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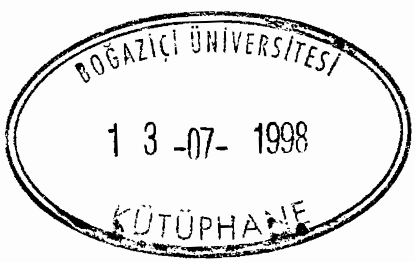
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For my parents,
Estelle Lewis and Hilly Lewis

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Chapter 1

Race – femininity – representation

This book examines the work of Henriette Browne and George Eliot in order to trace how their gendered agency as cultural producers contributed to and drew on the imperial project. I am particularly concerned with the ways in which their images and texts created or reconceptualized the spaces in which a series of imperial identities for both artists and writers and their readers could be articulated. I shall argue not only that discourses of gender (by which were produced identities as masculine or feminine) were racialized and that discourses of race (by which were produced racialized and national identities) were gendered, but that the very premise on which culture was produced and interpreted in nineteenth-century France and Britain was based on the construction and exclusion of a racialized and, in this instance, Orientalized other.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of unprecedented colonial expansion (involving the direct conquest and domination of other countries) and increasingly imperialist foreign policy (dedicated to the extension of European influence over the globe, but without necessarily direct administrative or military intervention), in which Britain and France were established world leaders. Although the age of high imperialism is usually associated with the 'scramble for Africa' of the 1870s and 1880s, Britain and France were already by the early nineteenth century expanding their influence in those parts of the globe that were to become the imperial theatre of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[1] This means that unlike the late nineteenth-century view of imperialism, which tended to paint imperial ideology as a phenomenon arising late in the century (notably in the 1860s and 1870s when it became clear that trade interests

would necessitate political control of colonized lands), we can see pervasive structures of imperial ideology from the early part of and throughout the nineteenth century.[2] The mid-nineteenth century saw a change in the nature of imperial relations as the style of the earlier mercantile period, in which a degree of acculturation by European officials and traders was encouraged, gave way to the increased political and social intervention alongside an emphasis on European separation from 'native' populations, whose Eurocentric legacy we see today. This book does not attempt a study of imperialism *per se*. I am concerned to explore how, in certain and distinct moments, the interaction between culture and imperialism was played out in connection to gender. This investigation is organized by a recognition of culture's central role in the processes by which European values and interests were represented to Europe and extended to the colonized world.[3] As Edward Said explains, culture was 'the vital, informing, and invigorating counterpart to the economic and political machinery that . . . stands at the centre of imperialism'.[4]

It is not so much that 'imperial culture' developed to promote imperialism, but that, as a pervasive economic, social, political and cultural formation, the imperial project could not but influence how people thought, behaved and created. As Benedict Anderson has persuasively argued in his analysis of the development of vernacular print culture, visual and literary culture played a crucial role in the construction of the 'imagined' national communities in Europe that underpinned the imperial ideologies and administrations of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[5] Said is clear that, whilst not attaching blame to the particular author or artist, culture in the age marked by imperialism and postcolonialism generally served to normalize imperial power relations.[6] Although colonialism and imperialism had their opponents (for reasons ranging from the moral to the economic), the question of empire had an impact on all levels of British and French domestic life, with imperialist values frequently structuring even the terms of those who opposed it.[7] Just as the world-wide recession of the 1990s permeates discussions about everything from education to fashion without any of those discussions necessarily being 'about' economics, imperialism in the nineteenth century was discussed, debated and contested as an issue of the day, present in everyday activities and diverse forms of cultural production – not just those that were 'obviously' imperialist.

As Daniel Bivona argues, breaking down modal boundaries (between the political and the literary) can reveal a wider domain which has the structure of both a 'culture-wide "debate" on the value and cause of imperial expansion and a cultural meta-narrative or mythology which subsumes even many of the critics of empire'.[8] Given the enormous impact of imperialism on Victorian life it is – or as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak advocates, should be – impossible to consider any text (by man or woman) without taking imperialism into account.

> It should not be possible to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering that imperialism, understood as England's social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English. The role of literature in the production of cultural representation should not be ignored. These two obvious 'facts' continue to be disregarded in the reading of nineteenth-century British literature. This itself attests to the continuing success of the imperialist project, displaced and dispersed into more modern forms.[9]

These approaches mean, in relation to women's cultural activity, that rather than simply find the few arch-imperialist texts by women, we can analyse imperialism's role in structuring all their creative output. I am going to look at visual and literary representations of the Orient and the Orientalized other; a popular area of imagery that encapsulates the attitudes of Europe not just to its colonies but to the whole question of racial difference and which has, accordingly, been the focus of many twentieth-century critiques of imperialism. By attending to one set of representations that is obviously Orientalist (Browne's harem scenes) and another that, whilst clearly of an imperial moment, is rarely discussed as Orientalist (the representation of Jews and the division of Palestine in *Daniel Deronda*),[10] I will show the pervasiveness of women's take-up of colonial ideology and their various mediations of it.

By focusing on women as cultural producers in a field of representation generally seen as male I shall demonstrate the pervasive effects of imperial ideologies on female subjects and their particular, gendered, interpellation into imperial discourse. This does not mean that white European women were either bad racists or good revolutionaries (driven by proto-feminism to empathize with their 'sisters under the skin').[11] Instead, it allows an examination

of how, as individuals growing up in an age of unprecedented imperial expansion, they were affected by and involved in colonial ideology and imperial relations. If we take the categories of race, class and gender as neither opposing oppressions nor as metaphors for each other but, as Cora Kaplan puts it, as 'reciprocally constituting each other through a kind of narrative invocation, a set of associative terms in a chain of meaning',[12] we can transform our understanding of each term by analysing its articulation with and through the other. In other words, we never only experience ourselves as female/male but also and already as Black/white – even if the whiteness of a white subject is so normative that it is often experienced as a non-event unless activated by comparison with a Black subject.[13] Thus, we can explore how discourses of femininity constrained women's access to positions of power and participation in colonialism and culture even whilst that very limitation, couched and understood in terms of gender, was also animated by imperial ideology – the gender specificities that accrued to women *qua* women were always built on their difference as *white* women.

> Applying a perspective of race, class *and* gender to historical inquiry should effectively transform interpretations based on race and class or class and gender.[14]

I shall argue that, in a period marked by heightened imperial activity and increasing female participation in the cultural sphere, the interaction of the identificatory relational terms of race and gender could produce positions from which to enunciate alternative representations of racial difference. Exploring the gender-specific discursive pressures on the production and reception of women's representation of the Orient will allow us to undercut the mastery that usually accrued to the Western viewer's position and use the tensions in women's colonial utterances to highlight the tensions in imperial subjectivity as a whole, thereby allowing a reconceptualization of the workings of power and knowledge in the domain of gender.

SAID'S ORIENTALISM AND HIS CRITICS

In 1978 Edward Said's influential book *Orientalism* offered a new way to conceptualize the history of relations between what we might commonsensically call the West and the East, or the

Occident and the Orient. Rather than accept the term as one that designates an area of neutral scholarly expertise (be it Oriental languages, literature or customs), Said argues that Orientalism was and is a discourse in which the West's knowledges about the Orient are inextricably bound up with its domination over it. Using Michel Foucault's proposition that all forms of knowledge are productive of power (constituting someone/thing as an object of knowledge is to assume power over it), Said assesses the implications of the Western construction of the Orient as an object of knowledge during the period of colonial expansion. Because he refuses to accept the innocence of knowledges about, and representations of, the Orient Said is able to consider how Orientalism's classification of the East as different and inferior legitimized Western intervention and rule.

For Said, therefore, representations of the Orient produced by Orientalism are never simple reflections of a true anterior reality, but composite images which came to define the nature of the Orient and the Oriental as irredeemably different and always inferior to the West. Orientalism establishes a set of polarities in which the Orient is characterized as irrational, exotic, erotic, despotic and heathen, thereby securing the West in contrast as rational, familiar, moral, just and Christian. Not only do these Orientalist stereotypes 'misrepresent' the Orient, they also misrepresent the Occident – obscuring in their flattering vision of European superiority the tensions along the lines of gender, class and ethnicity that ruptured the domestic scene.[15]

Eventually, Orientalism as a body of knowledge about the East produced by and for the West came to bypass Oriental sources altogether in a self-referential process of legitimation that endlessly asserted the power of the West to know, speak for and regulate the Orient better than the Orient itself.

