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Reading the Victorian Gypsy

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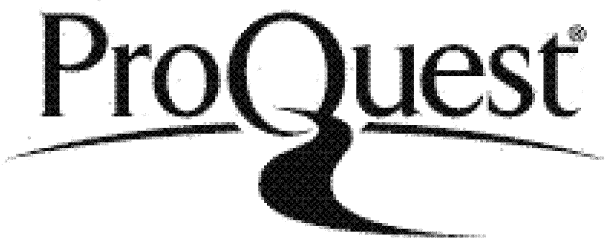

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Abstract

Nineteenth-century texts that focus on Gypsies construct a figure who ought to be locatable in a racial hierarchy, in a class system, and along gender lines. When read psychoanalytically, however, the texts reveal signs of having repressed uncertainty about where such boundaries may be drawn and what they signify. The figure of the Gypsy, existing literally and metaphorically on the verges of society, disrupts the stable locations of identity fenced off by discourse even as texts hope to offer the Gypsy as an example of how one may categorise others. Chapter One studies the figure of the Gypsy in the work of Walter Scott (1771–1832) and its relationship to that of a later writer, George Borrow (1803–1881). Chapter Two concentrates on the work of the Romany Ryes, examining the discursive implications of their impulse to conserve Gypsy culture in the face of its perceived annihilation. Chapter Three explores the construction of the Gypsy between engraved image and written text in the *Illustrated London News*, reading the ways in which the two forms work together on the page. Chapter Four looks at George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868) and *Daniel Deronda* (1876) to examine the differences in the representation of a male Jew and female Gypsy in her work. The final chapter discusses the pervasive stereotype of Gypsies kidnapping children in the context of children's literature. The readings performed throughout the thesis are underpinned by a deconstructive psychoanalysis (drawing on Jacques Derrida's rethinking of the work of Sigmund Freud), which not only lends the project a methodology but demands an exploration of the ethics and responsibilities of reading and writing now, in the past, and for the future. The texts are thus under analysis and are seen to preserve traces of the nineteenth-century discourses in which they are woven (and which they also weave). Such conservation also always institutes a difference, however, and the attempted repression, silencing, banishment and fetishization of all the uncontained features of the figure of the Gypsy do not mean that the text has the Gypsy under control; all of these things come back to haunt it.

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Introduction

'Arabs of Europe!':[1] Who Were the Gypsies?

One way of answering the question 'who were the Gypsies?' is to respond that it is unanswerable. Without reinscribing the assumptions made by writers mired in racial discourse investigated throughout this thesis, it is difficult to say, exactly, who the Gypsies living in nineteenth-century Britain were, where they came from and what made them distinct from non-Gypsies. One of the presumptions made by all the texts analysed here, however, is that their authors thought they could say, with certainty, to whom they referred when the word 'Gypsy' was used.

As the thesis demonstrates, this certainty does not stand up to close scrutiny; profound anxiety about how to classify people and what that classification signified is revealed. The thesis problematises the various myths that surround the figure of the Gypsy, so it would be disingenuous to recount the history and origins of a people as fact, as if one could at any point step outside discourse. Ideas about the history of the people and where they came from change in different cultural contexts as the figure of the Gypsy serves various ideological purposes at different times. With that proviso, this section briefly engages with some of the many theories about the arrival of Gypsies in Europe in order to contextualise the writing examined in the rest of the thesis.

Donald Kenrick, a renowned scholar of Gypsy culture, makes several suggestions about the Gypsies' past based on a lecture given in Amsterdam in 1875 by M. J. de Goeje.[2] Kenrick's hypothesis is that the distinct group known today as Gypsies formed outside India between the seventh and tenth centuries AD. With this proposition, he draws on a source

that differs from most late-nineteenth-century scholarship, which usually suggested that the Gypsies existed as a recognisable group before leaving the subcontinent. Victorian ethnologists were keen to establish the precise geographical origins of a Gypsy race, while Kenrick proposes an origin in diaspora itself. Instead of tracing where the Gypsies came from, he explores how a group of people came to be the Gypsies. He suggests that 'Indian immigrants from various tribes intermarried and intermixed in Persia [...] and a large number of them moved into Europe' (p. 4). He goes on to explain that those Gypsies who arrived in Western Europe in the fourteenth century 'said they had recently come from Little Egypt — an area in Greece near Epirus — and this became confused with Egypt itself', hence the appellation 'Gypsy' (p. 4). Such confusion about origins also led, he suggests, to the Biblical explanations for the Gypsies' existence. One story posited the first Gypsy as the son of Eve from her necrophilic mating with Adam, and another imagined the Gypsies as descendents of Abraham's children by his second wife, Keturah.

Around 1780 philologists made connections between Romani (the language of the Gypsies) and North Indian languages such as Punjabi and Hindi, and scholars began to turn their attention further east for the source of the Gypsy diaspora (Kenrick, p. 5). This turn coincides, it should be noted, with a significant period in Britain's colonisation of India. The second half of the eighteenth century saw the East India Company turn from traders to rulers, and by 1858 its powers had transferred to the crown.

Heinrich Grellman, on whose work I elaborate below, was apparently the first to describe the Gypsies as a separate race, and Wim Willems 'claims that at the end of the eighteenth century the widely read Grellman "constructed a Gypsy identity which previously had not existed as such"' (Kenrick, p. 8). Thus the origin of the 'Gypsy' is located by a late-twentieth-century writer not in a tenth-century diaspora but in an eighteenth-century text.

Historical sources that appear to identify conclusive evidence of the Gypsies' arrival in European countries should, in any case, be treated with caution because, as Angus Fraser points out, the Gypsies were 'preceded by native castes of nomadic tinkers, pedlars, mountebanks, etc., and it is all too easy to confuse one with another'.[3] Latterly, some of these immigrant nomads have been identified as Gypsies, but the distinction was not as clear in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as later scholarship implies.

By the early sixteenth century, it seems that people described as Gypsies were present in Suffolk, Bristol, Hereford and Cornwall, the first in Britain having arrived in Scotland from Spain around 1500 (Kenrick, p. 71). Andrew Borde's *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, completed in 1542, contains a sample of 'Egipt speche', generally acknowledged as the first written example of Romani in England (Fraser, pp. 10–11). Such geo-temporal movements of the ethnic Gypsy diaspora are traced retrospectively; at the time, the state worried less about who these people were and concentrated instead on bracketing together anyone who seemed to pose a threat to law and order. For example, 'An Acte concernynge outlandysh People, callynge themselves Egyptians' was passed in 1530, possibly, suggests David Mayall, in response to an influx of Gypsies into Britain during the reign of Henry VIII. It was followed by 'An Act for the punishement of certayne Persons calling themselves Egyptians' in 1554.[4] The Gypsies, Mayall explains, felt 'the weight of a double-edged state paranoia rooted in a mistrust of strangers and aliens and a desire to punish and control the economically unproductive and masterless', those who menaced the established social order (*Gypsy Identities*, p. 57).

In the nineteenth century, the lives of the Gypsies were, as far as non-Gypsy commentators were concerned, affected by three main factors: the rapid economic change in Britain from an agrarian economy to industrial capitalism; the resultant urbanisation and

other social changes facilitated (or forced) by industrialisation; and, massively, by land enclosures. Swathes of common land had been enclosed in the eighteenth century, meaning that Gypsies could no longer easily find a place to camp, but much more was enclosed under Private Acts between 1834 and 1849 and the Commons Act of 1876. According to Mayall, in the two years from 1871 to 1873 the area of common land potentially available as stopping places for the Gypsies fell from 8 million to 2.6 million acres.[5]

Reactions to enclosure at the time (and since) are part of the romanticisation of the figure of the Gypsy as a metaphor for pre-industrial Britain. As Raymond Williams notes, the consequences of enclosure were serious for all those who lived in the country, but to localise its effects in the period of the Industrial Revolution is to construct a myth 'in which the transition from a rural to an industrial society is seen as a kind of fall, the true cause and origin of our social suffering and disorder'.[6] Enclosure, however, was just one part of the wider movement towards extending the amount of cultivated land and concentrating ownership in the hands of a minority. As a term and a process it comes to stand, synecdochically, for wider economic and social change. As some of the most visible victims of enclosure, the Gypsies potently represented the hazards of modernity as they moved from place to place and now had even fewer places to stop. This was not exclusively a rural problem: 'reclamation of waste land, building projects and railway extensions were, for the Gypsy-travellers, the urban equivalents of rural enclosures' (Mayall, *Gypsy-travellers*, p. 21). Persecuted since their arrival in Britain for the mere fact of being wandering outsiders, the people identified as Gypsies now had to contend with living in a country whose development made their way of life nearly impossible.

'He Mark'd the Features of her Vagrant Race':[7] Who Constructs the Victorian Gypsy?

In *Gypsy-travellers in Nineteenth-century Society*, Mayall discusses the otherness of the Gypsy in terms of 'the relationship between travellers and the structures and mechanisms of a developing, capitalist state'. The conflict between sedentary and travelling ways of life was, he suggests (with a Marxist slant), expressed 'most vociferously from the supporters of the emergent bourgeois ideology' (*Gypsy-travellers*, p. 3). It was primarily a question of lifestyle, he argues, with 'vagrancy' at variance with the demands of an industrialised society. The case of the Gypsy, in contrast to other groups of travellers, is, he says, 'complicated by the imposition of the concept of race on the travelling structure, constructing hierarchies according to racial characteristics' (p. 2). The concept of race is discussed in much greater detail in the third section of my Introduction, but it is important to note that in Mayall's early work (the book was published in 1988), race is a secondary feature of the Gypsy's otherness. He briefly considers how itinerancy was seen by the Victorians as a product of genetic determinants, but is most interested in how it was viewed by the sedentary population and controlled by forceful measures such as legislation and land enclosure (p. 15).

The Gypsies, as Mayall points out, 'left behind very little in the form of written records' as theirs was primarily an oral culture and literacy levels were significantly lower than for the rest of the population (p. 7). The texts available for analysis are, by a vast majority, written by non-Gypsies. Those writers constructing the Gypsy in the texts preserved from the nineteenth century are largely sedentary, middle-class, male writers and artists.

According to Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell, 'the middle classes were forged out of the series of campaigns against the aristocracy, the Church of England and the unreformed constitution that marked this period'.[8] For example, the 1832 Reform Act gave the vote to those with property while continuing to exclude those without it, extending the division between the working and middle classes beyond material wealth and defining their constitutional rights as well. Further electoral reform up to the 1870s diminished the political power of the large landowners, correspondingly increasing that of the new middle class (Williams, p. 186). After 1832, '"middle class" implied support for moderate political reform within the existing constitution, rather than wholesale transformation as popular radicals hoped' (Gunn and Bell, p. 18). To be of the middle class signalled a belief in the perpetuation of the system of which the class was a part, and its power was, in the Gramscian sense, hegemonic.

For Antonio Gramsci, in order to exercise hegemony, a class must exert itself in forms other than just that of government.[9] Force 'appears to be backed by the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion' (p. 156). The middle-class vote and subsequent increase in political power was not the only way the middle class asserted its authority, and the texts examined in this thesis (newspapers, novels, books for children, encyclopædia and scholarly works) can be seen as those very organs of public opinion, discursive expressions of power, of middle-class hegemony. Louis Althusser elucidates: the capitalist reproduction of labour power requires both a reproduction of its skills and, crucially, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, including the ability of the ruling class to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly, thus providing for the possibility of domination 'in words'. The texts I analyse are the material

remnants of the nineteenth-century ideological state apparatuses of culture, education and religion.[10]

To take up the quotation from George Crabbe in the title of this section, the 'he' who marks the features of nineteenth-century vagrancy is most often a middle-class writer or artist producing texts for consumption by other middle-class subjects. In this quotation, though, 'he' (and in the majority of cases, with some notable exceptions, it was a 'he') marks the features of the Gypsy's vagrant *race*. For Mayall, race may be a discourse that merely complicates rather than structures the figuring of the Gypsy in the nineteenth century, but for my thesis it is far more significant than that.

'Race is Everything'

The Scottish doctor and anatomist Robert Knox sets out to do something new and controversial in *The Races of Men* in 1850. He pronounces that 'human character, individual and national, is traceable solely to the nature of that race to which the individual or nation belongs' and knows that his pronouncement 'must meet with the sternest opposition' because of its implications for the potential success of colonialism. He argues that the races of northern Europe are best suited to staying there rather than governing Africa.[11] The 'scramble for Africa' had not yet begun in earnest, but Britain already had colonial interests in the western part of the continent.

Race determines everything in civilization, Knox asserts, from art to science (p. v). His self-consciously novel way of ordering the world coincides with his assumption that the Gypsies' 'ancient history is utterly unknown' (p. 151); Knox deliberately locates the beginnings of 'the Gypsy' as a known entity in the nineteenth century and as the discursive

product of scientific disciplines, just as Willems sees Grellman doing decades before. Despite its apparent rootedness in nature and the body, the discourse of race is represented as something historically new, demanding an original object of study. The Gypsies may be so ancient that their origins are lost, but at the same time they did not properly exist as a group until racial science invented them.

Knox describes a group of Gypsies in Scotland who live in a village during the winter and decamp in the summer 'like the Arabs' but also 'like migratory birds or quadrupeds seeking other lands, to return again with the first snows to their winter dormitory'. He goes on, 'they neither toil nor think; theirs is the life of the wild animal' (p. 151). These bestial images of instinct and freedom will become familiar as the language of nineteenth-century texts featuring Gypsies is examined throughout the five chapters of this thesis. One of the most striking things about Knox's depiction here is his presumption about the similarity between Arabs and Gypsies in their nomadic habits. Even as he hopes to establish a precise conception of the Gypsy he refers to something beyond it; this racial classification can only be established in terms of similarity to and difference from other races, being nothing in itself.

Knox explains that the 'modern position [of the Gypsies] in Spain has been sketched by a vigorous but somewhat romantic pen' (p. 151). He refers, I suspect, to George Borrow's *The Zincali* (1841) and *The Bible in Spain* (1843). Borrow's work on British Gypsies is discussed in Chapter One of my thesis. Distancing himself from such romanticism, Knox prefers to state 'calmly the facts' he has witnessed about this race: 'timid and sensitive, like wild animals, they shun the contact of the Saxon'; 'their own feelings connect them with the *dark races*'; 'the gipsy has made up his mind, like the Jews, to do no work, but to live by the

industry of others'. In conclusion, 'this is the gipsy — a race without a redeeming quality' (pp. 151–9; original emphasis).

The 'widely read' Grellman voiced similarly repellent views some years earlier. His *Dissertation on the Gipsies* first appeared in German in 1783, was translated into English, and shortly afterwards appeared in another, more populist English translation. Not only was the text well-known in its own time, it is constantly reproduced in twentieth- and twenty-first-century critical works on the Gypsy: it has been hugely and continuously influential in the construction of this figure. Grellman says, 'let us reflect how different they [the Gypsies] are from Europeans; the one is white, the other black. This cloaths himself, the other goes half naked. This shudders at the thought of eating carrion, the other prepares it as a dainty'.[12] Physically, 'their dark brown, or olive coloured skin, with their white teeth appearing between their red lips, may be a disgusting sight to an European, unaccustomed to see such pictures'. The Gypsy is naturally agile and supple, he goes on, and has an iron constitution as a product of his hard upbringing (pp. 8–9).

Grellman makes use of a rhetorical device in his description that is explored further in my next chapter. He refers to the suspicion that Gypsies resort, at times, to cannibalism, talking specifically of some reported cases in Hungary. He uses the passive voice to object to the reports of these cases, absenting himself from the discussion. The reports are, apparently, at odds with most people's experience, 'as well as from the old accounts, handed down to us, concerning these people'. He goes on that he 'shall, therefore, not insist on this article: but entirely give up the point of Gipsies being men-eaters, except just hinting, that it would be expedient for governments to be watchful' (p. 12). Were the content not so troubling, the passage would be almost comical in its lack of subtlety, ostensibly distancing itself from the view of the Gypsy as cannibal, while simultaneously confirming the rumours.

He plays a similar trick when discussing the kidnap of children by Gypsies. After vacillating between proof and rumour he eventually says that people should make up their own minds, but that 'there will always remain ground for suspicion' (p. 15). He promotes the circulation of the racialised myth in culture, but refuses to take responsibility for aiding in its construction.

Grellman finds the inside of the Gypsy's dwelling to be 'full of damp, stink and filth' with 'more the appearance of wild beasts' dens' than the 'habitations of intelligent beings'. Gypsy women 'neither wash, mend their cloaths, nor clean their utensils'. All Gypsies are excessively indolent and 'abhor all kinds of work, which are either laborious or require application' (pp. 25–8). In addition, 'their dances are the most disgusting that can be conceived, always ending with fulsome grimaces, or the most lascivious attitudes and gestures' (p. 34). An important literary example of such dancing and the sexuality it represents comes in George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868) and is discussed in Chapter Four. Grellman says that he 'shall not say any thing concerning fortunetelling, with which they impose on people's credulity, in every district and corner of Europe; this being a thing universally known' (p. 34). He goes on, of course, to say it anyway, investing the stereotype he finds elsewhere with his authorial authority. The Gypsies have, he believes, 'a childish way of thinking, [...] guided more by sense than reason'. In addition they are 'lively; uncommonly loquacious and chattering; fickle in the extreme, consequently inconstant in their pursuits; faithless to every body'. They are cruel and a 'desire of revenge often causes them to take the most desperate resolutions' (pp. 65–6).

This view of the Gypsies can be seen over again in nineteenth-century texts, and the thesis explores why some features are emphasised by certain authors and at particular historical moments. The Romany Ryes discussed in Chapter Two, for example, romanticise

the instinctive emotionality of the Gypsy as they aspire to such bohemianism, while the reformer George Smith of Coalville (Chapter Three) repeats accusations of indolence and filth to promote surveillant legislation.

Nearly one hundred years after Grellman's text, in 1876, the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso used the taxonomy of race to categorize 'criminal man' in *L'Uomo Delinquente.* He claimed that certain races, such as Gypsies, were more predisposed to crime than others. Twenty years after that, the Spanish social anthropologist Rafael Salillas, in *El Delincuente Español: El Lenguaje*, described Gypsies as being by nature more delinquent than the rest of 'normal' society. In Britain, David 'the nephew' Hume, 'on the criminal laws of Scotland, [thought] the black eyes should make part of the evidence in proving an individual to be of the Gipsy race'.[13] These deliberate moves to categorise people and predict their behaviour unveils the mechanics of the discourse of race; Grellman and Knox observe a people who look a certain way and live a particular culture. They also describe this people as being predisposed to criminal behaviour. Crime and delinquency become connected with how the Gypsy looks in texts such as those by Lombroso and Salillas, and the fact that someone looks like a Gypsy is used to predict their criminality, secrecy and indolence. One is given a reason to mistrust the outsider.

As Richard Dyer explains, elaborated concepts of race developed in the eighteenth century and took hold in the period this thesis covers: they 'were made up of developments in science as well as deeper rooted ideas of embodiment, of populations and [...] of skin colour itself'.[14] The Gypsy's body is represented in the 1800s as being fundamentally different to that of the Anglo-Saxon or the Celt. The Gypsy was, to use Grellman's term, 'black'. Dyer continues to say that such concepts of the racialised body are also always conceptions about heterosexuality because 'race is a means of categorising different types of

human body which reproduce themselves'. As one can see in the proposals made by criminologists and anthropologists, race 'seeks to systematise differences and to relate them to differences of character and worth'. Heterosexuality becomes 'the means of ensuring, but also the site of endangering, the reproduction of these differences' (Dyer, p. 20). It is for this reason that themes of parenthood and sexuality are also always about race in the texts under analysis in this thesis.

Any introductory discussion of race will be necessarily reductive because it is a complex discourse drawing on various disciplines and beliefs. To describe 'race' in all its manifestations as a homogeneous or even cohesive set of ideas would be misleading. There are differences, for example, between the concept of race as viewed by polygenists, who held that the races of man had separate origins, and that of the monogenists, who believed in a single origin of mankind. Race is one thing for the phrenologist and something else for the philologist; it is understood one way by the white male explorer and another by the female writer expressing woman's disempowerment. Rather than just examining what nineteenth-century texts say about the Gypsy race, this thesis claims that the representation of Gypsies as an other within Europe contributed to ideas about race itself, and that a close analysis of the texts reveals cultural concerns about the validity of the concept despite its usefulness for those at the top of a racial hierarchy.

The term 'race' is quoted throughout the thesis from different contexts. For example, it appears in relation to Walter Scott's work to describe the Gypsies both as a people descended from Eastern ancestors and as a particular, local group with certain attitudes, such as vindictiveness. The Romany Ryes of Chapter Two, like many of the authors under discussion, use the term in the sense of an ethnic group with Indian origins whose race also determines their appearance and behaviour, giving them innate qualities that

are immediately recognisable (to them) as those of the Gypsy. This recognition is tautological: the Gypsy displays certain traits because he or she is a Gypsy, but this is also what *makes* him or her a Gypsy. This group of writers had a particular interest in the purity of race and were fascinated by the Gypsies' separateness from mainstream, white culture. George Eliot's work, on the other hand, demonstrates a very specific understanding of race as a collective tradition reinforced by blood ties, similar in character to contemporary uses of the term 'nation'.

Writing the Foreword to *A Book of Gypsy Folk-Tales* in 1948, Rupert Croft-Cooke's description of Victorian authors who wrote about Gypsies reinscribes their attitudes to race even in a relatively recent context. That which distinguishes the observer from the Gypsy is his behaviour or domicile: he is a house-dweller. The writer's object of study is also racialised: the Gypsies are a 'strange and interesting race' and, later on, 'the Dark Race'.[15] Authors such as Croft-Cooke seem unable to decide whether the Gypsy is other because of his or her lifestyle or because of his or her race, or whether lifestyle is a *product* of race. Despite this uncertainty, whatever it was that made the Gypsy different to them also made him or her exotic. The contact that some writers had with the Gypsies, Croft-Cooke says, 'added salt to a life which might have been monotonous' (p. xv), the kind of position critiqued by bell hooks in her essay, 'Eating the Other'. In this work she assesses the commodification of race, saying that 'ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is white mainstream culture'.[16] Despite Croft-Cooke's assertion that the writers he discusses 'never played up the Gypsy as a spectacle or a phenomenon [or] cashed in on the subject of their researches', the Gypsy is still, from this perspective, an exoticised and racialised commodity, seasoning bland, white, middle-class Britain (p. xv).

The Gypsy is exotic, different, other. Race provides a structure that offers certainty about who people are and how they are likely to behave. Christopher Lane points out in *The Psychoanalysis of Race* that, 'despite the obvious doubts and uncertainties informing racial and ethnic identities, we live in cultures that seem compelled to promote racial certainty, even if this certainty is often a material and demographic illusion'.[17] The same can be said for nineteenth-century British culture.

In a discussion of Martiniquan psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon's work, Homi K. Bhabha describes the contradictions of the 'desire to see, to fix cultural difference in a containable, *visible* object'.[18] The form this object takes is, in the readings I make, historically specific, which is what I mean when I assert that 'the Gypsy' is a result of historical textual production and desire. The desire to fix, to understand, and to control motivates racial discourse, but in psychoanalytic conceptions of race (and as Dyer notes) *sexual* desire is also always part of its formation.

In the Foreword to Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, Bhabha describes how, building on the assumption that 'to exist is to be called into being in relation to an Otherness, its look or locus', Fanon articulates the colonial condition 'in the psychoanalytic language of demand and desire'. This condition involves the manipulation of race to contain people as visible objects. Psychoanalytic language evokes image and fantasy — 'those orders that figure transgressively on the borders of history and the unconscious'.[19] Images and fantasies of Gypsies in nineteenth-century texts are precisely what I analyse as the continuation of a tradition that begins with Sigmund Freud and continues with Frantz Fanon, using a methodology that I explain in the next section.

Methodology

My analysis of texts as products of discourse and as contributors to it is structured by a historicised deconstructive psychoanalysis. In other words, Freudian concepts in Derridean quotation marks are used to interpret images, language and form symptomatically.[20] The textual Gypsy is seen in the thesis as an effect both of the historical context of its production and of desire in a psychoanalytic sense.

This way of reading involves seeing the archive of nineteenth-century texts about Gypsies as a form of cultural memory, and therefore subject to the same distortions as any memory trace. Freud himself applied psychoanalysis by analogy to culture and myth in his assertions about religion in the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* and in texts such as *Totem and Taboo* and *Moses and Monotheism.*[21] Jacques Derrida comments that 'repression is an archivization' so why might archivization not also involve repression?[22] Where Freud's analysand might display a tic as she talks, the text here exhibits tics on the page. In Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi's work on *Moses and Monotheism*, he points out that 'in *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud remarked that he had treated dreams "like a sacred text" (*wie einem heiligen Text*)'. Yerushalmi asks 'what would be more natural for him than to treat the sacred text like a dream', ripe for analysis?[23] This method can be used with any text, not just the sacred texts of world religions. Like the dream, the text contains images and fantasies that are symptomatic of repression. One of the most important textual repressions I uncover in writing about Gypsies is the idea that race (as well as class and gender) is not natural but a construction. The text, to use the concise explanation of Catherine Belsey, 'exposes incoherences, omissions, absences and transgressions which in turn reveal the inability of the language of ideology to create coherence'.[24] Language tries to say one thing about Gypsies

but fails, saying something else entirely, almost by mistake. Something haunts the text, appearing in its metaphors, jokes and slips, undermining the fixity of positions apparently offered by the discourses of race, class, gender and religion (Belsey, p. 132). I do not attempt to separate entirely these discourses, as they are inter-related: race is sexualised, gender is racialised, and class informed by ideas about innate characteristics.

Using psychoanalysis to discuss contemporary or historical attitudes to the racial, cultural or sexual other is a well-rehearsed critical practice, and what I do here in relation to the figure of the Victorian Gypsy is apply that theory to the linguistic and formal details of historical texts in a way that is not dissimilar to Pierre Macherey's method in *A Theory of Literary Production.*[25] I do not try to access the unconscious motivations of the author, but rather trace the clues to the things left unsaid in the text, the uninvited historical ghosts lurking at the margins.

The concept of the archive is central to my argument because an historical textual archive is the only possible access one has, in the twenty-first century, to the Victorian Gypsy. Dyer notes that 'the study of representation is more limited than the study of reality and yet it is also the study of one of the prime means by which we have knowledge of reality'. His book, like my thesis, is 'a study of what is available to us' (p. xiii). There is, it seems to me, a responsibility to examine the possible mutations in the texts in the archive because their survival is political; those with the power to put their words to the press and represent others are the ones that are still heard.

My readings reveal that there is not one Gypsy figure in each text but many, even if there is only one Gypsy character, because each text speaks with multiple voices, adhering to but also undermining the dominant discourses of its day. This is not a straightforward survey of how the figure of the Gypsy was constructed in the nineteenth century but also

one explanation as to *why* it was constructed in this way. 'Freudian psychoanalysis', says Derrida, 'proposes a new theory of the archive' and, in its employment here, a new theory of the Victorian Gypsy archive is proposed (*Archive Fever*, p. 29). The 'Victorian Gypsy Archive' is not intended as a definitive term for one set of texts; it refers to the collection of any representation of the Gypsy from the historical period in question (roughly 1837–1901) which has traditionally been identified with particular political concerns, including industrialisation, race and empire.

It is one thing to draw on Freud's metapsychology, but quite a jump from there (with Derrida's help) to say that an archive of writing can be read psychoanalytically, allowing me to interpret features of texts symptomatically and psychopathologise Victorian attitudes to the Gypsy. In theorising memory, Freud uses several metaphors of nonphonetic writing. This has the effect, Derrida says, of illuminating 'the meaning of a trace in general'. It demands that the nature of writing as a trace or mark is questioned because what we think we know about writing is made enigmatic by such 'metaphoric investment'. It means that one cannot simply ask if the psyche is, as Freud has it, a kind of text, but that one must also enquire what a text is if it can be compared to something like the psyche.[26] For example, in 'A Note Upon the "Mystic Writing Pad"', Freud compares this writing surface with its slab of wax and layers of celluloid and waxed paper to the perceptual apparatus of the mind.[27] His essay invites one to ask what any impression is if an impression can be both a memory and a form of writing. I see this as an invitation also to make a metaphoric investment in the other direction and see writing as a form of memory trace; I lay the texts on Freud's couch.

No matter how many times the transparent sheet has been lifted on the Mystic Writing Pad to present an apparently fresh writing surface, the imprints of previous writings are present in the wax underneath. The new impressions on a *Wunderblock* push into an

already marked substrate, and those marks push back.[28] Analogously, no matter how 'new' a text circulating in culture appears to be, it is still part of that culture's archive, still connected to the wax slab. The traces of the writing that came before, whether that is a newspaper report from the previous day or a literary work from the last century, are present beneath the surface with the constant possibility of reappearance. As I have explained, each text reveals the failure of language to say what it means, and the archive as a corpus of those texts is like the analysand's body, unexpectedly betraying the return of trauma caused by such failure. The archive is the corpus on which the ideological repressions involved in the construction of the Victorian Gypsy are manifested. It is not transparent history but distorted memory. As a fragmentary remainder of the past, the archive is 'neither present nor absent [...], neither visible nor invisible, a trace always referring to another whose eyes can never be met' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 84).

No text can show the transparent reality of Gypsy life in Victorian Britain (and there is nothing to lament in that), but a historicised deconstructive psychoanalysis can disrupt the unthinking perpetuation of stereotypes circulating in that period. This way of reading demonstrates where the ideological language which is the vehicle of those stereotypes fails, thus revealing the logic by which it works.

Locating the Thesis

My central thesis is that archival texts from the nineteenth century that focus on Gypsies construct a figure who ought to be locatable in a racial hierarchy, in a class system, and along gender lines. When read psychoanalytically, however, the texts reveal signs of a repression of uncertainty about where such boundaries may be drawn and what they signify. The figure

of the Gypsy, existing literally and metaphorically on the verges of society, moving from place to place, disrupts the stable locations of identity fenced off by discourse even as the texts under analysis hope to offer the Gypsy as an example of how one may categorise others. In this section I briefly explain how this case is argued in each of the chapters and how this project differs from work already conducted in this burgeoning field.

Lou Charnon-Deutsch has written a comprehensive historical survey of the figure of the Spanish Gypsy in European culture. She focuses particularly on what was often imagined as a dangerous and bewitching power that Gypsy women had over white men, famously seen in the Carmen myth which is, Charnon-Deutsch convincingly argues, 'perennially reborn in European and American culture' (p. 2). She proposes that understanding Europe's investment in the Gypsy 'as a quintessential other residing problematically on "home ground" requires a discussion [...] of otherness and othering' in various historical contexts (p. 4). She adds that the otherness of the Gypsy is manifested 'in the discursive practices of emerging capitalist states where Gypsies were always imagined in permanent exile from some other place beyond national borders' (p. 11).

My methodology echoes Charnon-Deutsch's to a certain extent, in that it historicizes psychoanalytic explanations for what appear to be cultural compulsions, such as origin myth-making. She finds Léon Poliakov's explanation for this particular compulsion as part of a collective psychology, based on a failed Oedipality, somewhat vague, demanding that the cultural critic must 'simultaneously [take] into consideration regional economic and cultural realities' (p. 9). While my consideration of the textual archive as cultural memory slightly resembles Poliakov's collective psychology, it also heeds Charnon-Deutsch's advice and proposes that the text unavoidably bears traces of the cultural moment, the economic and social reality, in which it was produced.[29]

The focus of Charnon-Deutsch's work is the Spanish Gypsy (she is a professor in a department of Hispanic languages and literature) but this figure's influence can clearly be seen in British texts for, as the narrative goes, it is from Spain that Britain's Gypsies travelled. The span of the influence of the Spanish Gypsy as traced by Charnon-Deutsch is broad, and she relates it to discussions of European nationalisms. While events in Europe in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had obvious resonances in Britain (fears about Chartism and the spread of violent revolution from the continent, for example, or the discourses of competing empires) my work is much more closely focused on the figure of the Gypsy in British texts as an effect of local politics, including Britain's relationship with its own colonies.

There are other overlaps. For example, she and I (in my first chapter) both look at the work of George Borrow. However, the Spanish portion of his oeuvre discussed in Charnon-Deutsch's *The Spanish Gypsy* is of less relevance to my project than the texts in which he describes Gypsies in Britain. Nevertheless, texts such as *The Zincali* and *The Bible in Spain* helped to construct Europe's Gypsies for an Anglophone audience and inevitably coloured Borrow's own research on the British Gypsy. Charnon-Deutsch's work remains the best recent source for the influence of his Spanish writings. Her work on Borrow differs from my own in two major ways: firstly, I avoid going into the biographical detail of all the authors whose work I discuss, and, secondly, I do not examine all the influences and progenies of each textual manifestation of the Gypsy in Britain during the period. Charnon-Deutsch's work succeeds as a kind of detailed archival web of a very specific image of the Gypsy.

Deborah Epstein Nord's *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* is the secondary source with the most similar focus and approach to my thesis and was published

mid-way through my own research.[30] It marks a significant development in scholarship on Gypsies in the nineteenth century and beyond, as the first monograph entirely devoted to an in-depth study of the construction of the Gypsy in this period from a literary-critical perspective. There have been shorter pieces that conduct sharp analyses of particular Gypsy tropes. For example, Katie Trumpener's 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People Without History" in the Narratives of the West', traces the 'compact, transportable, self-perpetuating' tropes of racism that 'express the same essentializing beliefs again and again in widely diverging situations'. They are, she says 'historically charged and fraught even as they enact a denial of history', suggesting a problematic timelessness that locates the Gypsy outside narratives of progress, a theme I take up in Chapter Two.[31]

The editors of the 1995 collection in which Trumpener's paper is published, *Identities*, describe her subject matter, 'the Gypsies', as the one which is 'best able to figure our sense that there is much that is new to be done in the field of identities'.[32] In many ways, over a decade later, this is still the case. In Critical and Cultural Theory, despite the age of the texts that I for one examine, and the long history of representations of Gypsies in Europe, the construction of the Gypsy is still a 'new' subject area.

Alicia Carroll includes a chapter on the subject in *Dark Smiles: Race and Desire in George Eliot.* The centrality of the Gypsy in Carroll's reading is made clear by the fact that she takes her title from Eliot's 'Brother and Sister Sonnets' where a young girl comes face to face with a Gypsy.[33] Carroll examines Eliot's trope of queenliness as a way of representing women with dignity and stature, and the chapter probably says more about Eliot's women than it does about the construction of the Gypsy in literature. Nonetheless, I draw further on this work in Chapter Four.

Nord refers to both Carroll and Trumpener's work, as well as to Regenia Gagnier's article on the Romany Ryes.[34] Gagnier's piece makes connections with Patrick Brantlinger's work on extinction discourse, discussing the kind of troubling romanticisation of disappearing races and cultures which I earlier introduced in relation to Raymond Williams's view of enclosure. I build on the connection she makes in Chapter Two. Nord departs from the style of historical survey which has, until recently, defined the longer works in this field of study, though she makes her debts to George K. Behlmer and David Mayall explicit.[35]

She starts, as I do, with a reading of Meg Merrilies in *Guy Mannering* (1815), proceeding to discuss the role of the Gypsy in nineteenth-century pastoral, George Borrow and picaresque, George Eliot, the Gypsy Lore Society, and proposes, by way of a conclusion, 'The Phantom Gypsy: Invisibility, Writing, and History'. Following assertions about the visibility of the Gypsy in British fiction and the deliberately mythologized origins of the Gypsy diaspora, it is troubling to find, in this last chapter, speculations about the transparency of the Gypsies' past, had a written record existed (p. 173). This seems a betrayal of the rigorously textual approach taken throughout the book, mourning for some lost, authentic Gypsy that non-Gypsy writings have somehow displaced.[36] The point, I argue, is that the fruitless search for the authentic Gypsy is precisely what has led to so many of the problematic images analysed in her work.

Before the publication of this book, it was fairly easy to claim that Gypsies had been almost completely neglected in the slew of postcolonial rereadings of the canon of English Literature. Nord's work begins to correct this omission while leaving space for further critical engagement with the texts she examines.

There are similarities between my thesis and Nord's work: we cover almost the same period, many of the texts are the same, and we focus on corresponding themes in those texts. The major point of departure in my work, however, is my theoretical methodology, outlined above. The breadth of Nord's study — what might be called a survey of the writing on Gypsies in her specified period — means that each reading in the two-hundred page book is necessarily shorter than the detailed analyses I conduct. While Nord does make use of Freud's theory of the family romance, which I take up and make further use of in Chapter Five, she makes less explicit reference to the critical and cultural theorists who have so shaped literary criticism since the mid-twentieth century; she makes no mention of deconstruction, for example. By contrast, Jacques Derrida's ideas structure my thesis. She makes references to Benedict Anderson, Patrick Brantlinger and Edward Said, but the fusion of psychoanalytic theory and theories about the discourse of race, promised by Freud's appearance in the book, is not pursued. Homi Bhabha, for example, does not feature. The fact that we cover much of the same ground but have such different approaches suggests that an expanding canon of texts could soon develop in the study of the representation of the Gypsy in Britain, ripe for interpretation from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

While my work is based on a historicised form of deconstructive textual psychoanalysis, it is by no means as historically detailed as, for example, David Mayall's work or George Behlmer's article, 'The Gypsy Problem in Victorian England'. The purpose of these works is different to my thesis, and there is little or no analysis of form and language in Behlmer and Mayall's work. Neither do they question what it is possible to know of a historical period from its archival remnants. What remains is, as far as they are concerned, a literal and authentic representation of what people thought. An important feature of my

readings is an acknowledgement of the purely textual basis of our knowledge of the nineteenth-century Gypsy, how those texts were produced and why.

Work is also being done on the historical construction of the Gypsy in the discipline of Geography. Sarah Holloway's 2003 article, for example, explores the 'spatialised understandings of difference produced in the racialisation of Gypsy-Travellers' in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.[37] Her work draws on psychoanalytic theory and archival research but, despite an interest in the language of definitions, the focus is very different to mine in its understanding of how transparent any historical record can be.

Chapter One of my thesis studies the work of Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) and the archival relationship in which it lies with that of a later writer, George Borrow (1803–1881). In it, I compare the search for the Gypsy's ethnological origins with the critical temptation to find the origin of various Gypsy stereotypes in specific literary texts. The notion of the impression is used throughout to describe traces of irrecoverable events (like a footprint) but also the ideological pressure of images and texts on those that succeed them. For example, Borrow's Gypsies succeed those of Scott, with the marks of one pushing back on the other. The famous Gypsy character of *Guy Mannering* (1815), Meg Merrilies, is sometimes seen, because of the novel's colonial historical context, as a manifestation of cultural anxieties about how to manage a wild and distant territory. The novel's narrative attempts to repress or fetishize the Oriental chaos encroaching on its borders. It ultimately imposes the order of home and of the centre, disempowering those on the social periphery such as the Gypsies.

I go on to examine a critical attitude to Scott's work that posits Meg Merrilies as the ancestor of every fictional Gypsy malefactor that followed her, an attitude that is influenced by rigid understandings of literary genre. The desire to unify a literary heritage (and with it the Romantic Gypsy) demands the repression of various ambiguities and contradictions.

The generic indeterminacy of Borrow's work is used to examine the problematic realist claims of Scott's text, such as its offer of full revelation and closure.

Chapter Two concentrates on the work of a group of writers known as the Romany Ryes (or, in some texts, *rais*) from the Romani for 'Gypsy gentlemen'. Using Patrick Brantlinger's postcolonial description of extinction discourse, first linked to the figure of the Gypsy by Regenia Gagnier, the chapter examines the discursive implications of the Ryes' impulse to conserve Gypsy culture in the face of its perceived annihilation. It proposes that the Ryes' mode of writing inadvertently silences the Gypsy and so, paradoxically, conspires in the very thing it tries to prevent. I continue to examine the precise ways in which the Ryes' writing regulates Gypsy culture, capturing it in writing for all time. These strategies are not the full story, however, as I conclude with Derrida's work on Freud to explain how resistance is always already part of the process of archivization: memory must always break a path or cause a breach through something else to mark itself out. This structure can be used politically as evidence against the monolithic power of the non-Gypsy to construct the textual Gypsy any way he or she likes. There is always a 'something else' which is never completely banished from the text.

The focus of Chapter Three is on two different types of reporting in the *Illustrated London News*. The paper used innovations in engraving methods to reproduce exhibited paintings for the reading public at home as part of its Fine Arts news. The illustration was often accompanied by a written description, not of the engraving, but of the painting the engraving represented. Many of these paintings were of Gypsies. The Gypsies were not just artistic specimens for this publication, however, but were also people on whose lives the factual, illustrated stories reported. The chapter explores the political and cultural effects that the similarities and differences between written descriptions and engraved illustrations

have on the textual construction of the Gypsy, using the theoretical foundations put in place for this sort of work by Julia Thomas.[38] It draws on Derrida's logic of the supplement to suggest there must be something unexpectedly lacking in the lone engraving that requires supplementation. Conversely, the engraving might also say *too much* without the accompanying writing to guide its interpretation, with the text thus acting as an elucidating *and* limiting supplement. The chapter concludes that the bitextual page of the *ILN* is a weave of differences between writing and illustration, presence and absence, and between derision of and desire for the Gypsy.

Chapter Four looks at George Eliot's writing about the radical unknowability of the future in *Daniel Deronda* (1876), her last novel, and, more unusually, in her narrative poem, *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868). It is inflected by the wider interest the thesis has in the politics of the archive: whose voices are still heard and why; whose writing will be read and why? Eliot's protagonists encounter the future and their pasts in different ways, something that is both caused by and helps to construct their race and gender (as a Jewish man and Gypsy woman, respectively). I interrogate how something I term 'narrative messianicity', a textual attitude found in both form and theme that emphasises the alterity of the future, is related to the concept of the archive as a promise to the future. This, in turn, affects the characters' formation as Jew and Gypsy, male and female. A close look is taken at ideas of familial and cultural inheritance and the way they are framed by the differences in representation of Fedalma in the poem and Daniel Deronda in the novel. The chapter explores what it means to inhabit a racial identity and what it means to have inherited that identity for the sake of an unknowable future. The readings are implicitly informed by the comparison of Jews and Gypsies as racial and cultural outsiders within Britain throughout the nineteenth century.

The final chapter discusses the anxieties and desires connected with dislocation and disorder, particularly with reference to the pervasive stereotype of Gypsies kidnapping children. It examines this stereotype in the context of children's literature. I take up Nord's Freudian framework of the Gypsy kidnap narrative as family romance to examine some critically neglected books for children featuring this storyline. I then use the same structure to examine narratives which tell of the conversion and assimilation of Gypsy children by evangelist white communities, and reformulate it as a kind of kidnap. The chapter concludes that the figure of the threateningly liminal Gypsy always has the potential to disrupt the truth about families, problematising notions of certainty about subjectivity.

As my methodology, explanation of the chapters and comparison with other work makes clear, the thesis is not an exhaustive survey of texts about Gypsies in Britain in the nineteenth century across all forms. Rather, it takes a specific theoretical approach to read some key texts in detail. For this reason, some significant areas of research have been excluded. One of these is music and, in particular, opera. Charnon-Deutsch includes this genre in her book, commenting, for example, that 'Michael William Balfe and Alfred Bunn's 1843 *The Bohemian Girl*, based on Cervantes' "La gitanilla," was performed in London one hundred times, making it the most popular of all nineteenth-century operas in England' (p. 56). Clearly, the operatic Gypsy heroine caught the public imagination, and Evelyn Gould, amongst others, traces the fate of *Carmen* in her 1996 study of the same name.

Gould builds on the work of scholars such as Jeremy Tambling and Susan McLary to discuss the renewability of Bizet's 1874 opera (itself based on Prosper Mérimée's 1845 novella) in other forms and examines 'the repeated refashioning of Mérimée's textual strategies'. More specifically, she sees 'Bohemia' as a 'dramatization of bourgeois social identity' which is 'produced by the very dominant ideology it appears to counter'.[39] Her

work does not, as a very specific study of one particular mythical, metonymic representation of the Gypsy, examine overtly negative portrayals of Gypsies, but my work echoes hers in the sense that, like Edward Said's descriptions of Orientalism, the Gypsy is used by non-Gypsy culture to fashion itself, whether through identification (as in the Carmen myth) or negation.[40] Gould's work offers some rich theoretical lines of enquiry about Gypsies in opera in the nineteenth century, and there is clearly further detailed work to be done in this area, work that would require a full-length study to do it justice.

Along with opera, the theatrical Gypsy is not given a full treatment here. As well as considerations of space, I am more interested in the theatricality of the Gypsy as he or she appears in texts not designed for performance. I investigate how the text performs the Gypsy, rather than how the Gypsy might be performed in the limelight.

Visual media are given consideration in Chapter Three, in terms of the engraved reproduction of paintings and engraved illustrations of scenes from life. There is also, however, a large amount of fine art devoted to Gypsies not covered in my thesis. Gypsies were considered, as I explain in Chapter Three, to be a perfectly exotic and romantic artistic subject. Emphasis is placed in this thesis on the politics of linguistic representation and intertextual relations (between the work of Walter Scott and George Borrow for example), and a more in-depth study of this other artistic form would require a slightly different approach and a closer look at the history of visual representations of the Gypsy beyond the nineteenth century. Even in Chapter Three, where illustrations are examined, it is the relationship between text and image that is the focus of attention rather than the visual image in its own right. Having said this, many of the conclusions drawn in my chapters could also apply to paintings if time were to be spent moderating the analytical methodology and filling in details of art history. For example, in the 1865 volume of *The Art Journal*, there

are two paintings of Gypsy subjects reproduced: J. Phillip's *Gipsy Musicians of Spain*, engraved by a Professor Knolle, and P.F. Poole's *The Gipsy Queen*.[41] While both engravings and their accompanying commentaries could be subjected to the same analysis performed in Chapter Three, the original paintings could also serve as useful original source material for a discussion of Gypsies in Victorian art.

Turning the attention of this thesis geographically outwards — westwards to Ireland, even further to America, or to the rest of Europe — would require far more space than is available for this project, particularly because of my chosen methodology. I would not be content to examine texts from countries beyond Britain fleetingly or in isolation because the historico-political context is central to my psychoanalytic reading of various textual manifestations of the Gypsy as symptoms of the conditions of the text's production. Ireland, perhaps the most obvious case for inclusion in a thesis that already examines texts about Gypsies in England, Scotland and Wales, is particularly complicated because Irish Travellers or Minceir are, and were in the nineteenth century, considered to be a separate ethnic group to the Gypsies without genealogical links to India, and were represented very differently to the Gypsies (Mayall, *Gypsy Identities*, pp. 159; 209). A separate textual study of the literary and 'factual' representation of this group in the wider context of English representations of the Irish in the nineteenth century is overdue.

Philological studies of what became known as Romani make up a vast part of the nineteenth-century archive of texts about Gypsies. To name but a few, George Borrow wrote *Romano Lavo-Lil: Word-book of the Romany: or, English Gypsy Language* in 1874, Walter Simson's *A History of the Gipsies* (1865) contains specimens of the language, and B.C. Smart and H.T. Crofton collaborated on *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*.[42] In addition, there are countless dictionaries of cant in the period, many of which make reference to Gypsies'

'jargon'. The inclusion of these would take the study into another area of specialism, requiring detailed technical linguistic knowledge of Romani and several other Indo-European languages.

A Note on Terms and Spelling

No study on Gypsies and Travellers would be complete without an explanation of the choice of terms and spelling employed. Not only was 'Gypsy' an unstable term in the nineteenth century, but any continued use of it today is politically fraught. The fact that such disclaimers are included, almost without exception, in work on Gypsies underlines the very point that this thesis makes: no matter how definitive terms which denote race or other social groups appear to be, they are never sufficient, being always split, partial, and haunted by the trace of everything the term tries to exclude. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the spelling 'Gipsy' (with lower or upper case 'G') was common. Towards mid-century 'Gipsy' and 'Gypsy' were interchangeable, and by the end of the century 'Gypsy' was the most often-seen form. That is not to say that 'Gipsy' was no longer used and, despite legal recognition today that Gypsies are a distinct ethnic group and that regularised spelling and capitalisation should be used, the spelling with an 'i' is still found.[43] While the question of what term is used in the twenty-first century by Gypsies and Travellers to self-identify does have some bearing on my vocabulary, this thesis is about the identification of Gypsies by non-Gypsies in the nineteenth century. I therefore use the terms employed by writers of the period, but choose the spelling with a 'y' and a capital 'G' throughout to avoid confusion, other than where I am directly quoting a text that uses an alternative spelling, which I do not modify.

The term for a non-Gypsy or gentile is almost as complicated. It is spelt variously *gadzo*, *gajé*, *gajo*, *gaugo* and *gorgio*. As with 'Gypsy', I follow what Victorian writers most often used (*gorgio*), rather than getting involved in debates about variations within Romani, the language of the Gypsies. The exception is when I quote directly from a writer who uses an alternative spelling. I italicise the word because non-Gypsy writers use it to adopt a view of themselves from the Gypsy perspective; it is a deliberate posture of making oneself strange. I do not, however, capitalise it as it does not necessarily refer to a particular race or ethnic group.

The final word which requires some clarification is 'other'. It is used to denote the object of the (usually) white, male, middle- to upper-class writer's gaze. The Gypsy is racially and culturally different, or other, from the individual who describes him or her. The writer generally adopts a position of normalcy from which to write or narrate (even if he or she self-consciously rejects this position, they must at some point inhabit it to leave it behind) and views the Gypsy as outside, beyond or on the margins of that position. Some critics, drawing on Lacanian psychoanalysis, capitalise the term to differentiate between *l'objet petit a* (the object of desire) and *l'Autre* (language, culture, outside the subject). Using 'Other' in critical work signifies a complicated engagement with a different theory of identity-formation to the one I make use of here (but that informs all post-Lacanian readings of Freud), so I simply use the lower-case version, except, again, where I directly quote from a critic or theorist who might use both.

1

Scott's Romantic Impression: Meg Merrilies, George Borrow and the Archive

In *Gradiva* (1903), Wilhelm Jensen tells the story of a young, overworked and confused archaeologist. Sigmund Freud takes up the story, describing how Hanold, being 'wholly absorbed in his studies', takes no interest in living women.[1] He is obsessed, instead, with the Roman relief of a girl who seems to have an idiosyncratic style of walking. Hanold realises that this singular gait of Gradiva's is 'not discoverable in reality' but, deluded, travels to Pompeii in order to find a trace of her in the ashes there (Freud, 'Jensen's *Gradiva*', p. 12). He believes that he meets Gradiva *rediviva* in the ancient city, an incident containing linguistic and psychical repetitions. Freud postulates that Hanold's actions are the result of a delusion, itself the unrecognisable return of a repressed memory.

In *Archive Fever*, Jacques Derrida distinguishes between Hanold's search for the origins of Gradiva's footprint and the psychoanalyst's research into the trauma that returns in spectral form. Hanold, on the one hand, searches for the traces of his obsession 'in the literal sense (*im wörtlichen Sinne*). He dreams of bringing back to life'. He wants to relive 'the singular pressure or impression which Gradiva's step [*pas*], the step itself [...] on that date, in what was inimitable about it, must have left in the ashes'. It is an 'irreplaceable place' to which he wants to return, 'the very ash, where the singular imprint, like a signature, barely distinguishes itself from the impression'.[2] Psychoanalysis does not work towards a literal return to an original event; it is an enquiry into what the experience of an event means, later. It wants to know what impression it makes. Hanold goes looking for an irretrievable original that never existed, the precise moment when the impression seemed to be made, a non-event marked by Derrida's insistence on the

French word '*pas*', not only a step but a grammatical negation.

There are three ideas from this triumvirate of writings (from Jensen, Freud and Derrida) that help to structure the readings of the work of Walter Scott and George Borrow in this chapter. Firstly, the notion of the impression is used to describe traces of irretrievable events. It also indicates the ideological weight of images pressed into the archive (just as the stylus presses on to Freud's waxy *Wunderblock*, an image invoked by *Archive Fever*'s subtitle: *A Freudian Impression*). Thirdly, the search for the literal origins of the Gypsies, whether ethnological or literary, is framed as being akin to the 'delusions and dreams' diagnosed by Freud in Hanold's behaviour.

In his *Dissertation on the Gipsies*, Heinrich Grellman notes that their origin 'has remained a perfect philosopher's stone till now'. The recent discovery to which he refers is the etymological connection between Romani and Indian languages. Based on this evidence, researchers pursued the ethnological origins of the Gypsy diaspora to the southern part of the subcontinent. This is not so far away from Hanold's journey to Pompeii to find a footprint. Grellman also describes the myth of Gypsies stealing people, particularly their 'lying in wait for young children'.[3] *Guy Mannering*, on which this chapter largely focuses, has traditionally been seen to offer the first novelistic manifestation of this child-stealing figure in British literature. It is the novel's reputation as the originator of a literary image reappearing in texts from 1830 onwards that merits its inclusion in a thesis on the Victorian Gypsy. It is this same reputation as a kind of literary origin of a certain image of the Gypsy that I want to interrogate, as Freud interrogates Hanold's delusions.

