IMPERIAL LEATHER

EMPIRE OF THE HOME

THE LAY OF THE LAND

GENEALOGIES OF IMPERIALISM

I

I am not the wheatfield.
Nor the virgin land.

—*Adrienne Rich*

PORNO-TROPICS

Consider, to begin with, a colonial scene.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus, blundering about the Caribbean in search of India, wrote home to say that the ancient mariners had erred in thinking the earth was round. Rather, he said, it was shaped like a woman's breast, with a protuberance upon its summit in the unmistakable shape of a nipple—toward which he was slowly sailing.

Columbus' image feminizes the earth as a cosmic breast, in relation to which the epic male hero is a tiny, lost infant, yearning for the Edenic nipple. The image of the earth-breast here is redolent not with the male bravura of the explorer, invested with his conquering mission, but with an uneasy sense of male anxiety, infantilization and longing for the female body. At the same time, the female body is figured as marking the boundary of the cosmos and the limits of the known world, enclosing the ragged men, with their dreams of pepper and pearls, in her indefinite, oceanic body.

Columbus' breast fantasy, like Haggard's map of Sheba's Breasts, draws on a long tradition of male travel as an erotics of ravishment. For centuries, the uncertain continents—Africa, the Americas, Asia—were figured in European lore as libidinously eroticized. Travelers' tales abounded with visions of the monstrous sexuality of far-off lands, where, as legend had it, men sported gigantic penises and women consorted with apes, feminized men's breasts flowed with milk and militarized women lopped theirs off. Renaissance travelers found an eager and lascivious audience for their spicy tales, so that, long before the era of high Victorian imperialism, Africa and the Americas had become what can be called a porno-tropics for the European imagination—a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears.

The European porno-tropics had a long tradition. As early as the second century A.D., Ptolemy wrote confidently of Africa that "the constellation of Scorpion, which pertains to the pudenda, dominates that continent."[1] Leo Africanus agreed that there was "no nation under heaven more prone to venerie" than "the Negros."[2] Francis Bacon's Hermit was visited by the Spirit of Fornication, who turned out to be a "little foule, ugly Aethiope."[3] John Ogilby, adapting the writings of Olfert Dapper, rather more tactfully informed his readers that west Africans were distinguished by "large propagators,"[4] while the planter Edward Long saw Africa as "the parent of everything that is monstrous in nature."[5] By the nineteenth century, popular lore had firmly established Africa as the quintessential zone of sexual aberration and anomaly—"the very picture," as W. D. Jordan put it, "of perverse negation."[6] The *Universal History* was citing a well-established and august tradition when it declared Africans to be "proud, lazy, treacherous, thievish, hot and addicted to all kinds of lusts."[7] It was as impossible, it insisted, "to be an *African* and not lascivious, as it is to be born in *Africa* and not be an African."[8]

Within this porno-tropic tradition, women figured as the epitome of sexual aberration and excess. Folklore saw them, even more than the men, as given to a lascivious venery so promiscuous as to border on the bestial. Sir Thomas Herbert observed of Africans "the resemblance they bear with Baboons, which I could observe kept frequent company with the Women."[9] Long saw a lesson closer to home in the African spectacle of female sexual excess, for he identified British working-class women as inhabiting more naturally than men the dangerous borders of racial and sexual transgression: "The lower class of women in *England*," he wrote ominously, "are remarkably fond of the blacks."[10] The traveler William Smith likewise warned his readers of the perils of traveling as a white man in Africa, for, on that disorderly continent, women "if they meet with a Man they immediately strip his lower Parts and throw themselves upon him."[11]

During the Renaissance, as the "fabulous geography" of ancient travel gave way to the "militant geography" of mercantile imperialism and the triangular trade, so the bold merchant ships of Portugal, Spain, Britain and France began to draw the world into a single skein of trade routes.[12] Mercantile imperialism began to be emboldened by dreams of dominating not only a boundless imperium of commerce but also a boundless imperium of knowledge. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) gave exemplary voice to the immodesty of intellectual Renaissance expansionism. "My only earthly wish," he wrote, "is . . . to stretch the deplorably narrow limits of man's dominion over the universe to their promised bounds."[13] But Bacon's vision of a world-knowledge dominated by Europe was animated not only by an imperial geography of power but also by a gendered erotics of knowledge: "I come in very truth," he proclaimed, "leading to you Nature with all her children to bind her to your service and make her your slave."[14]

All too often, Enlightenment metaphysics presented knowledge as a relation of power between two gendered spaces, articulated by a journey and a technology of conversion: the male penetration and exposure of a veiled, female interior; and the aggressive conversion of its "secrets" into a visible, male science of the surface. Bacon deplored the fact that "while the regions of the material globe . . . have been in our times laid widely open and revealed, the intellectual globe should remain shut up within the narrow limits of old discoveries."[15] Voyaging into the enigma of infinity, there to unlock "Nature's secrets," Faust likewise cried out:

> New roads lie open to me. I
> Shall pierce the veil that hides what we desire,
> Break through to realms of abstract energy.[16]

Knowledge of the unknown world was mapped as a metaphysics of gender violence—not as the expanded recognition of cultural difference—and was validated by the new Enlightenment logic of private property and possessive individualism. In these fantasies, the world is feminized and spatially spread for male exploration, then reassembled and deployed in the interests of massive imperial power. Thus, for Rene Descartes, the expansion of male knowledge amounted to a violent property arrangement that made men

"masters and possessors of nature."[17] In the minds of these men, the imperial conquest of the globe found both its shaping figure and its political sanction in the prior subordination of women as a category of nature.

WOMEN AS THE BOUNDARY MARKERS OF EMPIRE

What is the meaning of this persistent gendering of the imperial unknown? As European men crossed the dangerous thresholds of their known worlds, they ritualistically feminized borders and boundaries. Female figures were planted like fetishes at the ambiguous points of contact, at the borders and orifices of the contest zone. Sailors bound wooden female figures to their ships' prows and baptized their ships—as exemplary threshold objects—with female names. Cartographers filled the blank seas of their maps with mermaids and sirens. Explorers called unknown lands "virgin" territory. Philosophers veiled "Truth" as female, then fantasized about drawing back the veil. In myriad ways, women served as mediating and threshold figures by means of which men oriented themselves in space, as agents of power and agents of knowledge.

The following chapters explore, in part, the historically different but persistent ways in which women served as the boundary markers of imperialism, the ambiguous mediators of what appeared to be—at least superficially—the predominantly male agon of empire. The first point I want to make, however, is that the feminizing of terra incognita was, from the outset, a strategy of violent containment—belonging in the realm of both psychoanalysis and political economy. If, at first glance, the feminizing of the land appears to be no more than a familiar symptom of male megalomania, it also betrays acute paranoia and a profound, if not pathological, sense of male anxiety and boundary loss.

As Columbus' and Haggard's images suggest, the erotics of imperial conquest were also an erotics of engulfment. At one level, the representation of the land as female is a traumatic trope, occurring almost invariably, I suggest, in the aftermath of male boundary confusion, but as a historical, not archetypal, strategy of containment. As the visible trace of paranoia, feminizing the land is a compensatory gesture, disavowing male loss of boundary by reinscribing a ritual excess of boundary, accompanied, all too often, by an excess of military violence. The feminizing of the land represents a ritualistic moment in imperial discourse, as male intruders ward off fears of narcissistic disorder by reinscribing, as natural, an excess of gender hierarchy.

Mary Douglas points out that margins are dangerous.[18] Societies are most vulnerable at their edges, along the tattered fringes of the known world. Having sailed beyond the limits of their charted seas, explorers enter what Victor Turuer calls a liminal condition.[19] For Turner, a liminal condition is ambiguous, eluding "the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space."[20] There on the margins between known and unknown, the male conquistadors, explorers and sailors became creatures of transition and threshold. As such, they were dangerous, for, as Douglas writes: "Danger lies in transitional states. . . .The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others."[21] As figures of danger, the men of margins were "licensed to waylay, steal, rape. This behaviour is even enjoined on them. To behave anti-socially is the proper expression of their marginal condition."[22] At the same time, the dangers represented by liminal people are managed by rituals that separate the marginal ones from their old status, segregating them for a time and then publicly declaring their entry into their new status. Colonial discourse repeatedly rehearses this pattern —dangerous marginality, segregation, reintegration.

IMPERIAL "DISCOVERY" AND GENDER AMBIVALENCE

Consider, in this respect, another colonial scene. In a famous drawing (ca. 1575), Jan van der Straet portrays the "discovery" of America as an eroticized encounter between a man and a woman [Fig.I.1].[23] A fully armored Vespucci stands erect and masterful before a naked and erotically

FIGURE I.1 PORNO-TROPICS: WOMEN AS IMPERIAL BOUNDARY MARKERS. America, ca. 1600 engraving by Theodore Galle after a drawing by Jan van der Straet (ca. 1575).

inviting woman, who inclines toward him from a hammock. At first glance, the imperial lessons of the drawing seem clear. Roused from her sensual languor by the epic newcomer, the indigenous woman extends an inviting hand, insinuating sex and submission. Her nakedness and her gesture suggest a visual echo of Michelangelo's "Creation." Vespucci, the godlike arrival, is destined to inseminate her with the male seeds of civilization, fructify the wilderness and quell the riotous scenes of cannibalism in the background. As Peter Hulme puts it in a fine essay: "Land is named as female as a passive counterpart to the massive thrust of male technology."[24] America allegorically represents nature's invitation to conquest, while Vespucci, gripping the fetish instruments of imperial mastery—astrolabe, flag and sword—confronts the virgin land with the patrimony of scientific mastery and imperial might. Invested with the male prerogative of naming, Vespucci renders America's identity a dependent extension of his and stakes male Europe's territorial rights to her body and, by extension, the fruits of her land.

On closer examination, however, van der Straet's drawing, like Haggard's map and Columbus' breast fantasy, tells a double story of discovery. The inaugural scene of discovery is redolent not only of male megalomania and imperial aggression but also of male anxiety and paranoia. In the central distance of the picture, between Amerigo and America, a cannibal scene is in progress. The cannibals appear to be female and are spit-roasting a human leg. A pillar of flame and smoke issues into the sky, conjoining earth, fire, water and air in an elemental scene, structured as a visual assembly of opposites: earth-sky; sea-land; male-female; clothed-unclothed; active-passive; vertical-horizontal; raw-cooked. Situated on the shore, the threshold between land and sea, the drawing is, in almost every sense, a liminal scene.

Most notably, the boundary figures are female. Here, women mark, quite literally, the margins of the new world but they do so in such a way as to suggest a profound ambivalence in the European male. In the foreground, the explorer is of a piece—fully armored, erect and magisterial, the incarnation of male imperial power. Caught in his gaze, the woman is naked, subservient and vulnerable to his advance. In the background, however, the male body is quite literally in pieces, while the women are actively and powerfully engaged. The dismembered leg roasting on the spit evokes a disordering of the body so catastrophic as to be fatal.

This anxious vision marks one aspect, I suggest, of a recurrent doubling in male imperial discourse. This may be seen as the simultaneous dread of catastrophic boundary *loss* (implosion), associated with fears of impotence and infantilization and attended by an *excess* of boundary order and fantasies of unlimited power. In this way, the augural scene of discovery becomes a scene of ambivalence, suspended between an imperial megalomania, with its fantasy of unstoppable rapine—and a contradictory fear of engulfment, with its fantasy of dismemberment and emasculation. The scene, like many imperial scenes, is a document both of paranoia and of megalomania.

As such, the scene is less about the soon-to-be-colonized "Other," than it is about a crisis in male imperial identity. Both Amerigo and America, I suggest, are split aspects of the European intruder, representing disavowed aspects of male identity, displaced onto a "feminized" space and managed by recourse to the prior ordering of gender.

Suspended between a fantasy of conquest and a dread of engulfment, between rape and emasculation, the scene, so neatly gendered, represents a splitting and displacement of a crisis that is, properly speaking, male. The gendering of America as simultaneously naked and passive *and* riotously violent and cannibalistic represents a doubling within the conqueror, disavowed and displaced onto a feminized scene.

As in many imperial scenes, the fear of engulfment expresses itself most acutely in the cannibal trope. In this familiar trope, the fear of being engulfed by the unknown is projected onto colonized peoples as *their* determination to devour the intruder whole. Haggard's map and van der Straet's discovery scene are no exceptions, for they both implicitly represent female sexuality as cannibalistic: the cannibal scene, the "mouth of treasure cave."

In 1733, Jonathan Swift observed:

> So geographers in Afric maps
> With savage pictures fill their gaps
> and o'er uninhabitable downs
> Place elephants instead of towns.[25]

Later, Graham Greene noted how geographers traced the word "cannibals" over the blank spaces on colonial maps. With the word cannibal, cartographers attempted to ward off the threat of the unknown by naming it, while at the same time confessing a dread that the unknown might literally rise up and devour the intruder whole. Colonial documents are replete with reminders of the fetish fascination that the blank spaces of maps cast over the lives of explorers and writers. However, the implosive anxieties suggested by the cannibal trope were just as often warded off by fantastical rites of imperial violence.

The colonial map vividly embodies the contradictions of colouial discourse. Map-making became the servant of colonial plunder, for the knowledge constituted by the map both preceded and legitimized the conquest of territory. The map is a technology of knowledge that professes to capture the truth about a place in pure, scientific form, operating under the guise of scientific exactitude and promising to retrieve and reproduce

nature exactly as it is. As such, it is also a technology of possession, promising that those with the capacity to make such perfect representations must also have the right of territorial control.

Yet the edges and blank spaces of colonial maps are typically marked with vivid reminders of the failure of knowledge and hence the tenuousness of possession. The failure of European knowledge appears in the margins and gaps of these maps in the forms of cannibals, mermaids and monsters, threshold figures eloquent of the resurgent relations between gender, race and imperialism. The map is a liminal thing, associated with thresholds and marginal zones, burdened with dangerous powers. As an exemplary icon of imperial "truth," the map, like the compass and the mirror, is what Hulme aptly calls a "magic technology," a potent fetish helping colonials negotiate the perils of margins and thresholds in a world of terrifying ambiguities.[26]

It seems crucial, therefore, to stress from the outset that the feminizing of the land is both a *poetics* of ambivalence and a *politics* of violence. The "discoverers"—filthy, ravenous, unhealthy and evil-smelling as they most likely were, scavenging along the edges of their known world and beaching on the fatal shores of their "new" worlds, their limbs pocked with abscess and ulcers, their minds infested by fantasies of the unknown—had stepped far beyond any sanctioned guarantees. Their unsavory rages, their massacres and rapes, their atrocious rituals of militarized masculinity sprang not only from the economic lust for spices, silver and gold, but also from the implacable rage of paranoia.

MAPPING THE "VIRGIN" LAND AND THE CRISIS OF ORIGINS

"Discovery" is always late. The inaugural scene is never in fact inaugural or originary: something has always gone before. Van der Straet's drawing confesses as much in its subtitle: "Americus *Re*discovers America." Louis Montrose suggests that the scene was probably understood at the time as referring to a nasty incident that reputedly occurred during one of Vespucci's earlier voyages. A young Spaniard, who was being inspected by a curious group of women, was suddenly felled with a terrific blow from behind by a woman, summarily slain, cut into pieces and roasted, in full view of his fellow countrymen.[27] This tale, with its unseemly burden of female menace and resistance to intrusion contradicts the myth of women's invitation to conquest. At the same time, it contradicts Vespucci's claim to be first.

Vespucci is, in fact, late. Nonetheless, he disavows his belatedness and claims a privileged relation to the moment of "discovery" and the scene of origins by resorting to a familiar strategy: he *names* "America," after himself. The desire to name expresses a desire for a single origin alongside a desire to control the issue of that origin. But the strategy of naming is ambivalent, for it expresses both an anxiety about generative power and a disavowal.

Luce Irigaray suggests that the male insistence on marking "the product of copulation with *his own name*" stems from the uncertainty of the male's relation to origins.[28] "The fact of being deprived of a womb," she suggests, is "the most intolerable deprivation of man, since his contribution to gestation—his function with regard to the origin of reproduction—is hence asserted as less than evident, as open to doubt."[29] The father has no visible proof that the child is his; his gestative status is not guaranteed. The name, the patrimony, is a substitute for the missing guarantee of fatherhood; it is only the father's name that marks the child as his.

Historically, the male desire for a guaranteed relation to origin—securing, as it does, male property and power—is contradicted by the sexual doubling of origins, by women's visibly active role in producing a child and men's uncertain and fleeting contribution. To compensate for this, men diminish women's contribution (which, as Irigaray notes, can hardly be questioned) by reducing them to vessels and machines—mere bearers—without creative agency or the power to name. The insistence on the patrimony marks a denial: that something different (a woman) is needed to guarantee the reproduction of the same—the son with the same name as the father.[30]

The sexual scene of origins, I suggest, finds an analogy in the imperial scene of discovery. By flamboyantly naming "new" lands, male imperials mark them as their own, guaranteeing thereby, or so they believe, a privileged relation to origins—in the embarrassing absence of other guarantees. Hence the imperial fixation on naming, on acts of "discovery," baptismal scenes and male birthing rituals.

The imperial act of discovery can be compared with the male act of baptism. In both rituals, western men publicly disavow the creative agency of others (the colonized/women) and arrogate to themselves the power of origins. The male ritual of baptism—with its bowls of holy water, its washing, its male midwives—is a surrogate birthing ritual, during which men collectively compensate themselves for their invisible role in the birth of the child and diminish women's agency. In Christianity, at least, baptism reenacts childbirth as a male ritual. During baptism, moreover, the child is named—after the father, not the mother. The mother's labors and creative powers (hidden in her "confinement" and denied social recognition) are diminished, and women are publicly declared unfit to inaugurate the human soul into the body of Christ. In the eyes of Christianity, women are incomplete birthers: the child must be born again and named, by men.