> As a discipline representing institutionalized Western knowledge of the Orient, Orientalism thus comes to exert a three-way force, on the Orient, on the Orientalist and on the Western 'consumer' of Orientalism . . . the Orient ('out there' to the East) is corrected, even penalized, for lying outside the boundaries of European society, 'our' world; the Orient is thus '*Orientalized*'; a process that not only marks the Orient as the province of the Orientalist but also forces the uninitiated Western reader to accept Orientalist codification . . . as the *true* Orient. Truth, in short, becomes a function of learned judgement, not of the material itself, which in time seems to owe even its existence to the Orientalist.[16]

One of the problems that critics identified in *Orientalism* was the troubling status that Said accords to the 'real' Orient: the Orient figures as both a construction, 'the written statement is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced . . . any such *real thing* as "the Orient" ',[17] and a real thing that can simultaneously be misrepresented by Orientalism and directly conquered by the West.[18] As we shall see (notably in Chapter 4) the possibility of the discursive inscription of a 'real' Orient, or innocent experience of it, continues to haunt some scholars in this field, although, to be fair, Said's recent work has engaged more productively with this issue. Leaving aside for now the question of the 'real' Orient, Orientalism emerges as a discourse whose representation of the Orient is determined by its own agenda (largely conceptualized in terms of the dynamics and exigencies of colonial expansion) but whose success for the West depended not simply on domination but on the exercise of hegemony and the development of consent – that is, that the Orientalized Other be brought to recognize the validity of Orientalist knowledges and abide by their implementation (be it 'better' medical training, 'proper' clothes, etc.).[19] That hegemony, which relies on the willingness of the governed to be governed, is conducive to a relational mode of power that can respond flexibly, not just repressively, to unrest or resistance, is of great significance for my analysis of Orientalism as a discourse within which a variety of different (and differently gendered) positionalities could be produced.

> In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on the flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand.[20]

The 'him' of this statement is telling: for Said, in *Orientalism* at least, Orientalism is a homogeneous discourse enunciated by a colonial subject that is unified, intentional and irredeemably male. Although his subsequent work, particularly *Culture and Imperialism*, refers more clearly to the impact of discourses of gender and references feminist scholarship, in *Orientalism* gender

occurs only as a metaphor for the negative characterization of the Orientalized Other as 'feminine' or in a single reference to a woman writer (Gertrude Bell, in which he pays no attention to the possible effects of her gendered position on her texts). Said never questions women's apparent absence as producers of Orientalist discourse or as agents within colonial power. This mirrors the traditional view that women were not involved in colonial expansion (itself a subplot of a masculinist view of history in which women, if they appear at all, are strictly marginal). In contrast, I intend to argue that women did play a part in the textual production that constituted Orientalism and, moreover, that gender, as a differentiating term, was integral to the structure of that discourse and individuals' experience of it.

To this end I am expanding, to relate to gender, Said's three-way relationship in which Orientalism exercises a force over the Orient, the Orientalist and the Western consumer of Orientalism: just as the Orient is constructed into a series of signs whose significance lies more in their relationship to the Occident's self-image than in any truth about the Orient, so has it been argued that the European paradigm of sexual difference constructs women as objects of knowledge (the 'other-within') which secure definitions of a superior masculinity rather than revealing any truth about women.[21] The question which then arises is, how can a Western woman, who is feminized as the symbolic inferior other at home (a placement that is also class-specific), exercise the classificatory gaze over the Orient that Said describes? What access does a white European woman have to the enunciative position of a white superiority that is implicitly male?

Whereas Said has tended to represent Orientalism as a discourse that is intentional and monolithic (there is, in *Orientalism*, no sense of the Orient's resistance or of internal splits – although this also is more fully explored in *Culture and Imperialism*), attention to women's role in imperial social and cultural relations, combined with an awareness of external challenges to imperial power, can resituate Western imperialism as always only one half of a power relation – contested from without and undercut from within. In addition, we are helped by the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge that Said uses. In this, power is never willed, owned (by individuals, groups or states), unitary or monolithic, but discursive: discourse, as an ordering of knowledge, produces positionalities (enunciative modalities) into which individuals are

interpellated and from which they may speak or act (as policemen, lawyers, mothers) but which are never the truth of themselves.[22] Thus, power can be seen as always productive and never simply repressive: it does not just descend from above with a string of prohibitions but, rather, through the productive force of its apparatuses, actively inscribes human agents into particular (and contradictory) subject positions. The workings and effects of power in this sense can be seen in a web (cluster) of discursive apparatuses that no one owns or ultimately controls.[23]

Since, in the Foucauldian scenario, power is a dynamic that is always bounded by resistance, a strategy of resistance could be based on an 'analytics of power' that, by asking how we come to understand ourselves in the terms of the relevant discourse, can deconstruct the operation of the forces of power and allow new forms of resistance to emerge. These new forms, rather than, for example, simply pitting women against men as the 'owners' of patriarchal power, would deconstruct the ways in which our sense of ourselves as gendered beings contributes to our oppression and could generate new alliances and resistances that were not themselves predicated on any essentialist notions of women's (or men's) nature. Although concern has been expressed that Foucault's theory of the micropolitics of power makes it almost inevitable that resistance will, despite itself, contribute to the hegemony that it seeks to undermine,[24] I still think that a discursive model is useful and politically enabling if we insist on what Lowe, after Foucault, calls the 'heterotopicality' of the discursive terrain.

> [D]iscourses are heterogeneously and irregularly composed of statements and restatements, contestations and accommodation, generated by a plurality of writing positions at any given moment . . . In other words, the use of the notion of a dominant discourse is incomplete if not accompanied by a critique which explains why some positions are easily co-opted and integrated into apparently-dominant discourses, and why others are less likely to be appropriated.[25]

Thus, an analysis of the conflicts inherent in a discursive formation marked by the terms of gender and race would allow for a glimpse of points of resistance *within* the fantasized unity of Orientalist discourse. The relational and fragmented nature of discourse does not mean that it cannot appear to be unified: indeed, it is the hegemonic ability of Orientalist discourse to retain

the upper hand, even whilst it accepts and incorporates challenges, that accounts for its longevity.[26] The inherent contradictions of the enunciative positionalities (both gendered and racialized) occupied by women within Orientalism can, therefore, reveal some of the fictions of the discourse and of imperial power. Women's gender specific representations do not have counter-hegemonic potential because they were all automatically anti-racists opposed to colonialism. Rather, it is the very contradictions thrown up by the assumption (then and now) that women made no contribution to, or had no active role in, imperial expansion that allowed women the positionality from which a counter-hegemonic discourse could be enunciated.

Attention to women writers and artists, therefore, does not just add to but actively reforms Said's original version: it disallows a conceptualization of discourse as intentionalist and unified by highlighting the structural role of sexual as well as racial difference in the formation of colonial subject positions; it destabilizes the fiction of authorial intent and control by highlighting the discursively produced and unresolvable contradictions in women's accounts; it insists on the impact of imperialism on the lives of women and men (colonizers and colonized); and, by so doing, disrupts the masculinism found in accounts and critiques of imperialism. On the last count, Jane Miller locates Said, like Fanon before him, as part of a trajectory of criticism that ignores women as participants in imperial power relations and as readers of Orientalist representations.

> Said [in *Orientalism*] sets out with care and delicacy the parallels and analogies developed in this field between colonial relations and sexual relations, and he shows how illuminating of the reality of the imperial adventure those parallels have been for both West and East. What he does not confront are the sexual meanings on which those illuminations depend. It is possible to feel that within his analysis it is with the distortions of male sexuality [identity and sovereignty] produced by the language of Orientalism that he is chiefly concerned . . . [something] [t]hat has often involved the theft of their women . . . The question remains: why does such an analysis not entail a concern for women's loss of political and economic status, in itself? [Women's history] does not become part of the history which is being rewritten.

> In accepting the power and usefulness of an analysis like Said's there is an essential proviso . . . to be made. If women are ambiguously present within the discourses of Orientalism, they are just as ambiguously present within the discourses developed to expose and oppose Orientalism. Their presence in both is as forms of coinage, exchange value offered or stolen or forbidden, tokens of men's power and wealth or lack of them. The sexual use and productiveness of women are allowed to seem equivalent to their actual presence and their consciousness. They are, finally, 'Orientalized' with Said's terms into the perceptions and the language which express, but also elaborate on, the uses men have for women within exploitative societies.[27]

In order to avoid an account that marginalizes women as agents and readers (does 'Said assume women are amongst the readers of [his] work?')[28] we must include women as agents in Orientalism without losing the complexities of their relationship to domestic discourses on both sides of the Orientalist divide. Rani Kabbani, for example, highlights the many and subtle ways with which the sexually dominated Oriental woman could resist her Western oppressor, but fails to see Western women as subjects similarly produced through the energies of imperialism. Arguing that colonialism is a discourse structured by patriarchal power relations, she points to the existence of 'notable' Victorian women travel writers only to claim that they were 'token travellers only, who were forced by various pressures to articulate the values of patriarchy'.[29] Kabbani's desire to produce women as pure agents in the face of colonial power relations leads to the problematic supposition that if women were unwilling colonialists, men must be not only self-conscious oppressors but intentionalist authors choosing (where women were 'forced') to misrepresent the other.[30] In a book with more than one version of power and authorship (intentional and discursive) some men are similarly exculpated from blame: unlike other artists who exploited the Orient, Fromentin, Matisse and Renoir, for example, were simply 'exhilarated by the Orient and were therefore considerably enriched as artists by it'.[31] That this enrichment might itself be an imperial spoil is ignored in an attempt to preserve the favoured few (and a strange few too, surely, given Renoir's arguably pornographic representations of Orientalized women?) as pure and intentional artists.

