The colonised is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle.

(Frantz Fanon)

He [Strickland] held the extraordinary theory that a Policeman in India should try to know as much about the natives as the natives themselves. Now, in the whole of Upper India, there is only one man who can pass for Hindu or Mahommedan, hide-dresser or priest, as he pleases. He is feared and respected by the natives from the Ghor Kathri to the Jamma Musjid; and he is supposed to have the gift of invisibility and executive control over many Devils.

(Rudyard Kipling, 'Miss Youghal's sais')

The title of my article, which is an inversion of Fanon's Black Skins/White Masks, aims to draw attention to one of the more visible - but less noticed - aspects of the nineteenth-century imperial legacy. By this I refer to the phenomenon of cultural cross-dressing - the fantasy of the white man disguised as 'native'. From Sir Richard Burton to John Buchan, from the 'Lawrence of Arabia' legend to the recent screening of the Masters novel, The Deceivers, the visual and imaginative pleasure of stepping into another's clothes forms one of the central legacies of orientalism. Needless to say, much of the fantasy of native costume is reserved for the dominant White Man; as one of my colleagues puts it, it is the white man who dresses up and the native who reveals his body for consumption by dressing down. Hence, unlike the theorization of cross-dressing which sees a deliberate reversal of gendered costume as calling into question the artificiality of such stereotyping, the act of donning another's clothing, I would argue, is seldom indicative of the disruption of power hierarchies. Instead, it works - however problematically - towards reinforcing them.

This article will concentrate on the late Victorian and Edwardian literary manifestations of that cultural myth, and in particular on Rudyard Kipling. The Kipling stories which centre on the characters of Strickland and Kim draw on discourses which define the native urban underworld as dark, alien, polluted, diseased, and chaotic, even as they document a fascination with the romance of incursion into that forbidden territory. But to assess the
implications of that 'transgression' of social boundaries, we must first address the history of the mapping of these territories in the development of the colonial city.

THE COLONIAL CITY

Anthony King's book, Colonial Urban Development, argues that the Anglo-Indian city presents a problem for the colonizing power, which is fundamentally one of contact between two different ideological systems. The problem is partly surmounted through the imposition of one culture's ideals on another; material and social space is 'structured and utilised according to the value system of the colonising structure, and regulated through its notions of purity and pollution'. The colonial city is composed of two coherent blocks: the civil station, where administrative, political, and bureaucratic functions predominate, and the cantonment, where military presence ensures the perpetuation of the existing power hierarchy. Set against the Anglo-Indian city is the indigenous settlement, also called the native city, the native quarter, the City, or referred to by the anglicized version of its usual name.

Native, far from being taken to mean 'autochthonous' or indigenous to the region, was (re)constituted in the Anglo-Indian city to refer to something unnatural or foreign. Pains were taken to erase all trace of the native presence from the face of civilian and military life as the Anglo-Indian community struggled to attain a self-contained sufficiency. Civil stations, which included residential space for the European community, were established within a disciplinary regime of order and cleanliness. They figured in Anglo-Indian literature within a topos of linearity and geometry. W. H. Russell, special correspondent to The Times, describes the English part of the station in My Diary in the Years 1858-9, as 'laid out in large rectangles, formed by wide roads'; each house is detached, with walls 'enclosing large gardens, lawns and out-offices'. Kate Piatt's guide to the tropical colonies, The Home and Health in India, also characterizes the civil and military lines as being 'well laid out with wide shady roads'. G. W. Steevens, writing in 1899, uses the same terms; there are 'broad straight roads', 'arcaded with trees', broad houses with 'pillared fronts', 'large, walled or hedged enclosure[s], part garden, part mews, part village'.

These geometric lines are not only literal descriptions of the physical settlement patterns of the European community, but also vivid testimonies to the culture's obsession with naming, with demarcation, and with segregation. The obsession with walls, spaces-in-between, and detachment, signals a fear of an imagined pressure from the native quarters, whose metaphoric productivity runs riot, spilling and intermixing. Lines of demarcation were important to the Anglo-Indian residences as magical defences; the compound functioned both as picturesque frame, and as visual bulwark against undesirable outsiders. Dress, language, behaviour, the collection of objects in the house, and the cultivation of the garden presented the occupant with a set of references which helped secure the community's links to its cultural origins:
Great efforts were made to grow English flowers, which generally looked rather sickly in the Indian climate. We could have had the marvellous gardens with orchids and all sorts of things, but no, they must be English flowers.\(^7\)

English gardens became powerful totems transporting one back to English soil; they were fetishized for their ability to counter the polluting influences of what was reinscribed as foreign:

The early mornings especially are as pleasant as anything I can imagine: they have all the sweetness and freshness of an English summer. The air smells of hay and flowers, instead of ditches, dust, fried oil, curry and onions, which are the best of Madras smells . . . . I saw a real staring full-blown hollyhock, which was like meeting an old friend from England, instead of tuberoses, pomegranates.\(^8\)

Regulations abounded when dealing with military residences; western medical knowledge reinforced prejudices to do with modes of habitation and structured concern about the nature of ‘zymotic’ and water-borne infections. Responses to these threats included the provision of adequate ventilation, an efficient system of drainage, waste disposal, and, of course, a supply of clean water. (Significantly, such standards did not apply when dealing with the native sepoys.) Elevated ground was considered most appropriate, while residences on the plains - where military control was really most strategic - became an undesirable but necessary evil. Careful attention was paid to prevailing winds; a site was ideally placed if there was ‘plenty of cool and dry air’, if vegetation was less dense, and if one could avoid ‘ravines full of dead animals and the ordure of many thousands of natives’.\(^9\) If the chosen site did not have these natural advantages, or was located in an already inhabited area, the new settlement had to be protected by high walls and wide spaces. The sanitation of the native city was an obsession; stations kept to the windward side of the offending area, erected barriers, and lived in fear of their lives. Such nervousness was apparent in an interview conducted by the Royal Commission of 1863:

Did you not state that the neighbourhood was crowded by low native houses? - At a short distance it is so, in the Colinga, Durumotollah, and the Bow Bazaar neighbourhoods for example. The influence in certain winds of these places is quite perceptible . . . although there is a very good esplanade between the fort and these bazaars. Is there not considerable space of open ground surrounding the fort? - Yes, it may be called considerable space; but on ascending to a height, Ouchterlony's monument, for example, a person at once perceives how trying this space is when compared with the vast densely covered area by which it is immediately surrounded.\(^10\)

As the interview makes explicit, ‘there is no doubt there would be much more mortality among the troops were they not to some extent separated from those
Where relations with the native population were deemed inevitable, potential sources of danger were regulated through a variety of institutional supports. Lal bazaars (regimental brothels) and lock hospitals were set up to provide the Indian counterpart to provisions under the Contagious Diseases Act at home. Furthermore, the Cantonment Acts managed the spatial area of the military encampment within: behaviour seen as breaking established codes of conduct (usually that associated with the indigenous culture) was subject to severe punishment.

In much Anglo-Indian literature, a Manichaean allegory operates in the polarization of the vile native city versus the good, clean Anglo-Indian one. The language of disciplinary and regulatory discourses produces an Other city which is always sinister, mysterious, and dark, and whose shadow always falls on areas of light. This Other always threatens to spill over geometric divisions, oozing its contaminated bodily wastes, disgusting odours, and noxious smells; it thrives under the sign of the ubiquitous native ever invading hallowed territory. Even W. H. Russell’s liberal sympathies do not exempt him from this collective nightmare; his binary vision of the European versus the Indian station sets linearity and detachment against a contrasting ‘aggregate of houses perforated by tortuous paths . . . resembling a section of worm-eaten wood’. The east ‘grumbles, propagates, squabbles, sits in its decaying temples, haunts its rotting shrines . . . drinks its semi-putrid water’. The Indian city of graveyards and ancient civilizations, of newly-sprung-up bazaars and tenements, is also the out-of-bounds city where the living and the dead intermingle. This hybrid fantasy is the carnivalesque world of the bazaar city where nothing is delineated but everything exists in a chaotic state of intermingling: a carnival of night and a landscape of darkness, noise, offensive smells and obscenities.

Disintegration also haunts Kipling’s writing, where an inquiry into the milk supply of the European community becomes a journey into the City of Dreadful Night. Guided by a policeman into a by-way leading from the main street of Lahore, the journalist-narrator tropes his anxiety. Lahore city, marked by the presence of overflowing sewage, is a dark, feminized native body. Her narrow high-walled passages become more and more claustrophobic as the male reporter hurries through ‘still narrowing’ gullies:

past closed and shuttered windows; past small doors in blank walls, giving access to the dark courtyards even more uncleanly than the region through which he was making his way; beyond the reach of sunlight, into high clefts (it is impossible to call them lanes) where it seemed that last summer’s sultry breath still lingered; and eventually halted in a cul-de-sac.

Closed doors, blank walls, and culs-de-sac deny the reporter’s documentation and masculinized right of entry; Kipling’s text reads like a journey back to the womb. This feminized grotesque body oozes with disgusting lower bodily fluids and ‘utterable aroma[s]’ which spill into public places. Her pitiless dead walls, ‘barred and grated windows . . . were throbbing and humming
with human voices' - all of which are hidden from the disciplinary gaze, as the scene turns on the vulnerability of colonial identity:

Voices of children singing their lessons at school; sounds of feet on stone steps, or wooden balconies overhead; voices raised in argument, or conversation, sounded dead and muffled as though they came through wool; and it seemed as if at any moment, the tide of unclean humanity might burst through its dam of rotten brickwork and filth-smeared wood, blockading the passages below.

Private and public spaces are not delineated; charpoys (beds) are laid in streets and courtyards; men and women sit openly on beds and children crawl beneath them. And always, there is the ubiquitous Indian, ready to touch and to pollute. The text strains under its own paranoia of contamination 'by unclean corners of walls; on each step of ruinous staircases; on roofs of low out-houses; by window, housetop, or stretched amid garbage unutterable', and by its inability to control the encounter.

Homi Bhabha argues that the language of difference which enables the colonial authority both to survey and discriminate against its subjects also renders them elusive: 'if discriminatory effects enable the authorities to keep an eye on them, their proliferating difference evades that eye, escapes that surveillance.' The labelling of the ubiquitous Indian by the discriminating discourse as native, also forces a re-enactment of the power struggle between the colonial authority and its subjects; for it foregrounds the contradictory movement whereby authority is simultaneously recognized (assented to, agreed) and turned away from. Deformation and difference undermine the base of agreement on which authority is generated. The result is an evasion of the disciplinary eye; speech is afflicted by a 'repeated hesitancy . . . when it contemplates its discriminated subjects':

the inscrutability of the Chinese, the unspeakable rites of the Indians, the indescribable habits of the Hottentots. It is not that the voice of authority is at a loss for words. It is, rather, that the colonial discourse has reached that point when, faced with the hybridity of its objects, the presence of power is revealed as something other than what its rules of recognition assert.

In the words of Kipling's reporter, the feminized body of Lahore is 'inconceivably foul', filled with 'nameless abominations'. Milk supplies sold to the sahib logues are subject to the most filthy contamination; cows are accommodated in 'stall, stable, or cesspit'; brass lotahs (vessels) bear traces of 'greasy fingers and daubs of cow-dung', and milkmen are scarred with smallpox. The narrative, weighed down by its Manichaean rhetoric, teeters on the edge of instability; metonymic associations, and metaphoric identifications of an underworld run amok, threaten the very structure of the piece through that underworld's excesses. A very particular inversion is also made possible through the text's subject - an inquiry into milk supply. Surely the feminized Indian body producing milk points towards a relationship of dependency
between the Anglo-Indian community and its host nation? The usual parent-child relationship of colonial rhetoric is subverted by the child-mother relation which also inhabits Anglo-India: it is the feminine native body which produces life-giving milk for the alien community. The Anglo-Indian ideal of separation and independence disintegrates as the ambivalence of the prose is also reflected in the title: 'Typhoid at home'. As metropolitan alter-ego, Lahore looks towards England (Britain?) as home. But Lahore is also where the Anglo-Indian community resides: typhoid at home? - home is also India? Such contradictions exist at the very centre of the Anglo-Indian identity; British military and civilian establishments are still, despite all their efforts to the contrary, located in and dependent on their host nation. Here, the colonizing culture comes face to face with an indication of its own hybridity as Anglo-Indian; in the accents of the gowalla's (cowherd's) innocent declaration: 'Protector of the Poor', 'the cows here gave good milk which went to the sahib logue ... if anything went wrong, the Sircar [government] would shut up the yard'.

A cultural identity based on the metropolitan ideal of post-Enlightenment civility - which is rearticulated in a colonial context - is unstable precisely because its universalist narrative always runs up against processes of hybridization. The ideal of the civil discourse authorizes a universalist narrative of English liberty; yet it continually encounters those signs of difference which have to be disavowed, if it is to achieve legitimation. The lie this involves is constantly foregrounded; as Benita Parry, writing on Bhabha, makes clear:

In the slippage between the enunciation of the western sign and its colonial significance, the strategies of colonialist knowledge are undermined. As the civil discourse of a culturally cohesive community is mutated into the text of a civilising mission, its enunciatory assumptions are revealed to be in conflict with its means of social control, so that the incompatibility of the ideals of English liberty and the idea of British imperialism is exposed.20

Kipling’s early work inhabits this area of ambivalences and dual accents: voices ever mournful of loss and of alienation exist alongside strident voices idolizing the master race.

THE FANTASY OF CROSS-CULTURAL DRESSING

If such pains were taken to erase the presence of the native and impose a culturally approved version of the metropolitan ideal, why then was a deliberate 'transgression' cultivated in the fantasy of cross-cultural dressing? In my view, this paradox results from the very processes of creation of the colonial identity. Much is risked in the exploration of lines of cultural demarcation; it foregrounds an instability which, as James Donald argues, is built into the system: 'boundaries remain permeable, the "inside" is always fragmented and differentiated rather than pure and united'.21 But where there is much to be risked, there may also be much that may be gained in this play
of identity and otherness. And it is here that we must turn to Kipling's *Kim* for answers.

*Kim* is a novel about a young Irish orphan who grows up in India; his boyish passion for tricks and disguises and his devotion to his Buddhist lama companion have endeared him to generations of Kipling readers. The opening sequence sets the scene for an exploration of the native underworld. Kim is a street-wise orphan who keeps company with natives of the lowest caste. He avoids white men of 'serious aspect'; living 'hand in glove with men who led lives stranger than anything Haroun al Raschid dreamed of, and he lived in a life wild as that of the Arabian Nights'. The association of Kim’s lifestyle with exotic tales of the east points to a colonialist fantasy which, as Benita Parry has pointed out, 'transfigures India as the provider of libidinal excitation.'

In *Kim*, clothes act as signifiers within the locus of desire and pleasure. Eastern clothes, which possess the power to transform, also bring with them the pleasures of that other world. Thus, *Kim* prefers Hindu/Mohammedan (and the easy passage from one to the other is its hallmark) garb to carry out his exploits; 'a complete suit of Hindu kit, the costume of a low-caste street boy' which, 'when there was business or frolic afoot', gave him access to forbidden and desirable territory. His 'stealthy prowl through dark gullies' conjures up the 'sights and sounds of the women's world', and 'the headlong flight from housetop to housetop under the cover of the hot dark' evokes the mystery of dangerous assignments.

Clothes trap the essence of the east; they objectify it. Like souvenir curios which represent fetishized totems, they present the oriental world for consumption. It should come as no surprise then that their later circulation as signs in a capitalist economy ensured their commodification as luxury, opulence, consumption and spectacle. The description of Kim’s Afghan outfit testifies to this: the gold-fringed and embroidered cap signalling all the wealth and luxury promised by the oriental world; the ornamental design on the turban-cap and cloth pointing to alien artistry and mystique - a culture which is 'ample and flowing' and full of sensuousness (the touch of silk and the heavenly smells of Russia-leather slippers 'with arrogantly curled tips'). Colour too forms part of the dress and is there to aid Kim's transformation - 'A little dye-stuff and three yards of cloth to help out a little jest'. A courtesan no less, 'dabbing a twist of cloth into a little saucer of brown dye' and twisting a turban around Kim's head, transforms him into a 'low-caste Hindu boy, perfect in every detail'.

In Lurgan Sahib's curiosity shop, which overflows with emblematic totems of the east, there are ghost-daggers, Tibetan prayer-wheels, precious stones and jewellery, gilt Buddhas, ivory, friezes of fantastic details, and lacquer altars reeking of incense. This is the other house of wonders: a mystical and eroticized counterpart of the more static, sanitized presentation of knowledge as power found in the Lahore Museum. Interestingly - and we shall return to this point - the shop is presented as the magical world of a child's playroom. But it is also a school for spies; significantly, it is here that Lurgan Sahib as the Keeper of Images teaches Kim the secret of 'dressing-up':

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He [Lurgan Sahib] could paint faces to a marvel; with a brush-dab here and a line there changing them past recognition. The shop was full of all manner of dresses and turbans, and Kim was apparelled variously as a young Mohammedan of good family, an oilman, and once - which was a joyous evening - as the son of an Oudh landholder in the fullest of full dress.

Kim's transformation is intense:

a demon in Kim woke up and sang with joy as he put on the changing dresses, and changed speech and gesture therewith.28

The change effected by the clothes is (unsurprisingly) characterized by a release of libidinal energy; it leaves Kim with a freedom far beyond drummer boys, De Castros, and any of his peers at the St Xavier school. The sense of being totally familiar, totally at ease in an alien world, produces more than pleasure; the awareness of 'being/tasting' the other in its fullness gives orgasmic release:

Kim sat up and yawned, shook himself, and thrilled with delight. This was seeing the world in real truth; this was life as he would have it - bustling and shouting, the buckling of belts, and beating of bullocks and creaking of wheels, lighting of fires and cooking of food, and new sights at every turn of the approving eye . . . . India was awake, and Kim was in the middle of it . . . for he borrowed right- and left-handedly from all the customs of the country he knew and loved.29

A comparison with Sir Richard Burton's memoirs in India highlights a similar movement; the attention to oriental detail, the playful appreciation of costume, produces a parallel excitement to that of Kipling's text:

With hair falling upon his shoulders, a long beard, face and hands, arms and feet, stained with a thin coat of henna, Mirza Abdullah of Bushire - your humble servant - set out upon many and many a trip. He was a Bazzaz, a vendor of fine linen, calicoes, and muslins; - such chapmen are sometimes admitted to display their wares, even in the sacred harem, by 'fast' and fashionable dames - and he had a little pack of bijouterie and virtu reserved for emergencies . . . . What scenes he saw! what adventures he went through! But who would believe, even if he ventured to detail them?30

Both texts are as much about knowledge/power as they are about pleasure. Burton's awareness of his position as European in the orient is never blurred by any sense of an affinity with the native world. Edward Said reminds us that this reflects a strategy of 'flexible positional superiority': 'what is never far from the surface of Burton's prose is another sense it radiates, a sense of assertion and domination over all the complexities of Oriental life.'31 Kim, by contrast, is but a child; what is more, he inhabits a world in which military control of native affairs is softened by an ideological sleight of hand. Colonel
Creighton, for example, is home-grown unlike foreign sahibs; as the Sahiba rationalizes, 'these be the sort to oversee justice. They know the land and the customs of the land. The others, all new from Europe, suckled by white women and learning our tongues from books, are worse than pestilence.' Thus a syncretism is offered in Kim which writes out conflict in an all-encompassing vision; black and white work for the same ends: 'We be all on one lead-ropo, then . . . the Colonel, Mahbub Ali, and I.' Kim is the Little Friend of all the World; and as one critic points out, he 'moves through India's range of caste, race and creed all condemning and judging one another . . . offering universal friendship with no apparent awareness that anything is unusual'.

Mark Kinkead-Weekes has described Kipling's vision as one that is mature, 'humane and affectionate', encapsulating a 'whole kaleidoscope of race, custom and creed'. Yet that critical position is also part of an orientalist violation which sees, structures, orders, and offers up India for pleasurable consumption. Creighton's role as ethnographer, soldier, and scholar renders him privy to both material and discursive power: the imperial spy-master finds no contradictions in his aspirations for recognition from the Royal Geographical Society. More importantly, Kim is never allowed to forget who he is. The lesson Kim remembers, despite all his 'negative capability', is that he is white: 'One must never forget that one is a Sahib, and that some day, when the examinations are passed, one will command natives.' And Kim, we are explicitly told, took note of this, 'for he began to understand where the examinations led'.

That the release from official identity is also intimately bound up with its development is evident in another, very different text - the Jack London exploration of urban poverty in the city of London at the turn of the century. Strategies of demarcation which define the high and low, the civilized and the grotesque body in Anglo-India, have structural similarities with their Victorian counterparts in Britain. The 'Into Unknown England' tradition of writing produced a similar literature of documentary, discovery, exploration, and adventure; George Godwin writing in 1854 makes explicit connections: 'to brave the risks of fever and other injustices to health, and the contact of men and women as lawless as the Arab or Kaffir'. While cross-class dressing cannot be taken to be identical to cross-cultural dressing, since the element of race/colour signifies an immutable difference, the dynamics of the two fantasies are very similar.

In the late nineteenth century, 'slumming' expeditions with police protection were not uncommon and sociological and philanthropic literature was prolific; titles such as Henry Mayhew's London Life and London Labour, Andrew Mearns's The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, William Booth's Into Darkest England (echoing Stanley), and Charles Booth's multi-volumed Life and Labour, made visible the underside of London life. Yet what remains distinctive about London's The People of the Abyss is the very drama of his investigative reporting. London's position as the active, questing participant may be read as the romantic counterpart of the anthropologist as (participant) observer. Both present forms of knowledge and power; London's adoption of
disguise as a poor working man enables his narrative to convey both a sense of active mastery and release. To adopt a Kiplingesque phrase, London, like Kim, is a player of the Game. He himself makes the allusion: 'Shades of Old Sleuth and Sherlock Holmes!' Dressed in a pair of 'well-worn trousers, a frayed jacket with one remaining button, a pair of brogans which had plainly seen service where coal was shovelled', London magics an instant transformation, which enables him to meet the lower classes 'face to face, and [know] them for what they [are]':

No sooner was I out on the streets than I was impressed by the difference in status effected by my clothes. All servility vanished from the demeanour of the common people with whom I came into contact. Presto! in the twinkling of an eye, so to say, I had become one of them. My frayed and out-at-elbows jacket was the badge and advertisement of my class, which was their class.41

London's account parallels Kipling's and Burton's for the importance he attaches to the magical power of his costume to turn him into one of 'their class'. For all three writers, the fantasy of cross-cultural dressing centres on their identification of clothes as 'badge and advertisement' of their ability to cross the class and cultural gap. Clothes become the signifier par excellence, both of the romance and danger of that Other world, and of a release from their own. •

That this familiar orientalist trope is reproduced in more contemporary cultural forms is evidenced by Peter Brooks's recent comments on Balinese masks, which he describes as producing 'the most extraordinary sense of liberation. This [putting on the mask] is one of those great exercises that whoever does it for the first time counts as a great moment: suddenly to find oneself immediately for a certain time liberated from one's own subjectivity.'42 Yet the fact that he, like the Victorian writers cited above, may choose to take off his mask at any moment, makes a crucial difference. Clothes as surface, visual, and imaginative signs are integral to the rhetoric of disguise; as in Kim, it is their very superficial quality - the fact that you can put them on or take them off - that renders them ideal in a fantasy which plays on identity and difference. That such a fantasy is unavailable to the orientalist Other is proved by the educated Indian of Bengal, whose fluent English, clothes, and mannerisms only serve to indicate the distance between the mother - or should I say father - culture and its bastards. This subject of disavowal - that 'subject of difference that is an almost the same but not quite';43 - is continually betrayed in his attempts to pass as the real article, by subtle signs of something not-quite-right. Deception by a Eurasian (a real Anglo-Indian?) may always be uncovered by a practised eye:

Pyramus carries a walking stick with imitation silver straps upon it, and there are cloth tops to his boots; but his collar has been two days worn. Thisbe crowns her dark head with a blue velvet Tam-o'-Shanter; but one of her boots lacks a button, and there is a tear in the left-hand glove . . . . Do
you ever kiss Thisbe when Mamma is not by? - Garlic - yea, lusson of the bazaar. Mamma is generous in her views on garlic.

At the end of their escapades, both London and Kim are able to cast off their costumes to return to their original identities. Kim's identity as a spy is marked by a silver amulet containing one small turquoise. London's descent into the abyss is cushioned by nothing less than a gold coin sewn into his outfit. His lodgings in the East End provide a refuge from the tide of inhumanity in the city of London: 'not too far distant, into which I could run now and again to assure myself that good clothes and cleanliness still existed.' In those same surroundings, London could compile his notes or 'sail forth occasionally in changed garb to civilization.'

The primary attraction of the cross-cultural dress is, then, the promise of 'transgressive' pleasure without the penalties of actual change. Such metamorphosis does little to subvert existing power hierarchies, since the cross-dresser may always reveal or revert to the white identity underneath the native clothes. Kinkead-Weekes has remarked on Kipling's Keatsian attribute of projecting 'negative capability.' But perhaps there is a different form of 'projection' in Kipling's writing. Projection, after all, is a phallic attribute of the master. What makes Kim's cross-cultural dressing possible is the fact that he is white - with all its colonialist ramifications. As Michel Foucault has noted, transgression also traces 'the flashing line that causes the limit to arise'; it 'prescribes not only the sole manner of discovering the sacred in its unmediated substance, but also a way of recomposing its empty form, its absence through which it becomes all the more scintillating.' Or, as Stallybrass and White have pointed out, the play of identity and difference in the act of demarcation also fuels a contradictory movement enmeshed in desire and lack. The release of libidinal energy which accompanies cross-dressing, despite its potentially 'exhilarating sense of freedom', may also be constitutive of the dominant:

Often it is a powerful ritual or symbolic practice whereby the dominant squanders its symbolic capital so as to get in touch with the fields of desire which it denied itself as the price to pay for its political power . . . it is counter-sublimation, a delirious experience of the symbolic capital accrued . . . in the struggle of bourgeois hegemony.

Kipling's fascination with the native underlife writes an alternative version of cross-cultural dressing. His letter to Margaret Burne-Jones shows a will to power:

Underneath our excellent administrative system; under the piles of reports and statistics; the thousands of troops: the doctors: and the civilian runs wholly untouched and unaffected the life of the peoples of the land - a life full of impossibilities and wonders as the Arabian Nights. I don't want to gush over it but I do want you to understand Wop dear that immediately outside of our English life is the dark and crooked and fantastic; and
The native life, so full of the adjectival, is not only contrasted with the arid bureaucratic 'piles of reports and statistics'. It is also described as the 'underneath', that subterranean passage below English civil and military life which seduces. In the textualization of this fantasy - the Arabian Nights, which promises a magical world of 'impossibilities and wonders' - Kipling's other world, though demonic - 'dark and crooked and fantastic' - paradoxically also forms the source and inspiration of his artistry. Kipling's colonial appropriation of the romantic metaphor of the imagination reverses the sequence of rape; this is an alien world which invites his penetration. His letter goes on to allude to the 'queer jumble of opium dens, night houses, night strolls with natives' and the 'long yarns that my native friends spin me'. The contact, if not taboo, is illicit. Significantly, it is also textual (the stories he hears) and it is out of these associations that Kipling's artistry emerges.

Yet Kipling also speaks of how 'little an Englishman can hope to understand [these natives]': 'I would that you see some of the chapters in Mother Maturin [his unfinished lost novel] and you will follow more closely what I mean.' Here then is the contradictory movement at the centre of Kipling's project. His task is to make people 'see'; to become the authoritative voice on native affairs - the interpreter that would seek to translate native terms into English ones. At this point, the full significance of Kipling's fantasy of cross-cultural dress emerges; the very words of his text take on native clothes and, by active appropriation, become signifiers of his authority. Gayatri Spivak, quoting Benjamin, makes a crucial point in this connection: Kipling's pidgin Hindustani, she suggests, should not be taken as translation, done 'lovingly and in detail, in its own language, form . . . according to the manner of meaning in the original', but as violation where the 'violence of imperialism straddles a subject-language'.

SURVEILLANCE AS DISGUISE

Where Kim presents a relatively gentle version of imperial authority, the Strickland stories more immediately document the thrill of imperial penetration. Strickland is a policeman-detective unlike any other character in Kipling mythology. He appears in stories like 'Miss Youghal's Sais', a tale of romance and disguises, 'The return of Imray' and 'The mark of the beast', two gothic tales of crime and detection, and 'The Bronckhorst Divorce-Case'. Strickland is 'extraordinary' in Kipling mythology in the sense that he knows as much about native culture, customs, and dress as it is possible for a white man to know. He is able to pass undetected amongst 'the native riff-raff of British India and, like Haroun al Raschid of the Arabian Nights, 'is supposed to have the gift of invisibility and executive control over many Devils'. He has even been 'initiated into the Sat Bhai at Allahabad . . . knew the Lizard-Song of the Sansis, and the Halli-Hukk dance', all of which prove, the narrative tells us, that 'he has gone deeper than the skin'.

wicked: and awe-inspiring life of the 'native' . . . I have done my best to penetrate into it.
Strickland, like the journalist-narrator of his tale, has access to what otherwise would be classified as forbidden and taboo to the white inhabitants of British India. A character with legitimate access to both worlds on account of his policing functions, Strickland's degree of familiarity with native life is proportional to his control over them: 'Strickland hates being mystified by natives, because his business in life is to overmatch them with their own weapons.' Even the educated Bengali is exposed in his attempt to appear what he is not; 'Strickland on Native Progress as he had seen it was worth hearing. Natives hated Strickland; but they were afraid of him. He knew too much.' His affinity for 'native patter' and his talent for disguises help him solve the Nasiban murder case; his mere presence is enough to upset the lying Muslim into telling the truth in the 'Bronckhorst Divorce-Case'.

The figure of Strickland is very similar to the character of Sherlock Holmes in the Conan Doyle stories, for both revel in the cut and thrust of detection. Holmes also has contact with the urban underworld; from seedy visitors 'looking like . . . Jew pedlar[s]' to 'slip-shod' elderly women to 'shallow, rat-faced, dark-eyed' fellows. Holmes's street urchins 'can go anywhere, see everything, overhear everyone'. Holmes's disguises encompass various classes and are often invaluable in the solving of his cases. Once, dressed as an old man with wig, whiskers, eyebrows, weak legs, and a 'proper workhouse cough', Holmes confides:

You see, a good many of the criminal classes begin to know me - especially since our friend here took to publishing some of my cases: so I can only go on the warpath under some simple disguise like this.

THE FANTASY DYNAMICS OF CROSS-DRESSING

What is achieved through these cross-cultural (and cross-class) incursions is a dream of surveillance. This is articulated through the fantasy of invisibility which gives Strickland, Holmes, and Kim omnipotence and omnipresence. Unlike the ideal of the panoptic eye which fixes its disciplinary subject, the dream of cross-cultural dressing has to do with the pleasures of an active display of power. Peter Wollen, in an article on fashion and orientalism, writes that the nineteenth century witnessed the eroticization of the orient as well as its political domination. The two are not incompatible; the Orient becomes, through western imagination, a site of excess sexuality and deviant behaviour that must be penetrated and controlled. The violation of a subject-culture may also be read as a sexualized text. Strickland's, Kim's, and Holmes's elaborate disguises allow them to pry voyeuristically into native affairs, just as the authors' narratives allow them to order and display the Other world.

An insight into the mechanics of cross-cultural dressing can be gained from a psychoanalytic reading, which makes apparent the dynamics of the fantasy, as well as the terms on which it is effected. The myth of the white man in Native Dress, I would argue, is based on the fetishization of clothes which enable the wearer to fantasize about mastery. In Freudian terms, a fetish is an object endowed with more power than it actually has; clothes as fetishes also
render unto the White Man a wholeness which reinforces the difference on which his power is based. The fetish, by standing in for the woman's lack of a phallus, allows the (almost always male) fetishist simultaneously to acknowledge and disavow castration. The male child, refusing on one level to recognize the threat of the woman's lack, accepts it on another: the fetish-as-substitute contains the castrating difference even as it disseminates its discriminatory effects. This double-take allows the male child to hold on to the power of sexual difference, for it is the possession of the phallus which instigates the discriminatory codings of sexual difference. Through the substitution of the fetish, the male child is able to sidestep the threat of castration, albeit at the cost of splitting his own identity.

In the context of my discussion of fantasy, Robert Stoller's treatment of transvestism and cross(gender)-dressing is particularly interesting. While one may not agree with his notion of core identity (masculine, feminine), Stoller's treatment of cross(gender)-dressing gives important insights into the psychoanalysis of cross-cultural dressing. In Stoller's terms, fetishistic cross-dressing is characterized by sexual excitement in the donning of garments of the opposite sex. This behaviour is almost 'non-existent' in women and is indulged primarily by heterosexual men who, when not cross-dressing, identify strongly with what may conventionally be labelled as 'masculine' forms of behaviour. Thus maleness and masculinity are an integral part of the disguise: 'The fetishistic cross-dresser believes his [phallus], his maleness, and his masculinity to be valuable, endangered and preservable only by means of his [cross-dressing] (more or less).' His double-take is frozen in a single moment; he is the woman with the phallus.

According to Stoller these men not only derive their greatest erotic pleasure from their genitals; their sexual excitement is also expressed through the active possession of the penis. More importantly, its hidden 'presence sensed beneath the women's garments' gives an added excitement: 'They never quite forget the trick: the hidden penis. The thought that they are fooling the world is surpassed in enjoyment only by the moment when they can reveal the secret.'

Stoller's account of the problematic is important because it allows us to see the fantasy of the Strickland figure in the light of another fantasy, that of power as displayed in fetishistic disguise. That pleasure is exclusively reserved for colonial powers; as John Buchan writes in *Greenmantle* of British heroes, 'the truth is that we are the only race on earth that can produce men capable of getting inside the skin of remote peoples.' Excitement and pleasure are expressed through the knowledge that the narrator is the white-man-in-native-garb, the powerful male with the phallus. To paraphrase Stoller, his greatest pleasure is in seeing his whiteness hidden beneath. Strickland's role of surveillance - his 'outlandish custom of prying into native life' - fits hand in glove with this elaborate fantasy whereby the European becomes the native-white. Constantly aware of the whiteness underneath the disguise, he derives great pleasure from his warding off of the native threat (the fear of castration); his clothes as fetish permit both the acknowledgement of difference (on which his identity as master is based) and the simultaneous disavowal of that castrating difference.
Is fetishistic cross-cultural dressing sexual at root? It is here that I must pause to acknowledge a hiatus in my own thinking. I have indicated that one may go a considerable way to reading the sexual as political. But perhaps one may also speculate - albeit wildly - on the reverse dynamic. The answer I shall hazard applies primarily to the native-born. The argument which Stoller presents may also be read as describing a fantasy of subjugated alterity, which identifies cross-cultural dressing as a violent expropriation or castration; the white man as native tearing the body of native from his self. Spivak speaks of a species of translation which should properly be termed violation rather than reproduction, when 'the violence of imperialism straddles a subject-language'.

May one read the dynamics of imperialist rape as similar to those of castration?

Kipling's position as native-born Anglo-Indian inscribes his relation with India as one not unlike that of son and mother. And as Parry, quoting Kipling, points out, the 'dear dark foster mother' of heathen song and speech is that 'lost object of desire that must be relinquished for entry into the patriarchal law'. The primal link is one which must be broken in the interest of a colonialist identity. The connection between desire and law, forged at a crucial early stage in the child's development, renders encounters between the Anglo-Indian and Indian culture an oscillation between pain (suffocation, disintegration) and pleasure (release, dissolution). Fetishistic cross-cultural dressing contains both the threat of disintegration and the excitement of crossing official boundaries. But such dressing, as I have suggested, is also about violation as castration: the fetishistic cross-cultural dresser masters the threat of woman/native through penetration, possession, and exhibition - his rape - of her essential enigma; but in doing so, he also enacts and re-enacts castration by placing her as woman/native/subjugated Other. The child (identifying with the patriarch) rapes his native-mother to maintain his colonialist identity. This rape secures patriarchal law because it repeats the terror (safely directed at the Other) and privilege of castration. By reinstating the Father/male heir as Law-giver and Law-provider, a whole sexual and political semiotic is set in circulation. This movement, in a sense, generates the other side of the fetish as disavowal; acknowledgement, achieved through the presence of the fetish, allows the male child to fantasize about the power of castration. The white man disguised as native, dreams of his power to rip the body of the native from his (native) self. He glows with the satisfaction of having his cake and eating it.

At the end of these complicated manoeuvres, the white man stands alone. Freud's treatment of megalomania as narcissism invokes a magical male childhood world where everything functions to will. It reads curiously akin to the world of Lugan Sahib's curiosity shop:

characters . . . might be put down to megalomania: the over-estimation of the power of wishes, and mental processes, the 'omnipotence of thoughts', a belief in the magical virtue of words, and a method of dealing with the outer world - the art of 'magic' - which appears to be a logical application of these grandiose premises. In the child of our own day . . . we expect a perfectly analogous attitude towards the external world.
Ironically, Freud was to pin these characteristics firmly on the primitive. Perhaps the white man in native costume, like Narcissus, mirrors only his own image as that of another. Rape as a gendered act of violence is real; but is castration (of the kind the male child would like to secure) effected through the act of rape? I do not know the full answer to the question: but the native threat remains and the fetishistic cross-cultural dresser is repetitious in his secret pleasure and terror.

Said, in closing his discussion of *Kim*, speaks of the profoundly embarrassing truth which emerges from the overlap between the political control wielded by imperialism on the one hand, and the aesthetic and psychological pleasure it supplies on the other. This is precisely what I have tried to argue: the fantasy of donning native costume, in the context of imperialism, is not mere play or liberation into another world. For me, on the outside of that mythology, that fantasy expresses another attempt at control of subaltern peoples, another attempt at laying the burden of representation on them.

**NOTES**

Thanks to Robert Clark, Sylvan Bentley, and Stuart MacFarlane for their helpful comments, and to the National Trust for permission to quote from Kipling’s letters.

1. I am indebted to Diana Smith for this expression.
6. Quoted in King (1976), 125.
8. Quoted in King (1976), 143.
9. ibid., 108.
11. ibid.
13. ‘Whenever it shall appear necessary for the protection of troops . . . it shall be lawful for the Governor General in India to extend the limits of any military cantonment . . . and to define the limits around such within which such rules . . . shall be in force.’ Examples of prohibited behaviour included carrying ‘exposed meat’, letting fall ‘nightsoil’, carrying an ‘indecently covered corpse’; failing to bury a corpse within twenty-four hours. Storing any substance emitting an offensive
smell, and torturing or abusing animals were all offences punishable by law. Cited in King (1976), 119-20.

14 See Abul JanMohamed, 'The economy of the Manichean allegory: the function of racial difference in colonialist literature', *Critical Inquiry*, 12, 1 (1985), 59-87. JanMohamed writes: 'The dominant model of power- and interest-relations in all colonial societies is the manichean opposition between the putative superiority of the European and the supposed inferiority of the native . . . the manichean allegory - a field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilization and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and other, subject and object' (63).

15 Russell (1860), 180.

16 This is a phrase taken from the title of two of Kipling's prose pieces, on Lahore and Calcutta respectively. Kipling, of course, adopted it from James Thomson's long poem of the same name.


19 ibid.


22 Kipling seems to show as much obsession with marginal figures as with more central ones. His stories are peopled with loafers and down-and-outs as well as district officers and imperial engineers.


25 Peter Wollen in his article on 'Fashion/orientalism/the body' (*New Formations*, 1 (Spring, 1987), 5-33) maps the revival of the decorative, the 'extravagant' and ornamental trend in art and fashion, on to the revival of the orientalist vogue. This Wollen argues is 'symptomatic of the decline of modernism'; its history is articulated through a series of 'antinomies': 'functional/decorative, useful/wasteful, natural/artificial . . . machine/body, masculine/feminine, west/east'. The French translation of *The Thousand and One Nights* in 1899 was to give orientalism in French visual culture a new impetus. Inscribed as a site for the erotic and political projects of the west, the Orient - embodied in *The Thousand and One Nights* - unfolds as a 'secular, licentious narrative, with almost no trace of moralism (or even Islam), but full of tales of deviant, transgressive and fantastic sexuality'. The 'oriental' look in fashion design - for example, the 'harem-pantaloons' in Wollen's article - may be read as an example of what I mean by the fetishism and commodification of the Orient in a capitalist economy. The periodic revival of 'ethnic' fashion may be taken as another. Such fashions function as *signifiers* of the Orient and circulate within a capitalist economy in a synecdochical form.

26 Kipling (1912), 179-80.

27 For an account of the pleasures of anthropology as imperialism in *Kim*, see Edward Said, 'Kipling, pleasures of imperialism', *Raritan*, 7, 2 (Fall, 1987), 27-64.

28 Kipling (1912), 226.

29 ibid., 103.


Also see Said (1987).

By this, following Chandra Talpade Mohanty writing on a different subject, I refer to the relation between ideologies and their 'effects'. Mohanty writes: 'The definition of colonization I invoke is a predominantly discursive one, focussing on a certain mode of appropriation and codification of "scholarship" and "knowledge" . . . particular analytic categories employed in writing on the subject which take as their primary point of reference . . . interests as they have been articulated in the [west] . . . [which may be] neither singular nor homogeneous in its goals, interests or analysis. However, it is possible to have a coherence of effects resulting from the implicit assumptions of "the west" (in all its complexities and contradictions) as the primary referent in theory and praxis.' I acknowledge that there is, in John Tagg's words, no 'ontologically prior unity of being to which discourse may be referred', nor can material reality be imagined as a 'universal, common or necessary referent' existing autonomously from the discursive. The point I wish to emphasize in using the terms 'material' and 'discursive', is a simple one: a specific historical and social space must also be foregrounded on which the effects (in all its contradictions and complexities) of a politics of colonialism are inscribed. Benita Parry calls for the restoration of the 'historical density and effectivity' of a colonial text: one must read 'literature as a cultural text and rhetorical practice produced and performed within determinate historical, social and political conditions which enable and constrain the construction of meaning'. See Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under western eyes', *Feminist Review*, 3 (Autumn, 1988), 61-88, and John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 24, and Benita Parry (1987), respectively.

The connection between geography and politics is more literal than it may seem at first glance. The Great Game referred to in the novel was a phrase historically coined by an officer, Arthur Conolly, to refer to the North-Western Frontier skirmishes and the suspected Russian intrigue. The formulation of an adequate defence strategy needed an adequate geographical knowledge of the lands beyond British rule in the North-West. This was initially neglected by the East India Company, which had decided that trade on this front was minimal. But from the 1800s onwards, the possibility of invasion, by Europe, through the Persian Gulf or the Caspian Sea initiated a new phase in rethinking these issues; the importance of an accurate knowledge of the geographical spread of the land gained acute importance, and agents took on surveying work. As H. W. C. Davis in his British Academy Raleigh Lecture on History of 1926 says, 'Part of their business was to make the exact scientific observations of latitudes, heights, and distances on which every map had to be founded ... the best Indian maps of this period consist of routes meticulously described, and measured with the help of instruments called "perambulators" in which towns, roads, and natural features are inserted on the strength of information obtained from native maps or from the descriptions of travellers ... Such was the surveyor's primary task. But in his travels, the surveyor was expected to bear in mind the interests of Indian commerce, of the Indian army, and of political departments ... Surveyors visiting more accessible and populous regions were also expected to describe, from the soldier's point of view, every route which had been or might be used for military purposes. Men who were habitually thus employed often became valuable as political agents.'
Knowledge of native language was paramount and to be able to ‘pass muster in an Asiatic disguise when that was expedient’ was a matter of life or death. Not only were famous British agents used (Henry Pottinger, Charles Christie), but even native agents were used to good effect. Ingenious devices such as hollowed-out prayer-wheels and decimated rosary beads were used to help measure distances. Some cases of this trans-border secret reconnaissance work were so well known to have taken place that a native proverb was coined in their honour: ‘First comes a Sahib, and then two who make a map; after that comes an army and takes over our country.’ Furthermore, they conclude, ‘the Sirkar [Government] is nowhere without a map, but directly the map is made it is invincible; therefore, if we catch a man making a map we kill him.’ See Capt. G. J. Younghusband, Frays and Forays (London: Percival, 1890).

37 Kipling (1912), 177.
39 Quoted in Peter Keating, The Working Class in Victorian Fiction (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971). London’s antecedent may be found in James Greenwood (A Night in the Workhouse (1866); The Seven Curses of London (1869); The Wilds of London (1874)). Of Greenwood Keating writes: ‘[his] name alone was sufficient to gain him entrance to lower London, and to reach those places where his name meant nothing he travelled in disguise. From these journeys he sent back detailed reports on various aspects of working-class and criminal life, ranging from hop-picking to a “knock-out auction”, from thieves’ kitchens to slum missions, always carefully noting peculiarities of dress, behaviour and speech.’ Also see Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression (London: Methuen, 1986) and Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds), Englishness (London: Croom Helm, 1986).
40 Sheila Smith, The Other Nation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). Dickens, for example, writes about just such an expedition in ‘On duty with Inspector Fields’ (Charles Dickens, Reprinted Pieces (London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), 174-89). Dickens’s text also provides the inspiration behind Kipling’s ‘City of dreadful night’.
41 London (1903), 13-14.
42 Peter Brooks, ‘Coming out of our shell’, in The Shifting Point (London: Methuen, 1988). I am indebted to Franc Chamberlain for directing my attention to this passage. I am also, of course, deliberately misreading Brooks and his quest for a spirituality (predicated, precisely, on the Orient) which he sees as missing from the West. Hence Brooks talks about mask as a ‘soul-portrait’ and of ‘good’ masks (which are true masks or really ‘anti-masks’) and ‘horrible’ masks (the lying, sentimental, and distorted kind of the West’s subconscious, and interestingly, also of Africa). Balinese masks are good masks and completely ‘naturalistic’: ‘an outer casing that is a complete and sensitive reflection of the inner life’. Yet what remains absolutely crucial for a Balinese mask to work - and this insight, as Franc Chamberlain points out, is absent from Brooks’s theory - is the sheer amount of physical training and learned performance skill that goes into making the Balinese mask signify. It is not, as Brooks writes, merely a matter of putting on a mask on.
The myth of the authorial voice which is all-knowing of native life is one which clings on to a culturally sanctioned (western) view of Kipling’s status. Kay Robinson, his contemporary journalist and editor, writes of Kipling precisely within this construct. Robinson speaks of Kipling’s wonderful insight into the ‘strangely mixed manners of life and thought of the natives in India’ in the following way: ‘He knew them all through their horizontal divisions of rank and their vertical sections of caste; their ramifications of race and blood; their antagonisms and blendings of creed; and their hereditary streaks of calling or handicraft. Show him a native, and he would tell you his rank, caste, race, origin, habitat, creed and calling. He would speak to the man in his own fashion, using familiar, homely figures which brightened the other’s surprised eyes with the recognition of brotherhood and opened a straight way into his confidence.’ In an earlier article in McClure’s Magazine (1896), Robinson writes: ‘No half-note in the wide gamut of native ideas and custom was unfamiliar to him: just as he had left no phase of white life in India unexplained.’ Harold Orel (ed.), Interviews and Recollections, Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1983), 82, 72.

Gayatri Spivak, ‘Imperialism and sexual difference’, Oxford Literary Review, 8, 1 & 2 (1986), 234. While one might argue that there can be no translation (i.e. translations are marked precisely by what is left out of the ‘translation’), there is a sense in which the easy parade of knowledge assumes a transparency which translation does not possess - as if it was not a matter of translation but transparency. As Eric Cheyfitz writes, this is an act of disposssession; ‘the activity of colonization as translation, both in the meaning of the word as conversion from one language into another and as use in a metaphorical or transferred sense. In this case, however, the sense of translation is precisely not to understand the other that is the original inhabitants, or to understand that other all too easily, that is, as if there were no question of translation, solely in terms of one’s own language, where the other becomes a usable fiction.’ Eric Cheyfitz, ‘Literally white, figuratively red: the frontier of translation in The Pioneers’, in James Fenimore Cooper: New Critical Essays, edited by Robert Clark (London: Vision Press, 1985), 74.

See Rudyard Kipling, Plain Tales from the Hills (London: Macmillan, 1898 (1890)): Life’s Handicap (London: Macmillan, 1897 (1891)).

The first order that appeared when you got to a new station usually stated that all Indian villages, Indian shops, Indian bazaars and the civil lines were out of bounds to all troops.’ Quoted in Charles Allen (1978). Also see King (1976) and Russell (1860).

Arthur Conan Doyle, The Complete Illustrated Sherlock Holmes (Ware, Hampshire: Omega Books, 1986), 17. The tradition of disguise is much in evidence in the detective, police and ‘spy’ fiction of the same period; Holmes has antecedents in Godwin’s Caleb Williams and Vidocq’s Memoires.


62 See, for example, Mary Jacobus, Reading Woman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 7-8.
63 Stoller (1975), 144, 154.
65 Spivak (1986).
66 Parry (1988), 56.
67 'Along with the demolition of the Oedipus complex, the boy's object-cathexis of his mother must be given up. Its place may be filled by one of two things: either an identification with his mother or an intensification of his identification with his father. We are accustomed to regard the latter outcome as the more normal . . . . In this way the dissolution of the Oedipus complex would consolidate [also define?] the masculinity in a boy's character.' Sigmund Freud, The Ego and the Id (London: Hogarth / Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1974), 22.
70 Tagg (1988).