The next, short section of the chapter takes its cue from Pierre Macherey's concept of the textual unconscious. He asserts that there is 'a sort of splitting within the work' and that 'this division is *its* unconscious [...] which is history, the play of history beyond its edges, encroaching on those edges'. He adds, 'this is why it is possible to

trace the path which leads from the haunted work to that which haunts it'.[4] Carl Plasa employs this idea in relation to colonial textual politics, tracing a path from haunted texts to their imperially constituted histories. The colonial connection often made via the figure of the Gypsy in nineteenth-century literature is with the British struggle for control over India.

By the time the novel was published, the opening phase of the great British expansion across India had begun, but there were battles at Poona where Brahmins plotted to murder Europeans, mutiny at Vellore, and war with Nepal to force the Ghurkas to submit to British rule.[5] Charles Grant, an East India Company official, returned from India in 1790 and 'insisted on an overt civilizing programme for the religious and moral improvement of the country'. Subduing and improving the natives was the 'white man's burden', demanding the wielding not just of the sword or gun but also linguistic weapons, ways of speaking or writing about the other that fix him or her in place.[6] Critics such as Katie Trumpener and Peter Garside have discussed Meg Merrilies, the famous Gypsy character from *Guy Mannering*, as a manifestation of cultural anxieties about imperial control of the subcontinent, a suggestion made, in part, because of the Gypsies' geographical roots.[7] Gypsies are the Indian ghosts haunting *Guy Mannering* with its colonial history encroaching on the edges of the text but never quite visible, only 'rendered legible', as Plasa puts it, 'at another level'.[8] The desire to control a distant and apparently unruly land, whether by force or by ideology, demands the repression of obstreperous elements in life and in language, and it is these cultural repressions that make their way back in to the novel in another form.

The second section of the chapter, staying with Scott, goes on to examine a critical attitude to his work that posits, deliberately or otherwise, Meg Merrilies as the ancestor of every fictional Gypsy malefactor that followed. I suggest, again using the model of the textual unconscious, that the desire to unify a literary heritage (and with it

the Romantic Gypsy) demands the repression of a different kind of unruliness: textual ambiguity, contradiction and trickery. To impose this archival control 'is to presuppose a closed heritage' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 33). In producing the historical novel, Scott apparently conserves a national cultural history at the same time as instituting a new genre. As Derrida explains, every archive 'is at once *institutive* and *conservative*. Revolutionary and traditional' (*Archive Fever*, p. 7; original emphasis). Scott starts to look not just like the archivist of a particular image of the Gypsy as thief and kidnapper, but its literary progenitor, too. Meg is not, though, as the common misconception has it, a child stealer, and she seems retrospectively forced into this role in order to fit a neat vision of literary genealogy with Scott at the top of the tree. Her textual ambivalence is repressed by critics in order to describe her as the first of many nineteenth-century Gypsy villains. Paradoxically, within the narrative, it is this very ambivalence that allows her to function as the scapegoated stereotypical Gypsy. This construction is read in terms of Homi K. Bhabha's description of the racial stereotype as the 'major discursive strategy' in the 'ideological construction of otherness'.[9] The figuring of the Gypsy is read through another psychoanalytic formulation in the third section of the chapter, which considers how the Gypsy functions as a fetishized object.

As an historical novel, Scott's narrative appears to offer its readers full knowledge about the culture it describes, its characters and the story it tells. Analysis reveals its aporias and absences, its excesses and repetitions, its splits and edges. George Borrow's *Lavengro* (1851) and its sequel, *The Romany Rye* (1857), demonstrate similar contradictions but, this time, in texts that fail to promise their readers the kind of closure one expects from *Guy Mannering*. Borrow 'produced a kind of picaresque fiction that invites readers to expect both autobiography and bildungsroman, but delivers neither'.[10] The work was seen as anachronistic by mid-century, moulded into the impression left by Romantics such as Scott and John Clare. Even his supporters said as much, with George Saintsbury

commenting that he 'might have belonged to any period'.[11] Borrow distanced himself from Scott's style, but, in so doing, invoked the literary frame of reference in which he worked. Influences on Borrow's imagery 'undoubtedly [include] the Waverley Novels, despite Borrow's hatred of their author', positing Scott as a literary progenitor with Borrow in an Oedipal relation with his forefather.[12] In *The Romany Rye*, for instance, an eccentric Hungarian derides Scott's examples in *Ivanhoe* (1820) of the Gypsies' language, brought to Britain via the Saxons, as 'one horse-load of nonsense'.[13] Scott's textual authority is comically undermined. My chapter demonstrates that Borrow's writing style makes the claims of Scott's realist narrative impossible to believe, displacing any stable position the latter might inhabit in a unified literary genealogy. The desire to fix origins — of the Gypsy people and their literary stereotypes — is shown to be as problematic as Hanold's delusions. I reject such attempts in favour of tracing the impression that history makes on texts and that texts make on each other in the archive.

The Haunted Work

In *Guy Mannering*, the young laird of Ellangowan, Harry Bertram, is kidnapped and smuggled abroad. After various misadventures in Holland, he goes to India to serve in the army under the name of Brown and the command of Guy Mannering. He is unaware that he has any connection to Mannering, let alone that the latter, as a young astrologer, read Harry's stars just after his birth. Suspicion for his kidnap falls on a local group of Gypsies who have been displaced by Harry's father. Meg Merrilies, the leader of the group, is a strange and striking figure with 'wild dress and features', beturbaned and dark.[14] Eventually, Meg helps Harry understand and prove who he really is. Constant misrecognitions motivate the narrative until a final series of disclosures resolves the plot: true identities are revealed, legacies restored and phantoms banished.

In George Borrow's work no such conclusion is offered to the reader, with ambiguity persisting well beyond the last page of *The Romany Rye*'s narrative. As Lavengro makes an association between the words Tawno Chikno and Mr. Petulengro use and the language of India described by a recruiting sergeant he says 'I think I'll go there'.[15] This new adventure for Lavengro displaces the focus of the narrative to somewhere unknown and exotic, denying the reader a satisfying conclusion. It is also a return to an imaginary and impossible origin as Lavengro sets off to find the beginnings of his Gypsy friends' diaspora, a location that exists several centuries in the past. The inherent danger in Lavengro's planned pursuit of Gypsy origins is that he will end up like Hanold, going to search for traces in the literal sense, in a dream of reliving the other. The Gypsies are, he believes, a 'mingled race, having all the idleness and predatory habits of their eastern ancestors' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 35). When represented in terms of those Oriental connections they can also be seen, less literally, as spectral visitors from that other place as imperial history makes its mark on the novel.

Narratively, Mannering and Brown are both lately from the subcontinent, allowing them to draw personal connections between the Gypsies and the East and, for the reader, bringing images of colonialism home, a 'dislocation of imperialism'.[16] As the Gypsies of Ellangowan are dislocated from their former home, so the repressed figure of India, which they spectrally represent, moves location; India comes to Britain; the empire returns. For example, Bertram's first sight of Meg brings him to wonder if he has 'dreamed of such a figure?' or if 'this wild and singular-looking woman [recalls to his] recollection some of the strange figures [he has] seen in an Indian pagoda?' (p. 123). Meg seems to be a visitor from a site of colonialism that only appears in the narrative via memory, the source of dreams that confuse the figure of the Gypsy with an Indian scene.

In India, Brown, a man without knowledge of his childhood kidnap, is encouraged by Mannering's wife to pursue their daughter, Julia. Mannering mistakenly

believes that Brown is trying to cuckold him because of the secret nature of the assignations. In India, and on his immediate return to Britain, Bertram does not know who he is and nor does anyone else. Consequently, Bertram's inheritance and the closure of the narrative are reliant on the repression, through Meg's death, of this disorientating place where his identity is unclear and his actions misinterpreted. In symbolically banishing the disorderly influence of India via Meg's death, *Guy Mannering*'s neat conclusion limits the subversive possibilities that India could have represented as the site of a textual unconscious.

Strange, transgressive visitors enable the plot while drawing attention to Britain's figuring of the East as a chaotic place on which to impose colonial rule. As Alyson Bardsley notes, 'Britain's overseas relations contribute to the instabilities depicted in the novel'.[17] The characters' lives do not quite make sense in India, until they return to the colonial centre as the locus of order and control. Even 'dueling, as a practice exclusive to gentlemen and designed to reinforce their code, fails to function properly in the colonial setting' (Bardsley, p. 401). Despite his youthful foretelling of Bertram's future, Mannering fails to recognise the event in India that, twenty-one years earlier, he calculated would threaten both his future wife and the baby just born. Only back in Britain is the astrological prediction retrieved, and even then 'Mannering could not bring himself to acknowledge' it (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 312). There is similar dissonance between astrology and conventional religious belief in *Quentin Durward*, in which Louis XI of France is deeply superstitious and consults an astrologer, a belief that undermines the stereotype of the fortune-telling Gypsy-sorcerer found elsewhere in the novel. Mannering's resistance credits the veracity of his and Bertram's common history while also distancing him, the authority figure, from the activity of fortune-telling. Mannering leaves such superstition behind now that he is part of a reasoned, masterful, imperial project. The distance between central authority and the Gypsy is also noted by Garside:

'Meg never enters Edinburgh *in propia persona*' (Garside, 'Meg Merrilies and India', p. 166). The figure who reminds the reader of a far-flung colony is not welcomed into one of the centres of commerce that drives the imperial project, lest, perhaps, she disrupt her position as external, subordinate and exotic. She is, in the literal sense of the word, eccentric.

India can be viewed as the text's colonial unconscious rather than just its subplot because of the way that the 'novel understands the relationship between national and imperial history in ways its characters do not' (Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, p. 221). While I am not satisfied with Trumpener's use of the verb 'understand', I agree that the text persistently reminds the reader about India, while its characters are strangely ignorant of its recurrence. Both Trumpener and Garside point out the similarities between Ellangowan's Gypsy displacement and the implementation by the East India Company of a system of land occupancy in Bengal resulting in the displacement of labourers as villages were parcelled into estates (Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, p. 190; Garside, 'Picturesque Figure and Landscape', pp. 163–4). Trumpener draws attention to the symmetry of Mannering's domestic tragedy in British India and Bertram's domestic tragedy at Ellangowan twenty years earlier. This symmetry, she asserts, 'is reinforced by the novel's persistent metaphoric associations of the Scottish Gypsies with the natives of India, similar in appearance and dress, in language, and in their alternation between submission and rebellion' (*Bardic Nationalism*, p. 187). This impression also pushes back, however, as the narrative symmetry of events in India and Scotland give the Eastern dimension of the Gypsies' portrayal even greater resonance. The mirrored narrative draws attention to Indians and Gypsies as each other's doubles.

'In the drama of homecoming', Trumpener complains, 'India is forgotten, and the Indian interlude comes to seem irrelevant'; a troublesome influence is contained (*Bardic Nationalism*, p. 222). The colonisers' anxiety about the possibilities of rebellion

and resistance is hinted at, as Garside notes, by reference in the text to the formidableness of the 'native Indian army' and resistance fighter Tippoo Saib (Garside, 'Meg Merrilies and India', p. 166; Scott, *Guy Mannering*, pp. 230; 215). With Meg's death, though, as the double of her Indian 'relations', these fears are put to rest. She helps Bertram to inherit by identifying him, but this also means he can forget all about his disordered colonial experience.

Trumpener describes Scott's novel as a rewriting of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, but sees Scott as nominalising the connection that Austen implies between the imperial and the domestic: 'where Sir Thomas Bertram returns home from Antigua tired, tanned, and somehow transformed, Harry Bertram returns home from India simply as Brown' (*Bardic Nationalism*, p. 188). It is not, I would argue, enough to suggest that the only association with India that Brown brings back is a name reminiscent (to a nineteenth-century British audience) of the natives' skin, though I take Trumpener's point that Bertram returns home to re-establish the *status quo*. But if, as Trumpener notes, Scott marks the Gypsies as 'nonindigenous and nonwhite' and makes a connection between them and colonial natives (*Bardic Nationalism*, p. 188), Harry Bertram manages to export some of this exoticism with him *to* India, having been practically raised as a small child by Meg, the 'symbolic maternal presence in [his] life' (Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, p. 10). The Orientalism of the Gypsies does not just originate in India but is repeated there.

Brown brings features of the disorder of India back to Britain with him by continuing his entangled relationship with Julia Mannering, begun in that location where identities and motivations are misunderstood. As a stranger (as the racial other is strange) he is both unpredictable and the object of suspicion. When he appears, looking 'wild and agitated' in front of Julia while she is out walking (already highly strung after coming under siege from smugglers at Woodbourne) she is unable to vouch for him both

because their relationship is a secret and because her 'terror prevented [her] finding articulate language' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 168); there is another repression of an Indian connection. In this moment, Brown takes on the position of colonial subject: wild, silenced and terrifyingly unknown. Indian origins for both the Gypsies and the plotlines of the novel are indissociable from disruption. When the order of home, with everything in its rightful place, takes over, the unhomely or uncanny Meg is repressed.

Meg, it is reported, is 'reckoned in the vulgar phrase, *no canny*' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 58; original emphasis). According to Freud, the uncanny (*'unheimlich'* meaning, literally, 'unhomely') is the 'class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar'.[18] The uncanny is also that which 'ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light' (Freud, 'The "Uncanny"', p. 225). Meg appears strange to Bertram, but her strangeness is familiar both because he knew her of old but cannot place her and because it brings to mind the strangeness of India for the young soldier. The familiar becomes frightening and her presence reveals a secret. The narrative tries to repress India (as the colony was suppressed by British rule) by moving the action back to Britain for the period in which the novel is set. India remains firmly in the past, becoming the place of memories and origins. It is anachronistic, never now, making it easier to handle. Meg's Indianness brings to light a location which the text keeps ostensibly hidden, and is itself a synecdoche of India's resistance against colonial force — it cannot be so easily suppressed, as would be seen forty years later in the mutiny of 1857. Her presence also reveals the secret of Bertram's past, reminding him, uncannily, of himself. She seems to be the safe repository of the text's Indian traces as a denizen of Britain, the controlled location, but in its reminders of her non-Britishness the text reveals that she cannot be relied upon to contain the foreign. She is at once not-Indian and Indian, displacing the colonial but simultaneously acting as a harbinger of its encroachment. The frightening power of Meg's ambivalent

position between known and unknown, homely and foreign, cannot be tolerated, and as 'home' is defined once and for all (an urgent national project for an expanding empire as well as a personal one), she must be removed.

This is not the only novel in which Scott makes the connection between the Gypsies and their supposed Eastern origins. In *Quentin Durward*, following the hanging of one of their own, a group of Gypsies abandon themselves to 'all the oriental expressions of grief; the women making a piteous wailing, and tearing their long black hair, while the men seemed to rend their garments, and to sprinkle dust upon their head' (p. 73). While a belief in the Oriental origins of Europe's Gypsies is consistent with an increasing cultural interest in racial taxonomy and philological researches in the nineteenth century, the fact of empire (largely ignored in *Guy Mannering* despite its part in the personal history of the characters) is rendered legible at the figural level of the Gypsy. The chapter now turns to examine the ideological weight of this figure and the impression it makes on the literary archive.

Contesting Legacy

The morning after Guy Mannering arrives at the hereditary seat of Ellangowan, he hears the voice of 'the gypsey' he saw the previous evening. Finding 'an aperture' through which to observe her without being visible himself, he gets the feeling that 'her figure, her employment, and her situation, conveyed the exact impression of an ancient sybil' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 23). Mannering's observation of Meg goes unnoticed by the Gypsy as he studies her behaviour and casts her in the role of Sibyl, a mythical and feminine figure. He is not alone in comparing a Gypsy woman with a Sibyl at this time (and neither is this the only time he describes Meg as such), in part because both Gypsies and Sibyls were reputed to be able to tell fortunes. John Clare draws the same analogy in

both 'The Gipsies Evening Blaze' (1807–10) and 'The Gipseys Camp' (1819–20). Harrison Ainsworth's Newgate novel *Rookwood* (1834) also draws on the mythical figure for its tragic Gypsy character Sybil Lovel.[19] It would be a case of disciplinary and historical tunnel vision to suggest that the early part of the nineteenth century was a period in which the gift of foresight was more welcome than any other, but at a time when cultural anxieties about economic change, urbanisation, empire and the threat of revolution abounded, an individual who could read the future would certainly have been both feared and desired in equal measure. I return in greater depth to questions of knowledge about the future in Chapter Four.

It is the '*impression* of an ancient sibyl' that Meg apparently conveys and the ideological weight of this image, the female Gypsy as mysterious prophetess, can be seen pressing onto the literary archive, its indentation traceable through many of the archive's layers. Oxymoronically, the impression Meg makes is an *exact* one. The various definitions of the term 'impression' contradict each other here. It means, for example, 'a somewhat vague or indistinct notion remaining in the mind as a survival from more distinct knowledge', and, also, a copy (*OED*). Meg, in a strange reversal of the definition, provokes the exact recognition of something vague. She is also an exact copy, but copies can never be, by definition, the same as their original. What these linguistic contradictions reveal is that Meg is never straightforwardly one thing or another. She is neither vague nor exact, original nor copy, making an equivocal passage from one term to another.[20] She becomes a marker for the deconstruction of apparent oppositions.

Two centuries before *Guy Mannering*, Shakespeare's Othello evokes the Sibyl when he tells Desdemona that 'an Egyptian' gave his mother the embroidered handkerchief that takes on so much significance in the play. The Egyptian was, he says 'a sibyl that had numbered in the world | The sun to course two hundred compasses', the very embroidery a product of her 'prophetic fury'.[21] E.A.J. Honigmann, in his

introduction to the Arden edition of the play, is unable to 'resist the feeling that John Leo [the Moorish author of *A Geographical Historie of Africa*] stimulated Shakespeare's imagination' and insists that Shakespeare therefore intended the figure from Othello's past as a North African rather than a Gypsy (p. 4). However, this narrative of linear influence is worth resisting in favour of one that sees Shakespeare's work emerging from a cultural context in which Gypsies, referred to in Britain as 'Egiptians' until the late seventeenth century, would have been included in Elizabeth I's ordered deportation of all 'blackamoores'. The deportations were one response to anxieties about feeding a growing population and the spread of heathenism.[22] While I do not necessarily contest the fictional African origin of *Othello*'s Egyptian embroiderer, it seems likely that a play concerned with racial otherness draws on attitudes to a domestic racial other. The Shakespearean Egyptian is, then, part-Gypsy, whatever her supposed ethnicity in the play. The Gypsy as Sibyl appears in this sixteenth-century moment when otherness is feared and the future troublingly uncertain. My point here is not to suggest that nineteenth-century manifestations of the Gypsy as Sibyl merely emulate the bard (a different kind of impression). Rather, the *weight* of the image's impression continues to be felt; it is pressure *not* imitation. I would rather not conjecture on whether Scott as an individual author believed Shakespeare to be referring to a Gypsy but see his work existing in a literary-cultural archive that does not go unmarked by a Shakespearean impression. To describe Scott and Shakespeare's relationship in terms of the impression rather than in the traditional terms of inheritance disrupts a concept of literary lineage. The discussion of the representation of child stealing in *Guy Mannering* that follows is just as disruptive to lineage as kidnap itself, as it displaces Scott's reputation as the inventor of a certain image of the Gypsies.

Guy Mannering is a novel whose narrative is driven by the problem of defining who may inherit a legacy from whom and the nature of that inheritance. In attempting

to disentangle the complications around the Ellangowan legacy, the text slyly implies that Meg Merrilies and her fellow Gypsies are guilty of denying the rightful heir his birthright by abducting and transporting him, an implication that is taken up by critics who propose that Scott's kidnapping Gypsies are a prototype for Victorian child-stealers. For example, in an 1998 journal article Deborah Epstein Nord commences her list of nineteenth-century literary examples of mistaken and transformed identity by saying that in *Guy Mannering* 'gypsies help to kidnap and then to rescue from obscurity a Scottish laird's son'. In her later book, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, she corrects what I want to make explicit as her *mis*reading.[23] This earlier interpretation nonetheless becomes part of the printed and digital archive, making its own retrospective impression on *Guy Mannering* and the readings that come after. As Derrida describes, 'by incorporating the knowledge deployed in reference to it, the archive augments itself, engrosses itself, it gains in auctoritas' (*Archive Fever*, p. 68). A mistake becomes authoritative. Katie Trumpener, in describing *Guy Mannering*'s plot as one of an 'original displacement', asserts that in the novel 'Gypsies kidnap a young lord' ('Time of the Gypsies', p. 362). In *Bardic Nationalism*, she insists that Meg 'kidnaps Bertram's five-year-old son and heir', later tempering the accusation by saying that she '*assists* at [Harry Bertram's] kidnapping, robbing him of his identity and his home' (pp. 184; 219; emphasis added). Similarly, Bernard Semmel says that the 'Gypsies *abet* the kidnapping of a child', but by adding that George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* (discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis) inverts the plot of *Guy Mannering* when 'a Gypsy child becomes the disinherited victim of Christian kidnappers', he undermines the qualification and posits Eliot as the inheritor of Scott's literary Gypsies.[24]

Scott does not invent the kidnapping Gypsy, but their reputation as child-stealers is tied up with the reputation of his text as the origin of this image in the nineteenth century. Peter Garside describes how the plot 'feeds on' established literary tropes such as this one (Garside, 'Picturesque Figure and Landscape', p. 149). Traditionally, as

Trumpener points out, 'Scott is seen [by critics such as Georg Lukács and Edwin Muir] as the sole inventor of the historical novel' (*Bardic Nationalism*, p. 130). This opinion was not slow to emerge; Garside notes that 'by the 1820s it was a critical commonplace that Scott was the founder of a new historical fiction'.[25] The works may regurgitate images of Gypsies that already exist in culture, such as the Sybil or the child-stealer, but their transmission in this 'new' form gives them the impression of relevance, authenticity and novelty. An innovative form bleeds into a notion of institutive content.

A rereading of *Guy Mannering* reveals, as Nord presumably discovered in the intervening eight years between her article and its reappearance in monograph form, anything but a straightforward account of a purely criminal tribe. As Nord eventually notes, the novel is explicit in absolving the Gypsies of the crimes of which they are accused and 'controverts most of the evidence that associates Gypsies with this misdeed' (*Gypsies and the British Imagination*, p. 33). The narrative is clear that Meg Merrilies 'saved the child' from mortal danger, but 'he was torn away from her by the smugglers, for the purpose of carrying him to Holland' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, pp. 342–3). Meg's dying words to this effect are entered into the official record via the testimonies of the clergyman and surgeon who attend her death. Typically, in line with the Gypsy's problematic relationship with archival politics, her statement is only accorded official status when it is repeated by non-Gypsy males.

Guy Mannering constructs its own internal cultural archive, describing characters whose reported views of the Gypsies naturally influence those of the reader. The measured, narrative voice is, at times, ignored in the clamour of anti-Gypsy hysteria. The suppositions made by readers centre on the idea that the Gypsies of the text disrupt a rightful inheritance and that the clear representation of such behaviour is typical of some Scottian Romantic rogue inherited by Victorian writers. As Trumpener remarks, Scott is seen to 'anticipate, even create, the consciousness of the Victorian novel'.[26] The

attribution of this anticipation fixes both what the reader should expect from Victorian texts and what one might read in Scott's work.

It is not hard to see why the characters that populate *Guy Mannering* are inclined to blame the Gypsies following Harry Bertram's kidnap, and why the reader follows suit. The kidnap is an event that affects all classes of the nearby community by disrupting the seemingly natural order of birth, death and generational continuation. The Gypsies of Ellangowan become unwilling participants in this central enigma of the narrative, acting as a red herring. The representation of the Gypsies via the prejudices of the local community works to strong effect. The text consistently locates negative attitudes towards Gypsies beyond the locus of authority represented by the narrative voice:

> Although the origin of those gypsy tribes, which formerly inundated most of the nations of Europe, and which in some degree subsist among them as a different people, is *generally known*, the reader will pardon my saying a few words respecting their situation in Scotland.
>
> It is *well known* that the gypsies were, at an earlier period, acknowledged as a distinct and independent people by one of the Scottish monarchs. [...]
>
> The patriotic Fletcher of Saltoun drew a picture of these banditti about a century ago, which my readers will peruse with astonishment. (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 35; emphasis added)

The narrative is, of course, the means by which characters are constructed and other texts invoked, but it repeatedly distances itself from what those characters and intertexts say. *Guy Mannering*, then, exists self-consciously in a particular cultural context where the narrative can first suggest that others hold particular views about Gypsies and then draw back to absolve itself from complicity in the construction of these attitudes. Should the reader fall for this trick, he or she finds no actual evidence to support an accusation of an anti-Gypsy narrative. The novel plays on the way that the reader (consciously or unconsciously) uses the novel's cultural and historical context to fill in the gaps left by narrative suggestion. In the extract above, ideas about Gypsies are referred to as 'generally known' and 'well known' within a few lines, suggesting a common sense available to all. This knowledge refers specifically to the Gypsies' origins and early

history in Scotland, but its juxtaposition with a quotation from Andrew Fletcher's harsh description of them means that it is all too easy to interpret Fletcher's image of 'men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together' as part of the general knowledge sited in the community (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 36). Through a wilful blurring of the location of attitudes, the text constructs a picture of the Gypsies as bad people without having to say so explicitly. The power of suggestion is a model of deception employed by Iago in *Othello*, apparently inventing nothing new but drawing attention to what is already understood: 'What you know, you know' (5. 2. 300). Mannering himself refers to Shakespeare's play when he describes the misunderstanding between him and Brown in India. He would have been 'reconciled to Brown's familiarity' with the Mannering family were it not for the 'suggestions of another', comparing the situation to that in *Othello*, a text he now 'never dare[s] open' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 70). Rather than the villain whispering in the hero's ear, in *Guy Mannering* the reader is duped by the narrative.

In the long quotation above, the emphatic repetition of 'known' leaves no doubt that this knowledge of the Gypsies is both fully available to the characters and incontrovertible. The passage of Fletcher's work quoted by Scott makes no specific mention of the Gypsies, merely of the 'people' who engage in such undesirable behaviour. It is the narrator who puts a name to the people, fixing Gypsies with this reputation, and contributes to such 'well-known' facts by adding that 'these strollers were a vindictive race, and were restrained by no checks, either of fear or conscience, from taking desperate vengeance upon those who had offended them' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 36). This suggestion, reminiscent of Grellman's accusations, clearly influences the reader when the Gypsies are wronged and Harry Bertram then disappears. The narrator attaches a label to information that comes from elsewhere, invoking rather than inventing a racial stereotype. It is, therefore, problematic to describe the text as

inaugurating any kind of literary tradition in relation to Gypsies, as it deliberately avoids invention in favour of repetition.

Dominie Sampson describes Meg as 'Harlot, thief, witch, and gypsey' (p. 15). Other characters express more ambivalent feelings, however. In an interior monologue, Godfrey Bertram (then laird of Ellangowan and Harry's father), having evicted the group of Gypsies from his land, thinks that the race which he had 'thus summarily dismissed from their ancient place of refuge, was idle and vicious' but also wonders whether his action is forgivable when these 'irregular characters' had, until recently, considered themselves as 'sort of subordinate dependents of his family' (p. 43). Idle *and* vicious (a trait usually associated with action rather than passivity), related yet subordinate, his view is riddled with contradictions. The typically candid Dinmont admits (after ignoring Meg's advice to his detriment) that, aside from being 'queer devils', 'there's baith gude and ill about the gypsies' (p. 131). The suspicious figures add an air of mystery and romance to the novel, but if the Gypsies were described purely in negative terms the enigma driving the plot would be weakened. There must be enough collective uncertainty to ensure that 'suspicion hesitate[s] between the smugglers and the gypsies' for several hundred pages (p. 55).

Homi Bhabha asserts that the ambivalence of the racial stereotype 'ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures' (Bhabha, p. 66). Mrs Mac-Candlish, landlady of the Gordon Arms in Kippletringan, offers more insight into why the mythical and ambivalent construction of the Gypsy by the townspeople is more important to her customers seventeen years after the kidnapping than any empirically provable 'truth' of the event or Meg's character. The landlady tells Mannering that 'it's an auld story now, and every body tells it [...] their ain way by the ingle-side' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 67). The *telling* and survival of the story is what matters, an affirmation of the way Kippletringan sees the world and its threats. The Deacon's belief that 'the young

Laird was stown away by a randy gypsy woman' and the Precentor's notion that 'Meg appeared to the Laird [...] and threatened him wi' what she wad do to his family' are (as tenuously as Fletcher's description) generally known (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, pp. 63–5), but they must also be 'anxiously repeated' (Bhabha, p. 66). The image of Meg as a sorcerer, witch or servant of the devil vacillates between being something that needs no proof, being 'notorious' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 64), and something that could, in discourse, never actually be proved. The discrepancies between these opinions and the official version of events given by the narrator are highlighted in a comical moment as Mannering, described as 'a handsome, tall thin figure' and who was a gentlemanly young graduate when he first visited Ellangowan, hears himself described in a retelling of that night as 'an ancient man, strangely habited [with] a grey beard three quarters lang' (pp. 61; 64). The continuous repetition of the story means that it changes as in a game of Chinese Whispers, but the story itself must contain ambivalent figures so that its structure is flexible enough to fit the needs of the community doing the retelling at different times. The implications of the 'common knowledge' which includes stereotypes are, of course, less serious here for Mannering as an educated white male than they are for Meg, the female Gypsy.

Ambivalent 'knowledge' has no need to be proved (everybody knows it) but remains 'in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed' (Bhabha, p. 66; original emphasis). Meg's eyes have 'a wild roll' that indicates 'something like real or affected insanity', an equivocation that leaves open the alternatives that she might be capitalizing on her reputation or that she may, actually, be mentally ill (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 14). The narrative voice refuses to commit to one interpretation or another. Her national identity is put in question by her clothing, 'which mixed the national dress of the Scottish common people with something of an eastern costume', attire that is 'artfully adopted *perhaps* for the purpose of adding to the effect of her spells and

predictions' (pp. 23; 43; emphasis added). This notion of capitalizing on a mystical image is revisited in Clare's poem 'The Gipsey' (1819–20). The Gypsy woman of the poem exchanges a fortune-telling for a drink out of Nell's pail, using her reputation as an asset to get what she wants. True to her word, the Gypsy informs Nell that 'her swain', Robin, is unfaithful, knowledge that the reader of the poem knows has been obtained by seeing him in action behind a hedge, playing the 'good for nought rover', rather than through a real gift for second sight.[27] There is characteristic play between the naïve credulity of the character and textual incredulity towards the Gypsies' clairvoyance. In *Guy Mannering*, the narrative describes the credulity on which Meg's costume plays but distances itself from its own cynicism with the inclusion of 'perhaps'. The reader becomes credulous, aligning him- or herself with those who suspect the Gypsies of trickery, believing that this position has been sanctioned by the narrative. The text employs the spellbinding effect of the stereotype, invoking images apparently already in circulation then quietly withdrawing its authority from their perpetuation: what you know, you know.

Meg's ambiguity even extends to her gender. When Mannering first sees her she seems 'rather masculine than feminine' and her voice is 'too shrill for a man [and] seemed too deep for a woman' (p. 14). Is Meg man or woman or a little of both? Is she mad or sane or something in between? Is she Scottish, Indian or neither? Affected or authentic? Uncanny or homely? In her ambiguous state she shifts between the positions demanded of her by the various moments of the narrative, just as the myth of the Gypsy changes as it is retold in different contexts by the townspeople.

The vacillating characteristic of knowledge in Scott's narrative, shifting between that which goes without saying and the anxious repetition of a myth, is most in evidence in the chapter that follows Harry's kidnap, an event that reinforces the Gypsy stereotype. It is not that the Gypsies are nowhere in sight when Harry is snatched. Meg Merrilies and her 'tribe' have both the motive (after their eviction by his father) and means to

make off with the child, but it is the smugglers who take him abroad and attempt to mask his identity by changing his name. Scott suggests the threat of young Harry being 'carried off by gypsies, like a second Adam Smith', not only marking the way for the reader's (and community's) later suspicions but placing these suspicions in a tradition of stories about Gypsies stealing children (p. 41). The continuation of this tradition throughout the nineteenth century is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. As well as saving the child, though, Meg ensures that Bertram retains his method of eventually proving his identity and claiming his inheritance: the astrology that Mannering wrote at his birth. The stereotype, however, exceeds or contradicts that which evidence appears to prove.

In *Guy Mannering*, what may be empirically proved is concentrated in the 'minute and skilful enquiry' of the sheriff-depute (p. 53). As he conducts his investigations, the suspicion that the Gypsies, or in particular Meg Merrilies, have stolen Harry, is already in place thanks to the cultural knowledge surrounding those in Kippletringan who quickly assign blame. This is coupled with 'the original opinion, that Kennedy [who was with Harry at the time] had accidentally fallen from the cliffs' (p. 53). In fact, he was pushed by the smugglers who (goaded by Glossin) take Harry away in case he identifies them. The evidence at the crime scene, in particular 'the vestiges of a child's foot', leads the sheriff to think, correctly, that 'the murderers, whoever they were, had possessed themselves of the person of the child Harry Bertram' (p. 55). Beyond this point, the reader no longer hears the measured opinion (via a third-person, quasi-omniscient narrative) of the sheriff, but popular opinion whose suspicion, as I have remarked, 'hesitated between the smugglers and the gypsies' (p. 55), the wavering that Bhabha predicts. This opinion is not that of the person whose job it is to prove guilt; it lies in the community, beyond the realm of the provable. The myth of child-stealing Gypsies is repeated, the crime being 'much more consistent with their habits than with those of

smugglers' (pp. 57–8). Although the community is sure that this is the case, they have to keep repeating it to themselves.

The narrative continues to lead the reader in the wrong direction by referring to a threat made by Meg without repeating it verbatim. Leaving the grounds of Ellangowan for the last time, she cries 'this day have ye quenched seven smoking hearths — see if the fire in your ain parlour burn the blyther for that'. However, she qualifies it with, 'not that I am wishing ill to little Harry, or to the babe that's yet to be born' (p. 44). Reframed in the expectations of the myth, that tempered threat becomes 'evil' and Meg's promise that no harm will come to Harry goes unrecorded (p. 58). These details are squeezed out by the compulsive repetition of the ubiquitous myth. The young woman who referred to Meg as 'no canny', and whose story seems to confirm Meg's presence at the crime scene, remains off the record. Her words stubbornly resist incorporation into the realm of the provable, remaining a testimony in excess. It is a testimony full of doubt and assumption, but in remaining part of communal suspicion rather than the sheriff's report, it becomes a positive assertion of Meg's guilt. The continued belief that Meg is the malefactor is described as 'extravagant', precisely excessive to what may be proved (p. 58).

The construction of a text that appears to originate the child-stealing myth in a literary context happens retrospectively in critical readings of the text. In a novel that seems not only to follow but also institute the rules of its form, ambivalence is unsatisfying, even threatening. The narrator is supposed to reveal all. There should be no trickery or gaps. Otherwise, how can the picture of Scotland he paints be trusted? Why have a *dénouement* if some of the problems still seem knotty? It is convenient for readers to ignore the parts of the story or of Meg's character that do not fit with what he or she has been led to expect.

Vitally important to the archive of Harry Bertram's kidnap are those 'vestiges of a child's foot' found at the scene (p. 55). These vestiges, like Gradiva's footprint, end up

appearing in different formats in several places: they are found in the mud and the detail is noted in the course of the Sheriff's investigations, a memorandum that then reaches the reader by means of the novel's narrative (repeated in critical work and now in this thesis). Similarly, Gradiva's footprint exists on a relief and its plaster cast and, as far as Hanold is concerned, in Pompeii (as well as textually in Jensen's novel, Freud's text and Derrida's *Archive Fever*). Each of these archival layers in *Guy Mannering* provides a new context for the trace whilst conserving the focus on what seems to be an origin: the event of the kidnap. The image of the footprint as trace recurs slightly differently and intertextually in the motto to Chapter Eight of the first volume of the novel. Scott chooses lines from John Leyden's *Scenes of Infancy* (1803) to highlight the decline of another 'swarthy race', the North American Indian, and to act as prologue to his account of the dislocation of the Gypsies. The absence of a footprint, the forest where 'never foot has trode the fallen leaf', suggests a space where no political or cultural event has yet happened (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 40). Additionally, Hattaraick is eventually condemned for Kennedy's murder because his shoe matches the measurements of another footprint measured at the scene. There is no avoiding the footprint.

Readers who expect to find not just Harry's footprint as the trace of an irretrievable event, but the literal trace of Meg kidnapping Harry, would be acting, like Hanold, under a delusion, dreaming of the step that is not (*pas*), a singular event that did not happen and a woman who is not who they think she is. They suffer, like the archaeologist, 'from archive fever' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 98). These deluded readers — and I use the term in a psychoanalytic rather than a pejorative sense to mean those over whom phantasies 'have gained the upper hand' (Freud, 'Jensen's Gradiva', p. 45) — dream of reliving the disguised version of that which is threatening (just as Hanold dreams of a spectral version of his repressed erotic desire). In this case, the threatening concept of textual ambiguity in *Guy Mannering* is repressed, the dangerous Gypsy

appearing as a comfortingly disguised version of that ambiguous woman. Anxiety about colonial control means that India is repressed in the novel but returns in the form of the Gypsies; anxiety about controlling texts and fixing the ambiguous Gypsy is repressed and results in stereotype. Repression is not the only way to deal with a psychical threat like this, however, as the next section of the chapter explains.

Fetishism

In considering the imagery and language of Scott's work, it is useful to discuss another psychical strategy, other than repression, by which a threat to the way one understands the world (for example, Meg's ambivalence or the Gypsies as a reminder of the problems with empire) is diverted only to return with 'changes and distortions': the fetish (Freud, 'Jensen's *Gradiva*, p. 58). In developing his theory, Freud refers to the fetish easing the erotic life of the male who struggles with the idea that women, specifically the mother, do not possess a penis. The lack of a penis suggests castration, and if this is a possibility then the male's penis is also in danger. The threatening relationship between presence and absence, between the ambiguity of the mother being like the male child but different, demands that a fetishized object take the place of the penis, allowing the child simultaneously to retain the belief that the female body is no different but to also to give that belief up.[28] The 'problem' of the mother's lack remains, but the fear associated with it is navigated just as textual ambiguity remains in the novels and characters retain their ambivalence, but attention is diverted from it by fetishizing the Gypsy. In this section, I briefly compare the ways the strategy is played out in Scott's work and that of George Borrow, before moving on in the next section to assess how Borrow's idiosyncratic style undermines the revelatory claims of his predecessor's realist novels by disrupting the efficacy of language.

The fetish is both a recognition of difference and, as Bhabha points out, a disavowal of it. This is a 'conflict of pleasure/unpleasure, mastery/defence, knowledge/disavowal, absence/presence' (pp. 74–5). Mannering's first sight of Meg is an example of this fetishization:

> She was full six feet high, wore a man's great-coat over the rest of her dress, had in her hand a goodly sloe-thorn cudgel, and in all points of equipment, except her petticoats, seemed rather masculine than feminine. Her dark elf-locks shot out like the snakes of the gorgon, between an old-fashioned bonnet called a Bongrace, heightening the singular effect of her strong and weather-beaten features, which they partly shadowed, while her eye had a wild roll that indicated something like real or affected insanity. (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 14)

On the one hand, the description appears to impart knowledge. It gives details of her height, face, hair, dress, equipment and attitude. On the other hand, it poses more questions than it answers. Like her hat, the description heightens the effect of Meg's appearance whilst casting a shadow over it. Taking her apart, piece by piece, allows both Mannering and the reader to understand Meg as a composite of recognisable features so that they might continue in and with the narrative, yet her ambiguous gender, origin and intent remain unexplained. When fetishized like this, she can be perceived as strangely exotic without being a threat. The description ultimately compares her to a gorgon as, earlier, it resorts to the image of the Sybil.

Her snake-like hair associates her with that most famous of the gorgons, Medusa, the representation of which is discussed in Freud's short essay, 'Medusa's Head'.[29] Medusa's snakes are also linked to the castration complex, mitigating the horror of castration by replacing the penis with this phallic symbol, but at the same time drawing attention to the absence that causes horror. Meg, 'rather masculine than feminine', is even more terrifying than most 'castrated' women because her pseudo-masculine traits make her absent penis doubly significant, with her hair standing in for it. Meg's troubling ambivalence (and her figuring as a spectral return of the Indian colony) is dealt with in the narrative by her death, something that is prefigured when she makes a

metaphorical reappearance as the Medusa near the end of the tale. As narrative order is about to be restored with the revelation of Bertram's identity, Mannering, Julia and Lucy are startled by his appearance in the room. The counsellor wonders, on their looks of surprise, if 'this young fellow brought the Gorgon's head in his hand?' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 304). By revealing himself to be the rightful male inheritor of the Ellangowan estate and being the catalyst for revelation, Bertram rids the novel of Meg's disruptive, ambivalent power and, in a symbolic sense, *does* stride into the room with the gorgon's severed head.

Scott employs a similarly fragmented description of a Gypsy in *Quentin Durward*, where Hayraddin Maugrabin is described in terms of his clothes, from his 'red turban of small size, in which he wore a sullied plume, secured by a clasp of silver' to his green tunic 'tawdrily laced with gold', and his white trousers 'which gathered beneath the knee', leading the description on to his 'swarthy legs'. The text gives every detail of his sandals, stirrups, dagger and 'Moorish sword'. His swarthiness is reemphasized, and attention is drawn to his 'piercing dark eyes' and 'other features which might have been pronounced handsome, but for the black elf-locks which hung round his face, and the air of wildness and emaciation, which rather seemed to indicate a savage than a civilized man' (Scott, *Quentin Durward*, p. 176). As with Meg, the burst apart Gypsy becomes a manageable figure but retains his difference.

Borrow's *Lavengro* also employs fetishistic images of Gypsies. In another first encounter, Lavengro's childhood image of a Gypsy woman is just as fragmented:

> The woman was a stout figure, seemingly between thirty and forty; she wore no cap, and her long hair fell on either side of her head like horse-tails half way down her waist; her skin was dark and swarthy, like that of a toad, and the expression of her countenance was particularly evil; her arms were bare, and her bosom was but half concealed by a slight bodice, below which she wore a coarse petticoat, her only other article of dress.[30]

The young Lavengro is attributed a lascivious gaze, taking in the woman's state of

undress, visible bosom, animalism (at once horse- and toad-like) and her long hair that draws his eye down to her waist. Similarly, Maugrabin's white trousers direct the viewer's gaze to his contrastingly swarthy legs. The woman's husband is 'equally wild', with emphasis placed in the text on his squinting eyes (Borrow, *Lavengro*, pp. 34–5). The scene, 'staging the ambivalence of desire' (Bhabha, p. 82), posits Lavengro as wanting the Gypsy, wanting to *be like* the Gypsy, whilst interrupting this demand by noting the 'particularly evil' expression on her face. That two of these cases of fetishism appear when characters first meet a Gypsy reinforces the psychical trauma and its attendant reactions that the confrontation between the white male and female Gypsy apparently causes in these texts.

The fetish is a simultaneous recognition and disavowal of difference, originally a response to the difference between male and female bodies. Freud notes that 'anxiety about one's eyes, the fear of going blind, is often enough a substitute for the dread of being castrated' (Freud, 'Fetishism', p. 231). If the fetish is originally a response to the fear of castration, and this fear is associated with the eyes and a problematic vision, it is little surprise that the fetishization of the Gypsy often focuses on an interest in his or her eyes. As well as being a dark marker of the Gypsy's racial difference, fetishizing his or her eyes allows the white male viewer to continue with the belief that he does the looking without disconcertingly being looked at and thus constructed by the other; difference is recognised but also disavowed. The white male viewer wishes to disavow his own status as other to another whilst maintaining the exotic otherness of the Gypsy. The fictional Gypsy, however, frequently refuses to meet the *gorgio*'s eyes (while still looking *at* him), thus resisting submission to his gaze. The other has already been associated with eyes that can never be met in the Introduction to this thesis (p. 19). There, I quoted Derrida's assertion that the archive is a trace of the other from another time whose eyes cannot be met. This temporal sort of otherness is explored in detail in Chapter Four of the thesis.

Mannering's first encounter with Meg describes, as I have noted, her eyes as having 'a wild roll that indicated something like real or affected insanity'. Here, the question of Meg's sanity or affectation, a question which affects how she is viewed and what she might do, is concentrated on these unfocused eyes. Later, the reader is told that her 'dark eyes flashed with uncommon lustre' as she directly challenges Godfrey Bertram (Scott, *Guy Mannering,* p. 43). When Julia Mannering meets Meg she is reminded of 'the tales of sorceresses, witches, and evil genii', which she heard in India: 'they believe there is a fascination of the eye', she says, 'by which those who possess it controul [*sic*] the will and dictate the motions of their victims' (p. 326). That Julia's interest in the evil eye originates in India allows the text to keep the question of Meg's Eastern influences in play as it fetishizes her image. A desire for the exoticism of magic and witchcraft is maintained in Meg alongside the fear of the control such powers could hold over those who have mistreated the Gypsies.

Meg's nephew, Gabriel (pressed into naval service before the Gypsies are evicted from Ellangowan), is the only other member of the group to play a significant role in the novel. Brown/Bertram meets him on a hunting trip and believes that he is talking to a stranger. Gabriel has recognised him as the kidnapped heir and shows 'an unwillingness to meet his eye' (p. 135). Narratively, this unwillingness gives Gabriel time to tell his aunt about Bertram's unexpected reappearance but it adds to the impression that there is something evasive about all Gypsies' eyes, an evasiveness that is implicated in the disintegration of the power of the *gorgio*'s gaze.

Strikingly, in Borrow's *Lavengro,* the narrator finds himself the object of Jasper Petulengro's gaze at the horse fair, but it is a description that seems to separate Jasper from his own eye. Lavengro feels 'that eyes were fastened upon [him] from somewhere in the crowd'. Unsure of the source of the gaze, he turns several times but repeatedly feels that he 'was but a moment too late, and that someone had just slipped away from

the direction to which [he] turned, like the figure in a magic lanthorn' (Borrow, *Lavengro*, p. 104). Lavengro's interest is in the eyes that seem to fix him, but something always seems to slip away, leaving the worrying sensation for the narrator that, in the figure of the Gypsy there is more, literally, than meets the eye.

Writing Unwriting

Guy Mannering's exposure of the incoherence of language is further explored by reading it in relation to the work of Borrow, an author on whom Scott made an impression. In Borrow's *Lavengro*, the eponymous narrator, an eccentric philologist who bears a striking resemblance to the author, wants to use Romani as 'a kind of picklock' to aid the study of other languages (Borrow, *Lavengro*, p. 192). He refers to the language as 'broken, corrupted, and half in ruins', a degeneration from its supposedly pure roots (p. 112). He talks of what seems to be an actual historical period when someone like him could have encountered the Gypsies when 'their language must have been more perfect — and they must have had a greater stock of strange secrets'. He soon concedes, however, that this period is entirely hypothetical and that at no time could he have gained this type of knowledge. It is nothing but a 'wild gypsy dream' (Borrow, *Romany Rye*, p. 82). The description refers to his imagination but perpetuates the image of wild, uncivilised Gypsies. The threatening lack of containment is reinforced as commentators such as B. C. Smart and H. C. Crofton remark that Borrow's work 'awakens in the hearts of even staid, respectable readers a *dangerous* longing for the freedom of the wilds'.[31] Lavengro's dream is of a language whose purity would also have prevented him from understanding it, keeping it a 'strange secret'. This wild dream is similar to Hanold's dream of an irreplaceable place. Lavengro is, in fact, so similar to Hanold that he too is almost unnaturally affected by a footprint, in this case Robinson Crusoe's discovery of a

footprint in the sand in Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel (*Lavengro*, p. 23).[32] What remains in the archive instead of this pure and irretrievable language, the singular pressure that Lavengro pursues, is an impression, an imperfect or corrupted copy.

As the previous sections of the chapter demonstrated, ambiguities, unfixity and impossibilities are uncomfortable qualities of any text, which is perhaps why Borrow's *Lavengro* and its sequel, *The Romany Rye*, suffer from 'an extreme case of the fluctuation of literary reputation' (Duncan, p. 381). Borrow, like Scott, is considered another literary father (and son) figure. Lou Charnon-Deutsch asserts that 'Guiseppe Verdi's Azucena, Prosper Mérimée's Carmen, Ambroise Thomas's Mignon, George Eliot's Fedalma, George Sand's Moréna, and Victor Hugo's Esmeralda all owe something to Borrow's picaresque imagination'.[33] Lavengro is 'the prototype' of the Romany [Rye] who 'gives up on both worldly success and heterosexual union to roam in solitary fashion the forests and dingles of Britain' (Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, p. 13). Borrow's work begets a group of later-century writers, even if his autobiographical character gives up (or fails at) heterosexual intercourse. Nord proposes that Lavengro's bohemianism is part of an Oedipal struggle with the 'masculine efficacy of his father', an opting out of the constraints of bourgeois expectations, but suggests that the struggle is overcome by his triumph with language (as 'linguistic desire seems to replace all other forms') and brotherhood with the Gypsies (pp. 13; 86). It is 'association' that is achieved, a connection with others that emphasises 'neither inheritance nor reproduction' (p. 91). If the texts do not strive to reinstall patrilineage as *Guy Mannering* does, and no final 'normality' is promised, what is it that ambiguity and contradiction threaten to undermine in Borrow's work? The answer is writing itself.

Borrow deliberately blurs the generic boundary between autobiography and fiction in his work. He calls *Lavengro* and *The Romany Rye* a 'dream, or drama' as well as 'a philological book, a poem', and, at the same time describes a personal history for

Lavengro that corresponds closely with Borrow's own (*Lavengro*, p. 1; *Romany Rye*, p. 368). Beyond genre-blurring, though, the texts also run the risk of unwriting themselves. Lavengro's recollections take such a precarious form, full of paradoxes and linguistic problems, that their construction seems also to mark their dissolution. This is exemplified in two exchanges between Lavengro and the characters from which he collects words, tales and observations. Talking with a jockey at Horncastle horse fair, Lavengro is typically arrogant, hoping to display his own knowledge of the jockey's subject. The jockey responds angrily saying,

> 'This is the third time you have interrupted me in my tale Mr. Rye; I passed over the two first times with a simple warning, but you will now please to get up and give me the satisfaction of a man'. (*Romany Rye*, p. 264)

Lavengro's compulsively repetitive interruption not only provokes the jockey to violence, it puts the text in jeopardy by blocking its medium. The narrator recounts (or invents) verbal exchanges as part of a folk tradition in the name of philology and ethnography. These exchanges are mediated by Lavengro, who facilitates but also threatens their reproduction. Interpretations of the 'original' tale are monopolised as they are framed within Lavengro's own story. The question of whose trace it is that remain in the archive is a political question.

Lavengro is Romani for 'word master' (*Lavengro*, p. 113). However, this mastery is threatened by his interruption of the stories. The pompous word master also reveals the impossibility of mastering or trusting language with repeated reference to lies and exaggeration, making a parody of his own name. Having interrupted his friend Murtagh, Lavengro begs him to continue with his story 'whether true or not', drawing attention to the possible lie (*The Romany Rye*, p. 297). Jasper Petulengro, Lavengro's Gypsy 'brother' concedes that the Gypsies have 'now and then' told him things about them 'which are not exactly true, simply to make a fool of [him]' (*The Romany Rye*, p. 48). Lavengro's

status as a sort of Gypsy archivist is observed by an acquaintance of Jasper's, 'a tall, handsome black man'. He says that he 'would rather be the lil-writer' because 'they have so much to say for themselves [...] even when dead and gone' (*Lavengro*, p. 285; 'lil' means 'book'). Jasper wonders if his relationship with Lavengro will lead to his own immortality, but suspects that writing stories is the same as 'blowing one's own horn' and is put off by such arrogance (*Lavengro*, p. 285). Lavengro's demonstration of the Romani language has little to do with preservation (which was the impulse of his followers later in the nineteenth century) and more to do with showing off his own skill as a linguist. Several incidents in the text, however, throw light on the impossibility of mastering anything as deceptive as language.

One of these incidents is an apparent plot to 'drab the baulo' or poison a pig (*Romany Rye*, p. 42). Whether this takes place or not remains ambiguous, but it is suggested that the Gypsies merely sing songs about it rather than actually killing someone else's animal before the feast that Lavengro attends. The song echoes the function of Meg's threat to the laird of Ellangowan in *Guy Mannering* (repeated later, out of context and misinterpreted), a misdeed described by language that defers the need for any action outside it. A reading that understands all the Gypsies in Borrow's work as thieves and poisoners, based on this 'evidence', jumps to the same sort of conclusions as the reader who blames Meg Merrilies for Harry Bertram's kidnap.

In *The Romany Rye*, Ursula sings a song about love affairs between *Gorgios* and Gypsies. Lavengro describes it as 'the song that speaks of the thing' which Ursula paradoxically insists does not happen (*Romany Rye*, p. 67). She insists that such affairs never take place, that the song is merely 'a warning' rather than an account (p. 68). This leaves Lavengro to pursue, mistakenly, the spectral practice residing in the song. Like Hanold, again, he seeks an impossible origin, the step never taken.

Borrow's texts are the reader's only access to the Gypsies, but they call attention to the problems with that mediation. In his appendix to *The Romany Rye*, Borrow complains about the English craze for gentility, a 'glittering' superficiality that threatens to erode the values of Gypsy culture (p. 330). Mrs Petulengro demonstrates the craze, as she ceases to use 'vulgar' Romani words unless she 'can hope to pass them off for French', considered by her to be a more genteel tongue (*Romany Rye*, p. 31). She uses Romani only when it appears other than it is, threatening to affect everything she says as she negates any interlocutor: the only people to whom she will speak are those who stand no chance of understanding her.

From Ursula, Lavengro learns a word whose meaning must, for the sake of its survival, be repressed. It may only appear, to return to the vocabulary of Freud and Macherey, in a different guise. The word 'patteran' (or patrin) is understood by both Lavengro and the other Gypsies to mean a trail left by travellers to show friends (and only friends) who follow them which route they took. It is the deliberate trace of a journey. The same word signifies 'leaf', but those who use the word patteran are unaware of its dual meaning. Ursula explains:

> 'The word for leaf was patteran, which our people use now for trail, having forgotten the true meaning. [...] The trail was called patteran because the gypsies of old were in the habit of making the marks with the leaves and branches of trees, placed in a certain manner'. (*Romany Rye*, p. 75)

The trail must only be legible to the intended follower, so the fact that it is laid with leaves, that 'patteran' comes from 'leaf', is protected by means of an etymological repression. Mrs Herne (Jasper Petulengro's mother-in-law) distrusts Lavengro's interaction with her people to the extent that she tries to poison him: his textual explication could destroy a form of Gypsy communication by disclosing the secret. Lavengro's archival impulse is problematic because he wants to record the word but doing so erases its significance and even, if Mrs Herne had her way, the narrator's

existence. His writing threatens to unwrite itself and recollection becomes a kind of undoing. This instability is overt in Borrow's work, along with playfulness with, and an interest in, language and its failures.

This is not to say that writing and language are stable in *Guy Mannering*, but the narrative that drives Scott's novel towards its conclusion is better at distracting the reader from its contradictions than Borrow's style. When Harry's father begins his campaign against the Gypsies on his land, he puts a sign on one of his gates that 'intimated "prosecution according to law" (the painter spelt it *persecution* — l'un vaut bien l'autre) to all who should be found trespassing on these enclosures' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 38; original emphasis). For Gypsies in Britain, prosecution according to the law was, indeed, akin to persecution. Their pseudo-familial relationship with the Bertrams is a harmonious one, until Bertram decides to follow the letter of the law. The Freudian slip by Bertram's painter demonstrates, however, the literal imperfection of the letter of the law and why there might be reasons to distrust it. It is a theme that Scott pursues in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), where the law in question condemns Effie Deans to death for the murder of her child because she cannot prove her innocence. The absence of evidence (a child) is enough to presume guilt: "'It is a cruelly severe statute," said the magistrate to his assistant, "and I wish the girl could be taken from under the letter of it"'.[34] The repressive letter of the law is clearly not the same as justice. The purpose of Bertram's sign in *Guy Mannering* is to draw attention to the laird's adherence to an ostensibly fair system, while actually betraying the tacit unfairness of the system for one of Britain's marginal populations. As in Borrow's work, language does not do what Bertram expects of it.

A further example of grammatological instability comes as Brown attempts to make surreptitious contact with Julia Mannering back in Britain. The example undermines the notion of the archive as a static repository for writing and other traces

that are held in readiness for their retrieval in the same form as when they were first laid down. Julia's side of the story is told through a series of letters to a school friend, Matilda Marchmont. 'The perusal of a few extracts from these', the narrator informs the reader, may be necessary to render our story intelligible' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p, 91). The shift, through the use of letters, to a first-person perspective and the lack of knowledge held by that one person demonstrates, by contrast, the narrator's omniscient status and the apparently inalienable right to edit Julia's letters that goes with it. The narrator is, after all, supposed to know best. Matilda's responses to Julia's letters are unarchived, yet Julia makes reference to their two-way correspondence: 'How can you upbraid me, my dearest Matilda?', she asks, when the reader knows nothing of the reproach (p. 155). The narrator changes the purpose of the letters, from private dialogue to part of the narrative, but in so doing leaves sections out. How can the reader be sure that all the relevant information remains in the edited letter? The same can be said of Mannering's diaries from his sojourn in Edinburgh. The narrator warns that the original journal passed through the hands of Dominie Sampson, whose 'indiscreet zeal mutilated Mannering's account'. The narrator, it appears, has found 'one or two scraps [...] from some mutilated letters to Mr Mervyn' which have, unfortunately, 'suffered much from damp' (p. 226). The extra-textual explanation for the condition of the journal is that it allows Scott to describe, without libellously naming, contemporary political, literary and philosophical figures in Edinburgh. These names are reinserted by means of an endnote in Peter Garside's edition of *Guy Mannering*. Writing, that which archives, makes a precarious record.

This is not to say that speech, a form of communication apparently requiring the presence of the speaker and thus seeming to mitigate the problem of deterioration or incautious editing, is any more trustworthy than writing in *Guy Mannering*. Meg's testimony is officially unbelievable until it is confirmed by somebody else. In other

words, one person cannot be considered to be telling the truth until another person speaks for them to affirm what they say, to say the 'same'. There is an impossibility in voicing the truth; only its reiteration by another makes it true but in between there is an equivocal passage from one speaker to another. The statement can never be the same in its repetition; truth differs from itself. When Hattaraick refuses to confirm Meg's dying testimony she says,

> 'When I was in life, I was the mad randy gypsey, that had been scourged, and banished, and branded, that had begged from door to door, and been hounded like a stray tyke from parish to parish — wha would hae minded her word? — But now I am a dying woman, and my words will not fall to the ground, any more than the earth will cover my blood!'. (pp. 337–8)

Meg's movement around the country is forced; she is banished and hounded and must go from place to place to survive. Attitudes towards her and other Gypsy figures throughout the nineteenth century show suspicion *because* she is transitory, but she is also persecuted and compelled to nomadism because she is other. Her strangeness and the fact that she does not fit into the bounds of what the sedentary, white population consider normal means she is branded as mad and 'randy', a term used from the late seventeenth century to mean a rude beggar and implying vagrant habits (*OED*). Her words, then, are not to be trusted because of everything the figure of the Gypsy represents. She astutely recognises, however, that when she is no longer present to speak, when her testimony is written down by those with more power and control over how their words are received, they will be interpreted differently. Her absence paradoxically validates the trace that she leaves behind, the blood that the earth will not cover even when she lies corporeally beneath. Speech does not guarantee truth or stability any more than writing, and the most significant thing about both is who writes or speaks, and for whom.

Conclusion

Meg's observation demonstrates how the political conditions of archivization determine what goes in to the archive and whose traces remain. As a Gypsy, her words are recorded by others. Her culturally marginal existence does not lend her the power to speak for herself. Searching for traces in a literal sense (like Freud's deluded archaeologist) cannot bring back to life, or make an event retrievable. Readings and interpretations of traces, of the written archive or of a footprint, of dreams and impressions, are the only possible approach. The conservation of the trace always institutes a difference. A novel produced at a time when empire was a pressing concern preserves cultural anxieties about how to manage a wild and distant territory. India forms *Guy Mannering*'s textual unconscious, but the narrative attempts to repress or fetishize the Oriental chaos encroaching on its borders. India returns in a different, spectral form: the Gypsies. With Meg's death, the narrative imposes the order of home and of the centre. Those on the periphery, whether imperial subjects or Gypsies in Britain, do not get to have the last word: Meg 'expire[s] without a groan' (Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 339).

Her lack of archival power does not mean that any interpretation goes, however. She is not a child-stealer, but the fact that she is so often misplaced in this role is a symptom of a desire to order the figure of the Romantic Gypsy, establishing it as a substrate on which the 'consciousness of the Victorian novel' may place its feet (Trumpener, 'National Character, Nationalistic Plots', p. 687). The Gypsy is fetishized in both Scott and Borrow's texts, with the objectification focusing frequently on the Gypsies' eyes in an effort to encapsulate the Gypsy in a single image, whilst still not being able fully to know this exotic creature. On a metatextual level, interpretations of the text fetishize the literary figure (Scott or Borrow) in an attempt to 'know' the Gypsy and the

text in which it is constructed. However, fixing the text proves harder than this, as Scott's narrative, in particular, works to conceal the fictions within its fiction. Contrastingly, Borrow's idiosyncratic style demonstrates how untrustworthy narrators and writing can be, and such archival instability makes the claims of realist narratives, such as that in *Guy Mannering*, harder to believe. The reader expects Meg to be a straightforward Gypsy stereotype, but, instead, encounters an ambiguous character: readerly expectations are subverted as absences and excesses, repetitions and contradictions reveal that the reader has been under the wrong impression about the Gypsy.

The next chapter turns its attention to a group of writers who professed to be critical followers of Borrow. Some have experienced more longevity of literary reputation than others, but the work of three central figures in this late-century movement, Charles Godfrey Leland, Theodore Watts-Dunton and Francis Hindes Groome, is examined in terms of the strategies their work uses to control the wild and excessive figure of the Gypsy that these white middle-class men profess to adore. Some scholars of Gypsy Lore, such as these three writers, believed that the only adequate method of study was to immerse themselves in the culture they wrote about by living alongside the Gypsies in their tents and caravans, or at least by learning the Romani language sufficiently to pass days in the company of Gypsies. Such men (and they were, for the most part, male) were referred to, like George Borrow, as 'Romany Ryes', Romani for 'Gypsy gentlemen'. It is a term that immediately arouses problems of identity. As a label coined in Romani, thus seeming to describe both a Gypsy (or Romany) and a gentleman visitor living 'in gipsy tents', the term seems, at first, inclusive.[35] However, in practice it is never applied to ethnic Gypsies and so marks the Ryes as other and, in the posturing that the chapter describes, superior to the Gypsies with whom these gentlemen associate.

2

La Recherche du Temps Perdu

In an insertion to the French edition of *Mal d'Archive* that does not appear in the translated *Archive Fever*, Derrida asks, '*Mais à qui revient en dernière instance l'autorité sur l'institution de l'archive?*': in the last instance, to whom does the authority over the institution of the archive come back?[1] As the previous chapter demonstrated, the question of who writes the Gypsy and the authority which that writing assumes is also the question of the kind of figure produced in the text. There is no neutral, historically accurate Gypsy waiting to be uncovered; what the twenty-first century reader knows of the nineteenth-century Gypsy is entirely contingent on the texts available in the archive and the context in which they were written, who wrote and why. The inauguration of the Romany Rye's archive could be said to have taken place with a now famous correspondence in the pages of *Notes and Queries* from November 1887 suggesting that a formal Gypsy Lore Society be organised.[2] Who were these writers to institute a Gypsy lore archive and how did their conception of what the archive was for affect the construction of the Gypsy?

Charles Godfrey Leland famously believed that by the 1880s the child had been born who would see the last Gypsy.[3] For the Victorians, it seemed, the Gypsy way of life would soon die out. Leland's fears echoed those of many in the Gypsy lorist movement, and he felt that he and his fellow lorists were collecting examples of folklore before it was too late, because, he believed, 'with general culture and intelligence we are killing all kinds of old faiths'.[4] Philologists B.C Smart and H. T. Crofton described 'hearing archaic terms and obsolete inflexions' in Romani, which, 'like the bones and eggs of the Great Auk, or the

mummified fragments of a Dodo, are the relics of extinct forms', which should be treasured as 'the broken utterances of an expiring language'.[5] Using Patrick Brantlinger's postcolonial description of extinction discourse, the first section of this chapter examines the discursive implications of the Ryes' impulse to conserve Gypsy culture in the face of its perceived annihilation. It draws on Freud's theory of the death drive and Derrida's consideration of this drive in relation to the archive to propose that the Ryes' mode of writing inadvertently silences the Gypsy and so, paradoxically, conspires in that very killing of old faiths so feared by Leland.

The second section looks at the ways in which the lorists' writing regulates 'Gypsydom' (to use their term) to capture it in writing for all time. This is similar to the narrative control of the threateningly disordered and disordering Indian Gypsy that takes place in *Guy Mannering*. Here, the analysis focuses on an organising strategy described by Edward Said in his monumental *Orientalism*, namely synchronic essentialism.[6] This way of 'ordering the visible', as Jean-François Lyotard might describe it, arrests Gypsy culture to describe it at a certain point, but removes it from the narratives of history and progress in so doing.[7] Again, the impulse to preserve has a profound effect on the way the Gypsy is constructed. This chapter also considers, like Chapter One, the ways in which genre-based expectations affect what the reader finds in the archive and the ways in which the figure of the Gypsy textually resists the controlling and silencing strategies of the Gypsy lorists.

The protagonist of William Sharp's 1895 novel, *The Gypsy Christ*, acknowledges the hybridity of the term 'Romany Rye', saying that it is 'not exactly a "gentleman-gypsy," as commonly translated, but rather an amateur-gypsy, or as a "brother" once phrased it to me "a sympathising make-believe gypsy"'.[8] Borrow seems to have been the first to adopt the title, but George K. Behlmer suggests that John Hoyland, who published *A Historical Survey*

of the Customs, Habits and Present State of the Gypsies in 1816, was, in fact, England's first Romany Rye.[9] Borrow and Hoyland were rarities at the beginning of the century but from the mid-nineteenth century the field of folklore started to draw on philology and added a liberal dash of aspiration to bohemianism to form the idiosyncratic fusion that was Gypsy lorism. The Romany Ryes, particular proponents of Gypsy lorism, are represented in this chapter by three prominent figures in the movement.

Charles Godfrey Leland, one-time president of the Gypsy Lore Society, had a self-confessed 'tendency to "idealism" or romance' and learned the Spanish Gypsy dialect from Borrow's *The Bible in Spain*.[10] He explains that 'while entertaining the highest respect for the labours of Mr George Borrow in this field, [he] carefully avoided repeating him in the least detail.'[11] Despite his adventures with English Gypsies, Leland concedes that his 'gypsy experiences have not been so great as those of Francis H. Groome' (*Memoirs*, II, p. 276).

Groome was an encyclopaedist and contributor to myriad publications on the subject of Gypsies. He is perhaps best known for proposing that Gypsies bridged the gap between Indian and European folk traditions. He met Borrow in 1872 and also corresponded with Leland about his Gypsy work. Michael Owen Jones describes Groome, after Matthew Arnold's poem of the same name, as 'a "scholar Gypsy", a Gentile always welcome to Romany tents'.[12] Groome is given the appellation 'The Tarno Rye' or young gentleman and, Theodore Watts-Dunton suggests, 'as a philologist merely, to speak of nothing else, his equipment was ten times that of Borrow, whose temperament may be called anti-academic, and who really knew nothing thoroughly.'[13] These later Ryes, then, hoped to cast off Borrow's style in favour of discipline and ordered detail.

Watts-Dunton himself contributed to publications such as the *Examiner*, the *Athenæum* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, wrote poetry and fiction and edited editions of

Borrow's work. The intertwined lives of these three figures and their relationships with the artistic and literary circles of the day are fascinating in themselves, but this chapter eschews the biographical approach to the group favoured by many commentators, and concentrates largely on the texts they produced and the language and structures that they used. The Ryes' lifestyle is not completely ignored, however, for it is this that marked them out, in their own eyes, from others who wrote about Gypsies in the period.

Keeping Stumm: Death and the Archive

In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* and, later, in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud describes the conservative death drive seeking to restore the units of the living organism to a state that existed before life. This drive to restore a prior state demands a return to non-life or death, connecting in Freudian psychoanalysis the repetition compulsion and the death drive.[14]

Derrida deploys the Freudian death drive in conceptualising the archive, a support to memory. An event is reproduced in writing or in another form of trace, with the possibility of continued repetition or 'reimpression' in the future. This repetition, a return to what came before, is associated, *à la* Freud, with death and destruction.[15] The consequence, says Derrida, is that the condition for the existence of the archive (the retrieval of something from the past) is also what 'menaces with destruction, introducing, *a priori*, forgetfulness and the archiviolithic into the heart of the monument' (*Archive Fever*, p. 12). The purpose of the archive is to preserve, aiding memory. However, the fact that the archive exists in order to do what memory cannot suggests the deficiency of memory, the possibility of forgetting (p. 11).

As with so many structures in Derrida's thought, that which is the condition for the possibility of something is also that which threatens it, undermining a simple understanding of what that thing is for and how it works. The archive is produced as part of an impulse to conserve and the need to repeat. This need is ultimately destructive as it not only drives towards death but takes place where forgetting, extinction and erasure threaten. The Romany Ryes' archive can never be the textual saviour of the race that it sets out to be.

The extinction discourse identified by Patrick Brantlinger is a 'specific branch of the dual ideologies of imperialism and racism' and is read here as a particular example of how the possibility of memory, of writing that serves to remember that which seems to be dying out, is indissociable from destruction.[16] The Romany Ryes' involvement in this discourse is a nuanced one, slightly different to the examples used by Brantlinger, as the Gypsies in the British Isles do not represent an indigenous race of a colonised country like Native Americans, New Zealand Maori or the Irish, whom British and other European colonisers had an interest in seeing extinct.[17]

Many of the assumptions of extinction discourse are, though, readily applied to Gypsies in Britain in the nineteenth century. Robert Knox maintains that the Gypsies are of 'vast antiquity, and are dying out'. He will not mourn them: 'of races which cultivate not the earth, which manufacture nothing, which progress not in art nor in science, we have already enough upon the surface'.[18] In addition, the dominant mode of extinction discourse, the proleptic elegy, may be found in the work of the Romany Ryes. The proleptic elegy, in contradistinction to Knox's attitude, sentimentally describes, from the point of view of the white writer, the inevitable decline and extinction of non-developed, apparently uncivilized peoples as they are overtaken by white European modernity (Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 3). This mourning is expressed before the people and their culture have passed into history,

so it takes place in expectation of extinction but with the confidence that their death is unavoidable.

Where this chapter's argument differs significantly from Brantlinger's (and from the work of Regenia Gagnier, who briefly brings the discourse to bear on Leland's writings)[19] is in its assertion that one of the reasons for this discursive prolepsis is the role the Freudian death drive plays in archivization. The Ryes' impulse to conserve a Gypsy culture perceived to be under threat means that the Gypsy is sanctuaried by those with archival authority, who write about the Gypsy in a particular way and with the confidence of the self-fulfilling prophecy (Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 3). They carve out their own role as archivists, but their work silences the Gypsy and threatens the memory of the very thing they hope to protect. Leland's attitude is hinted at in a letter quoted by his niece and biographer, Elizabeth Robins Pennell: 'It strikes me as one of the little ironies of life, that the Gypsy, smoking and dreaming the years away, should have excited his lovers to such a delirium of industry'.[20] The implication is that the Gypsy is incapable of compiling his or her own archive and it is therefore thanks to the work ethic of their *gorgio* brothers that any trace of them remains at all.

As the industrialisation of Britain gathered pace and the legislative net designed to deal with vagrancy drew tighter, a traditionally nomadic Gypsy life became impossible. In a similar way to Brantlinger's project, however, this section focuses less on the actual reduction in numbers of transient or rural Gypsies in Britain than on the language used to respond to what appeared to be happening to them (Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 1). The roadside verges on which these 'brethren of the dark blood and the tents' made their camps can be seen, retrospectively, to symbolise an existence not only situated on the margins of society, but one that seemed to teeter on the brink of annihilation (Leland, *Gypsies*, p. iii). As

Deborah Epstein Nord notes, there was a shift in sentiment as the nineteenth century progressed. The immediate loss expressed by the Romantic poets as common land was enclosed had changed by the time the Romany Ryes were writing. There was now a sense that the old communities and traditions had already disappeared and so should rightly be treated with a nostalgic attitude.[21] The insular Gypsies were a trace of what had, elsewhere, been consumed by history's progress, what Behlmer calls the 'last bastion of rural resourcefulness' (Behlmer, p. 239). Leland's morbid fascination with the 'quiet, solemn sunset' of the Gypsy way of life seems to insist that one read the lorists' oeuvre as a protracted and pre-emptive work of mourning, not just for the Gypsies themselves, but for a lost rural idyll (Leland, *Gypsies*, p. 13). As the Gypsies faded away, their dying words were to be recorded, catalogued and interpreted not for their benefit but for the interested *gorgio* observers left behind.

As representatives of a romanticised, pre-industrial past, distinct from the changes taking place in the civilized world, the Gypsies in the lorists' archive conform to an idea of the 'noble savage', a familiar figure in racial discourse. Frantz Fanon identifies the problematic and patronising nature of this image. He recounts being told that when white people are worn out by their 'lives in big buildings' they turn to black people 'as to the childhood of the world'. They will 'run away for a little while from [their] ritualized, polite civilization'.[22] Fanon's description draws out how deeply conservative this attitude is, representing a desire to return to a previous state, a repetition of that which has gone before. Sadly, as individuals who are, ostensibly, so winningly enthusiastic, earnest and philanthropic in their work, Leland, Groome and Watts-Dunton are, as the producers of a particular genre of writing on a particular race, no less infantalizing or disempowering in the texts they produce than the attitudes Fanon critiques. They posit the Gypsies as authentic in an

increasingly manufactured world, what Leland calls this 'artificial age' (*Memoirs*, I, p. 262). The Gypsies are simple and independent as economic life seemed to be increasingly complicated, and close to nature as the urban encroached.

Leland's fears about the speed of the race's extinction lead him to advise the lorists in *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* that they must '*collect* as much as [they] can, while it is still yet extant, of all the strange lore of the olden time, instead of wasting time in forming idle theories about it' (p. x; original emphasis). The danger in this urgent approach is that Leland assumes his examples of 'strange lore' are self-selecting, rather than the result of his own prejudices, well-meaning as they are. In *The Gypsies* he identifies the group as 'the human types of this vanishing, direct love of nature, of this mute sense of rural romance', a muteness that seems to encourage the *gorgio* scholar to fill this representational void by conserving this particular human type and the romantic ruralism it represents (p. 13). The archivist Romany Rye thus attempts to conserve a vanishing in process, a restoration of inevitable death. However, Leland comes up against a similar problem to George Borrow when the latter describes the 'patteran' and, in so doing, linguistically betrays a Gypsy secret. The contradiction at the heart of memorial writing is performed in Groome's angry response to Leland's book on the Romani language. Groome writes, in a letter to Leland that is republished in the receiver's biography:

> I am disappointed, for your book contains some deep, very deep Romani. Well, the result, I take it, will be the hastening of that rapid vanishing of the language of which you speak in your preface, and with the language of the people as a people. (Pennell, II, p. 148–9)

As Leland tries to immortalise the people he studies and the language that they speak, he betrays that which many scholars considered to have helped the Gypsies retain their separateness and thus any degree of cultural and racial purity. Reproduction (in the form of the printed book) as part of the drive to conserve is, as Derrida describes, indissociable from

destruction. This theme returns in Francis Hindes Groome's novel *Kriegspiel: The War Game* (1896), for the power held over the Gypsies by the evil Dr. Watson emanates purely from his deep knowledge of their language.[23]

Expressing the connection between Gypsies and nature, underlining their cultural innocence, Leland assures the reader that Gypsies 'are human, but in their lives they are between man as he lives in houses and the bee and bird and fox', as if their humanity were somehow in question, a common trope in racist discourse (*Gypsies*, p. 12). Even with this clarification, their humanity is not of the same level as civilized people, 'worn out by their lives in big buildings'. Images that zoomorphise and silence the Gypsy highlight the political effects of the intention to describe the Gypsies' apparently last days. As Leland *et al* mourned the premature departure of the Gypsy from their world, they painted a picture that the twenty-first-century newspaper reader might recognise when reading of the tragic death of a child: forever young, perennially innocent, embodying the lost hopes of the adults that survive. Brantlinger asserts that 'the metaphor of the savage as futureless child is related to discourse about economic development, based on the assumption that societies, like individuals, grow up or mature' (*Dark Vanishings*, p. 66). The Gypsies, of course, are not included in the maturation of the British economy that industrialisation symbolized within the dominant economic discourses of the period, other than as its victims. As a romantic rural anachronism, the Gypsies are rendered as at once animalised and childish objects. By writing the Gypsies, the Ryes write them off, with the confidence of the self-fulfilling prophecy described by Brantlinger.

In a comment that highlights the innocent savage imagery whilst accentuating the Ryes' sense of their own eccentricity, Leland finds it 'strange that the most innocent people should be those who most offend morality' (*Gypsies*, p. 236). He is, of course, defending the

people he has adopted as his own but it is a defence that disempowers the Gypsy. In a passage of *The Gypsies* so striking in its rhetoric that Nord also discusses it in her book, he explains:

> The child and the gypsy have no words in which to express their sense of nature and its charm, but they have this sense, and there are very, very few who, acquiring culture, retain it. And it is gradually disappearing from the world, just as the old delicately sensuous, naïve, picturesque type of woman's beauty — the perfection of natural beauty — is rapidly vanishing in every country, and being replaced by the mingled real and unreal attractiveness of 'cleverness', intellect and fashion. (p. 12)

The child, the Gypsy and the woman are here clearly subordinated to the white, adult male personified by Leland. The cultural silence of the Gypsy seems to invite the Rye's intervention but the lorists' writing displaces the Gypsies' self-representational power. Gagnier asserts that Leland has a similar affection for other endangered subjects that put him in touch with a lost past (Gagnier, pp. 11–12). However, in writing about the Gypsies as representatives of a disappeared natural authenticity, Leland's style has an effect on the construction of race that it does not have in relation to these other subjects.

The Gypsies' apparently imminent disappearance from the world (a perpetual imminence held in place by the very act of writing about it) brings Leland to align Gypsies with nature and thus oppose them to culture and intellect. For Leland, the very fact that a race can be wiped out or watered down by a dominant culture marks it as delicate, natural and pure. That all these features are unavoidably threatened by the strength and development of the white industrialised world also serves to emphasise that world's progressive power. As Nord notes, 'intent on preserving and maintaining the imagined purity of Gypsy culture, the scholar and lorist insist on the contaminating powers of English life, of modern life' (pp. 68–9). For the lorists, the extinction of the Gypsies represents a tragic side-effect of the narrative of progress in Victorian Britain. However, the language

they use to describe this tragedy constructs it as the inevitable conclusion to the story of the uncultured, naïve Gypsy race.

In a dedication to *The Coming of Love* (first edition 1898), Theodore Watts-Dunton describes the book as his 'chief favourite' because 'it paints the life of the better class of gypsies (the "Griengroes", now so near extinction in this country) with more verisimilitude' than any of his other work. 'Its subject', he says, 'seems to give it some chance of surviving'.[24] The meaning of the dedication is ambiguous: is it the Griengroes or the book that survives? I cannot help but read Watts-Dunton as suggesting that the extinction of this particular group of Gypsies allows his writing to survive because it will soon be the only trace of the Griengroes, thus guaranteeing him an audience. Its continued interest is contingent on its subject's disappearance; writing displaces and replaces the Gypsy. The dedication also reflects the Ryes' obsession with racial purity, the contamination of which is both part of the Gypsies' decline and one of the failings of modern society. In Watts-Dunton's novel, *Aylwin* (1898), Henry Aylwin's friendship with 'the better class of Welsh Gypsies' is supposed to surprise 'those who associate all Gypsy life with the squalor which in England, and especially near London, marks the life of the mongrel wanderers who are so often called Gypsies'.[25] The 'mongrel wanderers' give the racially pure Welsh Gypsies a bad name.

In his collection of poems, *The Coming of Love*, and his novel, *Aylwin*, Watts-Dunton paints a nostalgic and romanticised picture of the Gypsies as sensitive and emotional, close to nature, innocent, childish and unspoilt. When, in *The Coming of Love*, Rhona Boswell says, 'Smell the scent the breeze is blowin'!', an accompanying note explains that the 'Gypsies' love of woodland perfumes is proverbial. Indeed, their olfactories are far more sensitive than those of the gorgios' (p. 21). The note describes its own excess; if the information is

proverbial it need not be literally explained. Its form is also excessive, with the footnote so manifestly parergonal to the poem itself. It frames the poem with an assumed knowledge dispersed in the culture in which the text inserts itself with this rhetorical gesture. The note says, 'you know this already', reminiscent of the anxious repetition of the stereotype described by Homi Bhabha and discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. Similarly in *Aylwin*, a novel Catherine Maxwell describes as 'a strange amalgam of gypsy lore, the occult, mesmerism and Romanticism',[26] Henry Aylwin's mother associates 'the word "Gypsy" with everything that is wild, passionate, and lawless' (p. 35). While the sympathetic characters and the narrative voice are distanced from this attitude, the imagery nonetheless helps constitute the figure of the Gypsy available in the text. Watts-Dunton's writing does not work particularly hard to subvert the 'wild and passionate' stereotype.

Watts-Dunton describes Rhona as having a 'laugh [that] seemed to ring through the woods like silver bells'. Henry Aylwin, the narrator of the novel, adds that 'the laughter of most Gypsy girls is full of music and of charm' (p. 29). The Boswell's camp is found at 'Gypsy Dell, a romantic place in Rington Manor' (p. 30). The romance surrounding Rhona comes partly, as in Leland's writing, from her childishness. She is playful, dancing round 'more like a child of six than a young woman with a Romany Rye for her lover' (p. 378). As a group, the Boswells and the Lovells are associated with Winifred's idyllic childhood in Wales, a happy time of innocence before her descent into madness after seeing her grave-robbing father's corpse. The innocence of the Gypsies, though more moderated in Watts-Dunton's novel than in Leland's work, is nonetheless emphasised and, again, aligned with nature.

At a particularly picturesque point of a journey, Aylwin comments, 'the loveliness indeed was so bewitching that one or two of the Gypsies — a race who are, as I had already

noticed, among the few uncultivated people that show a susceptibility to the beauties of nature — gave a long sigh of pleasure' (p. 174). In contrast with Leland's assertions, the link made here between nature and the Gypsies is *in spite* of their categorisation as an 'uncultivated people', not because of their apparently innocent simplicity. The suggestion is that most races understood as a *part* of nature do not have the capacity to admire it at the critical distance achieved by those who are more civilized. Matthew Arnold engages with a similar idea in his 1849 poem, 'Resignation'. There, the imagined dialogue between the poet and his sister, Jane, initially marks the Gypsies as unable to view nature from the distance the poet achieves, with the appreciation of nature involving a sublimation of rather than an indulgence in emotion. The Gypsies and the poet are not as different as they first appear, however, because they are both presented as outsiders, excluded from 'the common life of men'.[27] Whether through 'natural insight', 'experience', or intellectual pursuit, the sublimation of emotional response is, in 'Resignation', ultimately shared by wild Gypsy and civilized poet (ll. 233–4). In *Aylwin*, the Gypsies are uncultivated but strangely, Watts-Dunton might say, 'almost like us'. Homi Bhabha describes a similar phenomenon in relation to colonial mimicry. There exists desire for an other that, as a subject of difference, '*is almost the same, but not quite*'.[28] Later in the novel, difference is apparently emphasized more than similarity, but desire for the Gypsy is based on a common past:

> In Great Britain it is the Gypsies alone who understand nature's supreme charm, and enjoy her largesse as it used to be enjoyed in those remote times [...] before the Children of the Roof invaded the Children of the Open Air, before the earth was parcelled out into domains and ownerships as it now is parcelled out. (p. 254)

Here, Aylwin mourns a lost time when all the people of the earth could be described as children, a youthfulness that only the 'Children of the Open Air' (a phrase also used in *The Coming of Love*, p. 57) have maintained, when life was simpler, fairer and closer to nature. The Gypsies of the nineteenth century represent a glimpse of the past and now that they too

are threatened by the dominance of the 'Children of the Roof', it seems simultaneously inevitable and too soon.

These images are haunted by the fact that a simple, nature-loving, pure-bred people is camped on the verge of extinction. Not only must these characters represent the threat to their own lifestyle, but they come to be associated with a general sense of the loss of folk traditions. Sinfi's skill at 'a peculiar obsolete Welsh instrument called a crwth' symbolises this association (p. 93). That practically the last person alive who can play the crwth, synecdochically representing Welsh folk culture, should also belong to a threatened race multiplies the tragedy of modernity (and the Gypsies' paralysis in the face of this force for change). Even Sinfi's physical appearance suggests a time now past, as her hair is 'plaited in the *old-fashioned* Gypsy way' (p. 141; emphasis added).

Sinfi herself suggests reasons for her people's current position. She says, 'the Romanies is gittin' too fond by half o' the Gorgios, and will be soon jist like mumply Gorgios themselves, speckable and silly' (p. 144). If 'speckable' is taken to be a colloquial derivation of 'respectable', her fears echo those voiced by George Borrow in relation to Mrs Petulengro's efforts to be gentile. The word has further connotations, however. In the nineteenth century, a 'speck' was used to describe something rendered small by distance or in comparison with its surroundings (*OED*). The *gorgios* have been rendered small by their 'lives in big buildings' as Fanon describes in the exoticist attitude, while, according to Leland, the Gypsies 'properly inhabit not the houses but the scene, not a part but the whole' (Leland, *Gypsies*, p. 10). They are not diminished by their rural setting, as those who inhabit houses are. The latter become 'specks', and as the Gypsies become more like them, they too could be described as 'speckable', losing themselves in the large scale of civilization. In addition, a speck is a blemish, an image that reflects many nineteenth-century writings on the decline of

Gypsydom as it is contaminated by modern life. Perhaps the most famous of these comes in Arnold's 1853 poem 'The Scholar-Gypsy', where he describes how the infection of mental strife is in danger of spreading to the 'fair life' the Scholar-Gipsy has found in roaming the countryside.[29] The Gypsies become speckled with the blemishes of sooty towns.

Sinfi also expresses her views on the differences between Gypsy men and women in the wider debate about the survival of her people, blaming the men for their lack of loyalty:

> If the Romany chals [men] would only stick by the Romany chies [women] as the Romany chies stick by the Romany chals, where 'ud the Gorgios be then? Why, the Romanies would be the strongest people on the arth. (Watts-Dunton, *Aylwin*, p. 158)

Her assertion echoes the lorists' interest in the purity of the race, and how mixed marriages can only weaken it, diluting difference. This attitude also emphasises the Romany Ryes' sense of their own eccentricity, for while they too generally disparaged interracial marriage and sexual relations as contributing to the decay of the Gypsies, as pseudo-Gypsies they considered it acceptable or even desirable to bind their ties with the race in this way. Groome, for example, married, sequentially, two Gypsy women, Britannia Lee and Esmeralda Lock.

Sinfi's struggle for political and matrimonial unity is marked, like the rest of her speech, by the fact that it is written in the vernacular. In an article that explores the 'creative potential of dialect writing', Holger Kersten explains how 'the use of dialect in literature bears the stigma of coarseness, vulgarity, and general inferiority'.[30] Sinfi is, undoubtedly, set up as a figure in opposition to the white, educated male, but Henry Aylwin's perspective on her unlearned subjectivity does not mark her as inferior:

> In knowledge of nature as a sublime consciousness, in knowledge of the human heart, Sinfi was far more learned than I. And believing as I did that education will in the twentieth century consist of unlearning, of unlading the mind of the trash previously called knowledge, I could not help feeling that Sinfi was far more

> advanced, far more in harmony than I could hope to be with the new morning of Life of which we are just beginning to see the streaks of dawn. (p. 255)

Sinfi's difference to Aylwin is related to what he sees as an imminent social change, but unlike Leland's view, it is not to be a 'quiet, solemn sunset' where the Gypsies are concerned, but a new dawn, a world where harmony with nature and intuition are worth more than facts and knowledge as it is traditionally understood. Does this mean, then, that Watts-Dunton's description of the Gypsies circumnavigates the mourning so evident in Leland's work? Does the future hold out a hope that negates the tragic extinction of the Gypsy? The answer is no; throughout the novel, the Gypsies are hopelessly infantalized and imperilled by the civilized world that overtakes them. In addition, the character of Henry Aylwin struggles between the draw of superstition in which his Gypsy friends believe, and the rigour of science and logic. The narrative's conclusion finds that his romantic vision of the coming twentieth century is, in fact, a false dawn. Racial pedigree, class, and education as the apparatus by which class values are perpetuated still matter. Henry must marry his childhood sweetheart, the village girl, Winifred (cured from a trauma-induced illness by the miracles of modern medicine) and Sinfi, a potential lover, must, metaphorically, sacrifice herself at the alter of this more appropriate match. Aylwin's apparently Gypsy-led sublime utopia proves to be a daydream from which he is all too happy to wake and return to a life where the *gorgio* might 'know' the Gypsy in a way that, far from making Sinfi seem advanced, leaves her far behind.

Sinfi is given a voice in *Aylwin*, but what her speech *means* is controlled by the narrator, Henry. He speaks poetically for her about her own future, her dialect being deficient to describe it even when the outlook about which he waxes seems to promote her style of speech. The awkwardness with which he tries to negotiate his relationship with 'the new morning of Life', a relationship that must encompass both his rather manic flirtation with Gypsy life and his return to a more comfortable, conservative existence, is signalled by

the slightly strange grammatical result of describing a conditional future in the past tense. This moment of rhetorical inelegance draws attention to the unnaturalness of the voice that displaces Sinfi's. In the oeuvre of the Romany Ryes, however, there is not just a silencing of the Gypsies; there are also curious moments of silence *about* Gypsies. In Groome's *Kriegspiel*, Charles Glemham struggles to enunciate the truth about his dead wife, Ercilla. 'She was a — foreigner', he explains, 'she wasn't, wasn't — not like an English girl, you know' (pp. 53–54). The moment echoes Balzac's ellipsis in place of the word 'castrato' in *Sarrasine*, which Roland Barthes marks in *S/Z*. The Gypsy of *Kriegspiel* acts as a connotative signified, 'both the temptation to name and the impotence to name', an index that points but cannot tell.[31] Similarly, in G.J. Whyte-Melville's 1879 novel, *Black But Comely*, dark, Gypsy-born Jane Lee puts a rumour about that 'she was a Hungarian, an Italian, a Moorish Spaniard'.[32] It is not her otherness that needs to be suppressed, but the specific horror of her existence as a Gypsy in polite society. As the Romany Ryes encounter the textual impossibility of conserving without destruction, so here the compulsion to name and know the Gypsy fails in its delivery.

In attempting to conserve their conception of the Gypsy, the Romany Ryes speak for him or her. They assume control of their subject, relegating the Gypsy to the role of silent, innocent child who has no power over the forces that threaten him or her with extinction. As the Ryes search for a lost time into which they might escape from the pressures of modern life, they construct a Gypsy who seems to be an anachronistic remainder, but one that surely cannot last for long. This fast-disappearing Gypsy is racially pure, unintellectual and simple; these traits are the reason for their demise and the excuse for their exoticization. The Ryes wish to restore a prior state, a return to the blissful ignorance of a pre-industrialised world and the retrieval of its unblemished emblems. However, this impulse is

part, as Freud explains, of the death drive. The coexistence of conservation and death in the Romany Ryes' work is no ironic coincidence: the one causes the other. The fact that these writers propose that the only future for the true, pure Gypsy lies in the publication of the Ryes' books, in their reimpression, is what sets the Gypsy up as a victim under threat from modernity. The archive of proleptic elegies anticipates and enacts destruction because the very need for an archive presupposes that the Gypsy as he or she currently exists might be forgotten. The chapter now turns to consider one of the major textual strategies used by the Gypsy lorists to control their subject and describe that state of current existence, a strategy that reinforces the image of the Gypsy as out of time.

Synchronic Essentialism

According to Edward Said, the Orientalist attitude has the 'self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system, in which objects are what they are *because* they are what they are, for once [and] for all time' (Said, p. 70; original emphasis). The links made between Gypsies and the East in the early nineteenth century explored in Chapter One continued to be drawn later in the century. In 1851, for example, Tom Taylor describes another Sinfi in his 'Gypsey Experiences' column in the *Illustrated London News* as 'piquant in the little touches of savagery that crossed her Oriental and lazy courtesy of manner'.[33] Apart from its racist descriptions of savagery and laziness, the comment demonstrates that Gypsies were seen, to all intents and purposes, as Orientals. Gypsy lorism was self-consciously placed within the discipline of Orientalism and has recourse to the same discursive structures as those identified by Said. For example, the self-reinforcing character of the closed system can be seen in Groome's work: in *Kriegspiel* descriptions of Mrs Stanley's tent are copied word for word from

Groome's earlier work, *In Gipsy Tents* (1880). There is also reference amongst the novel's characters to the Gypsy figures in Scott's *Guy Mannering* and to Borrow's *The Romany Rye.*

Said uses the term 'synchronic essentialism' to suggest that the Orientalist vision of the East is static (Said, p. 240). In order to describe an all-encompassing view of something so vast, it must be taken as a freeze-frame, otherwise the project of systematically ordering the vision becomes impossible. When a viewer assumes a position at a high enough point to survey the landscape below, movement becomes practically invisible. To capture a living moment, the panorama must be made as still as death itself. The figure of the Gypsy described in the first section of this chapter was seen as an anachronistic representative of a romanticised, pre-industrial idyll. In this sense it was the content of the images that were most significant. This section examines how the very notion of studying a people demands that they are held in panoptic vision, kept still in order to record the full picture below. The structure of Orientalist writing, as well as its content, profoundly affects the construction of the Gypsy. Against the stasis caused by an encompassing and elevated gaze presses the disruptive detail of history and change, growth and movement (Said, p. 240). The Gypsies represented in the Romany Ryes' archive are casualties of the battle between scholarly vision and historical possibility; the latter is denied them. Nord notes that the lorists attitude to their subject 'often limited their ability to acknowledge the Gypsies as independent beings subject to change and possessed of a complex history' (pp. 126–27). The lorist aims to 'get hold of the whole sprawling panorama before him — culture, religion, mind, history, society'. This comprehensive vision is conservative and static (Said, p. 239). How is the petrified panorama of Gypsydom manifested in the work of these three Romany Ryes?

Leland paints a 'pretty picture' of the people, heightening the Gypsies' mystique (and, simultaneously, their suggested origins) by alluding to 'their glittering Indian eyes', as

they slip 'like the wren in and out of the shadow of the Unknown' (*Gypsy Sorcery*, p. 2). His project is to bring the Gypsy out of the shadows and in to the realm of Western knowledge. He has found the Gypsies 'more cheerful, polite, and grateful than the lower orders of other races in Europe or America', an observation that holds the racial hierarchy in place (*English Gipsies*, p. xi). He asserts that the Gypsy has 'a different cast of mind from our own, and a radical moral difference'. Because he is poor and hungry, 'theft seems to him, in the trifling easy manner in which he practises it, simply a necessity' (*English Gipsies*, p. 21). The difference Leland describes positions the Gypsies as morally inferior. In addition, the Gypsies' impoverished state seems unchangeable. Leland does not think it 'worth while' to explain to the Gypsies that 'their ancestors, centuries ago, left India' (*English Gipsies*, p. 25). The closed system of scholarship in which Leland participates actively excludes the Gypsies from the knowledge about them that it disseminates; they are barred from their own history.

In his autobiographical travelogue, *In Gipsy Tents*, Groome attempts to distance his recollections of Gypsy life from the romantic embellishments of his contemporaries, by claiming that 'his' Gypsies are genuine:

> [His] Gipsy women are not the Gipsy women of the theatre; they do not wear short red petticoats, worked at the bottom with black cabalistic signs, still less silk stockings or antique sandals on their feet, or turbans on their heads.[34]

Meg Merrilies's headdress had, by 1880, become overfamiliar, so unchanging was the image of the Gypsy. The stereotype consumed by the theatre-going public was well-established by this time, with *Black But Comely*'s Jane Lee seeing a production containing 'the conventional gipsy of an English stage' (II, p. 295). Groome's Gypsies, by contrast (or so he claims), are indicated by the 'sight of the thin blue smoke, curling mysteriously among the green boughs' (Groome, *Gipsy Tents*, p. 325). Their eyes apparently have 'a veiled fire peculiar to the race, a sort of filmy languor that blazes up with passion but which, even while unexcited, exerts still

a strange, serpent-like power of latent fascination' (p. 329).[35] Watts-Dunton goes so far as to describe this work as 'a picture whose photographic truth had quite startled [him]' (*Old Familiar Faces*, p. 286). Even the nostalgic Ryes move forward with archival developments such as photography, while the Gypsies that his words capture like this new invention are held in its frame. As if to underline the inappropriateness of the lorists' attentions, Watts-Dunton adds that 'a gipsy hates to be watched', something he considers 'excessive delicacy' (*Old Familiar Faces*, p. 27). The lorists aim to make known (sometimes overtly poetically and at other times denying subjectivity) the Gypsies' language, physical appearance, emotions, tent-life and folklore: everything about the Gypsy must be displayed for *gorgio* eyes.

Said describes the disciplinary order imposed on the Orient and the texts that constitute it by the Orientalist, with the reader passing 'through the learned grids and codes' that the writer provides (Said, p. 67). This disciplinary order is most obvious in the guides to Gypsy dialect, sorcery and folktales that abounded in the period, and in the encyclopaedia entries the lorists produced. Part of this order comes, as outlined in the last chapter, from the reader's expectations of the form or genre in which they find the material. The reader knows what he or she will find in a guide to dialect or in an encyclopaedia. Gypsydom is presented in a manageable fashion. Groome's contribution to *Chambers's Encyclopædia* describes how Gypsies are 'distinguished by language, physique and mode of life' (p. 672).

The entry is split into subheadings: Language, Religion and Character, and History. The second of these describes the pros and cons of the race and draws on phrenology (p. 674). The section headed 'History' charts a diaspora from the days of Christ to relatively recent land enclosures in Britain. This last category is deceptive for, although the passage in the encyclopaedia gives details of Gypsies in various countries in different years, it does not

provide a narrative of development. It is a catalogue of what happened *to* the Gypsies rather than a chronicle of improvement. For example, Gypsies in Romania were bought and sold as serfs and remained so until 1856 (p. 672). This nod towards historical development is undermined by reports that 'the gypsies in early times practised every art that they retain today' (p. 672). There is a smooth transition from a discussion of the metal-working skills of pre-historic Gypsies to a quotation from 1880 asserting that 'the gypsies have still a monopoly of ironworking' (p. 673). The Gypsies retain the same culture as their pre-historic ancestors. While this may be a good thing in terms of skills and traditions, it does not place them amongst the progressive peoples who were busy taking control of various parts of the globe at that time. They are, it seems, 'vexed by no lofty ambition' (p. 674). The entry describes the recent debates about the origins of the Gypsy but this is not synonymous with historical development; these are advances in Gypsy lorism, not the culture of the Gypsy, just as the invention of the camera does not update the picture of the Gypsies it captures.

For the learned grids and codes of language, religion, character, skull shape and even 'history' to retain their authority in this context, the Gypsy must be given as 'fixed, stable, in need of investigation, in need of knowledge about himself' (Said, p. 308). As Leland elaborates, 'I knew my friends, and they did not know me' (*Gypsies*, p. 255). In the writing, as far as the lorists are concerned, no dialectic is desired or allowed. Said goes on, 'there is a source of information [the Gypsy] and a source of knowledge [the Gypsy scholar], in short, a writer and a subject matter otherwise inert' (p. 308). One method of maintaining an inert subject matter is to use declarative figures of speech, employing the 'timeless eternal' (Said, p. 72). Leland's didactic texts are laden with these forms, for example when he remarks in *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* that 'like all Orientals the gypsy desires intensely to have a family', this being all Gypsies, and indeed, all Orientals for all time (p. 100). Similarly, in *The*

Gypsies, he allies eternality with nature: 'these people are like the birds and the bees' (p. 11). Another very literal example of synchronic essentialism comes in Samuel Roberts' earlier *Parallel Miracles* (1830). His beliefs differed significantly from the later lorists, but he too employs images of arrested development. In describing the Gypsies he says that, 'to this day, they seem to have continued, from the time we have the first account of them, unchanged in any respect'.[36] Roberts' and the Romany Ryes' positions as scholars are predicated upon this lack of change for two reasons. Firstly, their ability to write about the Gypsies relies on their subject being marked as different to them because of their want of progression and development. Secondly, in order to describe what Leland calls the Gypsy 'scene', it must be constructed as something that can be captured once and for all and held in a single vision (*Gypsies*, p. 10).

Synchronic essentialism is not the preserve of the writer of guides and dialects; it also creeps into the more populist world of novels and autobiography. It is more complicated in fiction than in texts where strict and overt generic rules govern the writing (the headings within an encyclopaedia entry, for example) and thus the terms by which one might know the racial subject. The novel has different rules, but its characters suffer the same absence of dialectical development endured by the whole of Gypsydom as captured in scholarly works. After much persuasion, Groome published his Gypsy novel, *Kriegspiel*. He described it as 'a very blood-and-thundery production, dealing largely with matters of Egypt, about which the ordinary reviewer is wildly ignorant'.[37]

The novel was disastrously unpopular, and this cannot be entirely blamed on the ignorance of reviewers. For most of its length, the novel is exciting and engaging. It contains everything one could ask of a Victorian plot: a delusional anti-hero with a deaf-mute 'blackamoor' servant and a fetish for gadgets; questions about the viability of

hypnotism and mysticism; a hero who embodies the debate about the future of the English aristocracy. There are even some strong female characters (although, inevitably, they do not end well). However, the last portion of the novel is almost unreadable, losing its pace and following so many diversions that the eventual *dénouement* seems irrelevant. Watts-Dunton felt that, despite the novel's accuracy and romance,

> Groome had given no attention whatever to the structure of a story. Incidents of the most striking and original kind were introduced at the wrong places, and this made them interesting no longer. (*Old Familiar Faces*, p. 282–3)

I am not so convinced by the currency of Said's argument for the textual power of synchronic essentialism as to claim that the reason Groome's novel fails is entirely because of its Gypsy subject matter, especially as the recording of Gypsy life by non-Gypsies usually demands, as Said describes, a certain structural organisation that Groome seems to have neglected. I do not think that the mere mention of Gypsies in the context of a novel is enough to cause cracks to appear in an otherwise smooth narrative. There are also convincing practical reasons for the novel running out of steam, not least one of Groome's frequent illnesses causing him to lose interest in the project and refuse to make any amendments. Katie Trumpener would probably disagree with my reluctance to yield to the 'decisive power' of the Gypsy as 'textual effect', however. She points out that 'everywhere the Gypsies appear in nineteenth-century narratives, they begin to hold up ordinary life, inducing local amnesias or retrievals of cultural memory'.[38] It is not insignificant that the novel loses its way at the point in the narrative where Lionel Glemham escapes from the evil Dr. Watson with the help of a Gypsy, Sagul Stanley (p. 293). As she takes charge, order crumbles.

The future of the Glemham line has already been threatened by the fact that Lionel's mother was a Gypsy, and the very idea that Lionel may make a life with Sagul and 'revert' to

Gypsyism is intolerable both to him and the narrative. For it to recover from this stumble, Sagul must be written out of its resolution (not dissimilar to Meg's death at the end of *Guy Mannering*), and proof must be found that Lionel is a *gorgio* on at least his father's side and thus entitled to his inheritance. The Gypsies may not hold a stake in the future, the narrative of history and change is denied them.[39]

In contrast to Groome's *Kriegspiel*, Watts-Dunton's *Aylwin* was very popular, running to several editions.[40] In the traditional novel form, narrative usually offers diachronic possibilities to its characters, for example as part of a *Bildungsroman* plot. To whom are the diachronic possibilities offered in this novel? Predictably, the potential for personal change lies with *gorgios*. Aylwin and Winifred first promised to marry when Aylwin's elder brother was still alive, despite Winifred being of a lower class than Aylwin. When Aylwin unexpectedly inherits the family fortune, he must prove that the love-match is worth investment, not least to his mother, who represents conservative Victorian opinion. Taking the text literally, there are two reasons why Winifred sees options for change and development in her future, while the primary Gypsy character, Sinfi Lovell, does not. Following Dr. Mivart's medical advice, Sinfi takes on the burden of the increasingly severe fits suffered by Winifred. Winifred has been affected, whether actually or psychosomatically, by a curse. Mivart, having studied at the Salpêtrière Hospital, decides that the best course of action is to transmit 'the seizure to a healthy patient by means of a powerful magnet' (Watts-Dunton, *Aylwin*, p. 464). The debilitating periods of existing in a trance-like state, a sort of personal synchronicity, are thus transferred from *gorgio* to Gypsy. A more magical explanation for the martyrdom of Sinfi persists, however. Sinfi's '*dukkeripen*', or destiny, dictates that she will fall in love with a *gorgio* who will break her heart. Her love for Philip

Aylwin is, therefore, doomed from the start, disabling her chances of the Victorian ideal of development: Christian marriage and the production of an heir to the Aylwin fortune.

It is ironic that a nomadic people, prized as a subject of study because of their different lifestyle, are immobilized by that very study. For the Gypsies, to be known is to be held. To be excluded from narrative is to be denied change or investment in the future. In an echo of Bhabha's description of the efficacy of the stereotype outlined in the previous chapter, Trumpener explains how the 'tropes of racism express the same essentializing beliefs again and again in widely diverging situations', being historically charged 'even as they enact a denial of history' (Trumpener, 'Time of the Gypsies', p. 356). While the Gypsy may not change, the production of the figure of the Gypsy is contingent on the cultural context in which it takes place. In addition, this 'dream of historylessness' takes a specifically Victorian form and passes through different grids and codes in different historical moments of textual production (Trumpener, 'Time of the Gypsies', p. 348). The Gypsies are othered by a narrative of development in the nineteenth century, constructing a politically motivated historyless idyll. Like the image of the Gypsy as the trace of a lost time, the strategy of synchronic essentialism that orders the race for the purposes of scholarship also manages to preserve the Gypsy in textual aspic. This suspended state deprives the Gypsy of agency and the possibility of dialectical development.

Resistance

Leland, Watts-Dunton and Groome do not deliberately diminish their subjects of study. Rather, the Gypsy constructed in their work is the inevitable result of studying them, attempting to archive an Arcadian vision of an entire people within the codes and

conventions of racial discourse. This view of the project and of the archive left by the Ryes is not, however, the full story. The power does not lie entirely with the narrators of this project, and opportunities for resistance may be identified within the very texts that seem to foretell the Gypsy's helpless end. These are not individual passages in the texts where the mastery of the lorist fails: on the contrary, resistance is, as Freud and Derrida help to explain, inherent in the process of archivization.

In 'Freud and the Scene of Writing', Derrida negotiates Freud's problematic of breaching. In the essay, Derrida elaborates on the notion of resistance. The origin of memory, he explains (using Freud's physiological terms) lies in the difference between the resistances offered by different neurones in the laying down of the memory trace, and thus where breaching takes place.[41] Memory breaks a path through the neurones to mark itself out, following the path of least resistance. Memory is thus always, at its origin, the memory of neurological resistance. At the memory's origin, there is always something else already there, acting as an obstacle. Without resistance, no memory is laid down; there must always be a substrate on which to make the impression. Inferences can be drawn, I suggest, from Derrida's summary of Freud's physiological theories and applied to the notion of resistance in the archive.

What remains in the archive after the event is the result of a singular breach through the defences of what cannot be, will not be, or is not said. The memory trace breaks a path through resistant neurones (or cultural prohibitions at the level of the archive) and the terms of that resistance can be detected at the margins of memory. Every archive retains the trace of the other, whatever it broke through in order to make its mark. *'L'Un se garde de l'autre.* The One guards against/keeps some of the other' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 78). All the control exhibited by the Ryes with their panoptic vision and the confidence of the proleptic

elegy is therefore undermined by the fact that the archive is already the result of resistance. With this psychoanalytic reading of resistance in the archive I am trying to escape the idea that there is a real and original Gypsy that resists the Ryes' falsely constructed Gypsy laid on the top of this historical 'truth'. I do not want to perpetuate a notion that the real comes first, to be followed by the construction, supervened by the real's resistance to the construction. The only Victorian Gypsy to which the twenty-first-century reader now has access is a textual one. The point of the neurological references is to assert that this archival construction is itself the *result* of resistance, that which has broken through everything else that goes unsaid or unrecorded.

The memory trace or archive as a result of resistance means that there is no 'original' Gypsy which the Romany Ryes artistically manipulate for their own ideological ends. Nord suggests that 'with the benefit of history — with a written record [of their own] — the origin of the Gypsies might have been transparent' (p. 173). Firstly, written history is never transparent. Secondly, her hypothesis assumes that the Ryes retain total mastery over the text and denies that their discourse might already contain traces of things they did not set out to say. Thirdly, Derrida notes that, as a psychical defence mechanism, the organism repeats the way a threatening memory trace is laid down (the repetition compulsion) in order to gain strength from repeated neurological resistance. The repetition, by definition, has the same power of breaching as the primary impression; the original is indeterminable from its repetition ('Freud and the Scene of Writing', pp. 253–5). The same can be said about the archive as cultural memory. There is *only* written history (or fiction, as it may be) and no true 'origin of the Gypsies' to which writing gives the reader transparent access. To repeat what has become a Derridean cliché, '*il n'y a pas de hors-texte*'; there is no outside text, nothing

outside the text.[42] It is not the true, original Gypsy that shows the Ryes' construction to be a poor copy, but writing itself that deconstructs their discursive control. The Gypsy resists.

Examples of the effects of resistance have been given throughout the discussion of the Ryes' work, although they have not yet been identified in these terms. These examples come where the Ryes' writing undermines their own rhetoric: when Groome castigates Leland for his recording of 'deep Romani', when memorial writing hastens forgetting. Further examples come where the Romany Ryes attempt to 'pass' as Gypsies, a troublesome activity that fails not because of an authentic Gypsiness that the Ryes mimic insufficiently, but rather because of the absence of an original Gypsy and because their record is always the result of resistance. 'Passing' is permitted by the Romany Ryes in only one direction: they, as white men, might pass as Gypsies, but the Gypsy is always identifiable as such to them and cannot disguise him or herself as *gorgio.*

In Groome's *In Gipsy Tents,* the narrator describes to Plato Lovell how an acquaintance did not recognise him as he walked past with a group of Gypsies in Göttingen. This is also the German town where Lionel Glemham spends his youthful exile in *Kriegspiel;* the closed system of representation is in operation again and the world of Gypsydom seems profoundly knowable via the Ryes' words. On hearing the story, Plato exclaims, 'you might pass for a Romano with Romané, and have, maybe' (p. 46). His endorsement of the project is described in conditional terms, with the addition of the equivocal 'maybe' casting doubt over its success. This 'maybe', lurking at the end of the sentence, at the edge of the description, is a trace of the resistance at the margins of memory. The narrator adds that, if anyone asks whether he is a Gypsy he assures them that he is 'the rankest gorgio [that] ever walked the road', a trick he learnt from Mrs Lucretia Boswell and one thought to make him seem even more authentically Romany — only inexperienced Romany Ryes proudly

proclaim that they are Gypsies and risk suspicion or arrest (p. 46). For this *gorgio* to appear as a Gypsy, he has to deny that he is one, echoing Mrs Petulengro's use of Romani only when it will not be understood in Borrow's *The Romany Rye*. The narrator of *In Gipsy Tents* tells the truth in order to lie convincingly; he can no longer be seen to be in complete control of the discursive construction of separate Gypsy and non-Gypsy identities. In a passage quoted earlier, Groome denounces the popularity of the Gypsy figures shown on stage, positing his acquaintances as more authentic. However, the very fact that he argues for his own convincing performance of Gypsiness destabilises the opposition between original and copy.

Leland, too, enjoys being mistaken for one of his subjects of study. In his *Memoirs*, he recounts how, having 'studied Pott's "Thesaurus of Gypsy Dialects," and picked up many phrases of the tongue from the works of Borrow, Simpson, and others', he whispers an improvised rhyme to a famous old Gypsy woman. 'The effect on the gypsy was startling', he says; 'she fairly turned pale'. She takes Leland to one side and exclaims, '*Rya* — master! [Are] you one of our people?' (*Memoirs*, II, p. 262). Leland emphasises the purity of the woman's blood in order to greater impress the reader with his deception of her. The casualness of Leland's attitude to his philological study and the 'improvised rhyme' as distinguished from a mere parroting of the phrases learnt in books is designed to make him seem *naturally* able at this language, a reputation that Borrow cultivated some decades earlier but that undermines Leland's assertion that he 'carefully avoided repeating him in the least detail'. As a result, Gentilla (the Gypsy) pales in comparison to the pseudo-Gypsy, as if his passing diminishes her power to signify 'Gypsy'. While worshipping the idea of a true Gypsy, his mimicry reveals the difficulty in determining an original to which he is the copy.

Leland's writing reveals an ulterior motive for her apparent gullibility. He adds, later in the *Memoirs*, that 'it was widely rumoured that the Coopers had got a *rye*, or master, who spoke Romany, and was withal not ungenerous' (II, p. 276). Leland never gives up his superior position in relation to the subjects of his study, referring to himself as their 'master' even whilst accompanying them around the countryside. It is a position that Leland seems to have bought rather than fostered and an alternative explanation for the success of his 'passing' might be that Leland is patronised by the Gypsies in return for financial advantage. On one occasion, Leland is identified as a *gorgio* by a Gypsy while out with the Coopers. Not being accustomed to hear himself called a *gorgio*, he glances up angrily at his observer. To have this reaction shows that he speaks Romani and the Gypsy corrects himself, smiles, and touches his hat to Leland (II, p. 278). That smile is somewhat enigmatic. Leland seems to have been identified by this newcomer to the scene not just as a *gorgio*, but as an interloper who, when flattered, pays his way. The adoption of a Gypsy disguise is not as natural as Leland, initially, would have it. As if to prove this point, another of the Coopers, Matthew, offers to brown Leland's face and hands to make him 'dark enough' to buy a donkey (II, p. 278). The life of Leland and his contemporaries with the Gypsies is revealed as a sort of minstrelsy: not passing but blacking up.

Rather than question the effectiveness of the Rye's representation of the true Gypsy through their learned grids and codes, or look at how closely they were able to imitate him or her, the more appropriate interrogation comes from the opening to this chapter: where does the authority for the institution of the archive lie? Who archives and what is recorded? Leland, Watts-Dunton and Groome produce texts that ostensibly tell their readers who the Gypsies are. I have demonstrated this knowledge to be organised and limited by a synchronic essentialism that is the result of a unifying and elevated writing position, and by

the declarative confidence of the nostalgic proleptic elegy. These three writers are not Gypsies, though they assume that they know the people enough to pass as such. They write *for* the Gypsies from the perspective of white, middle-class, educated men. They have the power to write and be published, the power to speak and be heard, a power denied the Gypsy. However, what the texts try to record cannot help but bring with it all the things they try to suppress. They are not wholly in control of their language, English or Romani; their texts do not capture a 'true' or original Gypsy; they are not the saviours but the inventors of the race.

The next chapter takes up a similar topic, examining who speaks for the Gypsy. This time, the Gypsies are the silent figures featured in engravings in *The Illustrated London News*, prosopopeiacally voiced by the written text that accompanies the illustration on the page.

3

Text, Image and Supplement: Gypsies in the *Illustrated London News*

From its inception in 1842, the *Illustrated London News* took its title literally, seeking to illustrate that which was new. It hoped to 'give wealth to Literature and stores to History, and put, as it were, mile-stones upon the travelled road of time', instituting a Victorian archive.[1] Such archivization is not, Jacques Derrida makes clear in *Archive Fever*, just a recording of what has passed, but also a 'movement of the promise and of the future'.[2] The *ILN* makes just such a movement, asking of the archive it institutes, 'what will it do for the future?' (*ILN*, 'preface' to 1842, p. iii).

When Freud proposes the death drive, he is, according to Derrida, similarly concerned with what he owes to the future in recording something new, that he will not only have announced some news, but also archived it: 'to have put it, as it were, *to the press*' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 9; original emphasis). The preface to the first volume of the *ILN* hoped to put to the press (as both a printed newspaper and as the impression of a memory trace), in a new way, 'the life of the times'. This was constituted by 'the signs of its taste and intelligence — its public monuments and public men — its festivals — institutions — amusements — discoveries — and the very reflection of its living manners and costumes — the variegated dresses of its mind and body'. It describes all these as 'treasures of truth that would have lain hid in Time's tomb, or perished amid the sand of his hour-glass but for the enduring and resuscitating powers of art' (*ILN*, 'preface' to 1842, pp. iii–iv). As the last chapter discussed, it is the possibility of forgetfulness, the idea that knowledge of the times perishes without the archivists' intervention, that is the condition for the existence of the

memorial text, in this case a weekly newspaper bound in bi-annual volumes. The archive will speak when the 'public men' of the nineteenth century can no longer speak for themselves.

In addition to interest in current affairs, the *ILN* used innovations in engraving methods to represent developments in the world of fine arts and reproduce exhibited paintings for the reading public at home. The arts news presented in the newest possible format constituted a two-fold presentation of novelty. For Derrida, such an interest in the 'technical structure of the *archiving* archive' profoundly affects the content of the newspaper, as 'the archivization produces as much as it records the event' (*Archive Fever*, p. 17; original emphasis). The *ILN* promoted itself as an innovative form, marking a self-conscious break in the journalistic institution. At the same time as trying to be different, however, the newspaper attempts to show that what it reproduces is the *same* as the original, that the reproduced engraving is the same as the painting. Peter Sinnema points out this aporia in the *ILN*'s rhetoric as it attempts, despite 'revelling in the technological innovations which are the conditions of possibility for its own production', to maintain 'an ingenuous, unthreatened notion of Art'.[3]

Wherever improvements in techniques of visual reproduction are mentioned in the *ILN*, their importance in bringing the image ever closer to the reproduced painting is emphasised. Drawings of Sir David Wilkie's work 'are executed in lithography by Mr. Joseph Nash, printed with a tint, and the high lights picked out with white, and they are esteemed to be very perfect fac similes of the originals' (*ILN*, 18 March 1843, p. 197). An engraving of Landseer's *Lassie Herding Sheep* 'is engraved by John Burnet in the painter-like style first practised by the brother of the painter', as if this familial connection between the artist and the engraver's style somehow also brings the engraving itself closer to the painting. The style uses 'a mixture of mezzotint and line' to provide a 'perfect translat[ion]' of the

painting. 'No more perfect copy', the reader is assured, 'could be desired' (*ILN*, 8 April 1843, p. 250).

The painting did not just appear in this single, visual form. It was usually accompanied by a written description, not of the engraving, but of the painting the engraving represents. The *ILN* describes this bitextuality as 'the eternal register of the pencil giving life and vigour and palpability to the confirming details of the pen' (*ILN*, 'preface' to 1842, p. iv). In reading the images and their accompanying text together, it is impossible to ignore the constant slippage between two different formal representations of the same artwork: the text and image do not convey the same thing yet both, as Julia Thomas suggests, produce each other's meaning in relation to the other.[4] The complex relationship between text and image in the *ILN* might be anticipated from the circuitous logic it proposes; the pencil (here, the illustrator's tool) invigorates writing, which in turn tightens up the ambiguity of the visual image. Neither works quite well enough without the other; both lack life and certainty. In addition, neither pencil nor pen is actually used in this reproduction of the news. The reason for the *ILN*'s existence, its mass reproducibility, is elided in this repression of the printing press and emphasis on archaic tools. The newspaper's rhetoric is contradictory, so the claims it makes on behalf of its own form should not be trusted.

This chapter begins by exploring the political and cultural effects that the differences between written descriptions and engraved illustrations of the same painting have on the textual construction of the Gypsy. The interaction of the textual and the visual is political Thomas explains, because texts and images are bound up in what the *ILN* calls 'the life of the times' (Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians*, p. 15). This chapter goes on to consider the *ILN*'s factual reporting of Gypsy life. It examines how the text and image work together, despite,

or even because of, their differences, to produce a figure of the Gypsy that is the result of two apparently mutually confirming forms. The discussion outlines how the figure is actually a product of what each form is *unable* to present.

My analysis of the relationship between the visual and written forms in the *ILN* draws on Derrida's logic of the supplement. The fact that the engraving, even with a title, cannot be allowed to speak for itself suggests two features of the relationship between the forms. Firstly, there must be something unexpectedly lacking in the lone engraving that requires supplementation. For Derrida, the supplement acts 'always by way of compensation for [...] what *ought to* lack nothing at all in itself'.[5] Specifically, the text acts as an ekphrastic supplement, (ekphrasis being the verbal representation of visual representation).[6] What the image fails to show, the text tells. The chapter thus answers Sinnema's call for a 'politically discriminating *ekphrasis*, an interpretation of the complexities of image and text in their material production and social effects' (p. 31).

The second feature of the relationship between text and image that one could infer from their juxtaposition (apart from their supplemental relation based on mutual lack) is that the engraving might say *too much* without the accompanying writing to guide its interpretation. The relationship between the two becomes one of moderating excess. The writing which frames the engraving has the potential to suppress some meanings in order to show a correct version of the image, one that presents a unified representation of a painting, or of Gypsy life, and keeps the newspaper's 'self-identity' intact; it should not be different from what it is. The *ILN* hopes to present a single, unified explanation of artistic or journalistic renderings of Gypsies, presenting itself as an authority on the Gypsy. The writing in the *ILN* always implies that the meanings it finds in the painting or illustration of life are self-evident and the same ones that will be found by the reader/viewer when he or

she looks at the engraving. The text acts as an elucidating *and* limiting supplement, opening and limiting visibility (Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, pp. 159; 163). It feigns revelation while limiting what the reader/viewer is supposed to see. The *look* may be that of the viewer, but what is *seen* is a product of what the reader is told.

The primacy of the visual image (what W. J. T Mitchell refers to as 'the tyranny of the picture'),[7] something natural to which writing may be added, is an assumption that must also be questioned, particularly when the chapter's analysis is so heavily influenced by the work of Derrida. This primacy is implicitly problematized by the *ILN* itself. The fact that both forms replace not just each other in their supplementarity but also, in the first formal relationship discussed in this chapter, a third absent referent (the painting) means that neither text nor image comes first. They are part of what Derrida calls the 'indefinite process of supplementarity'. The indefiniteness of this process in the *ILN* may be garnered from the fact that the painting itself stands in for the figure or scene that was painted in the first place: there is an infinite regression of reproductions. Derrida describes how the 'desire of presence is [...] born from the abyss (the indefinite multiplication) of representation, from the representation of representation' (*Of Grammatology*, p. 163). The desire to know the painting (and with it the Gypsy) is an effect of this representation of representation. The desire for the perfect copy described by the *ILN* is in fact desire for the absent painting and its subject.

The way text and image use each other to cover over their lack of power to make the referent present (to *re*present it) acknowledges and perpetuates this desire. The desire to consume the exoticised, sexualised and fetishized Gypsy is mingled with a perpetual fear of the Gypsy's proximal otherness; he or she is racially distinct and culturally different. The Gypsy is also unhindered by, and thus disruptive of, the prohibitive social norms that

governed Victorian class distinctions. The analysis of the *ILN* must take into account at every turn 'that "otherness" which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity'.[8] Some of these fantasies have been explored in the previous chapters and reappear in this one; the Gypsy as an object of both desire and derision is further analysed here.

'The Terror of Uncertain Signs'

Gypsies were frequently the subject of the *ILN*'s representational abyss, whether portrayed in Britain, or in more exotic locations. Their inclusion demonstrates that Gypsy life was considered as both suitable material for the artists producing the painting and appropriate as an example of what the Victorian public appreciated in terms of art. In addition, it was clearly thought interesting enough to increase the newspaper's circulation. Women of the '"Rommany" race [with] their dark complexion, large black eyes, lithe figure, strongly-developed features, and profusion of thick black hair, hanging loosely and wildly around the head' may not have been, through Victorian male eyes, appropriate partners for 'intelligent conversation', but they made 'a fine specimen of the human wild animal, and a very good subject for an Artist's sketch-book' (*ILN*, 19 July 1884, p. 68). The desire for the female Gypsy is in evidence here, and the connection between artistic representation and racist zoomorphism demands a close analysis of the politics of representation of Gypsies in the *ILN*.

A March number of the newspaper in 1843 includes four engravings of work in the British Institution Exhibition. One of these is engraved as 'Arabian Gipsy-Woman's Toilet' from the painting *The Toilet* by Irish painter William Fisher. The *ILN*'s title and

accompanying text identifies the woman as a Gypsy, drawing the reader's attention specifically to the subject's sex and race, something the title under which the painting was exhibited does not make explicit. The *ILN* heightens the exoticism of the featured woman, adding two lines of typically unattributed verse: 'For dance, and love, and gipsy wile, | Pride of the dusky band!' (11 March 1843, p. 168). The engraving of the painting displays nothing of dance, love or a dusky band but these ideas are brought to the page, influencing the image's interpretation. Further, the accompanying text asserts that the woman in the picture is 'dressing her profuse ringlets during a fit of abstraction', whilst the engraving shows a woman with straight hair in the foreground with two men in the background (pp. 167–8). She may be listening to the men or even directing them. The proposal that she is in a fit of abstraction is just one potential reading among many, one that disempowers its female subject but also agrees with the other information provided by the text. According to the *ILN* she is not just one female subject experiencing love, but a Gypsy woman who must be always, necessarily, associated with it. She is categorised as part of a racial group, the 'dusky band', and this identification brings with it expectations of emotionality, physicality and, most likely, trickery.

The differences between the two forms in this edition reveal the two features of the ekphrastic supplement that I want to emphasise. Firstly, the verse and the description try to make the meaning of the image, and thus the meaning of the signifier 'Gypsy', self-evident. In having to explain, however, writing only demonstrates the image's failure to make this meaning visible. It seems to fill a void. Secondly, the text attempts to frame and contain the excess meanings of the image. Thomas explains that 'as part of a signifying system that is plural and unstable, the meanings of both pictures and words are multiple, rendering any absolute control over the image an impossibility' (p. 14). Writing's problem with the

plurality of meanings in the engraving is exacerbated in this context by the haunting return of the absent third term: the painting. The text describes the painting, not the engraving; the illustrator would have made a copy of the painting independently of his wordsmith colleague. The presence of a visual double of the painting undermines the text's control over the meanings of the painting, showing that, as an ekphrastic supplement, it will always lack the power of mimesis. The engraving is, of course, also different from the painting, but as a visual form of representation on the page it draws attention to the text's radical alterity to the form it seems to describe. The spectral existence of the painting also shatters the illusion that the text refers to the form with which it shares a page. The newspaper struggles to elevate Art, something that exists outside the newpaper, whilst maintaining its own representational authority.

Almost five years later, a similar reading experience to that provided by the engraving of *The Toilet* was offered in relation to a painting by Frederick Goodall, entitled *A Gipsy Family of Three Generations*, again part of the British Institution Exhibition and engraved for the *ILN* by the well-known engraver, George Dalziel (Figure 1). This illustration is accompanied by two more lines of somewhat bland but optimistic verse: 'In sheltry nooks and hollow ways | We cheerily pass our summer days' (12 February 1848, p. 87). The textual rendering of the painting describes

> the young mother nursing an infant, who watches his elder brother teazing a raven. The husband is reposing, but not sleeping, beneath the tent; and an old crone sits by, encouraging the tricks of the boy; while the grandfather is absorbed by the creature comforts preparing in a cauldron, over which he has established himself as managing director. There is bestowed on this simple material so much of artistic contrivance as to make it a very pleasant picture to look upon. The landscape is highly appropriate, and the distance admirably managed, without sacrificing anything to the composition as a figure subject. We have engraved this picture, which is one of the most important works in the Exhibition. (p. 88)

One of the longest descriptions in that particular week's discussion of the Exhibition, it draws attention to the value placed on the painting by virtue of the fact that it has been reproduced. This process is part of the *ILN*'s project to 'bring things "closer" spatially and humanly' (using Walter Benjamin's terms) but, according to Benjamin, withering away the aura of the original in the process.[9] The text extols the composition of the painting and, in doing so, constructs its own authority: it has the power to translate something of the painting into words for the benefit of the *ILN*'s readers and adopts the position of a judge of what is artistically 'important'. However, in bolstering its translations and judgements with the introduction of an engraving of the painting, positing it as a straightforward copy of the painted original, the text inadvertently draws attention to the contradictions at work in these processes.

The subject matter itself is described as 'simple'; it is 'artistic contrivance' that makes the scene pleasurable to look at. The inference may be drawn that, whatever the romantic connotations of the scene, for the bourgeois Victorian subject the idea of coming face to face with an actual Gypsy encampment would be less appealing. As Sinnema notes, the *ILN* of the mid-nineteenth century was, fundamentally, a middle-class publication with a cover price (6d) that was prohibitively expensive for the working and even lower middle class (p. 16). This framed state is perhaps the only one in which Gypsies are welcomed, without fear, into the middle-class salon. As with the engraving of *The Toilet*, there are significant differences between the content of the description and the engraving. At times, the engraving seems to add something to, or contradict, the text, while at other times the text appears to supplement the engraving. Neither, of course, could be said to be more original than the other, as they are both derivatives of Goodall's painting, itself a representation of a Gypsy, possibly a 'real' one, possibly a model dressed up. The logic of the supplement

reveals a lack in both written and visual forms: representation motivates desire for the presence of the painting and the Gypsy is depicts.

The text describes the mother holding her baby, but fails to mention that in the engraving the infant is playing with its mother's hair. In the engraving, the infant appears to look at his or her grandmother, or into the distance, not at the brother. The sex of the infant seems indeterminable from the engraving, but the description fixes it as male. The brother has a stick that he points at the raven, but it is the grandmother (pejoratively labelled a 'crone'), if anyone, that 'teazes' it. The text is adamant that the father reposes without sleeping, but it is difficult to tell from the engraving whether he wakes or not. The text labels the contents of the cauldron as 'creature comforts' and employs an industrial analogy ('managing director') to the cooking of the meal in the camp.

This last description demonstrates the precise way in which the text attempts to limit the meanings of the image, and is helpful in thinking about why it might wish to do so. Roland Barthes asserts that representational techniques 'are developed intended to *fix* the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs; the linguistic message is one of these techniques, [...] constituting a kind of vice which holds the connoted meanings from proliferating'. He adds that 'the text has thus a *repressive* value and [...] it is at this level that the morality and ideology of a society are above all invested'.[10] The reader of the *ILN* looks to the publication to fix what the figure of the Gypsy means.

To the Victorian bourgeoisie, the Gypsy offered the concept of freedom from societal norms with an accompanying frisson of danger. Seduction by and the threat from the Gypsy are usually to be found coexisting in the same representation. For example, desire for the sexually exoticised Gypsy (as demonstrated by the discussion of John Phillip's *The Spanish Gipsy Sisters,* below), also inspires fear of miscegenation. The Gypsies' itinerancy and

self-dependence (the very lifestyle that could seem so appealing) meant that the Gypsies also represented a challenge to, amongst other things, the structures of industrial capitalism.[11]

As the life of the Gypsy seemed worryingly unfettered, so the visual representation of the Gypsy group appears to be burdened with the 'terror of uncertain signs'. As a worthy subject for artistic talent, the outdoor life with its campfire, cosy bivouac, family bonds and picturesque surroundings may seem momentarily attractive in its romantic aspirations. Indeed, towards the end of the century, around the time the Romany Ryes were writing, the lure of this lifestyle was so great as to warrant the publication of *Gipsy Tents and How to Use Them: A Handbook for Amateur Gipsies.*[12] Being a Gypsy was seen as something one could almost adopt or abandon like a hobby, though the term's racial connotations were never completely dissolved. The *ILN*'s text, at this less permissive, mid-century moment, can be seen as repressing the attractively different elements of Gypsy life by diminishing its apparent ease and emphasising the fact that the camp really runs like a small-scale business, complete with managing director, and reminding viewers of the value of industrial efficiency. The bohemian otherness of the Gypsy is brought indoors, into the factory.

The text chooses to refer not to the title accompanying the engraving ('No. 3') but to the exhibited title of the painting, ordering the group into its three generations. The recumbent figure of the father is denied absolute indolence. He rests, perhaps after a spell of hard, physical labour, but does not, the text assures the reader, sleep. But to what extent does the description successfully act as a linguistic vice? Its attempts to fix the scene and neutralise the threat of proliferating meanings might be more effective were it not for the fact that the image it attempts to fix is not the one with which the reader of the *ILN* is presented. The separate conditions of production of the image and its text, without the authoritative but also disruptive presence of the third item in the relationship, mean that *this*

text can never hope to constrain *this* image. Whether the boy or his grandmother tease the raven, whether the male or female infant looks at them or into the distance seem, at first, to be relatively minor inconsistencies, but they work together to accentuate the radical heterogeneity of the two forms. The ambiguity of the image, romantic or unpleasant, threatening or benign to Victorian bourgeois values, persists despite the efforts of the linguistic message. Such ambiguity is clearly at odds with the bitextual aims of the *ILN*, which involved wedding image and text in order to provide the reader with a single, certain message about each story.

What, then, does it mean for mid-nineteenth-century British society in its attitude to Gypsies if, as Barthes suggests, it is at the level of linguistic control that its ideology is invested? In the textual attempts to delimit the meanings available in the image, the *ILN* demonstrates a desire to contain the figure of the Gypsy. The recommendation of the painting's 'appropriate' landscape and 'admirably managed' distance may just as well apply to the figures in the foreground. The wildness of the great outdoors and the incomprehensible distances found in nature are safely placed within an artistic frame, a solid black line that usually surrounds these illustrations. The socially uncontainable Gypsy becomes a charming 'figure subject'.

Just as ideologically important, however, is the engraved image's resistance to this comfortable view. In, for example, describing the 'creature comforts' to be found in a cauldron whose contents are obscured by the demands of monocular perspective, the *ILN* shows how attempting to limit the uncertainty of signs is a tacit acknowledgement of that very uncertainty. It inadvertently suggests the possibility that, far from being comforting, this is a hard-won meal in a life of poverty, or (worryingly for the bourgeois values of the paper's readers) prepared with poached meat. The denial of the father's sleep suggests a

confusing combination of potential labour and idleness, work ethic and refusal to conform. The ekphrastic supplement seems to want to correct a deficiency in the image, but succeeds only in revealing its own insufficient power to control.

It is not only Goodall's painting of Gypsies that finds its way on to the pages of the *ILN*. Previously, his *La Fete de Mariage* was reproduced in 1844 (23 March 1844, p. 185). In 1846, a reviewer of the British Institution Exhibition expressed his disappointment in Goodall's *The Brittany Conscript Leaving Home* (14 February 1846, p. 113), but in 1849, a year after *A Gipsy Family in Three Generations*, his *Paris in 1848* was engraved with the review of the exhibition describing him as 'an especial pet, and deservedly too, of the Directors of the British Institution' (17 February 1849, p. 105). *The Post Office* of 1850 appears in February of that year, in both engraved and textual formats. The painting is described in great detail, down to the imagined thoughts of the guard of the mail (9 February 1850, pp. 89; 97). I do not want to suggest that illustrations of paintings with Gypsies as their subject are a special case in the representation of 'real life', provoking reviewers to insert descriptions that would otherwise be left out. Rather, I want to investigate the particular values invested in the representation of Gypsies in the *ILN* and the nature of their effect. The structure of the supplemental relationship between text and image is the same no matter what is represented, but its results give an indication to the twenty-first century reader of how the Gypsy was figured in the nineteenth.

June 1857 saw the reproduction of George Haydock Dodgson's *Gipsies — Twilight* from the Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Watercolours, engraved by the successful Edmund Evans and treated to a textual description (Figure 2). Dodgson was a renowned landscape painter, noted for his atmospheric effects. Despite the order of the words in the title, the *ILN* refers to Dodgson's known specialism, describing twilight as the primary

artistic concern of the painting, while the Gypsies' activities are merely 'adapted to give, with lowered tone, the solemn stillness and hush of late evening'. If an artist wishes to portray this particularly romantic, liminal time of evening, the suggestion seems to be, he should choose character figures that reflect it. Moreover, they are seen '*through* the evening exhalations and the dewy mists of approaching night' (20 June 1857, p. 610; emphasis added). This is an effect that the viewer of the engraving cannot see; the line engraving employed here relies on sharp detail and defined contrast between light and shade. The 'tonal illustrative style using ink washes' was possible only with the introduction of photo-reproduction later in the century, and this technique would perhaps have been more suited to the portrayal of evening light through dewy mists.[13] In other words, the sight of the Gypsies through the mist in the engraving is visually impossible on the page, given the technical differences between watercolour and line drawing. Again, the absent painting haunts this reproduction as the difficulties of engraving 'evening exhalations' are brought to light by the text.

More politically problematic than quibbles about whether the text tells the reader/viewer more than he or she can see on the page is the suggestion the image apparently gives of 'some projected predatory expedition during the peaceful hours'. This aspect of the painting, the *ILN* reviewer warns, 'might tempt our pens also astray, and rob our readers of some of the quiet pleasure of their own fancies which might be awakened by the spell of such an hour and such a picture' (20 June 1857, p. 610). In other words, having just told the reader what to expect of the Gypsies in the picture, the text withdraws from the statement with a metaphorical hand over its mouth, gesturing 'I should not have said that'. It is a disingenuous gesture; the statement is put to the press. These words not only emphasise the nature of the pictured expedition (to steal something) but serve as an

admission that the text immediately overinterprets the scene, the blame lying partly with the image as it tempts both reader and writer to apply further narratives to what they see. The text predicts the future of the characters in the painting, condemning them to a 'predatory expedition' under cover of darkness. The scene is too interesting, the text suggests, to resist narrativising it.

James Heffernan proposes that, ekphrasis 'makes explicit the story that visual art tells only by implication' (p. 5). If every text has, as Pierre Macherey asserts, an unconscious, the play of history encroaching on its edges, then perhaps the text acts here like a psychoanalyst to the image/analysand.[14] W . J. T. Mitchell explains: 'analysis provides the method for extracting the hidden verbal message from the misleading and inarticulate pictorial surface' (*Iconology*, p. 45). Psychoanalysis resembles, then, an ekphrastic discipline. What this resemblance also brings to light is the historical determination of all analysis. If the *ILN*'s text analyses the mute image it accompanies by making an implied message explicit, then this is an analytical text that also has *its own* unconscious (just as Freud had his own dreams), a traceable path to that which haunts the text. Analysis is just as much a product of its culture and history as the psyche or text it analyses.[15] It could also be suggested that psychoanalysis is always an overinterpretation with the analyst's pen tempted astray, too. The analysand might be condemned to psychosis because of the ekphrastic interpretation of his or her misleading dreams, just as the Gypsies' actions are confined to the expectations of the ekphrastic text. The talking cure speaks too soon. The difference, I would counter, between what happens on the pages of the *ILN* and in psychoanalysis, is that the latter is not a predictive discipline but a reflective one. It regards memory as dynamic, while the *ILN*'s ekphrasis removes the uncertainty of the future for these Gypsies.

When Heffernan proposes that ekphrasis makes explicit with words what is implicit in the image, he agrees with the *ILN* reviewer: the story of the Gypsies lies silently within the painting (or engraved illustration), waiting to be drawn out by the masterful text. Heffernan continues: 'ekphrasis entails prosopopeia, or the rhetorical technique of envoicing a silent object. Ekphrasis speaks not only *about* works of art but also *to* and *for* them' (pp. 6–7; original emphasis). When the subject matter of the work of art is the Gypsy, the ekphrastic supplement speaks to and for him or her as well. The silencing of the Gypsy is a discursive practice employed in various genres of representation, as discussed in the last chapter in relation to the work of the Romany Ryes. Here, the text that accompanies the engraving on the pages of the *ILN* speaks for it, giving it a voice that does not do it justice, one that tempts the viewer to imagine all kinds of dark deeds to match the gloomy surroundings. It expects the Gipsies to prey on their neighbours for food or materials and does not even give the figures compensatory artistic appeal, saying that they merely complement a study of meteorological conditions. The ekphrastic supplement speaks, prosopopeiacally, for the engraving but seems to say too much. In *Gipsies — Twilight*, the traces are laid of a crime that has not taken place: the Gypsies are framed.

This analysis of three engravings from the *ILN* has concentrated on the differences between the ways in which the engravings and the text that accompanies them have reproduced an absent referent, a splitting of the self-identity of the text born from the abyss of the indefinite multiplication of representation. The two forms profess to be performing the same task. In the description of *Gipsies — Twilight*, for example, the text assumes that the reader will apply similar narratives to the engraving as the writer of the piece does to the absent painting. It disingenuously makes reference to the possibility of alternative readings (the reader's 'own fancies'), demanding an understanding that what has so far been described

is merely obvious content. The text uses such literary strategies to ask the reader to believe that there are no differences between the painting as engraved and the painting as described, making what Derrida terms a 'gesture of effacement' (*Of Grammatology*, p. 163). The linguistic vice is supposed to be invisible for all the illustrations under analysis, but when the vice slips the marks that it leaves on the text and on the figure of the Gypsy are eminently traceable.

Textual Others

Acknowledging the differences between writing and the visual image in the *ILN* exposes the ekphrastic supplement as 'alien to that which, in order to be replaced by it, must be other than it' (Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, p. 145). In order to insinuate themselves in the place of the other, the text and image must be alien to each other, or they would not make effective substitutions. They are also alien to the absent painting for which the process of supplementarity in which they are engaged excites desire. Whilst appearing to work together to make the painting ostensibly present on the pages of the *ILN*, they alienate each other, jostling for the role of primary signifier and splitting the self-identity of the newspaper, referring only to the painting's absence.

Mitchell contends that encounters between verbal and visual representation in 'mixed arts', including illustrated newspapers, cannot constitute a truly ekphrastic encounter because of the presence of the visual image, which, according to Mitchell's definition, may not come into view alongside writing. In the case of bitextual reproduction of works of art, however, the referent is still absent. Mitchell confirms that the textual other must remain 'completely alien; it can never be present, but must be conjured up as a potent absence or a

fictive, figural present'.[16] Such an argument, though suggestive in its engagement with alterity and absence, does not complement the notion of the ekphrastic supplement as proposed here for two reasons. Firstly, it assumes that text and image might work together as two simultaneous presences when brought together on the page. As Derrida contends, the supplement 'is not simply added to the positivity of a presence'. On the contrary, text and image reveal each other's deficiencies and are already alien to each other without having to be out of sight. Their absolute presence has never existed; it is already fictive; no conjuring is required (*Of Grammatology*, pp. 145; 159).

Secondly, Mitchell's argument relies, as do most discussions of ekphrasis, on a binary opposition between verbal representation and its other, visual representation. In the tri-partite relationship emerging from the *ILN*'s strategy of artistic reproduction, the work of art exists as an equally potent absence. It is another other whose influence may be felt in every discrepancy between text and image. The 'overcoming of Otherness' may be the ostensible task of the newspaper, apparently sure of its own unified textual self-identity, but there is always something that escapes that unity (Mitchell, 'Ekphrasis and the Other', p. 699).

A further example of the alterity of text and image residing on the same page, making a case for bitextual encounters as truly ekphrastic ones, may be found in descriptions of Alfred Rankley's picture of *Gipsy Children Gathering Wood* in the *ILN* in 1873 (Figure 3), and of *A Gipsy*, the work of a German artist, G. Richter, appearing in an *ILN* fine art supplement in May 1874 (Figure 4). According to the *ILN*, Rankley 'devoted himself to representations of gipsy life, rendering such themes with a sentiment that made them peculiarly his own'. This is in contrast, it seems, to his earlier works, which were 'distinguished by great purity and simplicity, both of conception and execution'. The

'present specimen' apparently 'manifests the care with which he noted and rendered the characteristics of "Romany" folk' (1 February 1873, p. 99). The text undermines its own authority by comparing the example it introduces with Rankley's superior, earlier work and calling this picture 'of minor interest'. Every mention of an image engraved by the paper should serve, even at this late moment in the 1870s, as a reminder of how lucky the Victorian reader is to exist in this epoch of the illustrated newspaper; with every introduction, the text puffs itself up with a sense of its own literary importance. The text distinguishes Rankley's earlier works from this latter one by noting their simplicity. The accompanying engraving shows, however, a distinctly simple (if ugly) piece. Expecting fussiness from the text, one finds simplicity in the engraving. The text seems, at first, to allow the image to speak for itself as far as content is concerned. However, the text dictates that the figures are read as an example of both Rankley's oeuvre and of the entire Gypsy race. The text tells the viewer how to interpret the image, whilst making this interpretation seem self-evident.

The description of Richter's *A Gipsy*, on the other hand, makes the formal differences in the reproductions somewhat more obvious. It explains that the 'engraving can but *suggest* the rich colouring of the original', alluding to the phantom painting but also masking this absence by showing that where the engraving fails, it, the text, can at least give the reader this detail. What the picture does offer, the reader is told, is 'truth and spirit', which must be expressed linguistically. The 'truth' of the picture is inaccessible without a written guide; the image is veraciously deficient. The description goes on to detail how the boy's 'bronzed skin [is] tanned to a deeper hue by exposure to all weathers' and that his 'face [is] all athirst for fresh adventure', referring to past adventure and days in the sun that are, of course, indeterminable from the engraving. It adds that his 'gleaming, restless black eyes, so

full of intelligence, [...] *must*, perforce, degenerate into cunning' (*ILN*, 2 May 1874, p. 428; emphasis added). The commonplace fetishization of the Gypsy's eye locates it as the locus of the boy's personality, one that is limited by his race so that intelligence must, eventually, equal cunning.

The boy is betrayed by this unjust prosopopoeia, until the reader turns to the engraving. Hoping to find that gleam, the restlessness and the cunning of the Gypsy, the viewer will be disappointed. The otherness of the image from the text is not overcome by ekphrasis as Mitchell suggests; rather, it is accentuated. Their alterity is not eradicated by their juxtaposition. The text struggles to contain the meanings of the image. Had the text been attempting to stabilise the interpretation of the painting rather than a reproduction, the futility of its efforts would not have been so noticeable: difference would be harder to uncover. The ekphrastic supplement, when read deconstructively, maintains the semiotic gap between the two forms and allows for alternative interpretations of the image and thus other ways of viewing the Gypsy. The slippage between text and image offers new possibilities for what these representations signify.

A final example of the ekphrastic supplement at work within the trinity of mutually displacing texts comes from an edition of 1855 and the engraving and description of John Phillip's *The Spanish Gipsy Sisters* (figure 5). Not only is the static image lent a narrative by its accompanying text, but the thoughts of the Gypsy women are also voiced. The painting, the reader is told, 'is no imaginary sketch'; it is 'a study of character, of race, of nationality'. It offers Nature and the apparent truth about the Gypsy. As with Richter's *A Gipsy*, this is a 'truth' that must be described in writing and so could no longer be said to reside in the image. Again, the 'deep meaning in the eye' is emphasised, a feature of 'a persecuted race, but of an intelligent and deeply reflective one withal'. The text has trouble containing its

desire. One of the sisters has 'a transient smile, with a smack of coquetry in her regard, as if she were recognising the flattering salutation of some passer-by' (*ILN*, 27 January 1855, p. 88). The writer, then, manages to observe the fleetingness of her expression and imagines that which might have inspired it, drawing out the narrative of the image. The gaze of the viewer is acknowledged by the woman; desire is invited. At what, though, does the written text suggest the viewer should be looking?

Sexual desire for the racial other, an exotic woman with a 'swarthy complexion', is caught up with the desire for the presence of the painting (*ILN*, 27 January 1855, p. 88). The written text suggests that the Gypsy woman wants to be looked at, a suggestion that demands that the viewer respond to the invitation and survey the engraving. Looking *at* the engraving, however, the viewer only finds references elsewhere. The notion of coquetry is merely a mirror for the viewer: 'she wants me to look at her' is a reflection of one's own desire, not necessarily that of the unknowable other. The racial other is not made present by this representation; the meanings of the term 'Gypsy' are disseminated by the article rather than brought conclusively together on the page. The actual Gypsy sister's absence, and the absence of the painting is delineated by the engraving and the text, and it becomes, to adopt Mitchell's term, potent. The desire to consume visually either the Gypsy woman herself or the painting of which she is the subject is perpetuated by the indefinite multiplication of representation.

The practice of engraving paintings and artistic (rather than reportage) drawings of Gypsies does not end with my examples in 1874, although they tended to take the form of posed portraits rather than outdoor scenes as the century progressed, indicating an increased use of artists' models dressed up as Gypsies. N. Sichel's *The Gipsy Queen* of March 1888, for example, is accompanied by text that asserts that 'Romance' has exaggerated 'the physical

beauty of the pure Gipsy race' but that the Gypsy in Sichel's painting 'bears her native dignity' (*ILN*, 10 March 1888, p. 254). H. Mieth's *A Gipsy Fortune-Teller* is engraved by Heuer and Kirmse in 1891, with a blouse unbuttoned almost to the female figure's waist and the familiar scarf with coins sewn on to it half-covering long, loose hair (*ILN*, 24 January 1891, p. 113). Later still, T. J. Shields' *Gipsy Zillah* is photographically reproduced in 1893 but did not win enthusiastic approval (*ILN*, 22 April 1893, p. 492).

In the traditional ekphrasis described by Mitchell, formal difference is overcome by one text mastering the other; the written text might allude to the image's absence, only to re-present some of its connoted meanings while keeping others under control. All the while, the text effaces the possibility that there might be any other proliferating meanings of the visual image escaping its description. In addition, the linguistic vice must be invisible for such an ekphrastic encounter to be a success. In the context of the *ILN*, the text simultaneously labours to overcome the racial *and* textual other. The threatening yet desirable connotations of the term 'Gypsy' need to be constrained by the bourgeois discourse by which it was constructed. The acknowledgement and simultaneous effacement of difference mean that the Gypsy is fetishized.[17] Superficially, the text asserts that its readers might know the Gypsy by believing its rhetoric. However, examples of the written and engraved reproduction of paintings featuring Gypsies in the *ILN* show just how difficult it is to maintain vice-like control over meaning.

Rather than bolstering the authority of the written text that stands in place of the absent painting with a description of it, an engraving of that same painting on the same page offers an opportunity to resist linguistic domination. The text and the illustration supplement each other as they stand in for the painting. Superficially, the fact that they do so adds to their capacity to make the painting present for the paper's middle-class Victorian

readers. The supplement supplements not as an addition to the 'positivity of presence', however, but 'insinuates itself *in-the-place-of*' (Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, p. 145; original emphasis). The need for a supplement reveals a deficiency in both texts, and reinforces their formal alterity. This alterity, and the failure of the two forms to say the same thing (a condition of speaking the truth as described in relation to Meg Merrilies' testimony in Chapter One), is brought to light by differences in content between the two representations. Rather than working together, or in the service of each other, to make the painting and the Gypsy present, they indefinitely displace each other and can only point to the absence of that which they replace. From this abyss is born a desire for presence, for the presence of the painting and the knowledge of the Gypsy it appears to offer. The meaning of the Gypsy sister's smile in John Phillip's painting, for example, remains elusive; she remains exotic, other and unknown.

The politically questionable prosopopoeic voice is hushed as its capacity to speak the truth about the Gypsy is undermined. This highly specific instance of Victorian bitextual representation demonstrates how the figure of the Gypsy resists being framed by the weekly newspaper that professes to have it completely under control. Ekphrasis does not overcome otherness in a straightforward way; it ostensibly masks it, but in donning the mask it shows that there is something to cover up. Ekphrasis is fetishistic; ekphrastic representations of Gypsies fetishize their otherness.

The chapter now turns to consider a different form of bitextuality in the *ILN*, whilst continuing with the themes of readerly desire for the Gypsy and the logic of supplementarity. Thomas discusses how the meanings of Victorian texts are generated not just where the written and visual conflict but also where they coincide (p. 15). In reportage pieces about Gypsies in the *ILN* the text and image, apparently, work together in order to

invite the reader to consume the Gypsy. However, the two forms also prescribe that the paper's readers should be repulsed by the idea of Gypsy life. This contradiction, as the section outlines, stages the ambivalence of desire, producing, again, a fetishized Gypsy figure. In addition, as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the juxtaposition of two forms of representation draws attention to the failure of both to make the Gypsy fully present, even as they claim to do so by supplementing each other.

Look — Don't Look: Ambivalent Desire in the Reporting of Gypsy Life

The title of Tom Taylor's 1851 'Gypsey Experiences' columns in the *ILN* (quoted in Chapter Two) identifies the mediatory role played by the newspaper between its readers and the glimpses of another life, safely viewed from the undisturbed position of the bourgeois subject. The reader might experience something of the Gypsy without leaving the safe confines of home. The *ILN* went on to provide several illustrated reports of Gypsy life between 1856 and 1880.

While the engraved illustrations appear to supplement the written text to give a full picture of the Victorian Gypsy for the simultaneous delight and disgust of the *ILN*'s readers, closer inspection reveals that the two forms work together to close the apertures in both. In Chapter One of this thesis I described how the narrative of Scott's *Guy Mannering* makes powerful suggestions about the novel's Gypsy characters but, Iago-like, locates the authority over the resultant image of the Gypsy elsewhere, either outside the text itself or in the hearsay of credulous villagers. The only thing it really presents is ambiguity; analysis of what the narrative voice actually asserts about Gypsies reveals nothing but smoke and mirrors, no concrete constructions at all. Something similar happens on the pages of the *ILN*. The text

and illustration point to each other as confirmation of the picture of the Gypsy they present. This is an infinitely regressive system of referral, however, with the 'evidence' for the truth about the Gypsy found in neither text nor image. Rather, the Gypsy is a discursive product of the relation *between* the two.

In an *ILN* number for September 1856, an engraving entitled *Gipsies* precedes the article 'The Roumany-Chai or Gipsies'. The written article immediately refers the reader back to the engraving a few pages earlier (*ILN*, 20 September 1856, pp. 298; 304). They are supposed to work bitextually together. As if by way of contrast, the engraving of the Gypsy camp appears below those of the exterior and interior of a church near Knutsford. The lofty spire and ornately carved pews seem to be the pinnacle of built and lasting craftsmanship, while the rude carts and tents of the Gypsies strike the viewer as provisional and tenuous. In contradistinction to the heights of Christian civilization one finds this nomadic race.

The juxtaposition also highlights the effect the *ILN* archive has on textual longevity; while the church will, no doubt, last for centuries, the Gypsy camp could be gone by morning, yet both are preserved on the newspaper's pages. In this sense, the newspaper could be said to engage in an archival democracy. However, as this section of the chapter continues to explain, the construction of the Gypsy by his or her racial others is anything but equitable.

The article that follows the engraving devotes much of its space to philological discussions. The correspondent has a list of Romani vocabulary 'collected orally', indicating (along with a reference to George Borrow) that the author is probably an early Romany Rye. In an academic tone, the article gives voice to the silent figures in the engraving. It describes the 'old hags, hawk-eyed and vulture-faced' whose voices are 'always sweet, and soft, and low, pitched in the very key for wheedling and lying'. The children, 'half-clad specimens of

berry-brown, dirty, picturesque health' have 'voices sweet and swift to beg of the passer-by' (20 September 1856, p. 304). The prosopopoeic text, speaking for the engraved Gypsies, imposes the voice of a lying, begging criminal.

The engraving shows the scene from a distance in order to capture all the picturesque features of the camp. In its first volume, the *ILN* describes how it 'strain[s] every nerve to perfect [...] into order and completeness' the lived experience of Victorian culture (*ILN*, 'preface' to 1842, p. iv). The order imposed by the text in both its representational form and by the racial category 'Gypsy' is, as the previous chapter explained in relation to Orientalism, precisely the problem. To convey the scope of the encampment, it must be illustrated from a distance. The illustrator makes a choice between scale and detail. It is then up to the text not only to fill in these details, but perform tasks that the engraving cannot formally fulfil. This includes speaking for the figures engraved there and describing temporal movement. For example, the 'full black eyes' of the Gypsy men are '*now* bright as a serpent's, and *anon* filmy and sleeping, like deep water in shadow' (*ILN*, 20 September 1856, p. 304; emphasis added). This shift in state, a movement from brightness to opacity, cannot be conveyed by the single image.

The representation of the passage of time was not completely unachievable by engraving, as shown by the illustration of a 'Fatal Disaster with a Balloon' (*ILN*, 24 December 1881, p. 613). Like cartoon strips, the page is divided into four numbered drawings, showing different features of, and moments in, the disaster. However, the textual order that the editors of the *ILN* strain every nerve to perfect is not necessarily in the service of realism when it comes to representations of Gypsies; the point about the static image is not that it could be improved by a series of illustrations but that the written text anticipates (and thus invents) what happens next, outside the drawing's frame.

The text adds details that the picture cannot due to its synchronicity, muteness and perspective distance. Quite how much information is *actually* revealed or insinuated requires further scrutiny. The text seems to tell the reader something about the Gypsy but conceals that 'something' at the same time, simultaneously opening and limiting visibility. To tell the reader that the Gypsy's eye is like deep water in shadow reveals as little as Charles Godfrey Leland's statement that the Gypsy slips 'like the wren in and out of the shadow of the Unknown'.[18] All the reader knows is that the Gypsy is an enigma. The apparent revelation that is really a concealment sustains the mystery and consequent romance of this figure. Text and image conspire, apparently giving the reader a picture of the Gypsies, but actually ensuring that this figure remains sufficiently othered and unknown. The text in the *ILN* from 1856 describes the 'scattered kettles and pans and crockery' of the camp (20 September 1856, p. 304). This image is mirrored in the engraving, but with the added detail of a discarded bottle. Slovenliness is implied, with the added potential danger of alcoholism. The *ILN* took a decidedly pro-temperance stance, exemplified in a report four years earlier of a meeting of the Bands of Hope connected with the London Temperance League. The report describes and quotes from the 'excellent' speeches which 'inculcat[ed] the advantages and blessings of temperance, both in a spiritual and worldly point of view' (21 February 1852, p. 165).

The young women around the fire in the 1856 engraving of Gypsies will become, the text assures the reader, the recognisable 'dried up' hags in a few years. What the text cannot quite say the reader is shown; what the engraving cannot show the reader is told. It would perhaps be going too far for the text to state outright that the Gypsies' troubles are caused by alcoholism (surprisingly, one of the very few allegations not regularly levelled at this group in the nineteenth century), but the closeness of the textual description to the

illustration veils the absence of this detail from the text. The image, meanwhile, cannot show what will happen to the young women of the group in the future, but the close text-image symbiosis momentarily fools the reader into thinking he or she has seen this image with his or her own eyes. Although superficially working together to provide the complete picture, both forms allude to the things that they cannot say, shrouding the figure of the Gypsy in an exotic inscrutability. Like the generic expectations of the narrative voice in *Guy Mannering* described in Chapter One, the text and image lead the reader/viewer to expect something from the other form. They act not as two complementary presences but as compensation for what the other fails to deliver.

Volume 75 of the *ILN* indicates great popular interest in the Gypsy in 1879, containing several references to this figure. It seems that a picnic 'under the shade of the Burnham Beeches' would not be complete without a 'gipsy fortune-teller for the amusement of the giddy young ladies' (11 October 1879, p. 335). Judging by the frequent recurrence of such descriptions in nineteenth-century texts, this was either a regular event in the period, or a regularly desired one. For example, in Robert Smith Surtees' 1860 novel, *Plain or Ringlets?*, picnickers are treated to the appearance of a 'veritable gipsy — one of the real dark-skinned, black-eyed, black-ringletted race, who goes fluttering about in her red shawl, russet gown, and ankle boots, dispensing titles, and honours, and fortunes, to all who will listen to her'.[19] Again in the *ILN* of 1879, visitors to caves in Granada, reminded of George Eliot's 'fine dramatic poem', *The Spanish Gypsy*, are apparently accosted by Gypsy women offering to tell ladies' fortunes and children hankering for a coin (25 October 1879, pp. 391). This sort of incident has a literary precursor in Jane Austen's *Emma* (1816), when Harriet Smith and Miss Bickerton are accosted by Gypsy children outside Highbury, but it does not happen in *The Spanish Gypsy* (a text discussed further in the next chapter).[20] *The Spanish Gypsy* was published

over a decade before, so there is no obvious reason why this reference should be made. The veracity of this image is falsely referred to established literary tradition.

The number for 29 November 1879 has an illustration 'from a sketch taken by one of [the *ILN*'s] Artists in the neighbourhood of Latimer-road, Notting-hill', identified by his signature as W. H. Overend, and accompanying the article 'Gipsy Life Round London' (Figure 6). The article consists mainly of extracts from a paper given by George Smith of Coalville, who was determined to 'apply the principles of the Canal-Boats Act of 1877 to all movable habitations', ensuring that all tents, caravans and vans be registered and inspected (*ILN*, 29 November 1879, p. 503). Smith was, therefore, prone to show the Gypsies in as bad a light as possible. He had, as David Mayall explains, 'no time for the romantic and poetic images of innocent, rural nomads communing with Nature'.[21] Smith describes the people as 'moving about the country outside the educational laws and the pale of civilisation'. 'Like locusts', he asserts, 'they leave a blight behind them wherever they have been'. He describes how 'men, women, grown-up sons and daughters lie huddled together in such a state as would shock the modesty of South African savages'. The natives of Africa are, for Smith, the limit case of savagery but the readers of the *ILN* should be shocked that such barbarism exists so close to home. 'In many instances', he believes, 'they live like pigs and die like dogs' (*ILN*, 29 November 1879, p. 503).

The illustration shows Smith, bespectacled and carrying an umbrella, handing something out of a paper bag to four Gypsy children — confirmation, perhaps, of David Mayall's assertion that Smith 'thought that the Gypsies could be persuaded to his side by the offer of sweets and tobacco' (*Gypsy Identities*, p. 39). A woman, presumably their mother, hangs out washing on a line, something that, the text tells the reader, 'they do not indulge in too often'. The image does not, of course, tell the reader how frequently clothes and sheets

are washed but Smith's testimony fills in this detail. Of the blight the group will leave behind when they move on there is little evidence, but, again, Smith's predictions are apparently proof enough. Smith's agenda (and thus the reason for his emotive denigration of Gypsy life) is made explicit by the end of the article. Nevertheless, he is introduced in the article's first paragraph as a 'benevolent promoter of social reforms'. His benevolence is reinforced by his activity in the picture. The text introduces the engraving, which in turn introduces Smith in the campaigning field, bolstering the authority of his words quoted in the article. The text and image can be read as tightly woven and mutually affirming, adding validity to this negative stereotype. Despite the vehemence of Smith's disgust at the way of life he wishes to change, the habitation of caravans, barefoot children and dark-haired maidens must still hold some appeal for the newspaper's readers, at least in this mediated form, for the piece concludes with an assurance that 'some further Illustrations of the life of the Gipsies in England, from Sketches by our own Artist, will appear in this Journal' (*ILN*, 29 November 1879, p. 503). The reader is encouraged to desire that which is repellent and gaze upon that which is unsightly.

Readers had only to wait until the following week for the next instalment of 'Gipsy Life Near London'. This short article refers the reader back to the previous week's text to learn more about the 'wild and squalid habits of life' of the Gypsies (*ILN*, 6 December 1879, p. 527). It goes on to quote another note from Smith about Gypsies camping on Mitcham Common. In it, he describes the effect of seeing a woman who has just given birth lying on 'a layer of straw upon the damp ground'. In the previous week's article he criticised servant girls and farmers for giving eggs, bacon, milk and potatoes to Gypsies camped in the lanes because it merely encourages their lifestyle. Despite this, he admits, 'such was the wretched and miserable condition they were in that I could not do otherwise than help the poor

woman, and gave her a little money'; he compulsively contravenes his own 'cruel to be kind' dictum.

This struggle between attraction and repulsion is mirrored in the way that the *ILN* follows such damning reports with illustrations that portray a simple, ragged way of living, but not one that would, on its own, incite the fury that similar sights seem to spark in the Coalville reformer. The engravings, as the text readily admits, are not designed to accompany Smith's words. They are taken from sketches by a London artist and, unlike the descriptions and engravings of paintings, are not supposed to be reproductions of the same content as the text. They are, however, expected to work in harmony: mothers cradling children, for example, confirm that infants are, indeed, born on the hard ground under a torn tent. The harmonious message does not detract from the ambivalent reaction it garners. The reader is asked to find tent life so awful that it must be sanitised, if not eradicated. At the same time he or she must absorb all the picturesque details of the cauldron hung on a prop over a fire and men whittling pegs. To look away in disgust, one has to have been looking closely in the first place.

The series continues the following week, this time illustrating the interior of a van (figure 7). The text introduces the sketch as one of 'the singular habits and rather deplorable condition of these vagrant people, who hang about, as the parasites of civilisation, close on the suburban outskirts of our wealthy metropolis', describing their Notting Hill habitation as uglier even than the Hackney Marshes (*ILN*, 13 December 1879, p. 545). The only clue in the illustration to the location of the scene is the shadow of chimney pots through the van's cracked window. The text, though, in the manner of George Smith, describes the camp as 'squatting within an hour's walk of the Royal palaces and of the luxurious town mansions of our nobility and opulent classes', as if the squalor of the Gypsies might somehow pollute or

encroach on the cleanliness and morality of Bayswater (13 December 1879, p. 545). Such complaints are strongly reminiscent of today's *Daily Mail*, a paper that, according to Catherine Hughes, since its nineteenth-century beginnings caught an aggressively patriotic mood but never used the visual image to the effect that the *ILN* managed.[22]

Having made the Gypsies out to be a threat to all that London holds dear, the 1879 *ILN* article goes on to suggest that rather than civilising savages in Africa, the people of Britain might turn their attention rather closer to home. A similar theme, frequently remarked upon by critics, is taken up by Charles Dickens in a chapter of *Bleak House* (1853) entitled 'Telescopic Philanthropy', and elaborated through the character of Mrs Jellyby who neglects her own children in favour of the natives of Borrioboola-Gha.[23] The beneficiaries of a more microscopic philanthropy are not, in the first instance, to be the Gypsies themselves, but rather the 'respectable' people whose lives are blighted by the presence of two or three vans 'in full view of their bedroom or parlour windows' (13 December 1879, p. 545). The ambivalence of the *ILN*'s attitude promotes is evident in the contradiction in lamenting the horror of having to look out of one's parlour window to see a Gypsy caravan, only to reproduce that very sight on its pages. The curious emphasis on the bedroom, the site of middle-class sexual reproduction, is also symptomatic of a taboo desire for the exotic and sexualised Gypsy other that is nonetheless encouraged by images such as John Phillip's *The Spanish Gipsy Sisters.*

The text proceeds to make explicit what has so far been implicit in the 'Gipsy Life Near London' series. It admits that 'the interior of one of the vans, furnished as a dwelling-room, which is shown in our Artist's Sketch, does not look very miserable'. Indeed, with its covered bunks, stove, wooden (if dilapidated) furniture and herbs hanging from the roof, it seems quite the opposite. Once again, though, Smith's testimony supplements what the

image cannot show: 'these receptacles of vagabond humanity are often sadly overcrowded. Besides a man and his wife and their own children, the little ones stowed in bunks or cupboards, there will be several adult persons taken in as lodgers' (*ILN*, 13 December 1879, p. 545). It seems that, despite what is illustrated, another three children might clamber out from under the table at any moment. Despite appearances, Gypsy life is a squalid, overcrowded and dangerous one.

The mutual supplementarity of text and image was successful in convincing the middle classes of the need for action, as Smith's pet project, the Moveable Dwellings Bill, was a popular one. Proposals for this bill, designed to deal specifically with van dwellers, were put forward between 1877 and 1894. A Select Committee heard evidence on the issue (including that of Smith), but the Bill was rejected because it duplicated existing powers, not because of any parliamentary discomfort at the Draconian control over private space that the registering and inspecting of vans implied (Mayall, *Gypsy Identities*, p. 259). Episodes like these bear out Barthes' assertion that it is at the level of textual control over an image, ensuring the reader comprehends the severe disadvantages experienced by the children in the van, that the morality and ideology of society are invested. Smith's view became widespread, as Mayall notes: 'his legacy is evident in contemporary accounts and reports which justify persecution and harassment by recourse to Smith's language and imagery' (*Gypsy Identities*, p. 264). The lasting effect of his words can only have been helped by their repetition on the pages of the *ILN*.

In the last of the series of 'Gipsy Life Round London' articles, appearing early in 1880, Smith's estimates of the number of Gypsies living around London are repeated for the fourth consecutive week. Smith's figures are now generally believed to be inaccurate, but their anxious repetition, week after week, makes them start to sound like fact. The Gypsies

are described as 'living in the manner of Zulu Kaffirs rather than of European citizens' (*ILN*, 3 January 1880, p. 11). The aim of this comparison may well have been, again, to draw charitable impulses away from Africa and towards the poor of London, but the effect is to emphasise the stubbornly non-European identity of the British Gypsy. The middle-class readers of the newspaper had to deal with the problematic notion that another (and as they saw it, inferior) culture existed at the peripheries of, and even encroached on, their own. It had to be marked as different, definitively outside their parlours and most definitely outside their own bedrooms, but this difference was itself threatening. The Gypsy had to be marked out, and the readers of the *ILN* had to be horrified by what it was that did so: their living arrangements, their family relationships, and, when it came down to it, their race. The quotation above begins by talking about lifestyle (something which can be legislated against) but shifts to the question of race within a few words. The two are, as this naturalised discursive transition demonstrates, inseparable when referring to Gypsies in the nineteenth century.

Once more, in this article, there are things that the text may not make explicit. The collective voice of journalists and editors blusters: 'far be it from us to say or suspect that the gipsy stole [a] horse', by which it implies that the reader should suspect exactly this. Rather than directly point the finger of suspicion at the Gypsy, the text suggests that the reader will find the truth of the matter for him- or herself in the illustration by saying, 'the Sketches we now present in illustration of this subject are designed to show the squalid and savage aspect of gipsy habitations' (*ILN*, 3 January 1880, p. 11). There is, of course, no way of telling whether any of the items in the accompanying pictures have been stolen, and the tents and vans do not appear squalid, but squalor is a subjective term and something such as dirt is not easily discerned in a line engraving. The reader is expected to read there what the text tells

him or her to find. More complicatedly, the reader is expected to find in the illustration what the text has apparently told him or her *not to*, such is the power of negative suggestion. It is tempting to say that the text and image add up to something more than the sum of their parts, but this implies that the two forms work together as two presences to *re*present doubly the lived experience of Victorian Gypsy life. On the contrary, the figure of the Gypsy read in the reportage pieces of the *ILN* is a product of the relationship *between* the two as they supplement each other's deficiencies while effacing these gaps. The text tells the reader that the picture shows exactly what it has been saying all along, while the picture demands that the text explain precisely what happens within its frame, and what will happen in the future beyond it.

The written description of a visual image, ekphrasis, reveals, according to Heffernan, 'a profound ambivalence toward visual art, a fusion of iconophilia and iconophobia, of veneration and anxiety'. To represent the visual image in words is, he adds, 'to evoke its power — the power to fix, excite, amaze, entrance, disturb, or intimidate the viewer — even as language strives to keep that power under control' (p. 7). The image of the Gypsy presented in the *ILN*'s reporting of 'Gipsy Life Near London' has the power to entrance — shown in the serialisation of the articles, guaranteeing readers for the next week — but also indicates anxiety about confronting the racial and cultural other. The Gypsy camp is seen as an encroaching threat to the morals and cleanliness of the capital's moneyed classes, but a threat that is scrutinised to a fetishistic extent. The fear that the Gypsy and the Gypsy way of life portrayed in the illustrations will appeal *too much* to the very people that the *ILN* expects to consume it is evident in the ways in which language strives to keep the image under control. In this instance, then, not only is the form disturbingly powerful, but the

content is too. Iconophilia and iconophobia is exhibited in the *ILN*, but this formal vacillation reflects the fusion of Gypsophilia and Gypsophobia to be found on its pages.

As I described in my first chapter, the fetish develops as a strategy for coping with two conflicting ideas, such as desire for and fear of the Gypsy. The reader is supposed to be appalled by the Gypsy, as instructed by anti-Gypsy campaigners like Smith, but cannot help looking. The alternating bitextual demands of 'look at this' and 'be disgusted by this' constitute one of the processes by which the nineteenth-century Gypsy is fetishized, why certain features (their eyes and hair, for example) come to stand so reductively but evocatively for the race as a whole. Combined desire and repulsion, philia and phobia, demand that an object be put in place to block the psychical confusion of these contradictions. The caricatured glassy-eyed, stealing, dirty and sexual Gypsy is this object. In these articles in the *ILN*, language strives to keep the power of the image and of the Gypsy under control by demanding that the reader is disgusted by the way of life depicted. However, it strengthens the power of the image by alluding to things that the text finds, literally, unspeakable, but which may be read in the image by the power of suggestion. The *ILN* asks readers to be excited by the disturbing and amazed by the intimidating and, in so doing, help to produce the Gypsy as fetishized object.

Conclusion

Mitchell concludes his article with the assertion that the difference 'between verbal and visual representation [...] provides an occasion for literary confrontations with the Other' ('Ekphrasis and the Other', p. 716–7). In this chapter, the confrontations of written text and visual image on the pages of the *ILN* have been examined as occasions for confrontations

between racial others: the Victorian reader of the newspaper (who is assumed to be, for the most part, the white bourgeoisie) and the textually constructed Gypsy. What, then, does the *ILN* put to the press? What is its archival legacy if the ideologies of its historical moment are invested in the relationship between text and image?

The *ILN* hopes to present itself as an authority on the times, which must include Britain's preoccupation with the other within. The Gypsy is portrayed as a racial and cultural other to be simultaneously feared and desired. The full picture is apparently provided by text and image supplementing each other, but rather than simply add something to a form that already fully represents the Gypsy, the bitextual page of the *ILN* is a weave of differences: the difference between writing and illustration, between presence and absence, fullness and lack, between derision and desire, and knowledge and secrecy.

In reproducing paintings of Gypsies through engravings and written descriptions, the *ILN* uses ekphrasis to mask the problems each form has in making the Gypsy present. The existence of the 'original' painting (another representation) haunts this gesture of effacement. Its presence in the relationship as an absent referent means that the differences in content in description and engraving are noticeable. They refer not to each other, but to a genre that the *ILN* elevates, Art. The ekphrastic supplement exists to try and avoid these differences and so is fetishistic, producing a fetishized Gypsy. The *ILN*'s archive thus contains a metonymic figure, whose body (eyes, hair and skin) and location (marginal, outside) come to stand for a whole discourse of race and class identities, including morals and values. When a text covers over the image's mute sychronicity by explaining that the illustrated figures are about to go stealing, for example, it uses the figure of the Gypsy to show its authority, its unity, and its success in representing life.

In the factual reporting of Gypsy life, the text and image together produce a figure that is an object of derision and desire; it is awful, but something to be looked at nonetheless. The *ILN* puts to the press a figure of the Gypsy which seems to offer its reader certainty about race, class, culture and identity. The trace of the ambivalences and differences that this figure masks, however, is also there.

Earlier in the chapter I identified one of the differences between psychoanalysis, which bears a resemblance to ekphrasis in its narrativisation of psychical images, and the *ILN*'s ekphrastic textual accompaniment to engravings. The former regards memory as dynamic, while the text in the *ILN* removes the uncertainty of the future for the pictured Gypsies, predicting their actions in a reversal of the cliché of the Gypsy fortune-teller. The next chapter takes up the idea of responsibility to an unfixed future and continues with the discussion of the role of the archive in any temporal textual relationship. I examine how one's responsibilities to the past and to future generations, framed by the term 'inheritance', are defined by but also define notions of race and gender in the work of George Eliot.

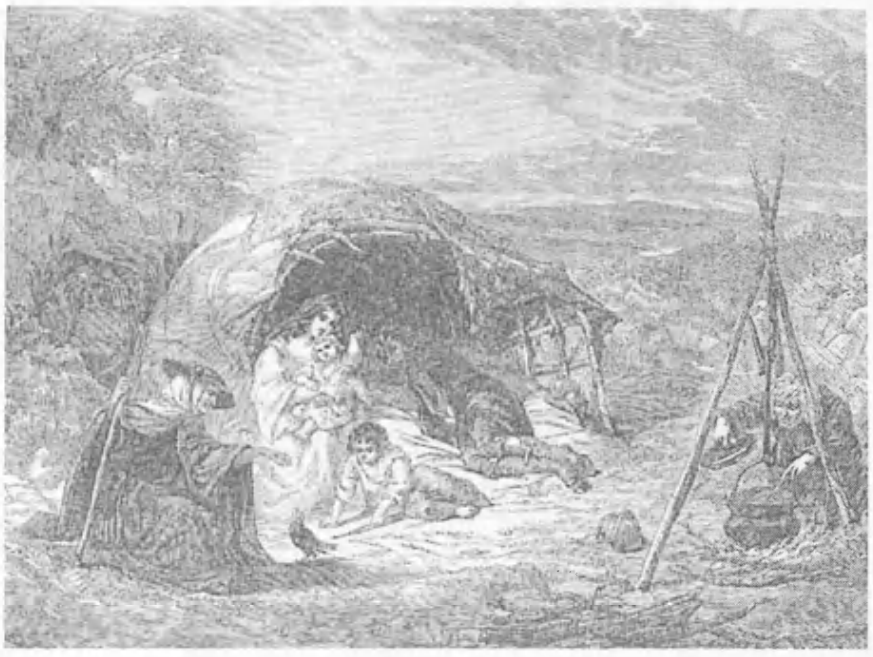

Figure 1
Frederick Goodall, *A Gipsy Family of Three Generations*, engraved by George Dalziel (*ILN*, 12 February 1848, p. 87).

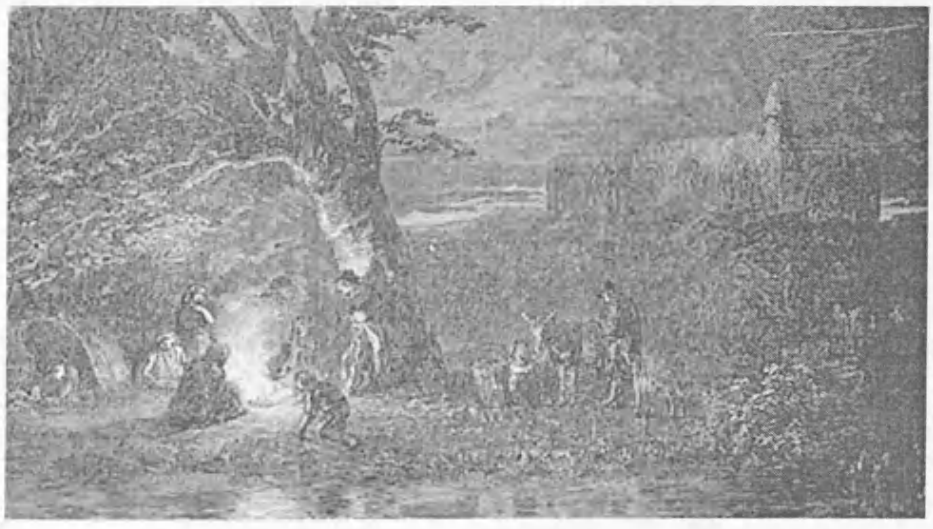

Figure 2
George Haydock Dodgson, *Gipsies — Twilight*, engraved by Edmund Evans (*ILN*, 20 June 1857, p. 610).

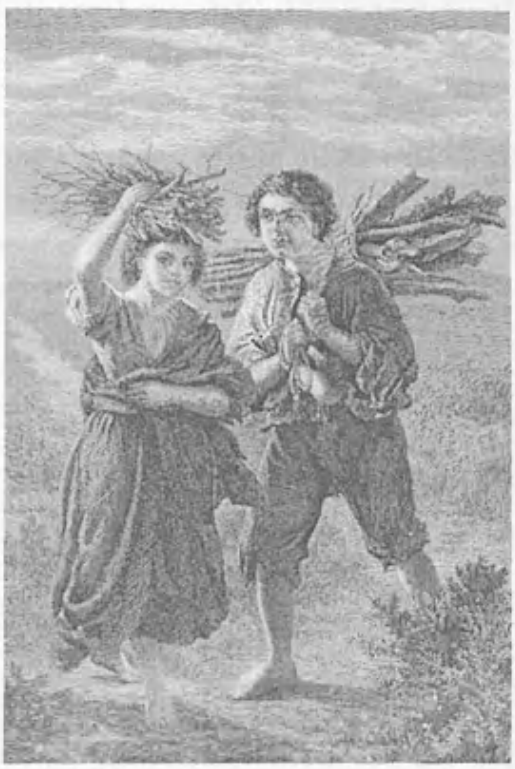

Figure 3
Alfred Rankley, *Gipsy Children Gathering Wood*, unsigned engraving (*ILN*, 1 February 1873, p. 101).

Figure 4
G. Richter, *A Gipsy*, engraved by W. B. Gardner (*ILN*, 2 May 1874, p. 424).

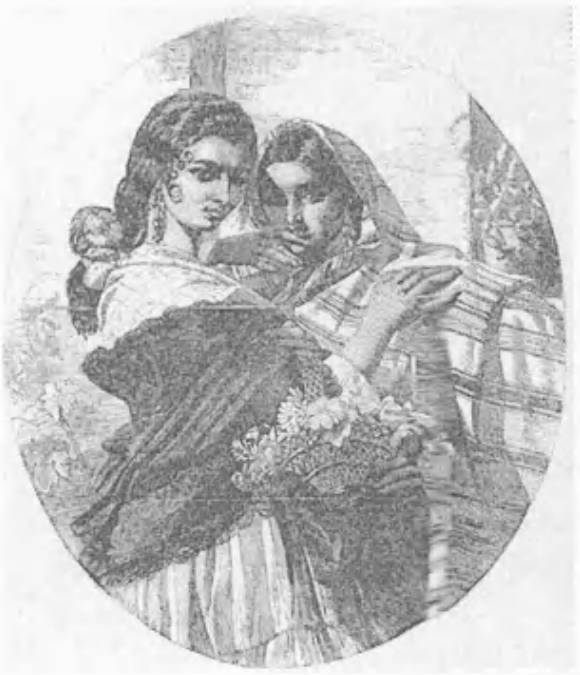

Figure 5
John Phillip, *The Spanish Gipsy Sisters*, engraved by Orrin Smith (*ILN*, 27 January 1855, p. 88).

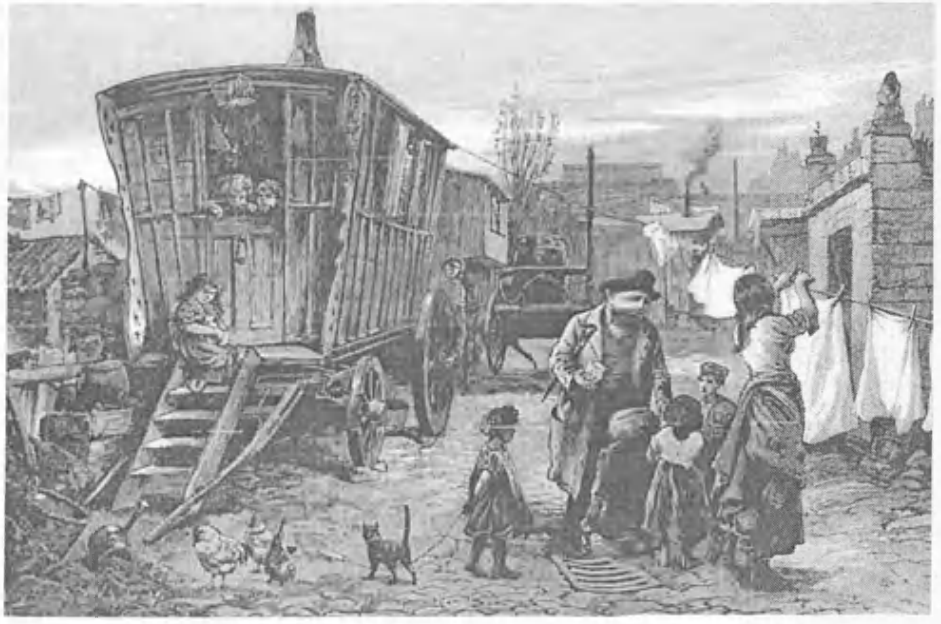

Figure 6
William Heysman Overend, *Sketches of Gipsy Life: An Encampment Near Latimer-Road, Notting-Hill*, unsigned engraving (*ILN*, 29 November 1879, p. 504).

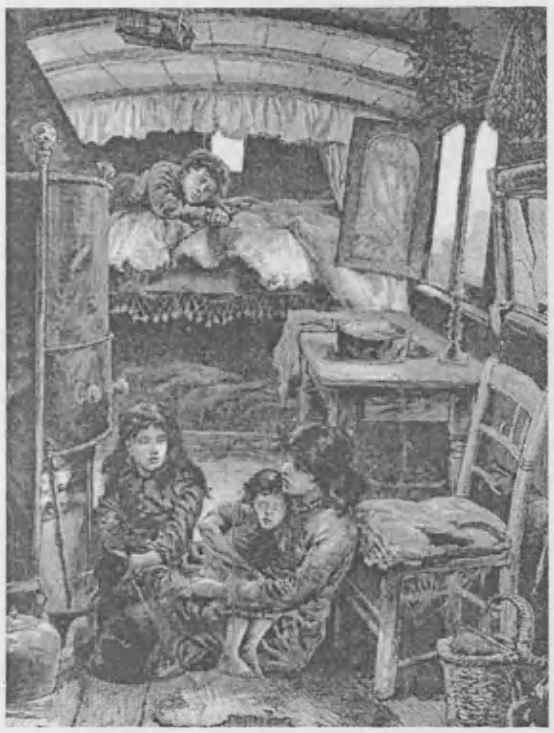

Figure 7
[William Heysman Overend], *Sketches of Gipsy Life: Interior of Van Near Latimer-Road, Notting-Hill*, engraved by W. J. Palmer (*ILN*, 13 December 1879, p. 545).

4

Gambling with George Eliot: Gypsy Women, Jewish Men, and Their Inheritances

Gwendolen Harleth, the spoiled young heroine of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876), marries the cruel Henleigh Grandcourt to save her family from poverty and herself from work. Strangely, before she has even met him, she appears to suffer a premature reaction to his untimely death. Once married, she becomes desperately unhappy with the path her life takes and repeatedly wishes for her husband's demise. Not only does she feel guilt and complicity after he drowns because she has hoped for it so much, but she also suffers a prevision of his drowning face in a macabre painted panel at her family home, Offendene. When she first sees the panel with a 'picture of an upturned dead face, from which an obscure figure seemed to be fleeing with outstretched arms', she does not like it, calling it 'horrible', but the expression of her distaste is measured. The unpleasant scene is locked away but, thanks to the curiosity of her younger sister, flies open some time later in the midst of the family's amateur dramatics. This time, the 'dead face and the fleeing figure [were] brought out in pale definiteness by the position of the wax-lights'. Gwendolen gives a 'piercing cry' and looks 'like a statue into which a soul of Fear had entered'.[1]

The narrative provides no logical reason for Gwendolen's extreme reaction to a frightening picture, even when the reader learns later that she is occasionally subject to such bouts of terror and self-doubt when on her own. The fear is all too real, but it emanates, apparently, from a psychic rather than material reality. After her callous husband's death, Gwendolen repeats that she saw a dead face that she 'shall never get away from' (p. 590). She becomes like the fleeing figure locked with the pale, dead face in the picture that returns

to haunt her. In a normal temporal sequence, one might understand if someone who has gone through a traumatic experience such as watching her husband drown was disturbed by a ghoulish picture. But it seems that Gwendolen cannot escape Grandcourt's dead face even *before* the 'original' event that might have been expected to have caused such trauma. The reader does not know when and if the event, or death, took, takes, or will take place, or whether it does so 'in phantasm or delirium'.[2]

The strangeness of the incident is emphasised when compared to the response of the deeply-emotional Caterina (at one point compared to a 'gipsy changeling') to the death of Captain Wybrow in Eliot's much earlier *Mr Gilfil's Love Story* (1858).[3] She proceeds to a secluded part of the estate known as the Rookery, intent on killing the Captain who, after behaving like her lover, has spurned her for a more socially acceptable wife. However, she finds him already dead when she gets there. She whispers that because she meant to do it, 'it was as bad as if [she] had done it' (Eliot, *Mr Gilfil*, p. 182). Caterina experiences feelings of guilt despite her lack of actual culpability but, unlike Gwendolen, has no sensation of it beforehand. While Gwendolen ought to be upset by a picture that reminds her of her husband's desperate last struggle, in *Daniel Deronda* the reminder comes before that memory can possibly exist. It is *re*cognised before cognition.

The reader is made to wait. For what, he or she cannot know. It is 'the event that cannot be awaited *as such*', fitting Jacques Derrida's description of the messianic.[4] He explains: 'we prefer to say *messianic* rather than *messianism*, so as to designate a structure of experience rather than a religion' (*Specters*, pp. 167–8; original emphasis). The Messiah is never guaranteed; if it were, no faith would be required. One gambles on the possibility rather than the certainty of the prophesied but unseen return.

The focus of this chapter is Eliot's textual attitude to the radical unknowability of the future in *Daniel Deronda*, her last novel, and in her less familiar narrative poem, *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868). In *Deronda*, the text not only contains but produces a messianic experience. The work of Gillian Beer is helpful in explaining the phenomenon. She proposes that *Deronda* is 'a novel haunted by the future'.[5] The 'absorbing unpredictability of what is to come' is emphasised in the novel, she explains (p. 191), but in a way that differs from most novelistic encounters with the future, and indeed from Eliot's other work. In *Middlemarch*, for example, the uniformitarian ordering of events 'is reassuring to the reader in that it creates an infinitely knowable world' (p. 181). The outcome may be presumed safe in the hands of the author; there are no gambles here. 'The novel as a form', Beer notes, 'is particularly dependent on the future for its pleasures. The reader reads *on*'. She adds that within most texts 'the future is covertly converted into retrospect. The future we are about to read has already been inscribed by author and experienced by characters'. Beer sees Eliot diverging from this structure in *Deronda*, 'liberat[ing] the future into its proper and powerful state of indeterminacy and yet mak[ing] it part of the story' (p. 185).

I suggest that what Beer identifies in *Deronda* can also be seen at work in *The Spanish Gypsy*, and that the different ways in which Eliot's protagonists encounter the future and their pasts are caused by and help to construct their race and gender. The chapter interrogates how something I term 'narrative messianicity', a textual attitude emphasising the alterity of the future, is related to the archive, to 'a *politics* of memory, of inheritance, and of generations' (Derrida, *Specters*, p. xix; original emphasis). The archive as cultural inheritance is a gamble because one does not know anything of the future it anticipates and who will inherit the archive.

Eliot explored the necessity of this sort of illegibility in her 1859 novella, 'The Lifted Veil'. Latimer, 'weary of incessant insight and foresight' was happiest when 'the curtain of the future was as impenetrable to [him] as to other children', but he becomes 'a miserable ghost-seer', horribly haunted by a future he has seen. All his decisions, ones that ultimately make him unhappy, are based on knowing the outcome in advance.[6]

Messianism is often understood as an exclusively Jewish experience, which is why Derrida finds it necessary to make a distinction between messianism as a particular example of the messianic, and the general structure of the messianic itself. My fourth chapter explores the ethics of inheritance in this order, by taking Eliot's 'Jewish novel' to elaborate on the ethics of the messianic and its relation to inheritance, and then analysing a similar experience in a non-Jewish context in *The Spanish Gypsy.* In 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', an essay in Eliot's last published work, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879), Eliot discusses the specificity of Jewish cultural inheritance, a continuity of 'national education', creating in the Jews 'a feeling of race' and 'the ties of inheritance both in blood and faith', a way of 'remembering national glories'.[7] Race and inheritance are implicated in each other.

As the title of Derrida's *Specters of Marx* suggests, memory and inheritance are haunted by both the past *and* the future because a 'spectral messianicity is at work in the concept of the archive', an archive that is 'a movement of the promise and of the future no less than of recording the past'.[8] The writings that Mordecai feverishly works on for the future of his religion in *Deronda,* for example, are haunted by the future reader about whom he knows nothing. The practice of archivization always anticipates a radically unknowable future reader or inheritor, 'the absolute and unpredictable singularity of the *arrivant as justice*', the coming of the other (*Specters*, p. 28; original emphasis).

In *Archive Fever*, Derrida makes clear the connection between the unknowable future-to-come that archival writing entails and the wager (p. 18). A pledge (in French, *gage*) to the future is always also a gamble or a wager (*gageure*). There is always the risk that the gamble will not pay off, that the never-fully-knowable other will not be all the archivist needs him or her to be; he or she may defy all constructions. The archive may go unread by its intended recipients as the archivist blindly anticipates what it might come to represent to those who inherit it. The archive waits for something that it outlasts, but when that inheritor arrives the archive is no longer what it was. The other from the future-to-come is radically unknowable because he/she/it never arrives in a recognisable form. To come from the future is to demand a wait without end, to demand messianic faith.

This chapter looks closely at how ideas of familial and cultural inheritance are affected by the differences in representation of the Gypsy women and Jewish men to whom the archive is bequeathed. Men and women inherit differently, and race is gendered in *Daniel Deronda* and *The Spanish Gypsy*. As Sander Gilman argues, the locus of the Jew's difference in Western representation is his circumcised penis.[9] Jewishness is therefore aligned with a particularly marked (and, in some representations, compromised) masculinity. Gypsiness is feminised in *The Spanish Gypsy* in less easily locatable ways, but feminised nonetheless. It is important to note that when Eliot uses the term 'race', it is understood that she refers to a collective tradition reinforced by blood ties rather than a solely biological category.[10] This collective tradition is continued for the sake of the future of the race, but my contention is that it is also *about* the future; the future is both the purpose and the content of the archives in these two texts.

The chapter is not a survey of the construction of otherness in Eliot's work, nor even of her representation of the Gypsy. (Alicia Carroll has comprehensively discussed the

range of Eliot's work on the Gypsy and how its collective themes intersect with the question of gender). Rather, I concentrate on the differences between the experience of messianicity in just two texts. A sustained analysis of *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) is a casualty of this approach, but the chapter contains sporadic reference to this well-known and critically well-mined example of writing about Gypsies, particularly in the second section where issues of gender are more acute.[11]

Joseph Wiesenfarth describes *The Spanish Gypsy* as 'justly neglected' but, nevertheless, important to the study of *Deronda* because 'elements of literary structure that are inchoate in it are more thoroughly realized when they appear again in *Deronda*'.[12] He is not alone in seeing the poem as an earlier working out of ideas and themes that are perfected in the later novel. This, along with the chronology of their publishing, suggests that one might discuss *The Spanish Gypsy* as a precursor to an analysis of *Deronda.* However, Eliot's rendering of messianicity in its traditional and recognisable Jewish context (messianism) is examined here in terms of how it affects both the fictional lives of characters (including Gentiles such as Gwendolen) and the narrative itself. The structure of what becomes the messianic (rather than a specifically Jewish messianism) is then applied to the collective tradition of Gypsy culture as presented by Eliot in *The Spanish Gypsy.* This sequence is not just a self-conscious echoing of the troubled temporal order under discussion. Rather, it is a way of using Derrida's theory of the archive and inheritance to retrieve Fedalma as a female Gypsy protagonist in her own right, rather than seeing her as just an unfinished Daniel Deronda. Fedalma's future is about more than being transformed into a male Jew.

Uncertain heirships

The pledge made by the archivist, preserving a record for the future without knowing what that pledge entails, is a wait without end or horizon (Derrida, *Specters*, p. 65). As this section describes, this definition of the archivist includes Mordecai, and Deronda's grandfather, Daniel Charisi. The length and nature of the wait and the otherness of the *arrivant* all lie beyond a horizon that forms the boundary of presence and knowledge and is itself unreachable. Knowledge of the future-to-come is, like the horizon, continually receding. To take Derrida's remarks back to their Heideggerian influence, 'there is *constantly something still to be settled*'.[13] The disjunction between the radical otherness of the future beyond the horizon and the present does not mean that that future is wholly absent; its presence is felt partially, spectrally and unexpectedly.

So desperate is Mordecai, *Deronda*'s religiously committed consumptive, to pass on the 'spiritual product of his own brief, painful life' that he repeatedly recites Hebrew writings to the son of the Cohen family that offers him charitable shelter, despite the boy's incomprehension of either the language or its sentiment (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 404). 'The boy will get [the words] engraved within him', he believes; 'it is a way of printing' (p. 408). Derrida proposes in *Archive Fever* that the archival technique of printing 'has commanded that which in the past even instituted and constituted whatever there was as anticipation of the future' (p. 18). It is precisely an anticipation of the future that occupies Mordecai in his fervent instruction of this member of the next generation. The method of his conservation determines not just the structure of what he wishes to conserve, but also its content; his technique anticipates a future on which an impression is made. To consider what should be

spiritually preserved, Mordecai must have questioned who the future followers of his religion will be, and how they will listen and read.

Mordecai operates in a context where Jews are condemned 'on the ground that they are obstinate adherents of an outworn creed' and because they 'maintain themselves in moral alienation from the peoples with whom they share citizenship'. They are, apparently, 'destitute of real interest in the welfare of the community and state with which they are thus identified' (Eliot, 'Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', p. 154). In the sphere of politics, Jews were admitted to the House of Commons in 1858 and there were several prominent Jewish politicians in Europe in the late nineteenth century, including Benjamin Disraeli, Edward Lasker in Germany and Léon Gambetta in France. Nevertheless, Jews were considered by many 'altogether exceptional' because of their religion, its practices, and their race (Eliot, 'Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', p. 148).

Mordecai's task absorbs him to the extent that he becomes distraught that his marginal archival technique of writing in Hebrew might prevent, rather than facilitate, the proper 'transmission' of his religion (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 405). Deronda, his newly-won soul-mate, reassures him that 'for what [he has] actually written there need be no utter burial' (p. 428). He concedes with this statement that all archivisation involves a degree of entombment, but that this need not necessarily be a process of forgetting. For Mordecai's work the form of impression institutes and constitutes 'a *pledge*, and like every pledge (*gage*), a token of the future' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 18; original emphasis). Mordecai's concern is inspired by the fact that this future is radically unknowable. Will the Jews of the future understand Hebrew? If he believes this language to be the only proper means of communicating ideas, what possible ideas might be embodied in a non-Hebraic Jewish future? Who will the readers of the future archive be and what will be their interpretation?

These questions cannot be answered during the archivable event, but the answers are awaited while Mordecai constructs his legacy.

Specifically, he waits for a 'blooming human life, ready to incorporate all that was worthiest in an existence whose visible, palpable part was burning itself fast away' to whom he might bequeath the inheritance that 'has been gathering for ages'. As he writes the archive for an unknowable future, he awaits the arrival of one who might continue his work, 'the hope of [his] race' (Eliot, *Deronda*, pp. 406; 428–7). He has visions of the Being who will come, but these are not of the type that Latimer suffers in 'The Lifted Veil'. Eliot's description of 'foreshadowing power' in her introduction to Mordecai and Deronda's relationship is a narrative device that produces a certain mysticism about Mordecai's feelings. This mysticism, along with the melodramatic tone of some elements of the story, helps to mask the unlikely coincidences that both feed and undermine the realist plot. Second sight, as the narrative voice makes clear, is 'a flag over disputed ground' and, one might add, its fluttering distracts the reader from disbelief (p. 404). Cynthia Chase proposes that 'Deronda's assumption of the identity of Mordecai's prefigured friend is shown to be a consequence of Mordecai's act of claiming him' (p. 221). Mordecai's visions do not predict the future; they arise from the certainty of his belief in the arrival of one who will continue his work, and this certainty produces something that matches his vision.

The other for whom Mordecai waits, what Derrida would call the *arrivant*, is abstractly labelled 'the Being' by Eliot. This abstraction signifies that the other comes from beyond the horizon of the knowable. It also makes visible the retrospective connection between the idea of anticipation in *Deronda* and Martin Heidegger's conception of Being as bounded by the horizon of temporality, from which Derrida's theory of the future-to-come takes its lead. Heidegger's noun is *Dasein*, that which experiences Being, while in *Deronda*,

Being is the noun. Despite this grammatical difference, similar philosophical questions are raised by Heidegger, Derrida and Eliot (and it is impossible not to notice the echoes of 'Derrida' in 'Deronda'). Mordecai authentically anticipates the arrival of the other while facing up to his own imminent death (Heidegger, p. 386). In doing so, he looks, literally, with his 'far-off gaze' towards the horizon (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 326):

> For a long while, he habitually thought of the Being answering to his need as one distantly approaching or turning his back towards him, darkly painted against a golden sky. [A] favourite resort of his, when strength and leisure allowed, was to some one of the bridges, especially about sunrise or sunset. (p. 406)

Mordecai's ebbing life is taken over by the wait for that which has been promised, the possibility of a spiritual future life. In waiting to bequeath a Jewish archive via a spiritual inheritor, Mordecai stares death in the face as his own life burns fast away.[14] Staring towards the sunrise or sunset does not bring the horizon any closer. It reinforces the alterity of the other, an intangibility reflected in the language used by Eliot to describe it.

As Deronda sails down the river towards Blackfriars Bridge, his eyes catch a familiar face,

> looking towards him over the parapet of the bridge — brought out by the western light into startling distinctness and brilliancy — an illuminated type of bodily emaciation and spiritual eagerness. It was the face of Mordecai, who also, in his watch towards the west, had caught sight of the advancing boat, and had kept it fast within his gaze, at first simply because it was advancing, then with the recovery of impressions that made him quiver as with a presentiment, till at last the nearing figure lifted up its face towards him–the face of his visions–and then immediately, with white uplifted hand, beckoned again and again. (p. 422)

When Mordecai sees Deronda it is 'as with a presentiment', an impression of something about to happen, especially one with no apparent or definite foundation (*OED*). Not only is this impression uncertain, Mordecai reacts '*as with* a presentiment'; even this indefinite feeling is described provisionally. His faith in a messianic arrival is a gamble; there is no guarantee that the Being will respond to his messianic interpellation. Mordecai beckons

'again and again', while Deronda signals anxiously himself. Recognition is a theme that threads through the novel, and it is symptomatic of a wider cultural anxiety that racial difference may go unnoticed, that the Jew will pass. In *Deronda*, recognition is always at risk. For Mordecai, 'the prefigured friend had come from the golden background, and had signalled to him: this actually was: the rest was to be' (p. 422). Even at this moment when that which Mordecai has anticipated becomes actuality, when from the golden horizon a Being appears who liberates the very question of Being from the present and the now, there is still more to come: 'the rest was to be'; there is constantly something still to be settled.

The chapter now returns to the narrative alinearity of Gwendolen's (p)reaction to her husband's drowning. The incident is based on Gwendolen and the reader being denied knowledge of the future, and it can be used to think about the ethics of inheritance. A feature of narrative messianicity is a formal disjunction that draws attention to the ethics of the novel in relation to an unknowable future. Gwendolen could be said to suffer under a regime of justice that she helps to construct, precisely through her attitude to risk and to the future. Her marriage to Grandcourt is a gamble for the sake of a settlement: the financial security of her family and the more selfish reason of not wishing to work as a teacher or governess.

She says that 'it was like roulette', but chastises herself because the risk was largely on someone else's part rather than her own (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 593). She initially promises Lydia Glasher, her romantic predecessor by whom Grandcourt has three children, that she will not marry Grandcourt herself. In making this promise, she sanctions a situation that makes Lydia's son Grandcourt's heir; it is a pledge to the next generation. There are several instances in the novel where the class system, particularly the notion of marrying well so as to maintain capital within the upper classes (or gentrifying the wealth of the nouveau riche),

is criticised by the actions of female characters. In another example, Catherine Arrowpoint disagrees with her parents about her engagement to Klesmer, the Jewish musician (a man with a 'deuced foreign look'). 'Why is it to be expected of an heiress that she should carry the property gained in trade into the hands of a certain class?' she asks. 'That seems to me a ridiculous mish-mash of superannuated customs and false ambition. I should call it a public evil' (Eliot, *Deronda*, pp. 210–11). The good of the next generation, both Catherine and Gwendolen imply, will not be determined by the rigidity of the class system and primogeniture, but by acting responsibly and choosing the right course of action in that generation's name. Gwendolen, however, is unable to keep her promise once her own financial situation changes.

She repeatedly attempts to destroy the archive of her promise by burning the note delivered to her by Lydia and attempting to hide away the diamonds that come to symbolise her betrayal. Convinced that she deserves the cruelty Grandcourt inflicts on her and the horror of his death because she married for the wrong reasons, she seeks moral guidance from Deronda. Her only consolation can be, he suggests, to see her life as a debt. Derrida asserts, 'there is no inheritance without a call to responsibility. An inheritance is always the reaffirmation of a debt', a debt to previous generations and a debt of responsibility towards the future (Derrida, *Specters*, pp. 91–2). She must reaffirm the debt that she owes to the next generation and the debt she inherited from her father under the banner of his financial legacy, the very thing that propelled her into the social world she now inhabits. His money was made in the West Indies, undoubtedly through slavery. This fact 'seemed to exclude further question' (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 17). Perhaps the time has come for her to ask some of those questions?

Inheritance as the reaffirmation of a debt is the major difference between it and any other form of gift because, according to Derrida, the structure of the gift is such that there is no debt.[15] The difference between inheritance as the reaffirmation of intergenerational debt and other forms of gift has implications for the way Daniel Deronda receives his inheritance and for his relationship with his mother. These relationships are also all bounded by time.

Deronda, a political and ethical young man in search of both his parental origins and future direction but still, to all intents and purposes 'an Englishman', meets the spiritually driven Mordecai through his search for the long-lost family of Mirah, the Jewess he saves from drowning herself, little knowing that Mordecai is actually her sibling (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 311). He fails to recognise the early import of this relationship. The two men form a relationship with 'as intense a consciousness as if they had been two undeclared lovers' and Deronda is convinced by Mordecai's rhetoric about the cause of 'the unity of Israel, [its] dispersed people looking towards a land and polity' and 'the dignity of a national life' (pp. 424; 454). Only after his conviction for this cause and a deep interest in the written texts of the Jewish cultural archive have developed with Mordecai's teaching does Deronda discover that he too is a Jew.

He has been recognised as such both by Mordecai on their first meeting and by Joseph Kalonymos in a synagogue in Frankfurt (in another instance of foreshadowing that makes the indeterminable future part of the story. There has been no other indication to him throughout his life that this may be where his roots lie. Raised from a young age by the Christian Sir Hugo Mallinger, his estranged mother tells him that she was born amongst devoutly believing Jews, saying, 'I was born amongst them without my will. I banished them as soon as I could' (p. 565). Dying, Daniel's mother, the Princess Halm-Eberstein makes her revelation about his birth. The 'shadows' of the dead she has wronged rise round her as she

gives Deronda the truth about his family at last (p. 539). Kalonymous accuses her of 'going down to the grave clad in falsehood' and of the robbery of her own child (p. 547). She has robbed him, apparently, of a Jewish identity. As an infant, it was not an identity that had any political meaning for him. At a time in his life when such a subjectivity does become meaningful, he has virtually achieved it anyway through his relationship with Mordecai without knowing the secret of his birth. She tells Deronda that he owes her no duties. She does not reject his affection but has 'nothing to give' in return (p. 543). There is no debt and thus no inheritance from his mother. Deronda's relation to the (m)other is, nevertheless, structured by the demands of inheritance, a relation that affects narrative time.

Because, narratively, Deronda's semi-conversion occurs before his heritage is revealed it seems that Deronda was born a Jew because he embraces Judaism, as opposed to Mordecai's recognition that those beloved ideas came to him *because* he was a Jew first. As Chase proposes, the disclosure of Deronda's Jewish birth,

> as far as the plot is concerned, is the event with causative powers; yet it appears, too, as a mere effect of the account of Deronda's emerging vocation. [...] It is a chiasmus or metalepsis, a reversal of the temporal status of effect and cause: cause is relocated in the present and effect in the past. (Chase, p. 218)

In other words, Deronda's conversion appears to cause his parentage rather than the other way around. This metalepsis is, in fact, what enables his mother to reveal his Jewishness at all. She gives him the gift of his politico-racial identity symbolised in the passing on, via Kalonymos, of his grandfather's chest, a family archive. His 'grandfather, Daniel Charisi, preserved manuscripts, family records stretching far back, in the hope that they would pass into the hands of his grandson' (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 640). What this giving (not bequeathal) entails is a relation between the observant and the non-observant Jew, between the believer and the renouncer, between an oppressed woman and her son.

As the opening to this chapter proposed, the disentombment of a corpus of knowledge is part of an ethics and a politics of memory, of inheritance and of generations. Derrida explores the etymology of 'archive', from the Greek *arkheion* — a house and the residence of magistrates. The Charisi chest is, in this vein, an '*eco-nomic* archive' or 'nomological' meaning that it keeps something, saves it and puts it in reserve, but also makes the law (*nomos*) or makes 'people respect the law'. It has the force of this law, 'the law of the house (*oikos*), of the house as place, domicile, family, lineage, or institution' (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, pp. 2; 7). Deronda's mother takes the drastic step of giving him up whilst he is still a child to have him brought up by Sir Hugo Mallinger because of the force of this law. The archive is, in this instance, the law of the family, of lineage and of the religious institution of Judaism that she has found, as a woman, so oppressive and desires to cast off. But it has also kept this law in reserve, saving it for Deronda so that he, too, may save it by believing in it. The chest economically reserves the law of her father's house (of which her marital home is, by virtue of the close genetic relationship between her and her cousin-husband, an extension), a house from which she felt she must remove herself and, in order to disrupt the lineage, her son.

As Marguerite Murphy emphasises, social bonds are 'reinforced through gift and inheritance' and thus 'guarantee the biological and cultural continuity of the "race"'. She adds that 'Eliot won't let the reader forget that even seemingly essential social practices have their victims, especially when the culture is a patriarchal one'. For Deronda's mother, 'this cultural inheritance is imprisoning'.[16] She cannot renounce her past or her desire for freedom from the patriarchal law. Deronda finds his mother but no maternal law. He can offer his affection but cannot expect reciprocation. For him to feel duty towards a dying mother who returns his filial love merely because it is offered undermines her sacrifice and

her escape. This negotiated and delayed gift makes its offering possible. It makes Deronda's inheritance possible by coming via the mother who has consciously absented herself from the natural line of inheritance. He does not inherit from her, but from his grandfather.

Murphy identifies the Princess as 'a successful producer of wealth' because of the distance she puts between herself, her son and their patriarchal inheritance, but she adds that she 'fails to maintain this break', making it sound like a failure or retreat (Murphy, p. 192). It is not the maintenance of the break between mother and son that matters, despite the Princess's feeling that she has 'been forced to obey [her] dead father' by even seeing Deronda (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 541). The temporal break between Deronda's birth and the discovery of his identity is more significant, the fact that he earns rather than simply receives his inheritance is what matters. The Princess's eventual contact with Deronda is no compromise. On the contrary, she reinstates the notion of inheritance on her own terms, imbuing it with a just attitude towards gender that the patriarchal law of this archive otherwise denied to the future.

Her distance from Deronda and the effect this has on the symbols of inheritance are evident in their names. She has long-since jettisoned 'Charisi' and is not even referred to very often as 'Leonora' but as someone else entirely: the Princess Halm-Eberstein. Deronda's name is not an invention, coming from another branch of the family, but it is not that of his father. In *The Spanish Gypsy*, too, Fedalma's name was given to her by Don Silva's mother when she was adopted. Her Gypsy name given by her birth parents is never revealed. The significance of inheriting, marrying and assuming a name would not have been lost on 'George Eliot'/Mary Ann Evans/'Mrs Lewes'/Mrs Cross.

Deronda has already found, or rather constructed, a Jewish identity. When it is no longer his mother's to give, she can give it. Without the delay, everything would be

reinscribed in the traditional Jewish patriarchal law if she follows her own father's wishes. She, the other, the reverse-convert, would be subsumed by its force. It is not just a narrative sleight of hand that causes the metalepsis of Deronda's Jewishness. Deronda's not-knowing about his past and developing a Jewish identity is the condition for the revelation from his mother that he is Jewish. This not-knowing is the condition of the messianic future and the only way in which he may inherit the chest, the archive, the promise to the future which, by accepting the heirloom, he now makes. Deronda anticipates nothing concrete, is not obliged to his mother and labours towards the uncovering of his archival inheritance, whatever that may be. The disjuncture means that his mother passes on the archive without literally bequeathing it and that Deronda, in failing to expect any unproblematic inheritance (as, for example, Grandcourt does in the novel), may now justly accept a generational promise to the future.

A just relation to the future and the other who resides there can be understood in terms of acknowledging the unknowable. The Jew in *Deronda* is, at times, constructed as a straightforward racial and religious other, a construction whose negative figurations are classically described as being based on fear of the unknown. Jews were seen, like Gypsies, as a kind of outsider within, a fact recognised by Mirah as she expresses that she is 'English-born. But [...] a Jewess' (p. 164). Her self-image is largely shaped by the prejudice she has encountered throughout her life. When she expresses her relief at being treated kindly by the Meyricks she even says, 'I am a Jewess. You might have thought I was wicked' (p. 170). She is correct to express doubt about how she will be viewed, considering the opinion of those who are her seeming rescuers.

Michael Ragussis has described how, in the nineteenth century, the concerns of European nationalism and colonialism began to apply also to 'the Jewish question' as

'foreigners' were excluded at home in order to help define what it was to belong to a certain nation, and native others were governed and converted abroad.[17] The Jew should either assimilate or leave, thought many in Britain. Eliot undoubtedly draws on the existence of such organisations as the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews for the attitude of the Meyricks and others. Deronda himself assumes that any Jew not conforming to the stereotypes of either ostentatious wealth or 'lurk[ing] in by-streets' like Mirah's desperate, gambling-addicted father 'had dropped their religion, and wished to be merged in the people of their native lands' and is surprised that 'Judaism was something still throbbing in human lives, still making for them the only conceivable vesture of the world' (Eliot, *Deronda*, pp. 176; 306). Amy Meyrick hopes that Mirah's religion will 'gradually melt away from her and she [will] pass into Christianity like the rest of the world' (p. 306). Hans, enamoured with Mirah, 'had a secret desire to neutralize the Jewess in private life, which he was in danger of not keeping secret' (p. 418). The repression of Judaism, then, like the repression of Hans' secret, is an active force in the society into which Mirah enters. She insists, however, that she could not stop being a Jewess, even if she changed her belief (p. 317). She associates her own suffering as an individual with that of her 'People', thinking of how 'they had been driven from land to land and been afflicted' (p. 189). For Mirah, to be a Jew is to belong to a collective experience of history and it is because she is born amongst these People that she has the religious belief she does.

There are Jews in the novel who are drawn as fully developed characters (Deronda, Mordecai and Mirah) but also those who merely fit a shallow, negative stereotype: Mirah's father, 'one of those clever Jews', in the sense of being conniving, is one such figure. There is the pawnbroker, Ezra Cohen, an 'unpoetic Jew', and the 'unscrupulous' pawnbroker who trades Gwendolen's necklace at the novel's opening (pp. 183; 331; 14). These stereotypes

are shown up by Eliot to be precisely that, however. Deronda is later 'almost [but not quite] ashamed of the supercilious dislike' he felt for the Cohens (p. 334). And it is Gwendolen who is at fault for risking all her winnings at the roulette table and having to pawn her necklace for a train ticket home. Mirah's father is unredeemably pathetic, but his children are virtuous and will not turn him away or deny him when he finds them, little though they have.

There are differences, too, between the ways in which the three principal Jewish characters encounter their religion; Eliot resists writing a homogenised Jewish experience. Both Mordecai and Mirah claim to be of the Jewish people first and follow Judaism upon this foundation. Deronda, meanwhile, interprets a politics and an ethics that coincides with Judaism and then later becomes at one with his people. As he explains to Kalonymous, his forefathers 'changed the horizon of their belief and learned of other races'. He holds that his first duty is to his people, and 'if there is anything to be done towards restoring or perfecting their common life' he will make it his vocation (p. 620). He intends to work towards a state beyond the known European Jewish experience. That this attitude is distinctly colonialist is part of its ethical problem. The state will blend the ostensibly Christian teaching he has received throughout his life with a commitment to the Jewish people he now joins. As Pierre Macherey draws out in an appraisal of *Specters of Marx*, 'an inheritance is not transmitted automatically but is reappropriated'.[18] Deronda reappropriates the belief of his fathers as part of his duty to his people, a reappropriation that is itself part of a tradition.

The authorial move to have Deronda blending his Christian upbringing with his Jewish heritage is not unproblematic, however; it could be interpreted as Eliot investing her hero with a belief in a diluted version of Judaism, making him slightly more acceptable to the

reading public of nineteenth-century Britain, suspicious of the cultural, racial and religious other. Ragussis describes how 'the story of Moses in Egypt was used in Victorian England, especially in the 1870s, to underscore the idea of the secret Jew who subverts and eventually destroys the dominant culture in which he lives' (Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 236). The threat of Deronda as a Moses-like figure is mitigated both by his mission to found a Jewish state on foreign shores rather than destroying the dominant British culture, and by his refusal to cast off his upper-class, Christian family.

On the other hand, the nature of Deronda's conversion and the differences between this and Mordecai's faith offer an opportunity to read, as I have begun to do, the possibilities of narrative messianicity as part of an ethical relationship with the unknown other in the future. In the three examples I have used, Mordecai waits for a literal Messiah, a saviour of his people who is as yet unknown and resides beyond the horizon of knowability. Mordecai's experience is of both Messianism in a religious sense and the messianic in a structural sense. Deronda, posited in the messianic role, must also wait and work for *his* Jewish inheritance. Even when it is handed to him he relies on Mordecai's scholarly skill to interpret his past in order to form a political future. While Mordecai's responsibility to the future is manifested in his haunting by the spectre of the future-to-come, the development of Deronda's ethical responsibilities makes up the *Bildungsroman* element of the novel, following his developing potential. In 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', Eliot describes how, to be 'a complete man', the individual must belong to a nation 'if not in actual existence yet existing in the past, in memory, as a departed invisible, beloved ideal, once a reality, and perhaps to be restored' (p. 147). Deronda's journey to find the memory of the nation to which he belongs and which he might work to restore is also the story of his ethical education.

Gwendolen is haunted by an event that she cannot possibly predict and her later misery is based on the repression of this spectre. Had she acted responsibly towards the next generation, to Henleigh junior whose inheritance she threatens through her cynical marriage, her own happiness would not necessarily have been guaranteed but she would not have been gambling with other people's futures.[19] Ironically, it is another gamble that, in the first place, results in her difficult decision-making on the question of marriage. She claims, initially, that she 'never saw a married woman who had her own way' and therefore resists that state (she has never met the Princess Halm-Eberstein) (p. 57). However, Grapnell and Co., 'having also thought of reigning in the realm of luck, and also being bent on amusing themselves, no matter how, had brought about a painful change in her family circumstances' (p. 132). Gwendolen's troubles reveal that the ethics of inheritance, of the future beyond the horizon of knowability, is not necessarily exclusively an imperative of Jewish belief. Rather, in *Deronda* one finds a narrative messianicity that structures both the issue of Jewish identity and Gwendolen's womanly lot. It does this by disrupting the reader's safe expectations of temporality, meaning that the future-to-come and past negotiations with the future constantly haunt the action. Both readers' and characters' relationships with the alterity of the future help to define what a just relationship between the one and the other might entail: risk, labour and interpretation.

The chapter now turns to assess how Fedalma's inheritance in *The Spanish Gypsy* differs from Deronda's, and what the causes and effects of these differences might be.

'I will eat dust'

Set in fifteenth-century Andalucía, Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* tells the story of another protagonist adopted by a family of a different race. This character, too, is posited as a messianic figure who will lead the race to a new, unpersecuted future in a distant homeland. Here, in contrast to *Deronda*'s male Jew, the protagonist is a female Gypsy. This difference is not merely incidental, for her gender as well as the apparent differences in cultural traditions between Jews and Gypsies mean her life and her mission are oppressively haunted by the possibilities of failure and unhappiness.

Fedalma, raised in luxury and as a Catholic by her fiancé Don Silva's family, was 'born beneath the dark man's tent'.[20] In a reversal of the usual child-stealing plot involving Gypsies, she was snatched from her Gypsy parents by 'marauding Spaniards' during a raid against the Moors (p. 139). When her father, Zarca, is also captured by the Spaniards, he recognises her, contrives a meeting and discloses her heritage. With the acceptance of this heritage comes a commitment to leading her people, a role that means leaving her lover behind. While I do not entirely agree with Wiesenfarth's evaluation of the poem as one that 'cannot be thought very important in and of itself' (p. 214), there are clear narrative similarities between *The Spanish Gypsy* and *Deronda.* The textual differences produced by Fedalma's and Deronda's race and gender are illuminating in terms of Eliot's portrayal of Jews, Gypsies and women.

Deborah Epstein Nord comments on 'Eliot's need to repeat Fedalma's plot so exactly' in her last novel, a repetition that 'underscores the unresolved and highly problematic nature of the Spanish Gypsy's story'.[21] Nord identifies 'the highly equivocal conclusion of *The Spanish Gypsy*' as related 'to problems of history, collective memory, and

origin, as well as to those of gender' (p. 122). While she touches just briefly on these problems at the end of her chapter on Eliot, my analysis uses her identification as a starting point and foregrounds the differences in collective memory and inheritance in its discussion of the poem. These are also questions of duty, responsibility and choice, as the chapter has already described in relation to *Deronda*. Eliot also indicates this in 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' when Theophrastus Such comments on how one should 'cherish [one's] sense of a common descent as a bond of obligation' (p. 146).

Having used moments of *Deronda* where time appears to fold back on itself to illustrate the ethical implications of relationships with the past and an unknowable future (something I termed narrative messianicity), the chapter now discusses these ethics in *The Spanish Gypsy*. The structure of the poem is far less complex than the novel, however. There are moments where later incidents are predicted in the text, for example when Roldan's deceased wife is described as having 'quick feet' and dancing 'to ravishment | Of every ring jewelled with Spanish eyes', in anticipation of Fedalma's controversial performance in the Plaça, but these are far less indicative of a relationship with time than those in *Deronda* (Eliot, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 17). Perhaps the most salient of these rare moments is when Zarca's solemn face strikes Fedalma as 'a dark hieroglyph of coming fate', but this is not a prevision in the vein of Gwendolen's reaction to the painted panel at Offendene (p. 71). The publication of the poem itself also anticipates the concerns of *Deronda*, a sort of intertextual messianicity, as the poem waits for the return of its themes and ethical concerns with no foreknowledge of *Deronda*. More importantly, though, a just relationship with the future can be discerned from the detail of Fedalma's relationship with her father and the vocabulary used to negotiate it, and in Eliot's use of imagery. The significance of much of this imagery

would not be at all conspicuous without its development in *Deronda*, but this does not mean that the text is unimportant in its own right.

In *The Spanish Gypsy*, there are few groups who are truly at peace with each other. The Moors are recognised as a dangerous enemy by the Castilian Spanish, but the tread of 'western chivalry' can now be heard as knights draw on the heritage of 'mighty ancestors' (p. 6). The inquisitors are busy burning heretics, be they Jew, Gypsy or noncompliant Catholic. The Jews themselves have been largely banished but for those who have converted to Christianity or are considered a necessary part of the economy. As Blasco says, 'Jews are not fit for heaven, but on earth | They are most useful', likening them to mules, oxen and, presumably with offensive intent, to pigs. They carry out 'useful sins' and, in so doing, 'save Christian souls' (pp. 47–8). 'Blasco' is not an uncommon name in Spain, but sounds like to 'blaspheme' or speak ill. The reader should not be surprised, then, at his voicing the most extreme comments of the conversation.

The focus of the poem, however, is on the Gypsies' treatment at the hands of the Spanish. When Fedalma's lineage is revealed she asks whether she could really have been born 'of a race| More outcast and despised than Moor or Jew', a people 'crushed underfoot, warred on by chance like rats, | Or swarming flies, or reptiles of the sea' (pp. 142–3). Gypsies are clearly badly treated in Bedmár, imprisoned, forced into slave labour for their metal-working skills and, when they escape, pursued. The first mention of the poem's Gypsy prisoners emanates from the tavern-banter in which Lopez is engaged. He comments:

> Some say, the queen
> Would have the Gypsies banished with the Jews.
> Some say, 'twere better harness them for work.
> They'd feed on any filth and save the Spaniard. (p. 47)

Lopez's rhetorical distance from these slurs is similar to the way Heinrich Grellman perpetuates negative stereotypes (described in the Introduction) and the narrative style of *Guy Mannering* as elaborated in Chapter One. The Gypsies in Eliot's poem are not imprisoned merely because of Castilian dislike of this racial other, despite the familiar rhetoric about Gypsies' unpleasant eating habits (also mentioned by Blasco): they are captured because this tribe allies itself with the Moors. There are two reasons given for this alliance in the poem. The Spaniards killed Zarca's wife, Lambra, just an hour after she gave birth to Fedalma (p. 141). This violence against the leader of the tribe and king of the Spanish Gypsies means that their allegiance to their enemies' enemy is unquestioning. There is a deeper connection than the memory of this wrong, however. After the vanquish of Bedmár, Zarca interpellates the 'Moors and Hebrews' of the city as 'Our kindred by the warmth of Eastern blood!' (p. 332). Something bodily, yet also mystically non-European, connects the three groups.

The physical descriptions of Fedalma using the terms in which Gypsies were typically visually figured in the nineteenth century are surprisingly sparse, other than some references to her darkness. This is one indication of Eliot's portrayal of race as a shared experience that goes beyond mere physical resemblance. A similar construction can be found in *The Mill on the Floss.* Tom excludes Maggie from a game in favour of their cousin, Lucy, and, in an oft-quoted passage, Maggie, 'with a fierce thrust of her small brown arm, was to push poor little pink-and-white Lucy into the cow-trodden mud'.[22] The incident, something Carroll terms 'brown on pink-and-white violence', encapsulates the early differences between Maggie and Lucy and draws particular attention to their different complexions (Carroll, p. 45). It clearly has the same effect on Maggie as it does on the reader, for she decides, in the ensuing chaos,

to flee to the Gypsies with whom she has so often been compared and to whom Lucy seems to be the diametric opposite.

Maggie, apparently, 'always looked twice as dark as usual when she was by the side of Lucy' and has, in a familiar image, 'gleaming black eyes' (Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, pp. 166; 61). There is no suggestion that Maggie actually has Gypsy blood to which both her colouring and wildness could be attributed. Rather, the figure of the Gypsy is used to inform a vocabulary in *The Mill on the Floss* with which the novel describes differences: of beauty, of moral code, of relationships with the other. Aunt Pullett laments to her sister, Maggie's mother, that Maggie is 'more like a gypsy nor ever' in the way she looks, but doubts that 'it'll stand in her way' in the future (p. 125). The key word in this observation is 'like': the use of the Gypsy as a simile demands *a priori* knowledge from the Pullets, Tullivers and the reader about what this signifies. In this case, the unspoken expectation is that having brown skin *will* hold Maggie back, but that the gap between the real Maggie and whatever it is that 'Gypsy' signifies is great enough for her to be able to fall back into line with what her family and community expect of her.

When she sets off to find the Gypsies she is looking for confirmation of the things that the term has come to mean to her, the part of herself that is caught in its web of meanings. The chapter in which her escape takes place is titled 'Maggie Tries to Run Away from Her Shadow' (p. 168). She is running from her own darkness, away from her comparatively fair cousin and brother, away from difference and opprobrium and towards an environment with which she will be in harmony. Her identification with the Gypsies fails, however, and she ends up running away from them too. Her shadow comes to stand for her comparative darkness in a white world, the dark reflections of herself she expects to find, and the futility of trying to escape from something produced, as a shadow is, by her

own body. Despite the fact that the face of a Gypsy woman she encounters 'with the bright dark eyes and the long hair was really something like what she used to see in the glass before she cut her hair off', she does not feel at home with her: physical resemblance is no guarantee, in *The Mill on the Floss*, of racial identification (p. 172).

When Fedalma returns to her Gypsy life, her black hair is pointedly contrasted by a white turban (Eliot, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 250). In a song, Juan sets up Fedalma's attractiveness as a peculiarly dark and exotic kind of beauty, coming from some 'unknown afar'. He wonders if he should 'long that dark were fair' and proclaims that 'in her dark she brings the mystic star', an intriguing feature to be drawn out considering the poem's Spanish context and the likely appearance of Fedalma's countrywomen (pp. 40–1). Dark hair and olive skin would not have been particularly unusual, let alone mystically different. As Carroll notes, however, 'Eliot twice records the skin colour and racial origin of the tribe of Gypsies she has chosen to represent', a tribe descended, according to her sources, from Africa (Carroll, pp. 152–3, n. 28). The setting may be Spanish, but the text is resolutely English in the projection of darkness as remarkably other. The dual meaning of the word 'fair' in Juan's question, meaning not just light but, more generally, good-looking, also problematises the very idea of a dark kind of beauty within his musical dedication, as if the appeal of pale loveliness is self-evident, whilst darkness raises questions and doubt about desire for the other. Fedalma belongs to Zarca's tribe who, collectively, are described as having 'coal-black eyes' and white teeth, emphasising the distinction between light and dark once again (p. 240).

There is a recurrent theme of feline imagery throughout the poem. Another song of Juan's describes Fedalma as 'lithe as [a] panther forest-roaming' (p. 43), and he refers to a group of Gypsy girls as 'wild-cats' (p. 246). The narrative voice labels them 'the tribe | Of human panthers, flame-eyed, lithe limbed, fierce' (p. 310). The Prior says that Fedalma's

blood is 'as unchristian as the leopard's' (p. 83). Fedalma describes the blood-tie between herself and her father as being like when 'leopard feels at ease with leopard' (p. 153). The image reinforces the notion of the Gypsy as overwhelmingly physical and efficient in that physicality and directs attention, once more, to the Gypsies' eyes. Zarca himself names his 'Zíncali, lynx-eyed and lithe of limb' (p. 331).[23] The poem goes on to say that it is this animalistic existence that makes them apparently 'Unrecking of time-woven subtleties | And high tribunals of a phantom-world' (p. 310). Without a textual history, it seems, time does not leave its mark.

The Gypsies are not haunted by the phantoms of the past, but this is no positive feature of their cultural lives, for, the line implies, it is the negotiation of such hauntings that develops moral awareness — the 'high tribunals' that lead to a subtle understanding of human action. In this, they are profoundly different from the Jews portrayed in *Daniel Deronda.* The Gypsy race, Zarca says has 'no great memories', but he knows of 'the rich heritage, the milder life, | Of nations fathered by a mighty Past', such as the learned relation to their past fostered by the Jews (p. 143). God has not given the Gypsies laws, and they have no 'dimmest lore of glorious ancestors' (p. 142). The Gypsies' faith is 'taught by no priest, but by their beating hearts': the 'mystic stirring of a common life' is inspired not by shared texts but by 'silent bodily presence' (p. 145). While this presence apparently circumvents the need for writing, the poem in fact deconstructs the opposition between the presence of the speaking body and the absence implied by the necessity of writing; images of the textual and the bodily, and presence and absence, are combined.

When Zarca's face is described like a hieroglyph, his body becomes a form of writing. He also predicts that his people's 'deeds shall speak like rock-hewn messages' (p. 272). The deed, a human action, speaks of what it is and what it does as it happens, in the

present. But the importance and weight of these particular deeds is such that they almost make a permanent record in the landscape. Action becomes engraving. The significance of these apparent oppositions to the continuation of shared traditions is discussed in more detail later in this section. What is important to note at this point is that, despite the frequency with which the Gypsies are described in animalistic or ahistorical terms, the idea of some form of 'writing' as a way of passing information from one person to another, or one generation to another, finds its way into these descriptions.

Another example of this is the gold necklace given to Fedalma by Silva. It has been stripped from Zarca, and when Juan saw this happen he thought that the 'baubles' lost their grace rather than the man (p. 51). The 'twisted lines' of the necklace seem to speak to Fedalma 'as writing would, | To bring a message from the dead, dead past' (p. 114). Fedalma feels an emotional yet unidentifiable connection to the jewellery and it transpires that she played with it fifteen years earlier, when it adorned her father's neck (p. 137). It is a kind of family archive, but it is a text that must be worn.

In its wearing it does not act exactly like Jewish *tefillin* or phylacteries, though there are similarities, particularly as the object becomes a written yet worn reminder of obligation. In *Daniel Deronda*, one of the Jewish laws that so disgusts Daniel's mother is that 'men should bind the *tephillin* on them, and women not'. For her, it is a reminder of inequality and 'the shadow of [her] father's strictness' (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 540). The obligation for Fedalma is to the dead past, not to God's law. The jewellery passes from one generation to the next, from Fedalma's apparently dead past to the lived present, making a spectral connection.

The necklace as a haunting trace of the responsibility one has to the unknown other (which, as this section outlines, Fedalma's introduction to her heritage constitutes) invites comparison with Daniel Deronda's retrieval of Gwendolen's necklace, a comparison that

Wiesenfarth takes up, though to make a different point. Gwendolen subsequently displays the necklace in recognition of Deronda's action despite tempting the wrath of her husband. The three turquoises of her necklace 'had belonged to a chain once her father's', but she never knew her father (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 13). The necklace represents an inter-generational archive that passes specifically into the hands of a female recipient with the expectation that it will later be bestowed on a daughter as yet unborn. What is striking here is that both Gwendolen and Fedalma receive their necklaces, however indirectly, from their fathers. This suggests that the figure of the archon, the guardian of the archive in Derrida's reading, one with the power to interpret the archive which recalls, calls on, or imposes the law, is still patriarchal (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 2). Even though the archive is manifested here is an object with distinctly female connotations, the law it represents is still that of the father. In this sense, there is something phylacteric about the paraphernalia. The major difference between this symbolically-worn writing and the *tefillin* is that Fedalma's necklace speaks *like* writing but is not, itself, written. Where the *tefillin* are writing become objects, the necklace is an object become writing. The law of the father is embodied in the links of the necklace, physically passed on as the object changes hands yet also representing the possibility of a binding link between past, present and future.

Both narratives disrupt 'normal' patrilineage in order to negotiate a female role in inheritance but also to mark the significance of inherited objects. Gwendolen is flippant about her turquoises, but their rescue from the pawnbroker comes to symbolise a relationship with Deronda that forces her to reassess her obligation to others. Deronda himself must learn to value Jewishness before the chest can be his. Fedalma's necklace speaks to her of the past before she knows what that history is and what it might mean for

her future; the necklace as a link to the past represents far more than just fashionable adornment.

Although this section focuses on the difference between Jews and Gypsies in Eliot's work, it would be remiss to ignore the passages of the poem where Fedalma is also marked as Jewish. At the moment that Fedalma's Gypsy origins appear to burst out from behind a façade of nurtured control when she dances in the town square, she is likened to the biblical Miriam who 'on the Red Sea shore' dances and leads 'the chorus of the people's joy' (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 64). The event celebrated by Miriam's dance is the parting of the waters, allowing her brother, Moses, and the Israelites safe passage. Moses' journey was to the Promised Land and, as Wiesenfarth and Nord among others have commented, Fedalma is something of a sister to Deronda, himself a nineteenth-century Moses, and she mirrors his quest.

The calculating Prior, in trying to convince Silva not to marry Fedalma, draws a comparison between her and 'a thousand Jewesses, who yet | Are brides of Satan in a robe of flames', following Silva's protestations that she has, in fact, been baptised (p. 81). In Eliot's rendering of the Spain of the Inquisition, the performance of religion is never enough, particularly for those racial others whose genetic make-up apparently makes them more resistant to the improving power of Catholicism. Conversion is, Blasco notes in the tavern, 'slippery work' (p. 32). Silva retorts to his uncle, the Prior, that Fedalma 'bears no marks | That tell of Hebrew blood', but the Prior insists that she 'bears the marks | Of races unbaptised', signalling that Jews and Gypsies pose the same (visible) risk (pp. 81–2). Later, the Prior refers to Fedalma as 'a lewd Herodias', alluding to the mother of Salome and a figure who was apparently instrumental in the execution of Saint John the Baptist. He insists that there is something perhaps unidentifiably yet dangerously other about her, and frames

this in terms of the more familiar Jewish outsider within who poses a threat to the homogenising Catholic power structure.

As the rest of the thesis shows, there was an abundance of familiar cultural material about the Gypsies on which Eliot could have drawn without recourse to the image of the Jew. In Bedmár, the focus of explicit concern about religious and racial otherness is clearly the Moors, with whom the Spanish are in active combat. Despite this overt threat, it is the insidious challenge of the other within Bedmár's city walls that provokes nervousness. One could say that the imagery of Jews and Gypsies are combined in the figure of Fedalma in order to multiply the effects of otherness. However, in my reading of Eliot's work I prefer to focus on the differences in the way these two groups are portrayed. Fedalma is, specifically, a Gypsy, and at no point is the reader encouraged to forget this specificity. By juxtaposing this identity with persistent mention of Jewishness, the Gypsy becomes the other other, stranger still than Jew or Moor, or, as Fedalma notes, 'more outcast and despised' (p. 142).

As the previous section outlined, Daniel Deronda's discovery of Jewish culture is not straightforward, but it is a largely cerebral response to the question of identity. He takes an interest in Mordecai's politics, is swayed by the arguments he hears in the Hand and Banner, and pursues writings on the subject. In contrast to Mordecai's feverish talk of the transmigration of souls and the like he is detached. His attitude fits with one of the stereotypes of the Jewish male as hyper-intellectual. On the pervasive notion and contestation of such intellectualism as part of a paucity of creative imagination, Gilman cites sources from nineteenth-century scientists such as Cesare Lombroso to the twentieth century's most infamous anti-Semite, Adolf Hitler (Gilman, pp. 129–31). The differences between Deronda's experience of his Jewishness on stereotypically male and Jewish terms,

and Fedalma's female experience of her Gypsiness, has an obvious bearing on both the racial and gendered constructions in the texts.

On hearing music in the square, Fedalma, cautiously disguised so that she might witness the activities of the people of Bedmár outside her normally cloistered existence, is 'swayed by impulse passionate' and begins to dance, moving 'in slow curves voluminous, gradual, | Feeling and action flowing into one'. Her behaviour is, apparently, unthinking, 'knowing not comment' (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 64). An 'impetuous joy hurrie[s] in her veins' (p. 71). Fedalma was nurtured in a restrained, aristocratic home, so the urge to dance so sensuously and indecorously in public comes, seemingly, from within: it is an instinct that she can no longer fight. Even her hair escapes from her scarf, the wreathing 'delicate tendrils' symbolising her finally irrepressible sensuality (p. 65). The verse explicitly describes her as being 'like a goddess', but the impression made by the snake-like movement of her hair is heavy with the resonances of Scott's Medusa-like Gypsy, Meg Merrilies, and Eliot's own Gypsy-like Medusa, Maggie Tulliver, whose thick, dark hair is her mother's shame and twirls about 'like an animated mop' (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 65; *Mill on the Floss*, p. 216). Even after she hacks off her own locks, Maggie looks 'like a small Medusa with her snakes cropped' (p. 161). Something other than her hair means that Maggie resembles Medusa, something that puts her in common with the Gypsies in a Victorian scheme of imagery.

Fedalma's dance is cut short by the tolling of the prayer bell, during which the Gypsy prisoners are led into the square. These events seem to happen, unbidden, to Fedalma, like the occasion on which her husband-to-be 'wished [her] once | Not to uncage the birds' they kept in the castle. She 'meant to obey' she tells him, 'but in a moment something — something stronger, | Forced [her] to let them out' (p. 90). Fedalma's emotional access to her Gypsy identity echoes the image of the race constructed throughout the nineteenth

century. Previous chapters have explored this image through readings of the other-worldly Meg Merrilies, the bewitching, childishly impulsive Gypsies written by Borrow and the Romany Ryes, and the wild Gypsies found on the pages of the *Illustrated London News*. The picture to which these examples add up is of a romantically mystical people, ruled by their passions and closer to the 'nature' that their self-fashioned, civilised commentators have left behind. Fedalma, Gypsy by birth and, as the poem describes, by politics, is seen to revert to type, feeling the desire for freedom at any cost that all Gypsies (so the stereotype goes) exhibit. She recounts that despite all her material 'bliss' she has 'longed sometimes to fly and be at large' to the extent that she has 'felt imprisoned in [her] luxury' (p. 105). She has a longing for liberty that haunts her dreams, 'a torrent rushing through [her] soul' that 'escapes in wild strange wishes' (p. 110). This is not to argue that Fedalma has some kind of racial destiny that she inevitably pursues, for, as the following discussion of the choices she makes demonstrates, the promise she makes to her people is a considered one.

Fedalma's passions are grounded in her racialised, gendered body, and another episode in *The Mill on the Floss* also demonstrates how Eliot constructs a notion of morality in St Ogg's that is somehow bodily. Comparisons between Maggie and the Gypsies in the novel are based on the expectation that the Gypsy is ruled by his or her passions, just as Maggie suffers a life-long struggle between her emotional drive and what her family and the wider community consider to be correct. When Maggie returns, unmarried, to St Ogg's following Stephen's bizarre pseudo-kidnap of her, the narrative observes, voicing the feelings of the townspeople, that 'there was always something questionable about her. [...] To the world's wife there had always been something in Miss Tulliver's very physique that a refined instinct felt to be prophetic of harm' (Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, pp. 620–1). The comment takes the reader back to Maggie's early life, and the loose connection between the

darkness of her colouring and the potential darkness that inhabits her decision-making. The moral problem of spending nights unchaperoned with a man is not associated with the literal behaviour of the Gypsies living on the outskirts of town, but it does have everything to do with sexual, and therefore bodily, transgression. Anxious attempts are made to identify when and where behaviour that does not fit the narrow boundaries of acceptability as defined by the social norm may erupt. The logic that the St Ogg's community apply when attempting to understand Maggie is the logic of racial discourse; physical difference is a visible signifier of moral difference.

In an image of the male Gypsy that corresponds to Fedalma's longings, Juan describes the power that Zarca has 'to check all rage until it turned | To ordered force, unleashed on chosen prey' (p. 51). He is not as impulsive as his daughter, but his control is like that of the panther to which Fedalma is earlier compared, instinctively waiting for the right moment to strike. As a prisoner, Zarca is stripped and, Juan believes, is 'more a king, when bared to man' (p. 51). He is, in other words, a noble savage. The inferences to be drawn from Fedalma's intuitive relationship with her ethnicity are multiplied by the fact that she is, in contrast to Deronda, female. In classical dualism, the female is associated with emotion while reason and logic are viewed as typically male traits. As Audrey Carr Shields notes, in Victorian fiction featuring Gypsy women there is often 'a combination of gender and race thinking, which produce[s] a stereotype of females whose lack of control is inherent'.[24] In the 1960s, Thomas Pinney compared Fedalma to Eliot's other heroines, interpreting her choice of father and people over Don Silva as a 'betrayal of trust and an offence against the integrity of personality'. He also made reference to Leslie Stephen's 1902 condemnation of Fedalma's doctrine as 'very bad morality'. Deronda, according to Pinney, remains 'uncommitted until he discovers his heritage', the 'lovely Mirah' being seen as a

consolation prize for his personal sacrifice rather than part of its appeal. In his reading, it is the female Gypsy who is affected by a 'grand passion', while the male Jew remains emotionally detached. The 'danger' of any personal affection is, apparently, 'neutralized by assigning him the widest possible preference — he will serve the whole race'.[25] This formulation leaves Fedalma in the state of being dangerously affected by emotional attachment — despite Pinney's recognition that private interests are superseded by inherited duties in the tale. The narrowing of Fedalma's focus onto her own tribulations is unsupported by a close reading of the text, but there are certainly differences between Fedalma's role as a female inheritor of the torch of her race and Deronda's messianism.

Fedalma appeals to 'mother life' as she agonises over her commitment to her people and the love she will leave behind. She says, 'even in the womb you vowed me to the fire', but continues: 'I'll pay the debt' (p. 161). The role of debt in relation to heritage is discussed further below, but here it is important to note Fedalma's feminization of life, and the fact that in making such a construction she talks of her own foetal role as part of a 'people'. She reminds the reader that she, too, is a woman with her own womb. She is expected, in her maturity, to carry life to a new homeland. The acquisition of this homeland comes at the cost of her personal 'procreative future', however (Nord, p. 109). Her womb and motherhood remain symbolic rather than actualised. Fedalma's womb is an empty space, but also a perpetual space of possibility. Analogously, she is represented as 'the funeral urn that bears | The ashes of its leader', and pledges her life as the temple of Zarca's trust (pp. 369–70). In terms of an antenatal and post-mortem commitment to her people, she is an empty vessel, both the engendered space of possibility but also absent of content. She shapes the future, but cannot fill it herself. It is this emptiness through which the echo of failure resounds. As she leads the people whose continued union is necessary to the

maintenance of the cultural memory of the Gypsies, she recognises that they will likely 'propagate forgetfulness'. The young men, missing the command of her father, have already sold their service to the Moors and will soon disperse (pp. 360–1).

Despite the differences between the racial identity of their protagonists, as in *Deronda*, *The Spanish Gypsy* sees Fedalma discovering an ethnic heritage that is also the acceptance of her cultural inheritance. It is at this narrative point that female Gypsy intuition becomes less important than a particularly female negotiation of legacy. Derrida's elliptical description of the ethics of inheritance does Fedalma far more justice than does Pinney's condemnation of her actions. Derrida says, 'an inheritance is never gathered together, it is never one with itself'. If it has any kind of unity, it is bound together by the '*injunction* to *reaffirm by choosing*'. To say "'One must" means *one must* filter, sift, criticize, one must sort out several different possibles that inhabit the same injunction'. They inhabit the injunction in a 'contradictory fashion around a secret'. He adds, 'if the readability of a legacy were given, natural, transparent, univocal, if it did not call for and at the same time defy interpretation, we would never have anything to inherit from it'. We would, instead, 'be affected by it as by a cause — natural or genetic'. Finally, 'one always inherits from a secret — which says "read me, will you ever be able to do so?"' (Derrida, *Specters*, p. 16; original emphasis). Fedalma must, like Deronda, filter, sift and criticize the implications of the secret of her past. She is not, as the reading of her instinctive identity might suggest, subjected to racial destiny. Her legacy requires interpretation, not quite in the literal way that the contents of Deronda's family chest demand translation from Hebrew, but just as significantly.

The complications of her relationship to the law of her father are immediately apparent. Her impulsive dance is predictably criticised by Don Silva and his conservative influences (the Prior, for example) but also by her father, whom one might have expected to

be, under the circumstances, more sympathetic. He accuses her of making sport 'for those who spit upon her people's name' (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 139). She promises, despite her shock at the disparity between the lot of her people and the environment in which she has been brought up, that she 'will eat dust' before ever denying the flesh from which she sprang (p. 141). Not only does this promise conjure images of a distraught woman reduced to tearing at the ground and bring to mind the Gypsies in Scott's *Quentin Durward*, it imagines her eating the very ground on which she has trodden, removing her footprints, absorbing the record of herself into nothingness. Zarca speaks of his people's deeds inscribed on rocks; these rocks are blown apart into dust and consumed by the one who turns away from them. For Fedalma to deny her heritage is to erase the substrate on which she and her people once trod.

There is more to her inheritance than accepting her Gypsy roots and contingent identity. Zarca informs her that even with her infant breath she swore to take heirship, pledging to be, like Deronda, the hope of her race. She is to be 'the angel of a homeless tribe', guiding them to a new land where they 'may kindle [their] first altar-fire | From settled hearths' (p. 147). Fedalma's gender is unavoidable as the heroic quest is reduced to the hearth, a domestic space, once it reaches its conclusion. Zarca is adamant, though, that Fedalma's promise to the future of her people stands her apart from the usual restrictions of her sex. She belongs, he tells her 'not to the petty round of circumstance | That makes a woman's lot, but to [her] tribe' (p. 156). Zarca does not entertain the possibility of Fedalma living as a woman unpossessed. He makes it clear that her positions as saviour of her people and Don Silva's wife are irreconcilable. She must sacrifice her personal happiness for the fulfilment of an inherited promise.

In her notes on the poem, written in 1868, Eliot describes how she wanted to tell the story of a 'young maiden, believing herself to be on the eve of the chief event of her life — marriage — about to share in the ordinary lot of womanhood, full of young hope', who discovers that 'she is chosen to fulfil a great destiny, entailing a terribly different experience to that of ordinary womanhood'.[26] Notably, Eliot's own reading of Fedalma's expectations shares a vocabulary with the view she writes for Zarca and, in an echo of Deronda's situation, Eliot's notes suggest that she makes Fedalma a Gypsy *because* her story is to be one of conflict, not the other way around. As Carroll points out in relation to 'Mr Gilfil's Love Story', her experience 'may have an ethnic mask, but its source is clearly based in domestic ideology' (Carroll, p. 39). As Eliot makes clear, she 'required the opposition of race to give the need for renouncing the expectation of marriage' (Eliot, *Life*, III, p. 42). The concerns of gender and race intersect.

Fedalma is not affected by what Derrida calls a genetic cause (being a Gypsy by birth), but reaffirms her inheritance by choosing. She suggests that she might obtain a degree of agency and the ability to help her people by marrying Don Silva and then publicly proclaiming her heritage, prompting her father to ask whether she will enslave herself in order to use her 'freedom'. Fedalma admits that she 'belongs' to her betrothed, but in a sense that implies a degree of equality (despite the disempowering position in which being raised as a foundling within a nobleman's family must necessarily put her) because they 'chose' each other. Eventually, Fedalma resolves to 'wed | the curse that blights [her] people' rather than the man she loves. It is a promise to the future; it is a commitment, in fact, to a promised land where she may lead her people, raise her standard, and 'make a nation — bring light, order, law'. The promise is similar to those made by Mordecai and Deronda: they come without a guarantee of success. As Zarca asserts: 'no great deed is done

| By falterers who ask for certainty' (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, pp. 148; 156; 163; 160; 162). Fedalma is forced, by the father from whom she inherits her tribal responsibility, to make a choice between the lover to whom she is promised (and the certain, associated material wealth and emotional satisfaction that such a union would bring) and the struggle for a homeland that may well end in failure.

The possibility of this failure is manifested at the end of the poem, where the image of the horizon, that boundary of the knowable, haunts the closing scene. As Fedalma steps on to the boat that will take her from the shores of Spain towards an uncertain future in North Africa:

> The eastward rocks of Almería's bay
> Answer long farewells of the travelling sun
> With softest glow as from an inward pulse
> Changing and flushing. (p. 357)

The image of the horizon, with the sun setting on the western expanse of the sea, is located in the picture without needing to be named. Indeed, the whole poem is drenched in the glowing light of sunrise and sunset; barely a scene begins without a description of the colour and quality of the light. For example, as Don Silva makes his decision to join the Gypsies, a crowd of witnesses gathers and 'the low red sun glows on them' (p. 303). In perhaps the most important scene of the poem, Fedalma's first glimpse of her father, a bell tolls. It is 'the note | Of the sun's burial' (p. 70). The horizon is constantly, if cryptically, used to frame the scene of the narrative present. It is no great imaginative leap to connect Eliot's repeated use of the horizon and a relationship with time as it has so far been described in this chapter. At the moment that the bell sounds, 'speech and action pause', the present is marked out by a note that signals the setting sun (p. 70). The changes and uncertainty that Fedalma's journey might entail are picked out by the 'flushing' beams of light that draw attention to the boundary beyond which the future lies.

In travelling to Telemsán (modern-day Tlemcen in northern Algeria, close to the Moroccan border) Fedalma does not travel literally towards the setting sun, but the fact that its effects tint the scene is a reminder of the presence of the horizon. This poetic device is necessary at this still land-bound moment of the poem's final scene as it is dark when she finally casts off, so dark that Silva can no longer tell where the sea ends and sky begins. I hesitate to use the term 'conclusion' to refer to where the narrative ends, for the poem is distinctly inconclusive. It opens outwards, and even the horizonal limit that structures any thought about what it is *to be* in Eliot's poetic world is made indeterminable. Just as Columbus seeks 'new shores' at the time the poem is set, a voyage that feeds 'an embryo future, offspring strange | Of the fond present' (p. 8), Fedalma launches her quest for a Gypsy homeland in Africa. The sunset is implicit as Fedalma imagines what is to come, a future born of the present but also strange, mutated, and other. As she 'seeks an unknown land' she 'bears the burning length of weary days | That parching fall upon her father's hope' (p. 360). As the sun sinks at the end of those weary days, it does not seem that Fedalma has much cause for optimism about whatever it is that lies beyond the horizon.

The future is a pressing burden on *The Spanish Gypsy*'s narrative, pessimistically affecting its vision of what is to come. Its tone did not affect the poem's popular reception, for within months of its publication, sales of the book demanded the printing of a third edition (Eliot, *Life*, III, p. 63). Deronda's voyage is, of course, framed in any twenty-first-century encounter with the text by the knowledge that a Jewish state will eventually be founded at almost incomprehensible cost. Whether and whither Romanistan, a Gypsy homeland, should be pursued is still debated today.[27] Aside from the reader's concerns about the future, however, there is a difference in tone between the two experiences of messianicity.

This is partly due to the fact that becoming 'the Spanish noble's wife' would also position Fedalma as 'a false Zíncala'. Accepting the 'heavy trust of [her] inheritance' means leaving Silva behind (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 294). By contrast, Deronda's course brings him closer to Mirah, the woman he loves, and they seek Israel together. Deronda's gamble, then, is one based on hope and companionship. Fedalma, on the other hand, sacrifices a happy life for a project whose failure she predicts with almost fatalistic doom, seeing 'the end begun' before even leaving Spain, 'the death of hopes | Darkening long generations', her own legacy to be one of disappointment (pp. 360–3). Yet still she goes, because 'a promise must promise to be kept' if it is to be emancipatory, if the messianism at the heart of *The Spanish Gypsy* is to conform to an idea of justice as a relation to the future (Derrida, *Specters*, p. 89). A further explanation for the pessimistic and optimistic messianicities in *Daniel Deronda* and *The Spanish Gypsy* lies in the relationships between the central figures and their parents, and what they inherit from them.

'An inheritance', says Derrida, 'is always the reaffirmation of a debt' (*Specters*, pp. 91–2). Fedalma asserts that she owes 'a daughter's debt; [but] was not born a slave' (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 156). How might this inherited debt differ from Deronda's relationship to his mother (who sees her own birthright as slavery), and how might this structure an ethical generational obligation that is not also bondage? Perhaps the most important question about Fedalma's promise is why the notion of a *daughter's* debt means that the messianic spectre haunts the narrative so depressingly? The answers have a bearing on the critical conclusions to be drawn from the poem about the possibilities of a gynocratic Gypsy homeland. To begin with, the outmoded notion from Pinney and Stephens that Fedalma's morality is somehow dubious because of the choice she makes between her inheritance and her future husband can be brought into focus and problematised through the analysis of

Fedalma's two uses of the term 'debt' in two different contexts; she uses it once when referring to her debt to her father and again when explaining her conflict to Silva. She laments:

> Great Fate has made me heiress of this woe.
> You must forgive Fedalma all her debt:
> She is quite beggared: if she gave herself,
> 'Twould be a self corrupt with stifled thoughts
> Of a forsaken better. (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, pp. 293–4)

On the one hand, Fedalma owes an unrepayable debt to previous generations; something always remains to be settled. As she describes it to Silva, the man sacrificed by her choice, it is an inheritance of woe to which she is heiress and her people (like the Jews as Mirah describes them in *Daniel Deronda*) are bound together by a history of persecution. She is not indebted to an ideal of happiness, comfort and satisfaction. She owes her father, and his father, for the bequeathal of personal misery. It is, however, an inheritance towards a greater good that she accepts, and 'a forsaken better' if she retreats to the arms of Silva. Because one inherits, as Macherey explains, 'from that which, in the past, remains yet to come', she also owes a debt to future generations of Gypsies (Macherey, p. 19). These future generations are symbolised in the poem by the youthful, innocent love between Hinda and Ismaël. Fedalma has an obligation to ensure the possibility of return for the spirit of her father's struggle. Fedalma's commitment to the unknown future other does not mean that she necessarily gains anything. It is a commitment to absence, in particular the absence of knowledge and presence, which can be expressed as a deficit or a debt. It is, though, a debt that she chooses. She was born into a particular political position because of her ethnicity, but this does not mean that she will, or must, live up to it. For this reason, she is not enslaved by her birthright but indebted to it. Enslavement would be unjust, but there must be some notion of the injunction of the inheritance — this is not something slight that may

be taken or left. The injunction reaffirms the validity of that which is passed on when it is chosen; in this case it is the responsibility for the future of the Spanish Gypsies that is transmitted.

On the other hand, Fedalma asks Silva to absolve her of her debt to him, a request that necessarily acknowledges the difference between her obligations, the state of her debt (and I acknowledge the subtitle of *Specters of Marx*). Fedalma's debt to Silva is something that can be written off for the sake of a greater good. One only need compare this request to the idea of Fedalma asking her father to write off her generational debt (or Gwendolen reaching a point where she has paid off her debt to others), to appreciate how Fedalma's relationship with Silva differs from her familial injunction: these other cancellations are unimaginable. The choice she makes in accepting her inheritance is one defined by the alterity of the future and by the number of possibles that inhabit it: possible success and/or worthy failure, peace and/or unhappiness, loneliness and/or the solidarity of her tribe, their restlessness and dissatisfaction and/or gratitude. The inheritance is never one with itself but she explains her choice to Silva in terms of being one with *her*self. She does not tell the man she forsakes that she leaves him in the name of justice, because it is the right thing to do. She returns, in her personal justification, to an explanation of wholeness, telling him that she does not want to be 'a self corrupt with stifled thoughts', riven by the knowledge of what she should have done. The ethics of her choice are acknowledged in this formulation, certainly, but she asks Silva to understand her actions in terms of how it makes *her* feel, to imagine what it might be like to be torn asunder by an ethical decision, rather than allowing the ethical decision to speak for itself. It is perhaps this vocabulary that prompts Pinney to make the assessment he does, but it also places Silva in a position of emotional rather than ethical understanding.

Deronda's mother deliberately excises herself from the line of inheritance, feeling herself to be unjustly enslaved by her birth and owing no daughter's debt, a direct reversal of Fedalma's obligations. Because of the textual nature of Deronda's inheritance, his mother can break the link in the family chain without dismantling the archive. Fedalma, meanwhile, has to accept the metaphorical torch of her race's hope as it is represented in the Gypsies' badge: a 'pine-branch flaming, grasped by two dark hands' (p. 51). If she drops it, it will be snuffed out, with nothing held in reserve. Deronda can inherit from his grandfather, despite the skipped generation, and he inherits that which, in the past, remains yet to come. He accepts both the chest, a physical archive, and with it an obligation to the future of his people. It is this patriarchal inheritance rather than the literal process by which he receives it that is the reaffirmation of a debt. The same literal process causes him to differ significantly from Fedalma.

Fedalma's choice is marked by the way in which she elucidates it both to Silva and to her father. Fedalma's father, of course, can answer her at the moment of her acceptance, refining her understanding of the status of her debt; they can enter into a dialogue about what it is that her inheritance constitutes. This very conversation is what makes the acceptance of that inheritance so difficult; the condition of its possibility is Zarca's certain death. The absence of any temporal disjuncture (as Deronda experiences) in the receiving of the obligation means that, from the moment she learns of her Gypsy heritage, Fedalma must associate it with a state of mourning; it is an identity framed by death. Freud links the mourning for a beloved person with that for 'some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on'.[28] Fedalma's mourning is a very literal interpretation of this abstraction. Little wonder, then, that her approach to the future is a mournful one. The death on which Deronda's inheritance is based is not that of the mother

he briefly meets before her painful expiration (and who has unlinked herself from this chain), but that of his grandfather, a demise that takes place securely in the past. Time may be out of joint in *Daniel Deronda*, deferring inheritance and causing Deronda a degree of pain and soul-searching, but the distant location of mourning frees him from the pessimism that clouds Fedalama's hope. In *The Spanish Gypsy*, Zarca's death and the bequeathal it entails is eerily present before its event. He talks repeatedly of Fedalma's role as his only heir and asks whether he will live on within her when the earth covers him (pp. 160; 272; 266).

Another effect of these words is the feminization of the Gypsy race as a whole, as the physically big and strong Zarca, massively symbolic as the patriarch, is reduced to the frame of his diminutive daughter. Even before his death, as he demands that Sephardo ensure the proper burial of some of the slain, Zarca says, 'I needs must bear this womanhood in my heart — | Bearing my daughter there' (p. 328). The need for her physical proximity in taking up the Gypsy torch means that Zarca takes on some of her qualities in advance of her inheriting his male role. In a reversal of this situation, as Deronda meets his mother for the last time, 'it seemed to him that all the woman lacking in her was present in him' (Eliot, *Deronda*, p. 566). Her breed of womanliness, she has already conceded, is considered monstrous by the rest of society (p. 539). Zarca's connection with his daughter demonstrates her importance to the continuance of his line and his mission, the feminization of the search for a homeland. Deronda momentarily takes on feminine qualities to understand his Jewishness, but quickly casts them off, symbolic of his mother's absence from the process of inheritance. He declares right then that he aims to give his soul and hand to the work of his hereditary people, and that he 'shall choose to do it'. Deronda's gender is immediately stabilised as his mother compares him first to his grandfather and then his father (pp. 566–7).

That Fedalma's mourning comes too soon and Deronda's too late constitutes what Derrida terms the 'anachrony of mourning'. It is, he says, a question of putting the concept of delay 'in relation to the time of mourning', as I have attempted to do briefly here (Derrida, 'Time is Out of Joint', pp. 18; 23). Zarca's direct, verbal and necessarily emotional transmission of his cultural values personalises the promise to the future but, because of the ways in which Eliot presents their different relationships to history, the Gypsy archive (in the sense of historical cultural transmission) is very different to the Jewish one. Deronda inherits Jewish writing, while Fedalma must collect up the past from her father's spoken words. This means that the messianicity of *The Spanish Gypsy* could not, because of the effect of the archive on the process of inheritance, have avoided Fedalma's mourning, for her lost love and for her father.

Why does the messianic spectre haunts Deronda more benevolently than it does Fedalma? Deronda's nomological archival inheritance is concretised in the form of the family chest filled with written history, a force of law that cannot write the future but is reaffirmed when the legatee chooses to receive it and the obligation that the choice entails. Fedalma, on the other hand, must hear the injunction spoken:

> Yes, for I'd have you choose;
> Though, being of the blood you are — my blood —
> You have no right to choose. (Eliot, *Spanish Gypsy*, p. 155)

The contradictory nature of Zarca's words demonstrates the impossibility of Fedalma's situation. For her relationship to the future other to be a just one, she must *choose* to lead her people in the event of her father's death, rather than be bound to it, born a slave. This inheritance is also, as in Deronda's mother's case, the acceptance of the patriarchal law. Fedalma has no right to choose whether to follow it or not, but *must* choose if the letter of the law is to be obeyed. Failing to choose avoids the acceptance of responsibility; it is

merely an empty promise. The Gypsy archive is a bloody one, but also has its motifs, such as the necklace serving as a physical connection between father and daughter, and the badge bearing the pine branch design.[29]

The written word is not entirely lacking from Eliot's Gypsy world, though. Apart from the letters guaranteeing land for the Gypsies in Africa that he hands to his daughter as he dies, Zarca first makes contact with Fedalma via letter. It is a letter written on linen with his blood; the condition of inheritance is the physical experience of the blood they share, the textual and the bodily merge. There is no chest with the learning of generations of Gypsies gathered as a corpus. Instead, it is the speaking body of the Gypsy that passes on values such as 'the sanctity of oaths'. Fedalma, in the direct experience of the necessity of death for a just relation with the future other looks upon her responsibilities as demanding forfeiture. Deronda's vocational quest, however, might be satisfied without considerable personal sacrifice. Both projects are, at the end of the texts, unrealised, but one looks hopeful while the other does not.

In *The Spanish Gypsy*, the figure of the Gypsy as the other racial other (beyond both Moor and Jew) struggles to find a mode of transmission for a cultural archive in the context of persecution and persistently provisional alliance or enslavement with the warring hegemonic classes. The pursuit of light, order and law in the future is the imperative for a just relation with the other, for an understanding of the obligations of messianicity, but the demands of the inheritance that make such an understanding even partly achievable are a heavy burden. The possibility of failure is the condition for justice, but it dominates the narrative of the poem to make it seem not just possible but likely. Carroll suggests that 'Gypsydom promises its pleasures to Eliot's girl heroines' but these 'are so heady that they must be negotiated and disciplined by an "intoxicating" rhetoric of queenliness', posited as

'one of the few languages available to Eliot in which she might envision a way out of women's domestic captivity' (Carroll, p. 37). I would counter that, far from promising pleasures, the negotiation of Gypsydom causes Fedalma (and Maggie) pain. Far from being 'heady' and by implication unthinking, it is a considered choosing that defines this confrontation with identity, a choice which is, to some extent, an ethical negation of domestic captivity in itself. To inhabit a racial identity, to know what it means to have inherited it from the past, demands that it be chosen rather than seen as an enforced slavery. The messianic Fedalma chooses an identity that has implications for the unknowable future on which, with every decision, she gambles.

My next chapter is also interested in Gypsies, identity and the next generation, as it examines the threat posed by, and desire for, the figure of the Gypsy in Victorian children's literature. These texts are invested with bourgeois hopes and fears for white, middle-class children as expectations about race, class, gender and religion are passed on.

5

Back Where They Belong: The Psychopathology of Gypsies and Kidnap in Children's Literature

The desire for a more exotic life is articulated by a little girl, Grace, in Charlotte O'Brien's book for children *Little Gipsy Marion* [1870]. Out on a ride in fine summer weather she says, 'I think I should almost like to be a little gipsy girl myself'.[1] This chapter of my thesis describes the cultural anxiety produced by fantasies of familial dislocation or disorder, and the narrative strategies employed to mitigate the seductions of Gypsy life for young readers. Grace thinks (but is not sure) that she would like to be a Gypsy; something prevents her running away with her desire.

One of the most recurrent of all Gypsy stereotypes is their apparent propensity to thieve, to act as tricksters and prestidigitators. This habit is never more threatening than when the purloined object is a child. I examine, as the impetus for a discussion on dislocation and disorder, the perpetuation of the stereotype of the kidnapping Gypsy, especially in children's literature. Lou Charnon-Deutsch describes how baby snatching is a motif in European literature as far back as the sixteenth century, in, for example, Luigi Giancarli's *La Zingana* (1545) and in Cervantes' novella 'La Gitanella' (1613) where the blond Preciosa turns out to be the kidnapped daughter of a wealthy magistrate.[2] I take as my theoretical starting point Deborah Epstein Nord's suggestion that the Gypsy kidnap narrative is a manifestation of Freud's family romance, with the possibilities of other parentage played out in popular narratives. Where Freud's description of this fantasy is based on the child imagining that he is actually of socially superior birth and has been mistakenly brought up by lower-status parents, Nord formulates an alternative version where the child imagines that he or she is really of more humble beginnings. Nord's

alternative family romance is a useful analytical structure, and I employ it in a slightly different way to examine another type of narrative in the second section of the chapter. While the theft of white children by Gypsies is a commonly identified theme in the literary-historical archive, what is less frequently commented on is the idea that the conversion and assimilation of Gypsy children by evangelist white communities is itself a kind of kidnap, an unspoken reversal of apparently typical Gypsy behaviour. As Gauri Viswanathan explains in relation to colonial contexts, conversion undoes the certainty with which a community's practices are followed and regularized: 'these disruptions', she writes, 'produce antagonistic relations between individuals and families'.[3] Several examples of the reverse kidnap and the familial disruptions it causes in children's literature are read in order to ask what the texts suggest about the 'proper place' of the Gypsy in relation to white, Christian mainstream society. The notion of a proper place is one of the ordering ideas of this chapter.

The family romance is ostensibly the expression of desire for disruption, but all the narratives analysed hold out the promise that everyone will be returned to their rightful place in the end, wherever that may be. As Derrida points out, acts of deception, distraction and errors, misunderstandings and multiple paths can suspend and hold the truth at bay.[4] The narratives under analysis here are apparently motivated by the pursuit of truth about parentage and individual identity. They suggest that the place where that truth resides, the 'proper place' of the subject, is identifiable and locatable. For the Gypsy in Britain, that place has always been in the cultural and geographical margins and, apparently, distinct from white mainstream society. What this chapter demonstrates is that the truth pursued by these narratives is an illusion, and that they hold out a false promise to reveal who characters 'really' are.

Derrida connects the disordering of the family to the logic of the lost letter. It is because a letter can always fail to arrive at its destination that acts of deception can

suspend the truth. The structural possibility of non-arrival means that the letter 'never truly arrives, that when it does arrive its capacity not to arrive torments it with an internal drifting'.[5] An example from the previous chapter elucidates this idea: the fact that Daniel Deronda's family chest may never have arrived with him, the intended recipient, because of his mother's act of deception means that the event of its delivery is tormented by that period of indeterminacy; Deronda's eventual acceptance of his family's letters is always affected by the capacity they had not to reach him. What they represent, their meaning, has drifted away from what his grandfather intended.

Kidnap and assimilation narratives *appear* to return the subject to his or her right address by their conclusion, the basis of the family romance fantasy, but the fact that the family has been disordered in the first place torments the concept of a definitive, unified and singular identity. Even when it seems that the child is returned to his or her rightful parents, or transferred to more appropriate ones, this rightfulness is an illusion. Certainty about birth, parentage and families is a central, usually unspoken, principle of racial classification and also has implications for maintaining class boundaries. Wealth, for example, is passed into the hands of legitimate sons. The notion that each subject has a 'proper place' within a family (and thus within a wider group) is reassuring, naturalising the divisions between classes and races. Narratives that threaten order, no matter how temporarily, disrupt that certainty.

Derrida's logic of the lost letter is used in this chapter to structure the possibilities and impossibilities of texts that appear to define and locate people and the ideological purpose such a text might serve. The lost letter might consist of what we currently understand as the DNA sequence assuring paternity. It might be the revealing information contained in a document that has been hidden for some time. It might even be, on a basic level and to quote Jacques Lacan, the letter as 'the material medium [*support*] that concrete discourse borrows from language', its non-delivery a discursive signification

that has gone awry, a misunderstanding.[6] The symptoms produced by presenting an illusion of certainty as truth, the idea that one can ever say who belongs where, are identified in the archive in moments of 'internal drifting'. These are where things do not quite add up, where people are left without a proper place, where a return home seems strange. The illusion, masking a troubling ontological hollowness, cannot help, at times, but reveal itself as just that. Discourse suffers just as, for example, Freud's Rat Man is tormented by a promise he makes even though he knows it is founded on a mistake.[7] Cultural texts are divided as they present familial, racial, class and religious identifications as natural, all the while revealing any certainty about these groups as a fiction.

The Family Romance

Kidnap as a threat to the child has been elevated to almost mythical status in literature and lore. Nord explains that 'an absolute and inherently fallacious' separation between races is problematic because when differences within groups emerge, they cannot be explained. 'Kidnapping stories, captivity narratives, and foundling plots' express anxiety about this and 'offer reassuring explanations'.[8] The figure of the Gypsy is employed specifically to alleviate concerns that European whiteness may not be quite white enough. For example, when Adalbert is kidnapped by Gypsies in Madame de Stolz's children's book *The House on Wheels* (1874) — a translation of *La Maison Roulante* (1869) — the search for him is concentrated on one particular town because the local Applewoman notices how different he looks from his supposed family. As a 'pretty, fair-haired little fellow', he stands out from acquaintances such as Gella, whose 'thick raven locks [fall] over her face and neck'.[9] Not only does this tale reinforce the concept of physiognomic homogeneity (Adalbert cannot be a Gypsy by birth because he is too fair), it uses the

Gypsies as a general threat for what can happen to children if they rebel against their parents.

Adalbert, 'nicknamed *the disobedient*' (Stolz, p. 14; original emphasis), refuses to hold on to his brother's hand whilst on a family holiday, gets lost in Prague and is led away by a Gypsy to the house on wheels. The chapter in which these events are described is titled 'Adalbert at last finds out to what disobedience may lead'. The abduction is made to sound violent, yet the child must, it seems, take some of the responsibility for it being possible in the first place. The narrative voice chides that evil 'was certain, sooner or later, to befall a little boy who was so often disobedient' (p. 34). The readings that follow look beyond the superficial didacticism of texts such as this to interpret the threat from which such moralizing hopes to protect the child.

The danger is not just the Gypsy *per se*, but what the Gypsy represents to the demographic expected to read this tale (middle-class children and their parents): transgression. Adalbert's mother would 'rather have seen her boy perish before her eyes than think of him in the hands of men who would make his childhood one long martyrdom, and perhaps in the end lead him into crime' (p. 26). That her child's death seems preferable to delinquency in the mind of Madame Valniege demonstrates the figural importance of children as repositories of cultural values, the future of the white bourgeoisie. Corruption of these values seems worse than the annihilation of the individual. Children must adhere to the rule of their parents or risk losing, as Adalbert realises, 'a good home with everything comfortable; of kind friends all round, not to speak of politeness, general good breeding, and so on' (p. 50).

The Gypsies are portrayed as morally and linguistically corrupt, for the witch-like Praxède issues her orders to Adalbert in 'bad French' and nobody encourages him to 'kneel down and say [his] prayers' (pp. 36; 39). In a sentimental scene he finds himself trapped in a coal-hole as he tries to escape the Gypsies, and writes on the wall with

charcoal, 'I was stolen because I was disobedient. It was all my own fault!' (p. 88). The text concludes by telling its young readers that Adalbert 'will be the father of a family one of these days, and will say to his children as was once said to him: "Children, be obedient"' (p. 182). Not only is knowledge of bourgeois values transmitted from generation to generation, the narrative here instructs its readers on the importance of continued conformity to these values. Both an idea of society and the notion of protecting that idea are passed on, prefiguring Louis Althussers's description of capitalism's need for the reproduction of submission to the rules of the established order.[10]

The apparent threat of kidnap was not confined to mainland Europe, and more British examples are discussed below. However, one of the fascinating things about this text is how its existence in English is testament to the varied ideological use to which the Gypsy threat could be put. *The House on Wheels* appeared in a one-shilling edition the same year, in a collected volume of the Rose Library. In an advertisement, the series is described as having 'been commenced with the view of presenting to English Readers in the cheapest possible form a selection of the best writers in English, American, French and German Literature'. It continues:

> Owing to the doubtful reputation which French Literature has (in many instances quite deservedly) obtained in this country is has become a fashion to exclude it wholly from the Family Library. [We] hope to prove by our selection, that many English readers have thus been shut out from a source of amusement and instruction, quite as innocent and pure as is to be found in the literature of any country.[11]

The linguistic difference between the French and English editions is highlighted (with compulsive repetition of the word 'Bohemia') in the translation when the Valniege family reaches that part of Europe: 'English children', the text explains, 'would not have the same feeling about the word Bohemia, so we must explain that Bohemians is the French name for gipsies, and that a great many gipsies live in Bohemia' (Stolz, p. 20). The word

that resists translation reappears three times in the same sentence, highlighting the difference between France and England that the text tries to elide. However, the threat of the Gypsy is understood as an internationally shared experience. An external menace unifies white, European, educated identity, textually displacing the danger that French literature was historically thought to pose to the minds of British youth. John Barrell describes a similar phenomenon in his work on Thomas de Quincey and empire. He explains that the difference between two terms 'is as nothing compared with the difference between the two of them considered together, and that third thing, way over there, which is truly *other* to them both'. He adds, 'what at first seems "other" can be made over to the side of the self — to a subordinate position on that side — only so long as a new, and a newly absolute "other" is constituted to fill the discursive space that has thus been evacuated'.[12] French and English culture are explicitly different, but this difference is nothing in comparison to the truly other, the Gypsy.

La Maison Roulante was not the only French book for children featuring Gypsies to be translated into English. Élie Sauvage's *The Little Gipsy* appeared in English in 1869, a translation of the previous year's *La Petite Bohémienne.* Widening the definition of the white European community threatened by Gypsy kidnappers (and an indication of the difficulty of delineating this particular identity), the story is set in the Tyrol. The pale and fair Minna is 'seized, gagged, and carried off' by Gypsies who 'seemed to spring out upon the terrified child from under the trees'.[13] There is a chapter of the novel titled 'Father Hoffman Changes a Gipsy into a Respectable Citizen' and, indeed, Petrolino becomes just that (Sauvage, p. 146). However, he is also explicitly described at the beginning of the tale as being 'not a gipsy by birth' (Sauvage, *The Little Gipsy*, p. 21). Even the powers of Christian redemption appear to have their limits. Use of the feminine noun in the French title also suggests that it is Minna herself becomes a Gypsy by virtue of her kidnap. If texts in English describing European whiteness are expected to incorporate

French and Italian subjects into this already troublesome category, little wonder that kidnap narratives are needed to account for variation in skin tone and appearance within 'homogeneous' groups. The flimsiness of these racial categories in containing their subjects is highlighted by the curiously flexible appellation 'gipsy' in a text which is also anxious to determine who is a Gypsy and who is not.

Nord's explanation for the volume of Gypsy kidnap stories goes beyond the notion of cultural anxiety about blonde Gypsies and unaccountably dark *gorgios* to perform a Freudian reading of this textual phenomenon. The tales, she explains, 'signal something of the fundamental mystery of individual origins' at a time when, as I have discussed, the origins of the Gypsy diaspora were contested and politicized. 'Uncertainty about identity and fantasies about parentage,' Nord notes, 'form the basis for Freud's theory of the "family romance"'. The family romance sees the child imagine, as part of the wider Oedipal drama, that he or she is adopted and is actually of socially superior birth. This fantasy 'diminishes the stature of the "adoptive" parents'. In a literary context, the 'child's fantasy became the novelist's plot' (Nord, pp. 11–12). For Freud, not only is the healthy development of an individual contingent on liberation from one's parents as the source of all belief, but 'the whole progress of society rests upon the opposition between successive generations'.[14] The fact that such opposition must not be intractable (particularly amongst the burgeoning nineteenth-century British middle class that was attempting to forge its own class identity) produces, I suggest, a neurotic culture, struggling to balance liberation and conformity. There must be opposition between generations, but not to the extent that social structures are permanently disrupted. Narratives of temporary displacement into or out of the world of the Gypsies serve as manifestations of this neurosis, a problematic of cultural development and containment.

One of the most famous examples of this narrativized fantasy of adoption is discussed in detail in Chapter One of this thesis: Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* follows

Harry Bertram, the heir to Ellangowan, who is apparently kidnapped by Gypsies and grows up without knowing that he is, in fact, a laird. The dénouement of the story is the discovery of his 'real' identity. The fantasy of noble birth, one that forms an important part of psychosexual development, marking the path of the child's liberation from the authority of his parents, becomes *Guy Mannering*'s plot. The genre of children's literature is full of such tales.

Kate Wood's *Jack and the Gipseys* [1887] discusses the popular image of Gypsywomen 'who would steal children for the sake of their clothes', while in M. E. Bewsher's *The Gipsey's Secret* (1871), when asked if a child with Deb is actually a Gypsy, Randal Lee replies, 'No, lady; I'm sure it isn't; her skin is dark, it's true; but there are ways enough, known to such as us, of dyeing the skin'.[15] The child, it transpires, had been stolen from its parents by way of revenge, mirroring the character of the people as described by Heinrich Grellman in my Introduction. The truth is uncovered partly through the discovery of a handkerchief with the child's initials, 'E. G.' embroidered on it (p. 50).

This echoes the Gypsy connection in Shakespeare's *Othello*, discussed in Chapter One, where an object of Gypsy provenance is deliberately put in the wrong place in order to cause misunderstanding. Eva's kidnapping is an incidental example of lost letters and their connection with disordered families and the pursuit of 'true' identities. (To complicate this example somewhat, Deb, the kidnapper, is not a Gypsy by birth but married into the community). Eva's initials, an abbreviated form of her name, are removed with the child; the intervention of one who leads a Gypsy life means that these letters are in danger of not being returned to the right address: Eva may never go home. The notion of the disruptive influence of the Gypsy is sewn, like embroidery on a handkerchief, into the fabric of English literature. Stories of kidnap by Gypsies serve a cultural function, offering conditions for the possibility of the fantasy of noble birth. 'If

that child was born of superior social circumstance but forced to live as if he or she were just a Gypsy', the psychoanalysed interior monologue might go, 'why should I not be of noble birth too?' The (somewhat idle) individual fantasy that Freud describes is lent a potent narrative and seductive detail by the stereotype of the kidnapping Gypsy.

A further example of the kidnap story, this time with a threat to older children, comes in Emma Leslie's *A Gypsy Against Her Will* [1889]. The text demonstrates how, as Derrida intimates, questions of familial ties are impossible to disentangle from the problematic of 'truth', particularly true identities. Lizzie, the protagonist of the tale, is a fickle teenager, dissatisfied with her life in service. She is kidnapped by Gypsies when they tempt her with riches and an easy life. On searching for her, her brother finds no sympathy from the police: 'girls of fifteen, able to walk and talk, could not be carried off against their will', they tell him.[16] Not only are they wrong, the assertion reaffirms the idea that Gypsies *will* carry off easier targets given the chance. A similar sentiment is expressed by Jane Lee in G. J. Whyte-Melville's *Black But Comely* (1879). On meeting her long-lost Gypsy family, she reassures herself that 'the days were surely past for kidnapping grown-up people'.[17] This reference to her imagined safety alerts the reader that she will, of course, be kidnapped by them, but also reinscribes the danger the Gypsies were still thought to pose to children. The stereotype was so ideologically weighty in the nineteenth century that when a denial of the possibility of kidnap is voiced, it actually signifies abduction as an all-too-possible outcome. It is an obvious, recurrent and inevitable plot device that withstands explicit, albeit wry, negation.

Lizzie's lack of thought for both her employer and her mother is what has brought her to grief. When she runs away and is prevented from leaving, 'no thought for the pain and anguish she was causing [her] dear mother came to Lizzie' (Leslie, *Gypsy Against Her Will*, p. 63). As with Adalbert's disobedience, the Gypsies are the perpetrators of the crime of kidnap but it would never have been possible without a

degree of transgressive behaviour. Indeed, a member of the Gypsy gang reminds Mrs Stanley that he has heard her say that she would 'never take a gal away from her mother'. Mrs Stanley replies that Lizzie obviously 'thought more about the fine duds [Mrs Stanley] talked of than ever she did about her mother'. Realising this, Mrs Stanley thought, 'I'll have you, my lady, [...] and teach you a lesson too before I've done with you' (pp. 69–70). The text demonstrates the desire for alterity offered by the Gypsies but ultimately reinscribes the class order: 'no one could be more steady and reliable, more cheerful and content [in her work]', the reader is told, 'than Lizzie was after her [three] months' sojourn with the gypsies' (p. 128). The moral of the tale is that working-class girls should know their place. There is more to it than that, though.

The Gypsies are not only set up as tricksters, fraudsters and thieves; from the moment they enter Lizzie's world, 'truth' is problematised. As in most nineteenth-century novels, the first method of Gypsies gaining trust through deception is the erroneous reading of a girl's fortune. Very rarely in stories like these does the narrative lend any credence to the Gypsies' augurations. Their fortune-telling is usually portrayed as one tool among many for the conning of hapless *gorgios*. After winning Lizzie's confidence, Mrs Stanley smilingly dupes 'the silly girl' with promises of freedom and wealth and steals a silver fruit knife from the dining room of Lizzie's employer (p. 54). Once she is kidnapped in earnest and her maltreatment begins, Lizzie's skin is dyed with walnut skins, perhaps one of the methods alluded to in *The Gipsey's Secret*, to prevent her 'real' identity from being detected.[18] She is abducted to replace the mortally sick Tottie in guiding paying members of the public around a macabre waxwork exhibition at the fair. The waxworks depict historical figures but the stories that go with them are completely confused:

> [Mrs Stanley] stuck to it that her version was the only correct one, while Lizzie, who had read a good many of the books from the Sunday-school library, had learned a very different account of the various historical personages who were

> supposed to be represented at this wax-work exhibition, and it was difficult to disentangle the true from the false when it came to her turn to go round and repeat the lesson she had received. (p. 75)

Once Lizzie leaves a world where her place is easily determined and her role in life decided on she is unable to distinguish truth from fiction. She can no longer say with any certainty who she is (Gypsy? Runaway? Servant girl?). This uncertainty affects the possibility of being sure of any kind of truth: historical, moral or social. As Derrida might put it, the capacity for truth to be suspended causes a drift in truth itself. Lizzie is unanchored from the rules that previously defined right and wrong; taking up a position with the Gypsies outside those rules means that statements no longer make sense and 'correct' signification fails. The text privileges the reliability of writing (for example, the Sunday-school library) over verbal transmission in the case of the waxworks, a difference that draws attention to the Gypsies' non-literate culture. The metaphorical letter of truth goes unread by those that lose it.

Lizzie does not fantasize about noble birth. She *is* of socially superior birth (according to Victorian mores) to the people who pretend to be her family for the duration of her ordeal. The narrative functions within culture to give shape to the family romance, suggesting the possibility that one might have been placed mistakenly as part of the 'wrong' family and ought to break free of its constraints. It gives moral justification for the overthrow of the 'adoptive' parents by showing them to be potential wrongdoers. While the fantasy of adoption allows for escape, in typical texts such as *The House on Wheels* and *A Gypsy Against Her Will*, it also insists on a return to discursive measures of social control such as restrictive class and gender roles. At the level at which Lizzie's textual existence acts out a cultural fantasy, she offers readers an escape from total parental control. Within the narrative, however, she ultimately submits to it. This split in what Lizzie is supposed to signify is the result of a culture struggling to keep an impossible promise: the promise of always returning subjects home to where they belong.

Her story suggests, in line with Freud, that parental authority might not be as straightforward as our guardians tell us. However, she also reins in the fantasy of overthrowing their authority and ensures that it is reinstated. There is a tension in the text between constructing a concept of identity that keeps subjects in their place, and presenting this construction as natural and as the truth, in particular that all subjects have a 'true' identity.

Discourse analysis of race and class is a well-established critical practice. What I want to examine is how the cultural desire to present these constructions — but present them as natural — puts the texts in the archive under considerable strain. The signs of this strain can be read symptomatically: nineteenth-century British culture is neurotic about identity. This is not just because of historical factors such as migration and civil unrest, either. Identity is a product of culture, yet there are constant attempts to locate it outside, in nature. The texts in question present the truth of identity as embedded in genealogy, but their narratives are driven by acts of deception and misunderstandings about parentage. If mistakes can be made, and children end up in the 'wrong' place, who is to say that there is ever such a thing as a right place? The Freudian desire to find oneself in the wrong place disturbs the whole notion of ever being able to come home. The desire to be other splits the subject. The truth of identity is held in abeyance and the Gypsies are so often the agents of this suspension. They make the narrative what it is by being *les facteurs de la contrevérité.*

This modification of a Derridean pun positions the Gypsies as both factors and postmen of untruth. The Gypsies are the factor in the text that holds the truth at bay, and by kidnapping and exchanging children they send letters (here, the DNA sequences that determine parentage and, in one example, initials embroidered on a handkerchief) to the wrong place. In 'Le Facteur de la Vérité', Derrida takes exception to Lacan's assertion in his 'Seminar on "The Purloined Letter"' (itself a psychoanalytic deliberation

on Edgar Allan Poe's short story) that 'a letter always arrives at its destination'. Such an assertion, Derrida claims, 'implies a theory of the proper place, and the latter implies a theory of the letter as an indivisible locality: the signifier must never risk being lost, destroyed, divided, or fragmented without return'.[19] The risk of loss and destruction, division and fragmentation is the condition for the possibility of all the narratives analysed in this chapter. The risk drives the narrative: will the true identity of the protagonist be found, uncovered, or realised?

At the same time as dramatising the characters' return to their proper place, a narrative that risks a non-return puts all returns in jeopardy. It is what, according to Freud, every subject wants, but it also threatens to leave the subject terminally dislocated as the illusion of natural racial and class positions is shattered. The suggestion that these narratives conform to the indeterminacy on which Derrida insists is something of a cheat on my part. They are realist texts, containing an implicit reassurance that the author will return everything to its proper place at the end. But one needs to read the texts more closely, more deconstructively, than simply asking whether the truth is known by the conclusion of the narrative. Does the Gypsy-instigated delay constitute a structural disruption or was it just part of the circular but direct path home all along? The approach taken here is to examine moments in the text that undermine the discursive assumptions on which narrative truth is founded, moments of internal drifting. The text, in this way, unwrites its own certainty.

It could be argued that my alteration of Derrida's term is an unnecessary one because his structure demands that the delivery of all letters already contains the possibility of non-delivery. *Le facteur de la vérité* is always already one of *contrevérité*, by definition. However, the textual Gypsies are posited as *deliberately* sending the truth awry, hiding important letters. In so doing, they draw attention to the structural necessity of

possible failure in every demand for truth, here in relation to the certainty of birth. The overt nature of their untruthfulness merits, I contend, a textual nod.

Another manifestation of the always-compromised family romance in books for children may be found in Nellie Cornwall's *Twice Rescued* (1888). Little Tino, apparently a Gypsy, is rescued from his abusive adoptive father, Brit, by Sampie and Michal Nanjulian. Much is made of the child's darkness and wild behaviour. Michal comments to Tino on his arrival at their cottage that his 'soul is as black as [his] eyes'.[20] He is gradually calmed under their influence and they attempt to convert him to Christianity. Michal tells the parson that she hopes Tino will 'cast off some of his gipsy ways when he is christened' because she 'can't get him to wear shoes' (p. 100). Dark as his eyes, hair and skin are, 'that lovely face of his tinted like a rich damask rose' (p. 128), his Gypsiness will, this attitude suggests, be washed away with holy water. Tino, or Timothy as he is christened, is kidnapped back by his Gypsy family on the very day of his baptism and spends a further two years under their cruel and watchful eyes. He is forced to poach and steal to escape regular beatings, but eventually finds Mr. Wordsworth, his former parson and escapes just before being forced into housebreaking.

In contrast to many contemporary representations of Gypsy life, including those discussed throughout the thesis and, in particular, those written by the Gypsy lorists, health and vitality do not necessarily follow an outdoor existence. This noticeable difference from other literary representations offers a way of thinking about the Gypsy's structural role in narrative as pathological. Instead of thinking about the figure of the Gypsy as representing an infection invading 'healthy' white society — as consistent sickness imagery might tempt one to do — this unusual example serves to demonstrate how the Gypsy features as the haunting *possibility* of disruption to the social structure, but a possibility that is part of that structure rather than entirely outside it. Rather than an image of the beauty and strength of Gypsy women, the first view of the camp in *Twice*

Rescued looks on a 'wicked-eyed old crone', although, later, the other women are described as 'strikingly good-looking' while the 'men and lads were, for the greater part, nice-looking too' (pp. 141; 153). Jentie Smith, Tino's only kind companion, is considered more beautiful due to the effects of 'the long illness that had wasted her almost to a shadow'. Her dark skin is flushed, her 'splendid eyes' larger than before and 'her rich dark hair — black as ebony — was falling loosely about her and seemed to outline her form as she lay' (p. 144). In *The Birth of the Clinic*, Michel Foucault maps the development of the idea of disease as a deviation of the '"regular" functioning of the organism', one aspect of the '*medical bipolarity of the normal and the pathological*' instead of illness as something completely outside an understanding of 'normality'.[21] This idea can be elucidated in terms of the role of the corpse in medicine. Before this epistemological break, 'death remained the great dark threat in which [the doctor's] knowledge and skill were abolished; it was the risk not only of life and disease but of knowledge that questioned them' (Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic*, p. 146). After Bichat, the French anatomist and physiologist, began to examine cadavers, 'the medical gaze [pivoted] on itself and [demanded] of death an account of life and disease' (p. 146). Western man constructs for himself a discursive existence 'only in the opening created by his own elimination' (p. 197). There is only life 'because it can be altered, maimed, diverted from its course, paralysed' (p. 35). The pathological, then, is always part of a relationship with the normal. This is another way of saying, as Derrida does, that diversion is already within every successful delivery.

Jentie's illness finds its analogue in the Gypsy's structural role in literature. She exists in the narrative as a link to Tino's parents. Just as in Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy*, his Gypsy heritage must be told rather than written. He knows that he is not a 'pure' Gypsy but nothing more than this. It transpires that Tino's mother, Nina, fell in love with and was abandoned by one Arden Ravenshill, and the group's adoration for her 'turned to

hate for forsaking her people for a white-faced lover' (Cornwall, p. 183). The cruelty of Tino's adoptive family means that Jentie breaks their code of silence if she reveals the details of his past; it must, therefore, be a deathbed revelation when she has nothing to lose (with echoes of the Princess Halm-Eberstein). Jentie's narrative role depends on bodily sickness; her discursive existence depends on her imminent elimination. The condition for her being able to pass on Tino's story is the possibility that she might die before she does so. Knowledge about his life is dependent on paralysis of her own. Of her death is demanded an account of Tino's life. Her hair spread out on the pillow of the sick bed literally and metaphorically 'outlines her form' and she plays a pathological part in Tino's inheritance. Synecdochically, in all the literature examined in this chapter, the Gypsy figures as the possibility of disruption, but this is a possibility that is absolutely necessary for the structure of the family romance. Life depends on diversion from the normal course.

Tino, through maltreatment, also looks sick. He becomes 'very thin, and his cheeks were quite hollow, and had lost that exquisite bloom that had made his small dark face so beautiful' (p. 143). While with the Nanjulians, the energy attributed to his racial background is almost uncontainable, meeting with disapproval as he behaves without sufficient propriety for a God-fearing household. Michal even glares at Tino as he 'danced right merrily before them' and turns somersaults in the kitchen (p. 65). When returned to his 'proper' place, however, an environment in which he originally learnt such free ways, his vivacity all but disappears. The 'Gypsiness' that made him out of place with the Nanjulians does not quite survive the transition back into the camp. It is as if the potentially respectable, Christian boy had been followed by the dark shadow of his race and now, back in a Gypsy setting, he is reduced to that shadow, a black and partial self waiting for the light of God to shine on the full Christian subjectivity he might achieve.

The potential of all people to come to God is a familiar message in the evangelical literature about Gypsies in the nineteenth century and, despite the unusual focus on sickness rather than rude health, the text does draw on other recognisable representations from the nineteenth-century Gypsy archive. Jentie's beautiful sickness, for example, could also be likened to the proleptic elegies of the Gypsy lorists described in Chapter Two. They revelled in the additional attraction to a subject wrought by its imminent disappearance. It is also impossible to ignore the name of the parson, Mr. Wordsworth, echoing that of the Romantic poet with his own ambivalent attitude to those 'wild outcasts of society'.[22] As a text so self-consciously situated in a tradition of writing about Gypsies, it is well-placed to illustrate the role of the Gypsy in narratives of displacement that, according to Freud, we need to fantasise about, but that also cause anxiety because they draw attention to the difficulty of accepting the naturalness of one's 'proper' social, gendered, class-based, racialised place. Indeed, Tino's own family tree does just that.

As Tino begins to explore his identity by talking to Jentie, the text struggles to say with any certainty what it means to be half-Gypsy, half-gentleman. According to Jentie, it is lucky for Tino that he bears 'but slight resemblance to the scoundrel that stole the heart of a gipsy maid, and then so cruelly broke it' (Cornwall, p. 145). He looks like his Gypsy mother, but must constantly be taught what it is to be a 'true' Gypsy. When voicing qualms about stealing he is told that he is 'a gipsy's brat' and not to forget it (p. 146). His Gypsiness remains a shadowy part of him, something he cannot escape but something not quite real either. Another woman in the camp asserts that she wants 'pure breeds, no cross breeds'. Tino 'is not worthy to be a gipsy' (p. 150). His mixed heritage disqualifies him from being a true Gypsy, one who, according to camp lore, will steal, lie and hold a grudge. To emphasise this view, Ann, the group's matriarch, says that 'he has

a gipsy's face, but he is no more a gipsy at heart than that pale-faced father of his was' (p. 161). Behaviour, driven by the heart, matters to these Gypsies more than physiognomy.

While Tino's behaviour (odd to the conservative Nanjulians) is frequently commented on, they have faith that it can be modified. It does not, they feel, come from deep within. His dark face is unchangeable, however, and is used as a point of comparison with storm clouds and even the dark-skinned victims of a shipwreck washed up in the bay many years ago. 'Darkness' in this case functions in a similar way to Roland Barthes' description of beauty, standing out, repeating itself, but not describing itself. It cannot be asserted 'save in the form of a citation' because 'every direct predicate is denied it'. The only 'feasible predicates' are tautology or simile, referring it to an 'infinity of codes'.[23] Tino's darkness is meaningless without reference to other objects. It is *of* him but also unavoidably *elsewhere*. Like Maggie Tulliver, described in the previous chapter, he will always stand out wherever he is because of this semiotic phenomenon. The shadow of his race (*of* but not located *in* him) follows him.

There is similar racial indelibility in Charlotte O'Brien's *Little Gipsy Marion*. The book is replete with religious sanctimony, starkly contrasting the Gypsies' wicked desire for revenge with Christian forgiveness. Marion, whose own beginnings are ambiguous, brought up as she was by adoptive parents, leaves the Gypsy life behind but, despite her newly respectable appearance and attendance at the village school, is still identifiable by her colouring (pp. 117–8). On the one hand, the text assures its Christian readers that the soul of the Gypsy may be won but that Marion will never pass as *gorgio*. On the other hand, Marion's parentage is indeterminable, meaning that the notion of any true, undivided and safely-located identity becomes untenable.

The image of a racial shadow is also in an illustration to another children's story by Emma Leslie, 'The Little Gipsy' [1874]. While selling clothes pegs, Meggie meets a lame girl on a porch with a 'little pale face'.[24] Although not described in the written text,

an engraving on the following page has Meggie standing on the left of the picture, casting a shadow over the pale girl's feet, the location of her lameness, while she sits in a cane chair. The connection between the Gypsy and lameness in Victorian children's books is discussed further in the next section, but it is suggestive here that the strong and (with some exceptions) healthy Gypsy body is contrasted with, and even overshadows, the weakened white one. Heinrich Grellman notes that 'large bellies are, among [the Gypsies], as uncommon as hump back, blindness or other corporeal defects'.[25] The wholeness of a pure white identity, located in the body, is fashioned in contradistinction with the Gypsy other, but it is profoundly threatened by it too. As Richard Dyer points out, while non-white people 'can be reduced (in white culture) to their bodies [...], white people are something else that is realised in and yet is not reducible to the corporeal'.[26]

While Tino, Marion and Meggie are always shadowed by attitudes to their racialised bodies (whose meanings they can never own or control because they are always dispersed and tautological) the damaged, white, childish body is often used (as in Elizabeth Douglas's 'The Gipsy Boy', discussed below) to exemplify strength of mind, spiritual endurance and the power of prayer. In 'The Little Gipsy', there is a drift between what the reader finds in the text and what he or she finds in the accompanying illustration. Chapter Three described the problem of reproducing meaning in two different forms without difference: the desire to unify meaning, thwarted by formal demands, symptomatizes the ambivalence of the figure of the Gypsy in the textual archive. To reframe that assertion in terms of the Derridean vocabulary employed in this chapter, the drift seen in 'The Little Gipsy' is a result of never being able to express what 'Gipsy' means.

The author sends a textual message to the reader but there will always be drift, the message never quite arriving. This is most clear when there is a difference between a text and an image that are supposed to be part of the same, unified communication:

either the text or the image must have failed to deliver the supposedly unambiguous message in some way. Both forms are haunted by the fact that they might not be able to deliver. The difficulty here in determining Leslie as the author of the shadowy image, an image that nonetheless informs the reader's perception of the racialised Meggie, draws attention, once again, to the problematic of truth and origins. Not only are familial ties disrupted in children's literature about Gypsies, the author as 'parent' of the text, with his or her concomitant authority over its meaning, is displaced by the interpretation of the illustrator.

To return to Tino's family tree: the arboreal nature of his heritage could not be more literal, for he is eventually told that a box containing proofs of his identity, letters *en souffrance* as it were, the 'truth' of his identity held in abeyance, are to be found 'in a trunk of a tree near the keeper's lodge in Epping Thicks' (Cornwall, p. 188). The incident has echoes of both *Guy Mannering* and, as I have mentioned, *Daniel Deronda.* The box is reminiscent of Deronda's family chest and, as Chapter Four detailed, it is an '*eco-nomic* archive', putting the law of the family in reserve for a period.[27] Like Deronda, Tino can only inherit the 'truth' about his identity once he realises that he is other than he is. His foray into Christian, village life displaces him forever from the Gypsy camp.

Viswanathan describes a similar experience for colonial subjects following religions conversion. The legislation of colonial India inscribed the 'legal fiction' of civil death, meaning that a convert was no longer recognised 'as a functioning member of his or her community' (p. 79). The Hindu turned Christian, for example, can no longer function *qua* Hindu, having left his or her 'proper place' in terms of race and tradition. The state's ambivalence towards the spreading of Christianity alongside a desire to keep colonial subjects in their place (which is any place as long as it is subordinate and outside the boundaries of what it meant to be the powerful, white coloniser) is made clear by the fact that 'judicial rulings dissociated Christian converts from a broad-based community

of Christians to which converts may have believed they were admitted' (p. 80). The rulings essentially push the convert back towards his or her Hindu identity. Viswanathan traces the case of a young, female Hindu convert to Christianity in Mysore in 1876:

> Free to be neither Christian nor Hindu, Huchi was thus caught in an impossible double bind, the religion she now declared her own not allowing her to remarry as long as her Hindu husband still claimed her as his wife (or rather his prostitute), and the religion that she had renounced refusing to accept her as a member of that community. (p. 107)

Her 'intolerable condition of liminality' is matched by that of Tino. It is intolerable not just to Tino as the displaced subject who now fails to fit in anywhere, but also to those who try and locate where Tino belongs; he should be either in the camp or the village, but not somewhere threateningly in between. His 'proper' place seems to be neither with the Nanjulians (because of his racial shadow) nor with the Gypsies: he is nowhere at home. In this very literal sense, then, the Gypsy becomes 'uncanny', the usual translation of Freud's *das Unheimlich* or unhomely. As Chapter One described in relation to Meg Merrilies, the uncanny is that which is familiar and which should have remained secret but comes to light. In other words, the subject considers that something has a proper, hidden place, away from his or her everyday life. When it works its way out, as something familiar in a strange place, an uncanny sensation is produced. Tino's secret past similarly comes to light and it is this that makes him an uncannily familiar figure constantly in the wrong place.[28]

The fantasy of noble birth, Freud's family romance, necessary for the healthy development of individuals and society, is played out once more in this narrative, for Tino finds that the 'contents of the box was more than enough to establish beyond dispute the parentage of little Arden Ravenshill' (Cornwall, p. 193). Unlike Daniel Deronda, Tino's discovery retrieves him from a marginal identity into the white, hegemonic, ruling class. The authority of his father's place in society, 'one of the most

earnest Christians' one could meet, almost (and, again, the equivocation should be noted) obliterates his maternal Gypsiness (p. 185).

Like Harry Bertram in *Guy Mannering* and Fedalma in *The Spanish Gypsy*, Tino's transitions from one place to another bring with them changes of name. Tino, in finding that he is 'really' Arden Ravenshill Jr., adopts the third appellation of his short life. This third becomes a fourth when he forms a conjunction from the two names that mark the non-Gypsy phases of his life, resolutely casting off his mother's cultural heritage:

> I am not a gipsy now, but Timothy Arden Ravenshill. When I get a big man like Mr. Wordsworth and father, I am going to be a clergyman, if God will let me, and go and tell the gipsies that He loves them and sent the Lord Jesus all the way from Heaven to save them. (p. 205)

Not only does he declare himself to be no longer a Gypsy, Tino others the Gypsies by referring to the group as 'them', and by positing them as suitable candidates for conversion to his God. So who is Timothy Arden Ravenshill? While the narrative promises a full revelation, it is still impossible to be sure. Kidnap, as a way of withholding the truth of identity, is what *makes* the story. Tino's box, 'after all only contained a few letters and a locket with a portrait of Nina and little Tino when he was two years old, a wedding ring, and a few other things' (p. 193). There is an air of disappointment detectable as these meagre contents are described, and this absence of any real evidence undermines the assertion that who he really is may be proved beyond dispute. All that is really proved is that Tino the Gypsy is not who he thought he was. He is someone else; but who is that? The questions go round in unclosed circles, never taking Tino back to his beginnings. The story seems to offer truth, but, in fact, all it gives away is the impossibility of fully separating Gypsy and white identity. It is even unclear, because of his persistent displacement, who rescues Tino from whom. As the next section discusses, movement from out of the Gypsy camp into the white village can be as threatening to the discursive 'truth' of identity as Gypsy kidnap.

Assimilation: the Alternative Family Romance

After setting up the trope of Gypsy kidnappings as a projection of the family romance, Nord complicates the idea of narratives playing out the childish fantasy of noble birth to suggest an alternative version of the fantasy and its literary manifestations. Instead of the fantasy of social aggrandizement, the child imagines 'lowly or stigmatized birth', in this case, Gypsy parentage (p. 13). This is vividly dramatised in the wish-fulfilling role-play of the Romany Ryes described in Chapter Two and their persistent refrain that they are often mistaken for the people they idolize.

Although Lizzie's misadventure in *A Gipsy Against Her Will* reflects the traditional family romance, her desire for something other than her gender- and class-determined future mirrors the kind of exoticism suggested by this alternative romance but stops short of her fantasising that she really belonged with the Gypsies all along. 'The desire to rival and defeat the parent can also express itself', Nord continues, 'as the wish to escape from the bonds of obedience and conformity through the discovery of a secret non-English, non-white [...] self' (p. 12). Obligatory deference to the parental law, vital for the production of good future subjects (such as the grown-up Adelbert in *The House on Wheels*) and maintenance of the social *status quo*, moderates the desire to break free from its strictures and Oedipally overcome the father by opting out of 'conventional manly success' (p. 13). Texts are stretched in two different directions: towards the portrayal of necessary transgression and towards the need for control.

I do not intend to spend a great deal of time here discussing narratives such as that of *The Spanish Gypsy*, analyzed in Chapter Four, where characters like Fedalma discover their Gypsy roots and lend the fantasy of the non-white self some Romany colour. Rather, I propose that another kind of narrative, that of the conversion or assimilation of the Gypsy into the white Christian world, works like the kidnap narrative

in reverse. The alternative family romance is given literary expression in plots where the Gypsy child is transplanted from the marginal camp to a mainstream, settled community.

The projection of the family romance onto literature should not, I propose, be taken too literally. Rather, the archive is made up of texts that are symptomatic of anxiety about constructing stable identities. My reading of the texts that follow does not assert that in nineteenth-century Britain a large part of the reading public actually hankered (like the Romany Ryes) after the discovery of their own Gypsy blood. Tales that detail the path of the assimilated Gypsy do not just offer straightforward religious fantasies of conversion either; they give content to the neurotic fantasy-structure that oscillates between demanding difference as a way of rejecting symbolic parental authority *and* fearing the transgression of this law. The subject is split by the desire for something and fear of the implications of fulfilling that desire.

The assimilated or converted Gypsy represents an alternative way of overcoming the symbolic father by acting out the fantasy of alternative identity, but this alterity is still controlled by the rules of the social world that the Gypsy child enters. Difference can never be completely elided, though. For example, Tino's Gypsy shadow follows him. There is textual tension between post-Oedipal development (the cultural necessity of the family romance) and containing potentially transgressive desire for otherness.

The first of these literary manifestations of the alternative family romance I want to examine is Douglas's 'The Gipsy Boy' (1872). Philip Grant, gamekeeper at Ashdown Lodge, catches a young Gypsy boy setting snares for poaching in the grounds. In the event, it is the boy who is snared, dragged to Grant's house and chained up, where he is befriended by Grant's own, lame son, Frank:

> Crouching down on the ground, covered with rags, his face besmeared with tears and dirt, his tangled black hair hanging over his brow — lay the gipsy boy — a curious contrast to little Frank Grant, with his clean pale face, smoothly brushed light brown hair, and snow-white pinafore.[29]

The familiar motifs are all there: the clean, fair and crippled white child compared to the dirty, sinning, dark, strong Gypsy. The boy's condition is no fault of his own, the reader is assured. He has been 'neglected', has 'no idea of right and wrong', has been taught to steal 'without having an idea of the sin he was committing' and 'scarcely knew the name of Jesus' (Douglas, pp. 77–9). Frank, on the other hand, seems to have an instinctive relationship to God. Without specific prompting, he tells his father that God loves him because 'He has made me lame, and my Bible says, "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth"' (p. 81). Bodily affliction allows Frank to sublimate physical pain as religious devotion. Hunger, however, leads the Gypsy boy only to sin: the relationship between sin and the body is constructed in a different way depending on the race of the child in question.

The boy's origins are, beyond his physiognomy, unclear. Like Tino and Harry Bertram, even his name fails to identify him: 'he had no father or mother living; he did not think he had any other name, all called him "Ben." "Sam" was his master; he beat him very often' (p. 76). The quotation marks draw attention to the failure of the names to do what one expects of them: that they will identify definitively, not provisionally. Without a known father or mother, of what use is a tenuously applied given name in determining who the boy is? Derrida shows that 'with Freud and his successors, including Lacan, the oedipal theory assumes a fixed model: the stable identity of the father and the mother' (Derrida, 'Disordered Families', p. 35). In the context in which I have been using Freud's family romance, culture struggles to stabilise the authority of mother and father and what it means to the construction of the child's proper place, meaning that texts strain under the pressure of fixing these roles. When that authority is questioned by the fantasy of adoption (whether in to or out of the Gypsy camp) the problem of the possibility of any stable identity arises. When a proper name fails to

name an origin, it dislocates the subject and becomes, like 'Tino', an *im*proper name, a signifier with an implicit risk of misunderstanding.

A similar case of unknown parentage to that in 'The Gipsy Boy' appears in *Little Gipsy Marion*, published two years earlier. Marion and her brother, Luke, have been brought up by adoptive Gypsy parents. The parents' generosity is acknowledged by the white, male authority figure of the tale, Mr. Sutherland, but they seem to be beyond Christian redemption (p. 102). One day, Marion's dog is killed by accident, but as revenge for the perceived wrong done to his sibling, Luke sets another dog on Grace Sutherland's horse. The horse rears and it seems for a while that Grace will be lamed by the incident. From the Gypsy boy, no more than visceral revenge can be expected, while from white Grace, as her name suggests, one can expect refinement and, again, forbearance in the face of physical deformity. Eventually, Grace recovers and both Marion and Luke make respectable lives for themselves in the village. Perhaps their assimilation is partly contingent on the lack of knowledge about their precise origins. Obviously Gypsies by race, they are nonetheless able to make a transition into another culture because of the obscurity of their beginnings.

One of the possibilities of dislocation is, for the evangelist, the transplantation of the godless Gypsy into Christianity. In 'The Gipsy Boy', Ben begins to 'hate the wickedness of his former life' and is turned against his former people so completely that he informs Grant of their overheard plot to poach pheasants (Douglas, pp. 89; 108). His loyalties lie, by the end of the text, firmly with the family who have taken him in rather than the (admittedly cruel) people who brought him up. As mentioned previously, indignation about the Gypsies' treatment of children lends a moral justification to more general fantasies of adoption and transgression. In the family romance, one's 'real' parents may be better people, so rejecting the authority of the mean 'adoptive' parents becomes the right thing to do. Just as Lizzie's skin is dyed in *A Gypsy Against Her Will* so

that she is unremarkable from the people amongst whom she is forced to live, so with Ben:

> no one could have recognised the dirty beggar in the clean handsome child he now appeared. [...] He was a well-made, upright boy, with a high forehead, and a countenance so open and confiding, that Mrs. Grant felt, with good guidance, and the help of God, he would turn out well. (p. 83)

The standards of cleanliness serve almost to wash, as with Tino, his Gypsiness away. Unlike the closed and suspicious Gypsy faces in so many Victorian representations, his is 'open and confiding.' There is no implication, however, that Ben is 'naturally' good: his path to goodness must be guided. Such a theme engages with contemporary debates about Nonconformity; was a traditional Anglican institution required to lead a child to God or was a personal religious experience enough?[30]

Before Ben can definitively prove his devotion to the Grants by saving Philip's life from the poachers, the taint of his background proves all-too-visible. He is wrongly accused of stealing a silver spoon, in fact pilfered by a magpie (pp. 92; 94). The accusation that he steals the silver spoon, rather than being born with one in his mouth as one of high social standing would be, adds to the feeling that no matter how well he seems to have assimilated he is still an usurper, a cuckoo in the nest.[31]

With the false accusation of theft against Ben in 'The Gipsy Boy', the truth is held in abeyance. This 'truth' is about how much of his Gypsy life he has really left behind and how well he has assimilated into Christian society, and how much he shares its values. Ben must prove himself with his fortitude because he 'did not know then how his trial was helping to make him a good truthful boy' (p. 93). Frank's fortitude is demonstrated by his disability, and Ben must also be put to the test before he can join the society of which the Grants are already a part. Not only does he become a 'good truthful boy' in the sense of the honesty he acquires, he becomes full of the truth (truth-full): the text uses him to embody the 'true' word, the 'true' way, the 'truth' of

Christianity. At the same time, this adoption of the Gypsy boy by the Grants is contingent on his dislocation and the possibility of leaving his Gypsiness behind. Who he 'really' is becomes confused. His behaviour is largely blamed on his upbringing rather than explicitly linked to his race. However, the descriptions of the boy are so reminiscent of the century's collected representations of the Gypsies as a race (even as they are contradicted they enter the representational scene) that it is impossible to ignore the way that racial discourse informs the portrayal of his actions. The discursive struggle between racial determinism and religious conversion leads to jarring moments in the text, such as the magpie incident, which seems, even when the mystery is explained by the return of the spoon when the bird's nest is blown from a tree during a storm, somehow unresolved and not a little bizarre. It is an instance of internal drift that, in general terms, alerts the reader to the impossibility of guaranteed knowledge about identity but, more specifically, highlights the 'intolerable condition of liminality' inhabited by the 'saved' Gypsy child.

A similar trial is gone through by Gipsy Mike, the eponymous hero of an anonymous story from 1881. This text is rather more sympathetic to the Gypsy life than many others of the period, revering those children schooled by nature and seeing in them an implicit goodness, 'unsoiled as they are by the evil which is in the world'.[32] This description has echoes of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), for example when he asserts that 'everything is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of things; everything degenerates in the hands of man'.[33] The 'proper place' of the Gypsy in relation to religion and his or her place as part of an 'uncivilized race' in nature are constituted by intersecting discourses. The similarity between the Christian evangelist attitudes propounded in some children's literature and the thoughts of this pre-eminent thinker of the French Enlightenment show where these two particular discourses intersect.

Will Smith and his wife teach Mike and his brother, Jack, 'that it was a sin to tell a lie; that all deceit was wicked and dishonourable' and 'that they must never use bad words, or show cruelty to animals' (*Gipsy Mike*, p. 13). Again, the family tree is not straightforward because the boys are raised by a stepmother following the death of their birth mother early in the narrative. Whatever the individual Gypsy's family history, these hints of complex family structures seem always to be part of his or her story. There are similar parental complications but the considerate parenting of Mike and Jack's stepmother and father is in direct contrast to the early upbringing suffered by Ben in 'The Gipsy Boy'. A Gypsy life may be good in *Gipsy Mike* but it is still not good enough. The narrative describes how 'it never seemed to enter Will Smith's head that his boys would wish to be anything more than he was; that they might feel inclined to work and better themselves' (*Gipsy Mike*, p. 34). The wording suggests that it is obvious to all but the Gypsy that his life is not as desirable as another, that to lead a full life (and die a properly Christian death, as the end of the story shows) the child must hope to elevate himself out of the culture in which he has been raised. There is a further echo of Rousseau here: despite the naturalness of the parental bond, this 'attachment can have its excess, its defect, its abuses' (Rousseau, p. 84). As both Freud and Rousseau recognise, for the development of the individual and society there is a need for everyone to negotiate a break from total parental authority (in Freud's theory via the fantasy of the family romance). As part of the representation of the irreligious Gypsy child in Victorian children's literature, however, that project seems rather more urgent and radical to the reformer.

Mike suffers an early injustice like Ben's magpie incident when he hides in a cathedral to hear the organ music. Many evangelically-toned Victorian texts about Gypsies offer the idea of a kind of undirected spirituality, a yearning for the Bible if only they could read, a confused sense of morality, an immediate and strong attachment to

Jesus on hearing his name. Central to the evangelical experience was a sense of the 'salvation offered to those who gained faith through personal conversion, a process achieved by Bible reading and prayer'.[34] It is this childish, raw religiosity, a structure of feeling waiting for content, that justifies the efforts of missionaries. In light of the concerns of this chapter, it is not surprising that the texts portray the Gypsies as drawn to God, the ultimate authority figure. He is the father *par excellence*, an exemplar of certainty who appears to take the letter out of the hands of *les facteurs de la contrevérité* and firmly deliver the truth. Devotion to Jesus momentarily dissolves the problematic tension between a necessary move away from parental authority and the demand that it remain in place. It is never long, however, before internal drifting removes that certainty. Mike merely wishes to spend time in this place of worship without knowing precisely why. The verger catches him and describes how he 'packed him off with his father sharp enough, and a good riddance too', because he does not 'want those gipsy folks hanging about here' (*Gipsy Mike*, p. 57). This false accusation is based on race, and the view that Gypsies are incapable of telling the truth. A later incident in Mike's adolescence is not so obviously linked to his being a Gypsy, but it reveals a great deal about the textual tensions of effacing the fictionality of 'identity'.

Mike has a strong desire to go to sea, a career path of which his father disapproves. Mike and Jack strike up a friendship with a Mr. Sinclair after they find his lost dog and adopt him (as, perhaps, an anthropomorphic introduction to the idea that family members may cross from culture to culture), and Mike runs away to Sinclair in order to try and follow his dream. Mr. Sinclair brings Mike back to the caravan, to his 'proper' location, but takes up a position superior to that of the boy's father, advising Smith on how to bring up the boy. He takes no notice of Will's firmly-set face, saying,

> 'You see, my friend, we have no right to treat our children as mere machines, forgetting that they are rational creatures like ourselves. We may reason with them, and try to bring them to our way of thinking, but unless indeed it is a

> positive question of right or wrong, we must try not to force them to see things with our eyes. We should try as much as possible to put ourselves in their places'. (*Gipsy Mike*, pp. 98–9)

Will's facial expression, signifying his discomfort, is ignored by Sinclair, the white possessor of significatory power. The social rules within which such gestures make sense are set by people like Sinclair, not Will; he *chooses* to make the gesture insignificant. Sinclair's apparently progressive (and, again, distinctly Rousseauian) approach to raising children not only diminishes Smith's authority (despite having no offspring of his own — this is not a natural or innate attitude but an educated one), but also serves to anachronize the Gypsy family. In leaving the Gypsy life, it seems that Mike will be entering a world of people who understand him better, who sympathize with his needs and ambitions, who will allow him to belong. Even though the caravan is Mike's 'proper' place, the way Mr. Sinclair describes the mind of the child means that the camp can never be entirely homely, even to those who are born to it. By virtue of being a Gypsy it is unlikely that Mike will immediately fit into a white institution (and he has already experienced the effects of the suspicion attached to his race), but this Gypsiness also means that his rightful upbringing is also deficient. This deficiency is not described in the overt terms of beatings and moral depravity, as in the other texts I have analysed, but it works subtly to suggest that perhaps the best place for the Gypsy child is not with his or her own people but assimilated into white, Christian society. When Mr. Sinclair advises that adults, particularly parents, should put themselves in children's places, he, ironically, instigates a process that fragments that very location. Like Tino, Mike can be nowhere fully at home.

Mike eventually joins a training ship under the command of Captain Fellows (another substitute father: Smith is never enough) in order to learn his seaman's trade. The description of Mike's early life has a boys' own style to it as he and Jack ramble around the countryside, unencumbered by formal education or the need to stay indoors.

As predicted, however, 'after the comparative freedom and ease of his inland life, [Mike] had first found the regularity on board very monotonous and irksome' (*Gipsy Mike*, p. 109). He soon settles down, though, to become the model student. As J. S. Bratton describes, in such incidents, 'the child of nature [by conforming to the idea of work as a moral imperative] is thus entrapped in the toils of utilitarian materialism'.[35] His friend, Arthur, is in desperate need of money to send to his sick brother, and by chance comes across a gold pencil case. Rather than return it, he asks Mike to pawn it, making him unwittingly complicit in his crime. Blame falls on Mike not explicitly because he is a Gypsy, but because the pawn ticket can be traced back to him. Despite keeping his friend's confidence and taking his punishment for him, Mike jumps into the water to save Arthur after he falls overboard and is grievously injured in the process. Mike's intentions are all for the best, yet he maintains the Gypsy role of *facteur de la contrevérité* by keeping quiet and then falling insensible.

Young Arthur learns that 'all wilful turning aside from God's holy law and commandment is *sure*, sooner or later, to bring its own sorrow and punishment' (*Gipsy Mike*, p. 148; original emphasis). In circumstances where Mike's father has been usurped by Sinclair and Fellows (a transfer of authority caused by the reverse kidnap) and Arthur's father is dead, the uncertainty of who should have the ultimate authoritative word is arrested: it is *the* Father. Whether or not this authority is upheld by the text or if there is another internal drift is dependent on how much one subscribes to its religious content. It is not Arthur who pays the ultimate price for turning aside from the law of God: Mike dies from his injuries, attended by a minister, in the sort of sentimentalised scene that was 'a feature of the majority of nineteenth-century children's books of an evangelical cast' (Bratton, p. 37). Mike is welcomed into the kingdom of Heaven, where his suffering ceases, while Arthur must daily suffer the guilt of his actions. However, in a further familial twist, he is forgiven by the Smiths and eventually marries their younger

daughter, Mike's half-sister. Mike and Arthur, then, exchange places in terms of the families to which they belong. It may not be as simple as saying that 'if one does wrong, one identifies with the Gypsies', but, nevertheless, in sinning, Arthur ultimately finds a place with them. Mike, meanwhile, finds a place with a white God: his only access to the Christian religion has been through contact with people outside his family. Mike and Arthur's 'proper' places are fragmented as the Gypsy 'kidnap' is reversed.

Conclusion: Unstable Locations

According to Derrida, Lacan's assertion that letters always arrive at their destination, a logic that also applies to the possibility of knowing the truth, implies a theory of the proper place. For Derrida, on the contrary, the possibility always exists that the letter will not arrive, and that acts of deception can suspend and hold the truth at bay. The stereotypical thieving Gypsy, found in most Victorian children's fiction featuring Gypsy characters, whether the texts endorse or negate the image, is the one who deceives, the agent of the delay, the *facteur de la contrevérité.*

The focus of this chapter has been the neurotic textual effect of constructing 'true' or stable identities. By kidnapping children, Gypsy characters confound the certainty of parentage. Such narratives do not even serve as assurance that the children will eventually be returned to their proper place, the authority of their parents. Rather, they reveal the instability of those places and the fragility of the regulatory practices designed to keep subjects in them, such as submission to class and race hierarchies, adherence to the tenets of Christianity, and the performance of traditional gender roles. These cultural rules anchor the subject's identity. When they move, that identity stops making sense; the signification of the subject in a traditionally understood way fails. This is, again, similar to the non-delivery of a letter. The possibility of kidnap is fictionally

offered by the Gypsies' transient lifestyle. As Nord points out, 'Gypsies were close enough to [kidnap a child] yet remote enough to place that child permanently out of the reach of his parents' (p. 10). The intolerable liminality that Viswanathan identifies in the experience of the colonial convert already inhabits the figure of the Gypsy, even when he or she is ostensibly in his or her rightful place. The very construction of this figure troubles the boundaries between one place and another, between one class or category and the others. Moving in and out of contact with the *gorgio* world, Gypsies snatch the child and then transport him or her quickly away with the tents and caravans. Texts that reveal the cultural neurosis about 'natural' identity and the impossible desire to stabilise its location are, fittingly, contingent on persistent movement. The difficulty of delineating an indivisible location of identity, the single place where the 'true self' might reside, is brought to light. The 'truth' of identity over which the family romance labours (who am I, really?) is an illusion. This holds whether the romance is one of displacement into or out of the Gypsy camp.

This is not to say that the family romance is nonsense, nor that the discourses of gender, race, class and religion are easily dismissed purely because they are fictions. In Derrida's own words, 'truth is necessary'; its effects are still felt.[36] The drifting of certainty about identity is legible in texts that lend a narrative to the desire for transgression of rules and escaping parental authority (symbolically the primary enforcer of cultural law) but that must also continue to delimit boundaries. The texts must perform this regulation so as to perpetuate the culture of which they are part, guaranteeing their own existence, but also so that boundaries exist *in order to be transgressed.* For Freud, the absence of those boundaries as the condition for generational difference would have dire consequences for what he terms the 'progress of society'. That the Gypsies, existing on the edges of these boundaries, can always disrupt the truth about families, problematising what the subject thinks he or she knows about him or herself,

demonstrates the instability of the place of that truth. However, the identification of their structural role is not a call to abandon the pursuit of truth. The 'truth' is merely as movable as the Gypsy camp itself, as difficult to deliver a letter to as an address that is there one day, gone the next.

Conclusion

To bring together the images of Gypsies discussed throughout the thesis, and to draw some conclusions about what they mean for the discourses through which Victorian culture is understood, I return here to G. J. Whyte-Melville's novel, *Black But Comely.*

At a public hanging is 'a tall handsome woman, with the swarthy skin, soft black eyes, and clear-cut features of real gipsy blood'.[1] She holds a child in her arms, 'whose dark lashes and small high-bred face denote no stolen offspring of the Gentiles, but a true little Romany of her own' (I, p. 5). The woman is identifiable as a Gypsy, the text suggests, because of her skin, eyes, and features. The Gypsy's eyes, in particular, are often fetishized as part of the recognition of exotic racial difference and simultaneous disavowal of what that difference might mean. The Gypsy might look steadily back at he who gazes admiringly, destabilising the white male's dominant position and turning the tables, making him an 'other' rather than the norm. This woman's physiognomy implies, in the dominant racial discourse of the period, a propensity towards certain behaviour, such as stealing children.

The pair are 'so uncommon, so picturesque, and so comely withal; sleek and supple as a leopardess and her cub, with something of the wild-beast's watchful restlessness, half suspicious, half defiant, its lithe and easy movements, its sinewy, shapely form' (p. 6). As in George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy*, Gypsies are compared to wild cats. Not only are they bestial, impulsive and uncivilized, the Gypsy's mysterious placidity can at any time erupt into violence.

The crowd surges and the Gypsy woman is trampled to death, while her baby is kept aloft by strangers. Taken in by a Jewish couple (about whose own race the text has much to say), the baby is found to have the letters 'J. L' tattooed on her arm, and so is named 'Jane

Lee' (I, p. 19). The narrative makes much of the child's beauty and intelligence. A duchess in Kensington Gardens calls her 'a handsome little gipsy', and, 'while she bent down to bestow a patrician kiss, scarcely guessed how exactly she had hit the mark'. The duchess uses the figure of the Gypsy as a metaphor for a certain kind of beauty, but a metaphor that informs and is informed by racial discourse. As a Gypsy, Jane is *like* a Gypsy (and the text says the same about women): the only way of explaining what it is to be a Gypsy relies on tautology or simile. To Gypsy blood, the reader is told, Jane 'owed her health, vitality, grace, beauty, and the wild turbulent instincts that made of all the troubles of her after-life' (I, p. 23). No matter what her upbringing, race will out.

Aged nineteen she confesses that she 'should like never to sleep two nights in the same bed' — superficially a reference to travel but with clear connotations of sexual promiscuity. Her dark beauty, inevitably for a nineteenth-century plot, leads her into all manner of liaisons and adventures as men fall for 'the temptation that lurks under such outward comeliness' (I, p. 41). The Gypsy woman is beautiful, but her soul is as dark as her eyes. After escaping from another complicated entanglement, Jane is accosted in the park after dark by a Gypsy who instantly recognises her as one of his own despite her refined dress. His feeling is confirmed when he finds the tattoo matching his own, for Jericho Lee. He has been brought up with the idea that one of the tribe was lost and might one day be found by this mark. He believes that the tattooed letters have finally been delivered to the right place. Jane's identity is firmly located in her racialised body and, as if to encourage one to read the body as text, written on her skin.

On meeting her Gypsy family, 'the temptation was strong to study in their own haunts the race with which she had always felt so unaccountable a sympathy', those who are so similar to her yet so different (I, pp. 219–20). To study them implies that she is outside

their world, elevated above it. She is twice kidnapped by her Gypsy kin and, finally free of her father, narrowly escapes death during the Gypsies' attempt to rob her beloved. In 'going through the crucible of bodily pain', she realises that 'she had found her master', and 'rejoiced to give him faithful service to her life's end'. The narrative goes on, 'the wild nature was tamed; the hawk stooped to the lure; the gipsy became a meek and sincere Christian, a true, energetic, loving and somewhat wilful wife' (III, pp. 277–8). All threats to the patriarchal order are here averted: her independent womanliness and 'wild nature' are controlled by marriage and the church.

As the product of Victorian culture, texts such as *Black But Comely* preserve traces of the nineteenth-century discourses in which they are woven (and which they also weave). That conservation always institutes a difference; the haunting moments in it are symptoms of the things the text does not want to say, but which are spectrally present nonetheless. The repression, silencing, banishment and fetishization of everything *else* the figure of the Gypsy represents does not mean that the text has the Gypsy under control; all of these things come back and can be explored in a psychoanalytic reading of the text's forms and images. Can bourgeois institutions control Jane Lee, or do slips such as the description of her as 'somewhat wilful' reveal resistance? One moment of resistance is enough to prompt a rereading of the text in terms of the spectral return of everything the text tries to exclude. After the death of her adoptive parents, Jane even appears 'tall, pale, and noiseless as a ghost' (I, p. 119).

Jane Lee is a Gypsy ghost in *Black But Comely*, rattling the chains of textual control and drawing attention to problems, contradictions and slips the text would rather the reader did not notice. For instance, a sign of young Jane's unconscious desire to return to the outdoor life of her unknown people also reveals *Black But Comely*'s textual unconscious. She

says, 'I should like to be a savage, Mr. Strange' (I, p. 97). The reader is supposed to be in a position of knowledge, with a wry smile on his or her face as he or she recognises what Jane does not: she *is* a savage (as racial categorisation would have it). But what of Mr. Strange? If he is the only civilized person in the conversation, why is he othered with his curious appellation? At a moment when the positions of savage and civilized ought to be clear, especially for the ideological sake of Britain's power to improve its colonies, the boundaries blur. In this thesis I have outlined the ways in which interest in the Gypsies mirrored Britain's imperial interest in India. For example, in the 1870s, educational establishments were founded in the sub-continent that 'endeavoured to combine the best of East and West', and allowed 'natives' to serve the empire in the civil service.[2] The question of colonial identity was problematised with these institutions, as subjects were encouraged to identify with their rules, yet were still barred access to their rights and privileges. The anxieties of *Black But Comely*'s historical moment creep back into the novel: the civilised becomes strange, and the apparently bourgeois subject desires to fulfil her own latent savagery.

Of what are the Gypsies who figure in the other texts I have discussed a symptomatic return? Walter Scott's Meg Merrilies haunts the text with fears about empire, and she spooks the literary archive as an ambiguous character, disrupting narratives of authorial genealogy. It can no longer be easily said that Walter Scott instigates a particular figure of the child-stealing Gypsy in British realist literature.

George Borrow tries to write the Gypsy differently from his fiction-writing peers, more studiously, more authentically and honestly. His Romany Rye admirers followed suit. The Gypsies in these texts are not real, though. They are the product of learned grids and codes and reveal the power that the white, middle-class, educated writer has to make himself heard, a power that is denied the Gypsy. However, that these things can be interpreted in

the texts, things that the Ryes dismissed, shows that the writer's textual control is anything but absolute.

In *The Illustrated London News*, the lack of textual control over the figure of the Gypsy (by which I mean the possibilities for resistance, not some implicit wildness in the Gypsy) can be seen in the relationship between two forms: the written text and the visual image. The newspaper produces a figure that is simultaneously the object of derision and desire. What the publication tries to cover up (but that is revealed in a close reading of the Gypsy on its pages) is that neither illustration nor writing can make an absent referent present.

George Eliot's Fedalma is more haunted than ghost, accepting the spectres of her Gypsy ancestry and negotiating the phantoms of an unknown future. The chapter in which Eliot's work is discussed focuses on the politics of the inherited archive, a theme that is central to this thesis. The idea that what goes into the archive is affected by whoever leaves the trace, and in what form, influences my insistence on the examination of the construction of the Gypsy by those who are not.

In the children's literature I write about, the Gypsy is offered as a figure with whom to identify if one wishes to transgress the boundaries of polite society, and as a suitable candidate for Christian conversion. What these books seem to offer their readers, in common with all the texts described above, is certainty about race, class, culture and identity. People can be defined, located and contained. This reassures concerns about civil unrest (as seen in revolutionary Europe), fractious colonial subjects and one's own place in the world. A psychoanalytic reading that draws on deconstruction reveals the pressure these texts are under to maintain that certainty, even when its foundations are constantly undermined. The figure of the Gypsy troubles notions of inside and outside, of home and foreign, of the one and the other, even of east and west.

The danger of research that focuses on what the figure of the Gypsy represents to those who construct it (the white, middle-class, educated writers and reader) is that the Gypsy becomes merely a way of talking about bourgeois identity; the experience of the people themselves is elided once again. Also important, though, is not falling into the trap of thinking that I can strip back the layers of whiteness in the texts to reveal the true Gypsy underneath. The Gypsy was a textual construction, but one with real effects. I cannot know the lived effects of the construction in the past, except by its textual fragments. Closely examining those fragments to find moments of resistance against hegemonic discourse seems to me to be the best tribute I can pay to the Victorian Gypsy.

Notes

Notes to Introduction

[1] Horace Smith, 'Arabs of Europe', in *The Wind on the Heath: A Gypsy Anthology*, ed. by John Sampson (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930), pp. 15–16. The poem was originally published in Smith's *Miscellaneous Poems* of 1846.

[2] Donald Kenrick, *Gypsies: From the Ganges to the Thames* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2004), p. 4. With this text, and thoughout the thesis, when a text is first mentioned it is referenced with an endnote containing full bibliographical details. Subsequent references are made in parenthesis in the main body of the text.

[3] Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), p. 113.

[4] David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 78; nn. 14–15.

[5] David Mayall, *Gypsy-travellers in Nineteenth-century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 20.

[6] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973), p. 96.

[7] George Crabbe, 'The Philanthropist', in Sampson, p. 99. Sampson references the extract as coming from 'The Lover's Journey', in *Tales* (1812).

[8] Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell, *Middle Classes: Their Rise and Sprawl* (London: Phoenix, 2003), p. 11.

[9] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 3 vols, ed. by Joseph A. Buttigieg, trans. by Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari (New York and Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1992), I, pp. 137–8.

[10] Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)', in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. by Ben Brewster (London: NLB, 1971), pp. 121–173 (pp. 128; 136–8).

[11] Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influence of Race Over the Destinies of Nations*, 2nd edn (London: Renshaw, 1862), p. v.

[12] Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellman, *Dissertation on the Gipsies: Being an Historical Enquiry, concerning the Manner of Life, Œconomy, Customs and Conditions of these People in Europe, and their Origin*, trans. by Matthew Raper (London: Elmsley, 1787), p. xv.

[13] Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 13; Walter Simson, *A History of the Gipsies: With Specimens of the Gipsy Language*, ed. by James Simson (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1865), p. 341.

[14] Richard Dyer, *White* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 19.

[15] Rupert Croft-Cooke, 'Foreword' to *A Book of Gypsy Folk-tales*, ed. by Dora Yates (London: Phoenix House, 1948), pp. xiii–xvii (pp. xiv; xv).

[16] bell hooks, 'Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance', in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), pp. 21–39 (p. 21).

[17] Christopher Lane, 'The Psychoanalysis of Race: An Introduction', in *The Psychoanalysis of Race*, ed. by Christopher Lane (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 1–37 (p. 4).

[18] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 50.

[19] Homi K. Bhabha, 'Foreword: Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche and the Colonial Condition', in Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto, 1986), pp. vii–xxv (pp. xv; xiii).

[20] For a concise meditation on the use of psychoanalysis in literary criticism and the implications each body of knowledge has for the other, see Shoshana Felman, 'To Open the Question', *Literature and Psychoanalysis: The Question of Reading: Otherwise*, ed. by Shoshana Felman, *Yale French Studies*, 55/56 (1977), 5–10.

[21] Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), VI: *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1960, repr. 1978); XIII: *Totem and Taboo and Other Works* (1953, repr. 1978); XXIII: *Moses and Monotheism, An Outline of Psychoanlysis and Other Works* (1964, repr. 1975).

[22] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 64.

[23] Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 23.

[24] Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 99.

[25] Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. by Geoffrey Wall (London, Henley and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

[26] Jacques Derrida, 'Freud and the Scene of Writing', in *Writing and Difference*, trans. by Alan Bass (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 246–291 (p. 250).

[27] Sigmund Freud, 'A Note Upon The "Mystic Writing Pad"', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XIX: *The Ego and the Id and Other Works* (1961, repr. 1986), pp. 225–232.

[28] In 'Writings on the Mind: Thomas de Quincey and the Importance of the Palimpsest in Nineteenth-Century Thought', *Prose Studies*, 10 (1987), 207–24, Josephine McDonagh describes the use of the palimpsest as an historical and psychological model, one which has, as she points out, features in common with Freud's Mystic Writing Pad. McDonagh draws out in de Quincey's work the contradiction of simultaneous retention and erasure that the palimpsest and Mystic Writing Pad share, with the help of Derrida's essay on the latter (my n. 26). The consequent notion of 'recollection as kind of undoing' (McDonagh, p. 213) is one to which I return in the context of writing as cultural memory.

[29] See Léon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, trans. by Edmund Howard (London: Chatto, 1974).

[30] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

[31] Katie Trumpener, 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People Without History" in the Narratives of the West', in *Identities*, ed. by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 338–79 (p. 356).

[32] Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., 'Editors' Introduction: Multiplying Identities', in *Identities*, pp. 1–6 (p. 6).

[33] Alicia Carroll, *Dark Smiles: Race and Desire in George Eliot* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003), p. 29.

[34] Regenia Gagnier, 'Cultural Philanthropy, Gypsies, and Interdisciplinary Scholars: Dream of a Common Language', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 1 (2005) <http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/issue1/RegeniaGagnier.pdf> [accessed 7 January 2008].

[35] George K. Behlmer, 'The Gypsy Problem in Victorian England', *Victorian Studies*, 28: 2 (1985), 231–53.

[36] For more detail, see my review in *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 47 (2007) <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ravon/2007/v/n47/016708ar.html> [accessed 8 February 2008].

[37] Sarah L Holloway, 'Outsiders in Rural Society? Constructions of Rurality and Nature–Society Relations in the Racialisation of English Gypsy-travellers, 1869–1934', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21: 6 (2003) 695–715 <http://www.envplan.com/abstract.cgi?id=d49j> [accessed 26 January 2008] (p. 699).

[38] In particular in *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004).

[39] Evelyn Gould, *The Fate of Carmen* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 4.

[40] See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995).

[41] *The Art Journal*, 1 February 1865, p. 60 and 1 December 1865, p. 364.

[42] George Borrow, *Romano Lavo-Lil: Word-book of the Romany: or, English Gypsy Language* (London: Murray, 1874); Simson, *A History of the Gipsies*; B.C. Smart and H. T. Crofton, *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, 2nd edn (London: Asher, 1875).

[43] A local weekly newspaper in Worcestershire employs this practice. See, for example, Steve Mather, 'Gipsy Loses her Eviction Struggle', *Evesham Journal* (21 June 2007) <http://www.eveshamjournal.co.uk/search/display.var.1489558.0.gipsy_loses_her_eviction_struggle.php> [accessed 26 January 2008].

Notes to Chapter One

[1] Sigmund Freud, 'Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's *Gradiva*', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), IX: *Jensen's 'Gradiva' and Other Works* (1959, repr. 1975), pp. 7–95 (p. 14).

[2] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 98.

[3] Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellman, *Dissertation on the Gipsies: Being an Historical Enquiry, concerning the Manner of Life, Œconomy, Customs and Conditions of these People in Europe, and their Origin*, trans. by Matthew Raper (London: Elmsley, 1787), pp. xvii; 14.

[4] Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. by Geoffrey Wall (London, Henley and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 94; original emphasis.

[5] Geoffrey Moorhouse, *India Britannica: A Vivid Introduction to the History of British India* (Chicago, IL: Academy, 2000), pp. 64; 71; 62.

[6] Michael Mann, '"Torchbearers Upon the Path of Progress": Britain's Ideology of a "Moral and Material Progress" in India', in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, ed. by Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Anthem, 2004), pp. 1–26 (pp. 7; 5).

[7] See Peter Garside, 'Meg Merrilies and India', in *Scott in Carnival: Selected Papers from the Fourth International Scott Conference, Edinburgh 1991*, ed. by J.H. Alexander and David Hewitt (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1993), pp. 154–71; 'Picturesque Figure and Landscape: Meg Merrilies and the Gypsies', in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 145–174; and Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[8] Carl Plasa, *Textual Politics from Slavery to Postcolonialism: Race and Identification* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 34.

[9] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 66.

[10] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 71–2.

[11] George Saintsbury, 'George Saintsbury on Borrow', in *Borrow Selections*, ed. by Humphrey S. Milford (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924), pp. 26–52 (p. 27).

[12] Ian Duncan, 'Wild England: George Borrow's Nomadology', *Victorian Studies*, 41: 3 (1998), 381–403 (p. 393).

[13] George Borrow, *The Romany Rye* (London: Dent, 1961), pp. 246–7.

[14] Walter Scott, *Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, ed. by David Hewitt and others, 30 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993–), II: *Guy Mannering*, ed. by Peter Garside (1999), p. 23. Similarly, the Jewish Rebecca wears a turban in *Ivanhoe* which 'suited well with the darkness of her complexion' and the Gypsies in Scott's 1823 novel *Quentin Durward* have complexions 'nearly as dark as that of Africans' and also wear turbans. See VIII: *Ivanhoe*, ed. by Graham Tulloch (1998), pp. 71–2 and XV: *Quentin Durward*, ed. by J.H. Alexander and G.A.M. Wood (2001), p. 73.

[15] George Borrow, *The Romany Rye*, p. 309. Later in the century, an entire chapter of Richard F. Burton's *The Jew, The Gypsy and El Islam* (London: Hutchinson, 1898), compiled by Burton around 1875, is taken up with the politics of who first in the nineteenth century made the ethnological link between Gypsies and the Jat of the Indus Valley.

[16] Katie Trumpener, 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People Without History" in the Narratives of the West', in *Identities*, ed. by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 338–379 (p. 362).

[17] Alyson Bardsley, 'In and Around the Borders of the Nation in Scott's *Guy Mannering*', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 24: 4 (2002), 397–415 (p. 400). Bardsley's article explores the 'dissonances between the *representation* of Scotland as a historically grounded and limited locality and its *conception* as part of the systems that link the different parts of the United Kingdom and a growing empire' (p. 397; original emphasis). A discussion of Scotland's particular role in the imperial project and the effect this has on the Gypsies' figuring as a spectral return of empire is, unfortunately, too long for inclusion in this chapter, though it offers possibilities for future work.

[18] Sigmund Freud, 'The "Uncanny"', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XVII: *An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works* (1955, repr. 1991), pp. 217–252 (p. 220).

[19] See *The Early Poems of John Clare: 1804–1822*, ed. by Eric Robinson and David Powell, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), I, p. 33 (l. 9); II, p. 119 (l. 15) and Harrison Ainsworth, *Rookwood*, ed. by Juliet John, Cult Criminals: The Newgate Novels 1830–1847, 6 vols (London and New York: Routledge, 1998; facsimile reprint of original, 1836), V.

[20] Jacques Derrida, 'Différance', in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. by Alan Bass (London and New York: Prentice Hall, 1982), pp. 1–27 (p. 17).

[21] William Shakespeare, *The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Proudfoot and others, 3rd edn, 37 vols (London: Methuen, 1982–), XXIV: *Othello*, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann (1997), 3. 4. 58–74.

[22] David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 77, n. 2; 56.

[23] Deborah Epstein Nord, '"Marks of Race": Gypsy Figures and Eccentric Femininity in Nineteenth-century Women's Writing', *Victorian Studies*, 41: 2 (1998), 189–210 (p. 189) and *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, p. 33.

[24] Bernard Semmel, *George Eliot and the Politics of National Inheritance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 105; emphasis added.

[25] Peter Garside, 'Popular Fiction and National Tale: Hidden Origins of Scott's *Waverley*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 46: 1 (1991), 30–53 (p. 31).

[26] Katie Trumpener, 'National Character, Nationalistic Plots: National Tale and Historical Novel in the Age of Waverley, 1806–1830', *ELH*, 60: 3 (1993), 685–731 (p. 687). Trumpener excises this assertion from the version of this article that appears as a chapter in *Bardic Nationalism*, perhaps deciding that Scott scholarship after Lukács and Muir does not credit Scott with quite this much influence. Nonetheless, its earlier inclusion in the article demonstrates a certain critical attitude to Scott: even if he is not the established literary progenitor of various genres and imagery, he still has a reputation as such.

[27] John Clare, 'The Gipsey' in *The Early Poems of John Clare: 1804–1822*, II, p. 211 (ll. 3; 13).

[28] Sigmund Freud, 'Fetishism, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XXI: *The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and its Discontents and Other Works* (1961, repr. 1978), pp. 152–57.

[29] Sigmund Freud, 'Medusa's Head', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XVIII: *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works* (1955, repr. 1961), pp. 273–74.

[30] George Borrow, *Lavengro* (London: Dent, 1961), pp. 34–5.

[31] B. C. Smart and H.T. Crofton, *The Dialect of the English Gipsies*, 2nd edn (London: Asher, 1875), p. viii; emphasis added.

[32] Nord also remarks on this interest, but sees Lavengro as 'recogniz[ing] his future self' in the isolation of Defoe's hero (Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, p. 89). Lavengro's interest in *Robinson Crusoe* is also implicated in the notion of a literary genealogy, for Daniel Defoe's work is frequently posited as an initiator of the novel tradition, positioning the author as the father of the genre, and thus someone whom the juvenile author ought to encounter. See, for example, Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (London: Pimlico, 2000), an index of which might contain a long list of entries connecting Defoe with the word 'first'. Watt says, 'very few writers have created for themselves both a new subject and a new literary form to embody it. Defoe did both' (p. 134).

[33] Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 15.

[34] Walter Scott, *Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, ed. by David Hewitt and others, 30 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993–), VI: *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ed. by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (2004), p. 166.

[35] This reference is taken from the title of Francis Hindes Groome's work *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh: Nimmo, 1880).

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] Jacques Derrida, '*Prière d'insérer*', in *Mal d'Archive* (Paris: Galilée, 1995), pp. 1–3 (p. 1). The title of my chapter is taken from this insertion (p. 2) but also echoes Marcel Proust's *À la Recherche du Temps Perdu* (1913–1927), itself a temporally untrustworthy archive of an individual consciousness.

[2] See David Mayall, *Gypsy-travellers in Nineteenth-century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 4.

[3] Charles Godfrey Leland, *The Gypsies* (London: Trübner, 1882), p. 16.

[4] Charles Godfrey Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* (London: Unwin, 1891), p. xii. As if to underline the Orientalist connections of Gypsylorism, the copy of this text used for this thesis at once belonged to the library of the India Office.

[5] B. C. Smart and H.T. Crofton, *The Dialect of the English Gipsies*, 2nd edn (London: Asher, 1875), p. ix.

[6] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 240.

[7] Jean-François Lyotard, 'Answer to the Question: What is the Postmodern?', in *The Postmodern Explained to Children: Correspondence 1982–1985*, trans. by Julian Pefanis and others (London: Turnaround, 1992), pp. 9–25 (p. 14.)

[8] William Sharp, *The Gypsy Christ and Other Tales* (Chicago, IL: Stone and Kimball, 1895), pp. 8–9.

[9] George K. Behlmer, 'The Gypsy Problem in Victorian England', *Victorian Studies*, 28: 2 (1984–5), 231–53 (pp. 236–7). Behlmer's article, while meticulously researched and comprehensive, falls into the trap of using literary imagery as if it were historical fact. For example, he quotes Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* (discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis) but as if the Gypsies really were a 'race that lives on prey as foxes do' (Behlmer, p. 231).

[10] Charles Godfrey Leland, *Memoirs*, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1893), I, p. 6.

[11] Charles Godfrey Leland, 'preface' to *The English Gipsies and Their Language*, (London: Trübner, 1873), p. v.

[12] Michael Owen Jones, 'Francis Hindes Groome: "Scholar Gypsy and Gypsy Scholar"', *The Journal Of American Folklore*, 80: 315 (1967), 71–80 <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-8715%28196701%2F03%2980%3A315%3C71%3AFHG%22GA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-2> [accessed 26 January 2008] (p. 73).

[13] Theodore Watts-Dunton, *Old Familiar Faces* (London: Jenkins, 1916), p. 290.

[14] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XXI: *The Future of an Illusion, Civilisation and Its Discontents and Other Works* (1961, repr. 1978), pp. 64–145 (pp. 118–9) and *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, in XVIII: *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works* (1955, repr. 1978), pp. 7–64 (pp. 56–7).

[15] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 11–12.

[16] Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 1.

[17] On the Irish question see Brantlinger's chapter, 'The Irish Famine' (pp. 94–116). In one example, Brantlinger discusses Anthony Trollope's 1860 novel, *Castle Richmond*: 'Like the Bushmen and the Australian aborigines whom he declares in his imperial travelogues to be inevitably doomed, the starving Irish are, for Trollope, a surplus or refuse population needing to be swept away to make room for a tidier, more English world' (Brantlinger, p. 114).

[18] Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influence of Race Over the Destinies of Nations*, 2nd edn (London: Renshaw, 1862), p. 157.

[19] Regenia Gagnier, 'Cultural Philanthropy, Gypsies and Interdisciplinary Scholars: Dream of a Common Language' in *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 1 (2005), 1–24 <http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/issue1/RegeniaGagnier.pdf> [accessed 7 January 2008]].

[20] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland: A Biography*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1906), II; p. 146.

[21] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 45.

[22] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto, 1986), p. 132.

[23] Francis Hindes Groome, *Kriegspiel: The War Game* (London, New York and Melbourne: Ward, Lock and Bowden, 1896), p. 282.

[24] Theodore Watts-Dunton, *The Coming of Love: Rhona Boswell's Story and Other Poems*, 8th edn (London: John Lane, 1907), p. vii.

[25] Theodore Watts-Dunton, *Aylwin* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 248.

[26] Catherine Maxwell, 'Theodore Watts-Dunton's *Aylwin* (1898) and the Reduplications of Romanticism', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 37: 1 (2007), 1–21 (p. 1).

[27] Matthew, Arnold, 'Resignation', *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. by Kenneth Allott (London: Longmans, 1965), pp. 84–95 (l. 212).

[28] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 86; original emphasis.

[29] Matthew Arnold, 'The Scholar-Gipsy' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, pp. 331–344 (l. 224).

[30] Holger Kersten, 'The Creative Potential of Dialect Writing in Later-Nineteenth-Century America', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 55: 1 (2000), 92–117 (p. 95).

[31] Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 62.

[32] G.J. Whyte-Melville, *Black But Comely; or, The Adventures of Jane Lee*, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), II; p. 69.

[33] Tom Taylor, 'Gypsey Experiences', *Illustrated London News*, 13 December 1851, pp. 715–16 (p. 716). The column is published under the pseudonym 'A Roumany Rei' but is credited to Taylor by Watts-Dunton in *Old Familiar Faces* (p. 287).

[34] Francis Hindes Groome, *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh: Nimmo, 1880), pp. 322–3.

[35] Groome's fascination with the female Gypsy's eyes, fascination he blames on the objects themselves rather than on his fetishization of her body part, is connected, as in Chapter One, with the snake. The image, I suggest, depicts the Gypsy as strangely exotic without her being a psychical threat. The Medusa-like Meg Merrilies is discussed in the same way in my first chapter. They are both other, but an examination of what that otherness means is deferred by the fetish: here, the serpentine eye. The exoticism is heightened by an obvious connection with the snake charmers of India, and in a contribution for *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, Groome describes the Gypsies' history as 'magicians, soothsayers and serpent-charmers'. The woman in *In Gipsy Tents* is ambiguously both snake and charmer, entrancing and entranced, languorous and passionate. See Francis Hindes Groome and Leslie Frank Newman, 'Gypsies' in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, ed. by M. D. Law, new edn, 15 vols (London: Newnes, 1950), VI, pp. 672–5 (p. 672).

[36] Samuel Roberts, *Parallel Miracles; or, the Jews and the Gypsies* (London: Nisbet, 1830), p. 31.

[37] Letter to John Sampson, Liverpool University Librarian and Gypsy lorist (25 February 1896, Scott MacFie collection, Liverpool University Library). Groome clearly hopes to counteract this general ignorance by asking fellow lorists to review the novel. In the letter he asks that Sampson do so for a Liverpool paper and expects an acquaintance, David MacRitchie, to review *Kriegspiel* for the *Academy*. In March of the same year, Groome promises in another letter to return the favour by reviewing Sampson's book in the *Athenaeum*. By July, however, Groome writes, 'A month or more I have given up looking out for a notice by you of that great book "Kriegspiel". Probably you didn't see your way to commending [it]' (6 July 1896, Scott MacFie collection, Liverpool University Library).

[38] Katie Trumpener, 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People without History" in the Narratives of the West', in *Identities*, ed. by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 338–79 (p. 364).

[39] The resolution of the story is not quite as complete as my synopsis suggests, for the woman to whom Glemham hopes to return once he proves his respectable identity has, in his absence, become a nun and refuses to break her vows (p. 365).

[40] Whether galled by Watts-Dunton's success in the face of his own literary failure or sincerely troubled by the quality of Watts-Dunton's scholarship, Groome writes in a further letter to Sampson 'Have you read *Aylwin*? I reviewed it for the *Bookman*, & of course praised it, for the liking I have for its author. But I don't at heart care much for it; it seems to me so un-real – "Mumply, minaw?" The worst things are gone, however, some awful rot with them. [...] But when I see every ignorant reviewer extolling the author's masterly & exhaustive knowledge of Gypsydom, why Watts's knowledge of the Gypsies is not 3 per cent of our own. He has talked with Borrow and myself, that's about all' (4 December 1898, Scott MacFie collection, Liverpool University Library).

[41] Jacques Derrida, 'Freud and the Scene of Writing', in *Writing and Difference*, trans. by Alan Bass (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 246–291 (p. 252).

[42] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, corrected edn (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 158.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] *Illustrated London News* (hereafter *ILN*), 'preface' to Volume I (1842), pp. iii–iv (p. iii).

[2] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 29.

[3] Peter W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the* Illustrated London News (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), p. 61.

[4] Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004), p. 15. For a further Derridean reading of the parergonal relationship between an image and its context, focusing on the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, see Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 15–147.

[5] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, corrected edn (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 145; original emphasis.

[6] James A. W. Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 3. See also Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page*, p. 31.

[7] W. J. T Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 37.

[8] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). p. 67.

[9] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, trans. by Harry Zohn, 2nd edn (London: Fontana, 1992), pp. 211–244 (p. 217).

[10] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 39–40; original emphasis.

[11] For broader discussions of nineteenth-century attitudes to Gypsies see the Introduction to this thesis; David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004) and *Gypsy-travellers in Nineteenth-century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), and George K. Behlmer, 'The Gypsy Problem in Victorian England', *Victorian Studies*, 28: 2 (1985), 231–53.

[12] G. R. Lowndes, *Gipsy Tents and How to Use Them: A Handbook for Amateur Gipsies* (London: Horace Cox, 1890).

[13] Gerard Curtis, *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 47.

[14] Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. by Geoffrey Wall (London, Henley and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 94.

[15] For a symptomatic reading of psychoanalysis itself as a 'masculinist and colonialist discipline that promoted an idea of Western subjectivity in opposition to a colonized, feminine and primitive other', see Ranjana Khanna, *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2003); this quotation appears on p. ix.

[16] W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Ekphrasis and the Other', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 91: 3 (1992), 695–719 (p. 699).

[17] For an explanation of the mechanics of fetishism see the section in Chapter One of this thesis.

[18] Charles Godfrey Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* (London: Unwin, 1891), p. 2.

[19] Robert Smith Surtees, *Plain or Ringlets?* (Bath: George Bayntun, 1926), p. 8.

[20] Jane Austen, *Emma*, ed. by Alistair M. Duckworth (Boston, MA and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002), p. 267.

[21] David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities*, p. 264. For a detailed account of George Smith and his work, see Mayall, *Gypsy-travellers in Nineteenth-century Society*, Ch. 6.

[22] Catherine Hughes, 'Imperialism, Illustration, and the *Daily Mail*, 1896–1904', in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Michael Harris and Alan Lee (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986), pp. 187–200 (pp. 188; 200).
A 1995 article in the *Guardian* describes how former Conservative party leader Michael Howard 'added his own brand of manicured venom against Travellers to the bullying rhetoric of the *Sun* and *Daily Mail*. He threatened to repeal the Human Rights Act if it stood in the way of evicting Travellers from unauthorised sites, claiming that there was nothing racist about such a policy, simply an attempt to apply the law impartially'. Corin Redgrave, 'Britain's Gypsy Shame', *Guardian*, 8 June 2005 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,1501516,00.html> [accessed 23 January 2008].

[23] Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, ed. by Norman Page (London: Penguin, 1985), pp. 82–94. The periodical, *Punch*, takes up the same theme in a cartoon also entitled 'Telescopic Philanthropy' in 1865. The cartoon shows the figure of Britannia looking through a telescope towards a beach on which newly-landed missionaries talk to black figures, while a ragged-looking child tugs at her dress. The caption reads, 'Little London Arab. "Please 'm, ain't we black enough to be cared for?"' (*Punch*, 4 March 1865, p. 89).

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, ed. by Graham Handley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 20; 49.

[2] Jacques Derrida, 'The Time is Out of Joint', trans. by Peggy Kamuf, in *Deconstruction is/in America: A New Sense of the Political*, ed. by Anselm Haverkamp (New York and London: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 14–38 (p. 21).

[3] George Eliot, *Mr Gilfil's Love Story* (London: John Long, 1907), p. 55.

[4] Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), p. 65.

[5] Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (London and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), p. 181.

[6] George Eliot, *The Lifted Veil* (London: Virago, 1985), pp. 1; 4; 48.

[7] George Eliot, 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' in *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, ed. by Nancy Henry (London: William Pickering, 1994), pp. 143–87 (pp. 150; 152).

[8] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 36; 29.

[9] Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), p. 5. Throughout this work, but in particular in Chapter Three, 'The Jewish Psyche: Freud, Dora, and the Idea of the Hysteric', pp. 60–103, Gilman describes the feminization of the figure of the Jew. I do not read Daniel Deronda as a feminized figure, however, particularly as the adoption of his own Jewishness is what invests him with a patriarchal, state-founding power. On Daniel Deronda's circumcision, see Cynthia Chase, 'The Decomposition of the Elephants: Double-Reading *Daniel Deronda*, *PMLA*, 93 (1978), 215–27 (pp. 222–4).

[10] See Patrick Brantlinger, 'Nations and Novels: Disraeli, George Eliot, and Orientalism', *Victorian Studies*, 35 (1992), pp. 255–75 (p. 270).

[11] See Alicia Carroll, *Dark Smiles: Race and Desire in George Eliot* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003) for one treatment of *The Mill on the Floss*, pp. 40–51.

[12] Joseph Wiesenfarth, *George Eliot's Mythmaking* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1977), p. 212.

[13] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), p. 279; original emphasis.

[14] I am indebted to Gareth Gordon's 'Horizons of Change: Deconstruction and the Evanescence of Authority', *Research on Anarchism Forum* at <http://raforum.apinc.org/article.php3?id_article=3433> [accessed 23 January 2008] for my understanding of this aspect of Heidegger and Derrida's theory.

[15] Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994) p. 12.

[16] Margueritte Murphy, 'The Ethic of the Gift in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 34 (2006), 189–207, p. 202.

[17] Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: 'The Jewish Question' and English National Identity* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 22.

[18] Pierre Macherey, 'Marx Dematerialized, or the Spirit of Derrida', in *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's* Specters of Marx, ed. by Michael Sprinker (London and New York: Verso, 1999), pp. 17–25 (p. 19).

[19] I am unwilling to criticise Gwendolen's actions much more than this, for despite her self-inflicted unhappiness it does not strike me that Eliot paints her harshly. She represents the limited options available to one of her gender and class in the nineteenth century: inherit wealth or marry in to it. In addition, she is a spirited and likeable character, far more so, in fact, than the supercilious Deronda.

[20] George Eliot, *The Spanish Gypsy* (London: Virtue [n.d.]), p. 150.

[21] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 100.

[22] George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, ed. by A.S. Byatt (London and New York: Penguin, 1985), p. 164.

[23] Gilman also discusses nineteenth-century interest in the Jewish gaze as a marker of difference in *The Jew's Body* (pp. 68–72).

[24] Audrey Carr Shields, *Gypsy Stereotypes in Victorian Literature* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1993), p. 193.

[25] Thomas Pinney, 'The Authority of the Past in George Eliot's Novels', in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 21: 2 (1966), 131–147 (pp. 145–6). Pinney quotes Leslie Stephen, *George Eliot* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1913) p. 166.

[26] George Eliot, *George Eliot's Life as Related in her Letters and Journals*, ed. by J.W. Cross, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1885), III, p. 42.

[27] As David Mayall explains in an examination of the construction of the ethnic Gypsy within twentieth-century discourse, 'the notion of dispersal and migration carries with it the idea of an original homeland from where the first ancestors departed and so provides a basis for a sense of national identity. For some, it even becomes a land, like Israel for the Jews, to which the Gypsies will one day return, the final political goal and peak of spiritual fulfilment'. David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 222.

[28] Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia' in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XIV: *On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works* (1957, repr. 1995), pp. 243–258 (p. 243).

[29] The badge as a marker of identity is not straightforward in *The Spanish Gypsy*. Zarca wears his as a badge of honour and Juan refers it to in his early hyperbole about the chieftan. However, when Silva asks the Jewish Sephardo to be his friend beyond race or religion, Sephardo retorts that there is no such thing as 'naked manhood', proved by the fact that his 'people's livery' bears a yellow badge, 'mark[ing] them for Christian scorn' (Eliot, *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 195). He speaks metaphorically, here, continuing Silva's own use of a vocabulary of bestowal, but Jews were compelled to wear a yellow 'badge of shame' from the thirteenth century in Christian Spain, a practice that continued into the period in which the poem is set. See Yitzhak Baer, *A History of*

the Jews in Christian Spain, trans. by Louis Schoffman, 2 vols (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1961), II, p. 249.

Notes to Chapter Five

[1] Charlotte O'Brien, *Little Gipsy Marion: A Tale* (Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis, [1870]), p. 9.

[2] Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 56.

[3] Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 16.

[4] Jacques Derrida and Elisabeth Roudinesco, 'Disordered Families', in *For What Tomorrow...A Dialogue*, trans. by Jeff Fort (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 33–46 (p. 45).

[5] Jacques Derrida, 'Le Facteur de la Vérité', in *The Postcard: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, trans. by Alan Bass (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 411–96 (p. 489).

[6] Jacques Lacan, 'The Instance of the Letter in the Unconscious: or Reason Since Freud', in *Écrits*, trans. by Bruce Fink (New York and London: Norton, 2006), pp. 412–441 (p. 413).

[7] Sigmund Freud, 'Notes Upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis (1909)' [The Rat Man], in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), X: *Two Case Histories* (1955, repr. 1975), pp. 155–318 (p. 173).

[8] Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 11.

[9] Mme de Stolz, *The House on Wheels; or, Far From Home*, trans. by N. D'anvers (London: Sampson Low, 1874), pp. 14; 38. Further reference to this text is, unless otherwise stated, to this edition of *House on Wheels*.

[10] Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)', in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. by Ben Brewster (London: NLB, 1971), pp. 121–173.

[11] Insert, in Mme de Stolz, *The House on Wheels; or, Far From Home*, trans. by N. D'anvers, Rose Library, one-shilling edn (London: Sampson Low, 1874).

[12] John Barrell, *The Infection of Thomas de Quincey: A Psychopathology of Imperialism* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 10.

[13] Élie Sauvage, *The Little Gipsy*, trans. by Anna Blackwell (London: Griffith and Farran, 1869), p. 35.

[14] Sigmund Freud, 'Family Romances', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), IX: *Jensen's 'Gradiva' and Other Works* (1959, repr. 1975), pp. 237–241 (p. 237).

[15] Kate Wood, *Jack and the Gypsies* (London: Blackie, [1887]), p. 61; M. E. Bewsher, *The Gipsy's Secret; or, Deb's Revenge and What Came of It* (London: Book Society, [1871]), p. 18.

[16] Emma Leslie, *A Gypsy Against Her Will* (London: Blackie, [1889]), p. 85.

[17] G. J. Whyte-Melville, *Black But Comely or, The Adventures of Jane Lee*, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), I, p. 219.

[18] Representations of people performing Gypsiness by dyeing the skin have a long history. An epilogue to the performance of Ben Jonson's 'The Gipsies Metamorphosed' at Windsor in 1621 makes the role of the actors and the artifice of their craft clear with the lines: 'Know, that what dy'd our face, was an ointment/ Made, and laid on by master Woolf's appointment'. See Ben Jonson, 'The Gipsies Metamorphosed', in *The Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by W. Gifford, 9 vols (London: Nicol, 1816), VII: *Masques at Court*, pp. 365–424 (p. 424).

[19] See Jacques Lacan, 'Seminar on "The Purloined Letter"' in *Écrits*, pp. 6–48 (p. 30) and Derrida, 'Le Facteur de la Vérité', p. 438.

[20] Nellie Cornwall, *Twice Rescued; or, The Story of Little Tino* (London: Shaw: [1888]), p. 45.

[21] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. 35; original emphasis.

[22] William Wordsworth, 'Gypsies', *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by E. de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire, 5 vols (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940–49), II, 2nd edn (1952), p. 226 (l. 28).

[23] Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 33–4.

[24] Emma Leslie, 'The Little Gipsy', in *Sunbeam Susette: A Story of the Siege of Paris* (London: Sunday School Union, [1874[), p. 124.

[25] Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellman, *Dissertation on the Gipsies: Being an Historical Enquiry, concerning the Manner of Life, Œconomy, Customs and Conditions of these People in Europe, and their Origin*, trans. by Matthew Raper (London: Elmsley, 1787), p. 8.

[26] Richard Dyer, *White* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 14.

[27] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 7.

[28] Sigmund Freud, 'The "Uncanny"', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey and others (London: Hogarth, 1955–1974), XVII: *An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works* (1955, repr. 1991), pp. 217–52.

[29] Elizabeth K. Douglas, 'The Gipsy Boy', in *The Forest Pony, The Gipsy Boy, and Other Tales* (London and Dublin: Richardson, 1872), pp. 72–122 (p. 75).

[30] For an exceptionally detailed survey of British evangelicalism, its politics and its domestic urban missionary work, see Donald M. Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London, 1828–1860*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, 19 (New York, Westport, CN and London: Greenwood Press, 2001).

[31] The pervasive fear of the unknown child whose proper place is not with the family is seen most powerfully in mainstream literature in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847). Heathcliff is first brought to the Heights as a bundle in Mr Earnshaw's arms, 'as dark almost as if it came from the devil'. Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, ed. by Heather Glen (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 79. He is consistently described as a Gypsy and I accept that the text constructs him specifically and racially as a Gypsy, rather than using the term merely to mean a dark stranger of unknown origins. Nord sounds a note of doubt about Heathcliff's Gypsiness,

referring to him as a 'so-called gipsy brat' (*Gypsies and the British Imagination*, p. 10). Mr Lockwood, for example, knows nothing of Heathcliff's mysterious history but on first seeing him describes him as a 'dark-skinned gypsy in aspect' (Brontë, p. 51). Edgar Linton's first view of him has him looking 'exactly like the son of the fortune-teller' who has been thereabouts (p. 91). Nellie Dean describes his history as being that of a cuckoo, and it is not just Hareton Earnshaw who is cast out; Heathcliff's eventual plan is to dismantle the entire nest. Hindley Earnshaw 'swears he will reduce him to his *right place*' (p. 66; emphasis added). Fear of the incomer, in the wrong place, is what drives Heathcliff to dismantle the family from within.

[32] Anon, *Gipsy Mike; or, Firm as a Rock* (London: Shaw, [1881]), p. 13.

[33] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, or, On Education*, trans. by Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), p. 37.

[34] R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780–1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 24.

[35] J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 43.

[36] Jacques Derrida, 'For the Love of Lacan', in *Resistances of Psychoanalysis*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf and others (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 39–69 (p. 56). In this section of the text on his respect for Lacan, demonstrated by the way he pursues his own work according to Lacanian pathways, Derrida refers back to when he originally made this statement in another text, *Positions* (1971).

Notes to Conclusion

[1] G.J. Whyte-Melville, *Black But Comely; or, The Adventures of Jane Lee*, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), I, p. 5.

[2] Mann, Michael, '"Torchbearers Upon the Path of Progress": Britain's Ideology of a "Moral and Material Progress" in India' in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, ed. by Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Anthem, 2004), pp. 1–26 (p. 20).

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