

Emily's Ghost: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Fiction, Folklore, and Photography*

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This essay will read Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* as part of a process that redefined the way in which educated Englishmen and women understood their place within a modern nation. The cultural change on which I want to focus occurred during the 1830s and 40s while Brontë grew up and did her writing. According to Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall as well as E.P. Thompson, the same period saw the entrenchment of the modern middle classes and established the way they would deal with an organizing urban proletariat.¹ During this period, according to Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and many others, English people also began to reconceptualize their relationship as a race to the peoples of Africa and Asia.² Historical scholarship has given us two separate narratives to account for these changes in the semiotic behavior of class and race respectively. One narrative describes the class struggle that took place within England as the nation underwent industrialization, and the other tells of Western Europe's attempt to dominate nations that we now locate in the Third World. Brontë's novel, as I am going to read it, took part in a regional or ethnic remapping of British culture that is essential to both narratives and yet can be explained by neither one. This remapping divided the British Isles into a modern literate urban core and what sociologist Michael Hechter refers to as a Celtic or ethnic periphery.³

To suggest how *Wuthering Heights* fit into this long-overlooked chapter of modern cultural history, let me turn to an example of a popular Victorian genre called spirit photography (figure 1). Now any photograph, as Roland Barthes

¹ This essay was written while I was on an ACLS Fellowship at the Center for the Humanities, Wesleyan University. My thanks go to Richard Ohmann, Director of the Center; to Susan Davis, for helping me with the folklore; to Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, for his advice on regional photography; and to Josue Harari, for noticing the footnote in the photographs that I selected.

² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966).

³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies Deconstructing Historiography," in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Methuen, 1987); George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan, 1987); Ania Levy, *Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, and Gender, 1832-1898* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁴ Michael Hechter argues that, along with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, certain areas within England were reconceptualized as an ethnic periphery. The English counties and regions that came to be considered ethnic were those that had traditionally been organized for grazing and open wasteland rather than for raising crops in enclosed fields. This use of land followed the "Celtic field system." Although this system had all but disappeared by the period I am discussing, Hechter observes that the areas where it had dominated were precisely the peripheral areas that tended to resist the more common English practice of cereal and grass growing and the more typically English distribution of land through private ownership and primogeniture. Yorkshire, where Emily Brontë lived and wrote, was one of those areas (*Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1906* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 58-59).

reminds us, is the memorial or relic of the person or thing whose image it preserves.⁴ To look at a photograph is to know that the figure and ground within the image no longer exist outside its frame. At least, they no longer are as they were at the moment when the image was taken, for at that moment object and image parted ways and pursued entirely different histories. Only certain details remain to link the image to the historical world that used to exist outside the photograph and therefore to the story of its production. To make a spirit photograph, the photographer exploited this situation. He arranged his subject—usually a woman—in a potentially otherworldly pose and dress and had her step outside the field of vision while the negative was still underexposed. The woman's image remained transparent, stripped of the accidental details that would tie that image to a specific person, place, or time. But while her body remained transparent, her surroundings developed the sense of substantiality within the photographic frame that is conveyed by an image's opacity.

To understand the historical impact of folklore and photography, one must resist the silent instructions that link opacity with substance and attempt to reinterpret the process of representation. A photograph memorializes something by displacing that object by its image. The image's opacity indicates that this person or that thing is, in this loose sense, dead. Rather than death, then, the transparency of the woman's image in the spirit photograph actually indicates that she detached herself from that image and, at some point, went on with her life outside the frame. Transparency is, in this sense, a vital sign. In contrast with a photo that is merely bad, the spirit photograph overturns the logic of realism or, in other words, the idea that the image depends upon things which can be seen with the eye. The spirit photograph flaunts photography's ability to produce an object that could not otherwise be seen, because that object has no existence outside the image. Indeed, the ghost personifies this semiotic behavior. The ghost turns something old (a body) into something entirely new (the spirit body) by representing that thing (or body) as something that was formerly there (namely, a real human being). I am going to argue that together folklore and photography brought the same power displayed in spirit photography to bear upon the native people and customs of the British Isles.

I. Tourism

During the 1830s and 40s, a substantial number of relatively well-to-do Englishmen began touring the more remote regions of Great Britain in search of quaint customs and rugged landscapes. Along the way, they began to take notes on the local folklore, sketch choice bits of scenery, and capture images of rural life in photographs. By circulating this information among their family,

⁴ Roland Barthes distinguishes the *studium*, the conventional themes we mobilize in reading a photograph, from the *punctum*, the partial feature, the intrusive accident, the "prick" of time, that nails an image to the world outside the frame. The *punctum* is always a reminder of death. In looking at a photograph, he explains, "I observe with horror an anterior future of which death is the stake. By giving me the absolute past of the pose... the photograph tells me death in the future. What pricks me is the discovery of this equivalence. In front of the photograph of my mother as a child, I tell myself: she is going to die. I shudder. Like Wittgenstein's psychotic patient, over a catastrophe which has already occurred. Whether or not the subject is already dead, every photograph is this catastrophe." *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 96.

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53

friends, and colleagues, this particular wave of tourists succeeded in portraying what was then the greater part of the British population as remnants of a primitive past that lingered on the fringes of the modern nation. When cast in forms that could be mass produced—namely, travelogue, fiction, and photography—this cultural information apparently created a tremendous appetite for more. The consequences were swift and brutal. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the expanse of untrammeled countryside seemed limitless. But by the close of the century, the tourist had difficulty finding any traces of an authentic England. One frustrated photographer complained that he had discovered very "few villages and hamlets which seem to belong to past centuries—fresh looking plaster and stucco are there unknown; fashion has not quite ousted primitive dress, nor has the din of factories disturbed the sleepy aspect of the surroundings."⁵

How can this veneration for the countryside and the ways of rural people be reconciled with the devastating effects of tourism and its attendant methods of memorialization on indigenous cultures? Renato Rosaldo's thumbnail description of the phenomenon he calls "imperialist nostalgia" can set us on a path to an answer. "Curiously enough," he observes,

agents of colonialism—officials, constabulary officers, missionaries, and other figures from whom anthropologists ritually dissociate themselves—often display nostalgia for the colonized culture as it was 'traditionally' (that is, when they first encountered it). The peculiarity of their yearning, of course, is that agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed.⁶

If one applies this statement to the photographer's lament for the passing of a more authentic England, striking parallels emerge. The photographer has completely ignored the fact that his quest for authenticity is what destroyed the very thing he sought for. Like the "agents of colonialism," the photographer "uses a pose of innocent yearning" both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal his complicity with often brutal domination" (70). Indeed, as Rosaldo explains further, "much of imperialist nostalgia's force resides in its association with (indeed, its disguise as) more genuinely innocent tender recollections of what is at once an earlier epoch and a previous phase of life" (70). What Rosaldo fails to acknowledge, however, is that nostalgia not only exculpates those who recollect a former phase of cultural history with such yearning, the nostalgic recollection also commits the murder in which the tourist and the photographer, like the ethnographer himself, deny complicity. Indeed, throughout Great Britain communities that had long been held together by lo-

⁵ Quoted in John Taylor, "The Alphabetical Universe: Photography and the Picturesque Landscape," *Reading Landscape: Country-City-Capital*, ed. Simon Fugh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 181.
⁶ Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," in *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 69.

cal forms of labor were rapidly dispersed by the words and images that memorialized their ways of life.⁷

But as one-sided as this form of internal colonialism may now appear to be, the transformation was not without profound consequences for those who produced and consumed such words and images. In the manner of the spirit photography, the wholesome transformation of indigenous culture into information that could be distributed on a mass basis created an entirely new world of primitive people, places, and things in relation to which members of the literate elite were positioned as observers.⁸ *Wuthering Heights* exemplifies the double meaning I am attributing to "internal colonialism." Brontë's novel dramatizes the process by which certain textualizing procedures produced a cultural periphery within Great Britain and subordinated that periphery to an English core. But the novel also shows how those same procedures changed the consumers of such information who situated themselves at the core. They evidently began to identify precisely the features that branded other people as peripheral with their own most irrational, primitive, and even perverse selves, and they understood that their right to master others was based on the not-altogether-secure ability to master the Other in themselves.

Brontë's treatment of her genteel narrator produces an unbridgeable cultural gap between the educated observer and an entire territory of everyday English life. His mastery of the very region that was home to the Brontë family depends on his incorporation of local differences through a process that strips the culture of those details and then reclassifies members of that culture according to their conformity with or deviance from the appropriate position within the modern family. By depriving people of the local names and habitations that situated them within the socio-economic geography of early nineteenth-century England, however, internal colonialization transformed respectable English culture into one haunted at the core by possible violations of the family model. Lockwood himself fails to meet that standard. His venture into the north of England thus dramatizes the inadequacy of Lockwood's stereotyping and destabilizes the classificatory system that his stereotypes presuppose.

In making this argument, I will invoke "gender" only once or twice, even though the relative masculinity and femininity of phenomena are everywhere

⁷ In "The Alphabetical Universe: Photography and the Picturesque Landscape," 180-82, Taylor explains how rapidly and widely tourism, and especially amateur photography, wrought this socio-political transformation of the English landscape. See also Thompson's account of the dismantling of local artisan cultures in *The Making of the Modern English Working Class*, 543-52.
⁸ Jonathan Crary implies that models based on spectacle and spectatorship cannot deal adequately with nineteenth-century culture because they fail to distinguish the cultural effects of visibility from what he calls visually. Models based on visibility ask us to think of representations of the object world as simulations of what can be seen with the eye. Visually plays upon the model of visibility. The objects one sees are not those which could be seen by the eye, however, even though they are presented to the viewer as if they were [Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 112-26]. In this way, visually could reorganize the visible world into a vast differential system of graphic signs that make sense only in relation to one another. Moreover, its techniques and technologies could rapidly transform the contents of that system to delete old and accommodate new information. Ajay Appadurai points out that, while they gave the consumer a sense that he or she could master an ever-expanding body of information, the same techniques and technologies also stultified and named the middle-brow standard of taste and thus sold that consumer a notion of what he or she should know, should desire, and indeed should be [Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *Fiction and the Social Life of Things*, ed. Ajay Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63].

at issue in the novel. For what I want to say about this narrative is something that cannot be discussed when gender provides the primary categories of analysis. By piecing *Wuthering Heights* together with some of the other cultural information that went into its composition and reception, I will be suggesting not only how this information was displaced and recorded in gendered terms, but also what happened to the whole notion of gender in the process. If masculinity depends on mastering objects by classifying them according to their relative filly or beauty, then its ascendency, along with the femininity of the object, will be called into question whenever objects resist the classification system that educated readers bring to bear on them.⁹

To trace the lineaments of such a struggle in *Wuthering Heights*, it is necessary for me to begin transforming the novel from an object of literary analysis into what might be called an object of cultural studies. Brontë scholars tend to look at the novel as a series of enclosures within enclosures, a structure they regard as symptomatic of a female author who withdrew from adult sexuality into the sanctuary of her family, fantasy life, and finally death.¹⁰ Persistent as this reading of *Wuthering Heights* has been, it is not all that difficult to rethink the novel's self-enclosure in terms of the reclassifying activity I have been describing. All enclosures within the novel are violated. No spatial boundary remains intact—neither Heights, nor Grange, nor bedroom, nor body, nor book, nor team, nor burial ground. Everyone in the novel crosses at least one threshold unbidden and ravishes some sacred ground. Think of the moment when Lockwood first approaches the portals of Wuthering Heights and is attacked by one of the Earnshaw dogs. Or when Catherine and Heathcliff peer in the window of Thrushcross Grange only to have Catherine seized by one of the in-ton dogs. Or when Linton separates Catherine from Heathcliff and then feeds her decline and death by childbirth. Or when her daughter scales the wall between the Heights and the Grange to keep company with her sickly usin. Or when Heathcliff takes over the Heights, elopes with Isabel Linton, takes custody of their son, and forcibly marries him off to the second Catherine, as if the narrative itself is a sequence of boundary violations, each of

⁹ Sara Slater identifies "the feminine picturesque" as "a longstanding tradition through which British women in the colonized subcontinent were required to remain on the peripheries of colonization, collecting from that vantage point variously double effect that is very similar to the effect of regional literature and images," for the female as colonizer. Slater explains, "the picturesque assumes an ideological urgency through which all subcontinental threats could be temporarily converted into watercolors and thereby domesticated into a less disturbing system of belonging. Its aesthetic contributes to what Francis Hutchinson calls the 'illusion of permanence' in British imperialism: the picturesque becomes into a gesture of self-protection that allows the colonial gaze a license to convert its ability not to see into studiously visual representations." But, she continues, "the liberty of censorship ... exacts a price of its own: it calls attention to the colonial threat through an overly efficient obliteration of the possibility that the objects to be represented could pose to their author an unread cultural threat" (*The Rhetoric of English India* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992], 75-76).

¹⁰ Dorothy Van Ghent offers what is, to my mind, still the best formalist reading of *Wuthering Heights*, in *The English Novel: Form and Function* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 154-70. It is significant that when Terry Eagleton decided to overturn this idea that Brontë's fiction was something otherworldly and detached from its moment in political history, he reproduced the same trope of her self-enclosure that had such appeal for formalists. True, Eagleton contends that the Brontë sisters would certainly have seen a good deal of destitution on their own doorstep" (*Myths of Power: A Marxist Study of the Brontës* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975], 13). But he nevertheless assumes that political history must have stopped at that doorstep, leaving the Brontë women and their role as authors miraculously outside it.

which makes an entire classification system shudder at the blow and change in some profound way to account for the intrusion. Each territorial invasion happens strictly according to the law, and yet each is described as if it were an act of rape, pedophilia, necrophilia, or all of the above.¹¹

One scene in particular, the central scene in Lockwood's dream, can be read as a condensation of these episodes. To recover from a canine encounter, Lockwood retires to a chamber where, he tells us, Heathcliff "never let anyone lodge willingly."¹² Inside the chamber there is "a singular sort of old-fashioned couch ... [that] formed a little closer" (25). Once secured within this second chamber, Lockwood enters yet another enclosure: "It was a testament, in lean type, and smelling dreadfully musty: a fly-leaf bore the inscription—'Catherine Earnshaw' her book and a date some quarter of a century back" (26). To this point, the novel extends the empire of the educated observer into the private sanctuary of another person, a woman who died some years ago. But the pleasure of looking turns into a nightmare as Lockwood begins to read the notes that she had scribbled in the book's margins. Intent on recovering the powers and pleasures of a bedroom tourist, Lockwood again tries to make the material from the book that seeped into his nightmare square with the world as his culture defines it. He decides that the violence in the nightmare came from

... the branch of a fir tree that touched my lattice, as the blast wailed by, and rattled its dry cones against the panes!

I listened doubtingly an instant; detected the disturber, then turned and dozed, and dreamt again; if possible, still more disagreeably than before.

This time, I remembered I was lying in the oak closet, and I heard distinctly the gusty wind, and the driving of the snow. I heard, also, the fir-bough repeat its teasing sound, and [I] ascribed it to the right cause; but it annoyed me so much, that I resolved to silence it, if possible ...

"I must stop it ...!" I muttered, knocking my knuckles through the glass, and stretching an arm out to seize the ... branch: instead of which, my fingers closed on the fingers of a little ice-cold hand! ...

"Catherine Linton," it replied, shiveringly ... "I'm come home, I'd lost my way on the moor!"

As it spoke, I discerned, obscurely, a child's face looking through the window. Terror made me cruel; and, finding it useless to attempt shaking the creature off, I pulled its wrist on to the broken pane, and rubbed it to and fro till the blood ran down and soaked the bed-clothes: still it wailed, "Let me in" and maintained its tenacious grip, almost maddening me with fear. (29-30)

¹¹ Charles Percy Sanger concludes his detailed analysis of the laws governing marriage and inheritance in *Wuthering Heights* with this remark: "There is, so far as I know, no other novel in the world which it is possible to subject to an analysis of the kind I have tried to make" ("The Structure of *Wuthering Heights*," in Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, cited below, 295). How does one reconcile Brontë's extraordinary care in observing the legal restrictions on marriage and inheritance with her strong suggestions that many of the marriages and patterns of inheritance that take place in the novel are perverses if not criminal acts? We have to assume that while she had a detailed knowledge of English law on these matters, Brontë was also aware of a competing cultural system that governed kinship and rights of land use.

¹² Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, ed. William M. Sale, Jr. (New York: Norton, 1972), 25. All citations to *Wuthering Heights* are to this edition.

53

I have written about this scene on several occasions, and yet I feel it still eludes me. I cannot say with any sense of certainty if this account of a dream expands or limits the narrator's consciousness. Does it ask us to contemplate something that someone like Lockwood can never feel or know because his experience is narrower and more homogeneous than that enacted in the British culture he confronts? Or does the dream carry us inward from the moors, house, bed, and book to hitherto unacknowledged recesses of Lockwood's fantasy life? This may be considered a rare moment in canonical literature—when we can see exactly how contending ways of making meaning once struggled for possession of the same cultural space.

The ghost is symptomatic of this struggle. It simultaneously acknowledges and conceals the nature of the conflict between local and mass-mediated cultures. It translates what is in fact a spatial conflict into a conflict between two moments in time, one of which is over; Yorkshire culture belongs to the past. The ghost identifies this earlier moment in time with women and children and, by so doing, provides a spectacle of interiority that incorporates the other culture within modern consciousness, as something that has been forgotten or repressed. To examine this process in more detail and suggest in more precise terms what its political impact might have been, I would like to turn to folklore, another Victorian genre that gained momentum at the very time when Brontë was preparing to write her novel. From there, I will move into a brief description of the regional photography that became extremely popular along with British folklore and *Wuthering Heights*.

II. Folklore

For all practical purposes, folklore got started sometime during the 1820s. By the 1840s when Emily Brontë was writing *Wuthering Heights*, a substantial number of people were collecting stories, superstitions, cures, and arcane practices from every out-of-the-way place in the nation and writing them down for weekly and monthly publications. The influential collector William Thoms can be credited with coining the term when, in 1846, he described folklore as "a vast body of 'traditional lore' floating among our peasantry."¹³ As consolidated by Thoms and his fellow collectors, the project always assumed, in the words of Richard Dorson, that "A rude and primitive peasantry fitted naturally into the landscape and intrigued the traveller with their superstitious rites and ceremonies."¹⁴ Turning back to this rather substantial body of writing for an account of rural life in the early nineteenth century, the modern scholar finds remarkably little that qualifies as the *Grainde article*, even though there is a great supply of place names, local variations of some demon or cure, and specific actions as to the conditions under which such magic was supposed to work. Yet, through their exchanges in letters and newsletters, and by collecting their information in anthologies and what were called Every-Day Books, nine-

teenth-century folklorists systematically reclassified ordinary life in most regions of Great Britain as both primitive and obsolete. They broke down working symbolic systems into representative details. Then they rearranged those details, regardless of local origin and function, under such abstract headings as "costume" or "superstition," which reclassified all such details as signs of cultural backwardness, on the one hand, and of picturesque charm, on the other.

Like the collectors and Every-Day Books, Thoms's "Folk-Lore" column in *The Athenaeum* (1846) gradually converted the symbolic economies of different regions into a coin of exchange among literate men of leisure. From eighteenth-century antiquarians these men had inherited the idea that native customs indicated something much more insidious than the mere lack of elite manners and education. Writing in 1777, for example, John Brand regarded British folkways as the relics of pre-Reformation England. This was a time, he claimed, when "a Profusion of childish Rites, Pageants and Ceremonies diverted the Attention of the People from the consideration of their real State, and kept them in humour, if it did not sometimes make them in love with their slavish Modes of Worship."¹⁵ Nineteenth-century folklorists often saw local customs as pernicious in much the same way, and could be quite forthright about wishing to stamp them out: "Those who mix much amongst the lower orders," wrote one influential collector, "will find in these remote places,—nay, even in our towns and villages,—a vast mass of superstition holding its ground most tenaciously."¹⁶ In such statements, however, the rationale for battling folkways no longer rested on linking them with the practices of Catholic Europe; nineteenth-century folklore identified the folk as foreign in a distinctively nineteenth-century way. Regional people did not constitute a competing subculture with whom the folklorist, as a representative of mass-mediated culture, engaged in a struggle for meaning. Folklorists represented the struggle as one that was over by the time it actually began. They identified indigenous cultures as an earlier stage in the development of modern English culture, since those cultures sanctified precisely the excessive, frivolous, or nasty behaviors that educated English adults had outgrown.

A second and far more positive view of folk culture existed side by side with the view that justified wiping it out. Thomas Keightley's *Tales and Popular Fictions* (1834) regarded its object of study as a rare and fragile thing that—like anything whose value was not evident to the ordinary run of readers—was destined to pass into oblivion. Keightley situated himself as the lone witness to such primitive beauty: "Yet, though thus despised by the narrow-minded and intolerant disciples of utility, popular fiction [by which he means "folklore"] has attractions for those whose views are more enlarged, and who love to behold Philosophy extending her dominion over all the regions of the Human Mind."¹⁷ The statement invites us to think of folklore as a precursor of modern

¹³ Quoted in Richard M. Dorson, *The British Folklorists: A History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 83.

¹⁴ Richard Dorson, ed., *Peasant Customs and Savage Myths: Selections From the British Folklorists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1.1.

¹⁵ Dorson, *Peasant Customs and Savage Myths*, 1.11.

¹⁶ William Henderson, *Notes on the Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England and Border* (London, 1866), quoted in David Vincent, *Literary and Popular Culture, England 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 156.

¹⁷ Dorson, *Peasant Customs and Savage Myths*, 1.38.

ature that afforded special knowledge of the human mind.¹⁸ The statement suggests that, by reclassifying the primitive folk as charmingly archaic sons of themselves, educated Englishmen could enjoy dominion over them. The argument that primitive cultures should be regarded as the idyllic childhood of the modern nation proved to be an effective way of actually defining the very thing that such men as Keightley longed for. In the second of the nineteenth century, folklore defined its mission as preserving an authentic, pre-industrial England.¹⁹ It translated all hostility toward the groups as busily describing into an appreciation—even reverence—for what was whole. Folklore did not restrict this method of description to cultures that in fact stopped working; it also regarded thriving local cultures with regain. In this way, it can be argued, folklore wrote many forms of livelihood out of existence.

A book-length account of gypsy life in England encapsulates the logic contained within this paradox. Entitled *Laengro: The Scholar—The Gypsy—The Elf*, the book was written between 1842 and 1844 and finally published in 1, the year after the second edition of *Wuthering Heights* appeared. And like the novel, this peculiar mix of travel literature, folklore, and fiction initially outraged certain readers by exalting gypsies at the expense of more respectable people. But eventually it, too, enjoyed immense popularity. The author suggested the reason for such a turnaround in popularity when he prefaced an account of his travels through rural England with these remarks:

In the following pages I have endeavored to describe a dream, partly of study, partly adventure, in which will be found copious notices of books, and many descriptions of life and manners, some in very unusual form.

The scenes of action lie in the British Islands. Pray, do not be displeas'd, gentle reader, if perchance thou hast imagin'd that I was about to conduct thee to distant lands, and didst promise thyself much instruction and entertainment from what I might tell thee of them. I do assure thee that thou hast no reason to be displeas'd, inasmuch as there are no countries in the world less known by the British than these selfsame British Islands, or where more

In their introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger describe how the English deliberately created a tradition for the Scots and the Welsh as well as for the various territories of India that gave other cultures within the Empire a curious and exotic past, distinct from and marginal to that of the English. In focussing on the production of traditions that identified other people according to British norms of the quaint, primitive, or exotic, Hobsbawm and Ranger neglect to tell us how the production of a strictly English past had defined those "other" British cultures as traces of a past that modern England had superseded.

Thoms began his career as a folklorist by apologizing for his subject matter and complaining about the recalcitrance of local beliefs and customs. But by the time he launched his column in *The Athenaeum* (1846), he offered as a rationale for that column these two observations: "—the first, how much that is curious and interesting in these matters is now entirely lost—the second, how much may still be rescued by timely exertion. What Home endeavored to do by his *Every-Day Book* &c., *The Athenaeum*, by its wider circulation, may accomplish ten times more effectually—gather together the infinite number of minute facts, illustrative of the subject I have mentioned which are scattered over the memories of its thousands of readers, and preserve them in its pages" (Dorson, *Present Customs and Savage Myths*, 1, 53). Dorson describes his statement by Thoms as "the stock grievance echoed by all folklorists from the inauguration of Thoms's column in 1846 to the present day" (Dorson, *Present Customs and Savage Myths*, 1, 53).

*strange things are every day occurring, whether in road or street, house or dingie.*²⁰

Thus the author warns his readership that his account of wandering through the English countryside will resemble an account of foreign travel. He will reveal to English readers that much of their nation is a foreign nation in the double sense that it is both unknown to them and inhabited by a people personified by "The Gypsy" with whom the literate population shares neither beliefs nor customs. Yet, in contrast with Catholic Europe ("The Priest" named in the title), this same nation within the nation is an integral part of Great Britain and resembles what is most authentic in respectable English readers themselves. If *Laengro* portrays "the nation" as a cultural landscape littered with a heterogeneous population of foreigners, this strange account also classifies those strangers and quite literally puts them safely in their place. By means of his inquisitive eye, facility for languages, and sure-handed pen, the tourist-ethnographer-author of *Laengro* reorganizes all manner of other cultures into types that he can personally see, hear, and master intellectually, types presumably unfamiliar to the reader's less educated eye and ear.

Modern England's incorporation of such a stranger was not without its problems, however. Native people and their cultures did not always agree that their moment in history was over; they did not always fulfill the charming stereotypes in terms of which the reader was encouraged to imagine them. While it can be argued that many traditional ways of making a living from land and sea were in fact rendered obsolete by Victorian culture, the Brontës' fiction also indicates that local cultures continued to govern personal life in many parts of England. The old ways of observing feast days, habits of courtship and kinship, and methods of caring for the body remained to challenge the norms of the novel-reading public well after the economies and political hierarchies specific to a given region had been dismantled.²¹ We can regard Lockwood's dream as an instance of the conflict that occurred when the cultural past refused to die and carried on a struggle to control meaning at the local level. The child's ghost brings cultural conflict to life within the contemporary

²⁰ George Borrow, *Laengro: The Scholar—The Gypsy—The Elf* (New York: Dover, 1991), vii. It is worth noting that Borrow's extended account of his travel through Wales, entitled *Wild Wales* (1862), participated directly in the project that Hobsbawm and Ranger call "the invention of tradition." For one of his recent biographers, Borrow was simply a "Victorian eccentric" who, "becoming curious about some or other part of the world, simply set out, by whatever means of transport was possible, to see what it was like" (1). I think it is rather more helpful to regard such men as intellectual tourists. By seeing, they presumed to know, and, by writing down what they had seen, these men sought to establish their superiority as sensitive and sophisticated observers. I quote at some length from this biographer's impressions of Borrow in order to plant the suggestion that these impressions could just as easily apply to Brontës's narrator, for (it seems to me) she represented Lockwood as the same kind of self-proclaimed intellectual at large: "Borrow's work is never documentary; that alerts the reader to an unsettling ambivalence of tone, something that hints, suggests, or even makes blatantly obvious, that not everything is being said that might be said. The intrepid Victorian traveller so frequently writes like an explorer that his reader can be quite chagrined to realize he is not.... That Borrow, in telling us so much, refuses to tell us all makes us inquisitive about his private life" (Michael Collier, *George Borrow, eccentric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1-2).

²¹ Peter Saltybass and Alison White identify some of the ways in which local customs, especially those that produced a pre-individualistic understanding of social identity, survived on into the modern age at local sites, in the practices associated with leisure time, and in the organization of bourgeois neuroses, in *Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), 125-203.

moment, where it exists as something that the dominant culture cannot account for. If the ghost places regional culture in the past, then, it also translates that time back into cultural space, albeit a fictional space, so that the moment that produced Catherine's book can confront Lockwood's way of reading Yorkshire culture and its people.

What is at stake in Lockwood's dream, if one thinks of it in these terms? Lockwood's dream represents two kinds of violence: the violence of enclosing consciousness and confining it to the body, on the one hand, and the violence of violating this kind of self enclosure on the other. Lockwood commits violence in the first sense when he insists on revering the bond of common humanity that links him to the place and to its history, as represented by the phantom child. But the ghost causes violence of another kind. It allows the dead to permeate the place, the book, and the name. Not limited to the body of the woman who was supposed to contain it, the essential Catherine enjoys a sinister afterlife in things. What is more, the voice and image that once were hers tend to enter other people's thoughts and field of vision. Heathcliff blames Lockwood for cutting off and shutting out the child. In so doing, urban man performs a violent act of self enclosure. Such people are shallow, heartless, and unreal—"dolls" the gypsy calls them. From Lockwood's point of view, however, the violence was done when Catherine infiltrated his dream and violated his self enclosure. Readers tend to think that Brontë tips the scales of meaning in favor of Catherine's ghost.

Lockwood encounters the regional landscape as a tourist, converting that landscape and its occupants into a private aesthetic experience. He takes secret satisfaction in prying into out-of-the-way places with his eyes. We might identify Lockwood with the folklorist, except for the fact that he receives a special pleasure from his tourism, an erotic thrill of sorts. The novel provides us with the basis of a model for this form of pleasure when it suggests why Lockwood came to the north of England in the first place. "While enjoying a month of fine weather at the sea-coast," he explains, "I was thrown into the company of a most fascinating creature, a real goddess in my eyes, as long as she took no notice of me.... [But] she understood me at last, and looked a return—the sweetest of all imaginable looks. And what did I do? I confess it with shame—squamidly into myself, like a snail" (15). Lockwood plays out the same exchange of glances at least two more times, once with Catherine and then with her daughter. The repetition of this episode makes it clear that what he wants is the pornographic thrill of just looking. The repetition of the episode also indicates that he expects the women he encounters to comply. But since women in this novel have the annoying habit of looking back at him, they indicate that the place is not his own to play with; it is not a field of information that his cultural categories can master.

If the thrill of looking indicates that looking confers power on the observing subject, then, one would think, the return of that look ought to shift power back onto the object. But resistance on the part of a subject so objectified does not result in the political emergence or even recognition of that subject's position. Quite the contrary, the novel's way of revealing the political nature of this

conflict is also a way of incorporating the conflict itself within modern culture, where it registers as an assault on reason and sentimentality and tends to be regarded as a threat to Lockwood's masculinity. The materials of his dream may resist his best attempts to internalize and rationalize the ghost, but the novel, being a novel, allows one to read this undigestible lump of cultural information as Lockwood's nightmare—a peripheral territory within the educated mind.

III. Photography

For twenty years or so before *Wuthering Heights* appeared and caused a minor sensation, a number of individuals in England and France were developing the technology for mechanically reproducing images of the countryside and making them available to urban viewers. These images put the observer in touch with a countryside that was primitive and yet utterly passive to view. These images also separated the observer from this countryside by an unbridgeable gap in time. The image of a cottage doorway from a volume called *The Pencil of Nature* by Henry Fox Talbot shows how one of the earliest calotype images converted cultural space into historical time (figure 2). Talbot's image detaches the object from the symbolic economy in which it presumably played an important role. As an image, the object can be valued for its flaws, signs of decay, indications that it is on the verge of perishing.²² Having cut the image free from the object and infused it with aesthetic value, Talbot then placed it in an album alongside the crumbling facade of Queen's College Oxford, shelves of well-worn books, statues from antiquity, a piece of old lace, a leaf, and haystack with a ladder. The volume appeared at booksellers in six paper-covered installments between June 1844 and April 1846 and was a huge success. The volume appeared to imitate the act of seeing. In fact, however, it presented viewers with an array of objects that they could not have seen without Talbot's process. His images operated as synecdoches, broken off and standing in for a whole system of natural, social, or economic relationships. Much like the ghost, they allowed one to see people, places, and things that were no longer really there and certainly never coexisted in any other way.

Photographers especially liked to perform this vanishing act on the very forms of labor that sustained most of the population. These images did to working people what Talbot's did to fragile objects; it stripped them of local meaning and utilitarian value; it transformed their means of livelihood along with the setting, their clothing, and their bodies into details indicating rudeness and obsolescence. Individuals thus appear before us in these photographs, not as individuals, but as curious survivors from an earlier time. Although the calotype and daguerreotype techniques were invented during the 1830s, by the 1840s both

22 In "Images of Decay: Photography in the Picturesque Tradition," *O. Jolter* 54 (1990), Wolfgang Kemp attributes the appeal of such images of decay to two sources: First, "the admirer of the picturesque sees himself apart from the standards of taste of the average consumer of art. He adopts a distanced relation to the object of his look by consciously disregarding the object's utilitarian value" (107). The second source of pleasure is related to the first but turns back from vesthetics in a practical direction: "The picturesque offers no ready symmetries, no easily identifiable compositional schemes. Recognizing and appreciating these qualities is an important achievement for the adept of the picturesque, perhaps even the decisive achievement in the process of learning to see. In short, the picturesque is also a didactic principle" (109).

widely available for use by amateurs and professionals in England and on the continent. Adamson and Hill's calotype prints of Newhaven fisher women and what happened to the image of regional people as the method became professionalized. These images display a conscious selection of the details of body, and labor that created a regional type and set that type apart both similar types and from the people who made and consumed photographic images. By keeping themselves out of the picture, photographers created the illusion that the local people in the photograph belonged to another time and place. But Adamson and Hill occasionally achieved the same effect by inserting a modern individual inside the photographic frame of reference (figure 3). Images simply made explicit the political effect of regional photographic relationships to the members of regional British cultures as a modern relationship. These images cast the literate urban individual in the role of the intruder in their household, not they in his.

Looking ahead to the photography of the 1850s, when *Withering Heights* completely won over the Victorian readership, one can understand these photographic images as the beginning of a process that further transformed the cultural landscape of Great Britain. By midcentury, of course, the technology allowing shorter exposure time also made it possible to bring the camera and its subject matter into the studio. Many of the same shots taken by amateur photographers were removed from the rural landscape and restaged in artificial backdrops in urban studios. A photograph from 1880 (figure 4) of a Scottish fisher girl shows how the artificial setting seeped into the real subject. She appears to be just any girl, not necessarily even Scottish, and not someone who needs to earn a model's fee. Her clothes strike one as a relic and her baskets, as ornamental objects. Consequently, her image presents something that was already gone by the time the photograph was

photograph from the 1890s entitled "The Colleen Bawn" exhibits the same of sensationalism we find in *Withering Heights* (figure 5). It glamorizes a photograph otherwise unattractive by Victorian standards: "The Colleen Bawn," who was murdered in 1819 by a local squire and his servant. A story of the fatal beauty of a rural woman was evidently just the sort to inspire plays and books before providing a title for this photograph. As her name came to illustrate a sensational narrative, the woman in the photograph completely cut off from her history; she ceased to testify to the condition of peasant culture and became an object of modern sexual desire. Thus framed and staged, she dramatizes the power of a photograph to fix a meaning and regard in previous frames of reference. It was and how it might have

of Victorian photography that Asa Briggs calls "slightly risqué mate-

rial" (figure 6).²³ By eroticizing the image, the photograph calls attention to the same constellation of features that come together in Lockwood's dream. In these peculiarly suggestive portraits, excluded humanity steps forward and presents itself to the public gaze in the form of a nameless, placeless child. It is important to note how the photograph taints this child, making her more exotic than primitive. A different order of details suddenly beckons to the viewer, telling him how to classify this image. In contrast with such ethnographic information as the photographs of Newhaven fisher women provide, the exotic woman is interesting for the body that lies beneath her costume, signified by the absence of shoes in "The Colleen Bawn" and, more obtrusively, by the presence of one foot from which the shoe has not yet been removed in the photograph of the girl undressing.²⁴ In contrast with the other photographic subjects I have examined, this image of a half-clothed child forces us to ask how she became the object of the public gaze; it is definitely wrong for her to have entered our field of vision. Although the camera quite deliberately caters to the viewer's voyeurism, the mere fact that she is there shifts at least some of the blame onto the girl who presented herself to be photographed and then look over our field of vision. Much like the women who shrivel Lockwood's gaze, the girls in these photographs return the viewer's look. By refusing to become intransitive objects, they embarrass those who can afford the privilege of looking. And like the ghostly child in Lockwood's dream, they challenge the sentimental frame. In thus returning from the past to confront the viewer within his own historical frame of reference, these women cross over from the primitive, more properly the domain of children, into the domain of the exotic. They intrude into the world dominated by the tourist and reveal what his enormous appetite for images is really all about.²⁵ Let us consider how, in thus resisting the categories of respectable people, the cultures so objectified nevertheless succumbed to the aestheticizing technologies of mass-mediated culture.

IV. Regionalism

²³ Asa Briggs, *A Victorian Portrait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 139.

²⁴ Jacques Derrida begins an argument over the "truth" of Van Gogh's "shoe" painting with the remark, "we've got a ghost story on our hands here all right," in *The Truth of Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Jan McCleod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 257. Derrida describes Meyer Shapiro's critique of Heidegger's reading of the shoe as a conflict between two different ways of returning the pair of shoes to an absent owner. To say, "the shoes of" is much the same as saying, "the shoes of" in this analysis. Another but clearly related question is raised by the shoes that both do and do not appear in the photographs I have been discussing. For example, the Scottish fisher girl is marked as fake by the fact she is in someone else's shoes, which consequently shifts our focus away from the owner of those shoes and onto the flesh that has no right to fit them; the truth of the model would become visible only in a pornographic image that removed from her flesh the clothing that is not hers, clothing that indeed appears to have no rightful owner. Her flesh exists in opposition to the truth of bourgeois women, which becomes visible only in portraits that display their economic status in the clothing that belongs to them—that indeed is their body—or, alternatively in spirit photographs where the body indicates the absence of any flesh at all.

²⁵ It is helpful, I think, to consider the emergence of the exotic body in the quasi-respectable genres of travel accounts and regional photography as much the same kind of phenomenon that Linda Williams describes in *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 39-46. What the appearance of cinema at the end of the nineteenth century does, according to Williams, is "to produce a new kind of body" (45). This body in turn historically repositions and transforms the viewing subject: "With the invention of cinema ... fetishism and voyeurism gained new importance and normality through their link to the positivist quest for truth of visible phenomena" (46).

Along with folklore and photography, *Wuthering Heights* performs the task of miniaturization. Folklore divided rural England into small communities that could be represented synecdochally by a couple of curious practices. Photography did the same thing, and then reduced its object in size. Seeking out the odd detail, it too had a way of putting other people in awkward positions. When staged in this way, they resembled children who survived from a more primitive time into a modern industrial England. At the same time, one knows the miniature is nothing but a copy. Photography's object is at once out there and already gone. It is by thus triumphing over the facts of nature, as Susan Stewart tells us, that the miniature offers its consumer a fantasy of omnipotence in which art and technology appear to conquer even death itself.²⁶ To move outside the frames of fiction and photography and insert those frames themselves in history, however, we need to push the logic of miniaturization one step more.

Although we tend to think of British colonialism in terms of the English conquest first of North America and then of parts of Africa and Asia, it is important to realize that much the same thing went on inside Great Britain. Of course, British people had always been fixed to a cultural map. A long tradition of British travel literature testifies to that fact. But the 1830s and 40s saw the development of new technologies for reorganizing and reproducing this information for a mass audience. As a result, this particular remapping of regional England had a strikingly different impact than earlier efforts. No matter where one went in England, he or she was either in the core or at the periphery. What determined whether one felt at home or out of place on either terrain was the kind of person one was. Were you someone who consumed fiction, leafed through photograph albums, and savored the accounts of local people and their customs written by the early folklorists? If not, according to the emerging classification system, then you were probably the kind of person who provided the subject matter for such leisure-time activities. Fiction, folklore, and photography automatically set regional people apart from the educated people who enjoyed knowing about them.²⁷

These texts also asked the reader to imagine regional people as having racially different bodies, even though those bodies were not often explicitly identified as such. In contrast with the people of Africa and Asia, however, these people were British; they were just not really English. Their flesh may be slightly darkened in folklore and travel accounts (as indeed Heathcliff's is), but primitive cultural practices were regarded as the important cause and symptom of difference. Ethnic flesh was never half so responsive to self-restraint and education as it was to curious superstitions, arcane cures, and incom-

26

My discussion of miniaturization is indebted to Susan Stewart's *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1994).

27

At some point in this essay, it should have become apparent that I find it difficult to name the people who were not doing the classifying. I refer to them as "natives," "indigenous peoples," "local" or "regional" people, the "rural population," and occasionally "ethnics." These are admittedly terrible terms; any such naming will to some degree spatialize, homogenize, primitivize, and render obsolete those who did not belong to "the reading public." Any act of naming to some degree reproduces the very act of classification I am trying to analyze. In a very real sense, then, what I say about the Victorian classifiers will identify me and many of my readers as their inheritors.

prehensible desires. The cultural map that shaped the way Victorian readers conceptualized and, indeed, acted out their relationship to other British people automatically placed those people within another time frame: they belonged to an archaic and benighted past that existed in precise contrast with the enlightened, progressive culture of people who could read novels, take photographs, and study the relics of an earlier British culture.

Geography designated one's place on a psychosexual landscape that linked the place where one worked to the kind of work he or she did. The fiction, folklore, and photography I have discussed characteristically ask us to imagine peripheral people in terms of the labor peculiar to their geographical location. These texts rendered their tools primitive and the end products themselves hardly worth the trouble. Detail by detail, the genres that began to flourish in the 1830s and 40s revised the whole concept of work. Forms of labor that had stood the test of time and natural conditions capitulated to the printing press and camera. Turned into something to look at, these forms of labor were set in opposition to mechanized production and defined as significantly lacking in the kind of practicality that translated into money.

To become a modern imperial nation, according to the materials I have been examining, Great Britain underwent an internal cultural division of labor that would only be exaggerated with the spread and even the collapse of British imperialism. This cultural division of labor established the dialect, religion, clothing, skills, and appearance of a particular minority of English men and women as those of Great Britain itself. By the end of *Wuthering Heights*, we might recall, such people have taken over both the Heights and the Grange—in other words, both of the cultural spaces that compete for the novel's meaning. Anyone who cannot assume a role within the modern nuclear family has passed or will soon pass away. Let us pause briefly, then, and consider what the camera—having spirited indigenous British culture away—saw fit to offer in its place. In a photograph entitled *Lady Argyll dressed as Red Riding Hood*, the effects of miniaturization are immediately apparent in the child's fanciful appropriation of the dress formerly associated with the women of British fishing villages (figure 7). Other family photographs staged in the studio transform the landscape and labor of regional Britain into a patently artificial backdrop for the bourgeois family. Children pose where local people used to be, tools are reduced to toys, and pets occupy the space once reserved for the livestock on which most regional families depended for survival (figure 8). These forms of miniaturization turn regional culture quite literally into the childhood of urban man.

Pierre Bourdieu is especially helpful when it comes to calculating what happens when those empowered by the camera turn its gaze upon themselves. Other people do not do this. "Of the photographs showing [middle-class] people," observes Bourdieu, "almost three-quarters show groups and more than half show children, either on their own or with adults."²⁸ He contends that the photography of the family gathering does not reveal a structure of feeling that

28

Pierre Bourdieu with Luc Boltanski, Robert Castel, Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Dominique Schnapper, *Photography: A Middle-Class Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984).

ready exists so much as it provides a new reason for family feeling. Indeed, as the only primary group to prove capable of sustaining its identity in a modern urban society, the bourgeois family could be said to exist by virtue of verbal and visual images that produce the feelings necessary for its survival. *Walter*
 progressively dispossessed of most of its traditional functions," the family asserts itself by accumulating the signs of affective unity, its intimacy" (26).
 understood from this perspective, the family portrait does not capture a feeling that was present in the people assembled for the photographic session. The images of private life that photography manufactures are primary rather than secondary sources of power and pleasure. This is perhaps why, as Bourdieu claims, "there is nothing more reassuring and edifying than a family album. All the unique experiences that give the individual memory the particularity of a secret are banished from it, and this common past ... has all the clarity of a ritually visited gravestone" (26).

V. Emily's Ghost

Once we see the novel in relation to a process of internal colonialism that naturalized most of regional England, how do we place Brontë herself in this process? We can perhaps do so by means of the logic I am calling "Emily's ghost," the same logic that I abstracted from the spirit photograph. In a well-known photograph of the parsonage at Haworth taken at about the time Emily wrote her only novel, one can see that visitors to the surrounding cemetery did not come there simply to pay their respects to the dead (figure 9). The other well-dressed tourists are too busy looking at something. The garden of ringed tombstones and heather surrounding a place that was reputedly home to a family of poets, madmen, dying women and their preacher-poet father was evidently something of a spectacle. Surviving into the present time, the town and parsonage themselves appear as reduced in size as the traces of girls affected at birth by an illness that stunted their growth and limited their number of years. The parsonage exists as a tourist attraction on the Yorkshire moors to this day, its objects riddled through with captions, signs, and relics pointing to lives that resemble fiction more than history. In short, a text of the very kind I have been describing.

Having set *Wuthering Heights* in relation to the upsurge of interest in local folklore and the development of photography, we can see what binds them all together in a single project. When the reviewers greeted *Wuthering Heights* with suspicion and even outrage, Charlotte used precisely the textualizing procedures to describe its author that Emily Brontë had used to turn "the outlying hills and hamlets in the West-Riding of Yorkshire" into "things alien and unfamiliar."²⁹ To identify the novel with the region that it represented, she re-named its landscape, much as the studio matting reframed "The Colleen Bawn," as something "rustic all through. It is moorish, and wild, and knotty as a roof of heath" (10). Charlotte's preface promptly arrogated these qualities to

Emily as well: "Nor was it natural that it should be otherwise; the author being a native and a nursing of the moors" (10). Once the preface to the 1850 edition had situated the author of *Wuthering Heights* within the landscape of her own creation, something on the order of a cult began to develop around Emily Brontë, and a perspective not that much different from the one frozen in the snapshot of Haworth parsonage determined the way that literary criticism approached her ever after.

Like Catherine and Heathcliff, she belonged to regional culture. Like them, too, the author's way of life and especially her way of writing were tragically out of date. But as her hero and heroine demonstrated, such people could not be confined to bed, to bodies, or to books because their identities eluded such forms of incarnation. The modern literary tradition has made it very difficult to distinguish the author's traces from the characters of her fiction. Bonding Emily to her book to form an object of intense nostalgia, literary criticism tends to do to her precisely what the spirit photographer did to his female subjects by stripping away the details that would attach them to a place in history. In a spirit photograph, however, transparency is actually the vital sign that links the traces of the woman to her specific place in time. Emily's transparency indeed records the moment of her departure from a world in which the role of the observer was rapidly changing. Because she could not redefine herself as Charlotte did, the author of *Wuthering Heights* remained culturally something like a child at a time when novelists were supposed to outgrow an earlier identity and figure out a way of dealing with the modern industrial world.

The world made visible through the collaborative efforts of folklore, fiction, and photography is one that requires theorizing. Still somewhat under the sway of late eighteenth-century aesthetics, theory tends to emphasize the perceiving subject and the degree and means of his mastery over the object world, as if that world were simply there and could be taken for granted. In a very real way, we encounter a new historical imperative to make things visible at work in British regionalism, especially in the development of photographic technology and the object choices made by producers and consumers of the chemically reproducible image. During the 1830s, it became possible as a result of that technology and those choices to imagine England in a brand new way—as an array of cultural types that were not English precisely because they could be so objectified. Every day in countless ways photographic images testified to the fact that most of England lived and loved and looked unlike the English. This information allowed respectable Englishmen and women to imagine themselves as the elite overseers of a large and heterogeneous brood. The cultures that were thus rendered quaint and primitive came to be valued much as antiques are—things that, having lost their usefulness, can be revalued nostalgically. It cannot be accidental that as they redefined their relationship to most of their fellow countrymen as one of core to periphery, this class of educated people were also beginning to reclassify both the urban poor and the peoples of Asia and Africa in much the same way.

Illustrations

Figure 1: Spirit photograph, from the Archie Miles Collection. Reproduced by permission of Archie Miles.

Figure 2: William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Open Door*, (1844). Reproduced by permission of Da Capo Press, a division of Plenum Publishing Corporation, 227 West 17th Street, New York, NY 10011.

Figure 3: D.O. Hill and R. Adamson, *Rev. James Fairbairn and Neuhaven Fishwives*, (c. 1845). Reproduced by permission of Helmut Gernsheim, *Masterpieces of Victorian Photography*. London: Phaidon Press, 1951.

Figure 4: Scottish Fisher Girl (1880), from the Archie Miles Collection. Reproduced by permission of Archie Miles.

Figure 5: "The Colleen Bawn" (1900), from the Archie Miles Collection. Reproduced by permission of Archie Miles.

Figure 6: Child Undressing (1865), from the Archie Miles Collection. Reproduced by permission of Archie Miles.

Figure 7: *Lady Argyll dressed as Red Riding Hood*, from the Archie Miles Collection. Reproduced by permission of Archie Miles.

Figure 8: Family Portrait, from the Archie Miles Collection. Reproduced by permission of Archie Miles.

Figure 9: Haworth Parsonage at the Time of the Brontës. Reproduced by permission of the Mansell Collection Limited, 42 Linden Gardens, London W2 4ER.

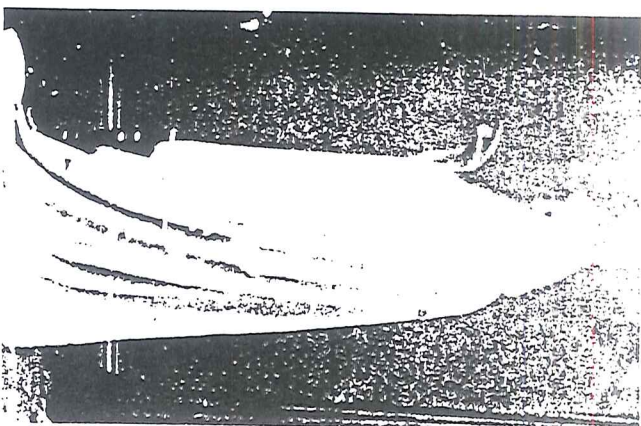


Figure 1



Figure 4

Figure

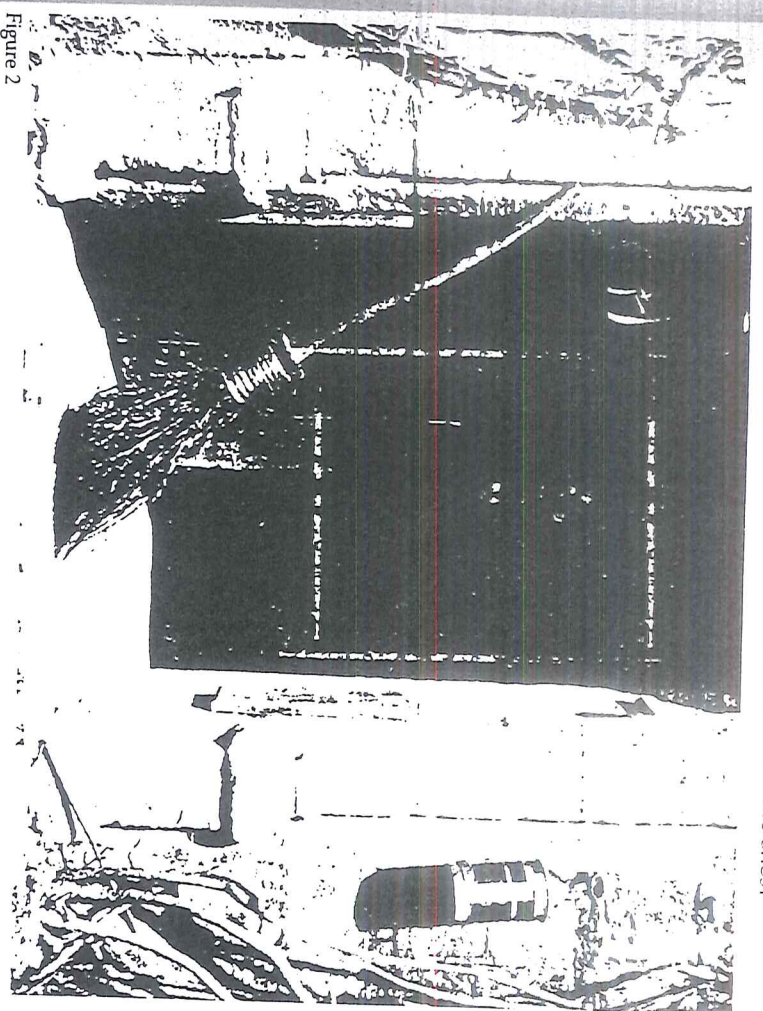


Figure 2

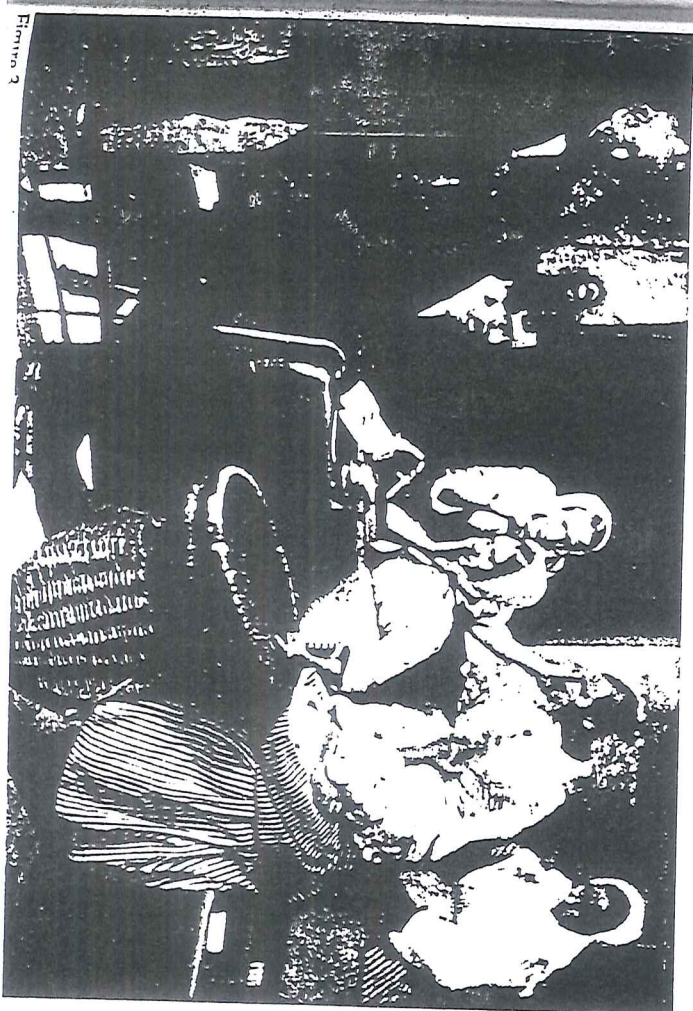


Figure 3



Figure 6



Figure 5

10



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9