Sara Mills, in an exemplary analysis of women's travel writing, suggests that one of the reasons why their work is ignored by critics is that the fluctuating and partial allegiance to colonialism produced by women's problematic access to the superiority of a colonial position makes their work difficult to classify. Whilst attention to the gendered axis of colonial discourse may deconstruct Said's monolithic analysis by allowing for counter-hegemonic voices, it is clear that many women authors expended as much energy as their peers on creating the powerful narrative voice afforded by British colonialism. After all, nineteenth-century women who transgressed the codes of femininity to publish or exhibit art were to some extent aspiring to recognition in the terms of their culture. The contradictions of their position mean that their representations are likely simultaneously to confirm and transgress social and textual codes. For example, whilst travelling broke codes of European femininity, many women travel writers reinforced colonialist codes of white superiority and emphasized their adherence to feminine propriety of dress and decorum. The unconventionality of their occupation in terms of gender is propped up by or relies on the ideology of colonialism and white superiority in the very conceptualization of the East as a realm suitable for adventuring. A disinvestment in one set of values is counterbalanced by an overinvestment in another.

Although women writers often expressed sympathy for 'native' women or voiced criticisms of colonial administration it would, as Mills points out, be wrong to take this as a displaced feminist anger.[32] Aside from the personal conservatism of many women travellers, the proto-feminist concern for 'native' women was itself frequently structured by the same assumptions of white superiority and civilization (Indian women are oppressed by their backward menfolk and must be liberated by their more advanced white sisters) that drove imperial policy.[33]

PROBLEMS WITH 'THE DEATH OF THE AUTHOR'

Discourse theory is, as James Clifford remarks, 'unfair' to authors: it does not allow for their existence in the traditional humanist sense of the author as the origin and owner of the text's meaning.[34] In contrast to Foucault, who sees the author not as a real person but as a function of discourse, a 'means of classification' that allows

us to group together those texts as the product of one author (for example, Shakespeare) and not another, Said retains a belief in 'the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts that constitutes a discursive formation like Orientalism'.[35] For Foucault, the impossibility of the author is part and parcel of the always heterogeneous nature of discourse in which individuals may occupy multiple and contradictory positions, whereas Said's defence of the individual author affirms his conceptualization of the essentially unified nature of imperial subjectivity and colonial discourse.

When authorship and agency are seen as concepts produced by power, the political and critical implications of the anti-humanist critique of the unified sovereign subject become clear. In 'The Death of the Author' Roland Barthes counters the traditional humanist reverence for the author with the assertion that the term author does not designate a 'real' person but an entity created by readers and critics. This author is a modern figure (replacing previous modes of cultural generation that did not require a single point of origin and ownership) whose emergence is linked to the development of the modern culture industry and the capitalist valorization of the individual. Barthes replaces the primacy of the author's intent (as interpreted by critics) with the assertion that meaning is generated between the reader and the text. He transforms the activity of reading from one of decipherment (interpretation of the hidden truth) to one of disentanglement (untangling the web of structures that form the text without assigning a 'secret' or 'ultimate' meaning). Where the former closes the text by finding (creating) its one true meaning, the latter leaves it open by revealing its components but not ruling out other possible tracings.[36] The author who precedes the text, is replaced with the 'scriptor', an entity that is

> born simultaneously with the text, is in no way equipped with a being preceding or exceeding the writing, is not the subject with the book as predicate: there is no other time than that of the enunciation and every text is eternally written *here and now*.[37]

For feminists, such theories are as problematic as the critiques of imperialism I discussed earlier. Whereas the attack on the foundations of a patriarchal literary and subjective order would seem to be of benefit to feminists, its gender blindness is a problem:

although the loss of the sovereign subject that accompanied the death of the author was not such a blow to women who had never collectively 'felt burdened by too much Self, Ego, Cogito, etc.'[38] in the first place, to be told that the author was dead (just as courses in women's studies and women's literature were getting off the ground) threatened to close off the possibility of a narrative authority to which women had never really acceded. What is more, as Nancy K. Miller has observed, Barthes' insistence on the atemporality of the reader ('the reader is without history, biography, psychology'[39]) might well deny women not only the possibility of being authors but also of being (women) readers.[40]

In response to a deconstructive position that takes no referent outside the text, Nancy Miller argues for a pragmatic reinscription of the specificity of author and reader.[41] For her, signature matters – it makes a difference if a novel is signed by a woman or a man. A 'methodologically correct' position, in which 'woman' does not exist except as a product of discourse and the feminine is a mode of writing available to subjects of either gender, has no place to acknowledge the real oppression of real women (however so defined). In contrast to Peggy Kamuf's refusal to see the definition of women's literature limited to one in which 'women's writing is writing signed by women',[42] Miller illustrates the significance of signature by pointing to women's use of a male pseudonym as a 'desire to be veiled that unveils the anxiety of a genderized and sexualized body'.[43] Only female subjects are able to write not only in the 'feminine' (discursive mode) but, as Catherine Stimpson phrases it, 'of, for, to and from the "female" '.[44]

This political and strategic necessity to recognize the experiential reality of gendered identities – even as one deconstructs them – may also be a point at which to reinstate in an altered form the concept of the 'real' Orient as seen in Said's work. The necessary contradiction of reconstructing the space of the real woman/real Orient as a figure of analysis whilst simultaneously deconstructing any attempt to fix or naturalize its history or status, would be just the sort of pragmatic or 'affirmative' deconstruction advocated by Spivak in the case of subaltern historiography.[45] The liberation of meaning from author to reader offered by Barthes does not have to exclude the social. Whilst the reader as a positionality in relation to, or even formed by, each text may be a neutral space,

the agents who occupy it bring with them a subjectivity (there must be a subject of sorts to perform the reading) that is formed in and through its experience of the social – a realm demarcated by differences of race, class and gender. If meaning lies in reading rather than in the text, then any text has a multiplicity of possible meanings that will be produced by each individual reader according to the subjective baggage they bring to the site of reading.[46] This is particularly important for a study of culture and imperialism, for it is not only, as Anderson argues, that the development of nationalism is indelibly linked to the cultural articulation of the imagined national community, but also, as John Tomlinson suggests, that it is in and through the processes of reading by which they are formed: imagined national communities are also interpretive communities.[47] Thus, imperial meanings are not simply inherent in texts, but are produced through the various and mediated mechanism of reading: this also means, of course, that oppositional readings may be performed on the same 'imperialist' texts by a different community of readers.[48] Foucault's theory of the author as a function of discourse allows for the retention of both the social and the subject.

> . . . an author's name is not simply an element of speech (as a subject, a complement, or an element that could be replaced by a pronoun or other parts of speech) . . . [it] characterizes a particular manner of existence of discourse. Discourse that possesses an author's name is not to be immediately consumed and forgotten; neither is it accorded the momentary attention given to ordinary fleeting words. Rather, its status and its manner of reception are regulated by the culture in which it circulates . . .

But the subject should not be entirely abandoned. It should be reconsidered, not to restore the theme of an originating subject, but to seize its functions, its intervention in discourse, and its system of dependencies . . . Rather, we should ask: under what conditions and through what forms can an entity like the subject appear in the order of discourse; what position does it occupy; what functions does it exhibit; and what rules does it follow in each type of discourse? In short, the subject (and its substitutes) must be stripped of its creative role and analysed as a complex and variable function of discourse.[49]

BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ

Thus, the form and effectivity of the author-function is reliant on the cultural, and thus necessarily social, values of the era in which it emerges and those in which it is subsequently evaluated. We can therefore locate women's cultural production within the discursively produced conditions of possibility in which they could assume the position of a writing/painting subject. This means giving attention to the restrictions on and conditions of women's access to cultural production (as I shall detail in Chapter 2) and pursuing the role of gender in the construction of the very subjectivity that the author or artist is thought to possess. As Robert Young makes clear, it should never be possible to empty the attack on the sovereign subject of its social implications, since the foundation of that very form of subjectivity, in all its innocent, transcendent universalism, is based on the construction and exclusion of an inferior other.

> As Barthes' analyses indicate, the French critique of humanism was conducted from the first as a part of a political critique of colonialism ... The anti-humanists charged that the category of the human, however exalted in its conception, was too often invoked only in order to put the male before the female, or to classify other 'races' as sub-human, and therefore not subject to the ethical prescriptions applicable to 'humanity' at large.[50]

In this instance, the deconstruction of the sovereign Western subject does not mean simply replacing a unified white male Western subject with a unified white female Western subject,[51] but using all the contradictory positions inherent in those terms to 'disentangle' the ways in which representations of an Orientalized other simultaneously undercut and contribute to imperialist ideas and policies. This involves attending to the processes of 'othering' in texts that are not obviously racist or imperialist in any simple sense of the term because as texts – received within the conventions of author-centred criticism and produced in the heyday of nineteenth-century imperialism – they cannot be considered outside of the imperialist rationale of the humanist project. Anita Levy, in her argument for an interdisciplinary focus in the study of alterity (the construction of the other), links the emergent anthropological and sociological trope of the 'other woman' as the hidden negative ('all that is "other" than normal, desirable and English') against which English domestic fiction is structured. She cites a process by which, as this monolithic figure of the other woman 'came to comprise myriad social and sexual practices, the other woman displaced other women'.[52] The form of this alterity is, as Rosemary Hennessy and Rajeswari Mohan make clear, 'continually re-articulated in terms dictated by its economic and political conditions of emergence'.[53] Thus, the textual status of the other woman in women's cultural production cannot be separated from the economic and social conditions necessary for the emergence of Western women's cultural agency; conditions which relied, among other things, on the displacement onto the feminized colonial other of forms of gendered exploitation now unacceptable at home. One of the aims of this book, then, is to trace the construction of the other woman (the feminine and feminized Oriental other) in women's texts in order to illuminate some of the gendered specificities that made up the variable conditions of emergence of the forms of alterity characteristic of Orientalism. As Deborah Cherry has pointed out, neither women cultural producers nor women consumers were a homogeneous group, so we should expect to find variety in the positionings of femininity they assume and the forms of alterity they represent.[54] In this I would support Levy's demand that we attend to the structural role of the other woman in order to 're-materialize forms of middle-class power that have since vanished into the commonsense norms of self and identity' still paramount in the twentieth-century enactment of postcolonial alterity.[55] My aim is to elaborate the contribution women made to the negotiation and naturalization of those colonialist norms.