Like baptism, the imperial act of discovery is a surrogate birthing ritual: the lands are already peopled, as the child is already born. Discovery, for this reason, is a *retrospective* act. As Mary Louise Pratt points out, the discovery

has no existence on its own: "It only gets 'made' for real after the traveler (or other survivor) returns home and brings it into being through texts: a name on a map, a report to the Royal Geographical Society, the Foreign Office, the London Mission Society, a diary, a lecture, a travel book."[31] Discovery, as Pratt remarks, usually involves a journey to a far-flung region, asking the local inhabitants if they know of a nearby river, lake or waterfall, paying them to take one there, then "discovering" the site, usually by the passive act of seeing it. During these extravagant acts of discovery, imperial men reinvent a moment of pure (male) origin and mark it visibly with one of Europe's fetishes: a flag, a name on a map, a stone, or later perhaps, a monument. I will return, in due course, to the question of the fetish and its relation to the crisis of origins.

THE MYTH OF THE EMPTY LANDS

> Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought
>
> —*Walter Raleigh*

The myth of the virgin land is also the myth of the empty land, involving both a gender and a racial dispossession. Within patriarchal narratives, to be virgin is to be empty of desire and void of sexual agency, passively awaiting the thrusting, male insemination of history, language and reason.[32] Within colonial narratives, the eroticizing of "virgin" space also effects a territorial appropriation, for if the land is virgin, colonized peoples cannot claim aboriginal territorial rights, aud white male patrimony is violently assured as the sexual and military insemination of an interior void. This doubled theme—the disavowed agency of women and the colonized—recurs throughout the following chapters.

The colonial journey into the virgin interior reveals a contradiction, for the journey is figured as proceeding forward in geographical space but backward in historical time, to what is figured as a prehistoric zone of racial and gender difference. One witnesses here a recurrent feature of colonial discourse. Since indigenous peoples are not supposed to be spatially there—for the lands are "empty"—they are symbolically displaced onto what I call *anachronistic space*, a trope that gathered (as I explore in more detail below) full administrative authority as a technology of surveillance in the late Victorian era. According to this trope, colonized people—like women and the working class in the metropolis—do not inhabit history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency—the living embodiment of the archaic "primitive."

A presiding dilemma faced colonials, however, for the "empty" lands were visibly peopled, while traces of the peoples' antiquity lay obviously to hand in the form of ruins, ancient settlements, skulls and fossils. Here lies at least one reason for the Victorian obsession with survivals and traces, ruins and skeletons—allegorical reminders of the failure of a single narrative of origins. In Chapters 4, 5 and 10, I explore the ramifications of these colonial dilemmas in more detail.

For women, the myth of the virgin land presents specific dilemmas, with important differences for colonial or colonized women, as I argue in Chapters 9 and 10. Women are the earth that is to be discovered, entered, named, inseminated and, above all, owned. Symbolically reduced, in male eyes, to the space on which male contests are waged, women experience particular difficulties laying claim to alternative genealogies and alternative narratives of origin and naming. Linked symbolically to the land, women are relegated to a realm beyond history and thus bear a particularly vexed relation to narratives of historical change and political effect. Even more importantly, women are figured as property belonging to men and hence as lying, by definition, outside the male contests over land, money and political power.

It is important to stress from the outset, however, that the gendering of imperialism took very different forms in different parts of the world. India, for one, was seldom imaged as a virgin land, while the iconography of the harem was not part of Southern African colonial erotics. North African, Middle Eastern and Asian women were, all too often, trammeled by the iconography of the veil, while African women were subjected to the civilizing mission of cotton and soap. In other words, Arab women were to be "civilized" by being undressed (unveiled), while sub-Saharan women were to be civilized by being dressed (iu clean, white, British cotton). These sumptuary distinctions were symptomatic of critical differences in the legislative, economic and political ways in which imperial commodity racism was imposed on different parts of the world.

DOMESTICITY AND COMMODITY RACISM

> *domestic*, a. & n. 1. Of the home, household, or family affairs.
> *domesticate*, v.t. Naturalize
> (colonists, animals) . . .
> civilize
> (savages)
>
> —*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*

In 1899, the year that the Anglo-Boer War broke out in South Africa, an advertisement for Pears' Soap in *McClure's Magazine* [Fig. 1.2] anuounced:

> The first step towards lighteniug THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN is through teachiug the virtues of cleanliness. PEARS' SOAP is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.[33]

The advertisement shows an admiral decked in pure imperial white, washing his hands in his cabin as his steamship crosses the oceanic threshold into the realm of empire. In this image, private domesticity and the imperial market—the two spheres vaunted by middle-class Victorians as entirely and naturally distinct—converge in a single commodity spectacle. The domestic sanctum of the white man's bathroom gives privileged vantage onto the global realm of commerce, so that imperial progress is consnmed at a glance—as *panoptical time*.

The porthole is both window and mirror. The window, icon of imperial surveillance and the Enlightenment idea of knowledge as penetration, opens onto public scenes of economic conversion. One scene depicts a kneeling African gratefully receiving the Pears' soap as he might genuflect before a religious fetish. The mirror, emblem of Enlightenment selfconscionsness, reflects the sanitized image of white, male, imperial hygiene. Domestic hygiene, the ad implies, purifies and preserves the white male body from contamination in the threshold zone of empire. At the same time, the domestic commodity guarantees white male power, the genuflection of Africans and rule of the world. On the wall, an electric light bulb signifies scientific rationality and spiritual advance. In this way, the household commodity spells the lesson of imperial progress and capitalist civilization: civilization, for the white man, advances and brightens throngh his four beloved fetishes—soap, the mirror, light and white clothing. As I explore in more detail below, these domestic fetishes recur throughout late Victorian commodity kitsch and the popular culture of the time.

The first point about the Pears' advertisement is that it figures imperialism as coming into being through *domesticity*. At the same time, imperial domesticity is a domesticity without women. The commodity fetish, as the central form of the industrial Enlightenment, reveals what liberalism wonld like to forget: the domestic is political, the political is gendered. What could not be admitted into male rationalist discourse (the economic valne of women's domestic labor) is disavowed and projected onto the realm of the "primitive" and the zone of empire. At the same time, the economic value of colonized cultures is domesticated and projected onto the realm of the "prehistoric."

A characteristic feature of the Victorian middle class was its peculiarly inteuse preoccupatiou with rigid boundaries. In imperial fiction and commodity kitsch, boundary objects and liminal scenes recur ritualistically. As colonials traveled back and forth across the thresholds of their known world, crisis and boundary confusion were warded off and contained by fetishes, absolution rituals and liminal scenes. Soap and cleaning rituals became central to the demarcation of body boundaries and the policing of social hierarchies. Cleansing and boundary rituals are integral to most cultures; what characterized Victorian cleaning ritnals, however, was their peculiarly intense relation to money.

I am doubly interested in the Pears' Soap ad because it registers an epochal shift that I see as having taken place in the culture of imperialism in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This was the shift from *scientific racism*—embodied in anthropological, scientific and medical journals, travel writing and ethnographies—to what I call *commodity racism*. Commodity racism—in the specifically Victorian forms of advertising and photography, the imperial Expositions and the museum movement—converted the narrative of imperial Progress into mass-produced *consumer spectacles*.

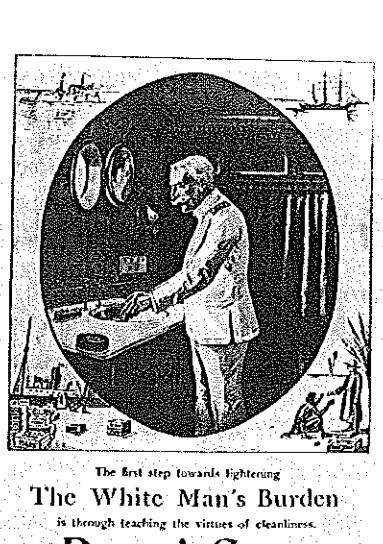

FIGURE 1.2 IMPERIAL DOMESTICITY.

During the eighteenth century, what Pratt calls "planetary consciousness" emerged.[34] Planetary consciousness imagined drawing the whole world into a single "science of order," in Foucault's phrase. Carl Linne provided the impetus for this immodest idea with the publication in 1735 of *Systema Natura*, which promised to organize all plant forms into a single genesis narrative.[35] For Linne, moreover, *sexual* reproduction became the paradigm for natural form in general.

Inspired by Linne, hosts of explorers, botanists, natural historians and geographers set out with the vocation of ordering the world's forms into a global science of the surface and an optics of truth. In this way, the Enlightenment project coincided with the imperial project. As Pratt puts it: "For what were the slave trade and the plantation system if not massive experiments in social engineering and discipline, serial production, the systematization of human life, the standardizing of persons?"[36] The global science of the surface was a *conversion* project, dedicated to transforming the earth into a single economic currency, a single pedigree of history and a universal standard of cultural value—set and managed by Europe.

What concerns me here, however, is that, if the imperial science of the surface promised to unroll over the earth a single "Great Map of Mankind," and cast a single, European, male authority over the whole of the planet, ambition far outran effect for quite some time. The project was fissured with intellectual paradox, incompletion and ignorance. The technological capacity to map and catalog the earth's surface remained, for some time, haphazard, shoddy and downright inept. The promoters of the global project sorely lacked the technical capacity to formally reproduce the optical "truth" of nature as well as the economic capacity to distribute this truth for global consumption. In order for this to happen, the global project had to wait until the second half of the nineteenth century, with the emergence, I suggest, of commodity spectacle—in particular photography.

The following chapters are concerned with this shift from scientific racism to commodity racism, by which evolutionary racism and imperial power were marketed on a hitherto unimaginable scale. In the process, the Victorian middle-class home became a space for the display of imperial spectacle and the reinvention of race, while the colonies—in particular Africa—became a theater for exhibiting the Victorian cult of domesticity and the reinvention of gender.

Domesticity denotes both a *space* (a geographic and architectural alignment) and a *social relation to power*. The cult of domesticity—far from being a universal fact of "nature"—has an historical genealogy. The idea of "the domestic" cannot be applied willy-nilly to any house or dwelling as a universal or natural fact.[37] So often vaunted as involving a naturally occurring, universal space—ensconced within the innermost interiors of society, yet lying theoretically beyond the domain of political analysis—the cult of domesticity involves processes of social metamorphosis and political subjection of which gender is the abiding but not the only dimension.

Etymologically, the verb to domesticate is akin to dominate, which derives from *dominus*, lord of the *domum*, the home.[38] Until 1964, however, the verb to domesticate also carried as one of its meanings the action "to civilize."[39] In the colonies (as I explore in more detail in Chapter 6), the mission station became a threshold institution for transforming domesticity rooted in European gender and class roles into domesticity as controlling a colonized people. Through the rituals of domesticity, increasingly global and more often than not violent, animals, women and colonized peoples were wrested from their putatively "natnral" yet, ironically, "unreasonable" state of "savagery" and inducted through the domestic progress narrative into a hierarchical relation to white men.

The historical idea of domesticity thus bears an ambivalent relation to the idea of imperial nature, for "domestication" bears energetically upon nature in order to produce a social sphere that is considered to be natural and universal in the first place. In the colonies, in other words, European *culture*

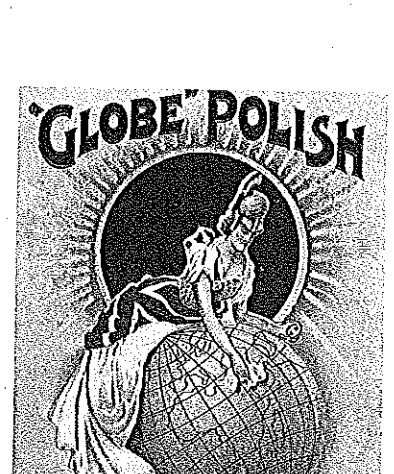

FIGURE 1.3 DOMESTICATING THE EMPIRE.

FIGURE 1.4 BRITAIN'S NATIONAL IDENTITY TAKES IMPERIAL FORM.

(the civilizing mission) became ironically necessary to reproduce *nature* (the "natural" divisions of domestic labor), an anomaly that took much social energy—and much domestic work—to conceal. The idea of progress—"nature" improving itself through time— was crucial to managing this anomaly.

The cult of domesticity, I argue, became central to British imperial identity, contradictory and conflictual as that was, and an intricate dialectic emerged. Imperialism suffused the Victorian cult of domesticity and the historic separation of the private and the public, which took shape around colonialism and the idea of race. At the same time, colonialism took shape around the Victorian invention of domesticity and the idea of the home.[40] [Fig. 1.3, Fig. 1.4.]

This, then, is a central theme of this book: as domestic space became racialized, colonial space became domesticated. Certainly, commodity spectacle was not the only cultural form for the mediation of domestic colonialism. Travel writing, novels, postcards, photographs, pornography and other cultural forms can, I believe, be as fruitfully investigated for this crucial relation between domesticity and empire. Commodity spectacle, however, spread well beyond the literate and propertied elite and gave domestic colonialism particularly far-reaching clout.

PANOPTICAL TIME

> We need no longer go to History to trace (human Nature) in all its stages and periods . . . now the Great Map of Mankind is unrolld at once; and there is no state or Gradation of barbarism and no mode of refinement which we have not at the same instant under our View.
>
> —*Edmund Burke*

The imperial science of the surface drew on two centralizing tropes: the invention of what I call *panoptical time* and *anachronistic space*. With the publication of *On the Origin of Species*, Charles Darwin bestowed on the global project a decisive dimension—secular time as the agent of a unified world history. Just as Linne attempted to classify the fragmentary botanical record into a single archive of natural form, so social evolutionists after 1859 undertook the massive attempt of reading from the discontinuous natural record (which Darwin called "a history of the world imperfectly kept") a single pedigree of evolving world history. Now not only natural space but also historical time could be collected, assembled and mapped onto a global science of the surface.

Johannes Fabian's important meditation on time and anthropology, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, shows how the social evolutionists broke the hold of Biblical chronology—that is, chronicle time—by secularizing time and placing it at the disposal of the empirical project—that is, chronological time.[41] In order to do this, he points out, "they *spatialized* Time." "The paradigm of evolution rested on a conception of Time that was not only secularized and naturalized but also thoroughly spatialized." The axis of time was projected onto the axis of space and history became global. With social Darwinism, the taxonomic project, first applied to nature, was now applied to cultural history. Time became a geography of social power, a map from which to read a global allegory of "natural" social difference. Most importantly, history took on the character of a spectacle.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, panoptical time came into its own. By panoptical time, I mean the image of global history consumed—at a glance—in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility. In the seventeenth century, Bossuet, in *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, argued that any attempt to produce a universal history depended on being able to figure "the order of times" (*"comme d'un coup d'oeil"*) at a glance.[42] To meet the "scientific" standards set by the natural historians and empiricists of the eighteenth century, a visual paradigm was needed to display evolutionary progress as a measurable spectacle. The exemplary figure that emerged was the evolutionary family Tree of Man.

Renaissance nature—divine nature—was understood as cosmological, organized according to God's will into an irrevocable chain of being. By contrast, the social evolutionist Herbert Spencer envisioned evolution not as a chain of being but as a tree. As Fabian puts it: "The tree has always been one of the simplest forms of constructing classificatory schemes based on subsumption and hierarchy."[43] The tree offered an ancient image of a natural genealogy of power. The social evolutionists, however, took the divine, cosmological tree and secularized it, turning it into a switchboard image mediating between nature and culture as a natural image of evolutionary human progress.

Mantegazza's "Morphological Tree of the Human Races," for example, shows vividly how the image of the tree was put at the disposal of the racial scientists [Fig. 1.5]. In Mantegazza's image of global history, three principles emerge. First, mapped against the tree, the world's discontinuous cultures appear to be marshaled within a single, European Ur-narrative. Second, human history can be imaged as naturally teleological, an organic process of upward growth, with the European as the apogee of progress. Third, disobliging historical discontinuities can be ranked, subdued and subordinated into a hierarchical structure of branching time—the differential progress of the races mapped against the tree's self-evident boughs.

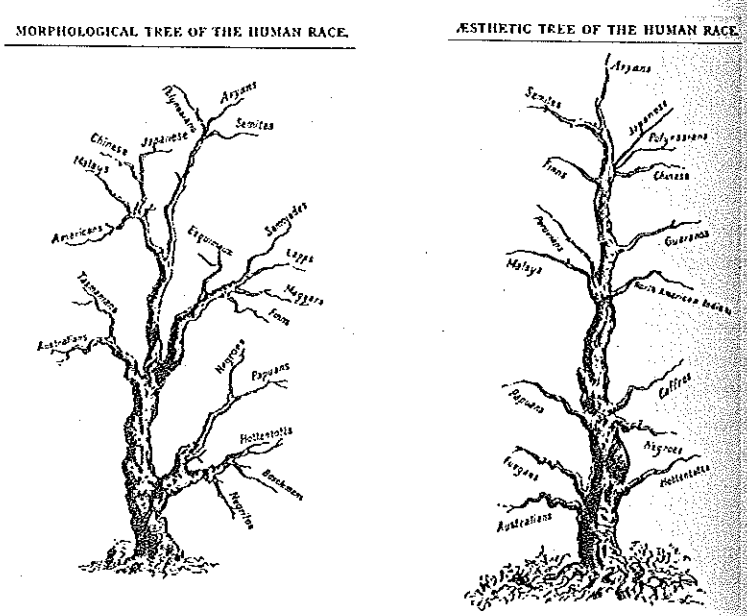

FIGURE 1.5 INVENTING PROGRESS: THE RACIAL FAMILY TREE.

In the tree of time, racial hierarchy and historical progress became the fait accomplis of nature.

The tree image, however, was attended by a second, decisive image: the Family of Man. The "Family Group of the Katarrhinen" offers a good example [Fig. 1.6]. In this family group, evolutionary progress is represented by a series of distinct anatomical types, organized as a linear image of progress. In this image, the eye follows the evolutionary types up the page, from the archaic to the modern, so that progress seems to unfold naturally before the eye as a series of evolving marks on the body. Progress takes on the character of a spectacle, under the form of the family. The entire chronological history of human development is captured and consumed at a glance, so that anatomy becomes an allegory of progress and history is reproduced as a technology of the visible [Fig. 1.7].[4]

Social evolutionism and anthropology thus gave to politics and economics a concept of natural time as *familial*. Time was not only secularized, it was *domesticated*, a point Fabian, for one, does not address. The merging of tree and family into the family Tree of Man provided scientific racism with a *gendered* image for popularizing and disseminating the idea of *racial* progress. There is a problem here, however, for the family Tree represents evolutionary time as a *time without women*. The family image is an image of disavowal, for it contains only men, arranged as a linear frieze of solo males ascending toward the apogee of the individual *Homo sapiens*. Each epoch is represented by a single male type, who is characterized in turn by visible anatomical stigmata. From the outset, the idea of racial progress was gendered but in such a way as to render women invisible as historical agents.

In this way, the figure of the Family of Man reveals a persistent contradiction. Historical progress is naturalized as an evolving family, while women as historical actors are disavowed and relegated to the realm of nature. History is thus figured as *familial*, while the family as an institution is seen as beyond history. The chapters that follow (in particular Chapter 11) are centrally concerned with the historical implications of this paradox.

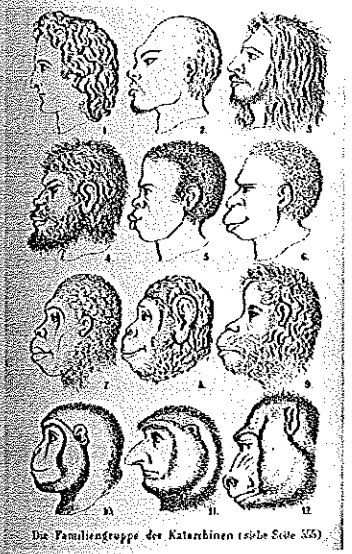

FIGURE 1.6 "THE FAMILY GROUP OF THE KATARRHINEN": INVENTING THE FAMILY OF MAN.

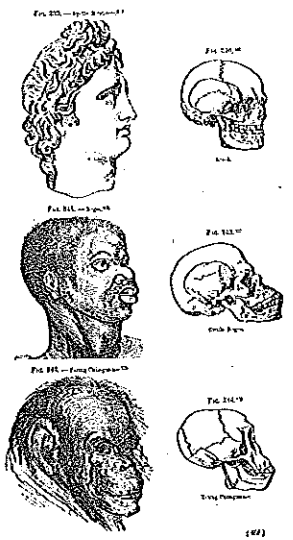

FIGURE 1.7 PANOPTICAL TIME: PROGRESS CONSUMED AT A GLANCE.

ANACHRONISTIC SPACE

Walter Benjamin notes that a central feature of nineteenth century industrial capitalism was "the use of archaic images to identify what is historically new about the 'nature' of commodities."[45] In the mapping of progress, images of "archaic" time—that is, non-European time—were systematically evoked to identify what was historically new about industrial modernity. The middle class Victorian fixation with origins, with genesis narratives, with archaeology, skulls, skeletons and fossils—the imperial hric-a-brac of the archaic—was replete with the fetishistic compulsion to collect and exhibit that shaped the *musée imaginaire* of middle class empiricism. The museum—as the modern fetish-house of the archaic—became the exemplary institution for embodying the Victorian narrative of progress. In the museum of the archaic, the anatomy of the middle-class took visible shape [Fig. 1.8].

Yet in the compulsion to collect and reproduce history whole, time—just when it appears most historical—stops in its tracks. In images of panoptical time, history appears static, fixed, covered in dust. Paradoxically, then, in the act of turning time into a commodity, historical change—especially the *labor* of changing history—tends to disappear.

At this point, another trope makes its appearance. It can be called the invention of anachronistic space, and it reached full authority as an administrative and regulatory technology in the late Victorian era. Within this trope, the agency of women, the colonized and the industrial working class are disavowed and projected onto anachronistic space: prehistoric, atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity.

According to the colonial version of this trope, imperial progress across the space of empire is figured as a journey backward in time to an anachronistic moment of prehistory. By extension, the return journey to Europe is seen as rehearsing the evolutionary logic of historical progress, forward and upward to the apogee of the Enlightenment in the European metropolis. Geographical difference across *space* is figured as a historical difference across *time*. The ideologue J.-M. Degerando captured this notion concisely: "The philosophical traveller, sailing to the ends of the earth, is in fact travelling iu time; he is exploring the past."[46] The stubborn and threatening heterogeneity of the colonies was contained and disciplined not as socially or geographically different from Europe and thus equally valid, but as *temporally* different and thus as irrevocably superannuated by history.

Hegel, for example, perhaps the most influential philosophical proponent of this notion, figured Africa as inhabiting not simply a different geographical space but a different temporal zone, surviving anachronistically within the time of history. Africa, announces Hegel, "is no Historical part of the world . . . it has no movement or development to exhibit."[47] Africa came to be seen as the colonial paradigm of anachronistic space, a land perpetually out of time in modernity, marooned and historically abandoned. Africa was a fetish-land, inhabited by cannibals, dervishes and witch doctors, abandoned in prehistory at the precise moment before the *Weltgeist* (as the cunning agent of Reason) manifested itself in history.

In the industrial metropolis, likewise, the evocation of anachronistic space (the invention of the archaic) became central to the discourse of racial science and the urban surveillance of women and the working class. Racial scientists and, later, eugenicists saw women as the inherently atavistic, living archive of the primitive archaic.

In order to meet the empirical standards of the natural scientists, it was necessary to invent visible stigmata to represent—as a commodity spectacle—the historical anachronism of the degenerate classes. As Sander Gilman has pointed out, one answer was found in the body of the African woman, who became the prototype of the Victorian invention of primitive atavism. "In the nineteenth century," Gilman notes, "the black female was widely

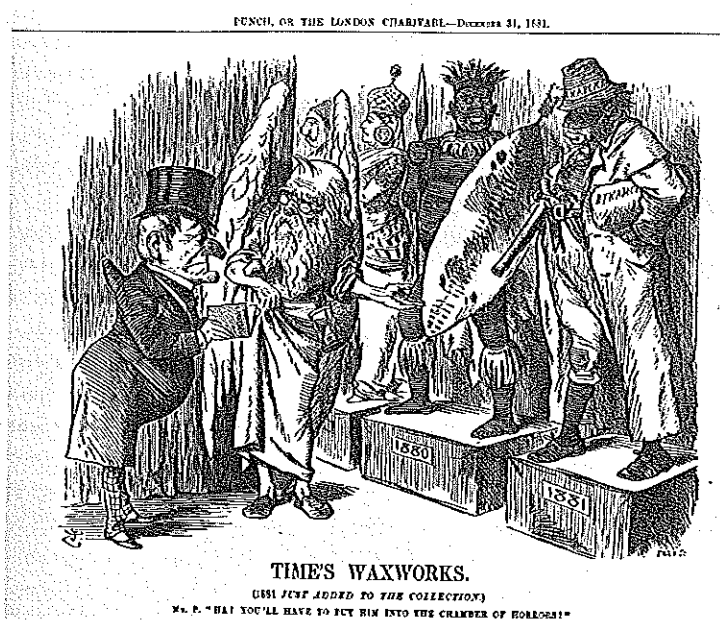

FIGURE 1.8 ANACHRONISTIC SPACE: INVENTING THE ARCHAIC.

perceived as possessing not only a 'primitive' sexual appetite but also the external signs of this temperament—primitive genitalia."[48] In 1810, the exhibition of the African woman Saartjie Baartman became the paradigm for the invention of the female body as an anachronism. The supposedly excessive genitalia of this woman (represented as they were as an excess of *clitoral* visibility in the figure of the "Hottentot apron") were overexposed and pathologized before the disciplinary gaze of male medical science and a voyeuristic public.[49] Cuvier, in his notorious medicalizing of her skeleton, compared the female of the "lowest" human species with the "highest ape" (the orangutan), seeing an atavistic affinity in the "anomolous" appearance of the black woman's "organ of generation." As with Linne, sexual reproduction served as the paradigm of social order and disorder.

In the overexposure of African genitalia and the medical pathologizing of female sexual pleasure (especially clitoral pleasure, which stood outside the reproductive teleology of male heterosexuality), Victorian men of science found a fetish for embodying, measuring and embalming the idea of the female body as anachronistic space. Thus, a contradiction within the middle class formation (between clitoral sexuality—sex for female pleasure—and reproductive sexuality—sex for male pleasure and childbearing) was projected onto the realm of empire and the zone of the primitive. As an inherently inadequate organ, says Freud, "the female genitalia are more primitive than those of the male" and the clitoris "is the normal prototype of inferior organs."[50] As a historical anachronism, moreover, the "immature" clitoris must be disciplined and subordinated within a linear narrative of heterosexual, reproductive progress—the vaginal task of bearing a child with the same name as the father.

As I argue in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, Victorian domestic space was also brought under the disciplinary figure of anachronistic space. Women who transgressed the Victorian boundary between private and public, labor and leisure, paid work and unpaid work became increasingly stigmatized as specimens of *racial* regression. Such women, it was conteuded, did not inhabit history proper but were the prototypes of anachronistic humans: childlike, irrational, regressive and atavistic, existing in a permanently anterior time within modernity. Female domestic servants were frequently depicted in the iconography of degeneration—as "plagues," "black races," "slaves" and "primitives."

INVENTING RACE AND THE FAMILY OF MAN

In 1842, Friedrich Engels, maverick son of a German manufaeturer, crossed the North Sea to investigate the "true condition" of the working people who powered his father's mills.[51] A few years later, he announced that amidst the calamities of that first great industrial crisis, he had found "more than mere Englishmen, members of a single, isolated nation." He had found "MEN, members of the great and universal family of Mankind."[52] Yet Engels' remarks belie a paradox. Venturing through the labyrinth of urban woe into the verminous hovels and alleys, past the belching dyeworks and bone-mills of an industrializing Britain, Engels finds the "family of Mankind" to be everywhere in disarray. Rather than the "Family of 'One and Indivisible' Mankind" to which he appeals in his preface, Engels discovers "the universal decadence of family life among the workers."[53] Indeed, the distinctive tragedy of the universal, working class "Family of Man" was that "family life . . . is almost impossible."[54] Moreover, as Engels sees it, there is one cause of the confusion: "It is inevitable that if a married woman works in a factory, family life is inevitably destroyed."[55]

What interests me here is that Engels, in delivering his revolutionary "bill of indictment" to the English, figures the familial crises besetting the urban poor through the iconography of race and degeneration. Living in slums that were little more than "unplanned wildernesses," the working class, he feels, has become utterly degraded and degenerate: "A physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and intellectually to bestiality."[56] The working class is a "race wholly apart," so that it and the bourgeoisie are now "two radically dissimilar nations, as unlike as difference of race could make them."[57]

Engels figures the first great crises of industrialism through the two tropes of racial degeneration and the Family of Man—one trope drawn from the realm of domesticity, the other from the realm of empire. One witnesses here the figure of a double displacement: global history is imaged as a universal family (a figure of private, *domestic* space), while domestic crises are imaged in racial terms (the public figure of *empire*). After the 1850s, I suggest, presiding contradictions within industrial modernity—between private and public, domesticity and industry, labor and leisure, paid work and unpaid work, metropolis and empire—were systematically mediated by these two dominant discourses: the trope of degeneration (reversible as the progress trope) and the trope of the Family of Man.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the analogy between race and gender degeneration came to serve a specifically modern form of social domination, as an intricate dialectic emerged—between the domestication of the colonies and the racializing of the metropolis. In the metropolis, the idea of racial deviance was evoked to police the "degenerate" classes—the militant working class, the Irish, Jews, feminists, gays and lesbians, prostitutes, criminals, alcoholics and the insane—who were collectively figured as racial deviants, atavistic throwbacks to a primitive moment in human prehistory, surviving ominously in the heart of the modern, imperial metropolis.

In the colonies, black people were figured, among other things, as gender deviants, the embodiments of prehistoric promiscuity and excess, their evolutionary belatedness evidenced by their "feminine" lack of history, reason and proper domestic arrangements. The dialectic between domesticity and empire, however, was beset by contradiction, anomaly and paradox. This book inhabits the crossroads of these contradictions.

After mid century, I suggest, a triangulated analogy among racial, class and gender degeneration emerged. The "natural" male control of reproduction in heterosexual marriage and the "natural" bourgeois control of capital in the commodity market were legitimized by reference to a third term: the "abnormal" zone of racial degeneration. Illicit money and illicit sexuality were seen to relate to each other by negative analogy to race. In the symbolic triangle of deviant money—the order of class; deviant sexuality—the order of gender; and deviant race—the order of empire, the degenerate classes were metaphorically bound by a regime of surveillance and were collectively figured as transgressing the proper distributions of money, sexuality and property. Seen as fatally threatening the fiscal and libidinal economy of the imperial state, they became subject to increasingly vigilant and violent policing.

THE PARADOX OF THE FAMILY

After 1859 and the advent of social Darwinism, the welter of distinctions of race, class and gender were gathered into a single narrative by the image of the Family of Man. The evolutionary "family" offered an indispensable metaphoric figure by which often contradictory hierarchical distinctions could be shaped into a global genesis narrative. A curious paradox thus emerges. The family as a *metaphor* offered a single genesis narrative for global history, while the family as an *institution* became void of history. As the nineteenth century drew on, the family as an institution was figured as existing, naturally, beyond the commodity market, beyond politics and beyond history proper. The family thus became both the antithesis of history and history's organizing figure.

At the same time, technologies of knowledge had to be found to give the family figure au institutional shape. The central technologies that emerged for the commodity display of progress and the universal family were, I suggest, those quintessentially Victorian institutions of the museum, the exhibition, photography and imperial advertising.

In an important observation, Edward Said has pointed to the transition in Victorian upper-middle-class culture from "filiation" (familial relations) to "affiliation" (non-familial relations): showing how failure to produce children took on the aspect of a pervasive cultural affliction.[63] For Said, the decay of filiation is typically attended by a second moment—the turn to a compensatory order of affiliation, which might be an institution, a vision, a credo or a vocation. While retaining the powerful distinction between filiation and affiliation, I wish to complicate the linear thrust of Said's story. As the authority and social function of the great service families (invested in filiative rituals of patrilineal rank and subordination) were displaced onto the bureaucracy, the anachronistic, filiative image of the family was projected onto emerging affiliative institutions as their shadowy, naturalized form.

The filiative (familial) order, in other words, did not disappear. Rather, it flourished as a metaphoric afterimage, reinvented within the new orders of the industrial bureaucracy, nationalism and colonialism. Moreover, filiation would take an increasingly imperial shape as the image of the evolutionary family was projected onto the imperial nation and colonial bureaucracies as their natural, legitimizing shape.

The power and importance of the family trope was twofold. First, the family offered an indispensable figure for sanctioning social hierarchy within a putative organic unity of interests. Because the subordination of woman to man and child to adult were deemed natural facts, other forms of social hierarchy could be depicted in familial terms to guarantee social *difference* as a category of nature. The family image came to figure *hierarchy within unity* as an organic element of historical progress, and thus became indispensable for legitimizing exclusion and hierarchy within nonfamilial social forms such as nationalism, liberal individualism and imperialism. The metaphoric depiction of social hierarchy as natural and familial thus depended on the prior naturalizing of the social subordination of women and children.

Second, the family offered an invaluable trope for figuring *historical time*. Within the family metaphor, both social hierarchy (synchronic hierarchy) and historical change (diachronic hierarchy) could be portrayed as natural and inevitable, rather than as historically constructed and therefore subject to change. Projecting the family image onto national and imperial progress enabled what was often murderously violent change to be legitimized as the progressive unfolding of natural decree. Imperial intervention could thus be figured as a linear, nonrevolutionary progression that naturally contained hierarchy within unity: paternal fathers ruling benignly over immature children. The trope of the organic family became invaluable in its capacity to give state and imperial intervention the alibi of nature.

After the 1850s, the image of the natural, patriarchal family, in alliance with pseudoscientific social Darwinism, came to constitute the organizing trope for marshaling a bewildering array of cultures into a single, global narrative ordered and managed by Europeans. In the process, the idea of divine nature was superceded by the idea of imperial nature, guaranteeing henceforth that the "universal" quintessence of Enlightenment individualism belongs only to propertied men of European descent.

DEGENERATION

A TRIANGULATED DISCOURSE

From the outset, the idea of progress that illuminated the nineteenth century was shadowed by its somber side. Imagining the degeneration into which humanity could fall was a necessary part of imagining the exaltation to which it could aspire. The degenerate classes, defined as departures from the normal human type, were as necessary to the self-definition of the middle class as the idea of degeneration was to the idea of progress, for the distance along the path of progress traveled by some portions of humanity could be measured only by the distance others lagged behind.[59] Normality thus emerged as a product of deviance, and the baroque invention of clusters of degenerate types highlighted the boundaries of the normal.

The poetics of degeneration was a poetics of social crisis. In the last decades of the century, Victorian social planners drew deeply on social Darwiuism and the idea of degeneration to figure the social crises erupting relentlessly in the cities and colonies. By the end of the 1870s, Britain was foundering in severe depression, and throughout the 1880s class insurgency, feminist upheavals, the socialist revival, swelling poverty and the dearth of housing and jobs fed deepening middle class fears. The crises in the cities were compounded by crises in the colonies as Britain began to feel the pinch of the imperial rivalry of Germany and the United States. The atmosphere of impeuding catastrophe gave rise to major changes in social theory, which drew on the poetics of degeneration for legitimation. Suffused as it was with Lamarckian thinking, the eugenic discourse of degeneration was deployed both as a regime of discipline imposed on a deeply distressed populace, as well as a reactive response to very real popular resistance.

Biological images of disease and contagion served what Sander Gilman has called "the institutionalization of fear," reaching into almost every nook and cranny of Victorian social life, and providing the Victorian elite with the justification it needed to discipline aud contain the "dangerous classes."[60] As the century drew to a close, biological images of disease and pestilence formed a complex hierarchy of social metaphors that carried considerable social authority. In *Outcast London* Gareth Stedman Jones shows how London became the focus of wealthy Victorians' growing anxieties about the unregenerate poor, variously described as the "dangerous" or "ragged" classes, the "casual poor," or the "residuum."[61] The slums and rookeries were figured as the hotbeds and breeding haunts of "cholera, crime and chartism."[62] "Festering" in dark and filthy dens, the scavenging and vagrant poor were described by images of putrefaction and organic debility. Thomas Plint described the "criminal class" as a "moral poison" and "pestiferous canker," a "uon-indigenous" and predatory body preying on the healthy.[63] Carlyle saw the whole of London as an infected wen, a malignant ulcer on the national body politic.

The image of bad blood was drawn from biology but degeneration was less a biological fact than it was a social figure. Central to tbe idea of degeneration was the idea of *contagion* (the communication of disease, by touching, from body to body), and central to the idea of contagion was the peculiarly Victorian paranoia about boundary order. Panic about blood contiguity, ambiguity and *metissage* expressed intense anxieties about the fallibility of white male and imperial potency. The poetics of contagion justified a politics of exclusion and gave social sanction to the middle class fixation with boundary sanitation, in particular the sanitation of sexual boundaries. Body bouudaries were felt to be dangerously permeable and demanding continual purification, so that sexuality, in particular women's sexuality, was cordoned off as the central transmitter of racial and heuce cultural contagion. Increasingly vigilant efforts to control women's bodies, especially in the face of feminist resistance, were suffused with acute anxiety about the desecration of sexual bouudaries and the consequences that racial contamination had for white male control of progeny, property and power. Certainly the sanitation syndromes were in part genuine attempts to combat the "diseases of poverty," but they also served more deeply to rationalize and ritualize the policing of boundaries between the Victorian ruling elite and the "contagious" classes, both in the imperial metropoles and in the colonies.

Controlling women's sexuality, exalting maternity and breeding a virile race of empire-builders were widely perceived as the paramount means for controlling the health and wealth of the male imperial body politic, so that, by the turn of the century, sexual purity emerged as a controlling metaphor for racial, economic and political power.[64] In the metropolis, as Anna Davin shows, population was power and societies for the promotion of public hygiene burgeoned, while childrearing and improving the racial stock became a national and imperial duty. State intervention in domestic life increased apace. Fears for the military prowess of the imperial army were exacerbated by the Anglo-Boer war, with the attendant discovery of the puny physiques, bad teeth and general ill health of the working class recruits. Motherhood became rationalized by the weighing and measuring of babies, the regimentation of domestic schedules and the bureaucratic administration of domestic education. Special opprobrium fell on "nonproductive" women (prostitutes, unmarried mothers, spinsters) and on "nonproductive men" (gays, the unemployed, the impoverished). In the eyes of policymakers and administrators, the bounds of empire could be secured and upheld only by proper domestic discipline and decorum, sexual probity and moral sanitation.

If, in the metropolis, as Ann Stoler writes, "racial deterioration was conceived to be a result of the moral turpitude and the ignorance of working class mothers, in the colonies the dangers were more pervasive, the possibilities of contamination worse."[65] Towards the end of the century, increasingly vigilant administrative measures were taken against open or ambiguous domestic relations, against concubinage, against mestizo customs. "*Metissage* (interracial unions) generally and concubinage in particular, represented the paramount danger to racial purity and cultural identity in all its forms. Through sexual contact with women of color European men 'contracted' not only disease but debased sentiments, immoral proclivities and extreme susceptibility to decivilized states."[66] In the chapters that follow, I explore how women who were ambiguously placed on the imperial divide (nurses, nannies, governesses, prostitutes and servants) served as boundary markers and mediators. Tasked with the purification and maintenance of boundaries, they were especially fetishized as dangerously ambiguous and contaminating.

The social power of the image of degeneration was twofold. First, social classes or groups were described with telling frequency as "races," "foreign groups," or "nonindigenous bodies," and could thus be cordoned off as biological and "contagious," rather than as social groups. The "residuum" were seen as irredeemable outcasts who had turned their backs on progress, not through any social failure to cope with the upheavals of industrial capitalism, but because of an organic degeneration of mind and body. Poverty and social distress were figured as biological flaws, an organic pathology in the body politic that posed a chronic threat to the riches, health and power of the "imperial race."

Second, the image fostered a sense of the legitimacy aud urgency of state intervention, not only in public life but also in the most intimate domestic arrangements of metropolis and colony. After the 1860s, there was a faltering of faith in the concepts of individual progress and perfectibility.[67] If Enlightenment philosophy attempted to rewrite history in terms of the individual subject, the nineteenth century posed a number of serious challenges to history as the heroics of individual progress. Laissez-faire policies alone could not be trusted to deal with the problems of poverty or to allay fears of working class insurgence. "In such circumstances, the problem of degeneration and its concomitant, chronic poverty, would ultimately have to be resolved by the state."[68] The usefulness of the quasi-biological metaphors of "type," "species," "genus" and "race" was that they gave full expression to anxieties about class and gender insurgence without betraying the social and political nature of these distinctions. As Condorcet put it, such metaphors made "nature herself an accomplice in the crime of political inequality."[69]

DEGENERATION AND THE FAMILY TREE

> The day when, misunderstanding the inferior occupations which nature has given her, women leave the home and take part in our battles; on this day a social revolution will begin and everything that maintains the sacred ties of the family will disappear.
>
> —*Le Bon*

In the poetics of degeneracy we find two anxious figures of historical time, both elaborated within the metaphor of the family. One narrative tells the story of the familial progress of humanity from degenerate native child to adult white man. The other narrative presents the converse: the possibility of racial decline from white fatherhood to a primordial black degeneracy incarnated in the black mother. The scientists, medical men and biologists of the day tirelessly pondered the evidence for both, marshaling the scientific "facts" and elaborating the multifarious taxonomies of racial and sexual difference, baroque in their intricacy and flourish of detail.

Before the 1850s two narratives of the origins of the races were in play. The first and more popular account, monogenesis, described the genesis of all races from the single creative source in Adam. Drawing on the Plotinian notion of corruption as distance from the originary source, scientists saw different races as having fallen unevenly from the perfect Edenic form incarnated in Adam. Simply by dwelling in different climates, races had degenerated unequally, creating an intricately shaded hierarchy of decline. By midcentury, however, a second, competing narrative had begun to gain ground—polygenesis, according to which theory different races had sprung up in different places, in different "centers of creation."[70] In this view, certain races in certain places were seen to be originally, naturally and inevitably degenerate.[71] Freedom itself came to be defined as an unnatural zone for Africans. Woe betide the race that migrated from its place.

After 1859, however, evolutionary theory swept away the creationist rug that had supported the intense debate between monogenists and polygenists, but it satisfied both sides by presenting an even better rationale for their shared racism. The monogenists continued to construct linear hierarchies of races according to mental and moral worth; the polygenists now admitted a common ancestry in the prehistoric mists but affirmed that the races had been separate long enough to evolve major inherited differences in talent aud intelligence.[72]

At this time, evolutionary theory entered an "unholy alliance" with the allure of numbers, the amassing of measurements and the science of statistics.[73] This alliance gave birth to "scientific" racism, the most authoritative attempt to place social ranking and social disability on a biological and "scientific" footing. Scientists became enthralled by the magic of measurement.

Anatomical criteria were sought for determining the relative position of races in the human series.[74] Francis Galton (1822–1911), pioneer statistician and founder of the eugenics movement, and Paul Broca, clinical surgeon and founder of the Anthropological Society of Paris (1859) inspired other scientists who followed them in the vocation of measuring racial worth off the geometry of the human body. To the earlier criterion of cranial capacity as the primary measure of racial and sexual ranking was now added a welter of new "scientific" criteria: the length and shape of the head, protrusion of the jaw, the distance between the peak of the head and brow, flatheadedness, a "snouty" profile, a long forearm (the characteristic of apes), underdeveloped calves (also apelike), a simplified and lobeless ear (considered a stigma of sexual excess notable in prostitutes), the placing of the hole at the base of the skull, the straightness of the hair, the length of the nasal cartilage, the flatness of the nose, prehensile feet, low foreheads, excessive wrinkles and facial hair. The features of the face spelled out the character of the race.

Increasingly, these stigmata were drawn on to identify and discipline atavistic "races" within the European race: prostitutes, the Irish, Jews, the unemployed, criminals and the insane. In the work of men such as Galton, Broca and the Italian physician, Cesare Lombroso, the geometry of the body mapped the psyche of the race.

What is of immediate importance here is that the welter of invented criteria for distinguishing degeneracy was finally gathered up into a dynamic, historical narrative by one dominant metaphor: the Family of Man. What had been a disorganized and inconsistent inventory of racial attributes was now drawn together into a genesis narrative that offered, above all, a figure of historical change.

Ernst Haeckel, the German zoologist, provided the most influential idea for the development of this metaphor.[75] His famous catchphrase, "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny," captured the idea that the ancestral lineage of the human species could be read off the stages of a child's growth. Every child rehearses in organic miniature the ancestral progress of the race. The theory of recapitulation thus depicted the child as a type of social bonsai, a miniature family tree. As Gould put it, every individual as it grows to maturity "climbs its own family tree."[76] The irresistible value of the idea of recapitulation was that it offered an apparently absolute biological criterion not only for racial but also for sexual and class ranking. If the white male child was an atavistic throwback to a more primitive adult ancestor, he could be scientifically compared with other living races and groups to rank their level of evolutionary inferiority. A vital analogy had thus appeared:

> The adults of inferior groups must be like the children of superior groups, for the child represents a primitive adult ancestor. If adult blacks and women are like white male children, then they are living representatives of an ancestral stage in the evolution of white males. An anatomical theory for ranking races—based on entire bodies—had been found.[77]

Haggard summed up the analogy: "In all essentials the savage and the child of civilization are identical." Mayhew, likewise, described the London street-seller as an atavistic regression, a racial "child," who would "without training, go back to its parent stock—the vagabond savage."[78] G. A. Henty, like Haggard a popular and influential author of boy's stories, argued similarly: "The intelligence of an average negro is about equal to that of a European child of ten years old."[79] Thus the family metaphor and the idea of recapitulation entered popular culture, children's literatnre, travel writing and racial "science" with pervasive force.

The scope of the discourse was enormous. A host of "inferior" groups could now be mapped, measured and ranked against the "universal standard" of the white male child—within the organic embrace of the family metaphor and the Enlightenment regime of "rational" measurement as an optics of truth. In sum, a three-dimensional map of social difference had emerged, in which minute shadings of racial, class and gender hierarchy could be putatively measured across space: the measurable space of the empirical body [Fig. 1.9].

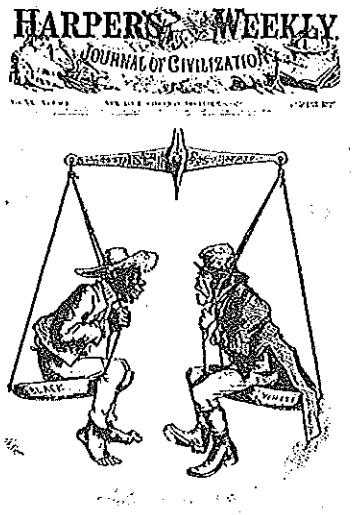

FIGURE 1.9 RACIAL MEASUREMENT AS AN OPTICS OF TRUTH. Nast's cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* (9 December 1876) stages an analogy between the racial and political weight of a freed slave and an Irishman.

"WHITE NEGROES" AND "CELTIC CALIBANS"
ANTINOMIES OF RACE

> He was a yonng Irishman . . . he had the silent enduring beauty of a carved ivory mask . . . that momentary but revealed immobility . . . a timelessness . . . which negroes express sometimes without ever aiming at it; something old, old, old and acquiescent in the race!
>
> —*D. H. Lawrence*

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the term "race" was used in shifting and unstable ways, sometimes as synonymous with "species," sometimes with "culture," sometimes with "nation," sometimes to denote biological ethnicity or sub-groups within national groupings: the English "race" compared, say, with the "Irish" race. A small but dedicated group of doctors, antiquarians, clergymen, historians and geologists set out to uncover the minute shadings of difference that distinguished the "races" of Britain. Dr John Beddoe, founding member of the Ethnological Society, devoted thirty years of his life to measuring what he called the "Index of Nigrescence" (the amount of residual melanin in the skin, hair and eyes) in the peoples of Britain and Ireland and concluded that the index rose sharply from east to west aud south to north.[80]

In 1880, Gustave de Molinari (1819–1912) wrote that England's largest newspapers "allow no occasion to escape them of treating the Irish as an inferior race—as a kind of white negroes [sic]."[81] Molinari's phrase "white negroes" appeared in translation in a leader in *The Times* and was consistent with the popular assumption after the 1860s that certain physical and cultural features of the Irish marked them as a race of "Celtic Calibans" quite distinct from the Anglo-Saxons. As a visitor to Ireland commented: "Shoes and stockings are seldom worn hy these heings who seem to form a different race from the rest of mankind."[82]

But Ireland presented a telling dilemma for pseudo-Darwiniau imperial discourse. As Britain's first and oldest colony, Ireland's geographic proximity to Britain, as David Lloyd points out, resulted in its "undergoing the transition to hegemonic colonialism far earlier than any other colony."[83] But, as Claire Wills notes, the difficulty of placing the pale-skinned Irish in the hierarchy of empire was "compounded by the absence of the visual marker of skin colour difference which was used to legitimate domination in other colonized societies."[84] The English stereotype of the Irish as a simianized and degenerate race also complicates postcolonial theories that skin color (what Gayatri Spivak usefully calls "chromatism") is the crucial sign of otherness. Chromatism, Wills notes, is a difference "which naturally does not apply to the relationship between the Irish and their English colonizers."[85]

Certainly, great efforts were made to liken the Irish physiognomy to those of apes but, Wills argues, English racism concentrated primarily on the "barbarism" of the Irish accent.[86]

I suggest, however, that English racism also drew deeply on the notion of the *domestic* barbarism of the Irish as a marker of racial difference. In an exemplary image, an Irishman is depicted lazing in front of his hovel—the very picture of domestic disarray [Fig. 1.10]. The house is out of kilter, the shutter is askew. He lounges cheerily on an upturned wash-basin, visible proof of a slovenly lack of dedication to domestic order. What appears to be a cooking pot perches on his head. In the doorway, the boundary between private and public, his wife displays an equally cheerful slothfulness. In both husband and wife, the absence of skin color as a marker of degeneration is compensated for by the simianizing of their physiognomies: exaggerated lips, receding foreheads, unkempt hair and so on. In the chapters that follow, I suggest that the iconography of *domestic degeneracy* was widely used to mediate the manifold contradictions in imperial hierarchy—not only with respect to the Irish but also to the other "white negroes": Jews, prostitutes, the working-class, domestic workers, aud so on, where skin color as a marker of power was imprecise and inadequate.

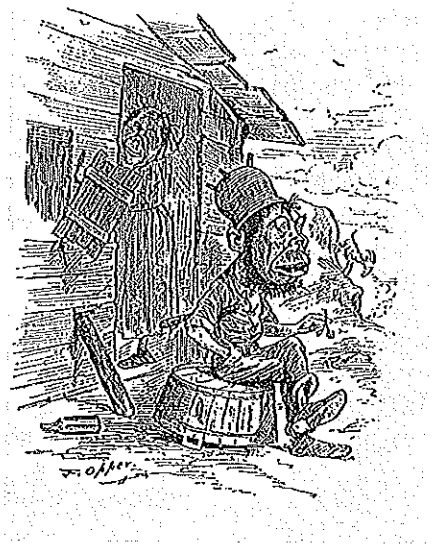

FIGURE 1.10 "CELTIC CALIBANS." *Puck*, Vol. 10, #258, 16 Feb 1882, p. 378. The title of Frederick B. Opper's cartoon "The King of A Shantee" suggests an analogy between the Irish and Africans.

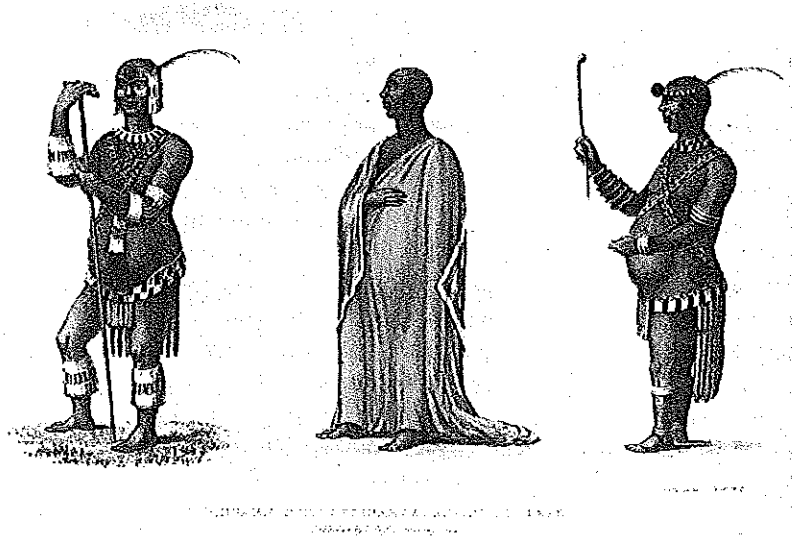

FIGURE 1.11 FEMINIZING AFRICAN MEN.

Racial stigmata were systematically, if often contradictorily, drawn on to elaborate minute shadings of difference in which social hierarchies of race, class and gender overlapped each other in a three-dimensional graph of comparison. The rhetoric of race was used to invent distinctions between what we would now call *classes*.[87] T. H. Huxley compared the East London poor with the Polynesian savage, William Booth chose the African pygmy, and William Barry thought that the slums resembled nothing so much as a slave ship.[88]

White women were seen as an inherently degenerate "race," akin in physiognomy to black people and apes. Gustave le Bon, author of the influential study of crowd behavior *La Psychologie des Foules*, compared female brain size with that of the gorilla and evoked this comparison as signaliug a lapse in development:

> All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women, as well as poets and novelists, recognize today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilized man.[89]

At the same time, the rhetoric of *gender* was used to make increasingly refined distinctions among the different *races*. The white race was figured as the male of the species and the black race as the female.[90] Similarly, the rhetoric of *class* was used to inscribe minute and subtle distinctions between other *races*. The Zulu male was regarded as the "gentleman" of the black race, but was seen to display features typical of females of the white race [Fig. 1.11]. Carl Vogt, for example, the preeminent German analyst of race in the midcentury, saw similarities between the skulls of white male infants and those of the white female working class, while noticing that a mature black male shared his "pendulous belly" with a white woman who had had many children.[91] On occasion, Australian aborigines, or alternatively Ethiopians, were regarded as the most debased "lower class" of the African races, hut more often than not the female Khoisan (derogatorily known as "Hottentots" or "Bushmen") were located at the very nadir of human degeneration, just before the species left off its human form and turned bestial [Fig. 1.12].[92]

In cameo, then, the English middle-class male was placed at the pinnacle of evolutionary hierarchy (generally, the middle- or upper-middle-class male was regarded as racially superior to the degenerate aristocrat who had

FIGURE 1.12 MILITANT WOMAN AS DEGENERATE.

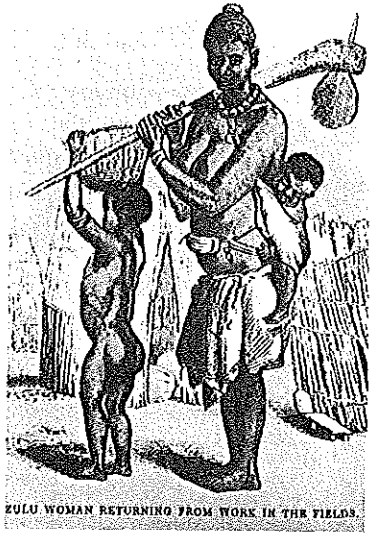

FIGURE 1.13 WORKING WOMAN AS DEGENERATE.

lapsed from supremacy). White English middle-class women followed. Irish or Jewish men were represented as the most inherently degenerate "female races" within the white male gender, approaching the state of apes.[93] Irish working-class women were depicted as lagging even farther behind in the lower depths of the white race.

Domestic workers, female miners and working-class prostitutes (women who worked publicly and visibly for money) were stationed on the threshold between the white and black races, figured as having fallen farthest from the perfect type of the white male and sharing many atavistic features with "advanced" black men [Fig. 1.13]. Prostitutes—as the metropolitan analogue of African promiscuity—were marked as especially atavistic and regressive. Inhabiting, as they did, the threshold of marriage and market, private and public, prostitutes flagrantly demanded money for services middle-class men expected for free.[94] Prostitutes visibly transgressed the middle-class boundary between private and public, paid work and unpaid work, and in consequence were figured as "white Negroes" inhabiting anachronistic space, their 'racial' atavism anatomically marked by regressive signs: "Darwin's ear," exaggerated posteriors, unruly hair and other sundry "primitive" stigmata.[95]

At this time, the idea of the Family of Man was itself confirmed through ubiquitous metaphoric analogies with science and biology. Bolstered by pseudo-scientific racism after the 1850s and commodity racism after the 1880s, the monogamous patriarchal family, headed by a single, white father, was vaunted as a biological fact, natural, inevitable and right, its lineage unprinted immemorially in the blood of the species—during the same era, one might add, when the social functions of the family household were being replaced by the bureaucratic state.

A triangulated, switchboard analogy thus emerged between racial, class and gender deviance as a critical element in the formation of the modern, imperial imagination. In the symbolic triangle of deviant money, deviant sexuality and deviant race, the so-called degenerate classes were metaphorically bound in a regime of surveillance, collectively figured by images of sexual pathology and racial aberration as atavistic throwbacks to a primitive moment in human prehistory, surviving ominously in the heart of the modern, imperial metropolis. Depicted as transgressing the natural distributions of money, sexual power and property and as thereby fatally threatening the fiscal and libidinal economy of the imperial state, these groups became subject to increasingly vigilant and violent state control.

IMPERIALISM AS COMMODITY SPECTACLE

In 1851, the topoi of progress and the Family of Man, panoptical time and anachronistic space found their architectural embodiment in the World Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London's Hyde Park. At the Exhibition, the progress narrative began to be consumed as mass spectacle. The Exhibition gathered under one vaulting glass roof a monumental display of "the Industry of All Nations." Covering fourteen acres of park, it featured exhibitions and artifacts from thirty-two invited members of the "family of Nations." Crammed with industrial commodities, decorative merchandise, ornamental gardens, machinery, musical instruments and industrial ore and thronged by thousands of marveling spectators, the Great Exhibition became a monument not only to a new form of mass consumption but also to a new form of commodity spectacle.

The Crystal Palace housed the first consumer dreams of a unified world time. As a monument to industrial progress, the Great Exhibition embodied the hope that all the world's cultures could be gathered under one roof—the global progress of history represented as the commodity progress of the Family of Man. At the same time, the Exhibition heralded a new mode of marketing history: the mass consumption of time as a commodity spectacle. Walking about the Exhibition, the spectator (admitted into the museum of modernity through the payment of cash) consumed history as a commodity. The dioramas and panoramas (popular, naturalistic replicas of scenes from

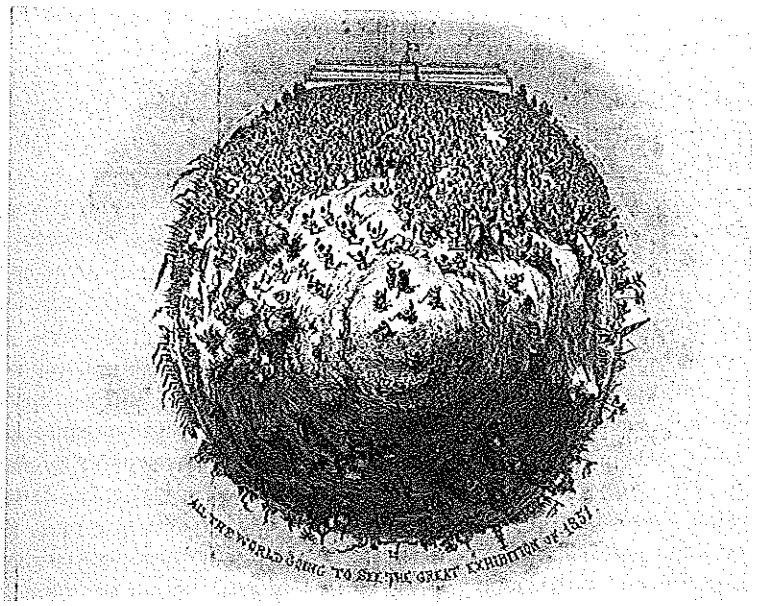

FIGURE 1.14 GLOBAL PROGRESS CONSUMED AT A GLANCE.

empire and natural history) offered the illusion of marshaling all the globe's cultures into a single, visual pedigree of world time. In an exemplary image, the Great Exhibition literally drew the world's people toward the monumental display of the commodity: global progress consumed visually in a single image [Fig 1.14]. Time became global, a progressive accumulation of panoramas and scenes arranged, ordered and catalogued according to the logic of imperial capital. At the same time, it was clearly implicit, only the west had the technical skill and innovative spirit to render the historical pedigree of the Family of Man in such perfect, technical form.

The Exhibition had its political equivalent in the Panopticon, or Inspection House. In 1787, Jeremy Bentham proposed the Panopticon as the model for an architectural solution to social discipline. The organizing principle of the Panopticon was simple. Factories, prisons, workhouses and schools would be constructed with an observation tower as the center. Unable to see inside the inspection tower, the inhabitants would presume they were under perpetual surveillance. Daily routine would be conducted in a state of permanent visibility. The elegance of the idea was the principle of self-surveillance; its economy lay, supposedly, in its elimination of the need for violence. The inmates, thinking they were under constant observation, would police themselves. The Panopticon thus embodied the bureaucratic principle of dispersed, hegemonic power. In the Inspection House, the regime of the spectacle (inspection, observation, sight) merged with the regime of power.

As Foucault observed, the crucial point of the Panopticon is that anyone, in theory, can operate the Inspection House. The inspectors are infinitely interchangeable and any member of the public may visit the Inspection House to inspect how affairs are run. As Foucault notes: "This Panopticon, subtly arranged so that an observer may observe, at a glance, so many individuals, also enables everyone to come and observe any of the observers. The seeing machine . . . has become a transparent building in which the exercise of power may be supervised by society as a whole."

The innovation of the Crystal Palace, that exemplary glass inspection house, lay in its ability to merge the pleasure principle with the discipline of the spectacle. In the glass seeing-machine, thousands of civic inspectors could observe the observers: a voyeuristic discipline perfectly embodied in the popular feature of the panorama. Seated about the circular observation-tower of the panorama, spectators consumed the moving views that swept before them, indulging the illusion of traveling at speed through the world. The panorama inverted the panoptical principle and put it at the disposal of consumer pleasure, converting panoptical surveillance into commodity spectacle—the consumption of the globe by voyeurs. Yet, all the while caught in the enchantment of surveillance, these imperial monarchs-of-all-they-survey offered their immobile backs to the observation of others.[96]

The Crystal Palace converted panoptical surveillance into consumer pleasure. As Susan Buck-Morss points out: "The message of the world exhibitions was the promise of social progress for the masses without revolution."[97] The Great Exhibition was a museum without history, a market without labor, a factory without workers. In the industrial booths, technology was staged as if giving birth effortlessly, ready-made, to the vast emporium of the world's merchandise.

At the same time, in the social laboratory of the Exhibition, a crucial political principle took shape: the idea of democracy as the voyeuristic consumption of commodity spectacle. Most crucially, an emerging national narrative began to include the working class into the Progress narrative as consumers of national spectacle. Implicit in the Exhibition was the new experience of *imperial* progress consumed as a *national* spectacle [Fig 1.15]. At the Exhibition, white British workers could feel included in the imperial nation, the voyeuristic spectacle of racial "superiority" compensating them for their class subordination [Fig. 1.16].[98]

During what Luke Gibbons calls "the twilight of colonialism," a child's toy was manufactured for the "Big Houses" of the Irish ascendancy, which promised to give the "British Empire at a Glance."[99] Gibbons describes the

FIGURE 1.15 COMMODITY FETISHISM GOES GLOBAL.

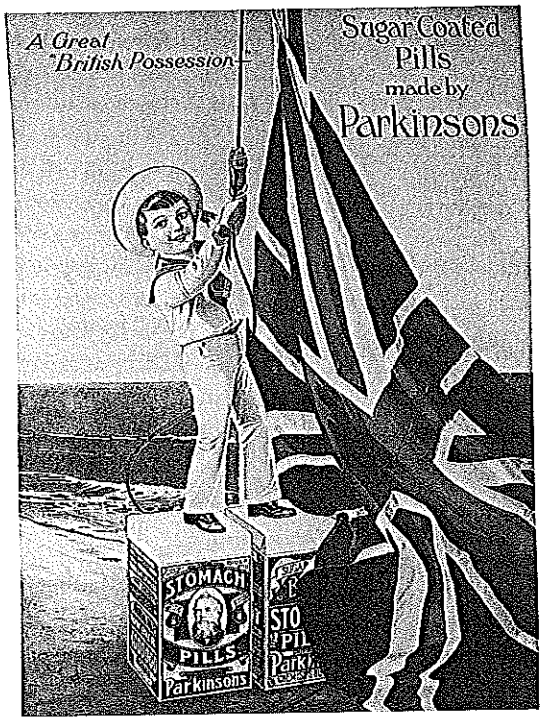

FIGURE 1.16. SUGAR-COATING IMPERIALISM.

toy thus: "It took the form of a map of the world, mounted on a wheel complete with small apertures which revealed all that was worth knowing about the most distant corners of the Empire. One of the apertures gave a breakdown of each colony in terms of its "white" and "native" population, as if both categories were mutually exclusive."[100] This toy-world perfectly embodies the scopic megalomania that animates the panoptical desire to consume the world whole. It also embodies its failure, for, as Gibbons adds: "When it came to Ireland, the wheel gronnd to a halt for here was a colony whose subject population was both "native" and "white" at the same time. This was a corner of the Empire, apparently, that could not be taken in at a glance."[101] The toy-world marks a transition— from the imperial science of the surface to commodity racism and imperial kitsch. Imperial kitsch and commodity spectacle made possible what the colonial map could only promise: the mass marketing of imperialism as a global system of signs [Fig. 1.17].

COLONIAL MIMICRY AND AMBIVALENCE

I write, then, in the conviction that history is not shaped around a single privileged social category. Race and class difference cannot, I believe, be understood as sequentially derivative of sexual difference, or vice versa. Rather, the formative categories of imperial modernity are articulated categories in the sense that they come into being in historical relation to each other and emerge only in dynamic, shifting and intimate interdependence. The idea of racial "purity," for example, depends on the rigorons policing of women's sexuality; as an historical notion, then, racial "purity" is inextricably implicated in the dynamics of gender and cannot be understood without a theory of gender power. However, I do not see race, class, gender and sexuality as structurally equivalent of each other. The Victorian fetishizing of soap and white clothes, say, cannot be reduced to phallic fetishism as a secondary effect along a signifying chain that progresses from sexuality to race. Rather, these categories converge, merge

FIGURE 1.17 THE EMPIRE OF FETISHES.

and overdetermine each other in intricate and often contradictory ways. In an important essay, Kobena Mercer cautions us against invoking the mantra of "race, class and gender" in such a way as to "flatten out the complex and indeterminate relations by which subjectivity is constituted in the overdetermined spaces *between* relations of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality."[102] Mercer urges us to be alert to the shifting and unsteady antinomies of social difference "in a way that speaks to the messy, ambivalent, and incomplete character of the 'identities' we actually inhabit in our lived experiences."[103]

Consider, in this regard, Irigaray's idea of gender mimicry and Homi Bhabha's idea of colonial ambivalence. In her brilliant and incendiary challenge to orthodox psychoanalysis, Luce Irigaray suggests that in certain social contexts women perform femininity as a necessary masquerade.[104] For Irigaray, women learn to mimic femininity as a social mask. In a world colonized by male desire, women stage heterosexuality as an ironic performance that is no less theatrical for being a strategy for survival. At certain moments, Irigaray suggests, women must deliberately assume the feminine roles imposed on us, but we can do so in such a way as to "convert a form of subordination into an affirmation."[105] By the "playful repetition" of the invisible norms that sustain heterosexuality, women artfully disclose the lack of equivalence between "nature" and gender performance. We are "such good mimics" precisely because femininity does *not* come naturally.[106] Nonetheless, mimicry exacts a price; born of necessity, it is double-edged and double-tongued, a provisional strategy against oblivion. In Irigaray's own theory, however, the idea of mimicry also exacts a price, for Irigaray herself runs the risk of privileging mimicry as au essentially female strategy and thus paradoxically reinscribes precisely those gender binaries that she so brilliantly challenges. In the process, Irigaray also elides the theatrical and strategic possibilities of *male* masquerade: camp, voguing, drag, passing, transvestism and so on.

Bypassing Irigaray's gendered intervention, Homi Bhabha takes the idea of mimicry into the colonial arena and in turn subtly explores mimicry as "one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge."[107] In Bhabha's schema, mimicry is a flawed identity imposed on colonized people who are obliged to mirror back an image of the colonials but in imperfect form: "almost the same, but not white."[108] Subjected to the civilizing mission, the mimic men (for Bhabha they seem to be only men) serve as the intermediaries of empire; they are the colonized teachers, soldiers, bureaucrats and cultural interpreters whom Fanon describes as "dusted over with colonial culture."[109] The lineage of these mimics—Anglicized men who are not English—can be traced through the writings of Macaulay, Kipling, Forster, Orwell and Naipaul, and comprise, in Macaulay's words, "a class of interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern."[110]

Bhabha's originality lies in bis provocative deployment of aesthetic categories (irony, mimesis, parody) for psychoanalytic purposes in the context of empire. For Bhabha, colonial discourse is ambivalent in that it seeks to reproduce the image of a "reformed, recognizable Other . . . *that is almost the same but not quite.*"[111] The mimic men are obliged to inhabit an uninhabitable zone of ambivalence that grants them neither identity nor difference; they must mimic an image that they cannot fully assume. Herein lies the failure of mimicry as Bhabha sees it, for in the slippage between identity and difference the "normalizing" authority of colonial discourse is thrown into question. The dream of post-Enlightenment civility is alienated from itself because in the colonial state it can no longer parade as a state of nature. Mimicry becomes "at once resemblance and menace."[112]

I do not question the rich insightfulness of Bhabha's notion of colonial mimicry, nor his valuable insistence, following Fanon, on the elusive play of fantasy, desire and the unconscious in colonial contests. What interests me for the moment, however, is the politics of agency implicit in the mimetic schema. As Bhabha sees it, in this essay at least, the menace of mimicry stems from its ambivalence—an epistemological splittiug that discloses the double vision of colonial discourse and thereby disrupts its authority.[113] Colonialism is flawed by a self-defeating and *internal* subversion: the formal subversion, the "rupture," the "disruption," the "ambivalence," the "in-between" of discourse. Seen in this way, colonial mimicry is an "ironic compromise" that ensures its own "strategic failure."[114]

The "strategic failure" of "colonial appropriation" becomes in this view a structural effect ensured by discursive ambivalence. "How," asks Bhabha, "is desire disciplined, authority displaced?" This is fundamentally a question about power; it is also a question about historical agency. Contrary to some critics, I do not believe that Bhabha means to suggest that mimicry is either the only, or the most important, colonial phenomenon, just as Irigaray does not suggest that mimicry is the only strategy available to women. Nonetheless, for Bhabha here colonial authority appears to be displaced less by shifting social contradictions or the militant strategies of the colonized than by the formal ambivalence of colonial representation itself.

While recognizing the vital importance of the concept of ambivalence in both Irigaray and Bhabha (crucial as it is to the tradition of dialectical thinking), the question is whether it is sufficient to locate agency in the internal fissures of discourse.[115] Locating agency in ambivalence runs the risk of what can be called a fetishism of form: the projection of historical agency onto formal abstractions that are anthropomorphized and given a life of their

own. Here abstractions become historical actors; discourse desires, dreams and does the work of colonialism while also ensuring its demise. In the process, social relations between humans appear to metamorphize into structural relations between forms—through a formalist fetishism that effectively elides the messier questions of historical change and social activism.

An important question raised by both Irigaray and Bhabha's work, though in different ways, is whether ambivalence is inherently subversive. In a subsequent essay, Bhabha usefully complicates his idea of mimicry and suggests that the ambivalences of colonized subjectivity need not pose a threat to colonial power after all: "caught in the Imaginary as they are, these shifting positionalities will never seriously threaten the dominant power relations, for they exist to exercise them pleasurably and productively."[116] Bhabha here sees dominant power as shielded from the play of ambivalence, but not because of the greater military, political or economic strength of those in power. Rather, the "shifting positionalities" of colonized subjectivity are "caught in the 'Imaginary.'" Once again, however, agency is displaced onto a structural abstraction (the Imaginary) that guarantees a fluctuating, indeterminate condition of stasis.

In another essay, "Signs Taken for Wonders," Bhabha further develops the idea of mimicry, this time less as a self-defeating colonial strategy than as a form of anti-colonial refusal. Mimicry now "marks those moments of civil disobedience within the discipline of civility: signs of spectacular resistance."[117] This offers the important promise of a theory of resistance and, at the same time, new areas for historical elaboration. This also brings Bhabha closer to Irigaray, for whom mimicry is seen as a strategy of the disempowered. But if mimicry always betrays a slippage between identity and difference, doesn't one need to elaborate how colonial mimicry differs from anti-colonial mimicry; if colonial and anti-colonial mimicry are formally identical in their founding ambivalence, why did colonial mimicry succeed for so long? Indeed, if all discourses are ambivalent, what distinguishes the discourse of the empowered from the discourse of the disempowered? Between colonial and anti-colonial, and male and female, mimicry there falls a theoretical shadow.

If Irigaray challenges Lacan's masculinism and argues for mimicry as a specifically female strategy (an essentialist gesture that elides race and class), Bhabha, in turn, bypasses Irigaray and refers only to race, eliding in the process gender and class. Returning to an ungendered mimicry, Bhabha effectively reinscribes mimicry as a male strategy without acknowledging its gendered specificity. The ironically generic "Man" in Bhabha's title ("Of Mimicry and Man") both conceals and reveals that Bhabha is really only talking about men. By eliding gender difference, however, Bhabha implicitly ratifies gender power, so that masculinity becomes the invisible norm of postcolonial discourse. By eliding racial difference, Irigaray, in turn, ratifies the invisibility of imperial power.

The more one insists on the transhistorical ubiquity of ambivalence, the less powerful a concept it becomes. In the compulsion to repeat, the everywhere of the ambivalent becomes the scene of the same. If ambivalence is everywhere, at what point does it become subversive? Above all, how does one explain how dominant powers become dominant in the first place? In order to answer these questions, doesn't one need a more demanding engagement with social and economic power than a deconstruction of the ruptures of form? Let me emphasize, however, that I pose these questions not in order to dispense with the notion of ambivalence—far from it—but instead to historically complicate it. As Gayatri Spivak puts it best: "the most serious critique in deconstruction, is the critique of something useful."

HYBRIDITY, CROSS-DRESSING AND RACIAL FETISHISM

In the chapters that follow, I argue that concepts such as mimicry and ambivalence are less powerful if reduced to a single, privileged social category (whether gender, as in Irigaray, or race, as in Bhabha). Racial mimicry may be akin to gender mimicry in important ways, but they are not socially interchangeable. Indeed, mimicry as a term requires considerable elaboration.

Different forms of mimicry such as passing and cross-dressing deploy ambiguity in different ways; critical distinctions are lost if these historically variant cultural practices are collapsed under the ahistorical sign of the same. Racial passing is not the same as gender cross-dressing; black voguing is not the same as whites performing in blackface; black minstrelsy is not the same as lesbian drag. In the fetish scene, transvestism often involves the flagrant *exhibition* of ambiguity (the hairy knee under the silk skirt); indeed, much of the scandal of transvestism resides in its theatrical parading of *identity as difference*. Passing, by contrast, more often involves the careful *masking* of ambiguity: *difference as identity*.

In the context of colonialism, the global changes wrought by imperialism reveal that colonials were able, all too often, to contain the ambivalences of the civilizing mission with appalling effect. In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, for instance, Marlow is attended upstream by an African who serves as a vivid example of a hybrid mimic man. The African who works the ship's boiler inhabits that impossible threshold between colonizer and colonized; Marlow represents him as an historical anomaly: "the savage who was fireman."[118] An initiate into modernity, he is also a belated denizen of the anachronistic time of witchcraft, fetish and charm. In Marlow's eyes,

this "improved specimen" is "as edifying as . . . a dog in a parody of breeches and a feather hat, walking on his hindlegs."[119] In Bhabha's term, he is mimicry's "ironic compromise"; the same, but not white.

But Conrad's mimic man is less disruptive of colonial authority than he might at first appear, since his parodic imperfection is consistent with the colonial narrative of African degeneration. Pushing upstream, the colonials are figured as traveling backward into anachronistic space: "Going up that river was like travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world. . . .We were wanderers on prehistoric earth. . . . We were travelling in the night of first ages, of those ages that are gone."[120] Within the trope of anachronistic space, the boilerman's mimetic failure is less a discursive dilemma than a familiar element of the colonial progress narrative. Inhabiting the cusp of prehistory and imperial modernity, the "improved specimen" is seen as the living measure of how far Africans must still travel to attain modernity. In other words, the slippage between difference and identity is rendered non-contradictory by being projected onto the axis of *time* as a natural function of imperial progress.

In effect, Conrad's mimic man does not fatally disrupt the post-Enlightenment image of man nor ensure its strategic failure; his mimetic incoherence is, rather, indispensible to the narrative of the historical belatedness of the colonized. What is more, his ambivalence is violently foreclosed by his death, a narrative obliteration that offers a sobering reminder that colonials were both willing and able to foreclose the poetics of ambivalence by resorting to the technologies of violence.

The opening page of Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* is another case in point. We enter Kipling's narrative flanked by the colonial museum and the colonial gun. The mimic man, Kim, having just unseated an Indian boy, sits aloft the "fire-breathing" cannon, Zam-Zammah; opposite Kim is the Lahore Museum. Kim's phallic potency is also a question of racial legitimacy: for Kipling, Kim has "some justification" in usurping the Indian boy "since the English held the Punjab and Kim was English."[121] In this inaugural scene, colonialism is figured both as a poetics of cultural ambivalence (embodied in the fetish Wonder House of the European museum) but also a politics of military violence: "Who hold Zam-Zammah . . . hold the Punjab." Controlling both gun and wonder-house, Kipling suggests, is necessary for mastery of the Great Game.

Taking the question of historical agency seriously ("How . . . is authority displaced?") entails interrogating more than the ambivalences of form; it also entails interrogating the messy imprecisions of history, the embattled negotiations and strategies of the disempowered, the militarization of masculinity, the elision of women from political and economic power, the decisive foreclosures of ethnic violence and so on. Ambivalence may well be a critical aspect of subversion, but it is not a sufficient agent of colonial failure.

Cross-dressing, as a culturally variant example of mimicry, is a case in point. Clothes are the visible signs of social identity but are also permanently subject to disarrangement and symbolic theft. For this reason the cross-dresser can be invested with potent and subversive powers. In her groundbreaking book, *Vested Interests*, Marjorie Garber refuses the traditional narrative of the transvestite as biologically aberrant or pathological and invites us instead to take cross-dressers on their own terms—as the transgressive embodiment of ambiguity.[122]

Garber brilliantly challenges the progress narrative that presumes a "real" identity (male or female) under the transvestite mask. She proposes instead that the transvestite throws into question the binary categories of "male" and "female" and becomes as a result the "figure that disrupts."[123] Garber's book is of great importance, not least for her attempt to include questions of race in the cross-dressing scene. Nonetheless, as I argue in more detail in Chapters 3 and 5, by universalizing all cross-dressers as transgressive ("the figure that disrupts") and by inscribing all fetishes as originating in the Lacanian castration scene ("the phallus is the fetish, the fetish is the phallus") Garber does not do theoretical justice to the rich diversity of cultural cross-dressers and historical fetishes that she herself reveals.[124]

Reducing all fetishes and all cross-dressers to a single genesis narrative founded in phallic ambiguity prevents one from accounting for the differences among subversive, reactionary or progressive fetish practices. The pink triangle, for example, is an ambivalent sign that has been deployed by radically alternative political practices. Cross-dressing can likewise be mobilized for a variety of political purposes, not all of them subversive. That fetishism is founded in contradiction does not necessarily guarantee its transgressiveness; that cross-dressing disrupts stable social identities does not guarantee the subversion of gender, race or class power. When marines in the United States army deck themselves in drag or put on blackface, white power is not necessarily subverted nor is masculinity thrown into disarray. If, by contrast, lesbians in the army cross-dressed on a daily basis or gay black men staged nightly voguing houses, the effect might not be seen as quite so hilarious or innocent.

Culturally enforced ethnic passing (Jewish or Irish immigrants assimilating in the United States, say) or brutally enforced hybridity (the deliberate impregnation of Muslim women by rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina) entail very different relations to hybridity and ambiguity. The slippage between difference and identity is present in all these cases, but the psychic toll and political consequences vary dramatically. The lyrical glamour cast

by some postcolonial theorists over ambivalence and hybridity is not always historically warranted.

It is important to emphasize, in this regard, that cross-dressing does not only involve gender ambiguity; a wealth of evidence exists of racial, class and ethnic cross-dressing. Reducing all fetishes and all cross-dressers to a single genesis narrative founded in phallic ambiguity prevents one from adequately accounting for racial, national and ethnic fetishes that cannot be subsumed under the phallic sign of sexual difference without considerable loss of theoretical subtlety and historical depth. In Lacanian theory (which I question in Chapter 4), linguistic and cultural difference is founded in sexual difference, and is ordered under the Symbolic and embodied in the Law of the Father. As a result, racial and class difference become theoretically derivative of sexual difference along a signifying chain that privileges male heterosexuality. Garber, for one, reads the fetish as "a figure for the undecidability of castration."[125] As I argue in more detail in Chapter 3, she thereby risks reducing racial transvestism to a secondary function of sexual ambiguity, as when she notes "the paradox of the black man in America as simultaneously a sign of sexual potency and a sign of emasculation or castration."[126] Here black women vanish—necessarily, perhaps, since their role in white fetishism and in their own forms of fetishism (barred in any case from the Lacanian scene) cannot be accounted for under the phallic sign of castration.

While cross-dressing, drag, passing, camp and voguing are all, generally speaking, forms of mimicry, they also tend to enact very different cultural possibilities. These differences are lost if they are obediently marshaled under the transhistorical sign of phallic ambivalence. What Lacanians call the transcendent "phallic signifier" does not, in my view, enjoy a privileged or governing status over what Stuart Hall usefully distinguishes as the "ethnic signifier."[127] Challenging the white phallocracy of the Lacanian castration scene allows one to elaborate a more culturally nuanced and historically empowering genealogy of such phenomena than is currently allowed in the heterosexual progress narrative.

The disruption of social norms is not always subversive, especially in postmodernist commodity cultures where formal fluidity, fragmentation and marketing through difference are central elements. Indeed, privileged groups can, on occasion, display their privilege precisely by the extravagant display of their *right to ambiguity*. When the English football star, Paul Gascoigne, returned triumphant from the World Cup, he paraded the streets in plastic women's breasts, as if his excess of heterosexual prowess on the football field licensed his privileged display of gender ambiguity. In the Monty Python television series, men ritually cross-dress as women (very often across class boundaries), but women seldom appear on the show, let alone as men. People of color are singularly absent. In this way, the show's irreverent disruption of social norms effectively affirms a privileged white male heterosexuality. In short, the staging of symbolic disorder by the privileged can merely preempt challenges by those who do not possess the power to stage ambiguity with comparable license or authority.

COLONIAL PASSING

Rudyard Kipliug's *Kim* offers a rich example of mimicry and cross-dressing as a technique not of colonial subversion, but of surveillance. In many respects, Kipling's tale can be read as a narrative of racial passing. Kim's origins are in almost every sense ambivaleut, for he perfectly embodies the colonial crisis of origins. Orphaned son of an English nursemaid and an Irish sergeant, he is raised in the teeming bazaars of Lahore by a "half-caste woman" who keeps him out of the hands of the missionaries by herself passing as white. Kim, by contrast, spends much of his time passing as Indian. "Burned as black as any native," speaking "the vernacular by preference" (7), sleeping and squatting "as only the natives can" (137), able to "lie like an Oriental" (36) and drinking water "native fashion" (25), Kim passes for "native" in a way that no Indian in the book is able to pass for white. On the cusp of cultures, denizen of the threshold zones of bazaar, street, rooftop and road, Kim is both cultural hybrid and racial mimic man.

Oue reason, of course, why he can pass so successfnlly is that he is half-Irish, which, in colonial discourse, places him racially closer to the Indians than if he had been wholly English. Kim's racial ambiguity is enhanced by his talent for cross-dressing; he finds it "easier to slip into Hindu or Muhammedan garb when engaged on certain business" (10). More precisely, Kim is a switcher. Throughout the narrative, he switches effortlessly from "a complete suit of Hindu kit" (10), to the clothes and identity of a white sahib, back to "the likeness of a low-caste Hindu boy—perfect in every detail" (171), theu back to sahib, "he wonld be a sahib again for a while" (142). Then again "it needs only to change his clothing, and in a twinkling he would be a low-caste Hindu boy" (147). Kim's talent for racial transvestism lets him dive easily "into the happy Asiatic disorder," playing and plotting the colonial game unnoticed (89). With the aid of the kindly prostitute, "a little dye-stuff and three yards of cloth," Kim the mimic man joins the Great Game as a colonial spy, turning the British/Russian competition for control of Iudia into a "stupendous lark" (114).

As a cultural hybrid, Kim is what Kipling called a "two-sided man" (176). But here mimicry is neither a flawed identity imposed on the colonized, nor is it a strategy of anti-colonial resistance. The transvestite Kim blurs the distinction between colonizer and colonized but only in order

to suggest a reformed colonial control. The urchin mimic man embodies symbolic ambiguity and ethnic hybridity, but employs his ambiguity not to subvert colonial authority but to enhance it. He is the Indianized sahib: Indian but not quite.

Kim's passing is the privilege of whiteness. As an Anglo-Irish transvestite, he embodies contradictory notions of racial identity: white or black? colonizer or colonized? His passing and cross-dressing raises serious "speculation as to what is called personal identity" (247). Nevertheless, his "white blood" and Irish wits assert themselves at critical moments; race, it seems, runs deeper than skin or clothes alone. "Where a native would have laid down, Kim's white blood set him on his feet" (65). The babu, by contrast, is a risible mimic-man, derided by the Russians as embodying "the monstrous hybridism of East and West" (318). Like Conrad's "improved specimen," the babu is mimicry gone wrong: "Never was so unfortunate a product of English rule in India more unhappily thrust upon aliens" (316). He is Bhabha's Anglicized man who is not English; Kim, on the other hand, is the Indianized man who is not Indian. Evidently, passing "down" the cultural hierarchy is permissible; passing "up" is not.

Kim's "white blood" allows him to contain the ambiguities of culture and gain a privileged universalism that puts him "beyond all castes" (262). Transcending the ethnic hurlyburly of ungovernable India, he is better fitted to rule. Kim is the other side of mimicry: the colonial who passes as Other the better to govern. In this way, the regeneration of the Anglo-Irish orphan becomes an exemplary allegory for a reformed and more discreet style of imperial control.

It should not go unnoticed that in *Kim* the privilege of passing is uniquely male. Throughout the narrative, women are figures of abjection, repudiated but indispensible. "'I had no mother, my mother,' said Kim" (367). Women serve as boundary markers and threshold figures; they facilitate the male plot and the male transformations, but they are not the agents of change, nor are they conceivable heirs to political power. Female sexuality, in this context, serves as a continual threat to male power: "How can a man follow the Way or the Great Game when he is so-always pestered by women?" frets Kim. Sexual reproduction marks a turbulence in the narrative, a site of impossible irresolution, as if Kipling simply does not know what to do with it. Nonetheless, disavowed and repudiated, it recurs as a necessary element in the containment of the ambiguities of race.

Although female sexuality is disavowed in *Kim*, it is a precariously stabilized heterosexuality that contains the instabilities of race. Toward the end of the narrative, Kim's polymorphous ethnicity threatens to spiral out of control: "Who is Kim—Kim—Kim?" (248). ". . . What am I? Mussulman, Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist?" (192). ". . . I am Kim. I am Kim. And what is Kim?" (374). Engulfed by ethnic vertigo and unmanned by the mortifying discovery that he is a very dispensable "cog-wheel" in the Great Game, Kim reclaims his identity through a curious ritual of restored heterosexuality. Having warded off the threatening sexuality of the women in the hills, he flings himself down on the earth and enacts a displaced, incestuous merging with "Mother Earth," an ambiguous act in which sexuality is both repudiated and confirmed.

> He . . . laid him down full length. . . . And Mother Earth . . . breathed through him to restore the poise he had lost lying so long on a cot cut off from her good currents. His head lay powerless upon her breast, and his opened hands surrendered to her strength (374).

Once more, the disavowed mother returns as the indispensible limit of male identity. This is what Julia Kristeva calls abjection.[128]

ABJECTION AND A SITUATED PSYCHOANALYSIS

Abjection (Latin, *ab-jicere*) means to expel, to cast out or away. In *Totem and Taboo* and *Civilization and its Discontents* Freud was the first to suggest that civilization is founded on the repudiation of certain pre-oedipal pleasures and incestuous attachments. Following Freud, and Mary Douglas' brilliant work on boundary rituals, Kristeva argues that a social being is constituted through the force of expulsion. In order to become social the self has to expunge certain elements that society deems impure: excrement, menstrual blood, urine, semen, tears, vomit, food, masturbation, incest and so on. For Kristeva, however, these expelled elements can never be fully obliterated; they haunt the edges of the subject's identity with the threat of disruption or even dissolution. She calls this process abjection.

The abject is everything that the subject seeks to expunge in order to become social; it is also a symptom of the failure of this ambition. As a compromise between "condemnation and yearning," abjection marks the borders of the self; at the same time, it threatens the self with perpetual danger.[129] Defying sacrosanct borders, abjection testifies to society's precarious hold over the fluid and unkempt aspects of psyche and body. "We may call it a border," she writes. "Abjection is above all ambiguity."[130]

Abjection traces the silhouette of society on the unsteady edges of the self; it simultaneously imperils social order with the force of delirium and disintegration. This is Kristeva's brilliant insight: the expelled abject haunts the subject as its inner constitutive bouudary; that which is repudiated forms the self's internal limit. The abject is "something rejected from which one does not part."[131]

Imperial Leather explores, in part, the paradox of abjection as a formative aspect of modern industrial imperialism. Under imperialism, I argue, certain groups are expelled and obliged to inhabit the impossible edges of modernity: the slum, the ghetto, the garret, the brothel, the convent, the colonial bantustan and so on. Abject peoples are those whom industrial imperialism rejects but cannot do without: slaves, prostitutes, the colonized, domestic workers, the insane, the unemployed, and so on. Certain threshold zones become abject zones and are policed with vigor: the Arab Casbah, the Jewish ghetto, the Irish slum, the Victorian garret and kitchen, the squatter camp, the mental asylum, the red light district, and the bedroom. Inhabiting the cusp of domesticity and market, industry and empire, the abject returns to haunt modernity as its constitutive, inner repudiation: the rejected from which one does not part.

Abjection is richly suggestive for my purposes for it is that liminal state that hovers on the threshold of body and body politic—and thus on the boundary between psychoanalysis and material history. As I argue in Chapters 2 and 4, the disciplinary cordon sanitaire between psychoanalysis and history is itself a product of abjection. All too often, traditional Freudian psychoanalysis seeks to expunge certain elements from the family romance: the working-class nurse, female sexuality (especially the clitoris), economics and class, homosexuality, race and empire, cultural difference and so on; but these abjected elements haunt psychoanalysis as the pressure of a constitutive, inner limit. Likewise, material history, especially in its more economistic Marxist form, repudiates unruly elements such as the unconscious, sexual desire and identity, the irrational, fetishism, and so on; these elements return to structure Marxist economics as an insistent inner repudiation. Abjection shadows the no-go zone between psychoanalysis and material history, but in such a way as to throw their historical separation radically into question.

In the chapters that follow, I propose the development of a *situated psychoanalysis*—a culturally contextualized psychoanalysis that is simultaneously a psychoanalytically informed history. With respect to abjection, distinctions can be made, for example, between abject *objects* (the clitoris, domestic dirt, menstrual blood) and abject *states* (bulemia, the masturbatory imagination, hysteria), which are not the same as abject *zones* (the Israeli Occupied Territories, prisons, battered women's shelters). Socially appointed *agents* of abjection (soldiers, domestic workers, nurses) are not the same as socially abjected *groups* (prostitutes, Palestinians, lesbians). *Psychic* processes of abjection (fetishism, disavowal, the uncanny) are not the same as *political* processes of abjection (ethnic genocide, mass removals, prostitute "clean ups"). These comprise interdependent but also distinct dimensions of abjection that do not constitute the transhistorical replication of a single, universal form (let alone the transcendent phallus), but rather emerge as interrelated if contradictory elements of an immensely intricate process of social and psychic formation.

When a white South African man disavows identification with the black nurse who raised him, the process is suggestive of—but not identical with—the forced removal of black women to the barren bantustans. Surely, the processes are enmeshed: the definition of black South African women as the "superfluous appendages" of their men, and their expulsion from the white national narrative is inextricably related to—but not identical with—masculine fears of the archaic mother. The notion of an archetypal male fear of the mother is inadequate for fully understanding the expulsion of women, for it cannot explain the historical torsions of race: why it is black and not white women who are territorially expelled. As I explore in Chapter 10, the narratives of national motherhood play themselves out very differently for black women and white women in South Africa.

The question of historical variance also raises the question of the critic's role in the scene of ambivalence. As Robert Young asks:

> What, if anything, is specific to the colonial situation if colonial texts only demonstrate the same properties that can be found in any deconstructive reading of European texts? . . . How does the equivocality of colonial discourse emerge, and when—at the time of its enunciation or with the present day historian or interpreter?[132]

If the subversive play of ambivalence is merely latent in the discourse, waiting for the critic to activate it, is the relation between postcolonial critic and colonial discourse itself a form of mimicry, miming the relation between psychoanalyst and client—the same, but not quite? If the task of postcolonial criticism is to activate the uncertainties and in-betweens of discourse, well and good, but this could remain a formalist exercise unless one also undertakes the more demanding historical task of interrogating the social practices, economic conditions and psychoanalytical dynamics that motivate and constrain human desire, action and power.

In sum, *Imperial Leather* is written with the conviction that psychoanalysis and material history are mutually necessary for a strategic engagement with unstable power. I propose the elaboration of narratives that interrogate the relations between psychoanalysis and material history without preserving on either side the shadow of their binary opposition. In exploring female and racial fetishism, cross-dressing and S/M, colonial paranoia, the erasure of domestic dirt, the invention of anachronistic space, panoptical time, and so on, I argue that psychoanalysis cannot be

imposed ahistorically on the colonial contest, if only because psychoanalysis emerged in historical relation to imperialism in the first place. Instead, I call for a mutual engagement that would comprise both a decolonizing of psychoanalysis and a psychoanalyzing of colonialism. Perhaps one can go so far as to say that there should be no material history without psychoanalysis and no psychoanalysis without a material history.

2

"MASSA" AND MAIDS

POWER AND DESIRE IN THE IMPERIAL METROPOLIS

Tell me, Socrates, did you have a nanny?

—*Plato*

THE URBAN EXPLORER

On July 4, 1910, in concert with the rest of Fleet Street, the Daily Mirror trumpeted the discovery of a scandalous cross-class mésalliance:

> ROMANCE OF BARRISTER'S MARRIAGE—Further Light on Remarkable Will Disclosure—Wife and Servant—Verses Upholding His Choice Against World's Criticism."[1]

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16. For a historical exploration of whiteness as ethnicity, see Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).
17. Norman Harris, "'Who's Zoomin' Who': The New Black Formalism," *The Journal of Midwest Modern Laaguage Association* 20, 1 (September 1987): 37–45. See also Joyce A. Joyce, "'Who the Cap Fit': Unconsciousness and Unconscionableness in the Criticism of Houston A. Baker, Jr. and Henry Louis Gates," *New Literary History* 18, 2 (Winter, 1987): 379. Two critical collections addressing these issues are Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), and Gates, ed., *Black Literature and Literary Theory* (New York and London: Methuen, 1984). See also Gates, *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the "Racial" Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Kwame Anthony Appiah, "The Uncompleted Argument: DuBois and the Illusion of Race," *Critical Inquiry* 12, 1 (Autumn, 1985): 21–37, and Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (London: Methuen, 1992); Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* (Summer 1987): 65–96. In the British context, see Stuart Hall's "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" in Jonathan Rutherford, ed., *Identity: Comaunnity, Culture and Difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), pp. 222–237. In the same collection, see Kobena Mercer's analysis of postmodern notions of identity in "Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics," pp. 43–71; and Pratibha Parmar, "Black Feminism: The Politics of Articulation," in Rutherford, *Identity*, pp. 101–126. On race as a category, see Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London: Hutchinson, 1987). For a discussion of the problems of race as a category, and a call for ethnic as an alternative, see Floya Antbias and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Contextualising Feminism: Gender, Ethnic and Class Divisions," *Feminist Review* 15 (Winter 1983).
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19. Houston A. Baker, "Caliban's Triple Play," *Critical Inquiry* 13, 1 (Autumn 1986): 186.
20. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 1963), p. 29.
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24. Sara Suleri, quoted in Appiah, *In My Father's House*, p. 253.
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26. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (Routledge: London, 1989), p. 24.
27. "We use the term 'post-colonial,' however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day." Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 2.
28. For an astute analysis of postcolonial theory, see Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990).
29. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 6.
30. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 207.
31. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
32. See Gauri Viswanathan's analysis of how "events in the peripheries reshaped and determined domestic relations," in "Raymond Williams and British Colonialism: The Limits of Metropolitan Cultural Theory," in Dennis L. Dworkin and Leslie G. Roman, eds., *Views Beyond the Border Country: Raymond Williams and Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 220. For a comprehensive historical analysis, see D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1965), esp. Ch. 9.
33. Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, p. 2.
34. Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur," in Francis Barker et al., eds., *Europe and its Others*, vol. 1 (Essex: University of Essex, 1985), p. 131. See also Spivak's useful critique of what she calls "chromatism" (reducing race to the question of skin color) in "Imperialism and Sexual Difference," *Oxford Literary Review* 8 (1986): 235.
35. I am not, of course, suggesting that Spivak herself thinks this, which would do little justice to the subtlety and importance of her analyses of postcolonialism.
36. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, p. 6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Quoted in Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), p. 139.
2. John Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans. John Pory (London: Georg. Bishop, 1600), p. 38.
3. Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis: A Worke Unfinished*, in Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum or a natural history in ten centuries* (London: William, 1670), p. 26.
4. John Ogilby, *Africa: Being an Accurate Description of the Regions of Aegypt, etc.* (London: Tho. Johnson, 1670), p. 451.
5. Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), pp. 382–383.
6. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), p. 7.
7. *The Modern Part of the Universal History*, vol. V (T. Osborne etc., 1760), pp. 658–9.
8. *The Modern Part of the Universal History*, p. 659.
9. Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some years travel into divers parts of Africa, and Asia the Great* (London: R. Scot, 1677), p. 18.
10. Edward Long, *Candid Reflections* (London: T. Lowndes, 1772), p. 48.
11. William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (London: John Nourse, 1745), pp. 221–222.
12. The term "fabulous geography" is

Michael Taussig's, in *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 16. Joseph Conrad first coined the term "militant geography" in his essay "Geography and Some Explorers," in *Last Essays* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1926), p. 31. For a history of the demise of colonial slavery, see Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery; 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988).

13. Benjamin Farrington, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon: An Essay on Its Development from 1603 to 1609 With New Translations of Fundamental Texts* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964), p. 62. See Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine Between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989). See also E. F. Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), especially chs. 2 and 3; Susan Griffin, *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); and Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1984).
14. Farrington, ibid., p. 62. For the gendering of Bacon's vision of science, see Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), especially ch. 7.
15. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, James Spedding, Robert Ellis, and Douglas Heath, eds. (London: Longmans, 1870), p. 82.
16. Goethe, *Faust*, Part 1, quoted in Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, p. 93.
17. Rene Descartes, *Discourse on Method and the Meditations* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 78.
18. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 63.
19. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969).
20. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, p. 95.
21. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 78.
22. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 79.
23. See Peter Hulme, "Polytropic Man: Tropes of Sexuality and Mobility in Early Colonial Discourse," in Francis Barker et al., eds., *Europe and Its Others*, vol. 2. (Essex: University of Essex, 1984). Also Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991): 1–41. For European images of America, see Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), ch. 4.
24. Hulme, "Polytropic Man," p. 21
25. Jonathan Swift, "On Poetry: A Rhapsody" (1733), quoted in Peter Barber and Christopher Board, *Tales from the Map Room: Fact and Fiction About Maps and Their Makers* (London: BBC Books, 1993), p. 20.
26. Hulme, (1984), ibid, p. 21.
27. Montrose, "The Work of Gender," p. 4.
28. Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, trans. Gillian C. Cill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 23.
29. Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, p. 23.
30. Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, p. 74.
31. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 204.
32. For a fine and detailed discussion of gendered imperial metaphors in film see Ella Shohat, "Gender and the Culture of Empire: Toward a Feminist Ethnography of the Cinema," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 13, 1–3 (Spring 1991): 45–84. For an analysis of the gendering of the American frontier see Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphors as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); and *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). See also Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).
33. *McClures Magazine* 13 (May–October 1899).
34. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 134.
35. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 15.
36. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 36.
37. Jean and John L. Comaroff, "Home-Made Hegemony: Modernity, Domesticity, and Colonialism in South Africa," in Karen Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 39.
38. Hansen, *African Encounters with Domesticity*, p. 3.
39. Hansen, *African Encounters with Domesticity*, p. 23.
40. For an analysis of colonial domesticity in Southern Africa, see Jean and John L. Comaroff, pp. 37–74.
41. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 15.
42. Jacques Benigne Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*. Quoted in Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 4.
43. Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 96.
44. Dolf Sternberger, following Walter Benjamin, saw in the popular Victorian phenomenon of the panorama, a popularization of Darwin's theory as a "panorama of evolution." In the panoramic image, history looks like a "natural progression" from ape to man, so that "the eye and the mind's eye can slide unhindered, up and down, back and forth, across the pictures as they themselves 'evolve'." Quoted in Susan Buck-Morss's excellent book *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1990), p. 67.
45. Quoted in Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing*, p. 127.
46. Joseph-Marie Degerando, *The Observation of Savage Peoples*, F.C.T. Moore, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1800] 1969).
47. William Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, II" *Res* 13 (Spring 1987), p. 45.
48. Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 45.
49. Baartman was exhibited around Europe for five years. In 1829 a nude "Hottentot" woman, the "Hottentot Venus," was the prize attraction at a ball given by the Duchess du Barry in Paris.
50. Freud, "Fetishism," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, vol. VII (London: The Hogarth Press, 1927), p. 157. See Luce Irigaray's critique of the Freudian pathologizing of female sexuality, in *Speculum of the Other Woman*, pp. 13–139.
51. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, trans. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, [1844] 1968), p.4.
52. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 8.
53. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 161.
54. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 145.
55. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 161.
56. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 33.
57. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, pp. 361, 420.
58. Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 19.
59. The degenerate classes were not perceived as synonymous with the "respectable" working classes, who had availed themselves of the benefits of sober and diligent toil during the comparative boom of the late 1860s and early 1870s. As Henry Mayhew neatly put it: "I shall consider the whole of the metropolitan poor under three separate phases, according as they will work, they can't work, and they won't work." Henry Mayhew, "Labour and the Poor," *Chronicle*, October 19, 1849.
60. See Sander Gilman, ed., *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. xiv. See also Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Nancy Stepan, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," *Isis* 77 (June 1986): pp. 261–277; and Richard D. Walter, "What Became of the Degenerate? A Brief History of a Concept," *Journal of the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* 11 (1956): pp. 42–49.
61. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*

(New York: Pantheon, 1971), p. 11. See also Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, III, John Rosenberg, ed., (New York: Dover, 1968), pp. 376–377; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), p. 361.

52. Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 167.
53. Thomas Plint, *Crime in England: Its Relation, Character and Extent, as Developed from 1801 to 1848* (New York: Arno, [1851] 1974), pp. 148–149.
54. See Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop*, 5 (Spring 1978): 9 – 65.
55. Ann Laura Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia," in Micaela di Leonardo, ed., *Gender and the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 74.
56. Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia," p. 78.
57. It is no accident that Darwin entitled his work *On the Origin of Species* rather than, say, the origin of man.
58. Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 313.
59. Quoted in Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1981), p. 21.
60. See Samuel G. Morton, "Value and the Word Species in Zoology," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 11 (May 1851): p.275; and Gould, ibid., p.73.
61. Prompted by fears of miscegenation and the free movement of black people after the abolition of slavery in America and the colonies, and arguing from the evidence of the Egyptian mummies, polygenesists held that different races had always heen fixed and separate creations properly at home in different zones and climates of the world. Freed slaves, for example, were seen as "doomed to degenerate as they moved northward into white, temperate territory, and as they moved socially and politically into freedom." Stepan, "Race and Gender," p. 100.
62. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, p. 73.
63. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, p. 74.
64. In the 1820s, Samual G. Morton had began to gather together his vast collection of human skulls from around the world, blending an untiring measurement of their cranial capacities with his own special flair for interpretive invention and ingenuity, elaborating on this basis his famous treatise on the character of race, *Crania Americana* (Philadelphia: John Pennington, 1839).
65. See the selections from Haeckel in Theodore D. McCown and Kenneth A. R. Kennedy, eds., *Climbing Man's Family Tree: A Collection of Writings on Human Phylogeny, 1699 to 1971*, (Engelwood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice, 1972), pp. 133–148. For a detailed discussion, see Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny* (Cambridge, Mass,: Harvard University Press, 1977), esp. pp. 126–135.
66. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, p. 114. Gould points out that recapitulation became the enabling idea for the late-nineteenth-century obsession with retracing the evolution of ancestral lineages and played a vital role not only in the professions of embryology, comparative morphology and paleontology but also in the articulation of psychoanalytic theory.
67. *The Mismeasure of Man*, p. 326.
68. *The Mismeasure of Man*, p. 320.
69. G. A. Henty, *By Sheer Pluck: A Tale of the Ashanti War* (London: Blackie and Son, 1884), p. 118.
70. John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1885). On the racial stereotyping of the Irish, see L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971); Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland: The Influence of Stereotypes on Colonial Policy* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976); and Thomas William Hodgson Crosland, *The Wild Irishman* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1905).
71. Molinari's phrase "une variété de négres blancs" appeared in translation in a leader in *The Times* of London on September 18, 1880. See Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, p. 1.
72. Philip Luckombe, *A Tour Through Ireland: Wherein the Present State of That Kingdom is Considered* (London: T. Lowndes, 1783), p. 19.
73. David Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 3.
74. Claire Wills, "Language Politics, Narrative, Political Violence," in "Neocolonialism," ed. Robert Young, *The Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): 21.
75. Wills, "Language Politics," p. 56.
76. See also Richard Kearney, ed. *The Irish Mind* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1985); L. P. Curtis, Jr., *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport: Conference on British Studies of University of Bridgeport, 1968); Seamus Deane, "Civilians and Barbarians" *Ireland's Field Day* (London: Hutchinson, 1985), pp. 33–42.
77. Seth Luther, for example, was confident that "the wives and daughters of the rich manufacturers would no more associate with a factory girl than they would with a negro slave," *Address to the Working Men of New England*, pamphlet reprinted in Philip Taft and Leo Sten, eds., *Religion, Reform and Revolution. Labor Panaceas in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Arno, 1970), p. 1.
78. William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: International Headquarters of the Salvation Army, 1890); William Barry, *The New Antigone* (London: Barry, 1887).
79. Gustave le Bon, *La Psychologie des Foules* (1879), pp. 60–61. Quoted in Gould, (1981), p. 105; English trans. from Robert K. Merton, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (New York, Viking, 1960).
80. See Stepan, "Race and Gender."
81. Carl Vogt, *Lectures on Man: His Place in Creation and in the History of the Earth* ed. James Hunt, (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1864), p. 81. For the analogy of the "pathological" sexuality of "lower races" and women, see Eugene S. Talbot, *Degeneracy: Its Causes, Signs and Results* (London: W. Scott, 1898), p. 319–323. See also Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman: A Study of Secondary Sexual Characteristics* (London: Black, 1926), pp. 106–7. For the working of the analogy in scientific discourse, see Stepan, "Race and Gender," pp. 261–277. For the relation between female sexuality and degeneration, see Jill Conway, "Stereotypes of Femininity in a Theory of Sexual Evolution," *Victorian Studies* 14 (1970): 47–62; and Fraser Harrison, *The Dark Angel: Aspects of Victorian Sexuality* (London: Sheldon, 1977).
82. Philip Thickness thought that black people in Britain, "their legs without any inner calf, and their broad flat foot, and long toes . . . have much the resemblance of the Orang Outang, or Jocko . . . and other quadrupeds of their own climate," *A Year's Journey through France and Part of Spain*, second edition (1778): 102–105. Quoted in Fryer, p. 162.
83. Charles Kingsley, author of *Westward Ho* and *The Water Babies* wrote after a trip to Sligo in 1860: "I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country . . . . To see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much." Letter to his wife, 4 July, 1860, in *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life*, ed. Francis E. Kingsley, (London: Henry S. King and Co, 1877), p. 107.
84. I explore the relation between prostitution, race and the law in "Screwing the System: Sexwork, Race and the Law," in *Boundary II* 19, 2 (Summer 1992): 70–95.
85. See Gilman's analysis of the racializing of prostitutes in *Difference and Pathology*.
86. Mary Louise Pratt uses the term "monarch-of-all-I-survey" to describe the imperial stance of converting panoramic spectacle, especially at the moment of "discovery," into a position of authority and power.
87. Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing*, p. 128.
88. If the World's Fairs were largely festivities for the paying middle class, vigorous efforts were made to encourage workers to the mass consumption of commodities as spectacle. Assembled under one roof, the workers of the world could admire and gawk at the marvels they had produced but could not themselves own. In 1867, 400,000 French workers were

given free tickets to the Paris Fair; foreign workers were housed at government expense. Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing*, p. 86.

99. I am grateful to Luke Gibbons, who writes about this toy in "Race Against Time: Racial Discourse and Irish History," in "Neocolonialism," ed. Robert Young, *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): p. 95.
100. Gibbons, "Race Against Time," p. 95.
101. Gibbons, "Race Against Time," p. 95.
102. Kobena Mercer, "Reading Racial Fetishism: The Photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe," in Emily Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 324.
103. Mercer, "Reading Racial Fetishism," p. 324.
104. Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 76. Irigaray here develops Joan Riviere's idea of femininity as masquerade.
105. Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, p. 76.
106. Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, p. 76.
107. Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" *October* 28 (Spring 1984): 126.
108. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 130.
109. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 1963), p. 47. For an analysis of Naipaul's use of the term mimicry, see Rob Nixon, *London Calling: V. S. Naipaul, Postcolonial Mandarin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), especially ch. 6.
110. T. B. Macaulay, "Minute on Education," in William Theodore de Bary, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 49.
111. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 126.
112. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 127.
113. "The *menace* of mimicry is its *double* vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority." Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 129.
114. "The success of colonial appropriation depends on a proliferation of inappropriate objects that *ensure its strategic failure*" (my emphasis). Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 127.
115. In this essay, formal abstractions appear to have agency: *representation* marginalizes the monumentality of history; *mimicry's* ambivalence disrupts colonial authority; *difference* menaces colonial authority; *desire* has strategic objectives.
116. Homi K. Bhabha, "Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism," in Francis Barker et al., eds., *The Politics of Theory* (Colchester: University of Essex, 1983), p. 205.
117. Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," in Francis Barker et al., eds. *Europe and Its Others*, vol. I (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985), p. 162.
118. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (London: Penguin, [1902] 1973), p. 52.
119. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, p. 52.
120. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, pp. 48–51.
121. Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (London: Penguin [1901] 1987), p. 7.
122. Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Authority* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
123. Garber, *Vested Interests*, p. 103.
124. Garber, *Vested Interests*, p. 126.
125. Garber, *Vested Interests*, p. 121.
126. Garber, *Vested Interests*, p. 271
127. Stuart Hall, "Pluralism, Race and Class in Caribbean Society," in *Race and Class in Post-Colonial Societies* (Paris: UNESCO, 1977): 150–182.
128. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
129. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 9.
130. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 9.
131. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 4.
132. Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 152.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Derek Hudson, *Munby, Man of Two Worlds: The Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1812–1910* (Cambridge: Gambit, 1974), p. 437. See also Michael Hiley, *Victorian Working Women: Portraits From Life* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979).
2. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 436.
3. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 438.
4. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 99.
5. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 37.
6. From a letter signed "A.J.M," in *The Wigan and District Advertiser*, Saturday, January 30, 1886, p. 2. Quoted in Hiley, *Victorian Working Women*, p. 14.
7. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 126.
8. Letter to Mrs. R. B. Litchfield, July 6, 1879. Quoted in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 398.
9. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 8.
10. See Leonore Davidoff's brilliant essay, "Class and Gender in Victorian England," in *Sex and Class in Women's History*, eds., Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan and Judith R. Walkowitz (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), p. 43. Davidoff notes how Munby in his poetry compares women with domesticated animals who have been "broken in" by men.
11. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 11.
12. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 11.
13. Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1973), p. 36.
14. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 175.
15. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 174.
16. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 36.
17. Benjamin notes: "Interpersonal relationships in big cities are distinguished by a marked preponderance of the activity of the eye over the activity of the ear." *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 38.
18. Walter Benjamin, *Reflections* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), p. 3.
19. Benjamin, *Reflections*, p. 6. For a fine analysis of gender and the city, see Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder and Women* (London: Virago Press, 1991).
20. Quoted in Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 40.
21. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 97.
22. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 116.
23. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 35.
24. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 79.
25. Leonore Davidoff, "Class and Gender," p. 33.
26. Davidoff, "Class and Gender," p. 33.
27. Munby, Diary, 1862. Quoted in Hiley, *Victorian Working Women*, p. 21.
28. Munby, Diary, Tuesday, June 11, 1861, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 99.
29. Munby, Diary, Friday, November 23, 1860, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 83.
30. Eric Hobshawm, *The Age of Capital* (London: Abacus, 1977), p. 286. See also Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), pp. 180–181. As John Fletcher Clews Harrison observes: "The essence of middle-classness was the experience of relating to other classes or orders of society. With one group, domestic servants, the middle class stood in a very special and intimate relationship: the one fact played an essential part in defining the identity of the other." *The Early Victorians, 1832–51* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 110. An important part of defining the middle-class's relation to the working class was to elaborate rituals of deference (bowing, walking out of a door backwards, lowering the eyes). The occupation of butler, for example, was more than anything else a "deference occupation," involving the exchange of money in payment for the ceremonial recognition of upper-class power. See Bruce Robbins' account of the role of servants in literature in *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
31. Ida Bauer, Freud's "Dora," recalls her sexual intimacies with the governesses in the house. Freud, *Dora: An Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* (New York: Collier Books, 1963), p. 78.
32. Eugene S. Talbot, *Degeneration: Its Causes, Signs and Results* (London: Scott, 1898), p. 361.
33. Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, vol. VII (London: The Hogarth Press, 1905), p. 180.
34. Freud, "Female Sexuality," *Standard Edition*, vol. XXI (1931), pp. 232–233.

35. Quoted in Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), p. 17. The vicious nanny of Compton MacKenzie's *Sinister Street* was probably based on memories of his own nanny.
36. Quoted in Gathorne-Hardy, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny*, p. 26. Like many children, Churchill slept in his nanny's bedroom; was washed, changed, dressed, fed and educated by her; and for the first eight years of his life virtually never left her side. Nanny Everest chose Churchill's clothes, his friends, his books, his food and even the schools he attended.
37. As Nancy Chodorow observes: "Being a mother, then, is not only bearing a child—it is being a person who socializes and nurtures. It is being a primary parent or caretaker." *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 11.
38. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 78.
39. Quoted in Gathorne-Hardy, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 78.
40. Mary Lutyens, *To Be Young: Some Chapters of Autobiography* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1959), p. 15.
41. Jim Swann, "Mater and Nanny: Freud's Two Mothers and the Discovery of the Oedipal Complex," *American Image: A Psychoanalytic Journal* (Spring 1974): pp. 1–64. See also Kenneth A. Grigg, "'All Roads Lead to Rome': The Role of the Nursemaid in Freud's Dreams," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 21 (1973): 109.
42. Letter to Fliess, October 3, 1897, in Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, trans. and ed., *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887–1904* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 268.
43. Freud, *Complete Letters*, p. 268.
44. Swann, "Mater and Nanny," p. 17.
45. Freud, Letter to Fliess, October 4, 1897, *Complete Letters*, p. 269.
46. Freud, *Complete Letters*, p. 269.
47. Freud, *Complete Letters*, p. 269.
48. Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis," *Standard Edition*, vol. XVII ([1914] 1918), p. 119.
49. Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis," p. 119.
50. Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis," p. 119.
51. Freud, Letter to Fliess, *Complete Letters*, p. 269.
52. Freud, *Collected Letters*, p. 268.
53. Freud, *Collected Letters*, February 9, 1898, p. 299.
54. See Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth Century England* (New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. xiii, 221.
55. Freud, *Collected Letters*, p. 269.
56. Freud, Letter to Fliess, October 15, 1897, *Collected Letters*, p. 271.
57. Freud, *Collected Letters*, p. 271.
58. Swann, "Mater and Nanny," p. 39.
59. Freud, Letter to Fliess, May 31, 1897, *Collected Letters*, p. 249.
60. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, vol. 4/5, *Standard Edition*, p. 238.
61. Freud, 1909, 41.
62. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 153.
63. Jane Gallop has noted that the nurse constituted the greatest threat to the homogeneity of the family. "The family never was, in any of Freud's texts, completely closed off from questions of economic class . . . . [The nurse] is so much a part of the family that the child's fantasies (the unconscious) do not distinguish 'mother or nurse'." *The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 144.
64. Freud, *Dora: An Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* (New York: Collier Books, 1963), p. 78.
65. Jane Gallop, *The Daughter's Seduction*, p. 146.
66. In her excellent essay "Freud's Dora, Dora's Hysteria," Maria Ramas restores the significance of the maid-servant in Freud's most famous failure and points out that femininity was linked with service especially with respect to sexuality, "a fantasy of heterosexuality as a service due men, and one explicitly based on submission and degradation." "Freud's Dora, Dora's Hysteria," in Charles Bernheimer and Claire Kahane, eds., *In Dora's Case. Freud—Hysteria—Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 176. Freud's choice of the name "Dora" for Ida reveals the deformation and disavowal of working-class identity required to maintain class difference. Steven Marcus points out that Freud named Ida "Dora" after the housemaid in his own family who had to change her name because she had the same name as Freud's sister. The homology of names, suggestive as it was of an unacceptable homology of identity, had to be erased. By naming Ida "Dora," Freud was implicitly acknowledging his desire to oblige Ida to take a substitute and surrogate identity in order to preserve the decorum of the heterosexual family romance.
67. Robbins, *The Servant's Hand*, p. 196.
68. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).
69. Nina Auerbach, *The Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 7.
70. Auerbach, *The Woman and the Demon*, p. 7.
71. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, p. 76.
72. Auerbach, *The Woman and the Demon*, p. 228.
73. Hudson, *Munby*, p. 16; Robbins, *The Servant's Hand*, p. 2; Davidoff, "Class and Gender," p. 41.
74. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 134.
75. Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1968), p. 85.
76. Davidoff, "Class and Gender," p. 41.
77. Robbins, *The Servant's Hand*, p. 20.
78. Marcus, *The Other Victorians*, p. xiii.
79. Dr. P. C. Remondino, *History of Circumcision from the Earliest Times to the Present*, (London: F.A. Davis, 1891).
80. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 70.
81. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 71.
82. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 71.
83. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 71.
84. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 194.
85. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 71.
86. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 256.
87. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 85.
88. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 110.
89. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 254.
90. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 254.
91. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 175
92. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 286.
93. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 97.
94. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 266.
95. See Davidoff, "Class and Gender," p. 49.
96. Davidoff has commented on the equation of servants with dirt and pollution. The equation of dirt with blackness; and blackness with filth, sin, baseness and ugliness within a long symbolic tradition in the West. And she notes the enlarged symbolism after the sixteenth century with the Dark Continent and slavery. But there is more at play here than simply the evocation of a long symbolic tradition. "Class and Gender," p. 44.
97. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 174.
98. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 185.
99. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 157.
100. Munby, Diary, in Hudson, *Munby*, p. 102.
101. Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), p. 1.
102. Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 10.
103. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, p. 36.
104. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, p. 38.
105. Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 72.
106. See Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), ch. 3. See also Ben Shephard, "Showbiz Imperialism: The Case of Peter Lobengula," in John M. Mackenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular*