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About

Gender forum is an online, peer reviewed academic journal dedicated to the discussion of gender issues. As an electronic journal, *gender forum* offers a free-of-charge platform for the discussion of gender-related topics in the fields of literary and cultural production, media and the arts as well as politics, the natural sciences, medicine, the law, religion and philosophy. Inaugurated by Prof. Dr. Beate Neumeier in 2002, the quarterly issues of the journal have focused on a multitude of questions from different theoretical perspectives of feminist criticism, queer theory, and masculinity studies. *gender forum* also includes reviews and occasionally interviews, fictional pieces and poetry with a gender studies angle.

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Editorial

By Victoria Herche, University of Cologne, Germany

1 By locating this *gender forum* issue geographically in Australia, this issue provides a specific area focus in gender studies, utilizing theories and approaches from both gender and post-colonial studies and thereby concentrates on giving voice to those marginalized by the myth of the ‘typical Australian’.

2 The myth of the Australian national identity continues to render homage to the *Australian Legend*, published by Ward in 1958, the “typical Australian” being “a practical man, rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any appearance of affectation in others” (2). While one might imagine the pull of the legend having waned over the years, the Australian “people’s idea of itself” (1) that Ward sketched has nevertheless influenced Australian identity both home and abroad. Exposing the hidden stories of those unnamed by this definition is at the heart of this issue. The following contributions discuss examples of Australian literature, TV series, and art that represent the female voices in the largely masculinist as well as nationalistic visions of Australia’s national context, thus exploring in how far the position of the white Australian male may or may not remain unchallenged.

3 The issue opens with Katrin Althans’ “Forgotten Voices: The Female ANZAC and Male National Identity”. The image and iconic status of the ANZAC soldier is promoted by various post-memory retellings of the Great War but, as Althans argues, it was specifically Peter Weir’s film *Gallipoli* of 1981 which finalized the contemporary idea of ANZAC as a male-dominated, anti-imperial and nationalistic version. In the lead-up to the Gallipoli centenary in 2015, TV productions such as *ANZAC Girls* have taken to sharing the lost voices of the war, focussing on the stories of women’s, more precisely, nurses’ experiences in WWI. Katrin Althans explores these representations of female voices and the role they play in relation to the idea of a white male ANZAC legend as present in today’s consciousness. As her analysis shows, however, instead of criticizing this one-sided representation of Australian involvement in WWI, productions like *ANZAC Girls* confirm the established ANZAC myth and help to perpetuate an interpretation of the ANZAC legend which is based on post-memory only. Remembering the ANZAC legend thus reveals in how far the mechanisms of this particular cultural memory have worked, and still work, to ‘invent Australia’ and with it a collectively shared identity.

4 In the second article, “Fleshed Out: Bodies of Language in Kate Grenville’s *Lilian’s Story* and *Dark Places*”, Kathleen Denison draws the connection between language and the

body in two novels by Kate Grenville. Grenville uses the bodies of her characters, primarily her two protagonists Lilian and Albion, and their relationship to facts and food in order to show how they are able to unsettle the complex power dynamics in much the same ways that the colonized other is able to find their way out of the oppressive structures imposed on them. In *Lilian's Story*, the protagonist Lilian narrates growing up in Victorian Australia with a stereotypically masculine father. *Dark Places*, on the other hand, belongs to Albion and answers the question of how a seemingly normal man can become so cruel, and so tarnished by the pressure to be masculine. Building on Homi Bhabha, Denison claims that the journey to finding a place within the oppressive patriarchal structures is a case of appropriating the dominant language and finding alternate methods of performing a 'whole' self. Lilian is taking control, in public and in private, in refusing the (body) norm to declare and create her own histories. Thus the female body, though it is the source of oppression for women, also becomes their source of power.

5 In her essay "The Hidden History of an Australian Painter: Louisa Haynes Le Freimann (1863-1956)" Patricia Plummer uncovers the life and work of the 'forgotten' Anglo-Australian artist Louisa Haynes Le Freimann. Born and raised in Birmingham, in 19th century England, Victorian England's restrictive gender norms necessitated the painter to migrate to Adelaide, South Australia, in 1892 and from there to Sydney, New South Wales, in 1897. In Louisa Haynes Le Freimann's best-known painting, the enigmatic and controversial *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* (1896), the pictured unorthodox family group offers a radically different perspective on possibilities of tolerant co-existence in a nurturing and literally matriarchal, rather than patriarchal, society and, according to Plummer, clearly challenges the discourse on the emerging Australian nation in the pre-Federation years. The painting can be linked, through style, scale and genre, to Australian Impressionism, yet it consciously contradicts the masculinist as well as nationalistic vision of that school of painting in various ways. In reconstructing and acknowledging the life and works of this female artist, this paper emphasizes the alternative visions of Australian Impressionism as well as its significance in a larger national context.

6 The issue is rounded off with a review by Lisa Tagliaferri of Mara R. Wade's 2013 book *Gender Matters: Discourses of Violence in Early Modern Literature and the Arts*. This edited volume presents an interdisciplinary and multivalent approach to questions surrounding gendered violence from the late Middle Ages through to the 18th century. Organized thematically, treating Europe with an emphasis on England and Germany, but also including an essay on Japanese drama and one that points to the New World, Tagliaferri considers this

volume as appealing and relevant to a wide range of scholars working in and around Early Modern Studies.

7 This issue provides insight into stories and artefacts that are forgotten and hidden from an already existent and quite rigid cultural memory of the Australian collective memory. They strive for being included and thus challenge persistent images of “the Australian myth”. The recovery and retelling of those stories hidden from the common imaginary provides the continuous challenge for a vivid and diverse representation of the beautiful continent ‘down under’.

Works Cited

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Forgotten Voices: The Female ANZAC and Male National Identity

By Katrin Althans, University of Cologne, Germany

Abstract:

This essay analyses in how far modern, female-centred, Australian productions in the wake of the 2015 centenary of the Gallipoli landing in WWI deal with the legacy of this landing and the ANZAC myth. It starts with an examination of what the ANZAC legend has become in contemporary Australia and its status as a cultural memory based on male ideals. The second part is devoted to a close reading of two examples which take as their focus the stories of Australian nurses in WWI, *ANZAC Girls* and *Through These Lines*. With the help of these examples, the essay shows that modern productions are highly indebted to the post-memory of Peter Weir's *Gallipoli* instead of to original accounts and that those which take a female-centred focus do not challenge the male ideal promoted in *Gallipoli* but rather strive to be included in the very same context.

1 2015 marks the centenary of the landing of the A.I.F, the Australian Imperial Force, at Gallipoli, a landing which has been hailed as “the baptism of fire [that] has proven the young nation” (Schuler 15). Subsequently styled ANZAC, Australian and New Zealand Corps, it became a legend and founding myth of Australia – “the central Australian mythology of the twentieth century” (Seal vii; emphasis mine). Ever since, ANZAC has become part and parcel of a national consciousness, its content varying only slightly over the generations. In the years leading up to this centenary, Australia was preoccupied with research into the history of the Great War, focusing on personal memories in order to piece together a fuller picture of the Australian involvement in that war than had previously been done. Partly, this research was performed for public audiences in the form of theatre, TV and cinematic productions as well as exhibitions. Examples are Sir Wesley Enoch's *Black Diggers*, which premiered at the Sydney Festival in 2014 and tells the story of Australia's Indigenous soldiers in WWI and their experiences after their return, the 2010 movie *Beneath Hill 60*, by Australian director Jeremy Sims, which also features a black Australian soldier, into whose past the crew did a lot of research, and the miniseries *Gallipoli*, produced by Channel 9 and aired in early 2015. Other examples focus on the stories of women's, or, more precisely, nurses' experiences in WWI, such as the play *Through These Lines*, “[a]n original Australian play based on the letters and diaries of Australian army nurses serving in WWI” which is now in its third Sydney season and has also spawned an exhibition (throughtheselines.com.au). One of the best-advertised works was the five-part ABC miniseries *ANZAC Girls*, which is based on Peter Rees's book *The Other ANZACs* and screened in August and September 2014. All of these examples have in common that they set out to tell a different story of WWI, one which

includes minority voices and experiences much neglected in the official discourse of ANZAC since its first commemoration in 1916.

2 In my paper, I will address the female voices and the role they play in relation to the idea of a white male ANZAC legend as present in today's consciousness. For this, I will give a brief introduction into the history of ANZAC and how it has become an influential element of Australian national identity. As I will argue, the shape ANZAC has taken on in the collective memory of contemporary Australia is nothing but a myth derived from already post-memorial versions of it, most notably Peter Weir's *Gallipoli* of 1981, which glorifies the courageous male Australian soldier willing to sacrifice himself for his mate(s). Yet instead of criticizing this one-sided representation of Australian involvement in WWI through bringing to light the forgotten female stories, productions like *ANZAC Girls* confirm, as I will show, the established ANZAC myth and help to perpetuate an interpretation of the ANZAC legend or spirit which is based on post-memory only. Remembering the ANZAC legend thus reveals in how far the mechanics of this particular cultural memory have worked, and still work, to 'invent Australia' and with it a collectively shared identity.

3 First, however, it is necessary to define what exactly is meant by ANZAC. In 1993, the remains of an unknown Australian soldier were brought from an unmarked grave in France to be buried at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. For this event, then Prime Minister Paul Keating delivered a eulogy in which he outlines what ANZAC has come to mean for Australians:

On all sides they were the heroes of that war; not the generals and the politicians but the soldiers and sailors and nurses – those who taught us to endure hardship, to show courage, to be bold as well as resilient, to believe in ourselves, to stick together. [...]

That is surely at the heart of the ANZAC story, the Australian legend which emerged from the war. It is a legend [...] of [...] triumphs against the odds, of courage and ingenuity in adversity. It is a legend of free and independent spirits whose discipline derived less from military formalities and customs than from the bonds of mateship and the demands of necessity. (n. pag.)

In this speech, Keating blends two different traditions of Australian national identity to describe the ANZAC legend, which are, according to Graham Seal, the official history of ANZAC as can be found in historical records and the informal folklore of the Australian digger (vii). This image has its origin in the representations of ANZAC soldiers in the coverage of the landing at Gallipoli by English war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, whose report of the landing was the first to reach Australia and who thus summarizes the actions of the Australian and New Zealand soldiers:

No finer feat has happened in this war than this sudden landing in the dark, and the storming of the heights, and, above all, the holding on whilst the reinforcements were landing. These raw colonial troops, in these desperate hours, proved worthy to fight side by side with the heroes of the battles of Mons, the Aisne, Ypres, and Neuve-Chapelle. (5)

On the other hand, there is the tradition of the digger, which was the official “title [...] of the volunteer civilian members of the First AIF” (Seal 3). As Seal writes, the male-dominated image of the digger was already heavily influenced by the image of the bushman and showed aspects such as

anti-authoritarianism, particularly directed against officers, especially British officers; mateship; irreverence and larrikinism; swaggering arrogance; an aggressively nationalistic and, by later standards, blatantly racist stance; sardonic, even cynical humour; and a nonchalant attitude to death and injury. (3)

Similarly, Daniel Reynaud sees the ANZAC soldier as a blend of various “earlier national mythic archetypes such as the convict, squatter, selector, bushranger, gold digger and sportsman” (289). Thus strongly reminiscent of Russel Ward’s description of the “typical Australian”, who Ward himself styles a “myth” (16) but who has nevertheless influenced Australian identity both home and abroad, the digger figure seems to be a memory shared by a majority of Australians.

