars. 1–26, http://literarylondon.org/london-journal/autumn2013/dines.pdf. Accessed 15 Jan. 2023.
- Forster, E. M. Maurice. 1971. Edited by David Leavitt. London: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Garland, Rodney. The Heart in Exile. London: W. H. Allen, 1953.
- Gulyás, Pál. *Magyar Írók Élete és Munkái [The Life and Oeuvre of Hungarian Authors]*. Edited by János Viczián, vol. 13. Budapest: Argumentum, 1993.
- Gunn, Dewey Wayne. *The Gay Male Sleuth in Print and Film: A History and Annotated Bibliography*. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2005.
- Hornsey, Richard. *The Spiv and the Architect: Unruly Life in Postwar London*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. https://doi.org/10.5749/minnesota/9780816653140.001.0001
- Houlbrook, Matt. *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957*. The University of Chicago Press, 2005. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226788272.001.0001
- Houlbrook, Matt, and Chris Waters. "The Heart in Exile: Detachment and Desire in 1950s London." History Workshop Journal 62, no. 1, autumn 2006, 142–165. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbl001
- Hurley, Nat. "The Queer Traffic in Literature; or, Reading Anthologically." *English Studies in Canada* 36, no. 1, 2010, 81–108. https://doi.org/10.1353/esc.2010.0001
- Lewis, Brian. Wolfenden's Witnesses: Homosexuality in Postwar Britain. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- M., C. R. "The Invert." The Illustrated Weekly of India, 6 Dec. 1953, 43.

- Prime-Stevenson, Edward [Xavier Mayne]. *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexualism as a Problem in Social Life*. Privately printed, 1909.
- Scherr, Julian M. "Garland, Rodney. *The Heart in Exile*." *Library Journal* 79, no. 15, 1 Sep 1954, pp. 1495–1522.
- Sinfield, Alan. *Out on Stage: Lesbian and Gay Theatre in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Terman, Lewis M., and Catherine Cox Miles. *Sex and Personality: Studies in Masculinity and Femininity*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936. https://doi.org/10.1037/13514-000
- Young, Ian. "The Two Rodney Garlands: A Literary Mystery." *The Golden Age of Gay Fiction*, edited by Drewey Wayne Gunn. Albion, NY: MLR Press, 2009.