In order to understand how imperialism figured in European women's cultural production, we first need a working hypothesis of a female writing/painting subject. We need a theory of subjectivity and agency that acknowledges the contradictions, gaps and internal splits that structure the paradoxical but necessary notion of a collective identity as women; that is not divorced from the racialized, classed and gendered experience of the social; but that can recognize the 'impermanence' of all those various social collective identities;[56] an approach that can accept the death of the author as an originating source *without* rewriting women off the cultural map by denying the importance of the historical producer.

Griselda Pollock re-inscribes the historical producer by arguing that the act of cultural production (painting) is 'in itself *a site for the inscription of sexual* [and presumably class and racial]

difference'.[57] This thus brings into orbit the circumstances of a work's production and reception as constituents of its meaning and the identity/ies produced for its author: we cannot read a text without allowing for its productive role in the encoding of social difference. Likewise, with literary representations, as we shall see in Chapter 4, the ways in which women can represent their experience of the harem is always mediated by the form and location of their writing.[58]

In relation to the individual authors I study, I shall be using the term author/artist to refer to the originating identity constructed for the texts, whilst the term writer/painter will refer to the individual historical subject who performs those creative activities. Whilst such historical agents demonstrate relatively constant components of subjectivity over long periods of time, subjectivity is none the less produced within discursively overdetermined conditions. It is with this tension between a relatively stable individual identification and the always changing relations of discourse that this book is concerned. It is important therefore to keep in mind a sense of the authorial/artistic identity constructed for these female subjects as one that, from their first public exposure, always had a bearing on the interpretation and popularity of their work – and they knew it. So even whilst we argue for the separation of the author from the writer, it is important to acknowledge that the writer was aware of the effects of the author-function and how the author might return to the text. Barthes explains how this fiction of the author within the text is different from the paternal authority imagined to the author outside the text.

> It is not that the Author may not 'come back' in the Text, in his text, but then he does so as a 'guest'. If he is a novelist he is inscribed in the novel like one of his characters, figured in the carpet; no longer privileged, paternal, aletheological, his inscription is ludic. He becomes, as it were, a paper-author: his life is no longer the origin of his fictions but a fiction contributing to his work; there is a reversion of the work on to the life (and no longer the contrary); it is the work of Proust, of Genet, which allows their lives to be read as a text.[59]

As we shall see with Browne and George Eliot, not only was their work inevitably read as a product of their experience but changes in their work led to reconceptualizations of the nature of that experience, or life. In the case of George Eliot we know that she

was acutely aware of the interface between a writer's (known) life and her fictions. With Browne, we can only speculate on the basis of representations of her in the press. Both cases indicate not only the power of public/collective readings but how writers and artists were themselves constituted as readers.

As agents socialized in an age of everyday imperialism it would have been impossible for the subjects of this study to be unaware of, or uninfluenced by, imperial discourse – even if they couched their relationship to it as oppositional. That some of the key writers of the twentieth-century feminist literary canon, like Brontë and Eliot, couched their demands for female emancipation precisely through the Orientalizing of a structural other requires even more our willingness to include the conditions and discourses of imperial difference in our analysis of the work. Attention to the role of what Spivak calls the 'other woman' ('not merely who am I? but who is the other woman? How am I naming her? How does she name me?'[60]) will open up the imperial dimensions of women's texts and allow us to locate them historically. Without this we will never be able to understand, or challenge, the structural role of racism in the history and praxis of feminism.

> . . . what is at stake, for feminist individualism in the age of imperialism, is precisely the making of human beings, the constitution and 'interpellation' of the subject not only as individual but as 'individualist'. This stake is represented on two registers: childbearing and soul making. The first is domestic-society-through-sexual-reproduction cathected as 'companionate love'; the second is the imperialist project cathected as civil-society-through-social-mission. As the female individualist, not-quite/not-male, articulates herself in shifting relationship to what is at stake, the 'native female' as such (*within* discourse, *as* a signifier) is excluded from any share in this emerging norm.[61]

Although Barthes' scriptor is asocial, the instance of women's cultural production shows that even a model not reliant on the humanist concept of author cannot divorce the scriptor's activities from the social. Firstly, to perform the process of disentanglement that Barthes recommends requires an exploration of social forces that exceed the text in so far as we can detect them working structurally *in* the text. For example, the scriptor Charlotte

Brontë created simultaneously with the text *Jane Eyre* (as opposed, for example, to the author Currer Bell), cannot be understood without reference to the social experience of/exposure to colonial discourse that she (the social agent) *must* have had in order to (a) know that English citizens derived their wealth from plantation slavery in British West Indian colonies (the Eyres and the Rochesters) and (b) be able to represent the character Bertha Mason as mad and degenerate in a way that *only* makes sense within imperial discourses of race and heredity. Secondly, disentangling the possible meanings of a text requires attention to the way gender determines the social spaces in which the text can signify. That is, that the gender-specific ideologies that permeated cultural criticism of the period had substantial (though not unquestioned) impact on the types of representation women thought they could make and sell and on how they were judged. Female writing subjects, as female reading subjects, could not but variously be affected by those contemporary ideas about gender and creativity just as they were by those about nation, race, and empire.

WRITERS, READERS AND CRITICS

> Historically, the reign of the Author has also been that of the Critic.[62]

The second half of the nineteenth century was an era in which the author and his or her sidekick, the critic, reigned supreme. The nineteenth century as a whole was a period of expanding access to culture (visual and literary) marked by a growth in the numbers and role of cultural critics: not only did the consumption of culture involve greater numbers than ever before, but their activities were guided by a vastly expanded periodical press. Each periodical, with its own political bent, was concerned to varying degrees with politics, economics, philosophy and culture (here interpreted in its widest sense to include music, poetry, literature, science) in an altogether more interactive and wide-ranging series of interests than we might imagine today. Although individual critics had their areas of expertise they were, in general, valued for their ability to give opinions on issues of the day within a broad political and cultural field.[63] A huge number of journals and papers were published (daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly) that, selling at a wide range of prices, were able to reach the specialist

and general needs of the expanded reading public.[64] Indeed, John Klancher argues for the formative role of the periodical press in the very conception of the reading public(s); literally constructing diverse individuals into a collectively identified audience *through* their reading of, and relationship to, a periodical.[65] As well as news and entertainment, press reviews of cultural developments on all fronts were an inevitable accompaniment to cultural activities. One not only read the novels of Dickens in serial form, one also read, and discussed, reviews of each instalment.[66] Likewise, attendance at the Salon or Royal Academy occurred in the context of reading reviews in the general and (growing) art press – how else was one to make sense of the bewildering display of crowded pictures?[67] The widely read critical press contributed to the meanings ascribed to texts and the authorial identities constructed for their producers. Additionally, many reviewers or critics were themselves in the public eye as authors, artists, scientists or politicians (Disraeli, a politician who published novels, treatises and reviews, is the obvious example here), further complicating the relationship between the read and the written. And of course, all these relations were subject to variables of gender, class, race and nation.

I am going to be using contemporary criticism as indicators of the cultural codes and contemporary meanings ascribed to my 'primary' texts. As such, reviews constitute part of the social reality of the texts, contributing to how they were read and, I will argue, to how they were produced. That is, the periodical press was constitutive, rather than simply reflective, of Victorian opinion (on cultural, political and social issues).[68] This is not to say that criticism was monolithic – the meanings and values given to these texts were varied and at times hotly contested – but that as a widespread practice with an important social role (reading periodicals was part of daily family life) the ideas circulating in criticism influenced readers and therefore producers. Aside from (but bound up in) the restraints on women's training and access to cultural production, the role of the critic and the possibility of gaining (any) critical attention (which held true for all artists and writers) had a great impact on the type of work women could produce.[69] Therefore, for a study which is interdisciplinary in its objects and methods, the use of periodicals which were themselves always relational (for readers the distinctions between individual articles or issues were submerged under a general sense of the

recognizable differences between titles) is instructive. It can help to focus my objects as representational practices situated at the edge of several discursive fields and contained by none, in which signification is a relational activity extending beyond the bounds of the single text. As Patricia Mainardi has demonstrated, in her study of French art criticism, critics with vastly different aesthetic and political positions used a shared critical framework and often the same terminology to discuss their very different interpretations of the same painting. She suggests, therefore, that in order to understand the 'broad dimensions of the issues which formed the field of critical discourse' we must attend to the areas of agreement – what all critics were united in believing to be the essential terms of the debate – in order to grasp the significance of their differences.[70] In my study, this approach allows us to locate the response to Browne's work within widely held, but differently registered, assumptions about gender, art and the Orient; thus, the universal assumption that Browne did see the forbidden harem can be read as symptomatic of a shared field of critical discourse within which the specific responses of individual critics will be explored.

Criticism, then, in both art and literature hints at the meanings ascribed to our texts and indicates the field in which they signified. That is, in assessing the relationship of culture and imperialism we need to see not just the meaning 'in' the text but also those around it. Thus, *The Spanish Gypsy*, which attempts a sympathetic portrait of gypsies, cannot be understood outside of the xenophobia it stirred up in its critics – feelings that are explicitly linked to contemporary identifications of class, gender and nationality. Using criticism as the sites from which were enunciated some of the possible meanings ascribed to the text can, therefore, help us position them in relation to the wider discursive field of which they all were a part.

Although Said departs from Foucault on the question of the author, I think that a parallel can be drawn between the relationality of Foucault's author-function and the political implications of relationality in Said's *Orientalism*; imagine the gendered version of Said's dynamic below:

> My principal methodological devices for studying authority here are what can be called *strategic location*, which is a way of describing the author's position in a text with regard to the Oriental material he writes about, and *strategic formation*, which is a way of analysing the relationship between texts and the way in which groups of texts, types of texts, even textual genres, acquire mass density, and referential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large . . . Everyone who writes about the Orient must locate himself *vis-à-vis* the Orient; translated into his text, this location includes the kind of narrative voice he adopts, the type of structure he builds, the kinds of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text – all of which add up to deliberate ways of addressing the reader, containing the Orient, and finally, representing it or speaking on its behalf. None of this takes place in the abstract, however. Every writer on the Orient . . . assumes some Oriental precedent, some previous knowledge of the Orient, to which he refers and on which he relies. Additionally, each work on the Orient *affiliates* itself with other works, with audiences, with institutions, with the Orient itself. The ensemble of relationships between works, audiences and some particular aspects of the Orient therefore constitutes an analysable formation – for example, that of philological studies, of anthologies of extracts from Oriental literature, of travel books, or Oriental fantasies – whose presence in time, in discourse, in institutions (schools, libraries, foreign services) gives it strength and authority.[71]

In the same way as all Oriental texts are positioned in relation to the Orientalist discourse that precedes them, so too are all women's texts positioned in relation to pre-existent codes of femininity, which they may simultaneously uphold and challenge. Thus, Browne's paintings were not only always related to other Orientalist paintings (Said's strategic formation), they were also always related to the work of other women artists. Critics who disputed her version of the harem often used other women's accounts to disprove them – a necessary move in a discursive formation that invested Browne's alternative accounts of the harem with truth precisely because of her gender. Men were not allowed into the harem, so Browne's allegedly truthful eyewitness account could only be counteracted with another potential – and necessarily female – eyewitness.[72]

Browne positions herself (in the choice of subjects and styles) and is positioned (in the reception and circulation of her work) in relation to both Orientalism and gender. In Chapter 3 I will

consider how the respectable authorial persona constructed for Browne by the early paintings (in the traditionally feminine areas of portraiture, domestic narrative and religious genre) contributed to the success of her Orientalist subjects by maintaining an image of her as an author (classed and gendered) who could avoid being tainted with the immorality associated with the Orientalist (and particularly the harem) genre. This is not to say that these positionalities, whether strategically selected by the painter or produced by the critic, were the final determinant of meaning – that still lies in the activity of the individual reader. But a sense of the agency of the painter/writer, coupled with attention to the meanings circulated about their texts, does allow us to regard cultural production as a relational activity. Painting or writing are activities undertaken within a social field that is already suffused with meaning, and are themselves the site of the inscription of difference. As participants in relational activities determined by cultural norms, those who paint/write are also implicated as readers – an activity that for the painter, like any other reading subject, was mediated by the activities of the critic.

George Eliot is perhaps the perfect example of why the (female) writing subject can never be separated from the reading subject: she worked as a reviewer and journalist before and during the period in which she wrote fiction. Her critical writings do not reveal the hidden clues of a unified authorial intent – the review essay 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' should not be read as a rubric for what she intended to write herself.[73] Rather, they show signs of the internal splits of a female subject produced by the difficulty of trying to write a certain type of 'highbrow' prose without being dragged down to the level of the pot-boiler in the endless restriction of women's writing to a closed female field. The prescriptions George Eliot lays down about women's fiction show us, therefore, the processes by which she positions herself, and is herself positioned, as a reading and writing female subject.

Women constituted as subjects through discourse were therefore always consciously and unconsciously negotiating a grid of previous knowledges and representations (about the nature of women, men, the Orient, etc.). We can find in their work traces of transgressive and affirmative attitudes to these fields of representation in an often bewildering display of contradiction and conformity. (As we shall see in Chapter 2, many women artists and writers emphasized their loyalty to the ideology of separate

spheres in order to compensate for the potential transgressions of their creative activities.) Browne challenges certain Orientalist codes in her depiction of the harem, but retains an allegiance to notions of proper femininity in her work and self-presentation to the press; George Eliot publishes novels which advocate a mode of self-abnegation for her female heroines but flouts propriety and conventional feminine behaviour in her personal life.

WOMEN REPRESENTING THE OTHER: VILLETTE

Sometimes the very terms of women's transgressions (as writers and readers) are derived from their position as Westerners in the Orientalist divide. For women writing subjects concerned with female emancipation the Orient often provided a valuable series of metaphors.[74] There is one such passage from Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* that has long intrigued me, not least because this passage, and the novel as a whole, is often used by feminist critics to highlight the construction of gendered subjectivities and the inherent difficulties of being a female writing subject.[75] *Villette* is a novel suffused with Orientalist references and metaphors (Polly sat 'like an odalisque' on the sofa) and filled with reference to visual spectatorship. Jane Miller quotes the following passage in her section on Orientalism: Lucy Snowe is in an art gallery looking at a painting that has all the tropes of an Orientalist odalisque;

> It represented a woman, considerably larger, I thought, than the life. I calculated that this lady, put into a scale of magnitude suitable for the reception of a commodity of bulk would infallibly turn from fourteen to sixteen stone. She was, indeed, extremely well fed: very much butcher's meat – to say nothing of bread, vegetables, and liquids – must she have consumed to attain that breadth and height, that wealth of muscle, that affluence of flesh. She lay half-reclined on a couch: why, it would be difficult to say; broad daylight blazed round her: she appeared in hearty health, strong enough to do the work of two plain cooks; she could not plead a weak spine; she ought to have been standing or at least sitting bolt upright. She had no business to lounge away the noon on a sofa. She ought likewise to have worn decent garments; a gown covering her properly, which was not the case: out of abundance of

> material – seven-and-twenty yards, I should say, of drapery – she manages to make inefficient raiment. Then, for the wretched untidiness surrounding her, there could be no excuse. Pots and pans – perhaps I ought to say vases and goblets – were rolled here and there on the foreground; a perfect rubbish of flowers was mixed amongst them, and an absurd and disorderly mass of curtain upholstery smothered the couch and cumbered the floor. On referring to the catalogue, I found that this notable production bore name [*sic*] 'Cleopatra'.[76]

Jane Miller argues that for Lucy to adopt the position of white superiority that so judges the *Cleopatra* requires the assumption of a masculine positionality.

> Lucy Snowe scrutinises a man-made image of female voluptuousness and adopts a man's voice (could she have done otherwise?) as she wrestles with the problems it poses for her as a woman who writes.[77]

For Jane Miller the *Cleopatra* represents a male fantasy of female sexuality (and male pleasure) that Lucy can only criticize by undertaking a 'male impersonation' and subsequently displacing onto the painting 'a life's constraints and a history of imperialism in which she is implicated'. Whilst I agree with Miller that the text projects onto the *Cleopatra* the negative aspects of an active female sexuality with which Lucy cannot be associated, I do not think that Lucy critiques the *Cleopatra* as a man. The dynamics of imperialism give Lucy the ability to criticize social norms not because she displaces them and her implications in them (onto the picture or a masculine alter ego), but because they provide a series of positional superiorities in which Lucy can claim for herself *as a woman* the authority to judge and represent that the codes of femininity and class normally deny her. The terms of Lucy's analysis are intrinsically female: evaluating the figure's stature in relation to the domestic labour (of shopping and cooking) that its maintenance would require; casting a housewifely eye over the jumble of accoutrements in the Oriental interior that to other (male) eyes might constitute the essential elements of an Orientalist fantasy of sexual fulfilment; recasting the Oriental drapes in terms of the yardage required to make clothes; asserting the Protestant work ethic over the lassitude of Oriental sexuality. To Lucy, this is not a room of inviting sexual relaxation and

pleasure but an untidied (i.e., waiting to be tidied) domestic space. This is a judgement encoded in the terms of a feminine positionality that is structurally dependent on, at the same time as it is productive of, a concept of femininity that is white and Western. What Jane Miller misses out from her analysis of Lucy's judgement is that the chapter sets it from the very beginning into a context of public viewing and contested meanings which mobilizes not just gender but the classed, racialized, and nation-specific differences that structure the social. Before her long contemplation of the *Cleopatra,* Lucy's narrative voice gives us a derisive picture of the painting's status in Villette's municipal gallery.

> ... I found myself alone in a certain gallery, wherein one particular picture of pretentious size, set up in the best light, having a cordon of protection stretched before it, and a cushioned bench duly set in front for the accommodation of worshipping connoisseurs, who, having gazed themselves off their feet, might be fain to complete the business sitting: this picture, I say, seemed to consider itself the queen of the collection. [275]

The picture is put in context and given full description before its title is revealed. It is no coincidence that the subject is Cleopatra; *Villette* is a novel concerned with the quest for an 'independent self-determining female subject[ivity]'[78] that, like all the 'subject constituting'[79] proto-feminist projects of its era, relies on the axiomatics of imperialism. Lucy Snowe's *Bildungsroman* is animated by the Orientalist construction of the Continental Roman Catholics as the inferior Orientalized other of Protestant England. Not only does Madame Beck maintain her despotic control over her charges (staff and students alike) by a regime of scopic surveillance, but Lucy explores different modes of feminine sexuality via their representation in visual culture. Despite her lowly position in the English domestic social order, once displaced onto foreign soil, Lucy, like all the impoverished younger sons who achieved rank and fortune in the colonies unimaginable at home, can assert a previously prohibited authority to judge and represent. The Roman Catholic characters are represented as essentially different and positionally inferior, characterized, as Said finds the Oriental to be, as

> irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, 'different' . . . [and living] in a different but thoroughly organized world of his own, a world with its own national, cultural and epistemological boundaries and principles of internal coherence.[80]

Lucy's scopic surveillance of the Roman Catholics endlessly reiterates their difference, inferiority and threat: Catholicism is a formation of 'dreadful viciousness, sickening tyranny and black impiety'.

> Romanism pervaded every arrangement . . . each mind was being reared in slavery; but to prevent reflection from dwelling on this fact, every pretext for physical recreation was seized . . . the CHURCH strove to bring up her children robust of body, feeble in soul, fat, ruddy, hale, joyous, ignorant, unthinking, unquestioning . . . [196]

Charlotte Brontë was not the only author to substitute European for colonial differences. As Fredric Jameson points out, in the period prior to the First World War,

> the relationship of domination between First and Third World was masked and displaced by an overriding (and perhaps ideological) consciousness of imperialism as being essentially a relationship between First World powers or the holders of Empire, and this consciousness tended to repress the more basic axis of otherness, and to raise issues of colonial reality only incidentally.[81]

He argues that the tendency to mask relations of (colonial) exploitation with those of (European) rivalry was more pronounced in 'high' literature, and suggests that such substitutions be thought of as 'a strategy of representational containment, which scarcely alters the fundamental imperialist structure of colonial appropriation'.[82] In the case of *Villette* and our study, we can add that the tendency to displace imperial relations onto European differences gives the woman writer or artist the chance to avail herself of a colonial superiority that may well elude her in the colonial field itself but can be appropriated, by proxy, in the textual domain of an Orientalized Europe. In this light, read Protestant Lucy's response to the curatorial advice of M. Paul. He is shocked to find her alone in front of this painting;

> 'Did you come here unaccompanied?'
> 'No, monsieur. Dr Bretton brought me here.'
> . . . 'And he told you to look at *that* picture?'
> 'By no means: I found it for myself.'
> M. Paul's hair was shorn close as raven down, or I think it would have bristled on his head. Beginning now to perceive his drift, I had a certain pleasure in keeping cool, and working him up.
> 'Astounding insular audacity!' cried the Professor. 'Singulières femmes que ces Anglaises!'
> 'What is the matter, monsieur?'
> 'Matter! How dare you, a young person, sit coolly down, with the self-possession of a garçon, and look at *that* picture?'
> 'It is a very ugly picture, but I cannot at all see why I should not look at it.'
> 'Bon Bon! Speak no more of it. But you ought not to be here alone. . . . asseyez-vous là – là!' Setting down a chair with emphasis in a particularly dull corner, before a series of most specially dreary 'cadres' [representing four stages in the 'vie d'une femme']. [276–7]

In contrast to M. Paul's attempts to assert the fixity of gender roles (prohibiting Lucy from behaving like a boy, a garçon) the imperial ethos that gives Lucy leave to judge men's vision of female sexuality also lets her judge their judgements. She turns her attention to other people's readings of the *Cleopatra*.

> A perfect crowd of spectators was by this time gathered round the Lioness, from whose vicinage I had been banished; nearly half this crowd were ladies, but M. Paul afterwards told me, these were 'des dames,' and it was quite proper for them to contemplate what no 'demoiselle' ought to glance at. I assured him plainly I could not agree in this doctrine, and did not see the sense of it; whereupon, with his usual absolutism, he merely requested my silence . . . A more despotic little man than M. Paul never filled a professor's chair, I noticed, by the way, that he looked at the picture himself quite at his ease, and for a very long while. . . .
> [She asks his opinion of the Cleopatra]
> . . . 'Une femme superbe – une tialle d'imperatrice, des formes de Junon, mais une personne dont je ne voudrais ni

> pour femme, ni pour fille, ni pour soeur. Aussi vous ne jeterez plus un seul coup d'oeil de sa côté.'[83] [278–80]

Meanwhile, the English Dr Bretton arrives and takes a turn about the room with Lucy.

> I always liked dearly to hear what he had to say about either pictures or books; because, without pretending to be a connoisseur, he always spoke his thought, and that was sure to be fresh: very often it was also just and pithy . . . I asked him what he thought of the Cleopatra (after making him laugh by telling how Professor Emmanuel had sent me to the right-about . . .)
>
> 'Pooh!' said he, 'My mother is a better-looking woman. I heard some French fops, yonder, designating her as "le type du voluptueux;" if so, I can only say, "le voluptueux" is little to my liking. Compare that mulatto with Ginevre!'[282]

What we see in this passage is the way that cultural consumption is demarcated by the shifting relational differences of class, gender, nationality and race. Although Lucy uses the opportunity of viewing the *Cleopatra* to pass judgement on people normally considered to be above her, she does not do this by pretending to be male, but by reframing her femininity with the signifiers of nation and class. In other words, the text uses whatever ammunition comes to hand, activating whichever set of differences will work. Lucy sides with Graham to refuse the erotic voyeurism of the *Cleopatra* on grounds not of gender but of nationality and class. Arrogating to herself the Doctor's lofty disdain, she consigns M. Paul, otherwise her ally, to the sidelines as part of the Catholic contingent along with the enraptured de Hamal.[84] But the urbanity and diffidence Graham deploys in front of the *Cleopatra* is described as 'callous' when turned on the live spectacle of female passion embodied in the performance of the actress Vashti: 'he judged her as a woman, not an artist: it was a branding judgement' [342].

Viewing is represented as a public activity subject to the power dynamics of the social; for women judgement comes from without and it is proscriptive ('Vashti was not good, I was told' [340]). But in *Villette* the text undercuts those judgements even as it represents them, displacing the authority of male interpretations and permitting a transgressive female reading.[85] The multiplicity of feminine subjectivities represented in the text (and, significantly,

represented as visual images) are seen to have different meanings for those who view them, indicating that gendered identifications are contested and contingent. The transgressions of Lucy's voyeurism rely on *all* the terms of social differentiation, not just gender.

It is clear, then, that Lucy's identity is constituted through her activities as a reader and spectator and that an intervention into cultural codes is one way of challenging the positionalities open to women: Lucy does this both in her reading of culture (her knowing disbelief in cultural conventions) and her active disruption/production of the fictions that culture seeks to normalize (her disruption of the play). The contradictions of women's challenges to imperial power indicate the splits within imperial discourse and its imperial subject. In order to break up Said's monolithic Orientalist discourse, Homi Bhabha maps Said's schema of latent and manifest Orientalism onto the psychoanalytic concept of the splits between the unconscious and conscious mind. He reveals imperialism as a mode of discourse that is based on an ambivalence and anxiety, in which the colonial other is 'at once an object of desire and derision'.[86] He utilizes a Lacanian explanation of subjectivity as something that is at once formed through language (the child must learn to take up a place within a signifying system that predates it in order to join the realm of the social) and intrinsically split (the moment of recognition and splitting in the 'me/not me' of the mirror phase)[87] to decode Orientalism as a discourse, based on representation, that is driven not by a unified and intentional power but by the splits and ambivalences of the subjects who enunciate it. Bhabha takes us back to the moment of enunciation to emphasize the role of the enunciating agent (potentially in all its classed and gendered specificity – something which Bhabha, like Said, ignores), to bypass Said's reliance on the concept of the exceptional individual author (as the only one who can function outside of the constraints of Orientalism) and reveal Orientalism as an always incohesive discourse that always already contains conflictual positions.[88]

Thus, the apparent unity and homogeneity of imperial discourse attests not to the reality of imperial power (Said's problem of the real Orient) but to a motivational fantasy of unified power and control. Rather than trying to match our representations against the 'reality' of (say, women's) experience of colonialism or imperialist ideology, we can read them as traces of collective

fantasies about power, control, desire and difference – channelled through the subjective particularities of the individual.[89] These fantasy traces are not simply wish fulfilment but reveal the fragmentary nature of the psychical realities engendered by the contradictions of imperial discourse. It is only with attention to the social and psychical elements of women's experience and representation of imperialism that we can explain why, for example, Charlotte Brontë's imagining of female independence relies on the subordination of other (Orientalized) female subjectivities. Fantasy, like subjectivity itself, is contradictory and unstable. It relies, as we shall see, on mechanisms of repression and displacement that may both mask and reveal the conflicting desires of the subject, and is influenced by the social realities of the subject's experience. Although the Foucauldian paradigm I have used so far would be opposed to psychoanalysis, I think that we can use psychoanalytic theory to good effect without accepting what are sometimes seen as its transhistorical and universalist claims.[90]

If we accept that subjectivity can only be produced as a fragmented and unstable structure, we can also assert that the particular splits of the subject will be in some relation to the rules and values of the society in which it is formed. Those values and codes will impact differently, to different psychic effect, on agents in different classed, gendered and racialized positions.[91] As Henriques *et al.* show in their examination of psychological practices, we cannot get away from the fact that whilst people experience their subjectivity as real, the possibilities of those subjectivities are not only historically determined but are also relational; that is, they are affected not just by some impersonal discourse, but by the relations between the individuals through whom discourse is articulated.[92] To avoid the universalizing tendencies of Lacan and the functionalist tendencies of Foucault they argue for attention to the 'motivational dynamics through which people are positioned in discourses' and the role of discourse in the production of desire.

> The content of desires, then, is neither timeless nor arbitrary, but has a historical specificity . . . It is precisely this formation of power-knowledge relations through the positioning of subjects within discursive practices [that] simultaneously produc[es] relations of desire . . .[93]

If we see desire as not only historically specific but also as a formation based in fantasy that is always relational (the unfulfillable nature of desire stems from its originatory moment – the loss of the mother, the original object – which, in turn provides the sense of absence and loss necessary to drive the infant into signification) then we can see the motivational possibilities of assuming an enunciative position in discourse – itself a placement that is relational and significatory. By theorizing the reasons why individuals take up discursive positionalities Henriques *et al.* open up a space for the recognition of how discourses are changed by the activity of the individuals who reproduce them. If desire is produced (contingent) and not innate, then it can change, and since power is relational and enunciated from relational positionalities by individual subjects, then that too can be changed. This takes us one stage further away from a mechanistic view of a unitary power. Moreover, since all subjects are the product of more than one discourse, the ascendancy of different discourses may differently complexion the relations of power and knowledge. This, in relation to our project, means that the particular contradictions we may detect in women's representations will indicate not only the limitation of, but the changes wrought by, the gender-specific access that white Western women had to the enunciative positions of colonial discourse. Thus, the representation of the Orientalized other is never one of a secure and absolute difference, although it may evidence a will to be just that. It is precisely this desire to assuage the splits and instabilities of the imperial subject that is revealed by women's problematic and partial (but not necessarily oppositional) access to colonial representation.

NOTES

1 See V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes Towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1993; C.C. Eldridge, *Victorian Imperialism*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1978; P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688–1914*, London, Longman, 1993.

2 Late nineteenth-century histories tend to depict British imperialism in three distinct phases: the 'mercantile' period up to the 1830s, the 'anti-imperialist' phase into the early 1870s, and the 'new imperial' from 1870 onwards. See Eldridge, *Victorian Imperialism*.

3 On the earlier and developing presence of ideologies of racial difference and imperialism in European art and literature see Brian Street, *The Savage in Literature: The Representation of 'Primitive' Society in English Fiction, 1858–1920*, London, Routledge, 1975; John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500–1920*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988; Frances Mannsaker, 'Early Attitudes to Empire', in B. Moore-Gilbert (ed.), *Literature and Imperialism*, London, Roehampton Institute of Higher Education, 1983; David Dabydeen (ed.), *The Black Presence in English Literature*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1985; Ania Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989.
4 Edward W. Said 'Yeats and Decolonization', in Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson and Edward W. Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1990, p. 72.
5 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1983.
6 See, for example, his analysis of Jane Austen in Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.
7 As Said argues, the opposition to specific imperialist or colonial measures was rarely accompanied by an ability to see subjected peoples as fully human or deserving or capable of self-government. See Said, 'Introduction', *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. xi–xxvii.
8 Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. vii.
9 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', in *Critical Inquiry* 12, Autumn 1985, p. 243.
10 One obvious exception is Said's discussion in 'Zionism From the Standpoint of its Victims', in *Social Text*, vol. 1, 1978.
11 An approach adopted, for example, by Janice N. Brownfoot in 'Sisters Under the Skin: Imperialism and the Emancipation of Women in Malaya, c.1891–1941', in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Making Imperial Identities: Socialization and British Imperialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990.
12 Cora Kaplan, 'Pandora's Box: Subjectivity, Class and Sexuality in Socialist Feminist Criticism', in Kaplan, *Sea Changes: Essays in Culture and Feminism*, London, Verso, 1986, p. 149.
13 See Adrienne Rich on the 'thoughtlessly white' nature of white experience. Adrienne Rich, 'Towards a Politics of Location', in Rich, *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979–1985*, London, Virago, 1987, p. 219. See also Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History*, London, Verso, 1992.
14 Ware, *Beyond the Pale*, p. 43; (original emphasis).
15 The mid-century in Britain, for example, saw the start of organized feminism, with the campaigns over the Married Women's Property Act and the Contagious Diseases Acts; unrest in Ireland; the legacy of Chartism and continued agitation for parliamentary reform. See E.J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968.

16 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978, p. 67 (original emphasis).
17 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 21 (original emphasis).
18 See Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg, 'The Challenge of *Orientalism*', in *Economy and Society*, vol. 14, 1985; Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing, History and the West*, London, Routledge, 1990, ch. 7; Edward W. Said, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', in *Race and Class*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1985.
19 The obviously partial and potentially rebellious nature of 'native' conversions and capitulations to Western power will be discussed later.
20 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7 (original emphasis).
21 See Lucy Bland, 'The Domain of the Sexual', in *Screen Education*, no. 39, 1981; Deborah Cherry and Griselda Pollock, 'Woman as Sign in Pre-Raphaelite Literature: A Study of the Representation of Elizabeth Siddall', in *Art History*, June 1984.
22 See Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977 by Michel Foucault*, ed. Colin Gordon, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980, ch. 2.
23 Foucault never quite resolves the problem of how power, even if it is an 'open, more-or-less coordinated . . . cluster of relations', appears to serve the interests of particular groups. His description of how power comes to operate through a network of discursive apparatuses that move across and order the human body, is very persuasive, but as to what motivates/activates power he manages only to formulate the existence of 'strategic necessities which are not exactly interests . . .'. See 'Confessions of the Flesh', in Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*.

On Said's use of Foucault's concept of power see Dennis Porter, '*Orientalism* and its Problems', in Francis Barker *et al.* (eds), *The Politics of Theory*, Colchester, University of Essex, 1982.

On the possibilities of a Foucauldian analysis of power for feminist praxis (itself characterized by a diversity of localized fronts) see Biddy Martin, 'Feminism, Criticism, and Foucault', in Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (eds), *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, Boston, North Eastern University Press, 1988; Lois McNay, *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992.
24 See Jonathan Arac and Harriet Ritvo 'Introduction' to Arac and Ritvo (eds), *Macropolitics of Nineteenth-Century Literature: Nationalism, Exoticism, Imperialism*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
25 Lisa Lowe, 'Nationalism and Exoticism: Nineteenth-Century Others in Flaubert's *Salammbô* and *L'Éducation sentimentale*', in Arac and Ritvo, *Macropolitics*, p. 236.

Lowe extends Foucault's binarism in which spaces are coded as either public/private, licit/illicit into a matrix of multiple sites. Thus, where Utopian/heterotopian refers to the cultural imaginings of a

reorganized society in binary terms, Lowe argues for a sense of heterotopicality as site of multiple and interpenetrative forms of othering. This allows for overlap in which 'each articulation shifts and alters the terms, conditions, and emphasized sites of the terrain'. Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991, pp. 14–15.

26 On the political implications of the concept of indigenous resistance for a late twentieth-century analysis of postcolonial power relations see Vijay Mishraa and Bob Hodge, 'What is Post(-)colonialism?', in *Textual Practice*, vol. 5, no. 3, Winter 1991.

27 Jane Miller, *Seductions: Studies in Reading and Culture*, London, Virago, 1990, pp. 118–22.

28 Miller, *Seductions*, p. 121.

29 Rani Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient*, London, Macmillan, 1986, p. 7.

30 See, similarly, my discussion of Melman's 'purifying' of Muslim women writers in Chapter 4.

31 Kabbani, *Europe's Myths*, p. 12.

32 Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, London, Routledge, 1991, pp. 91–2.

33 For a good overview of feminist responses to and uses of colonial theory see Jane Haggis, 'Gendering Colonialism or Colonising Gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and the History of British Colonialism', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 13, nos. 1/2, 1990. See also Lata Mani, 'Multiple Mediations: Feminist Scholarship in the Age of Multinational Receptions', in *Inscriptions*, no. 5, 1989.

On the mixed motives of British feminists in relation to India see Antoinette M. Burton, 'The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and The Indian Woman, 1865–1915', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1990. In contrast, Janice Brownfoot practically evacuates imperial relations to represent British women as the agents of Malay women's emancipation. Nancy Paxton usefully stresses the pleasures that imperial power offered to Western women, but marginalizes the contradictions of their position. Nancy L. Paxton, 'Feminism Under the Raj: Complicity and Resistance in the Writings of Flora Annie Steel and Annie Besant', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1990. See also Susan L. Blake, 'A Woman's Text: What Difference does Gender Make?', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1990.

On the colonialist legacy in feminist analyses of Third World women see Aihwa Ong, 'Colonialism and Modernity: Feminist Re-presentations of Women in Non-Western Societies', in *Inscriptions*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1988.

34 James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, London, Harvard University Press, 1988, p. 269.

35 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 23

36 Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in Barthes, *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, London, Fontana, 1977, p. 147.

37 Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p. 145 (original emphasis).

38 Nancy K. Miller, 'Changing the Subject: Authorship, Writing, and the Reader', in Teresa de Lauretis (ed.), *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1986, p. 106.

39 Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p. 148.

40 Miller, 'Changing the Subject', pp. 104–5.

41 Miller's considerations of this issue over the past fifteen years have occurred in a mainly American academic feminist context (itself in the context of French studies) and indicate the polarities and affinities between two main camps of American academic feminism, characterized as 'pragmatic' or essentialist and deconstructionist, the latter generally represented by Peggy Kamuf. See Kamuf and Miller, 'Parisian Letters: Between Feminism and Deconstruction', in Marianne Hirsch and Evelyn Fox Keller (eds), *Conflicts in Feminism*, London, Routledge, 1990.

42 Peggy Kamuf, 'Writing Like a Woman', quoted in Nancy K. Miller, 'The Text's Heroine: A Feminist Critic and her Fictions', in Hirsch and Fox Keller, *Conflicts*, p. 115.

43 The male use of a female pseudonym, such as the debate over the authorship of the *Story of O* and the *Letters of the Portuguese Nun*, reveals, 'a male (at least masculine) desire to paper over an anxiety about destination and reception: a sense of powerlessness about writing in a new genre addressed to an unknown "destinataire" '. Miller, 'The Text's Heroine', p. 116.

44 Catharine Stimpson, 'Ad/d Feminam: Woman, Literature and Society', in Edward W. Said (ed.), *Selected Papers From the English Institute*, Baltimore, 1978, quoted in Miller, 'The Text's Heroine', p. 116.

In a study where both my subjects use pseudonyms (one masculine, one feminine) the class and gender implications of this subterfuge cannot be avoided, as will be discussed in later chapters.

45 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography', in Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, London, Routledge, 1988.

46 See also Antony Easthope, *Literary Into Cultural Studies*, London, Routledge, 1991.

47 John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, London, Pinter, 1991.

48 See Tomlinson and James Clifford who, for example, discusses how nineteenth-century Native American objects are radically repositioned from their place within Eurocentric art and ethnographic signifying systems when read as 'newly traditionally, meaningful' by a twentieth-century Native American viewer. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, pp. 246–7.

49 Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author', in *Screen*, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 1979, pp. 19–28.

50 Young, *White Mythologies*, p. 123.

Whilst Nancy Miller warns that instead of liberating the previously

marginalized others of modernism, the end of humanist definitions of subjectivity may simply be a way to avoid reconceptualizing subjectivity in all its political implications (a critical ideology that 'celebrates or longs for a mode beyond difference'), others, like Kobena Mercer, see it as possibly empowering alternative modes of subjectivity that were disenfranchised in the modernist order. Nancy Miller, 'Changing the Subject', p. 115; Kobena Mercer, 'Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics', in Jonathon Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.

See also Tania Modleski, 'Feminism and the Power of Interpretation: Some Critical Readings', in de Lauretis, *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*; and, on the political implications of the end of the grand narratives and related criticisms of *Orientalism* see, Edward W. Said, 'Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors', in *Critical Inquiry*, Winter 1989.

51 On the critical and political imperatives to utilize critical theory as part of a political agenda see, Reina Lewis, 'The Death of the Author and the Resurrection of the Dyke', in Sally Munt (ed.), *New Lesbian Criticism: Literary and Cultural Readings*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992; Richard Dyer, 'Believing in Fairies: the Author and the Homosexual', in Diana Fuss (ed.), *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*, London, Routledge, 1991.

52 Anita Levy, *Other Women: the Writing of Class, Race and Gender, 1832–1898*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 5.

53 Rosemary Hennessy and Rajeswari Mohan, 'The Construction of Woman in Three Popular Texts of Empire: Towards a Critique of Materalist Feminism', in *Textual Practice*, vol. 3, 1989, p. 328.

54 Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, London, Routledge, 1993, pp. 10–11 and p. 115.

55 Levy, *Other Women*, p. 5.

56 See Denise Riley, *'Am I That Name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1988.

57 Pollock's argument that the socially determined spaces in which painting occurs also, to some extent, determine the spaces represented will be discussed in Chapter 4. Griselda Pollock, 'Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity', in Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art*, London, Routledge, 1987, p. 82 (original emphasis, my insert).

58 For example, Oriental women writing in the West are clearly writing in relation to what they assume are the specific values of their Western readers. In the case of travel writing, Mills uses Foucault's author-function to suggest how experience is 'channelled into and negotiates with pre-existent schemas which are discursive in nature'. Mills, *Discourse of Difference*, p. 39.

59 Roland Barthes, 'From Work to Text', in Barthes, *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, London, Fontana, 1977, p. 161.

Note that whereas in this instance Barthes uses 'work' as an oppositional term to 'text' (in which work is to author as text is to

scriptor/writer) I have used it elsewhere in the body of the book in its colloquial sense.

60 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'French Feminisms in an International Frame', in Spivak, *In Other Worlds*, London, Routledge, 1988, p. 150.

61 Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts', pp. 244–5, (original emphasis). See also Chandra Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in *Feminist Review*, no. 30, Autumn 1988.

62 Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', p. 147.

63 See J.D. Vann and R.T. Van Arsdel (eds), *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, vols. 1 and 2, 1989, New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1878 and 1989; John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: Aspects of English Literary Life Since 1800*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969; Harold Orel, *Victorian Literary Critics: George Henry Lewes, Walter Bagehot, Richard Holt Hutton, Leslie Stephen, Andrew Lang, George Saintsbury and Edmund Gosse*, London, Macmillan, 1984; R.G. Cox, 'The Reviews and Magazines', in Boris Ford (ed.), *The Pelican Guide to English Literature: From Dickens to Hardy*, vol. 6, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1958; Christopher Kent, 'Victorian Periodicals and the Construction of Victorian Reality', in Vann and Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals*, vol. 2; Walter E. Houghton, 'Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes', in Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982.

For a guide to the French periodic press see, Claude Bellanger, *Histoire générale de la presse française*, Paris, Universitaires de France, 1969.

64 See, Alvar Ellegard, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain. Vol. II. Directory', in *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, vol. 13, September 1971.

65 John P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

On the class make-up of and differences between the reading public (literally those who could read) and the literary public (those who could afford to buy books and periodicals and who were assumed to be their main readers or addressees) see Darko Suvin, 'The Social Addressees of Victorian Fiction: A Preliminary Enquiry', in *Literature and History*, no. 1, vol. 8, Spring 1982.

66 On the impact of serialization in terms of criticism, form, plot structure, reading habits, relationship to the other contents of the journal and economic implications for authors, see J. Don Vann, *Victorian Novels in Serial*, New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1985; Malcolm Andrews, 'A Note on Serialization', in Ian Gregor (ed.), *Reading the Victorian Novel: Detail into Form*, London, Vision Press, 1980.

67 On the development of the art press, the role of the art critic (particularly in relation to private collections and public exhibitions) and the relationship of art criticism to general review criticism see Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *The Art of All Nations 1850–73: The*

Ashis Nandy's exploration of the forms, pleasures and personal costs that colonial subjectivity produced for both colonized and colonizer in India. Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*, (1983) second edition, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1988.

92 Julian Henriques, Wendy Hollway, Cathy Urwin, Couze Venn and Valerie Walkerdine, *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity*, London, Methuen, 1984.

93 Henriques *et al.*, *Changing the Subject*, 'Introduction to Section Three: Theorizing Subjectivity', pp. 218–223.

Chapter 2

Professional opportunities for women in art and literature

This chapter sets out the material and ideological constraints on women's cultural production in the mid- to late nineteenth century. This is an important part of the historical context. Such constraints would have affected (and been affected by, since these things were never static) the lives and work of women such as George Eliot and Henriette Browne. They worked in a period when ideas about gender variously restricted the educational opportunities open to aspiring women artists and writers, the forms and techniques they could use, the subjects they could cover and their opportunities for exhibition and publication. More than this, discourses of femininity had a determining effect on the authorial identities established for them and the meanings attributed to their work. In an era when paintings and writings tended to be received as the emissions of a specific (and typically gendered, classed and national) author, the effects of the 'critical double standard' that Elaine Showalter identified in relation to women's novels (which also holds true for women's work in the visual arts) cannot be underestimated.[1] Accordingly, one of my aims is to explore the complex and contradictory ways by which were negotiated and internalized gendered codes of behaviour and of artistic and literary production.

THE SEPARATE SPHERES: PROBLEMS OF A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

The nineteenth century has been characterized as a period in which the growth of the industrial bourgeoisie and the ideology of femininity led to the increasing bifurcation of men's and women's lives. The work of Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff