



## Orientalism

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### Introduction

Orientalism in Victorian literature can be seen as a development of 18th-century and Romantic depictions of figures such as the Indian nabob and of genres such as the Romantic Oriental tale and Byron's Turkish tales. The Orientalist linguistic and cultural scholarship of William Jones and William Carey was also a significant factor in the rise of Orientalism. Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal (the equivalent of England's Royal Society) and published extensive studies of Indian laws, culture, and languages, while Carey was a linguist, printer, and missionary in India. But these literary and cultural phenomena must be seen in the light of Victorian imperialist expansion, racial theories, and specific events like the abolition of slavery, the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858), and the Governor Eyre controversy (1865). Edward Said's controversial *Orientalism* (Said 1995, originally 1978, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) led much discussion to be focused on the topic. Said distinguishes between the activities of Jones and the structures and discourses of what he calls "modern Orientalism," which he defines as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3), involving military control and colonial government as well as erudition. It is sweeping claims like these that made Said's work both controversial and groundbreaking as a study of Orientalism. Since then, many works have analyzed the interconnections between politics and literature, most often in relation to the novel and travel writing. One aspect of these studies is colonial discourse analysis, which is frequently focused on the position of women in the Orientalist and colonial context. Orientalism in Victorian literature is most important in fiction and travel writing, but it is also to be found in journalism and other forms of writing. In fiction the East often appears in the guise of allusions to events like the Indian Mutiny or habits associated with China and the Chinese, such as opium addiction. India is a particularly important source of Orientalist allusions, from the story of the diamond in Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868) to the portrait of Jos Sedley, the "nabob" of William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1847–1848); thuggee in Philip Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* (1839); the Great Game in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901); opium addiction in Charles Dickens's *Edwin Drood*; and the Indian Mutiny in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of Four* (1923). Other key locations for both fiction and travel writing are Africa, the Middle East, and the South Seas, as it appears in works by Joseph Conrad. Key works for Orientalism in poetry are the *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyam* and the works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson and Kipling. Toward the end of the 19th century, imperialism was especially important in the adventure story in the works of H. Rider Haggard and others.

### General Overviews

The vision of the relationship between Europe and non-Europeans presented in Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said, first published in 1978) had been preceded by that in Baudet 1988, a largely neglected but important account of the tendency for Europeans to view non-European peoples and cultures with ambivalence, projecting desires and fears onto them. Baudet's discussion of ambivalence resembles that of Homi Bhabha, but it is much more comprehensible (see Bhabha 1986, cited under Colonial Discourse). Subsequent works such as MacKenzie 1995 (cited under Theater) and Irwin 2006 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said) have offered alternative visions of Orientalism in the 19th century, as well as criticism of Said. Gates 1986 and JanMohamed 1986 (cited under Colonial Discourse) develop Said's insights in the realm of colonial discourse analysis in relation to "race" and racial difference. Baucom 1999 and Gikandi 1996 offer analyses of the construction of Englishness in relation to imperialism and Orientalism. Zaidi 2010 offers a study of Victorian representations of Islam and Muslims in Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and Thomas Carlyle, paying attention to Arnold's *A Persian Passion Play* and Browning's *Muleykeh*, and offering an overview of the prevalence of images of Islam and Muslims in these writers' works. Hoeveler and Cass 2006 is designed as an introduction for students to the problems of defining and teaching Orientalism, but some of its essays provide useful analyses of travel writing on Egypt and the theoretical bases of Orientalism.

**Baucom, Ian. *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.**

Baucom's analysis of the construction and political significance of the categories of Englishness and Britishness includes the Orientalist vision of the London poor in such writers as Ruskin, Mayhew, and Dickens, and various moments of "imperialist self-fashioning" in Ruskin's writings on architecture and Kipling's *Kim*, among others.

**Baudet, Henri. *Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man*. Translated by Elizabeth Wentholt. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.**

Originally published in Dutch in 1959; unjustly neglected but excellent statement of the mixture of desire and fear underpinning European views of non-Europeans and of the ambivalence and the material and imaginary dimensions of much Victorian writing about non-Europeans.

**Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., ed. *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.**

A collection of key essays that investigate various 19th-century dimensions of "race" as a construct and its relation to questions of gender, imperial practice, and colonial discourse. See also Bhabha 1986, JanMohamed 1986 (cited under Colonial Discourse), Brantlinger 1986 (cited under Travelers in Africa), Gilman 1986 (cited under Women), and Spivak 1986 (cited under *Jane Eyre*).

**Gikandi, Simon. *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.**

Provides analysis of Carlyle versus Mill on "The Nigger/Negro Question," Trollope and Kingsley's travelogues on the West Indies, Mary Seacole and Mary Kingsley as examples of women's ambivalent position in relation to imperial power and ideology, and Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* as an example of "belated Englishness."

**Hoeveler, Diane Long, and Jeffrey Cass. *Interrogating Orientalism: Contextual Approaches and Pedagogical Practices*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006.**

Includes theoretical chapters on Orientalism as representation and in pedagogical practice and literary theory, as well as a discussion of representations of Egyptian markets in Victorian travel writing, Orientalism in Disraeli's *Alroy*, and the teaching of Victorian Orientalist entertainments.

**Zaidi, S. F. *Victorian Literary Orientalism*. New Delhi: APH, 2010.**

Begins with an overview and contextualization of the main developments of Oriental elements in Victorian works and identifies two separate trends: historicism (Tennyson) and liberalism (Matthew Arnold and Carlyle), arguing that some of the works of Tennyson, Carlyle, and Browning are indebted to Oriental sources.

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## Said and Critiques of Said

Said 1995 (originally published 1978) was a groundbreaking book and, along with the sequel, Said 1994, it opened up the interrelation between Victorian literary works and political phenomena such as Orientalism and imperialism for academic discussion. Irwin 2006 offers an alternative vision of Orientalism in the 19th century, as well as criticism of Said. Lowe 1991 is not focused on Victorian Orientalism, but it is important in challenging the apparently monolithic and hegemonic nature of Said's model of Orientalist practice, and it is frequently cited by later studies as an alternative model.

**Irwin, Robert. *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents*. New York: Overlook, 2006.**

Irwin has a dual purpose: to offer an alternative view of Orientalism and Orientalists from that of Said and to criticize Said's work. His historical overview of Orientalism ranges from Antiquity to the 20th century, with a chapter on the Victorian period, and focuses on Orientalist scholars' works rather than literary texts.

**Lowe, Lisa. *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.**

Using Foucauldian and Gramscian concepts and models, Lowe argues that Orientalism should be seen as a set of unstable "critical terrains" because of differences between nations and individuals and within the work of individuals, and demonstrates this instability in works by a variety of French and English authors.

**Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage, 1994.**

Less original than *Orientalism* (Said 1995) but very important; includes the role of class and gender in imperialism and of oppositional voices to Orientalist hegemony. Said elaborates a new way of approaching literary and historical texts, "contrapuntal reading," and analyzes *Mansfield Park*, *Kim*, and *Heart of Darkness*, among other texts.

**Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 1995.**

Study (originally published 1978) of Orientalism's interrelation of politics and literature; a chronological account of British and French Orientalism from 1770 to 1870. Key concepts: "imaginative geography," "the textual attitude," and the opposition between latent and manifest Orientalism (stable binary oppositions between East and West versus their varying historical manifestations).

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## Reference Works

*Literature Compass: Victorian*, *Orientalism: A Bibliography*, and *Norton Topics Online* (Christ and Hurley 2010–2013) are useful online bibliographical and archival resources, listing many recent relevant article and book publications. Salama 2011 provides an extensive bibliography for Orientalism and intellectual history, including the Victorian Age.

**Christ, Carol T., and Kelly Hurley, eds. *The Victorian Age*. In *Norton Anthology of English Literature: Norton Topics Online*. 2010–2013.**

Lists topics and has brief introductions to topics in Victorian Literature, including an entry on "Victorian Imperialism."

***Literature Compass: Victorian*. 2004–.**

Offers articles dealing with the current state of the field of Victorian studies for scholars and students. Lists contents of *Literature Compass* journal, some of which are relevant to Victorian literary Orientalism.

## **Orientalism: A Bibliography. Edited by Herb Swanson.**

Extensive online bibliography on Orientalism, with some entries that are relevant to Victorian literary Orientalism.

**Salama, Mohammad R. *Islam, Orientalism and Intellectual History: Modernity and the Politics of Exclusion since Ibn Khaldun*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2011.**

Includes extensive bibliography, with some references relevant to Victorian literary Orientalism.

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## **Women**

With the exceptions of Gilman 1986 and McClintock 1995, the works here all take Said as their inspiration or focus. Donaldson 1993 uses a combination of deconstruction, Marxism, and feminist film criticism to challenge the structural domination and suppression of the heterogeneity of the colonized of conventional models of “discursive and historical colonialism” (p. 4), discussing works ranging from *Jane Eyre* to Victorian women writers’ historical memoirs and works by E. M. Forster and Zora Neal Hurston in the 20th century. Kennedy 2000 includes a chapter on *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) that offers a useful overview and summary of the theoretical problems of *Orientalism*’s combination of Foucault and Gramsci with Said’s version of critical humanism, and also discusses in some detail the neglect of gender. Lewis 1996 and Yeğenoğlu 1999 both offer feminist revisions of Said’s approach: Lewis concentrates on women’s position as artists and writers, while Yeğenoğlu’s is a much more theoretical work concerned with the theories of Homi Bhabha, Benita Parry, and Robert Young as well as with Said’s ideas, discussing the veil in relation to the discourse of nationalism and Orientalism and as a site of Western fantasy about Eastern women. Gilman 1986 focuses on the figure of woman as fictional character and real-life prostitute in 19th-century works and society, and it provides a key discussion of Victorian racial theory as well as stereotyping of black and white women. McClintock 1995 discusses the interconnections among race, gender, sexuality, class, and capitalism in the Victorian metropolitan settings in terms of ideas of degeneration, panoptical time, and anachronistic space, and the author argues that in the colonial context, novels by Olive Schreiner and H. Rider Haggard reinvented patriarchy and exhibited a version of domesticity in the context of imperial capitalism. Also focusing on the intersection of race and gender in fiction, Sharpe 1993 (cited under *Jane Eyre*) focuses on white female characters in various texts of empire to argue that the validation of the role of the white woman exists only at the expense of the Indian, colonized woman.

**Donaldson, Laura E. *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, Gender, and Empire-Building*. London: Routledge, 1993.**

Challenges the assumptions of “discursive and historical colonialism” (p. 4) through the theoretical concept of the “Miranda complex” (p. 16) whereby both women and the colonized are oppressed by colonialism but also alienated from each other; offers analyses of *Jane Eyre* and film versions of historical memoirs by 19th-century British women.

**Gilman, Sander L. “Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature.” In *“Race,” Writing, and Difference*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr., 223–261. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.**

Examines racial stereotyping in relation to gender, class, and occupational stereotypes by analyzing the depiction of the black female servant in art, the “Hottentot Venus,” and prostitutes. Although the only literary text discussed is Zola’s *Nana*, this is an important overview of Orientalist images of black and white women in the 19th century.

**Kennedy, Valerie. “Orientalism.” In *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction*. By Valerie Kennedy, 14–48. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000.**

A critical overview of *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) that examines problems of definition as well as Said’s use of Foucault and Gramsci, and the conflict of these with his critical humanism; also offers a good analysis of the neglect of gender in the work.

**Lewis, Reina. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation*. London: Routledge, 1996.**

Feminist revision of *Orientalism*, situating women as purveyors and embodiments of Orientalist stereotypes and using a feminist Saidian approach to discuss Henriette Browne as a female Orientalist artist, the depiction of the harem, and the Orientalization of the Jewish characters in George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda*.

**McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.**

Analyzes selected cultural and literary phenomena in the context of Victorian colonialism at home and abroad, dealing with the relations between imperial power and resistance, money, sexuality, and race. Discusses metropolitan class and gender relations and sets selected 19th-century novels in the context of capitalist and imperial psychology.

**Yeğenoğlu, Meyda. *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.**

Highly theoretical, challenging, and important. Uses Said’s opposition between latent and manifest Orientalism to suggest that the splits and contradictions in Orientalist texts support imperialist hegemony; analyzes the relationship among Orientalism, Western feminism, and the Enlightenment (and specifically the veil and the harem) from a deconstructionist feminist perspective.

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## **Colonial Discourse**

The works included here approach colonial discourse and Said's view on Orientalism from a variety of perspectives. Ahmad 1994 views Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said) as both an "uncompromising document of Third-Worldist cultural nationalism" (p. 13) and an embodiment of Foucauldian methodology, paradoxically creating a bridge between Said's versions of nationalism and post-structuralism. Ahmad offers a detailed analysis of the problems of Said's varying definitions of Orientalism and his use of Foucault and the idea of a discourse alongside a version of liberal humanism, and he considers several of Said's later essays on the relation between the Western academy and Third World writers and their works. Bhabha 1986, using the authors key concepts of ambivalence and hybridity, deconstructs the assertion of colonial authority through the symbol of the book in English in various 19th-century texts, arguing that colonial authority is vulnerable to being undermined by these concepts. Bell 2012 reexamines the historical anecdote on which Bhabha based his interpretation to argue that his lack of knowledge of the specificities of the historical situation and his technique of selective editing seriously undermine his thesis. Fabian 2002 (originally published in 1983) argues that despite the assumption of coevalness (a shared time frame and equal partnership), colonial anthropology in fact shows a "denial of coevalness" (p. 31): Despite its claims to rely on empirical research, the theoretical discourse of anthropology in fact relegates the "savage society" (p. 32) to another, earlier time. Makdisi 1998 focuses on Romantic writers like Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, and Sir Walter Scott, arguing that certain features of their works—Wordsworth's "hidden natural bowers" (p. 14) or Blake's idea of "Universal Empire" (p. 19), for example—offer premonitions of Victorian Orientalism and imperialism, as well as resistance to the process of capitalist modernization they involved. JanMohamed 1986 explores the idea of "Manichean allegory" in relation to some canonical texts, from *Kim* to *Heart of Darkness*, and argues that while some texts do not transform racial difference into moral or metaphysical difference, others do. Spurr 1993 focuses on various rhetorical tropes of colonial discourse, suggesting how they operate in various 19th-century examples of the discourse. In line with recent calls for greater historicization in colonial discourse analysis, like that of Bell 2012, Parry 2004 calls for a change in postcolonial studies, asking for attention to imperialism's material and historical conditions (political control, economic exploitation, and military and administrative coercion), and backs up this argument with readings of liberationist texts and resistance theory (e.g., Franz Fanon), and of literary works by Charlotte Brontë, Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, and E. M. Forster. Using the insights of Edward Said in *Orientalism* and those of various critiques of Said by Abdul JanMohamed, Aijaz Ahmad, and Homi Bhabha, the writers of the essays in Moore-Gilbert 1996, a useful and reliable collection, use colonial discourse analysis to examine representations of the Black Hole of Calcutta, Anglo-Indian poetry, Confessions of A Thug, and Kipling's "On the City Wall," *Kim*, and *The Naulakha*, as well as works by E. M. Forster, Paul Scott, and Salman Rushdie. Colonial Discourse on India. Poon 2008 compares the aristocratic Emily Eden's *Up the Country* (1866) and the bourgeois Harriet Martineau's *British Rule in India* (1857) as ambivalent representations of the theme of Englishness, the duties of imperialism, and the writer's involvement (or otherwise) in the colonizing process, and the author sees both as contributing to contemporary "knowledge" of India and the Indian "Other." Nayar 2012 argues that some types of colonial discourse allowed Britain to manage the empire by moving from dominance and control to naturalized imperial spectacle (chapter 4), while others referring to moral and material progress constituted the imperial "civilizing mission" (chapter 5). The final chapter analyzes the way in which India was incorporated into many different aspects of English culture in England.

**Ahmad, Aijaz. "Orientalism and After: Ambivalence and Metropolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said." In *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. By Aijaz Ahmad, 159–220. London: Verso, 1994.**

Provides perhaps the most complete discussion of the problems of Said's conceptualization of Orientalism (contradictory definitions, the contradiction between his use of Foucault and his version of Western humanism) as well as the historical context of *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) and some of Said's later essays.

**Bell, Bill. "Signs Taken for Wonders: An Anecdote Taken from History." *New Literary History* 43.2 (2012): 309–329.**

Reexamines Homi Bhabha's technique of using historical anecdote for polemical purposes and argues that Bhabha misinterprets key aspects of the anecdote he uses through a lack of precise historical knowledge and distorts it through "elliptical editing" (p. 319). See Bhabha 1986.

**Bhabha, Homi. "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr., 163–184. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.**

Bhabha examines the significance of "the English book" as a symbol of colonial authority in scenes from various types of 19th-century colonialist discourse, arguing that this authority is the site of both desire and discipline, but that both are, in fact, undermined by the ambivalence and hybridity invariably involved in the colonial situation.

**Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.**

A key text. Does for anthropology what Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said) did for literature. Sees the key feature of colonial anthropology as "the denial of coevalness" (p. 31) or *allochronism* (p. 32); that is, the relegation of the primitive culture studied to a time other and prior to that of the anthropologist.

**JanMohamed, Abdul R. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr., 78–106. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.**

Argues that the "Manichean allegory" of colonial discourse means that racial difference becomes moral and metaphysical difference in relation to texts like *Kim* or *A Passage to India*, which remain entrapped in the Manichean allegory, and other "symbolic" texts (*Heart of Darkness*), which free themselves from the allegorical straitjacket.

**Makdisi, Saree. *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.**

Provides a valuable account of the prehistory of Victorian Orientalism by focusing on "anti-modern spaces of difference" (p. 14) and the "anti-history of modernization" (p. 17) of Romantic writers as providing both a preemptive vision of imperialism and modernization and resistance to them.

**Moore-Gilbert, Bart. *Writing India, 1757–1990: The Literature of British India*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1996.**

Discusses the “discursive consistency” (p. 1) of a variety of authors and genres from 1770 to 1990, including both canonical and non-canonical works by Meadows Taylor, Kipling, Forster, and British women writers, applying the theory and methods of colonial discourse analysis, and focusing on themes like cultural cross-dressing and psychic breakdown.

**Nayar, Pramod K. *Colonial Voices: The Discourses of Empire*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.**

Provides an extremely incisive overview of the development of various types of colonial discourse from the 16th to the 19th centuries, focusing in the last three chapters on the management of the empire, the civilizing mission, and the esthetic and consumerist incorporation of India into English culture in England.

**Parry, Benita. *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*. London: Routledge, 2004.**

Argues that postcolonial studies should pay attention to economic and political conditions and not just textual and cultural phenomena, and offers readings of *Jane Eyre*, Kipling’s works, Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* and *Nostramo*, and Forster’s *Passage to India*, finding Brontë and Kipling are largely pro-imperialist and Conrad is more ambivalent or subversive.

**Poon, Angelia. “Seeing Double: Performing English Identity and Imperial Duty in Emily Eden’s *Up the Country* and Harriet Martineau’s *British Rule in India*.” In *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: Colonialism and the Politics of Performance*. By Angelia Poon, 75–94. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.**

Sees Emily Eden’s *Up the Country* (1866) and Harriet Martineau’s *British Rule in India* (1857) as embodying an ambivalent view of colonial power as both desirable and painful in relation to ideas of national identity, imperial duty, and colonial involvement.

**Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.**

Spurr analyzes colonial discourse by using a Foucauldian model, relating twelve rhetorical tropes (surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantiation, naturalization, eroticization, and resistance) to the practice of colonial authority. Deals with journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration, the examples coming mainly from literary journalism.

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## Karl Marx

Basing his exposition on Said’s *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said), the author of Sahay 2007 argues that all Marx’s writings on the Orient are those of classic Orientalism, opposing the Occident and the Orient in terms of social organization, modes of production, etc., and considering colonialism as a necessary prerequisite for social revolution in India.

**Sahay, Gaurang R. “Marxism and the Orient: A Reading of Marx.” *borderlands* 6.1 (2007): 1–10.**

In this carefully argued essay, Sahay asserts that Marx’s writings from his earliest works to *Das Kapital* do not show the “epistemological break” (p. 1) posited by Althüsser, because, as he shows, Marx consistently viewed the Orient through the Orientalist perspectives later described by Edward Said. Sahay bases his argument on elements of Marx’s writings such as his delineation of the Asiatic mode of production, Oriental despotism, and the justification of colonialism as the necessary basis for revolution in India.

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## The Novel

Since Said 1994 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said) pointed out the role of imperialism in underpinning some key works of 19th-century literature, a great deal of critical attention has been paid to the Orientalist elements in many Victorian novels. Green 1979 is the least critically sophisticated, but it is still a key reference point as an introduction to the adventure story in relation to imperialism. Brantlinger 1988 has become the standard text for the analysis of the myth of Africa as the “Dark Continent” and the fictional dramatizations of this myth in Victorian literature. Brantlinger 2010 offers an overview of empire in Victorian literature, discussing texts such as Tennyson’s *Idylls of the King*, Kipling’s *Kim*, and Taylor’s *Confessions of a Thug*, as well as works by Haggard. Perera 1991 focuses on the interplay of economic and political spheres of imperial mercantilism and the domestic sphere of the family in some key Victorian novels. Richards 1993 supplements the approach of Brantlinger 1988 and suggests that the “imperial archive” fantasy should be considered an important structuring feature of Victorian literary discourse, examining mapping in *Kim*, monstrosity in *Dracula*, entropy in *Tono-Bungay*, and “thick geography” in Erskine Childers’s *The Riddle of the Sands* from this perspective. Meyer 1996 offers readings of Charlotte Brontë’s early African writings, *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights*, *The Mill on the Floss*, and *Daniel Deronda*, which use the texts’ concern with race as both metaphor and theme to illuminate the writers’ complex positions on imperialism and to demonstrate the interconnections between the domestic and imperial realms. Bivona 1990 is unusual in linking political and historical arguments and literary texts, reading the “literature of empire” (Burton, Conrad, Disraeli, Kipling, Haggard) and “domestic” works (*Alice in Wonderland*, *Jude the Obscure*) together, and pointing to the interconnections between the two types. David 1995 examines the role of female characters in several important Victorian novels as representing the moral center of imperialist ideology, contextualizing the works the author analyzes by referring to contemporary nonfictional texts; for example, the depiction of Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre* is discussed with reference to Carlyle’s “The Nigger Question,” among other works.

**Bivona, Daniel. *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1990.**

Unusual in linking the “literature of empire” and “domestic” works. Argues that Burton and Kipling both use the “game” metaphor, both to attack European ethnocentrism and to support imperialism, while Haggard and Conrad explore both the dangers and the temptations of the relation between the civilized and the primitive.

**Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.**

A key text. Provides a “genealogy of the myth of the dark continent” (p. 173), discussing works by Marryat, Martineau, Thackeray, Tennyson, Disraeli, and Conrad; the representation of the Indian Mutiny in Victorian histories and novels; and works of “imperial Gothic” by Haggard, Kipling, Conan Doyle, and Stevenson.

**Brantlinger, Patrick. *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.**

Offers an overview of imperialism in Victorian literature and of key debates, followed by a series of case histories that analyze works of Victorian poetry and fiction in terms of the relation between epic and empire, the desire for the Orient, and imperial romance in India and Africa.

**David, Deirdre. *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.**

Except for *Jane Eyre*, David focuses on male-authored works (including *The Moonstone*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, *Dombey and Son*, *King Solomon’s Mines*, and *She*) to analyze the role of female characters in “writing the nation” in relation to colonized subjects, and specifically their symbolization of both suffering and control (of self and of others).

**David, Deirdre. “Empire, Race, and the Victorian Novel.” In *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*. Edited by Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing, 84–100. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.**

David relates 19th-century imperialist expansion and the Victorian belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority in novels by Dickens, Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, and Wilkie Collins, regarding George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda*, Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim*, and Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* as key texts.

**Green, Martin. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. New York: Basic Books, 1979.**

Although somewhat undertheorized and occasionally lacking in depth, still a useful introduction and overview. Green sees adventure tales as “the energizing myth of imperialism” (p. 3) and links historical perspectives with literary analysis in terms of genre and leitmotif; discussions of Victorian literature include surveys of popular and children’s literature and the works of Kipling and Conrad.

**Meyer, Susan. *Imperialism at Home: Race and Victorian Women’s Fiction*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.**

Argues that race is both a central preoccupation and a metaphor in various works by Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, and George Eliot, and offers analyses of the works that suggest they neither simply endorse nor simply reject the ideology of empire, but at times make forceful critiques of imperialism.

**Perera, Suvendrini. *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.**

Perera’s significant study offers detailed readings of some canonical Victorian novels to show how such works as *Dombey and Son*, *Vanity Fair*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Edwin Drood* offer imaginative constructions of empire as the economic and political structures of colonialism are reinscribed in the social relationships of the domestic scene.

**Richards, Thomas. *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. London: Verso, 1993.**

Sees “the fantasy of the imperial archive” (p. 6) as equally significant as Orientalist discourse or imperial gothic (Brantlinger 1988) in the late Victorian period, and analyzes diverse fictional examples of this fantasy.

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## Charlotte Brontë

Charlotte Brontë’s works, especially *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*, are riddled with references to Others. Criticism of her works has begun to focus on issues of race, colonialism, and gender, with most attention focused on *Jane Eyre* and, more specifically, the relationship between Jane and Bertha Mason in relation to issues such as imperialism, racial difference, and power relations. So far the imperial context of the juvenilia has not received a great deal of attention, although Azim 1993 (cited under the Juvenilia) has made a start.

## The Juvenilia

Azim 1993 divides Charlotte Brontë’s juvenilia into two periods (1829–1833 and 1833–1838), arguing that works like *A Romantic Tale* and *Albion and Marina* in the first and *Glass Town* and the Angria stories in the second show Brontë’s ambivalent representations of race, the self-Other relation, and the civilized-savage opposition.

**Azim, Firdous. “The Brontë Children at Play.” In *The Colonial Rise of the Novel*. By Firdous Azim, 109–146. London: Routledge, 1993.**

Argues that in Charlotte Brontë's juvenilia, race is presented directly, free of class issues, and is expressed through African and Oriental images like that of the noble savage, which suggest an ambiguous power relation between self and Other and civilized and savage.

## Jane Eyre

Spivak 1986 ushered in a new phase of criticism of *Jane Eyre*. All of the entries here show the influence of Spivak's ideas, while developing them in various different directions. Using "thing theory," the author of *Freedgood* 2006 focuses on certain objects in the novel—the mahogany furniture for example—to relate the text to issues of colonialism (deforestation), race (slavery), and gender in both the West Indies and the United Kingdom, while Meyer 1997, Sharpe 1993, Ward 2002, and Zonana 1993 investigate the novel's use of the trope of the slave in relation to Jane's search for individual self-fulfillment (Meyer 1997 and Sharpe 1993) or Jane's relation to the missionary plot and the historical context of the abolition of slavery and missionary activities (Ward 2002). Both Perera 1991 and Zonana 1993 build on Spivak's essay and use the concept of "feminist orientalism" (Zonana 1993) to analyze the novel through the tropes of sati and the harem, which are used to highlight Western women's oppression while showing complicity in imperialist and Orientalist views of non-Western women. David 1995 sees *Jane Eyre* as offering a combination of the stereotypes of the virtuous suffering woman and queenly female moral authority, acting to punish and criticize patriarchal figures like Rochester and Rivers, but also putting Jane's achievement of individual agency in the context of contemporary writing on sati in sensationalist fiction. All of the writers register Brontë's sense of racial and cultural superiority.

**David, Deirdre.** "The Governess of Empire: Jane Eyre Takes Care of India and Jamaica." In *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. By Deirdre David, 77–117. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Sees Jane Eyre's suffering as the price for her individual agency in her role as the narrative means of punishing Rochester and criticizing Rivers's colonialist proselytizing, arguing that Jane functions as "the symbolic governess of empire," a fictionalized version of the young Queen Victoria's domestic and moral authority.

**Freedgood, Elaine.** "Souvenirs of Sadism: Mahogany Furniture, Deforestation, and Slavery in *Jane Eyre*." In *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel*. By Elaine Freedgood, 30–54. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

An example of "thing theory," Freedgood's essay examines selected objects in *Jane Eyre* to link the novel to historical and cultural developments at home and in the West Indies.

**Meyer, Susan.** "Colonialism and the Figurative Strategy of *Jane Eyre*." In *Jane Eyre: Contemporary Critical Essays*. Edited by Heather Glen, 92–129. New Casebooks. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1997.

Substantial and detailed. Focuses on articulation of class and gender oppression through racial imagery, especially that of slavery, in the novel, and argues that Brontë offers a vision of English domesticity as a solution to the danger of contamination of other races.

**Perera, Suvendrini.** "'Fit Only for a Seraglio': The Discourse of Oriental Misogyny in *Jane Eyre* and *Vanity Fair*." In *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens*. By Suvendrini Perera, 79–102. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

Perera views *Jane Eyre* as the site of confrontation of the discourses of feminism, imperialism, and individualism, a novel that deploys tropes such as sati and the harem in a critique of women's oppression in Victorian England, which relies on the acceptance of a misogynistic and Orientalist view of non-Western women.

**Sharpe, Jenny.** "The Rise of Women in an Age of Progress: *Jane Eyre*." In *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*. By Jenny Sharpe, 27–55. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Extending the argument of Spivak 1986, argues that the tropes of the "rebel slave" and the harem woman both dramatize Jane's rebellion, and that the Creole woman and Hindu woman (in the image of sati) are both sacrificed to Jane's individual success as a domestic English feminist.

**Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty.** "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr., 262–280. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

One of the most influential discussions of Orientalism in Victorian literature. The focus is on *Jane Eyre*, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, and *Frankenstein*; Spivak's key argument being that while Jane Eyre may achieve self-determination as an individual, she does so at the price of denying her colonial Creole counterpart, Bertha Mason, any subjectivity or individuality.

**Ward, Maryanne C.** "The Gospel According to Jane Eyre: The Suttee and the Seraglio." *Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 35.1 (Spring 2002): 14–24.

Builds on Meyer 1997 to argue (through an exhaustive analysis of slavery in the novel and the historical background) that the gothic romance and missionary plot of *Jane Eyre* are partially subverted by the subtext of a critique of colonialism and the demand for gender equality.

**Zonana, Joyce.** "The Sultan and the Slave: Feminist Orientalism and the Structure of *Jane Eyre*." In *Revising the Word and the World: Essays in Feminist Literary Criticism*. Edited by Vève A. Clark, Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres, and Madelon Sprengnether, 165–190. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Influential; relating *Jane Eyre*'s view of women in Eastern cultures to those of Montesquieu and Wollstonecraft, proposes that Brontë's "feminist Orientalism," especially the image of the harem, is used to help develop Western feminism by transforming Western society while preserving the West's basic institutions and ideologies, such

as marriage.

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## Charles Dickens

Flint 2000 examines Dickens's inconsistent attitudes to Native Americans, analyzing *Bleak House*, *American Notes*, and articles like "the Noble Savage" and "Medicine Men of Civilization" in the context of George Catlin's exhibitions of Native Americans in London, while Orestano 1987 connects the flattering and romanticized portrait of the Native American Chief Pitchlynn in *American Notes* to Dickens's other discussions and representations of non-European races, giving examples from his fiction and journalism. Chennells 2000, Cheadle 1999, Moore 2004, and Kennedy 2008 offer wider perspectives, embracing both the journalism and the fiction. Chennells 2000 considers the various meanings of the sea (trade, technology, romance) and the significance of Major Bagstock's Indian servant "the Native" in *Dombey and Son*. Discussing many of Dickens's novels, Cheadle 1999 focuses on the dual function of the periphery as both source of wealth and depository for the center's unwanted criminal and poor, arguing that both need to be seen in Foucauldian "disciplinary" terms, and that the relation between them is unstable and full of discrepancies. Moore 2004 discusses Dickens's complex views on empire and other races, especially in relation to India, focusing on his responses to the Great Exhibition's representation of Indian products and people, the Crimean War, and the Indian Mutiny, and offering new readings of "The Noble Savage," *The Perils of Certain English Prisoners*, and *A Tale of Two Cities*. Similarly, Kennedy 2008 offers a comprehensive view of savagery in Dickens's novels and selected journalism to suggest that his representations of non-European races were variable, focusing especially on the depiction of children and the use of the tropes of savagery to criticize "civilization."

**Cheadle, Brian. "Despatched to the Periphery: The Changing Play of Centre and Periphery in Dickens's Work." In *Dickens, Europe, and the New Worlds*. Edited by Anny Sadrin, 100–112. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999.**

From a Foucauldian disciplinary perspective, sees Dickens's use of the colonial periphery as ambivalent, both "receptacle" (for criminals and the poor) and "cornucopia" (for fortune-hunting and free trade), developing the first in relation to *Oliver Twist* and the second to *Dombey and Son*, but ranging over many of Dickens's works.

**Chennells, Anthony. "Savages and Settlers in Dickens: Reading Multiple Centres." In *Dickens and the Children of Empire*. Edited by Wendy S. Jacobson, 153–172. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2000.**

Examines Dickens's relation to mid-19th-century visions of empire from the point of view of a postcolonial white Zimbabwean, seeing Dickens as ambivalent about London as imperial center (criticizing its commercial complacency but endorsing its authority and technological superiority) and about people of color.

**Flint, Kate. "Dickens and the Native American." In *Dickens and the Children of Empire*. Edited by Wendy S. Jacobson, 94–104. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2000.**

Discusses the inconsistencies of Dickens's attitudes to Native Americans in his fiction and journalism, and attributes it to the subordination of racial subjects to Dickens's thematic concerns.

**Kennedy, Valerie. "Dickens and Savagery at Home and Abroad: Parts I." *The Dickensian* 104.2 (Summer 2008): 123–149.**

Analyzes savagery in Dickens's fiction and journalism, especially Dickens's attitude to non-European races in his journalism, before considering the poor and children as neglected "civilized savages," the ambivalent depiction of adult savagery, and savagery as critique of the supposedly "civilized" in the fiction. Part 2 in *The Dickensian* 104.3 (Winter 2008): 206–222.

**Moore, Grace. *Dickens and Empire: Discourses of Class, Race, and Colonialism in the Works of Charles Dickens*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004.**

The most extensive study of Dickens's views of race and imperialism to date; covers his fiction, the journalism of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, and Dickens's letters in a roughly chronological approach to argue that Dickens's view on race were complex and variable.

**Orestano, Francesca. "Dickens on the Indians." In *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*. Edited by Christian F. Feest, 277–286. Aachen, Germany: Herodot, 1987.**

Contrasts Dickens's romanticized portrayal of Pitchlynn, a Native American chief, in *American Notes* with his other representations of non-European people as "savages," noting Dickens's general rejection of the "noble savage" stereotype and seeing Pitchlynn as an exception to the rule.

## Empire

Discussing *Bleak House*, Gribble 1999 relates Dickens's condemnation of the hypocrisy and impracticality of mid-Victorian missionary or philanthropic activities through Mrs. Jellyby and the Borriboola-Gha scheme to his earlier satire of the Niger Expedition, and the author suggests convincingly that Mrs. Jellyby's and Jarndyce's colonizing of African "natives" and English ones like Esther and Woodcourt reveal sublimated or repressed sexual energies, which are also to be found in Dickens's own experiences. Carens 1997, similarly, focuses on Mrs. Jellyby and the Niger Expedition, but more particularly on Alan Woodcourt and George Rouncewell as positive versions of the imperial man who also help alleviate the sufferings of the "home-grown savages" like Jo. Both David 1995 and Perera 1991 relate the novel to Dickens's journalism, and specifically to "The Niger Expedition"; both link domestic patriarchal violence to colonial domination and exploitation, but while David 1995 focuses on Florence and compares the patriarchal domination of women with the colonialist exploitation of colonized peoples (Florence's sufferings at the hands of her father are paralleled by those of Major Bagstock's Indian servant as the representative of colonized people), Perera 1991 is more concerned with economic and generic issues. Van Wyck Smith 2000 places the sea and river imagery and the pro- and anti-imperialist connotations of *Dombey and Son* in an



international context, relating the novel's metaphors to imperial narrative about the Eastern Cape in South Africa, and seeing the romance genre as articulating an ambivalence about empire rather than the confidence portrayed in the works of H. Rider Haggard later in the century; this is possibly an oversimplified view of Haggard, as the interpretations of Bristow 1991 (cited under Popular Literature and Children's Literature) and David 1995 (cited under H. Rider Haggard and G. A. Henty) suggest. Baumgarten 2000 effectively traces the imbrications of imperial fantasy and domestic issues like the institution of marriage in relation to Bella Wilfer in *Our Mutual Friend*, although the final brief discussion of the picturesque seems gratuitous and unenlightening.

**Baumgarten, Murray.** "The Imperial Child: Bella, *Our Mutual Friend*, and the Victorian Picturesque." In *Dickens and the Children of Empire*. Edited by Wendy S. Jacobson, 54–66. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2000.

Detailed analysis of Bella's imperial fantasies in her "Innocent Elopement" with her father in Book II, chapter 8, and their resonances in other scenes in the novel and in her marriage to Rokesmith.

**Carens, Timothy L.** "The Civilizing Mission at Home: Empire, Gender, and National Reform in *Bleak House*." *Dickens Studies Annual* 26 (1997): 121–145.

Examines Mrs. Jellyby, Mrs. Bagnet, Alan Woodcourt, George Rouncewell, and Jo as embodiments of Dickens's fictional representations of the anxieties and successes of empire, and of the intermingling of civilization and "savagery" at home.

**David, Deirdre.** "The Heart of the Empire: Little Nell and Florence Dombey Do Their Bit." In *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. By Deirdre David, 43–76. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Sees Nell and Florence Dombey as symbolizing English women's task of civilizing the colonized; but also sees a parallel between Florence's domestic suffering and the Native's exploitation by Major Bagstock: both suffer from patriarchal imperial(ist) domination and exploitation, but while Florence's sufferings are expunged, those of the Native are not.

**Gribble, Jennifer.** "Borriboola-Gha: Dickens, John Jarndyce and the Heart of Darkness." In *Dickens, Europe, and the New Worlds*. Edited by Anny Sadrin, 90–99. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999.

Sees the Borriboola-Gha episode (a fictional development of Dickens's 1848 review of the Niger Expedition) as an indictment of mid-Victorian imperialism and a forerunner of certain aspects of *Heart of Darkness*. Mrs. Jellyby and Jarndyce are seen as comparable in their colonizing activities in Africa and at home.

**Perera, Suvendrini.** "'Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation': Empire and the Family Business in *Dombey and Son*." In *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens*. By Suvendrini Perera, 59–78. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

Relating *Dombey and Son* to Dickens's "The Niger Expedition" in arguing that the novel links imperialist free trade to seafaring adventure: London is both a safe haven from the destructive forces of capitalist expansion and a site threatened by the disruption of family and personal ties caused by those forces.

**van Wyck Smith, Malvern.** "'What the Waves Were Always Saying': *Dombey and Son* and Textual Ripples on an African Shore." In *Dickens and the Children of Empire*. Edited by Wendy S. Jacobson, 128–152. Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Analyzes the metaphors of the sea and the river as both positive representations of Britain's mercantile ethos and imperial enterprise and challenges to them, and sees similar rhetorical strategies at work in South African frontier narratives.

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## India in Victorian Fiction

India plays an important role in Victorian fiction. More simply, Plummer 1999 sees the positive view of the two "Oriental" characters, Neville and Helens Landless, as a development of Dickens's earlier, more condemnatory attitude to female and racial Others in *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield*. Rajan 1991 analyzes Major Bagstock's Indian servant in *Dombey and Son* to delineate Dickens's mixed attitude to non-European races: the Native is pitied but not seen as fully human, and Dickens's critical attitude to imperial ideology does not lead to anti-imperialism but rather to a demand for attention to the "savagery" and "barbarism" at home.

**Plummer, Patricia.** "From Agnes Fleming to Helena Landless: Dickens, Women and (Post-)Colonialism." In *Dickens, Europe, and the New Worlds*. Edited by Anny Sadrin, 267–282. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999.

Diagnoses Dickens's fascination with racial and female Others in *Oliver Twist*, *David Copperfield*, and *Edwin Drood*. In *Drood* sees this fascination in Jasper and his opium addiction and especially in the positive view of hybridity and the unconventional woman (Helena Landless).

**Rajan, Rajeswari Sunder.** "'The Shadow of that Expatriated Prince': The Exorbitant Native of *Dombey and Son*." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 19 (1991): 85–106.

Argues that the representation of Major Bagstock's Indian servant reveals Dickens's familiarity and impatience with stereotypes of non-English peoples and his occasional compassion for such peoples, but that the servant's namelessness indicates the limits to his humanitarian attitude.

## The Indian Mutiny

Oddie 1972 was the first work of criticism to link the short story "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners" to the public responses to the Indian Mutiny, as well as to Dickens's own feelings about it and to the portrayal of the French revolutionary crowd in *A Tale of Two Cities*, points later developed in Moore 2004 (cited under Charles Dickens). Sharpe 1993 focuses on British women's writings on the Indian Mutiny, especially Flora Annie Steel's *On the Face of the Waters*, arguing that the resourceful English heroine survives at the expense of the female Indian characters. Mukherjee 2003 offers historical contextualization of ideas from Foucault and Bhabha to examine the treatment of crime and criminals in India from the later 18th century to the end of the 1860s; it discusses *Confessions of a Thug* and *The Moonstone* as well as other lesser-known works of fiction and nonfiction to argue that such narratives questioned British imperialism rather than simply supporting it. Chakravorty 2005 combines postcolonial theory with historicization and literary analysis to show how the Indian Mutiny had a powerful influence on the British popular imagination, as reflected in fiction, diaries, autobiographies, and government papers, especially from the 1890s to 1914, and the author also discusses the British role in India from 1765 to the 1940s. Using both cultural studies and colonial discourse approaches, Paxton 1992 reads five "Indian Mutiny" novels from the 1860s to the 1890s by James Grant, George Chesney, Philip Meadows Taylor, George Alfred Henty, and Flora Annie Steel in terms of Bakhtin's model of the fictional chivalric romance, seeing the works by Grant and Henty as endorsing conventional imperialist values and discourses as opposed to those by Chesney, Meadows Taylor, and Steel, which challenge these values and discourses, at least to some extent.

**Chakravorty, Gautam. *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.**

Using postcolonial theory and historical and literary materials, the author discusses representations of the Indian Mutiny in popular British fiction and historiography (diaries, autobiographies, the Anglo-Indian novel) and argues that such representations were influenced by both colonial policies and imperial ideology.

**Mukherjee, Upamanyu Pablo. *Crime and Empire: The Colony in Nineteenth-Century Fictions of Crime*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.**

Argues that narratives about British colonial contact with India between the later 18th century and the end of the 1860s interrogated imperialist ventures rather than endorsing them. Examines the "new policing" of India (p. 96) in relation to depictions of thuggee, the Indian Mutiny, and Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone*.

**Oddie, William. "Dickens and the Indian Mutiny." *The Dickensian* 68 (1972): 3–15.**

Reads "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners" in the context of Victorian responses to the Indian Mutiny, arguing that Dickens shared the public horror at the treatment of English women and children, the dismay at bureaucratic inefficiency, and the admiration for the heroism of some British figures.

**Paxton, Nancy L. "Mobilizing Chivalry: Rape in British Novels about the Indian Uprising of 1857." *Victorian Studies* 35.1 (Fall 1992): 5–30.**

Argues that the trope of rape in five Indian Mutiny novels by Grant, Chesney, Meadows Taylor, Henty, and Steel is used to criminalize Indian men and endorse traditional British gender roles, although sees the works by Chesney, Meadows Taylor, and Steel as challenging this ideological position through conflicting Orientalist discourses.

**Sharpe, Jenny. "The Rise of Memsahibs in an Age of Empire: *On the Face of the Waters*." In *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*. By Jenny Sharpe, 85–110. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.**

Shows how Flora Annie Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* (1896) adheres to imperialist ideology but uses the 1857 Indian Mutiny to dramatize the 1890s New Woman's questioning of women's domestic role through the trope of sati and the heroine's survival, dependent on her own resources.

## Wilkie Collins

Milligan 1995 offers an analysis of *The Moonstone*, which argues that English culture and society is both fascinated and threatened by the Orient in various forms (jewels, opium, cabinets), and that the boundaries between English and Oriental cultures and psychologies seems fragile and permeable, even at the end of the novel. Hennelly 1984 discusses the Indian diamond in *The Moonstone* in relation to Collins's reading of a contemporary account of precious stones to argue that Collins was very interested in both the qualities and the properties of precious stones and Hindu deities, and that these interests may be seen in the role of the diamond in the novel. Nayder 2002 compares *The Moonstone* and *Edwin Drood*, seeing the first as reflecting Collins's less racist attitude to Indians, and criticizing imperialism as theft and corruption through several of its characters; while presenting *Edwin Drood* as partly a response to Collins's novel and presenting familiar and overwhelmingly negative stereotypes of the Orient. Unlike many of the critics cited in the subsection Empire, Nayder sees little ambivalence in Dickens's novel. Concentrating on heterosexual relations, Perera 1991 (cited under *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*) relates *Edwin Drood*'s imperial allusions and elements to the familial and marital struggles between the Cloisterham characters, while Sedgwick 1985 (cited under *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*) focuses on a similar interaction between the thematics of empire and characters who are seen as influenced by Oriental culture in homosexual relations. Sedgwick links her discussion to Burton's "Terminal Essay" on the *Thousand Nights and a Night* and to figures of male rape in *Our Mutual Friend* and *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

**Hennelly, Mark M., Jr. "Detecting Collins' Diamond: From Serpentstone to Moonstone." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 39.1 (1984): 25–47.**

Examines the characteristics and role of the "Indian diamond," focusing on its supernatural powers and polar symbology and linking the novel's Indian motifs to Indian mythology and iconography; argues that the diamond is central to the various narratives and the plot and reveals important truths about characters and themes.

**Milligan, Barry. "'Accepting a Matter of Opinion as a Matter of Fact': The Moonstone, Opium, and Hybrid Anglo-Indian Culture." In *Pleasure and Pains: Opium and the Orient in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*. By Barry Milligan, 69–82. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995.**

Argues that the Orient as represented by the moonstone, opium, and other artifacts represents both threats and thrills for the characters and for English society, since these Oriental products permeate the culture as a whole, dominating not only many characters' psyches but also institutions like banks and philanthropic organizations.

**Nayder, Lillian. "Crimes of the Empire, Contagion of the East: *The Moonstone* and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*." In *Unequal Partners: Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, and Victorian Authorship*. By Lillian Nayder, 163–197. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.**

Argues that *The Moonstone* criticizes imperialism through Hernshaw's theft of the diamond and the function of opium in the novel, while mitigating the Indians' crimes by representing them as religious duty, while *Edwin Drood* orientalizes Jasper's villainy and offers a more conservative version of empire and race relations.

## The Mystery of Edwin Drood

Using Said's definitions of the Orient and its stereotypical contradictory associations of pleasure/sensuality and terror, Mara 2012 analyzes patterns of consumption of Oriental commodities by the characters in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* to argue that the novel represents a change in Dickens's previous approval of England's imperial and colonial policy since the novel criticizes the English and the English system rather than the colonized. Faulkner 1994 reads *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* as a radical change from Dickens's earlier fiction (notably *Dombey and Son* with its endorsement of the hierarchical imperialist distinction between the [superior, English] metropolitan center and the [inferior, non-English] colonized periphery), and suggests that Drood disrupts this hierarchy through the doubling of characters and the parodic repetition of characters, leitmotifs, words, and phrases. Park 2001 offers a reading of *Edwin Drood* through Dickens's condemnation of the "noble savage" stereotype in his journalism to argue that the novel presents an ambivalent view of empire through the figures of Neville Landless, John Jasper, and Tartar, the first two being portrayed through negative Orientalist stereotypes (violence, opium) and the latter the public school ethos of fair play and honesty. DeWind 1993 sees Dickens's use of Orientalist imagery in relation to the characters of the novel as conventional in presenting the East as violent but also static, indolent, and sensual, and DeWind relates this imagery to Dickens's expressed views on events in the colonial world, such as the Indian Mutiny, the Governor Eyre controversy, and others.

**DeWind, John S. "The Empire as Metaphor: England and the East in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 21 (1993): 169–189.**

Reads the Orientalist imagery in the novel as indicating Dickens's conventional vision of "the East" as violent, unchanging, sensual, and opium-addicted, and relates this to Dickens's racist views on public events like the Governor Eyre affair and the recent emancipation and enfranchisement of blacks in the United States, which he encountered on his 1867–1868 visit to the country.

**Faulkner, David. "The Confidence Man: Empire and the Deconstruction of Muscular Christianity in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*." In *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*. Edited by Donald E. Hall, 175–193. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.**

Argues that, unlike Dickens's other novels, *Edwin Drood* is poised between imperialistic ethnocentrism and relativism, so that there is a blurring of boundaries between doubled characters like Crisparkle and Jasper, and that Oriental-influenced figures like Jasper and the Landlesses mingle with and influence the English context and characters.

**Mara, Miriam O'Kane. "Sucking the Empire Dry: Colonial Critique in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*." In *Global Dickens*. Edited by John O. Jordan and Nirshan Perera, 475–488. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012.**

Originally published 2002. Argues that *Edwin Drood* moves away from Dickens's earlier approval of colonialism to criticize the effects and implications of English consumption of Oriental commodities, most notoriously opium, showing that this is linked to imperial policy and creates decay and degeneration in England.

**Park, Hyungji. "Dickens and the 'Noble Savage' in *Edwin Drood*." *English Language and Literature* 47 (2001): 979–995.**

Reading *Edwin Drood* in relation to Dickens's article "The Noble Savage," Park sees the probably mixed-race Neville Landless and the opium-taker John Jasper as representing two versions of the "ignoble savage" in supposedly civilized men, as opposed to the positive fantasized version of empire in Tartar.

**Perera, Suvendrini. "'All the Girls Say Serve Him Right': The Multiple Anxieties of *Edwin Drood*." In *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens*. By Suvendrini Perera, 103–122. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.**

Convincingly shows that the novel's many imperialist and orientalist tropes (opium addiction, the Suez Canal, Turkish delight, the savagery of non-English cultures and characters, thuggee) and figures (Jasper, Neville Landless, the Princess Puffer) show imperial tensions being internalized in Cloisterham's domestic sexual and economic conflicts.

**Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. "Up the Postern Stair: *Edwin Drood* and the Homophobia of Empire." In *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. By Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, 180–200. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.**

Reads *Edwin Drood* as transforming "the Gothic discourse of homophobia" (p. 182) through English imperialism and imperial themes (opium addiction, "savage" behavior, jingoism) and Orientalized characters like Jasper, the Landlesses, and Princess Puffer.

Fiske 2011 gives an overview of China and the Chinese as represented in the writings of Victorian philosophers and novelists as well as in travel writing and popular culture. Wagner 2011 offers analysis of the representation of China in Austen's *Mansfield Park*, Dickens's *Little Dorrit*, and Somerset Maugham's *The Painted Veil* to argue that seeing China as "semicolonial" (p. 1) allows a more flexible discussion of the way 19th-century literary visions of China changed over the course of the 19th century. Linking cultural studies with close reading, Milligan 1995 traces the development of the threat (and attraction) of the Orient to British identity and culture in works by De Quincey, Coleridge, Wilkie Collins, Dickens, Wilde, and Conan Doyle, seeing opium—as commodity and literary trope—as the pivotal point of a process of reverse colonization.

**Fiske, Shanyun. "Orientalism Reconsidered: China and the Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Victorian Studies." *Literature Compass* 8.4 (2011): 214–226.**

Overview of China and the Chinese in Victorian Literature and culture; discusses the effect of the Opium Wars on the image of China in England as well as the representation of China and the Chinese in travel writing and popular culture.

**Milligan, Barry. *Pleasure and Pains: Opium and the Orient in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995.**

Analyzing texts by Wilkie Collins, Dickens, Wilde, and Conan Doyle, Milligan argues that opium as both commodity and metaphor is the representation of the threat to British identity since it pervades the works, characters, and culture, linking them to Britain's diplomatic and commercial relations with India and China.

**Wagner, Tamara S. "Imperialist Commerce and the Demystified Orient: Semicolonial China in Nineteenth-Century English Literature." *Postcolonial Text* 6.3 (2011): 1–17.**

Argues that in 19th-century Victorian representations of China, the Orient was progressively demystified and the exoticism of Austen's vision in *Mansfield Park* was replaced by the dullness of commerce with China in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* and the dead end of Orientalist fantasy in Maugham's *The Painted Veil*.

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## Benjamin Disraeli's Novels

Bivona 1990 relates Disraeli's political trilogy to his political career and to Victorian debate opposing monogenesis to polygenesis and theories of racial essence. Bivona sees all three novels, but especially *Tancred*, as embodying Disraeli's "undecidable tone," which articulates an ambivalent imperial desire.

**Bivona, Daniel. "Disraeli's Political Trilogy and the Antinomic Structure of Imperial Desire." In *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature*. By Daniel Bivona, 1–31. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1990.**

Rare discussion of Disraeli's political trilogy, which Bivona sees as linking Disraeli's imperial fantasies and desires (*Tancred*) with his fictional engagements with Young England (*Coningsby*) and Chartism (*Sybil*) in the context of Victorian thinking about race and empire.

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## Rudyard Kipling

Kipling's works have elicited much recent commentary. Benita Parry was one of the first critics to identify Kipling's "ambiguous myth of Empire" (Parry 1972, p. 215) in his fiction and short stories, seeing him as presenting both Anglo-Indians and India itself in complex and multifaceted ways. Green 1979 offers another early but important discussion of some of Kipling's major works in the context of the imperial adventure story, discussing the imperial themes in *Stalky and Co.* and locating Kipling in relation to Victorian ideas of imperial heroism and caste. Moore-Gilbert 1986, Paffard 1989, and Randall 2000 all take their points of departure from Said, although in radically different ways. Moore-Gilbert 1986 criticizes Orientalism for its overly monolithic approach and offers an overview of Kipling's poetry and prose in the context of Anglo-Indian writing, especially the opposition between images of England and India, Anglo-Indian insecurity after the 1857 Mutiny, metropolitan versus Anglo-Indian versions of Orientalism, and the psychological vulnerability revealed in Anglo-Indian texts (including those of Kipling), but it offers no in-depth analysis of any of Kipling's works. Paffard 1989 uses Said's distinction between latent and manifest Orientalism (see Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) on occasion, but Paffard's approach is basically historical and stylistic. Randall 2000, which refers to both *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism* as well as to Bhabha's works, is both the most theoretically sophisticated and also the most incisive in analyzing Kipling's texts. Randall's analysis of Kipling's creation of the school as a "combat zone" or an "imperial space" where the opposition between the identities of colonizer and colonized are both asserted and challenged, notably in the figure of Stalky himself, is particularly interesting. Randall devotes two chapters to *Kim*, dissecting it, first, in terms of a Foucauldian-type discourse analysis of cultural hybridity, and, second, in relation to the late Victorian science of ethnography and Kim as an individual example of hybrid identity. Sullivan 1993 acknowledges Said's importance but uses Bhabha's ideas about ambivalence to pinpoint the gaps and dissonances in Kipling's texts, which Sullivan sees as contradictory in relation to the imperial project in India, creating a parallel between Kipling's pathology of self and the pathology of empire. Like Sullivan 1993, McClure 1981 offers a psychological and historical analysis of Kipling, but McClure ignores the formal aspects of Kipling's works, using Kipling's childhood experiences as an explanatory tool for much of the fiction. Arata 1996 focuses on the narrators of Kipling's early works and his 1890 reception in England, and suggests that *Plain Tales from the Hills*, *Soldiers Three*, and *The Light That Failed* create India as a place of magic and exoticism that is accessible for the Anglo-Indian but not for the English reader.

**Arata, Stephen D. "A Universal Foreignness: Kipling, Race, and the Great Tradition." In *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*. By Stephen D. Arata, 151–177. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.**

Discusses Kipling's reception in England in 1890 as the new Dickens who would restore the health of the novel and the Anglo-Saxon race; focuses on Kipling's early works, seeing them as split between the authority of an Anglo-Indian narrator and occasional disruptions and breakdowns of this authority.

**Green, Martin. “Kipling.” In *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. By Martin Green, 264–296. New York: Basic Books, 1979.**

Analyzes the motifs of the godfather and the Great Game in *Kim*, and sees *Stalky and Co.* as a significant imperialist text; considers Kipling in relation to Rhodes as imperialist hero and the Victorian idea of military and chivalric caste embodied in figures like Richard Burton and Richard Meinertzhagen.

**McClure, John A. *Kipling and Conrad: The Colonial Fiction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.**

Focuses on the psychological and historical dimensions of Kipling's works; sees the short stories as dramatizing the insecurity, weakness, and ignorance underlying British power in India and argues that *Kim* and *The Jungle Book* overcome the split between colonizer and colonized through fantasy.

**Moore-Gilbert, B. J. *Kipling and Orientalism*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.**

Locates Kipling in the context of Victorian Anglo-Indian literary and political discourse, and thereafter offers a critique of Said's concept of Orientalism as being too monolithic in relation to India by opposing metropolitan Orientalism with its Anglo-Indian counterpart, although concludes that both types aim at hegemony over India.

**Paffard, Mark. *Kipling's Indian Fiction*. New York: St. Martin's, 1989.**

Kipling's writing placed in the Saidian perspective of latent versus manifest Orientalism and Victorian views of India. Discusses Kipling's works up to *Kim*, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, and stories with soldier heroes, then *Kim* and *The Jungle Book*, and finally locates Kipling in the 1890s.

**Parry, Benita. “Rudyard Kipling, 1865–1936.” In *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination, 1880–1930*. By Benita Parry, 203–260. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.**

Denying the view that Kipling is simply “the bard of Empire” (p. 207), Parry focuses on the ambivalence toward India of his fiction and journalism, arguing that Kipling understands both Anglo-Indian insecurities and contempt for Indian culture and represents both secular and spiritual sides of India.

**Randall, Don. *Kipling's Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2000.**

After a “genealogy” of the imperial boy, offers detailed analyses of *The Jungle Books* as allegory of the British in India after the Mutiny, and *Stalky and Co.* as linking school and empire. *Kim* is read, first, through Foucauldian theory and, second, through ethnography and the compromised position of imperial authority.

**Sullivan, Zohreh T. *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993.**

Approaches Kipling's ambivalence about empire through colonial discourse analysis, beginning with his autobiography; deals with this ambivalence in four early stories, and the dramatization of fears of imperial failure and the reassertion of colonial ideology in others, and sees *Kim* as offering a fantasized reconciliation of imperial dissonances.

## *Kim and Stalky and Co.*

Said 1987 offers a detailed and careful analysis of *Kim* and its place in relation to Indian imperial history and the novel genre in the Victorian period, while Williams 1993 combines the use of Macherey's and Said's approaches to fiction and criticizes Moore-Gilbert 1986 (cited under Rudyard Kipling) for its neglect of *Kim* and oversimplification of Said's approach in *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) before critiquing the novel's demeaning representation of Indians, its endorsement of the Orientalist discourse of power and knowledge, and its maintenance of racial distinctions and imperialist ideology. Suleri 1992 sees *Kim* as embodying the permanent immaturity of empire and the irony of Kipling's repression of the conflict between his awareness of the futility of empire and his belief in it.

**Said, Edward W. “Introduction.” In *Kim*. By Rudyard Kipling. Edited by Edward W. Said, 7–46. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1987.**

Perceptive discussion that focuses first on the relationship between Kim and the lama, then on the novel as part of the history of India and the British in India as embodied in the figure of Colonel Creighton, and finally on *Kim*'s place in the Victorian novel.

**Suleri, Sara. “The Adolescence of Kim.” In *The Rhetoric of English India*. By Sara Suleri, 111–131. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.**

Sees *Kim* as a text of “atrophic adolescence” constructed on a model of “colonial astonishment” embodied in Kim, the lama, and the narrator, and reflecting the conflict between colonial terror and colonial celebration and Kipling's ambivalence about empire.

**Williams, Patrick. “Kim and Orientalism.” In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. Edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 480–497. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.**

Responding to Moore-Gilbert 1986 (cited under Rudyard Kipling), the essay challenges three points made by postcolonial readings of *Kim*—the novel's sympathy for Indians, its challenges to Orientalist stereotyping, and the blurring of racial distinctions—to argue that the text produces a new (illusory but comforting) version of the ideology of ruler and ruled.

## Poetry

Attridge 2003 is unusual and useful in paying attention to Kipling's poetry in relation to popular culture of various kinds, including music hall and other poetry about soldiers. Van Wyk Smith 1978 offers an overview of Boer War poetry, and the chapter on Kipling is useful in identifying two different phases of his poetry, the first characterized by representations of soldiers as colorful, blackguardly, or men doing their job, along with images of racial Others as exotic, and the second by an imperialist worldview and a sense of racial mission. Using Said's Orientalism as inspiration and point of departure, the author of Haddad 2002 offers an overview of the varying representations or versions of Orientalism in 19th-century English poetry, noting the primacy of the Islamic Middle East in these representations and analyzing the role and significance of Orientalism in Victorian poetry in selected poems by Matthew Arnold and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, as well as in Oscar Wilde's aesthetic theories. Including useful parallel texts versions of some of the works discussed, Javadi 2005 offers an overview of works by Victorian translators and imitators of Persian poets such as Firdausi (Matthew Arnold), the Sufis (Richard Tench, Alfred Tennyson, and others), Khayyam (Edward FitzGerald), and Hafiz (Gertrude Bell, Walter Leaf). Primarily descriptive and using Literature Online and the British Library catalogue databases, Taher-Kermani 2016 provides a useful overview of representations of Persia in 19th-century English poetry, using categories such as Persian poets (Hafiz, Khayyám, Sa'di, Attar and Firdausi), biblical Persia, and the opposition between Greece and Persia, noting the variety of conflicting images and tropes.

**Attridge, Steve. *Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity in Late Victorian Culture: Civil and Military Worlds*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.**

Analyzes Kipling's poetry in relation to popular culture and images of the soldier as hero or hooligan, as well as providing discussions of Indian Mutiny novels and the Boer War as represented in both poetry and fiction.

**Haddad, Emily A. *Orientalist Poetics: The Islamic Middle East in Nineteenth-Century English and French Poetry*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002.**

Examines the role of the Islamic Middle East and the non-mimetic nature of Orientalist art as a source for the reexamination of the relationship between art and nature in poets like Arnold and Tennyson and in Wilde's vision of art for art's sake, which is seen as partially inspired by Orientalism.

**Javadi, Hasan. *Persian Literary Influence on English Literature with Specific Reference to the Nineteenth Century*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2005.**

Chapter 5 provides an overview of Victorian translators and imitators of Persian poetry, analyzing Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum" as well as works by Tench, Tennyson, Nicholson, and FitzGerald, with a separate section on FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*.

**Taher-Kermani, Reza. "The Persian Presence in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry: A Taxonomy." *Iranian Studies* 49.1 (2016): 77–98.**

Offers a descriptive overview of 19th-century English poetic representations of Persia, arguing that these reveal the persistence of "a fantasized 'Persia'" (p. 17) distinct from any historical realities, and characterized by conflicting and potentially contradictory tropes like that of the romantic garden, the despotic monarchy, or the fallen empire.

**van Wyk Smith, M. "Kipling and Kiplingson." In *Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899–1902*. By M. van Wyk Smith, 96–119. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978.**

Examines the poetry of Kipling and his imitators; sees in Kipling's poems up to 1892 an un- or anti-imperialism, but argues that his later poetry shows imperialist activism or a sense of imperial mission.

## Robert Browning

Taher-Kermani 2016 analyzes *Ferishtah's Fancies* (1884) as an example of Victorian Orientalism related to Persia, suggesting that what Browning himself called the "thin disguise" of the obvious Persian references in the work is underpinned by a more significant pattern of allusion to Persian religious culture, underlining Ferishtah's development as a Sufi sage whose philosophy explicitly challenges that of Edward FitzGerald's Omar Khayyam.

**Taher-Kermani, Reza. "'A Thin Disguise': On Robert Browning *Ferishtah's Fancies*." In *Victorian Literature and Culture* 44.2 (2016): 265–278.**

Argues that Browning's work is characterized not only by various superficial references to Persian culture but also by a less obvious but more important allusions to Persian Shiite and Sufi beliefs, thus offering a vision of Persian culture that challenges that of Edward FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*.

## Edward FitzGerald

Locating FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* in relation to both Victorian and contemporary discussions of secularism, Çelikkol 2013 offers a reading of the poem emphasizing its challenge to conventional Orientalist ideas of the Other as a foil to the European self; she sees FitzGerald as using the Other as both a double for the European self and an external realm for the self to explore. In so doing, Çelikkol argues FitzGerald uses Orientalism as "a form of circularity that cultivates wonder" (p. 517). Using Said's Orientalism as a framework, the author of Riede 2005 analyzes the importance of Orientalism in Edward FitzGerald's "Salámán and Absál" and sees the poem as articulating the interaction of early Victorian melancholy with the desire for sensual pleasure and as an exploration of the way the poem subordinates both "effeminate" sexual desire and the Orient to the (imperialist) conscience and duty, and argues that the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* both seeks poetic authority through the Bible and undermines the Bible by Orientalizing it.

**Çelikkol, Ayşe. "Secular Pleasures and FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*." *Victorian Poetry* 51.4 (Winter 2013): 511–532.**

Suggests that FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát* bears an ambivalent relation to Victorian notions of secularism or modernity since it relocates notions of transcendence in interpersonal relations by using a version of Orientalist alterity to reconcile materialism with wonder, thus implicitly acknowledging Islamic contributions to scientific thought.

**Riede, David G. "Edward Fitzgerald: Melancholy, Orientalism, Aestheticism." In *Allegories of One's Own Mind: Melancholy in Victorian Poetry*. By David G. Riede, 188–201. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.**

Analyzes the role of Orientalism in FitzGerald's "Salámán and Absál" in the context of FitzGerald's sense of guilt at his self-indulgent Orientalism and sees the Orientalism and Epicureanism of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* as a transition between Tennyson's early poetry of sensation and the aestheticism of Pater and Wilde.

## Alfred, Lord Tennyson

Linking "Akbar's Dream" to Tennyson's early poems, McBratney 1993 sees in both a version of Orientalism that is sympathetic to Sufism and exotic values but which ultimately subjects the Orient and Orientals to the values of Western/British imperialism and power. Using a psycho-biographical approach and including an appendix on the epigrams and footnotes to *Poems by Two Brothers* (Alfred and Charles Tennyson (1827) as well as its own voluminous and valuable footnotes, Paden 1971 (originally published in 1942) traces the influence of the works of William Jones, Claude-Étienne Savary, Lord Byron, and Robert Southey, among others, on Tennyson's early poetry, including *Poems by Two Brothers* and other works. Riede 2005 reads Alfred, Lord Tennyson's poetry as illustrating the sublimation of Victorian melancholy through images of imperial power and conquest presented in the form of allegory, and analyzes the significance of Orientalism in several of Tennyson's early poems and in "Maud" as an unstable fusion of "the Orientalized sexual other" (76) and Victorian imperialist ideology. Situating Alfred Tennyson within the development of and variations in imperialist ideology and activity in the 19th century, Shaw 1994 offers a reading of *Enoch Arden* (1864) as a dramatization of three versions of the Other: that is, the Other as Oriental/non-European, poor/criminal, or sexualized women—through the poem's use of metaphor of the "dark continent."

**McBratney, John. "Rebuilding Akbar's 'Fane': Tennyson's Reclamation of the East." *Victorian Poetry* 31.4 (Winter 1993): 411–417.**

Relates "Akbar's Dream" to the Orientalism of Tennyson's early poetry: in both, a vulnerable and a partially destroyed version or vision of the Orient is made whole by being subsumed into the culture of Western/British imperialism. In "Akbar's Dream" this is achieved through the imagined rebuilding of the ancient Indian temple.

**Paden, W. D. *Tennyson in Egypt: A Study of the Imagery in His Earlier Work*. New York: Octagon Books, 1971**

Originally published 1942. Useful early discussion that analyzes works by William Jones, Claude-Étienne Savary, Lord Byron, and Robert Southey as sources of, and background to, the Oriental themes and allusions in Tennyson's early poems, including *Poems by Two Brothers*, "Recollections of the Arabian Nights," "Fatima," and "Timbuctoo."

**Riede, David G. "Tennyson's Hollow Oes and Aes." In *Allegories of One's Own Mind: Melancholy in Victorian Poetry*. By David G. Riede, 41–90. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.**

Reads Tennyson's early poems as characterized by a feminized Orient embodying Tennyson's fantasy of sexual license, a fantasy that is often subjected to a heroic masculine imperialist ethic of duty and conquest; sees both the fantasy and the heroic imperialism as consequences of Tennyson's abhorrence of Victorian commodity culture.

**Shaw, Marion. "Tennyson's Dark Continent." *Victorian Poetry* 32.2 (Summer 1994): 157–169.**

Sees the "dark continent" metaphor as dramatizing the Other in *Enoch Arden* in three forms—the Oriental Other, the poor or criminal English other, and the gendered other (the sexualized woman)—in the context of Tennyson's developing relationship between Victorian imperialism and Orientalism.

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## Joseph Conrad

Bongie 1991 locates Conrad's work in the cultural history of exoticism, while Green 1979 sees his Malay tales as late examples of the adventure genre. White 1993 follows Green in locating Conrad in relation to adventure fiction, and the author argues this fiction and travel writing often overlap, providing Conrad with the fictional discourses of several of his works. White sees Conrad in relation to earlier adventure writers (Henty, Marryat, Ballantyne, Haggard), and argues that Haggard's works opened up a space for the subversion of the adventure genre, a subversion that comes to fruition in Conrad. Benita Parry was one of the earliest critics to note Conrad's ambivalence about imperialism in *Heart of Darkness*, *The Rescue*, *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, *Lord Jim*, and *Nostromo*, and her discussions of the narrative complexity and the black/white or dark/light patterns in works like *The Rescue*, *Heart of Darkness*, and *Lord Jim* are still valuable (see Parry 1987). GoGwilt 1995 defines Conrad's work in contrast to that of Said's *Orientalism*, arguing that Conrad's works perform a "double-mapping" of the discourses of worldwide imperialism and European revolution, which is to be distinguished from the operation of the dominant 19th-century discourse of Orientalism. However, GoGwilt also works with a Saidian perspective in his analyses of the romantic Orientalism of "Karain" and "Youth." İçöz 2005 argues that Conrad anticipates postcolonial critiques of the clash between imperialism's claims to idealism and its economic basis and suggests that the two narrators of *Heart of Darkness* reveal Conrad's ambivalence.

**Bongie, Chris. *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the Fin de Siècle*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.**

Offers an analysis of late Victorian literature in the context of exoticism, identified as the desire for an alternative to European modernity, a vision projected either backward (the search for a lost “golden age”) or forward into an imagined utopian future. Useful discussions of *Heart of Darkness*, *Lord Jim*, and other works by Conrad.

**GoGwilt, Christopher.** *The Invention of the West: Joseph Conrad and the Double-Mapping of Europe and Empire*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Sees Conrad's works as responding to a crisis of colonial discourses combined with the discourses of revolution in Europe; using a Saidian approach, argues that Conrad's Malay fictions and *Lord Jim* represent a shift from the dominant Orientalist discourses of Victorian imperialism to the 20th-century idea of the West.

**Green, Martin.** “Conrad.” In *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. By Martin Green, 297–319. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

Biographical discussion links Conrad's geographical and political history to his work in the adventure genre in *Almayer's Folly*, *Outcast of the Islands*, and *The Rescue* and notes Conrad's greater interest in the failed adventure hero (Almayer, Willems) than the successful one (Lingard).

**Içöz, Nursel.** “Conrad and Ambiguity: Social Commitment and Ideology in *Heart of Darkness* and *Nostromo*.” *Conradiana* 37.3 (2005): 245–274.

Sees Conrad as a precursor of postcolonial critique; argues that both novels show the incompatibility of idealism and the economics of imperialism, thus undermining imperialism's moral claims; argues that Conrad's ambivalence about imperialism in *Heart of Darkness* is reflected in the novel's two narrators and in what Marlow cannot say.

**Parry, Benita.** *Conrad and Imperialism: Ideological Boundaries and Visionary Frontiers*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1987.

Early but still useful study of Conrad's “colonial fiction,” which Parry sees as both appealing to and undermining the myth of a beneficent colonialism and the ideal of a coherent honorable community (the British Merchant Navy). Pays attention to narrative structure and imagery as well as plot.

**White, Andrea.** *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Argues that the Victorian adventure tradition and travel writing shaped Conrad's fictional discourses in *Almayer's Folly*, *An Outcast of the Islands*, “An Outpost of Progress,” and *Heart of Darkness*, and that these works disrupt imperial hegemony and categories like the exotic through their multiple voices.

## Africa in *Heart of Darkness*

Brantlinger 1988 examines Conrad's profound ambivalence about imperialism and racism, embodied in the book's criticism of the brutality and hypocrisy of the imperialist venture, as opposed to the endorsement of “the idea” of benevolent colonization, and also in the narrative complexity of the novel. Youngs 1994, unusually, argues that the novel should be seen as a radical revision of the values and conventions of travel writing rather than a modernist text, while Cole 1998 identifies Conrad's use and disruption of the generic conventions of imperial travel writing and adventure stories as the source of his modernist alienation and the isolation of his male protagonists. Fothergill 1992 locates *Heart of Darkness* in a long tradition of European representations of Others, but also of Victorian rhetorical conventions of representations of Africa and Africans, arguing that Conrad both uses and questions them. Said 2006 argues that the novel is split between two visions—one imperialist, one beyond imperialism—and that Marlow's self-consciousness constructs and deconstructs the ideology of empire and reality, but that he cannot see any alternative to the imperialist world surrounding him (and Conrad). Achebe 2006 (originally published in 1975 and revised in 1988) goes against the grain of Conrad criticism to argue that Conrad is “a thoroughgoing racist” (“a bloody racist” in the 1975 version), whose ignorant and bigoted view of Africa and Africans means that the book is not a great work of art and should not be treated as such. Hawkins 2006 answers Achebe by arguing that Achebe exaggerates Conrad's racism and asserts that the novel uses racist epithets to describe Africans, but that it also offers an awareness of the atrocities perpetrated by European powers in the imperial enterprise and a recognition by Marlow of Africans' humanity. Firchow 2000 criticizes Said's view of literary works as too political and offers an extensive discussion of *Heart of Darkness* in terms of “imagology,” or the study of how “national, ethnic, or racial images (stereotypes)” are deployed in literary contexts. This involves long discussions of late-19th-century definitions of racism as well as a consideration of the historical situation in the Congo, Conrad's own journey there, possible models for Kurtz, and so on.

**Achebe, Chinua.** “An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.” In *Heart of Darkness*. By Joseph Conrad. Edited by Paul B. Armstrong, 336–349. Norton Critical Edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006.

Accuses Conrad of being “a thoroughgoing racist” (p. 343) in his portrayal of Africa as the barbaric foil to Europe's civilization and his depiction of Africans as speechless savages and argues that the novel is not a great work of art.

**Brantlinger, Patrick.** “Epilogue: Kurtz's ‘Darkness’ and Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.” In *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*. By Patrick Brantlinger, 255–274. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.

The first of many to note that *Heart of Darkness* criticizes some aspects of imperialism and racism (violence, hypocritical propaganda), but in imperialist and racist ways (black and white vocabulary, evil as African). Sees the novel as both using and undermining the conventions of the imperialist adventure romance.

**Cole, Sarah.** “Conradian Alienation and Imperial Intimacy.” *Modern Fiction Studies* 44.2 (1998): 251–281.



Argues that Conrad's modernist alienation grew out of a conflicted relationship to imperial conventions, and discusses *Heart of Darkness* in relation to Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone*, seeing Stanley's emphasis on the connection between imperialism and male friendship both invoked and disappointed in Conrad's text.

**Firchow, Peter Edgerly. *Envisioning Africa: Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's "Heart of Darkness."* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000.**

Exhaustive study of *Heart of Darkness* through "imagology"; situates the novel in terms of contemporary definitions of key terms and visions of Africa, Conrad's experiences in the Congo, and possible models for Kurtz, and engages extensively with Achebe's criticisms (see Achebe 2006).

**Fothergill, Anthony. "Of Conrad, Cannibals, and Kin." In *Representing Others: White View of Indigenous Peoples*. Edited by Michael Gidley, 37–59. Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1992.**

Locates *Heart of Darkness* in the history of European representations of non-European Others, seen as defined by the projection of fear and desire, contradiction, and negation; sees Conrad as both endorsing and criticizing 19th-century representations of Africans and as reinvestigating the terms of such representations.

**Hawkins, Hunt. "Heart of Darkness and Racism." In *Heart of Darkness*. By Joseph Conrad. Edited by Paul B. Armstrong, 365–375. Norton Critical Edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006.**

Admits Conrad's racism but sees it as modified by his criticism of the hypocrisy of the "civilizing mission" and his skepticism about the mission's absolute truths and his vision of evil as European (the Company, Kurtz) rather than African.

**Said, Edward W. "Two Visions in Heart of Darkness." In *Heart of Darkness*. By Joseph Conrad. Edited by Paul B. Armstrong, 422–429. Norton Critical Edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006.**

Sees the novel as divided between an imperialist worldview and a vision of the world beyond imperialism and not dominated by it; argues that Marlow cannot see beyond the first, but that the novel gives intimations of the second, although Marlow remains unable to envisage African resistance to imperialism.

**Youngs, Tim. "Vaporising Bula Matari: Conrad's Heart of Darkness." In *Travelers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1950*. By Tim Youngs, 182–207. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994.**

An original view of *Heart of Darkness*, the essay argues that the novel should be seen not primarily as a modernist text but as a radical revision of some of the staple tropes and patterns of late Victorian travel writing, referring to Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*.

## The Malay Novels

McClure 1981 argues that Conrad's "disguised social project" is to reveal the common humanity of colonizer and colonized; in relation to the Malay novels (*Almayer's Folly*, *An Outcast of the Islands*, *The Rescue*, and *Lord Jim*), McClure sees the imperial rhetoric of the family exposed as deceptive and self-deceiving in relation to Almayer, Lingard, Willems, and Jim and argues that Conrad also offers a critique of European ethnocentricity. Moses 1995 reads Patusan sections of *Lord Jim* as anticipating postcolonial novels like *Shame* or *The Autumn of the Patriarch* in dealing with modernization in traditional societies and defends the generic split in the novel (modernist text versus romance or epic) as well as Jim as a tragic hero.

**McClure, John A. "The Malay Novels: Imperial Romance and Reality." In *Kipling and Conrad: The Colonial Fiction*. By John A. McClure, 98–130. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.**

Argues that in the Malay novels Conrad criticizes the imperial rhetoric of family and reveals the violence and commercialism behind the rhetoric of white paternalism.

**Moses, Michael Valdez. "Conrad: The Flight from Modernity." In *The Novel and the Globalization of Culture*. By Michael Valdez Moses, 76–117. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.**

Defends the Patusan section of the novel and Jim as a tragic hero and a benevolent autocrat in a premodern society, although Moses admits he is ultimately defeated there by the same forces that caused his failure in the denationalized and modernized imperial world.

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## Late-19th-Century Fiction

Arata 1996 traces ideas of national, biological, and aesthetic decline and the interplay of decadence and imperialism in the Victorian fin de siècle and discusses how racial and imperial anxieties inform *Dracula*, *The Sign of Four*, *A Study in Scarlet*, and the works of Kipling. Four of the essays in Dabydeen 1986 deal with the late-19th-century "tale of adventure" (Haggard, Henty, Buchan), the "subject races" in late Victorian fiction (Ballantyne, Haggard, Anglo-Indian novels), Buchan's representation of colonized others, and Kipling's and Conrad's dramatization of the rights and wrongs of imperialism in their works. McClintock 1995 offers a detailed and insightful account of Olive Schreiner's life in South Africa and England and of her major works, including *The Story of an African Farm*, *Undine*, and *From Man to Man*. McClintock suggests that despite her liberal views, Schreiner could also relapse into colonialist and racist stereotyping.

**Arata, Stephen. *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.**

Traces ideas of decline in late Victorian fiction; chapters on reverse colonization, Orientalism, and Occidentalism in *Dracula*; the overlapping of imperial and domestic concerns and plots in *The Moonstone* and the Sherlock Holmes fictions; and the combination of imperial authority and anxiety in Kipling.

**Dabydeen, David, ed. *The Black Presence in English Literature*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1986.**

Four essays deal with representations of native people (Africans and Indians) in late-19th-century fiction and popular magazine literature, seeing them as producing and reproducing concepts drawn from Victorian racial theories and images of “the savage,” the “white man’s burden,” and debates about imperialism.

**McClintock, Anne. “Olive Schreiner: The Limits of Colonial Feminism.” In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. By Anne McClintock, 258–295. New York: Routledge, 1995.**

Excellent overview of Schreiner’s life and works; sees both as paradoxical, the writings expressing her anti-imperialist and antiracist stance, but also at times characterized by colonial attitudes and racial stereotypes, notably the representation of black women as without agency.

## Oscar Wilde

Marez 1997 analyzes opium addiction in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in relation to Wilde’s use of Oriental artifacts and products as part of a European aesthetic to argue that the complexities of his colonial Irish background and racist evaluations of Wilde indicate that his attempt to elevate himself above racial issues paradoxically meant that he was seen in terms of his colonial/racial identity. Situating Oscar Wilde in the early consumerist culture of the late 19th century, Xiaoyi 1997 identifies the mechanisms whereby Wilde made Japanese art and artifacts part of his aesthetic ideal, but also, by relating Wilde’s “Japonisme” to commercial, journalistic, and theatrical contexts, reveals how Wilde’s Orientalist aestheticism was rooted in late-19th-century consumerism.

**Marez, Curtis. “The Other Addict: Reflections on Colonialism and Oscar Wilde’s Opium Smoke Screen.” *English Literary History* 64.1 (1997): 257–287.**

Situating Wilde in the context of British/Irish colonial politics and racist responses to Wilde’s work by contemporaries, Marez argues that in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* Wilde subsumes Oriental artifacts/culture into a European aesthetic, where Oriental artifacts (seen as aesthetically pleasing) are opposed to racially degrading opium addiction.

**Xiaoyi, Zhou. “Oscar Wilde’s Orientalism and Late Nineteenth-Century European Consumer Culture.” *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 28.4 (October 1997): 49–71.**

Argues that although Wilde presented his celebration of the “Japanese effect” as an aesthetic alternative to the commercialization around him, ironically this aestheticization of Japanese art and objects should also be seen as both influenced by and part of the era’s increasingly consumerist culture.

## Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*

Arata 1996 sees the fear and guilt related to British imperialism expressed through *Dracula*’s reverse colonization of Britain: while Harker becomes an Oriental tourist in his journey to Transylvania, Dracula becomes an Occidental tourist through his journey to London, the imperial center. The novel’s connections with travelogues relating to eastern Europe and its indirect staging of imperial crisis and doubt, and also of the contemporary Anglo-Irish political situation, are also convincingly explored.

**Arata, Stephen D. “The Occidental Tourist: Stoker and Reverse Colonization.” In *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*. By Stephen D. Arata, 107–132. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.**

Argues that *Dracula* dramatizes the crisis of imperial culture by merging the genres of the gothic novel and the travel narrative with vampirism in order to articulate the fear and guilt related to British imperialism (fear of racial decline, guilt as to imperial practices).

## H. Rider Haggard and G. A. Henty

Katz 1987 is theoretically unsophisticated and offers brief biographical and historical sketches before outlining the characteristics of imperial romance and analyzing Haggard’s novels in terms of their heroes, their fatalistic view of empire, and their racism. Bristow 1991 identifies *King Solomon’s Mines* and *She* as popular narratives, both produced by imperialist doctrine and reproducing it, and relates the novels to contemporary historical developments in economics and politics, as well as to sexual anxieties about women. David 1995 puts *King Solomon’s Mines* and *She* in the context of late-19th-century debates about the New Woman and the New Imperialism, arguing that the novels not only reveal Haggard’s misogyny and fear of women, but also a desire to justify Britain’s imperialist interventions in Africa. McClintock 1995 argues that *King Solomon’s Mines* allowed Haggard to overcome personal feelings of inadequacy and to reinstate the white man as the patriarch in the hierarchy of races through the exploitation of colonial resources and people; McClintock further claims that historical events in late-Victorian Natal can be seen as parallel to the events of Haggard’s novel. Arguing for the inclusion of capitalism and political economy in imperial discourse analysis, Chrisman 1993 offers a corrective reading of *She* based on the representation of the Amahagger people and She/Ayesha herself, and discusses the depiction of economic imperialism of *King Solomon’s Mines* (the exploitation of the diamond mines, which bypasses the issue of black labor). Using Homi Bhabha’s ideas of colonial mimicry and hybridity, Poon 2008 analyzes works by Kipling and Haggard in the context of imperial expansionism and argues that in *Allan Quatermain* Haggard offers a fantasized solution to the problem of colonial governance.

**Bristow, Joseph. "A Man's World." In *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. By Joseph Bristow, 127–169. London: HarperCollins, 1991.**

Sees Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* as emblematic of writing about the myth of Africa as the Dark Continent and as linking Africa to representations of the unconscious and female sexuality and fears and anxieties about these at home and abroad. Henty's works are discussed briefly as boys' adventures based on imperial history.

**Chrisman, Laura. "The Imperial Unconscious? Representations of Imperial Discourse." In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. Edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 498–516. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.**

Analyzes Haggard's representation of the Amahagger and of She/Ayesha, before arguing that *King Solomon's Mines* dramatizes imperialism's ambivalence about rationality, knowledge, Africa, and the feminine.

**David, Deirdre. "Laboring for the Empire: Old Patriarchy and New Imperialism in Tennyson and H. Rider Haggard." In *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. By Deirdre David, 157–201. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.**

David examines the meaning of the new imperialism in late Victorian Britain in works by Tennyson and Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*, arguing that both poems and novels justify British imperial rule, and that the novels do so through their opposing depictions of male and female (laboring) bodies.

**Katz, Wendy D. *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire: A Critical Study of British Imperial Fiction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.**

Views Haggard as an imperial propagandist who saw imperialism as a force for moral regeneration and helped shape the imperial mentality; describes his works as examples of imperial romance defined by escape, the desire for power, and freedom; focuses on Haggard's heroes, fatalism, and racism.

**McClintock, Anne. "The White Family of Man: Colonial Discourse and the Reinvention of Patriarchy." In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. By Anne McClintock, 232–257. New York: Routledge, 1995.**

Argues that *King Solomon's Mines* allowed Haggard to overcome his fear of personal and racial degeneration and re-create white patriarchal authority in a colonial context by destroying female generative power and endorsing a token black king. Relates the novel to both Haggard's personal history and contemporary historical Natal.

**Poon, Angelia. "Imperial Fantasies and the Politics of Reproducing Englishness: Henry Rider Haggard's *Allan Quatermain*." In *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: Colonialism and the Politics of Performance*. By Angelia Poon, 125–152. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.**

Sees *Allan Quatermain* (1887) not only as creating an ahistorical imperial fantasy of an ideal African colony but also as dramatizing anxiety about the future of the empire and English masculinity as embodied in the fetishization of the male Zulu body.

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## Popular Literature and Children's Literature

Both Bristow 1991 and Green 1979 argue for the intimate connections among imperialism, adventure fiction, and popular literature more generally. Bristow sees the adventure genre as dramatizing a masculine mythology of imperial dominance, as well as male fear and anxiety about women and sexuality more generally, while Green's less critically sophisticated book approaches Victorian imperialist adventure texts through a combination of historical and simplified structuralist strategies. Griffin 2012 is a rare example of an analysis of Orientalism in children's literature. Griffin uses a nuanced and historicized version of Said's concept to demonstrate the relation among Rossetti's *Goblin Market*, the Alice books by Lewis Carroll, and Burnett's *The Secret Garden* and changing attitudes to Britain's Eastern colonies.

**Bristow, Joseph. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. London: HarperCollins, 1991.**

Takes a historical approach, arguing that Victorian boys were indoctrinated into imperialist ideology via popular print culture, such as juvenile fiction and the *Boy's Own Paper*. Covers schoolboy and island stories, the African fiction of Haggard, Henty, and Conrad; sees Kipling's *Kim* as embodying Orientalist imperialist assumptions, despite its hero's ambivalent position.

**Green, Martin. "Popular Literature and Children's Literature." In *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. By Martin Green, 203–234. New York: Basic Books, 1979.**

A survey that offers a brief discussion of key works by Smiles, Marryat, Charles Kingsley, Henty, Mayne Reid, Stevenson, and Haggard as exemplars of popular and children's literature linking imperialist ideology and the adventure genre.

**Griffin, Brittany Renee. "Tales of Empire: Orientalism in Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature." MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2012.**

Historicizing and nuancing Said's model of Orientalism, Griffin argues that *Goblin Market* dramatizes the suspicion of the exotic Other, while Alice in Carroll's stories is a "living avatar of empire" (p. 6), and the heroine in *The Secret Garden* must return to England to be purged of foreign influences.

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## Islam and the *Thousand and One Nights*

Burton 1897 is best known for the proposition that homosexuality (or “the Vice” as Burton calls it) is a product of geography and climate, not race, and is therefore to be found worldwide in the “Sotadic Zone,” which varies worldwide but is found near the equator. Burton provides a learned overview of both the history and the geographical spread of homosexuality in a wide variety of cultures. White 1997 defends Burton against the charge of being a racist imperialist and proposes a reading of the “Terminal Essay” to the translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* that stresses the coexistence in Burton of tolerance of Arab culture, the racial ideas of the Victorian period, and a colonialist attitude. Phillips 1999 discusses Burton’s two careers, as travel writer and translator, and focuses on his “Terminal Essay” to the *Thousand and One Nights* in the context of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, suggesting that the essay shows Burton using scholarship and various other techniques to criticize Victorian homophobia, despite the apparent use of conventional imperialist “mapping” of a geographical “Sotadic Zone” of homosexuality. Makdisi and Nussbaum 2009 is a valuable study of the influence of translations of the *Arabian Nights* on English literature that focuses mainly on 18th-century works and themes, but which includes a general introduction that situates such studies historically. Al-Da’mi 2002 analyzes Carlyle’s readings of the concept of Arab heroism and Newman’s analysis of Arab-Islamic history using an approach that is mainly historicist and thus complements Said’s intermittently historical approach in *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said). Kabbani 1988, surprisingly, makes no reference to Said, although the scope of this book in some ways resembles that of *Orientalism*. Kabbani traces Western stereotypes of the Orient from the Crusades to the 20th century, discussing the role of the *Thousand and One Nights* in Victorian literary culture, Orientalist painting, and the Orientalist attitudes of certain Victorian and 20th-century travelers. Caracciolo 1988 studies the influence and reception of the *Thousand and One Nights* in English literature, including poetry (Coleridge), the novel (Dickens, Collins, Gaskell, Conrad), and travel writing and ethnography (Lane, Burton, Kinglake). Al-Bazei 1983 is a rare study of Orientalist representations, and specifically of the theme of redemption and self-redemption, in both English and American 19th-century texts, including works by Robert Southey, Lord Byron, Matthew Arnold, and George Eliot, as well as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Herman Melville, and Mark Twain. Ali 1981 offers an extremely useful overview of 19th-century responses to the Arabian Nights in terms of both the intellectual elite and the popular reception of the work; evidence for the first is drawn from prefaces to translations or adaptations, reviews, articles, memoirs, etc., while evidence for the second comes from adaptations, selections, and other sources.

**Ali, Muhsin Jassim. *Scheherazade in England: A Study of Nineteenth-Century English Criticism of the Arabian Nights*. Boulder, CO: Three Continents Press, 1981.**

Very useful overview of elite and popular Victorian responses to the Arabian Nights as seen in scholarly work and popular adaptations, etc. Authors referred to include Charles Dickens, William Makepiece Thackeray, Edward Lane, Richard Burton, and Walter Bagehot. Includes an extensive bibliography of Victorian and later works.

**al-Bazei, Saad Abdulrahman. “Literary Orientalism in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature: Its Formation and Continuity.” PhD diss., Purdue University, 1983.**

Argues that the perceptions and uses of the Arabo-Islamic Orient in 19th-century Anglo-American literature form a systematic discourse on the Orient; the three parts contain historical and theoretical discussions and an analysis of literary Orientalism in selected Victorian and Romantic texts in relation to the themes of redemption and self-redemption.

**Burton, Richard. “Terminal Essay.” In *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Vol. 10. By Richard Burton, 59–230. London: H. S. Nichols, 1897.**

Discusses 9th-century Baghdad and Islam as a religion that reformed Christianity and the dynamic role of women in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Best known for the learned historical and geographical survey of homosexuality in the “Sotadic Zone.” Section D of the essay, “Pederasty,” available online. Full text of Volume 10 also available online, while an excerpt is available from the Born Eunuchs Library.

**Caracciolo, Peter L., ed. *The Arabian Nights in English Literature: Studies in the Reception of the Thousand and One Nights into British Culture*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1988.**

Wide-ranging; discusses allusions to and structural uses of the *Arabian Nights* in literary texts from Coleridge to T. S. Eliot with the main focus on the 19th-century novel and travel writing, including works by Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Thackeray, and Conrad, among others.

**al-Da’mi, Muhammed A. *Arabian Mirrors and Western Soothsayers: Nineteenth-Century Literary Approaches to Arab-Islamic History*. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.**

The study by al-Da’mi of the Orientalism of the nonfictional prose writings of Carlyle and Newman, among others, is a useful complement to Said’s *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) in situating these writers in the context of the confluence of Victorian interest in history and in Orientalism.

**Kabbani, Rana. *Imperial Fictions: Europe’s Myths of Orient*. London: Pandora, 1988.**

Originally published in 1986. Covers the representation of Islam and Islamic peoples and places in literary texts from the 18th to the 20th centuries, focusing on works by Edward William Lane and Wilfred Scawen Blunt on Egypt, Albert Smith on Turkey (Constantinople), and Charles Doughty on Arabia. A useful supplement to Said’s *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said).

**Makdisi, Saree, and Felicity Nussbaum, eds. *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.**

Although mainly focused on 18th-century literature, contains an introduction discussing the role of translations of the *Arabian Nights* in mediating between East and West through their influence on English Literature, and a chapter dealing with the role of Antoine Galland’s translation of the *Nights* in this process.

**Phillips, Richard. "Writing Travel and Mapping Sexuality: Richard Burton's Sotadic Zone." In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. Edited by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 70–91. London: Routledge, 1999.**

Argues that although Burton's "Terminal Essay" to the *Thousand and One Nights* seems to create a colonialist, Orientalist map of "pederasty" (homosexuality) in order to condemn it, in fact the essay destabilizes the fixed oppositions between heterosexuality and homosexuality and colonizer and colonized, revealing Burton's critique of Victorian homophobia.

**White, Chris. "Hunting the Pederast: Richard Burton's Exotic Erotology." In *Writing and Race*. Edited by Tim Youngs, 191–215. London: Longman, 1997.**

Argues that Burton's discussion of pederasty in his "Terminal Essay" on the *Thousand and One Nights* shows his acceptance of the integrity of Eastern culture and enabled him to criticize Western sexual and religious attitudes and racial stereotyping, despite the racial thinking and colonialist attitudes his work sometimes displays.

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## Poetry

Kiernan 1989 presents the imperial dimension of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* to argue that the poet saw empire as benevolent, disinterested, and representing orderly progress, but that toward the end of his life, Tennyson was unable to maintain his confidence in the white man bringing civilization to dark places. David 1995 sees Tennyson as being divided between disdain and desire for the imperial project and imperial power, as manifested in his "imperial poems" and *Idylls of the King*. Graham 1998 takes a Bakhtinian approach and uses ideas of monologism and dialogism to analyze Victorian epic poetry in Tennyson, Samuel Ferguson's Irish epic, and Edwin Arnold's Oriental (Indian) epic. Graham sees Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* as an analogue of Victorian debates about morality and politics, especially imperial power, arguing that the poem shows the formation of imperialist ideas about history, nation, and race, but also anxieties about maintaining imperial power. Graham uses Bakhtin's ideas on the epic, monologism, and dialogism to theorize "the cultural politics of epic" (p. 1) in the second half of the 19th century, analyzing the treatment of concepts of nation and empire in works by Tennyson, Samuel Ferguson, and Edwin Arnold in relation to England, Ireland, and India, respectively. Challenging the critical vision of Tennyson's "proto-modernism" (p. 25), Graham 1998 also focuses on the relation of his poetry (*The Idylls of the King* and other shorter poems) to national and imperial themes, and sees *Idylls* as an epic characterized by the process of "imperial textual self-deconstruction" (p. 47), which is continued and amplified in the works of Ferguson and Edwin Arnold. Haddad 2004 offers a view of the depiction of the East in selected poems of Tennyson and Matthew Arnold that links them both to their Romantic predecessors and to their Victorian imperial context, seeing them as divided between two visions of the East: as static and opposed to Europe or, conversely, as implicated in the political and economic developments of British imperialism.

**David, Deirdre. "Laboring for the Empire: Old Patriarchy and New Imperialism in Tennyson and H. Rider Haggard." In *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. By Deirdre David, 157–201. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.**

Argues that Tennyson's "imperial poems" show Tennyson being reconciled to mercantile capitalism through the creation of the idealized colonial other figure derived from Queen Victoria, and that *Idylls of the King* fantasizes a benevolent colonial government displaced onto the figure of King Arthur.

**Graham, Colin. *Ideologies of Epic: Nation, Empire, and Victorian Epic Poetry*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998.**

Using a Bakhtinian approach, Graham argues that in epic poetry, cultural monologism is partially disrupted by representations of the world of "the foreign and barbaric past" and "the others" (Bakhtin). Deals with Tennyson, Samuel Ferguson, and Edwin Arnold. In chapters "Tennyson, Empire and Epic" and "*Idylls of the King*" (pp. 25–72), discusses the links between Tennyson, empire, and epic poetry, and reads *The Idylls of the King* using concepts of chivalry and heroism to create a positive view of imperialism, but notes that its unease with the epic form reveals anxieties about imperial decline.

**Haddad, Emily A. "Tennyson, Arnold, and the Wealth of the East." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 32.2 (September 2004): 373–391.**

Sees selected poems by Tennyson and Arnold as being characterized by two contrasting visions of the East: the Romantic Orientalist vision of the East as unchanging and a Victorian vision that sees the East as involved in the British imperial system.

**Kiernan, V. J. "Tennyson, King Arthur and Imperialism." In *Poets, Politics, and the People*. Edited by V. G. Kiernan and Harvey J. Kaye, 129–151. London: Verso, 1989.**

Argues that in *Idylls of the King*, Tennyson displaces the present into the past, representing Arthur's kingdom as a small empire and idealizing war as the antithesis of bourgeois capitalism but revealing that the idea of empire as benevolent and disinterested is illusory.

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## Theater

Bratton, et al. 1991 is a collection of essays on topics ranging from discussions of theatrical representations of the "Jack Tar" hero and the stage Irishman to the development of colonial melodrama's dramatizations of the self/Other, colonizer, good/evil oppositions, the imperial "staging" of India in the "Empire of India" Exhibition, and the cultural implications of "nigger" minstrelsy. Arnold 2010 offers a rare discussion of Orientalism in Victorian theater. Basing her approach on Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said), Fabian 2002 (cited under Colonial Discourse), and MacKenzie 1995, Arnold analyzes the effect on children of theatrical Orientalism via a discussion of imperialist and Orientalist themes, stage production and design, and toy theaters for children. MacKenzie 1995 covers drama from the 18th to the 20th centuries, with the major focus on the Victorian period; MacKenzie largely follows Bratton, et al. 1991 in seeing Victorian melodrama as divided into three periods: the colonial melodramas of 1820 to 1850, the more pro-imperialist works of the later part of the century, and the domestic dramas in exotic settings, contemporaneous with the second. MacKenzie also pays some attention to the Jack Tar hero figure and to Orientalist spectacles in Victorian popular culture. Ziter 2003 takes Edward Said's concept of "imaginative geography" and Michel Foucault's notion of genealogy to offer a sweeping and instructive analysis of Victorian theater, museums,

exhibitions, and popular culture generally. Ziter argues that in the theater and elsewhere, the combination of exotic and colonial imagery together with new forms of the staging of space led to a new vision of the theater in relation to geography and colonized peoples.

**Arnold, Riva. "Design of the Imagination: How Did Children in the Victorian Period Engage with the Orient?" MA thesis, Royal College of Art, 2010.**

Uses Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said), Fabian 2002 (cited under Colonial Discourse), and MacKenzie 1995 to discuss Orientalism in Victorian theater, focusing on its effect on children; includes discussion of imperialist and Orientalist themes, stage production, and design and toy theaters.

**Bratton, J. S., Richard Allen Cave, Breandan Gregory, et al. *Acts of Supremacy: The British Empire and the Stage, 1790–1930*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1991.**

Drawing on Sander L. Gilman and Walter Lippmann's theories of stereotypes, the essays analyze several aspects of imperialist discourse and a range of theatrical conventions to argue that the Victorian theater produced and reproduced the hegemonic ideology of imperialism, but also contained (in both senses) antihegemonic impulses.

**MacKenzie, John M. "Orientalism in the Theatre." In *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*. By John M. MacKenzie, 176–207. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995.**

MacKenzie's essay is based on Bratton, et al. 1991. MacKenzie offers an overview of Orientalist themes, characters, and settings in Victorian melodrama as well as panoramas and pageants, beginning with revivals of Byron's *Sardanapulus* in 1853. Good introduction.

**Ziter, Edward. *The Orient on the Victorian Stage*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.**

Using Saidian and Foucauldian theory, Ziter examines representations of the Orient in Victorian theater and popular culture to argue that new three-dimensional staging led to a changed construction of "the Orient" and spectators' attitudes to it; covers a variety of plays, panoramas, exhibitions, and pleasure grounds.

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## Travel Writing

With the exception of Bridges 2002, almost all the texts cited here follow and develop some of Said's arguments in *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said). Bridges takes a historicist, survey-type approach and locates different moments of travel writing in relation to changes in imperial attitudes and actions in the 18th and 19th centuries. Like Lewis 1996 (cited under Women) and Melman 1995 (cited under Travelers in Egypt and the Middle East (Including Turkey)), Behdad 1994 focuses on the intersection of gender and Orientalism in travel writing, primarily in relation to the Middle East and India, arguing that by the late Victorian period travelers felt "belated" in their search for a place in which they could escape European modernity. Pratt 1992 extends the range of discussion of 19th-century travel writing by discussing South America and non-English authors and by bringing several new concepts to the discussion, such as "the contact zone," "autoethnography," and the trope of "the monarch of all I survey" in describing landscape. Korte 2000 provides an overview of English travel from the pilgrimages to the late 20th century, and includes chapters on 19th-century travel and women's travel. Duncan and Gregory 1999 is a collection of useful essays, several of which deal with aspects of Victorian travel writing, such as Richard Burton's concept of the "Sotadic Zone" of pederasty in his "Terminal Essay" to the *Thousand and One Nights* and British travelers' responses to Egypt, India, and Ceylon. Youngs 2006 begins with the "blank spaces" metaphor and notes the connections among 19th-century travel, colonialism, and imperialism; the advent of travel as tourism; and the role of new technologies like the railway and photography. The overview introduces a collection of essays on travel in the Balkans, the Middle East, Africa, India, America, and Australasia, some of which deal with 19th-century works. See also Travelers in India and Travelers in Egypt and the Middle East (Including Turkey). Leask 2008 discusses travel writing about Ethiopia, Egypt, India, and Mexico from 1770 to 1840, including works by James Bruce (Ethiopia) and Fanny Parks (India), using an "aesthetics of curiosity" (p. 16) and the idea of a temporalizing metaphor of space as two of the theoretical parameters for empirical analyses of texts and locating the analyses in the historical context of Victorian colonialism.

**Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994.**

Discusses the way that gender influenced Orientalist writing; analyzes the splits and ambivalences of a belated Orientalism, and the search for an escape from European modernity in both French and British writers, including Rudyard Kipling and Lady Anne Blunt.

**Bridges, Roy. "Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720–1914)." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 53–69. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.**

Puts travel writing in the context of historical and political trends in three periods: 1720–1830, 1830–1880, and 1880–1914, and views Victorian travel writing as reflecting the non-annexationist expansionism of the middle period and the international scramble for territories and annexation and its underlying anxieties of the final period.

**Duncan, James, and Derek Gregory. *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. London: Routledge, 1999.**

Contains useful essays by various authors on Burton's Sotadic Zone, Orientalism in travelogues on Egypt, British women's writings on the Indian Mutiny, and the "imaginative geography" of Victorian travelers to Ceylon.

**Korte, Barbara. "Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century." In *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*. By Barbara Korte, 106–126. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2000.**

A general worldwide overview of 19th-century travel writing, which argues that both exploration and tourism peaked in the Victorian age. Brief but suggestive.

**Leask, Nigel. *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.**

Discusses antiquarian travel writing about Ethiopia, Egypt, India, and Mexico from 1770 to 1840, seeing such works as characterized by "antiquarian and . . . ethnological curiosity" (p. 4) and a combination of scientific and literary impulses, and locating them in the material context of European colonialism and imperialism.

**Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.**

An important book; develops Said's *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) by calling for the inclusion of non-Europeans voices and non-Westerners in discussions of Europe's view of non-Europeans, and offers a new vocabulary for discussing the rhetorical strategies Orientalizing travel writings.

**Youngs, Tim. "Introduction: Filling the Blank Spaces." In *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*. By Tim Youngs, 1–18. London: Anthem, 2006.**

Offers a schematic view of much 19th-century travel writing as based on a fourfold process of the identification of blank spaces, filling them in, exploiting their commercial potential, and representing them in works characterized by Victorian racial thinking.

## Women Travelers

Approaching women's travel writing via Foucauldian ideas of discourse, power, and discipline, Mills 1993 argues that Said's *Orientalism* (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said) does not take gender sufficiently into account, and so seeks to include gender in the analysis of travel writing. Part I of Blunt and Rose 1994, "Drawing the Map," takes the metaphor of mapping to interrogate the position of various white women travelers or colonial residents (Fanny Parks in India; Mary Kingsley, Constance Larymore, and Mary Slessor in West Africa) in relation to the production of knowledge, authority and authorship, and relationships with and representations of colonized women. Stevenson 1982 is a useful, less theoretically sophisticated introduction to women's travel writing, while Foster 1990 introduces a book on 19th-century women travelers with chapters on Italy, America, and the East (Japan and Tibet). Foster's introduction notes the huge increase in women traveling in the Victorian Age, their motivations for travel, their contradictory position in imperialist culture and in the imperial travel genre, and the typical strategies and themes of their works. Frawley 1994 argues that Victorian women's travel writing took different forms (diaries, letters home, journals) and varied according to geographical area: accounts of Europe were mainly chronological, in Africa women portrayed themselves as adventuresses, in the Middle East they were concerned with personal and social recovery and history, and in America they often wrote from a sociological perspective. Korte 2000 sees women's travel writing as embodying a "relative difference" from men's texts in terms of narrative mode and stance and the approach to other cultures, and refers to Mary Kingsley, Isabella Bird, and Anna Jameson, among others. Kuehn and Wagner 2009 continues the discussion of Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said) by suggesting a return to a close reading of texts that have so far been studied in terms of colonial discourse analysis, and it offers analyses of selected works by Victorian women travelers and male novelists. Ramli 2011 offers an overview of the varying positions of several recent commentators on women's travel writing in relation to Said's *Orientalism* and the idea that women's texts offer alternative discursive positions to Orientalist hegemony. Similarly, Bassnett 2002 begins by discussing secondary material related to the rediscovery of women's travel writing and stresses its diverse forms but also its common features: the focus on everyday life, the search for identity, and the creation of fictional narrative personae.

**Bassnett, Susan. "Travel Writing and Gender." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 225–241. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.**

Covers the secondary material related to the rediscovery of women travelers and stresses the diversity of their travelogues, but also notes their frequent emphasis on geography and everyday life as well as the search for identity and the creation of fictional personae.

**Blunt, Alison, and Gillian Rose, eds. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. New York: Guilford, 1994.**

Essays in Part 1 offer analyses of women's position in relation to colonial discourse and imperial power, and of white women's complicity with and resistance to imperialist mapping strategies in women's travel writing related to West Africa and India.

**Foster, Shirley. "Women Travellers and Their Writings." In *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Writings*. By Shirley Foster, 1–25. New York: Harvester, 1990.**

Notes women travelers' varying reasons for traveling before commenting on the problems and benefits of travel for women and their paradoxical position in relation to the dominant discourses of genre and imperialism and the textual strategies women used to cope with this.

**Frawley, Maria H. *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*. London: Associated University Presses, 1994.**

Describes the major forms of Victorian women's travel writing and relates them to geographical regions, and also relates the choice of forms to questions of female identity. Deals with Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and America.

**Korte, Barbara. "Women's Travel Writing." In *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*. By Barbara Korte, 127–149. Translated by Catherine Matthias. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2000.**

Argues that while women's travel writing shares certain generic features with men's works, it is also characterized by gender-specific traits like the use of the diary or letter form, the emphasis on amateurism, apologies, an openness to other cultures, and a critique of imperialism.

**Kuehn, Julia, and Tamara S. Wagner, eds. *Special Issue: Beyond Orientalism; Texting the Victorian East. Critical Survey 21.1* (2009).**

Focusing on close readings of canonical and noncanonical Victorian texts as a means of studying the Victorian Orient as a literary topos; deals with women's travelogues in the Middle East and South and Southeast Asia, and with the colonial novels of Dickens, Conrad, Kipling, and Forster.

**Mills, Sara. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. New York: Routledge, 1993.**

Mills uses a Foucauldian approach to the different voices in travelogues and the contradictory position occupied by women and their texts in relation to colonial power structures and discourses. She first offers a theoretical discussion of these issues, then analyzes works by Mary Kingsley and Niza Mazuchelli.

**Ramli, Aimillia Mohd. "Contemporary Criticism on the Representation of Female Travelers of the Ottoman Harem in the 19th Century: A Review." *Intellectual Discourse 19* (2011): 263–279.**

Argues that whereas Melman 1995 (cited under Travelers in Egypt and the Middle East (Including Turkey)) and Lewis 1996 (cited under Women) see women travelers' rhetoric as an alternative to hegemonic Orientalist discourse, Yeğenoğlu 1999 (cited under Women) and Foster 2004 (cited under the Harem) argue that both men's and women's Orientalist writings may be ambivalent.

**Stevenson, Catherine Barnes. *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa*. Boston: Twayne, 1982.**

Stevenson's criteria for assessing the work of women travel writers are impressionistic ("vividness" of descriptions, "power" of prose), but this includes a useful overview of women writers as wives, missionaries, and vacationers, as well as longer discussions of the lives and works of Florence Dixie and Mary Kingsley.

## Gender

Blake 1992 and Youngs 1997 compare examples of men's and women's travel writing, but whereas Blake finds significant differences of attitude, which she ascribes to women's different educational, administrative, and social positions in the colonial world, Youngs chooses to focus on the significance of commodities in men's and women's travel writing rather than on tropes, since he argues that the latter are generically defined. He discusses a number of 19th-century women travelers to propose that in women's texts, as in those of men, commodities are linked to anxieties about identity and position, and that they frequently reveal the ambivalences of women travelers' positions in the home and the colonial society. Korte 2000 sees women's travel writing as embodying a "relative difference" from men's texts in terms of narrative mode and stance and the approach to other cultures, and she refers to Mary Kingsley, Isabella Bird, and Anna Jameson, among others.

**Blake, Susan L. "A Woman's Trek: What Difference Does Gender Make?" In *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, 19–34. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.**

Compares Mary Hall's account of her African journey with those of several male travelers, all belonging to the middle-class public school, colonial service category, and finds significant differences in their approaches to the African people(s) they encounter because of differences in their relations to colonial power structures and discourses.

**Korte, Barbara. "Women's Travel Writing." In *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*. By Barbara Korte, 127–149. Translated by Catherine Matthias. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2000.**

Argues that while women's travel writing shares certain generic features with men's works, it is also characterized by gender-specific traits like the use of the diary or letter form, the emphasis on amateurism, apologies, an openness to other cultures, and a critique of imperialism.

**Youngs, Tim. "Buttons and Souls: Some Thoughts on Commodities and Identity in Women's Travel Writing." *Studies in Travel Writing 1.1* (Spring 1997): 117–140.**

Focuses on commodities in men's and women's travel writing to argue that in both they function as loci of contestation and anxiety, but that in women's texts they are related to specifically gendered issues of identity.

## Travelers in Africa

Brantlinger 1986 and Miller 1985 are key works elucidating the image of Africa as "the Dark Continent" and Africanist discourse, respectively. Brantlinger approaches the Orientalism of Victorian literature in the context of representations of the abolition of slavery, mid-Victorian travel, and missionary writing about Africa and Victorian racial and evolutionary theories, while Miller analyzes Orientalist and Africanist discourses and the overlap between them, as well as offering discussions of key texts by Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Conrad, Sade, and Céline. Youngs 1994 focuses on British travel works written between 1850 and 1900 dealing with central and eastern Africa, and offers discussions of both canonical and less well-known travel writers, as well as focusing on the relationship between travel writing and the political,



economic, and social context of Britain itself. Youngs challenges both the psychoanalytic approach to colonial discourse analysis of Homi Bhabha and what he sees as the oversimplification of both historical and textual data in Brantlinger's works. Frawley 1994 is concerned with women travelers and sees their works as adopting and adapting the male adventure narrative form, and thus enlarging the expectations of the public at home of what women's activities could encompass. McEwan 2000 focuses on women in West Africa, using a Saidian framework with concepts like "imaginative geography" and arguing that Victorians were empowered by their experiences in Africa and their writing; McEwan analyzes their texts' representations of landscape, race, and customs as well as their relationships with African women.

**Brantlinger, Patrick. "Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr., 185–222. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.**

A key essay. Brantlinger discusses "the myth of the Dark Continent" as "a Victorian invention" (p. 217) in the context of 19th-century cultural and intellectual history, and sees it as embodied most notably in the gothic romance (Rider Haggard and Buchan) and the boys' adventure story (Henty and others).

**Frawley, Maria H. "Fair Amazons Abroad: The Social Construction of Victorian Adventuresses." In *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*. By Maria H. Frawley, 103–130. London: Associated University Presses, 1994.**

Sees Victorian women's accounts of Africa as adventure narratives that adopted and adapted tropes from male narratives, such as *terra incognita*, the intrepid explorer, and physical hardship, but also argues that some of these narratives domesticated adventure (as nursing of wounded soldiers) or adopted an ethnographic perspective.

**McEwan, Cheryl. *Gender, Geography, and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000.**

Using Said's concept of "imaginative geography," McEwan discusses the work of Victorian women writers on West Africa, arguing that whether their journeys or residence in Africa are seen as escape or duty, their experiences, and their writing, empowered them and in some cases had a considerable impact in England, too.

**Miller, Christopher L. *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.**

The lengthy first part of Miller's analysis of examples of Africanist discourse usefully contrasts Orientalist and Africanist discourse and reveals the significant overlap between them, as well as differences. The third part, "Africanist Narrative," contains a chapter on Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (pp. 169–183) as "the strongest of all Africanist texts" (p. 170).

**Youngs, Tim. *Travelers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1950*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994.**

Unusual in dealing partly with themes (food, commodities) rather than individual travel writers, although it does discuss Stanley at length and analyzes *Heart of Darkness* as revisionist travel writing; The book follows Said but offers a historical perspective on selected British travelogues from 1850 to 1900.

## Mary Kingsley

Blanton 1997 neglects Kingsley's ethnographic interests but is good on the multivoiced nature of *Travels in West Africa*, and Blunt 1994 offers good textual reading of landscape descriptions and the multiple personae of Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* to examine the implications for a British woman traveling to West Africa in the late 19th century; in the end, Blunt finds Kingsley's position to be ambivalent in terms of authority and authorship. Lawrence 1994 interrogates the intrepid Victorian woman traveler figure in Kingsley's text and sees her using trade as both an organizing and an enabling mechanism and a metaphor for reciprocity, and as taking the values of West African fetish belief systems seriously. Lawrence argues that Kingsley had an ambiguous relation to imperial ideology and was aware of and exploited the "theatrics of gender and race."

**Blanton, Casey. "Victorian Women Travelers: Mary Kingsley." In *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*. By Casey Blanton, 44–58. New York: Twayne, 1997.**

An account of *Travels in West Africa* as a text of escape from the confines of middle-class Victorian women's lives; identifies Kingsley's several voices and the coexistence of pro-imperialist sentiment and cultural relativism in the representation of Africa and Africans, although Blanton ignores the ethnographic dimension of the text.

**Blunt, Alison. "Mapping Authorship and Authority: Reading Mary Kingsley's Landscape Descriptions." In *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. Edited by Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, 51–72. New York: Guilford, 1994.**

Argues that Kingsley's landscape descriptions and the multiple personae of her writing reveal her preference for metaphorical and textual rather than literal mapping, and thus her ambivalent position vis-à-vis imperial power structures at home and abroad.

**Lawrence, Karen R. "The African Wanderers: Kingsley and Lee." In *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*. By Karen R. Lawrence, 105–153. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.**

Argues that Kingsley had an ambiguous relation to the dominant culture, adopting and adapting male tropes like sport and seduction and satirizing the trope of European mastery despite her imperialist views; also sees her as recognizing and exploiting the theatrical element in cultural encounters.

## Henry Morton Stanley

Youngs 1994 treats Stanley as an exemplar of the hardening of attitudes toward Africa and Africans in the later 19th century, and devotes two of its chapters to a detailed and careful discussion of the accounts of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition by Stanley and other members of the expedition. Youngs analyzes the controversy surrounding the expedition's events, while other works by Stanley are also discussed more briefly.

**Youngs, Tim. *Travelers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994.**

Views *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) as a work of cultural imperialism and analyzes *In Darkest Africa* (1890) as well as accounts of the journey to rescue Emin Pasha by other members of the expedition, as well as the reception of these works by contemporary readers.

## Colonial Discourse on India

Parry 1972 is an early, pre-Saidian study that usefully presents the official British view of imperialism, an analysis of Anglo-India attitudes to India, and the clash of Indian and British cultures, before examining popular novels by women, the work of Flora Annie Steel, and the work of Kipling and Forster, among others. David 1995 contrasts three texts on empire: *The Moonstone*, Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education," and Emily Eden's letters from India. David argues that while Macaulay provides a founding text justifying imperial possession, Collins shows the effects of imperial greed on the English domestic scene, and Eden offers a counterhegemonic voice. In Suleri 1992, the author defines her works as a contribution to colonial cultural studies, but she rejects the binary opposition of self and Other as constricting, and the image of colonialism as rape as outmoded. Suleri focuses instead on colonial terror, discursive guilt, and the way that the anxieties of empire are reflected in texts by Burke, Victorian women writing on India, and Kipling, among others. Using the insights of Edward Said in *Orientalism* and those of various critiques of Said by Abdul JanMohamed, Aijaz Ahmad, and Homi Bhabha, the writers of the essays in the useful and reliable collection Moore-Gilbert 1996 use colonial discourse analysis to examine representations of the Black Hole of Calcutta, Anglo-Indian poetry, *Confessions of a Thug*, and Kipling's "On the City Wall," *Kim*, and *The Naulakha*, as well as works by E. M. Forster, Paul Scott, and Salman Rushdie. Makdisi 1998 compares the respect for and knowledge of India shown by William Jones and Edmund Burke to the imperialist views of Hastings, Macaulay, and Mill, arguing that the exoticism and knowledge of Oriental cultures of Jones and Burke were replaced by a view of India as backward and in need of imperial discipline in the case of the imperialist writers.

**David, Deirdre. "The Invasion of Empire: Thomas Macaulay and Emily Eden Go to India." In *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. By Deirdre David, 17–42. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.**

Beginning with *The Moonstone*'s "invasion" of English domesticity by the Indians, the diamond, and opium; contrasts Macaulay's "master text of empire" (p. 36), his "Minute on Indian Education," with Emily Eden's letters, arguing that the latter provides a mocking and deflating contrapuntal voice to Macaulay's confident imperialist rhetoric.

**Makdisi, Saree. "Domesticating Exoticism: Transformations of Britain's Orient, 1785–1835." In *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity*. By Saree Makdisi, 100–121. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.**

Despite the dates, this is of relevance because it discusses the differences between William Jones's and Edmund Burke's ideas of India and those of Warren Hastings, Thomas Macaulay, and John Stuart Mill, seeing the exoticism of the first replaced by the "disciplinary version of Orientalism" (p. 116) of the second.

**Moore-Gilbert, Bart. *Writing India, 1757–1990: The Literature of British India*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1996.**

Discusses the "discursive consistency" (p. 1) of a variety of authors and genres from 1770 to 1990, including both canonical and non-canonical works by Meadows Taylor, Kipling, Forster, and British women writers, applying the theory and methods of colonial discourse analysis and focusing on themes like cultural cross-dressing and psychic breakdown.

**Parry, Benita. *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination, 1880–1903*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.**

Presents a general overview of the British in India and the clash of cultures before examining India as inscrutable and nightmarish in women's popular novels, Flora Annie Steel's more complex vision, and Kipling's ambivalence about imperialism and India in *The Man Who Would Be King* and *Kim*.

**Suleri, Sara. *The Rhetoric of English India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.**

Rejecting binary oppositions of self and Other, colonizer and colonized, Suleri argues that both colonial and postcolonial texts on India show the ambivalence and instability of colonial rule, as well as the colonial terror and implicit homoeroticism of colonial India.

## Travelers in India

Ghose 1998 criticizes "celebratory feminist criticism" of women travelers as anecdotal and nonanalytic and, instead, uses the trope of the gaze to examine works by women travelers in colonial India; topics discussed range from early women travelers' use of Orientalist discourse and the picaresque to their representations of the harem and the Indian Mutiny. Ghose pays particular attention to Emily Eden, whom Ghose sees as debunking colonial myths despite her silencing of colonial realities. Leask 2008 has a brief but informative section on Fanny Parks in India, seeing her as enjoying the freedom her position gave her and reading her text as ambivalent about British rule in India, especially in relation to the zenana, due to her feminist ideas. Suleri 1992 discusses Parks, Harriet Tytler, and the ethnographic project, *The People of India*, to argue that all three reveal splits and ambivalence in colonial discourse. Ghose 2006 focuses on Richard Burton's account of his travels in Sindh, which, oddly, do not comment on his role as a British spy but do reveal him as an "imperial player" in two senses: as an actor (a traveler in disguise) and as an agent

for the colonial power. Teltscher 2002 offers a discussion of the ambivalence with which India, and specifically Calcutta, was viewed in the 19th century, arguing that Victorian writing about India was already belated by that time, since India had already been the subject of English scrutiny for over two centuries. Duncan 1999 notes the hybridity of the constructions of the Kandyan Highlands by Victorian travelers and residents who saw them as both idealizing and savage, and argues that in these constructions two types of “imaginative geography” (Said)—a romantic view of the Scottish Highlands and the heaven on earth of the Buddhist god-king—come together.

**Duncan, James. “Dis-orientation: On the Shock of the Familiar in a Far-Away Place.” In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. Edited by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 151–163. London: Routledge, 1999.**

Using Said’s idea of “imaginative geography,” Duncan argues that Victorian travelers and residents in the Kandyan Highlands of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) constructed them ambivalently according to the romantic concept of the picturesque as both ideal and savage.

**Ghose, Indira. *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.**

Uses the gaze as an organizing trope for a discussion of women travelers’ involvement in imperialist power relations in 19th-century India; includes discussions of their works in relation to Orientalist discourses, the picaresque, representations of the zenana, and philanthropic activities, singling out Emily Eden as an especially important figure.

**Ghose, Indira. “Imperial Player: Richard Burton in Sindh.” In *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*. Edited by Tim Youngs, 71–86. London: Anthem, 2006.**

Sees Burton’s account of his travels in Sindh as riven with ironies, as Burton’s humor, erudition, and anti-Victorian middle-class moralism and hypocrisy do not prevent him using and enjoying disguise as cultural masquerade in the service of colonial power.

**Leask, Nigel. “Domesticating Distance: Three Women Travel Writers in British India.” In *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840*. By Nigel Leask, 203–242. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.**

Presents Fanny Parks’s book on India as both colluding in and distant from British imperialism; sees her use of the picturesque as undermined by her taste for the macabre and her collecting mania; her feminism and politics are discussed.

**Suleri, Sara. “The Feminine Picturesque.” In *The Rhetoric of English India*. By Sara Suleri, 75–110. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.**

Shows how British Victorian women writing about India were divided between collusion with and confinement in the discourse of colonization, and argues that the picturesque at times allowed them to dismantle the hegemonic view of the Raj and reveal the disembodied homoeroticism of the imperial project.

**Teltscher, Kate. “India/Calcutta: City of Palaces and Dreadful Night.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 191–206. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.**

Sees Victorian writing on India as already belated, and focuses on the ambivalent representation of Calcutta as a symbol of wealth and grandeur, but also of disease, death, and fear before the mid-19th century, with the negative images predominating after about 1850.

## Travelers in Egypt and the Middle East (Including Turkey)

Hatem 1992 offers a critique of European Orientalist and Egyptian nationalist writings, including a discussion of the letters of Lucie Duff Gordon. Frawley 1994 has a chapter on Martineau’s and Cobbe’s accounts of the Middle East, seeing their writings as the result of personal loss to which they responded by embodying their desire for personal spiritual recovery and recovery of the historical past in their texts. Focusing on the Middle East, Melman 1995 seeks to develop Said’s arguments about Orientalist viewpoints in travel writing to include gender, dealing with “harem literature,” “evangelical ethnography,” and “feminine travelogues” by some 19th-century writers. Melman 2002 again stresses the heterogeneity of Orientalist representations of the Middle East, especially in the pilgrimage and domestic ethnography models, and argues that the homosocial and romantic views of Arabia and the Bedouin constitute a hegemonic tradition that excludes important women travelers like Anne Blunt and Gertrude Bell. Geoffrey Nash also revises Said’s homogeneous view of Orientalist discourses; in Nash 2005, he examines the opposition to the mainstream Victorian Orientalist and imperialist discourse in the writings and politics of Urquhart, Blunt, Browne, and Pickthall. Nash 2006 uses Behdad’s concepts of “belatedness” (in Behdad 1994, cited under Travel Writing), “the desire for the Orient,” and the search for an alternative to Western modernity to examine British travelers’ responses to the Middle East, concluding that even works that seem to challenge imperialist and Orientalist views often result in the incorporation of Eastern peoples into Western discourses. Like Nash 2005, Schiffer 1999 challenges Said’s description of Orientalist discourse as homogeneous and discusses a hundred and sixty Victorian travelogues’ representations of Turkish towns, landscapes, and women (and especially the harem and the Turkish bath). Using a biographical approach, the author of Tidrick 1989 discusses the works of Richard Burton, Gifford Palgrave, Wilfred Blunt, and Charles Doughty as typical of the English view of the Bedouin as “noble savages” and of the English affinity with the Bedouin, but suggests that the writers were individualists rather than proponents of a hegemonic Orientalist discourse. Using Said’s conceptual framework of Orientalism, the author of Gregory 1999 provides a detailed overview of the conventions of representation of 19th-century writings on Egypt by men and women travelers and by authors of guidebooks, including the construction of “ancient Egypt” as a site/sight for tourist consumption and the use of images from the *Thousand and One Nights* as well as ethnographic stereotypes.

**Frawley, Maria H. “Spots of Time: Victorian Women in the Middle East.” In *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*. By Maria H. Frawley, 131–159. London: Associated University Presses, 1994.**

Argues that Harriet Martineau and Frances Power Cobbe saw themselves as “pilgrims of history” and searched for and represented affinities between past and present Eastern life, with emphasis on the past, in a quest for recovery of the self and of the historical past.

**Gregory, Derek. “Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the Cultures of Travel.” In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. Edited by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 116–150. London: Routledge, 1999.**

Using Said’s concepts of Orientalism as theater and as showing a “textual attitude,” Gregory in one section of the essays focuses on Victorian travelers’ tendency to see Egypt and Egyptians through *The Arabian Nights* and ethnographic stereotypes, thus producing the “Orient” for tourists’ and readers’ consumption.

**Hatem, Mervat. “Through Each Other’s Eyes: The Impact on the Colonial Encounter of the Images of Egyptian, Levantine-Egyptian, and European Women, 1862–1920.” In *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, 35–58. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.**

Has a section on the letters of Lucie Duff Gordon; sees them as classically Orientalist in their portrayal of Egyptian women, but also as sympathetic to Islam and the Egyptians.

**Melman, Billie. *Women’s Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918; Sexuality, Religion, and Work*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1995.**

Wide-ranging and informative; emphasizes the heterogeneity of Orientalism, arguing that women travelers’ accounts of the Orient offered an alternative view to that of male writers. Writers discussed include Harriet Martineau, Amelia Edwards, and Anne and Wilfred Blunt.

**Melman, Billie. “The Middle East/Arabia: ‘The Cradle of Islam.’” In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 105–121. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.**

Focuses on the pilgrimage and domestic ethnography models in discussing the role of Victorian Orientalism in representing the Middle East, and analyzes the dominant masculinist tradition of romanticizing Arabia, despite the existence of important women travelers and their works.

**Nash, Geoffrey. *From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East, 1830–1926*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005.**

Revises Said 1995 (cited under Said and Critiques of Said) by presenting the opposition to the dominant imperialist and Orientalist discourse in the works of unconventional Islamophile writers like David Urquhart, W. S. Blunt, Edward Granville Browne, and Marmaduke Pickthall.

**Nash, Geoffrey. “Politics, Aesthetics, and Quest in British Travel Writing on the Middle East.” In *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*. Edited by Tim Youngs, 55–69. London: Anthem, 2006.**

Using concepts from Behdad 1994 (cited under Travel Writing), Nash suggests that Victorian travelers’ works on the Middle East are dominated by personal, aesthetic, and especially political versions of the quest, and that, although pro-imperialist, they sometimes challenge dominant Orientalist and imperialist perspectives.

**Schiffer, Reinhold. *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in Nineteenth Century Turkey*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999.**

Seeks to modify Said’s view of the hegemonic nature of Orientalism; argues for the diversity of representations of Turkey in 160 Victorian travelogues. Sees British travelers to Turkey as varying between the egalitarians, those who looked aimed to be “honest,” and those for whom “British was best.”

**Tidrick, Kathryn. *Heart-Beguiling Araby: The English Romance with Arabia*. Rev. ed. London: I. B. Tauris, 1989.**

Argues that the ideas of the Bedouin as “noble Arab” and of the affinities between the English and the Bedouin characterized works of 19th-century male travelers on Arabia, but that these travelers cannot be seen as prisoners of a hegemonic institutionalized discourse (Said 1995, cited under Said and Critiques of Said), but they were diverse and interesting. First published 1981 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

## The Harem

Foster 2004 considers the counter-hegemonic viewpoint seen in some women’s travel accounts of the harem in the 18th and 19th centuries, arguing that sometimes their responses to differences of dress and physical culture allowed them to override class, national, and racial stereotypes and arrive at an engagement with biculturality.

**Foster, Shirley. “Colonialism and Gender in the East: Representations of the Harem in the Writings of Women Travellers.” *Yearbook of English Studies* 34 (2004): 6–17.**

Building on Lewis 1996 (cited under Women) and Melman 1995 (cited under Travelers in Egypt and the Middle East (Including Turkey)), Foster argues that Victorian women travelers’ ability to visit harems allowed them at times to offer a counter-hegemonic view of Middle Eastern women, showing sympathy and admiration and reciprocity that moved beyond Orientalist and colonialist perspectives.