4 An important aspect of collective memory according to Maurice Halbwachs, who first introduced the term in the 1920s, is that it is a group memory made up of the totality of the individual memories of single members of this particular group (*The Collective Memory* 48). Jan Assmann, however, has identified shortcomings in Halbwachs’s concept, as “it lives in everyday interaction and communication and, for this very reason, has only a limited time depth which normally reaches no farther back than eighty years, the time span of three interacting generations” (“Communicative and Cultural Memory” 111). Even though for Halbwachs himself collective memory is not a preservation of the past but rather a reconstruction of it with the help of the present (*On Collective Memory* 119), it is still limited to the lived and embodied memory of a group and is based on social aspects. What he neglects, according to Assmann, are the symbolic and cultural frameworks of memory (*Religion and Cultural Memory* 8). Instead, Halbwachs sharply distinguishes lived memory from both history, which, according to him, is an impartial archival storage “of the most notable facts in the memory of man” (Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* 78), and tradition, which is the ritualized and canonized fixation of memory (Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* 64). In order to overcome this limitation, Assmann proposes to extend the

theoretical ideas of collective memory to include cultural aspects of memory, as for him the transition between what Halbwachs calls lived memory and tradition is rather smooth than sudden (*Religion and Cultural Memory* 8). He therefore suggests distinguishing between communicative memory, “a synchronic memory space”, i.e., the time span of three generations, or eighty years already mentioned, and cultural memory, which “forms the diachronic axis,” i.e., a time span measured in centuries and millennia (*Religion and Cultural Memory* 8). This cultural memory still is “a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural identity” but he adds the aspect of institutionalization to it (“Communicative and Cultural Memory” 110) – and thus longevity.

5 At this point, the classification of the ANZAC legend and the traditions which underlie it in terms of memory gets complicated. Unfortunately, in his essay Assmann only briefly touches on “the transition from autobiographical and communicative memory into cultural memory” and the structural implications of this (“Communicative and Cultural Memory” 117). This, now, is the crucial point when it comes to the ANZAC legend: it has been institutionalized within less than a year through numerous monuments, a national holiday, the Australian War Memorial as a centralized archive or even shrine, and other institutions and it claims historical accuracy while it also still contains elements of a folkloristic tradition. Moreover, the institutionalized version of ANZAC allegedly has its origins in autobiographical memories and is the official custodian of these. It is both lived memory and tradition and already constitutes what Assmann calls cultural memory while at the same time purports to stem from and include communicative memory. The role of cultural memory, Assmann writes, is to create identity, as culture is a “Komplex identitätssichernden Wissens”, i.e., a body of knowledge which ensures a group of its identity (*Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* 89). This is exactly the meaning ANZAC has for Australia: it has created national identity.

6 Just as every idea of the past has its frame of reference in the present, the cultural memory of ANZAC and thus of the national identity it embodies is not solely based on the original accounts of the First World War but also on later interpretations of these. I even suggest that later versions of the ANZAC story, most notably Peter Weir’s film *Gallipoli*, have become the only basis for contemporary understandings of ANZAC. In his essay on Australian ANZAC cinema, Daniel Reynaud shows that the modern form of the ANZAC myth is only a far cry from its origin, which celebrated an imperial ideal instead of Australian characters (289-90). According to Reynaud, it was only in the 1930s and due to Government censorship that “a resourceful, comic, irreverent, unsophisticated but fundamentally decent

and loyal mate” came to embody the ANZAC soldier on the screen – yet still within imperial ideologies (290-1). With the advent of the period film in the 1970s and, more importantly, the male ensemble film in the 1980s, the ANZAC legend in cinemas took on a different turn. Reynaud mentions “a relative invisibility over previous decades” and “the rapid removal through death of Great War veterans’ living memory” as reasons for facilitating this turn in representation (291). For Jonathan Rayner, the 1980s saw the representation of a “national character through images of masculinity” and concentrated “on historical examples of male martyrdom” (110). This is a prime example of what Halbwachs refers to in his *The Collective Memory*, that “remembrance is in very large measure a reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present, a reconstruction prepared, furthermore, by reconstructions of earlier periods wherein past images had already been altered” (69). As I would argue, the case of the ANZAC legend also includes another of Halbwachs’s assumptions about collective memory, that the group which shares such a collective memory “most frequently distort[s] that past in the act of reconstructing it” (*On Collective Memory* 182).

7 What is significant here, however, is that the reconstruction of the past seems to have stopped at this point in 1981 and has become tradition and took the form of cultural memory from this time onwards. The image of a male-centred national identity as embodied in the patriotic stockman Archie from Western Australia and the larrikin¹ character of Frank seems to have frozen in time and to still constitute both the collective and cultural memory of the ANZAC legend without any further reconstructions. This becomes most obvious in a recent comic book aimed at a young-adult audience, *An ANZAC Tale* of 2013, illustrated by Greg Holfeld and written by Ruth Starke, in which some of the panels strongly resemble scenes of *Gallipoli*. The following scenes, three of which take place during the training in Egypt and one which shows the actual landing at Gallipoli, demonstrate this:

¹ Even though a larrikin is, according to the OED, “[a] (usually juvenile) street rowdy; the Australian equivalent of the ‘hoodlum’ or ‘hooligan’,” it is positively connoted in Australia and has become an icon figure.



Figure 1: Mocking the British (54:36 mins)



Figure 2: At the Bazaar (57:15 mins)



Figure 3: Running up that hill (1:05:44 mins)

These stills taken from *Gallipoli* are examples of the larrikin behaviour of Australian soldiers while they were stationed in Egypt for training. They illustrate how the infantry group around Frank mocks the British, behaves towards the Egyptians, and how the Australian soldiers

show no respect for the ancient Egyptian culture. In Holfeld and Starke's comic book, the very same scenes are depicted in three consecutive panels:



Figure 4: Iconic scenes in *An ANZAC Tale* (12)

While the stills from *Gallipoli* are imbedded in the broader context of life and training in Egypt and are part of longer scenes, the panels from *An ANZAC Tale* have condensed those scenes into iconic images. Here, they stand as synecdoches for what *Gallipoli* has first, quite literally, imagined and thus show a direct connection to their visual ancestor. Through this, they continue the nationalist stance of ANZAC which has developed in the 1970s and which is in stark contrast to the imperial ideal promoted in earlier versions.

Another example is the actual landing at Gallipoli, which at first sight resembles the description Ashmead-Bartlett gives of the landing: “At 4.53 came a sharp burst of rifle fire from the beach” (5).



Figure 5: The landing in *Gallipoli* (1:13:54 mins)



Figure 6: The landing in *An ANZAC Tale* (17)

8 Like the Egyptian scenes, however, this also only superficially resembles the original, as the fire from the beach in Ashmead-Bartlett’s report was only received by those who had already landed. The boats, on the other hand, were able to approach the beach without being seen, let alone being fired at: “Not a sound was heard, not a light seen, and it appeared as if the enemy had been surprised” (5). Phillip Schuler in his *Australia in Arms* gives a similar, though somewhat more colourful account of this: “So the men jumped from the boats into the icy Ægean, up to their armpits sometimes, their rifles held above their heads, and slowly facing the stream of lead, waded to the shore. [...] So the Turks found the attack on them before they realized its proximity and strength” (104). Again, the comic version relies on the more suspenseful rendering of events found in the movie and not on the original accounts of the landing, thus promoting the iconic status of a post-memory and perpetuating this even for the youngest readers. This becomes even more obvious through the use of endemic and thus archetypal Australian animals such as kangaroos, koalas, or wombats. Contemporary productions thus still refer to an overtly nationalist and rather sanitized version of the ANZAC

experience which in the 1970s and early 1980s, “for the first time in its history, ha[d] achieved a stable form [...],” as Daniel Reynaud writes (298).

9 As I have written in the beginning, a number of recent theatre and movie productions, however, aim at including minority voices, such as women’s and Aboriginal voices. They do not rely on official historical records but turn to personal memoirs for their fictional accounts of WWI in order to introduce points of view which are different to traditional ANZAC storytelling. In the remainder of my paper, I will concentrate on the ABC miniseries *ANZAC Girls* and also refer to the photographs taken in the wake of producing the play *Through These Lines*, first screened and performed, respectively, in 2014. Instead of following the by now canonized tradition of ANZAC, they seem to criticize exactly this canonized nature by confronting it with the forgotten memories of the Great War. Focusing on the nurses’ experiences in the war, they form a stark contrast to the depiction of nurses in, for example, Peter Weir’s *Gallipoli*, in which nurses solely feature as props and are only shown on screen in some Egyptian scenes. By concentrating on the female perspective and featuring a group of nurses as protagonists, both *Through These Lines* and *ANZAC Girls* seemingly challenge the male-centred national identity as promoted through the ANZAC tradition. Thus, they would also disrupt the structures and mechanics of Halbwachs’s and Assmann’s ideas on communicative memory and tradition.

10 Those productions featuring female voices, however, share the same approach as the official ANZAC tradition. First and foremost, they claim historical accuracy and take as their starting point the history of The Australian Army Nursing Services (AANS), which has been investigated in academic studies since the 1980s. Their rootedness in historical research shows, e.g., on the website of *Through These Lines*, where there is a link which leads to a “Research website” where visitors may perform their own research into the history of individual nurses and the history of nurses in WWI in general. Similarly, the official media kit for *ANZAC Girls* starts, after a brief promotional line, with giving historical detail about the valour of the nurses serving in WWI and even includes a quotation from a contemporary, i.e. 1915, newspaper, before it goes into production details (2-3). Even though the production boasts of “the creation of historically accurate features, environments and landscapes” (5), *ANZAC Girls* takes its main inspiration not from history books but

[d]raw[s] on the diaries, letters, photographs and historical achievements of many women who witnessed the brutality of war [and] honours the Centenary of World War One with the unique and rarely told history of the war through the nurses who served amidst bombing raids, poison gas and terrible disease – saving lives and transforming the spirits of the soldiers. (Media Kit 4)

The historical accuracy to which both *ANZAC Girls* and *Through These Lines* are indebted shows in the use of pictures, which, in the case of *ANZAC Girls*, are used for promotional purposes and, in the case of *Through These Lines*, as accompanying pieces and form an exhibition of its own. Although they may simply be read as instances of historical storytelling, which establishes the illusion of history but always reminds its audience of its contemporaneity, both *ANZAC Girls* and *Through These Lines* try hard to disguise this kind of fabrication. Instead of acknowledging their status as post-memory reworkings, they claim authenticity and thus legitimacy. This is illustrated in the main piece of the official website of *ANZAC Girls*, for which ABC has chosen a close up of the five nurses the series focuses on in front of a sepia-coloured photograph of marching soldiers:



Figure 7: *ANZAC Girls* promotional

The background of this photograph shows wrinkles, spots, and other signs of old age, but research reveals that those signs as well as the sepia colouring originally do not derive from the photo with the marching soldiers, but from the background of the nurses' photograph, who stand in front of an old brown brick wall. This shows that it was not the nurses' picture which was superimposed onto an original picture of WWI, but rather that the marching soldiers and the front landscape were inter-imposed between the wall and the nurses in order to create the impression of historical accuracy. Here, *ANZAC Girls* presents itself as autobiographical/communicative memory while actually already being a piece of collective memory and tradition. The same illusion is achieved by the nurses' constant writing of journals, which features prominently in the series.

11 Similarly, one of the official trailers for *ANZAC Girls* features the staging of a photograph:



Figure 8: Photograph in colour (00:32 mins)

This still shows how a picture of four of the protagonists is taken within the storyline of the series. Then, a jump cut drains the scene of all colour and instead of featuring the sound of clicking the shutter-release button, the score features a gun discharging:



Figure 9: Photograph in black and white (00:33)

Whereas the fully coloured first still denotes the zeal and jingoism with which Australia entered the war and still shows traces of its being part of a historical TV drama, the second still brings the audience immediately to the war in an act of staged authenticity.

12 The photographic exhibition which accompanies *Through These Lines* and which can partly be accessed on Flickr works along very similar lines in order to let its audience take the part of immediate onlooker during the Great War and to establish an illusion of original memory. For these photographs, the writer of *Through These Lines*, Cheryl Ward, went to Lemnos and Gallipoli with original pictures in her bag and searched for the original sites those picture were taken at. She then chose the very same spot as the original photographer and took her contemporary pictures. In an act of meticulous editing, she combined both original and “cover” and thus created an eerily mixed reproduction of the original:



Figure 10: *Sisters: Then and Now*



Figure 11: *Sisters: Composite*

Even though the album on Flickr is entitled “Then and Now”, the pictures it contains are rather an instance of “then *in* now” or “now *in* then,” and the combination of black-and-white before a coloured background firmly situates autobiographical memories of the past within the present. Furthermore, the audience who views these pictures is put in the same perspective as if looking at an original picture from WWI. Here, the editing process is used to conceal the fictitiousness of the photographs.

13 Marzena Sokołowska-Paryż and Martin Löschnigg in their collection of essays *The Great War in Post-Memory Literature and Film* suggest using the term post-memory with a hyphen to approach contemporary renderings of the First World War. They regard post-memory as an “‘after memory,’ indicating the absence of a first-hand empirical connection to the war” and as an extension of the term postmemory as used by Marianne Hirsch (1). Both *ANZAC Girls* and *Through These Lines* fit the definition of post-memory as being detached from the original memory of the war, but through their visual deception they deny their status as post-memory. Instead, they promote the authenticity of their forged memories and thus re-open the tradition/cultural memory of the Great War for new distortions of the past by present knowledge.

14 In the case of *ANZAC Girls*, this happens through the neglected stories of the AANS nurses, a storyline which emphasizes the fact that a new perspective is being told and at the same time shows in how far this perspective does not resemble well-known representations of

WWI, as it centres on nurture and caretaking, qualities commonly associated with women. Furthermore, key words like “friendship”, “romance”, and “love” are used to describe the personal stories of the nurses (Media Kit 5, 7):

Our nurses’ world may be dominated by the war, by the army and by the hospitals, but they are bright, beautiful and lively young women in the prime of their lives. They have come to do their bit and serve their country, but they have also come seeking adventure and love. (7)

On the one hand, this quotation hints at the domination of a male-centred perspective when it comes to the experience of war, but on the other hand shows how the storyline does not challenge this dominance but rather tries to make itself comfortable within this male-dominated field – like its protagonists, it “adjust[s]” (Media Kit 10).

15 Despite the depiction of women as caretakers and romantic individuals, there are, however, instances of feminist criticism in *ANZAC Girls*. In episode two, “Duty”, the protagonists are sent to Lemnos, the hospital island off the Greek coast, in order to take care of those soldiers wounded at Gallipoli. Throughout the whole episode, their commanding officer, Colonel Thomas Fiaschi, makes it clear that women do not matter in a war, nor do they belong close to the front: “Nurses do little toward the actual saving of life in war, though they may promote a more rapid recovery” (“Duty,” 47:55-47:59). Another prominent role plays the official direction that only those women qualify for enrolling with the AANS who are either single or widowed, but that those who are married cannot enrol (“Women’s Work” 7). Already in episode one, this issue is being broached when it is revealed that Elsie Cook has joined even though she is married. In this case, she is able to convince the matron in charge to let her stay. Later, in episode three, when Elsie has to deal with the male Australian officials, there is no way for her to stay a nurse in the AANS – instead, she has to turn to the Croix Rouge in order to return to the war theatres. Moreover, in episode six, Elsie, now stationed at Amiens with the Red Cross, has to face her husband’s wish that she leaves the front. In a moment of female independence, however, Elsie decides to stay in Amiens. Through this, *ANZAC Girls* criticizes the patriarchal perspective of Australian authorities and soldiers. Another reading of this last episode, however, would be that it is not a moment of female independence but rather her sense of duty which makes Elsie decide to carry on as a nurse at the Western front.

16 Here, *ANZAC Girls* is at the crossroads – is it to be read as a feminist critique of the male-centred national identity as expressed in the ANZAC myth, or is it to be read as a perpetuation of this very myth? As I will show, *ANZAC Girls* is far from challenging the representation of ANZAC in cultural memory as shaped by male-centred nationalist attitudes.

The instances of feminist criticism shown in the examples mentioned above are rather directed against patriarchal hierarchies and positions in general, as they do not target the ANZAC ideal but military and societal standards. Furthermore, one of the official trailers features as score the ballad “Forever Young,” originally composed by German pop-group Alphaville, which can be read as an anti-war ballad. The use of this kind of music also supports the reading of the miniseries as a more general criticism of war.

17 As far as the treatment of ANZAC is concerned, already the episode list of the series reads like a summary of ANZAC characteristics infused with a stereotypical feminine touch: “Adventure”, “Duty”, “Endurance”, “Love”, “Mateship”, and “Courage”. *ANZAC Girls* thus tells the very same story of hardship, valour, and mateship – which, by the way, is a genuinely masculine concept – as interpretations of the ANZAC involvement in WWI such as *Gallipoli* and other examples of the eras of the male-centred nationalist cinema of the 1970s and 1980s. The plights the nurses are confronted with which are expressly related to ANZAC are also modelled very closely on common notions of asserting a national identity. The episode summaries contained in the official media kit, for example, refer to the first mission of the protagonists at Port Said as “a baptism of fire” (10) – which are the exact same words Philip Schuler used with reference to the national identity formed through the landing at Gallipoli (15).

18 Like the ANZAC legend in general, the different episodes of *ANZAC Girls* focus on matters of the Gallipoli campaign and of a national identity which was supposedly forged by the landing on 25 April 1915. The only marked difference is that those topics are being broached through a female perspective. In episode three, for example, the futility of the fighting at Gallipoli is at the centre, but whereas Peter Weir’s *Gallipoli* is interested in the military details of the battle at Lone Pine and the charge of The Nek, *ANZAC Girls* shows the aftermath of the battle in the field hospitals. Unlike their male counterparts, the nurses are even “allowed to admit that it’s hard” (Media Kit 12). Thus, the series both conforms to the ANZAC tradition and stays within clearly defined gender boundaries: men fight, women take care of the wounded; men are made of steel, women may show emotions.

19 Issues of national identity, which lie at the heart of both the ANZAC myth and cultural memory in general, also play a prominent part in *ANZAC Girls*, especially in episode four, “Love”, in which the nurses have “to reflect on their own national identity” (Media Kit 13). Faced with British nurses, the protagonists on their very own battlefields act out the same ideological conflicts as their male counterparts. True to the larrikin tradition, which forms part of the modern understanding of the ANZAC soldier, the Australian nurses are portrayed as

rejecting the strict and nonsensical rules of their British superiors, as, e.g., when tea is being prepared for the patients at the hospital at three p.m. sharp. In this scene, British nurse Ward Sister Bullus snaps at Hilda for not having arranged the cup handles in the same direction:

BULLUS: Is this your idea of a joke?

HILDA [stammering]: Ah, I, I beg your pardon?

BULLUS: The Handles! I'll do it myself [turns handles to face into the same direction]. [...] You colonials lack any sense of what's right and proper!

(“Love”, 13:05-13:37)

As the media kit puts it: “lots of Imperial rules and regulations that the Australian and Kiwi nurses chafe against” (13). This scene gains even more weight when one takes into account the fact that it was especially Hilda who had been “delighted to be so close to the ‘Mother Country’ and at the thought of working with English nurses” (Media Kit 13). Both the reference to Britain as the imperial power in contrast to the Australian nation as former colony and the reference to the New Zealand nurses as Kiwis shows the strong focus on national identity in both the dialogue and the quotation. Both the scenes and the media kit make it clear that British regulations and the adherence to rituals such as tea-time are the opposite of the hands-on mentality of the Australian nurses, which, and that also becomes very clear in the series, is better suited for the needs of army hospitals.

20 Another case in point is the representation of the first ANZAC Day of 1916 within the series, which is once again acted out by British Ward Sister Bullus and Australian Sister Hilda Steele. After a cut from the sisters’ tent during the night, where the nurses were preparing little gifts for the soldiers, Hilda is seen cutting mistletoe, when Ward Sister Bullus arrives in the company of another British nurse:

BULLUS [in a demanding tone of voice]: Have you commission to be cutting those?

HILDA [stammering]: I, ah, I asked the, the court master and he told me it... would be alright.

BULLUS [holds out her hand to be passed on a wreath]: Nice work, sister, but, though, a little early for Christmas [turns to her company, both are chuckling condescendingly].

HILDA: It's, ehm, for ANZAC Day.

BULLUS: ANZAC Day? We never heard of it.

HILDA: No. Well, today, it's a year since the [exhales] start of the campaign at the Dardanelles.

BULLUS: Did something special happen there?

HILDA [left speechless]: [Long pause, she exhales resignedly] Yes. [Pause] It did. [Pause] Excuse me [takes her basket and leaves].

(“Love”, 21:44-22:15)

This dialogue on the one hand shows both the ignorance of the British nurses of anything non-British, but colonial, and the patronizing attitude towards the Australian and New Zealand nurses. On the other hand, it also shows the nascent identification with an Australian nationality, to which the Gallipoli landing gave rise, as Hilda no longer attempts to justify her doing to the imperial power, but rather leaves the scene fully aware of her own national identity. Here, it is the lived/communicative memory which creates a sense of group identity already in the form of a ritualized memory.

21 Furthermore, *ANZAC Girls* also illustrates the way in which this lived/communicative memory is turned into tradition/cultural memory, as it shows how the women want to honour the anniversary of the Gallipoli landing “for the boys” (“Love”, 18:23). Therefore, they set out to put together little parcels for the ANZAC soldiers while establishing a national holiday in passing:

OLIVE: You know? We should put one [gumleaf, sent over from Australia by her father] with each gift and write ANZAC 1916 on each of them. Make a real commemoration!

(“Love”, 19:12-19:20)

Olive’s idea is thus presented as the single moment in which ANZAC became part of the Australian cultural memory while it was still alive in the communicative memory of the participants. It seems, though, as if the ongoing realities of the war have already far removed the lived memory of Gallipoli:

HILDA: [...] Next Tuesday is April 25th. A year since the Gallipoli landing.

OLIVE: A year? Already?

HILDA: Miss Wilson was saying that CO was organizing a special service for those of us ... who feel would like one.

[Pan-shot from close-up of Hilda over patients, following the gaze of Alice, with voice-over]

ALICE: A lot of the patients will want to be there.

OLIVE: A lot of them *were* there.

ALICE: And now they're here. [Camera cuts back to a close-up of Alice] As are we.

(“Love”, 17:49-18:15)

The void the trauma of the Great War seems to have left has since the first anniversary in 1916 been replaced by a shared cultural memory. Thus room was made for a ritualized commemoration of the founding moment, which also, in the face of the British nurses’ patronizing behaviour, gave way to a self-confident assertion of a national Australian identity.

22 By focusing on the nurses of the First World War, both *ANZAC Girls* and *Through These Lines* emphasize the female perspective and let the forgotten voices speak of their

experiences on the battlefields. Yet it is not a counter narrative to established ideas of the male ANZAC myth, it rather only tries to blend into that myth without questioning its origins, authenticity, or status. As I have shown, Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory is a useful tool for understanding the mechanisms and structure of modern conceptions of ANZAC: even though communicative memory of the Australian involvement in WWI had already been turned into cultural memory through Government policies in the 1920s and the establishment of the Australian War Memorial in 1929, it was Peter Weir's film *Gallipoli* of 1981 which finalized the contemporary idea of ANZAC as a male-dominated anti-imperial and nationalistic version. In the lead-up to the Gallipoli centenary in 2015, TV and theatre productions such as *ANZAC Girls* have taken to telling the lost voices of the war, yet they tell the same kind of story as older productions. Instead of challenging the remarkably persistent image of "the ANZAC," they rather strive to be part of it, to be included into an already existent and quite rigid cultural memory of the Australian participation in WWI. They seem to have internalized the image and iconic status of ANZAC promoted by various post-memory retellings of the Great War. Despite the professed authenticity *ANZAC Girls* claims through the use of real-live nurses' diaries and letters, it, too, fails to offer a critical point of view to the male-dominated ANZAC myth, as it does not take WWI as its only point of reference but rather puts itself in the position of a post-memory to a cultural memory which itself is already post-memory. Thus, the myth of ANZAC is caught in an infinite loop, and it begs the question if new productions, such as the mini-series *Gallipoli* in early 2015, will offer new ways of remembering the ANZAC legend.

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Fleshed Out: Bodies of Language in Kate Grenville's *Lilian's Story* and *Dark Places*

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Abstract:

People, bodies, and histories are written. But the question of who gets to author these histories and who gets to tell the stories of these people and bodies is not an easy question to be answered. In novels such as Kate Grenville's *Lilian's Story* and *Dark Places* the power dynamics that control the way characters live and that determine who gets to write their histories are particularly complex. Grenville takes a narrative about the patriarchal oppression of women from the Victorian era and skillfully weaves it throughout a narrative closely resembling those of postcolonial oppression, exemplifying many struggles deemed that of the settler and/or the postcolonial subject. In these particular novels Kate Grenville uses the bodies of her characters, primarily her two protagonists Lilian and Albion, and their relationship to facts and food in order to show how they are able to unsettle these complex power dynamics in much the same ways that the colonized other is able to find their way out of the oppressive structures imposed on them; Grenville ultimately shows how the journey to a true and authentic self in the physically othered character is almost always a case of appropriating the dominant language and finding a balance, unable to escape the ways in which their bodies are inscribed from the patriarchy or colonizer they must find alternate methods of performing a "whole" self.

1 Histories and bodies are written. But the question of who gets to author these histories and who gets to tell the stories is not an easy question to be answered. There are power dynamics to be considered, dynamics that change circumstances and control them, dynamics that are determined by any number of different factors. In novels such as Kate Grenville's *Lilian's Story* (1985) and *Dark Places* (1994) the power dynamics that control the way characters live and that determine who gets to write their histories are particularly complex. Grenville takes a narrative about the patriarchal oppression of women from the Victorian era and skillfully weaves it throughout a narrative closely resembling those of postcolonial oppression, exemplifying many struggles deemed that of the settler and/or the postcolonial subject. *Lilian's Story* tells the tale of Lilian, daughter of Albion; whereas, *Dark Places* gives voice to Albion. Both stories are essentially the same, but from alternative perspectives. In *Lilian's Story* Lilian narrates what life was like growing up in Victorian Australia with a stereotypically masculine father. *Dark Places*, on the other hand, belongs to Albion and acts as a prequel to *Lilian's Story*; it answers the question of how a seemingly normal man can become so cruel, and so tarnished by the pressure to be masculine. In these particular novels Grenville uses the bodies of her characters, primarily her two protagonists Lilian and Albion, and their relationship to facts and food in order to show

how they are able to unsettle these complex power dynamics in much the same ways that the colonized other is able to find their way out of the oppressive structures imposed on them. Grenville ultimately shows how the journey to a true and authentic self in the physically othered character is almost always a case of appropriating the dominant language and finding a balance, unable to escape the ways in which their bodies are inscribed from the patriarchy or colonizer they must find alternate methods of performing a ‘whole’ self.

2 When past scholars – for example Chantal Greff-Kwast in “Fat vs. Fate” and Delys Bird in “Bodily Desires and Narrative Pleasures” – have written about *Lilian’s Story* they have most often focused on the protagonist of the story, Lilian, and her relationship to food. This is not surprising, as she is a very memorable and emotionally abrasive character with a unique relationship to food; these complexities make her perfect to write about. She is also a significantly liminal character, belonging both within the center and outside the center, in and out of the margins; both belonging and not belonging to a given time and society. These are not, however, characteristics unique to just Lilian. Her father, brother, mother, and other various ‘minor’ characters all contribute something significant to the story and how the story maps out connections between food, language, the body, and other significant ambiguities. Previous researchers of *Lilian’s Story* such as Chantal Kwast-Graff and Delys Bird have written about the feminine relationship to food and body in the novel, and have dealt moderately with the problematic patriarchal power structures at play, but as was stated previously these scholars focus solely on Lilian (with, in one case, a single brief mention of her mother). All mention of Albion, her father, is merely to drive home his role as patriarchal oppressor, but fails to delve deeper into his personal narrative and psyche. In this paper I seek to fill the spaces that have been left unexplored by other scholars. I will, of course, also discuss Lilian but in order to develop a complete picture of the kinds of complex issues of these novels it is important to also discuss Lilian’s mother, Norah, her brother, John, and her father Albion as complex characters in their own right.

3 These two novels, *Dark Places* and *Lilian’s Story*, are so intricately woven together that a disservice is done when one is discussed without the other, so for that reason both texts will be included in this paper. This examination will cover three main issues in relation to relevant scenes within the novels: first, the significance of the language/body connection seen through a postcolonial and feminist lens; second, how language and the body are used to gain power in the

novel, as well as how these tools are taken and power is lost; third, how Grenville manages to envision a possible middle ground where characters are able to possess agency over their own histories. In looking at both novels together readers are able to witness these processes from both sides; the side of the oppressor and the side of the oppressed. In *Lilian's Story* readers are given a painful account of Lilian's downfall from her own perspective, but in *Dark Places* readers are shown that forces that seek to dominate do not always possess malevolent intentions and are not always as wholly cruel as their actions do often imply.¹

4 When a group of people of a certain race or gender impose their language on another group of people that they have deemed different their intentions are not always simply to just make the other like them, but also to give them what they deem to be better opportunities. It is a misplaced attempt to incorporate them into the culture that they have been raised and trained to regard as superior. The problem, however, is that the group of people dominated and colonized have no reason to believe that their culture or way of being is any less valid.² This raises the question of whether or not intentions actually change the way that these actions are read or whether the dynamics remain the same. In the novels, Grenville situates the postcolonial situation in terms of a parental relationship, which allows the reader to understand the relationships between colonizer and colonized in a language that transcends any class distinctive barriers.³ As other scholars such as Alice Healy in "'Impossible Speech' and the Burden of Translation: Lilian's Story from Page to Screen" argue, Albion is undoubtedly given this name intentionally, in order to draw a parallel between his character and England. The book "therefore reflects the shifting cultural spaces of Australian society, when political structures were starting to break off from direct parental relationship with England and the people were beginning to acknowledge difference and independence" (Healy 63). This positioning within the novel makes it possible to see how characters have been written through a lens of (post)colonialism. Albion represents the colonizing force; he imposes his 'masculine' language on his daughter Lilian (who

¹ The question of whether or not this changes the power dynamics and makes them any less foreboding is left withstanding.

² Rightfully so, because the idea that western culture is superior hinges on the belief that there is a significant difference between each of these cultures, and that this difference means the other is less civilized than the western. Their difference does not initially represent a state of non-civility, but as stereotypes are perpetuated they do become seen as such, interpolating the other in such a way that it makes it nearly impossible to escape this naming.

³ By this I mean it can be assumed that everyone from every culture has some concept of parental relationships, regardless of how those relationships may differ from culture to culture.

in this case represents the other in search of an authentic self)⁴, his fear of the other (woman), different from himself, is made explicit. Albion discusses women in terms of exploration and understanding and ultimately seeks authenticity through invading or penetrating the secret spaces of women.

5 Albion's penetrating journey begins first with language, but he is initially unsuccessful at draining the feminine/other identity from his daughter Lilian. This forces the reader to acknowledge the question of whether or not imposing language on another actually splits the character, and displaces them. According to postcolonial discourse, when one dominant race or gender imposes a language on another they essentially erase the legitimacy of the original language of the person dominated; they make it impossible for the oppressed person to return to the life that they once lived, unaware of this new language and culture, a language and culture that they are being told and shown is the better language. As Frantz Fanon states in *Black Skin, White Masks*, "for it is implicit that to speak is to exist absolutely for the other" and "to speak [...] means to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (8). But further, "[a] man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language. What we are getting at becomes remarkably plain: Mastery of language affords remarkable power" (Fanon 9). This is the enigma, not only of a postcolonial oppression, but of a feminine oppression. The oppressed, whether that is as a result of sex or race, is expected to learn the language of the oppressor. If these oppressed figures do this well, then they also consequently adopt a part of their culture. The problem, however, occurs in learning the language too well, because as Fanon states "Mastery of language affords remarkable power" (9). This remarkable power is not afforded to the oppressed, because in the moment that it is realized that they have surpassed an acceptable limit of similarity they become a threat to the dominating force, but it is the "almost the same, but not quite" mentioned in *The Location of Culture* that in the end allows these characters to assert their own voices (Bhabha 86). Grenville writes many strong and unconventional characters in a unique colonial position in order to show how these unique power dynamics play out in situations where the oppressed refuses to submit to the role in which they

⁴ Authentic self in this instance means a completed sense of identity. In *Dark Places* Albion mentions numerous times that he does not feel whole (25, 40). For Albion, to become who he believes he must be – a man that ascribes to traditional notions of masculinity – he must penetrate women, physically and with facts. Like the colonizer, he must colonize their minds and bodies.

are being cast. These characters show how it becomes possible to create their own roles in the performance of being, but the performance must begin and end with language.

6 At the beginning of Lilian's life she is an already inscribed body; except for the "cleft" that is "swollen, pink, and purse" Albion struggles to see that Lilian is a female, and that she belongs to that mysterious gender that he longs to know more about, longs to conquer (Grenville, *Dark Places* 56). But Lilian is "a chip off the old block" and "had seemed to have been born with unbreakable will: it was not something she needed to learn" (Grenville, *Dark* 241). It is not just her will that makes her less suitable as a woman in Albion's eyes, but also her large stature (which mimicks her father's), her disregard for proper posture and modesty, etc. Despite her mother's constant coaxing and nagging Lilian refuses to fill the role assigned to her. Albion declares that

[n]ature had dealt Lilian a nasty blow in making her a female, but I was not going to be cheated of her. She was a chip off the old block in every respect but one, and I was going to make sure that one flaw did not spoil the rest of her. (Grenville, *Dark* 236)

Because Albion judges Lilian as having been born at a disadvantage, he vows that, though her body could never be that of a man, she would possess the brain of a man. It is not, however, this fact alone. It is the sameness, more than anything, which causes Albion to treat Lilian as he would a deserving son. Albion states that, "[w]omen had always been the mysterious other, but Lilian was no other. Embedded within that gross casing of flesh, blurred but unmistakable, were my own features" (Grenville, *Dark* 227). He sees himself in her, and because he does not get the boy that he had hoped for he decides to make Lilian as much a boy as he possibly can. This is not to say that Albion does not have a male heir, because he does, but he does not see his son John as being worthy in the way that he sees Lilian as worthy of language. He states that:

From the beginning, John was a puling plaintive creature. Could this really be a son, I wondered, this spindly mauve baby lying in the cot, bulbous of head, blotched of face? Was this hairless head bobbing on its puny stalk of neck the head of a son? As if guessing my doubt, they unwrapped it, and held it out so I could not miss that purple bundle between its legs, so unlike Lilian's fat cleft at birth, but also so unlike my own appendage. (Grenville, *Dark* 162)

So, Albion teaches Lilian, but he does not deem this to be in her overall benefit. As a child he is impressed by her, but he later discovers that in teaching her the language of men he has done her

a disservice, because she no longer fits anywhere. The fact remains, however, his intentions are not initially (though selfish and narcissistic) entirely negative.⁵

7 Albion begins to feed Lilian facts, like Alma feeds her food. She becomes gorged on words, but only a certain kind of words. Lilian was to have no dolls; “she could read *Mackie’s Primer*” and Albion believes his “rule had paid off” because she “had been a precociously early reader” (Grenville, *Dark* 236). Albion is diligent about her linguistic intake, he states that in the place of pink and white books filled with “pap”:

I supplied the things that were worthy of her mind, the same things that had equipped my own: the sum of man’s knowledge lay at her fingertips on the shelves of her room. There was the Encyclopedia, there was the Dictionary, there was even the Bible, for although I discouraged God, I felt that an educated person should know who Noah was. There were *Great Men of History*, *Man the Masterpiece*, *Men of Science*: there were the books on birds, insects, mammals, steam engines, levers, the circulation of the blood, the countries of the world, their principal exports, their mean annual rainfall; and, of course, the matched sets of classics: Milton, Dickens, and Byron. (Grenville, *Dark* 236-37)

Lilian has gained a crash course from childhood in the greatness of man, but despite this her strength of will has allowed her to hold onto the beautiful aspects of her femininity. In the beginning she relates to males, stating that her and her “mates” are “Sir Walter Raleigh and his men,” but this association is merely an attempt to assert herself as a hero in her own story; she is not attempting to be a man, just someone that has agency (Grenville, *Lilian* 26). Thanks to her father’s diligent instruction Lilian believes initially that men were the only people previously afforded agency. The women that have agency are considered mad, witches, deviant. It takes Lilian some time to work through the patriarchal discourse fed to her by her father, but eventually she realizes that girls can be heroes as well (Grenville, *Lilian* 28). Lilian begins to idealize strong females; in school she inquires about Joan of Arc and Queen Elizabeth, who Lilian cunningly regards in terms of familiarity as just “Elizabeth” (Grenville, *Lilian* 30).⁶ Even in these instances the women she sees as possible examples of feminine agency are still seen by

⁵ I cannot say for certain, but there seems to be a possibility that in creating this ambiguous relationship between oppressor and oppressed Grenville may actually have been attempting to call into question assumptions about postcolonial discourse. Surely, the relationship has been discussed in terms of parentage before—comparing the intentions of the colonizing country toward the colonized with those of a parent toward their child—but Grenville does so in such a pointed and direct way, as if daring readers to consider that there may be another way of seeing things.

⁶ This same familiarity can be seen when she regards Shakespeare as William. This suggests that Lilian never lets go of the idea that she is someone special, with power, someone worthy of a history woven through the histories of others.

her teachers as being mad, and so Lilian realizes, “I could not be a hero myself except in my mind, but I knew what to admire” (Grenville, *Lilian* 26). All of the information that Albion gives Lilian becomes crucial to the narrative, as they shape Lilian in the various stages of her life, and eventually help her escape the histories imposed by her father. In the beginning they act as a means of giving her the patriarchal language, but as shown through her changing interests and beliefs that women can be heroes too, she learns the language of man too well.

8 In the postcolonial narrative mimicry plays an interesting and precarious role in the performance of both the colonizer and the colonized. Since at this point in the narrative Lilian has been interpolated by her sex (rather than her fatness, which plays a greater role later) it is useful to discuss mimicry in terms of the gendered body. In a moment of brief regression that will aid in the understanding of how mimicry and stereotypes are functioning in the novel, it is necessary to look again at Fanon. Fanon asserts that the black man, in his search for approval by the white man, is cast out of his former culture and simultaneously forbidden to fully enter into the powerful, dominant culture of the white man. In the case of *Lilian's Story* and *Dark Places*, Lilian stands in as the black man, whereas Albion is obviously the white man. She attempts to gain his approval through devouring facts and words (which are paralleled to the consumption of food, discussed at length in “Bodily Desires and Narrative Pleasures” by Delys Bird). But, this appropriation of the masculine language does not afford her a place in the masculine culture, yet she simultaneously becomes cast out, unable to maintain a position in the feminine as well. In the case of the black man it is his skin, though porous, that allows in some of the necessary attributes for acceptance, but it always exists as a barrier, a signifier, a constant reminder of his ‘difference’ and ‘lack’. For Lilian it is her “swollen cleft” that casts her as misfit. Even the description that Albion accepts as fact in his youth, suggests that woman is always relegated to this realm of difference.

9 Albion's childhood friend describes female genitalia as “nothing there, only a lack, a gap, a hole where any proper normal person had a thing you could hold in your hand” (Grenville, *Dark* 35-6). Because Lilian, and every other woman in the novel possess this nothingness, this “hole” that begs to be filled they are consequently subjected to a role of inherent inferiority. As Penelope Ingram asserts in her book *The Signifying Body: Toward an Ethics of Sexual and Racial Difference*, there is a connection between material existence and ontological lack:

Fanon makes a definite connection between the black man's material existence and his ontological lack. Fanon attempts to return to the black subject an ontology he has never had. Because 'blackness' is wholly Symbolic, the ontology for the racial subject is, like that of the female subject, as yet unknown; it resides elsewhere. (Ingram 20)

If the ontology of the racial and female subject resides elsewhere, where is that elsewhere for Lilian and Norah? The women in these novels are not seen as proper or normal in the eyes of Albion. The identification of the body in this way, as defined by lack, is what bridges the gap between the phenotype and language as described by Fanon; the other is destined to be judged not by his/her abilities to perform, but by the physical attribute that they are lacking, so in the black man this lack is white skin and in the woman it is the penis. This is meant to correlate directly to the black man or the woman's ability to appropriate the language of the superior culture. But, as we see with Lilian, there are problems with this assumption. The other is not in actuality lacking in terms of language and is perfectly capable of speaking the language of the perceived superior other. This brings us back then to the question of difference, if language does not solidify the colonizers position then they must establish something else more material that will satisfactorily serve this purpose.

10 If, as Homi Bhabha suggests in *The Location of Culture*, the skin is a sort of fetish object through which the colonizer may differentiate himself from the white man (or assert desire over that difference) then it stands to reason that language occupies a similar position for the colonizer.⁷ Language holds the potential to raise the black man up to the assumed level of the white man; "[t]he colonized 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" (Fanon 9). The colonized must "renounce" his blackness, give up an integral part of his identity, his self (Fanon 9). Ironically, in terms of Lilian she does give up much of her femininity (as defined by stereotypes) in order to attain the language of the colonizer, but because of her position as a white woman something interesting happens with her that can be read as part of a racial commentary not necessarily related to her identity as a woman. In order for Lilian to come

⁷ This assertion over difference is rather fascinating in these two novels. Albion fetishizes Lilian, because she is different from other women, but he is able to find his own authentic self through her because of his encounter with his self found in her. Albion states early in *Dark Places*, "the fact of myself – could be deduced only from my reflection in others" (25). He decided early in his life that he did not have a factual self separate from the self he could see in someone else. Later, after having Lilian, he learns to see himself reflected most in her. He believes that in order to make that reflection of self a reality he must have sex with her. He has learned that for woman a vagina is "lack" and it is a man's duty to fill that lack so that both may become whole (Grenville, *Dark Places* 35).

to terms with herself as a woman and a sexual being, she asserts her agency through mobility, and through going wild. She acknowledges that she can never be “native,” but still she speculates:

My feet hardened quickly. Father said no more about shoe bills, and although I could never be some slip and glossy black person, eyes alone shining in the moonlight, or my teeth gleaming in a grin, my feet could pad as silently as theirs over stones and spikes. My feet renewed themselves endlessly. Such hide was enviable. I wondered if it could be encouraged to form all over a body such as mine, that had such need of armour. (Grenville, *Lilian* 138)

Lilian takes control over her mobility. She seeks to establish a sort of protective barrier on her body, because her previous barrier failed her. She becomes darker and happier in this state of wild obstinacy, just as her mom does on her cruise. Grenville draws a connection to a native state of being, or “jungle status” and a state of authenticity and acceptance of self (Fanon 9). When Lilian’s flesh is no longer too much for her father, when he views her as becoming too perfectly hybridized she begins to seek an alternate route. She states that “I was running wild, but I was too much for him. *You are a slut, Lilian. And you are running wild, and I will not have it*” (Grenville, *Lilian* 141). Her father, her colonizer, seeks to always be in control of the kinds of stories or histories created about himself and his family; she is the “flesh of [his] flesh.”⁸

11 In terms of the postcolonial, racial situation the colonizer seeks to never allow the black man to reach the *same* level or status as the white man, because that would serve to threaten the notion of difference (rather superiority) that allows the white man to feel secure in his position of power over the black man. Albion does not require that Lilian never reaches his level of sameness, but the very structures themselves forbid this. Her body will never let her be anything other than what she already is; however, it is this middle ground that Bhabha claims is a possible way out of the oppressive structure, though not necessarily something intentionally engaged with by the colonized. Lilian through her perfectly hybrid state, as both intelligent, active woman with sexual agency threatens the male notion of superiority. Albion first remarks on the perceived difference between men and women early on in his own tale:

My trouble was females seemed a race apart: human, I imagined, but not human in the way I myself was human. It was the plumage of a different species, the way their hair looped, folded, curled and fell; I could not understand how there could be any room for their organs of digestion within their tiny stiff waists, and

⁸ Albion on several occasions in *Dark Places* refers to his wife and his daughter as the “flesh of [his] flesh”, though never John.

although I had secretively studied various marble breasts, half-covered with marble drapery, on display in the Gardens, they had not been deeply informative. I could not imagine what bulges and ledges of flesh might be underneath the bodices of these sisters and friends of sisters. (Grenville, *Dark* 56)

From that point forward he seeks only to dominate women, to penetrate the unknown and find some understanding of their secrets. But despite the difference he perceives between himself and women, he sees no differences amongst women. He declares:

It amused me to think that women saw themselves as different from each other, when I knew them to be nearly as interchangeable as the bricks in a wall. *Women, you fools*, I wanted to cry. *You are all the same, you are all just flesh, easier or harder to win, fatter or thinner, passionate or cool: but you are all just the same, just flesh, no ribbons and silks make any difference.* (Grenville, *Dark* 108)

Lilian is the exception to this and her very birth ruins this notion for Albion. In seeing so much of himself in her, this difference is blurred. She does not have a tiny stiff waist or perfect hair, or any other traditionally female attributes that have been pushed on her. She is perfectly other, because she has stumbled upon the usefulness of mimicry.

12 In Bhabha's chapter "Of Mimicry and Man" from *The Location of Culture* he asserts that, "mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge," which could be taken to mean for either/or the colonizer or the colonized (85). Mimicry is defined as "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference" (Bhabha 86). In order for an othered character to effectively utilize mimicry he/she must make evident, visible his difference, that place of "almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 86). This reminds the colonizer who desires the colonized for their sameness that there is a real difference beyond their constructed differences, which then creates anxiety in the colonizer. With Lilian's lovely, fleshy body she makes visible her difference (and her sameness):

I had to admit that, had I been unlucky enough to have been born a girl, I might have been as Lilian was. In that sense, I could understand Lilian's refusal to tuck her animal fleshiness away, and join the simpering hypocritical games: I could see that without realising it she was trying to tear at the tissue of lies going on around her. I should have been pleased that she had the wit to see through it, and that she was not simply another in the vast herd of human blanks. But the point was that I

had not been born a woman, and what was proper in me was mortifying in my daughter. (Grenville, *Dark* 285)

Anxiety arises in Albion at this point, because he realizes that he does not have quite as much control over Lilian as he might have wished. The other shows the colonizer that the entire structure that has been forcing him/her into a position of inferiority is a false structure, that if the black man or the woman can perform whiteness or manhood as well as the colonizing oppressor, yet maintain his/her identity then the assumed position of superiority must then be without any solid foundation. Lilian takes this mimicry and colonization even further through taking control, in public and in private, of her own consumption. She becomes, by choice a “fleshy” woman, which marks the connection between fact and food (Grenville, *Lilian* 19). Her appetite for facts is just as hefty as her appetite for food.

13 The women in these novels all seem quite content with making superficial changes to their bodies and the bodies of others in hopes that these changes would be enough to evolve into a deeper change within them, something more substantial to protect them from the domination of man. Norah, Lilian’s mother, “was content with the surface of her daughter – forever tweaking and pulling, the way Mother had done with Kristabel – as she was content with the surface of her husband” (Grenville, *Lilian’s* 228). This fascination with surfaces is seen by Albion as a useless endeavor, simply another one of women’s trivialities. But for the women in the novels these exterior changes are crucial to their evolution and protection throughout the novels. Albion underestimates their resolve.

14 The initial surface change that Lilian actually takes upon herself to make happen is to become fat. As a young child Lilian is allowed to be as ambiguously male or female as she pleases, but as she gets older she is expected to fully ascribe to the stereotypical conventions of femininity. Lilian’s mother acts as a diligent instructor in what Lilian can and cannot do as a woman; at the beginning of the novel her mother says, “A lady glides, Lilian” (Grenville, *Lilian’s* 5). Right away, her body is being controlled and confined to a small space of being, but she does not accept this confinement. If she becomes all flesh then she can use her large stature to push out of this oppressive definition.⁹ According to Elizabeth Grosz in *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* “[t]he body is indeed the privileged object of power’s operations:

⁹ Lilian is taught that to be a woman is synonymous with taking up very little space. She pushes out of the oppressive definition of femininity by willfully taking up a great amount of space, both physically and with her vibrant personality.

power produces the body as a determinate type, with particular features, skills, and attributes” (240). This is one of Lilian’s means of obtaining power. It is significant because, as Susan Bordo notes in *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*, “[t]he body is not only a *text* of culture. It is also, as anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu and philosopher Michel Foucault have argued, a *practical*, direct locus of social control” (745). The body, though it is the source of oppression for women, is also their source of power.

16 Lilian does not initially find any need to control her own body though, not until a crucial moment of vulnerability in which she is forced to become visible. When Lilian is caught spying on her Mother and Father’s private conversation she is forced to bend over, grab her ankles and submit to a beating. Lilian is protected by the outer barrier of her clothes, though, so Albion removes that protective outer layer by stripping her lower half down to just flesh. As Albion strikes those first blows he imposes upon the once brave and obstinate Lilian a new definition of herself to live by, he inscribes this new submissive identity on her flesh; however instead of accepting the submissive role given to her by her father, she begins to overeat, creating “too much flesh for father” (Grenville, *Lilian’s* 19). Lilian understands the expectation that she, as a woman, is not to have a voracious appetite and that her appetite for food is somehow associated with the agency she has over her own body, because Lilian has this self-awareness that her choice to eat in public and in private suggests she is intentionally choosing to be deviant. Lilian is choosing to create her own identity. According to Chantal Kwast-Greff in “Fat vs Fate or Why a ‘Woman of Destiny’ Needs to be Fat,” “Lil’s fat is both a claim to a future and the sign of her refusal of a norm which makes her a prisoner” (49). In refusing this norm she makes a declaration, with her body she declares to create her own histories, and she does not care how others read her body. She is proud. She states that “I ate in private as well as in public, and Alma was on my side” (Grenville, *Lilian’s* 18). It is no coincidence that Alma is her partner in crime, as Alma is another character stripped of dignity by Albion.

17 Alma is a woman that Albion assumes is longing for the ‘pleasures’ of his manhood. In *Lilian’s Story* the reader is not allowed to know too much about Alma, just that she is always crying, but the reason for her tears is not properly attributed. Albion questions why Norah hires Alma; he thinks she is an ugly, unthinking woman. Albion ponders this until one day Alma shows up in his study and he sees her as something more. She begins to represent a threat, a way for his wife to best him, which he is adamant can never happen. He approaches Alma in the tub

one day, assuming that she was waiting for him and he rapes her, like he rapes Norah, and later Lilian. He says that she wants it, “[w]hat a woman of wantonness Alma turned out to be, in her smell of yellow soap! She was a secret artist of passion” (Grenville, *Dark* 212). It seems at first that perhaps Alma may have wanted his advances, but this is only because of the standpoint of the narrator. Albion believes that all women have an unquenchable thirst for man, to be filled with what women lack. He says that “Alma did not writhe or grasp as pale Norah did, inflaming me with protest. Alma did not lie under me arching in passion like a fish. ‘Sir,’ she said again and again. ‘Oh sir, oh Mr Singer sir!’ Her gratitude was touching” (Grenville, *Dark* 212). But, if Alma was grateful for his sexual advances, she would not have afterward been “leaned like a sack against the tub, staring at the floor” (Grenville, *Dark* 213). Alma is reduced to nothingness, a hollow state of being. The kind of hollowness that Mr. Singer so often finds himself falling prey to; therefore, this is the proper explanation for Alma’s crying, the story that Albion would never have given to his daughter, thus why it does not show up in *Lilian’s Story*. This is also the reason why Alma is Lilian’s co-conspirator in her plot to gain protective flesh. Alma’s position within the household does not afford her the ability to transcend this imposed hollowness, but Lilian can.

18 In each instance when Lilian has been seen as taking the consumption of knowledge into her own hands she is punished in the same way, flesh exposed first and then the beatings. When she is a bit older Albion catches her reading a romance novel, and instead of using his usual method of punishment (with a belt), he strips her bottom half to nakedness and strikes the blows with his bare hand – flesh to flesh. In this moment Albion and the reader are able to see just how effective Lilian’s protective flesh barrier has become.

The plaster broke, but not my fat daughter, who lay under me, breathing loudly as I freed layer after layer: the pinafore, the skirt, the white bloomers, and there at last was her dimpled white buttock-flesh, quivering under my hands. (Grenville, *Dark* 242)

At the realization that Albion does not have control over his daughter’s body he loses his grasp on the dominant, masculine identity he sought to craft for himself; he is returned to a state of hollowness (Grenville, *Dark* 25). When he sees Lilian again she is just as she always has been, like nothing ever transpired between them. Albion declares, “My daughter would never be hollow. Her fullness mocked me, her eyes full of herself mocked me, her echo” (Grenville, *Dark*

244). He is forced to acknowledge that she has surpassed him; her resolve is greater than his. Over and over again Albion is forced to come face to face with just how lacking he truly is.

19. Norah, his wife, responds to Albion's overt and oppressive advances by conspiring with Lilian, attempting to make her more stereotypically female, forcing Albion to see that he is really the outsider and not them.¹⁰ When Lilian starts her period, Norah is sure to tell him that Lilian has become a woman. Albion states,

[s]he was reminding me – and not for the first time – that no matter how many facts my daughter and I might share, and no matter how little my daughter respected her mother, they were united in their femaleness, which I could never penetrate. Grenville, *Dark* 266)

It is perhaps in this moment that Albion realizes the only way for him to find his authentic self is to penetrate the unknown space of Lilian. And it has to be Lilian, because he believes she is the other half of him:

Only yesterday Lilian had been my own clean girl, who could make her father's blood warm with pride at what a brain she had, almost as good as a boy's. Only yesterday her mere flesh had not mattered: she had warmed me with her smile, had turned her face, the twin of my own, towards me, soaking in all that I had to share with her. Now she was one of theirs, sliding away into the foreign country of femaleness. At this very moment, even as I watched her, she was doing that secretive dirty thing of bleeding into rags. (Grenville, *Dark* 266)

In this moment Lilian needs her fleshy protection more than ever before, and it can be seen that this means of protection is directly correlated to her consumption of knowledge. Lilian becomes fat with flesh and plump with knowledge. She is constantly asking her teacher questions that no other student dare ask. This means of protection is effective for quite some time, but the seed has already been planted for Albion. Lilian is a woman. She is a part of the unknown. His anxiety becomes exacerbated when Lilian begins to attend university. She meets men who actually care about her, and by being a part of her life they illuminate this sexual being that she has become. Lilian never brought boys/men home which meant her sexuality could remain within the realm of the unknown. Albion believes that Lilian's large body makes men uninterested in her, this disinterest by other men means, in Albion's mind, that he still has complete control over Lilian. Albion can only understand a man having agency over a woman's body, not a woman having agency over herself; however, in college Lilian meets people that respect her for her agency and

¹⁰ Norah attempts to craft Lilian as a woman by buying her dresses and "pink and white books" and dolls. All of these items, however, were banned by Albion (Grenville, *Dark* 236).

excess. She is adored for her knowledge and for her size; she learns that she has value beyond what has been given to her by men. As stated by Kwast-Greff, “[u]p to the moment of her rape, Lilian’s body was her armour against fragmentation and the text on which she wrote the story of ‘a woman of destiny’” (50). Lilian was finding her way. She had perfectly learned the language. But again, Albion finds a way to stifle her voice, and in the process he finds himself fuller than he had ever been before. By stealing Lilian’s essence, Albion fills himself.

20 As Lilian sits in front of a mirror, taking in the wonder of her own naked flesh, Albion enters the room and then he enters her. Narratively, the rape must be considered from both Lilian’s and Albion’s perspective. Lilian is exploring her body, coming to know her own sexuality when Albion enters:

I filled the room with sounds like a storm in treetops, like rivers, like horses galloping, and was preparing for the moment when flesh would be transformed. But Father could not let me achieve that, and filled the doorway before I could break apart and fly free of my body. All sound was drawn into the tiles and past the windows. (Grenville, *Lilian’s* 125)

A terrifying stillness falls over the room and remains until the act is done. After Lilian has lost herself, disassociated so she did not have to acknowledge what had happened, that who she was had been stolen. She says:

My mouth and tongue were someone else’s now and even the words that rose into my mind had nothing to do with me. Whatever had happened – and I would not ask myself just what that had been – had happened to a mass of flesh called Lilian, not to me. I cowered in that flesh, my self shrunk to the size of a pea, but still I tried to speak to Mother. Perhaps she would release me from it all, or take me over, or save me. (Grenville, *Lilian’s* 126)

The reason that Lilian has lost herself, from her own perspective, seems to stem from the sheer trauma of the event and the fact that the barrier which had always protected her from her father was no longer an appropriate means of protection. But, after reading Albion’s narrative it becomes evident that there is more to this loss of self than just trauma. Albion has to reduce Lilian to only flesh in order to rape her:

Lilian, the daughter I knew, who spoke to me, looked me in the eye, exchanged facts and requests for the salt-shaker, that cranky, obdurate, insolent thorn in my flesh, was withdrawing and leaving only her shell behind, the way a lizard leaves its tail in your hand. Now that there was nothing more complicated than an empty body in the room with me, I was enabled to motion my inner man to come close. (Grenville, *Dark* 375)

With Lilian gone and only a shell left, Albion finishes the act. After, when Lilian had lost her voice Albion declares, “Oh, epiphany of flesh!” and he experiences being “blissfully joined” with himself (Grenville, *Dark* 376). In the moment in which he is joined with himself “there was no voice judging, chiding, doubting, fearing: only this warm blank darkness like the inside of a soul, and the sounds of something laboring and panting” (Grenville, *Dark* 376). Albion gives birth to himself and states, “After I was made whole in my daughter there was silence in heaven” (Grenville, *Dark* 377). In various other postcolonial novels this moment of giving birth to oneself, or encountering the self in the other can be seen as a moment of grace. It is the moment in which the fetishizer, meets the fetishized, and finds the authentic self he had so long been searching for.

21 Now that Albion is whole and filled, Lilian is empty. She is forced to shed the frail flesh that no longer protects her; she must go in search of new flesh, as she states she is “going wild” (Grenville, *Lilian* 141). She begins building a new protective barrier through her excessive and secret mobility. Her new skin is calloused and difficult to penetrate. Even this is seen as an act of deviance and promiscuity and in keeping with the theme of the novel Albion halts these behaviors as he had all of her progressive behaviors before. Albion sends Lilian to an institution, where mobility is limited and where she loses her calloused, protective barrier. When Lilian is finally freed by her ‘crazy’ aunt she slowly begins to find her voice again. It takes her some time to leave the room, but eventually she finds the best food and she begins to adjust. In her adjustment she learns to create stories of her own that protect her from the pain of reality. When she seeks love, she creates love. Eventually Lilian ends up living on the streets, reciting Shakespeare (or as she likes to call him, William), and spending nights with her former Beau F.J Stroud, wrapped in newspapers (words). In the course of Lilian’s life she learns to use flesh and words in order to break out of the role assigned to her; she creates her own performance.

22 This brings us back, lastly, to the crucial connection between language and the body that has been carefully mapped out in these texts. It is the diet of facts that has nourished Lilian throughout her life that finally gives her the means to escape the oppressive patriarchal structures that resulted in her brutal rape. Albion notes that “[a]t thirteen, Lilian was a massive body of flesh: she had grown immense on a diet of facts” (Grenville, *Dark* 262). These references between facts and food, or words and warmth, and bodies as delicious permeate these two texts; they allude to the deep connection between language and nourishment. Lilian takes the

Shakespeare that she was given as a child and turns it into something great. She is able to assert her dignity, pick herself up, and recite the facts of language. It is through the assertion of dignity that the oppressed is able to find himself or herself, no longer in relation to the colonizer. In the introduction to the 2008 edition of *Black Skin, White Masks* Ziauddin Sardar posits this very notion:

Dignity is not located in seeking equality with the white man and his civilization: it is not about assuming the attitudes of the master who has allowed his slaves to eat at his table. It is about being oneself with all the multiplicities, systems and contradictions of one's own ways of being, doing and knowing. (Sardar vi)

Fanon knows that the way to accomplish this, the way to shed the complexes imposed by the white man is by finding a self that is no longer shackled to the representations, the harmful stereotypes given to him by the white man. The oppressed is erased by these stereotypes.

23 The only way for Lilian to create her own stories is to realize the stereotypes that have been hindering her this whole time. It is only through that realization that she is able to (re)member herself, and create histories of her own. This, of course, in her case does not happen until after her father has died, but this does not always have to be the case for the postcolonial subject. Bhabha claims in "The Commitment to Theory" that once the stereotype is realized by the person it is being imposed/transcribed upon, they then have the power to turn upside down the very system/culture that created the discourse or stereotype:

It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances and demonstrate their hybridity. (Bhabha 37)

This claim suggests that once an understanding of these cultural statements is attained it will call into question that which has allowed the colonizer to remain in a position of superiority. In essence, this then allows the struggling subjects to (re)member their bodies, to claim an identity that is their own, free from representation.

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The Hidden History of an Australian Painter: Louisa Haynes Le Freimann (1863-1956)¹

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Abstract

This article seeks to reconstruct the story behind *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* (1896), a small-scale Impressionist painting from the Pictures Collection of the National Library of Australia in Canberra, created by the ‘forgotten’ Anglo-Australian painter Louisa Haynes Le Freimann. First described by feminist art historian Joan Kerr as a “modest little oil painting,” the picture challenges social norms, especially traditional gender roles, in complex ways. It provides a previously unacknowledged counter narrative to the emerging national discourse of the pre-Federation years as famously captured by Australian Impressionism. By contextualizing the painting, and by providing biographical details on Haynes Le Freimann’s formative years at Birmingham Municipal School of Art, a fuller picture emerges of an artist who was influenced by, and participated in, two major innovative movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the Arts & Crafts Movement in Birmingham, England, and the Theosophical Society in Sydney, NSW.

I. Introduction

1 The first person to acknowledge the life and works of the ‘forgotten’ Anglo-Australian artist Louisa Haynes Le Freimann was the renowned Australian feminist art historian Joan Kerr. In her seminal work *Heritage* (1995), intended as an “active agent for change” (Introduction ix), dedicated to “retrieving forgotten Australian women artists” and “putting them back into the picture” (vii), Kerr included the painter in the biographical section, where she briefly paraphrased some biographical details; Kerr also discussed Haynes Le Freimann’s enigmatic painting *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* (1896) which she included (somewhat erroneously) in a thematic section on “Happy Families.” The artist and her picnic painting

¹ Due to the – in the truest sense of the word – esoteric nature of the life and works of Louisa Haynes Le Freimann, my ongoing research relies strongly on access to various archives, both public and private, and thus on the support of a number of institutions and persons. I therefore particularly wish to thank librarians, archivists and academics at various institutions who have been inestimably supportive during research trips to London and Birmingham while I was on research leave in the winter semester of 2014/15. These include Dr. Fiona Waterhouse (archivist, Art & Design Archives, Birmingham City University), Dr. Sally Hoban (art historian, Birmingham University), Alison Wheatley (archivist, The Schools of King Edward VI in Birmingham), and staff at the following institutions: Cadbury Research Library/Birmingham University, Wolfson Research Centre/Birmingham Library, Birmingham University Library and National Art Library, London. Moreover, I wish to thank the following institutions and persons who have made archival material accessible to me in Australia during earlier stages of the project: Jennifer Hissey (librarian, Campbell Research Library), staff at Adyar Lending Library, and the team at TS National Headquarters in Sydney; staff at Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Sydney; staff at Australian National Library and Pictures Collection, Canberra; Dr. Jenny McFarlane (art historian, Canberra). Last but not least my heartfelt thanks go to three generations of descendants of Louisa Haynes Le Freimann (commencing with her grandchildren), who have so generously shared their private recollections, family archives and collections with me; without their encouragement and support this project would have never been possible. I also wish to express my gratitude to Klaus Lubbers, professor emeritus of American Studies at the University of Mainz, Germany, who during several years of collaborative teaching, and through his distinguished research on (*inter alia*) the cultural dimension of American art opened up a whole new field of investigation to me that has clearly inspired my research on Louisa Haynes Le Freimann. This essay is dedicated to him on the occasion of his birthday.

resurfaced more than twenty years later in John Clark's *Picturing Australia* (2009), an Australian National Library publication showcasing selected paintings from the Library's Pictures Collection. If Haynes' *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* was chosen from the "most significant watercolours, oils and lithographs in the collection" (Clark 5) to represent a specific moment or story that "chronicles Australian history and society and the people, places and events that have shaped the nation" (4), why do we know so little about the life and works of the painter who was born in Birmingham, England, in 1863, emigrated to Adelaide, South Australia, in 1892 and from there to Sydney, New South Wales, in 1897 where she died in 1956? Why is it still so difficult to trace women's lives and their lifetime achievements, and what are the factors that prevent women from gaining public recognition?

2 In the following, I will sketch the artist's life that spanned almost a century, from mid-Victorian England to post-WWII Australia, and thus brings colonial England into conversation with postcolonial Australia. I will briefly outline the artist's formative years at the renowned Birmingham Municipal School of Art (BMSA), Britain's first municipal art school that defined itself in opposition to the traditional academic schools of painting. BMSA was highly renowned for the quality and innovation of its teaching; it was also a hothouse of progressive ideas. From these premises, I will analyse *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide*, the artist's most famous, and most controversial, painting, which is also the only one to date that is part of a public collection. The painting gestures towards the ideology and belief system Haynes Le Freimann became associated with in her Sydney years, where she was a long-standing member of the Theosophical Society. As I will show, *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* is strongly expressive of ideas that question traditional notions of gender, society and the nation in both Victorian England and pre-Federation Australia. In doing so, I will pay particular attention to conditions that hindered Louisa Haynes Le Freimann from realizing her full potential as an artist, and effectively prevented her from being considered as what she undoubtedly was, namely one of Australia's important painters.

II. Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman

3 If Joan Kerr was the first academic to acknowledge Louisa Haynes Le Freimann, it is worth noting that she based her assessment of both the artist's life and her only publicly accessible painting on one single source, as did John Clark more than two decades later: their common source is a one-page biographical sketch provided by the artist's nephew Cyril Herbert Haynes Franklin. Franklin was the son of Louisa's sister Emily. Like his mother before him, he stayed in touch with the artist, and also visited her once in 1914/15. A picture from the artist's photo album of a tea party in Louisa Haynes Le Freimann's Croydon home

shows the artist surrounded by her nephew Cyril and his brother Arthur, who had emigrated to Australia in 1912 and was to marry Louisa's daughter Gladys in 1919, together with Ian Davidson, a prominent member of the Theosophical Society in Sydney. Clearly visible on the wall behind the tea party are a number of the artist's paintings. Another photograph from the same source shows the artist in her studio surrounded by sketches, drawings and oil paintings from her student years at BMSA to around the year 1900, indicating that the picture may have been taken in her early Sydney years. Louisa Haynes Le Freimann is depicted regarding her large-scale oil painting of Welsh mountain scenery rather soulfully, and thus reflecting on her past, with indications of her life in Australia visible via the small canvas of *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* that is hanging on the wall behind her. The artist seems to have bequeathed the latter painting to her nephew who, in turn, donated it to the National Library of Australia in the 1970s as he was approaching the end of his life. Franklin's gift to the National Library's Pictures Collection was accompanied with said "Biography" as well as a number of documents pertaining to his trip to Australia. Without his bequest, the rediscovery of the painter would never have happened. Unfortunately, the two art historians who obviously felt that Louisa Haynes Le Freimann's painting captured a significant moment in Australian (art) history, failed to look beyond, or read between the lines of, the sketchy biographical note supplied by her nephew.



Ill. 1: "The Artist in Her Studio" (c. 1900)

4 Born into the family of George Haynes, a Birmingham gun barrel maker, and his wife Emma, née Dowler, an observant Baptist, Louisa was the youngest of the couple's six surviving daughters. The parents were in many ways representative of what Birmingham stood for in the nineteenth century. The so-called 'workshop of the world' typically consisted of small businesses that produced goods for the British Empire, and sported the world's busiest gun-manufacturing industry located in Birmingham's Gun Quarter, for many years home of the Haynes family. The city was famous for its Dissenters (and riots against them), among them Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists; it was also associated with technological innovation and a strong Protestant work ethic. Significantly, Louisa as well as her sisters were educated, trained in specific professions, and earned their own living or contributed to the family income, among them a nurse (Elizabeth), a school teacher (Emily), a grocer (Mary), while the younger daughters were a music teacher and qualified pianist (Martha) and an art teacher and qualified painter (Louisa). It may seem surprising that the youngest daughter of an increasingly financially distressed family of girls was able to attend art school over a period of more than a decade. This can partly be explained through the progressive ideas BMSA stood for: school fees were based on whether a student took morning, afternoon or evening classes. This meant that students, like Louisa Haynes, who were dependent on a regular income were able to attend classes after work. Edward R. Taylor, who was first headmaster of BMSA from 1877-1903, ran the school on a number of highly innovative principles including: belief in equality of the sexes and equal opportunities for students from low-income families, an outstanding educational system, providing 'fast-track' career opportunities for talented students who were able to work as 'pupil teachers,' and teaching the fine arts side by side with crafts and design. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Birmingham was thus not only the 'workshop of the world' but also a hothouse of progressive ideas, and an important centre in the art world, increasingly successful in training and recruiting artists. BMSA was strongly associated with the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts & Crafts movement. Birmingham-born artist Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris had strong ties to the school and visited BMSA on numerous occasions.²

5 In 1892, Louisa Haynes completed her stage III exams at BMSA, after more than a decade of studying and simultaneously teaching art classes at a prestigious independent school for girls. Record books of BMSA, today part of the Art & Design Archives at Birmingham City University, list numerous prizes won by Louisa Haynes who in 1887 was

² The biographical information provided in this section is a summary of archival material studied by the author in various Birmingham libraries and archives while on research leave in the winter semester of 2014/15 (see note 1 for detailed information on institutions consulted).

also one of ten advanced students to be awarded free admission to classes for the new academic year. She was thus not only an extremely talented young artist who earned prizes for her work in local and national competitions, she also belonged to a highly successful generation of BMSA graduates that would see some of her male peers rise to lasting fame (among them Sidney Meteyard and Arthur Gaskin), while some of the other female graduates from BMSA continued to work as painters, book illustrators and designers (including Georgie Gaskin, the sisters Myra and Kate Bunce as well as the Holden sisters, Violet, Evelyn and Edith). As Sally Hoban argues convincingly, these women “made a much larger contribution to The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham than is currently acknowledged” (164). Louisa Haynes, however, emigrated to South Australia with her sister Martha in 1892. Why would an immensely talented and successful young artist leave her native city, and thus refute what could have been a successful career as a painter? Why leave after many years of training, and give up the secure teaching position for that matter, for an uncertain future ‘Down Under’? The answer is simple: because of her gender.

6 Victorian England’s restrictive gender norms necessitated migration to Australia’s unknown and distant shores for reasons that can be read between the lines of the minutes recorded by Louisa Haynes’ employers:

After considering a letter from Miss Haynes the Committee recommend the Board to pass an order regretting the cause of Miss Haynes’ leaving, and expressing their appreciation of her efficient work in the School. The Committee having been informed that *Miss Haynes’ health had broken down, that she was about to proceed to a warmer climate* [...]. It is ordered that the Board regrets the cause of Miss Haynes’ resignation of her post as Drawing Mistress at the Aston Girls’ School. It recognizes its appreciation of Miss Haynes’ long continued & valuable services as one of the Mistresses at the Gem Street School, & subsequently Drawing Mistress at the Aston School, extending over a period of 14 years. *The Board trusts that residence in a warmer climate may restore Miss Haynes’ to health* and in recognition of her long faithful services have pleasure in ordering a payment to her of £ 30. (“Minutes No. 12;” emphasis added)

Significantly, the phrases employed by the School Board in about 1892 are almost identical with the wording chosen by the artist’s nephew, Cyril H. H. Franklin, who in his brief biographical sketch of 1972 refers to “much ill health” in the Haynes family, and the fact that Louisa and Martha “decided to emigrate to the warmth & clean air of Australia in 1892.” He additionally endows Louisa with a weak heart, which she had allegedly strained during an excursion to Mount Snowdon, an ailment “from which she never recovered.” In his brief memoir the artist appears to be an invalid, which is clearly contradicted by the fact that she did not only survive the strenuous voyage to Australia, but also went on to live, and paint, there until she eventually died two weeks before her 93rd birthday. Franklin’s phrases are thus

clearly euphemistic; they are also reminiscent of the claims made by Victorian women travellers, such as Isabella Bird, who complained eloquently about their delicate health before embarking on the most extraordinary voyages. The case of Louisa Haynes, however, was somewhat different. Given the fact that Louisa gave birth to a son soon after her arrival in Adelaide, who died before his first birthday, it seems that references to the artist's 'delicate health' and Australia's 'healthy climate' were in fact polite allusions to the artist's delicate state, i.e. her pregnancy.³ Since pregnancy out of wedlock, and giving birth to an 'illegitimate' child, would have condemned her to the status of 'fallen woman' in the eyes of polite society in Victorian England, the artist chose to emigrate to Australia together with her sister Martha, and also with Edward Le Freimann, the father of the child she was expecting, in 1892.

7 The choice of Australia was not that surprising, given the fact that since its inception as a penal colony in 1788 the colonial periphery was conceived of as a "receptacle for the unwanted," with emigration envisioned as an "option really only for the ineffectual, the inoffensive lower orders, and those [...] who cannot ideologically be accommodated at the centre" (Cheadle 102). This is famously the case in Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1850), where the reformed prostitute Martha and the equally fallen Little Emily are shipped off to Australia together with the financially distressed Micawber family. Fiction in this case followed reality as Dickens himself had been involved in the Urania Cottage project, established in 1847 and funded by Angela Burdett-Coutts, that was to provide shelter, "together with education and training, for prostitute, criminal, and otherwise socially outcast and impoverished women who agreed to begin a new life overseas" (Bowen 7-8). Meanwhile, the Australian colonies had been advertising for able-bodied men to immigrate, following the Australian gold rushes of the early 1850s, and the end of convict transportation in 1868. Emigration to Australia soon became a topic favoured by Victorian painters, including Abraham Solomon's *Second Class – The Parting* (1854), depicting a young boy about to emigrate to Australia (as suggested by the posters visible in the background, advertising destinations in Australia, such as Sydney and Port Phillip); it is part of a whole group of paintings featuring people travelling on trains, as in Augustus Leopold Egg's *Travelling Companions* (1862), a painting featuring two identically-clad sisters travelling in a railway carriage, presumably in the south of France (Wood 62-63). In Birmingham, the newly

³ The almost identical words are used both by Joan Kerr, who writes that Louisa "strained her heart" during an excursion to the Welsh mountains and "was never again perfectly healthy" ("Louisa M. Haynes" 370) and by John Clark, who refers to Haynes family members suffering from "ill health" to which a vegetarian diet and emigration to South Australia's "warmth and clean air" was to provide a remedy (74), which points to the fact that neither did any further research on the matter; they merely paraphrased Franklin's brief remarks and obviously failed to realise the meaning hidden behind the euphemistic phrases he employs.

founded Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG), officially opened in 1885, exhibited several large-scale paintings depicting passengers in trains and on board ships destined to Australia, including “the most famous of all Victorian paintings on the theme of emigration” (Wood 110), Ford Madox Brown’s *The Last of England* (1855), exhibited and acquired by BMAG in 1891, shortly before Louisa Haynes embarked for South Australia.

8 The choice of destination thus seems plausible, even if the rupture that migration to Australia entailed may seem extreme. In order to fathom the social constraints even Victorian painters faced, Nigel Daly’s *The Lost Pre-Raphaelite* provides an interesting case in point. Daly demonstrates to which manipulative extremes two well-connected English families were driven in order to conceal the relationship and subsequent birth of the ‘illegitimate’ child of Robert Bateman, another ‘forgotten’ Pre-Raphaelite painter, and the aristocratic Caroline Howard. Had the affair become publicly known, the scandal would have had destructive results for even distant members of the families involved. Daly also touches on the fate of Simeon Solomon, the gifted painter and poet who disappeared into obscurity due to what the Victorian establishment regarded as transgressive behaviour: Solomon was arrested for an act of “gross indecency” with another man in 1873 and subsequently refused

to conform to the hypocritical moral conventions of Victorian society. As a result he descended, literally, into the gutter. Shoeless, ragged and an alcoholic, he became an inmate of St Giles’s Workhouse in Seven Dials, London, where he died in 1905. (96)

In spite of the popularity of the Pre-Raphaelites, and prevailing notions concerning artists’ Bohemian lifestyle, critics have shown how carefully these artists sought to conform to social standards at least outwardly, in order to avoid public scandal, which would have led to ostracism and put an end to their careers, artistic or otherwise, as in the case of Solomon. Had Louisa Haynes given birth to her child in Birmingham, she, as well as the surviving members of her family, would have become social outcasts. The ‘stain’ of illegitimacy, fictionalized in Victorian novels and melodramas and its symbolic punishment obsessively captured in contemporary paintings of sickly, dying or drowned ‘fallen’ women, would have brought financial disaster to her and to her sisters. Who would have sent their daughters to board at Emily’s school or learn how to play the piano in Martha’s lodgings? Who would have employed Louisa as a teacher, let alone exhibited or bought any of her paintings?

III. An Alternative Version of Australian Impressionism

9 To the artist, Australia did not only have the clear advantage of being the land of opportunity; it also provided the opportunity of new beginnings and new identities. She boarded ship as Louisa Haynes, together with the father of her unborn child who then went by

the name of Edward Le Freimann, and with her equally unmarried sister, Martha Haynes, who may have functioned as a chaperon. On arrival in Adelaide she became Louisa Le Freimann, and thus fashioned herself as a married woman, the wife of Mr. Le Freimann with whom she took up residence in Flinders Street, Adelaide. It is here that the couple's son Idris Louis was born, and died, in 1893; it is also here that their daughter Gladys Irene was born in 1895, one of several daughters Le Freimann had with his various partners or self-styled 'wives.' He soon moved out, probably to live temporarily with his other common-law wife Emily and their daughter Gertrude Iris (who shared the initials of her name with her younger half-sister), and continued to pursue his fraudulent 'medical' career. From then on Louisa had to fend for herself and for her young child, struggling not only to make ends meet but also continuing to work as an artist. In spite of her strong non-conformist convictions, she would uphold her assumed identity for society's sake, and thus for sheer economic necessity, as a sense of propriety would guarantee her own and her daughter's survival, for the rest of her long life.

10. In stark contrast to the fate she would have faced in Birmingham, Louisa Haynes Le Freimann's career prospered in Australia. She became a member of the South Australian Society of Arts, more or less upon arrival in Adelaide, where she was duly "added to the committee" in 1893 ("South Australian Society of Arts"); she was also elected as a member of the South Australian Photographic Society in 1894 ("The Photographic Society"). After a professional controversy at the South Australian Society of Arts in 1895, she joined the more rebellious Adelaide Easel Club, where she was elected as member of the committee in 1896 ("The Adelaide Easel Club"). It is here that she exhibited for the first and only time her controversial *Bush Picnic* painting, at the annual exhibition of the Adelaide Easel Club in 1896, mentioned by an anonymous art critic as "A Picnic Party. L. H. Le Friemann [sic]. A strange mixture of colours ("The Easel Club's Exhibition").



Ill. 2: Louisa Haynes Le Freimann, *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* (1896)

11 Kerr reads the painting against details from the artist's life, such as her vegetarian lifestyle, common-law marriage to an already married self-proclaimed 'naturopath,' her interest in Eastern spiritual belief systems, the concepts of karma and rebirth, and her subsequent involvement with the Theosophical Society. Kerr writes:

Few such unorthodoxies are evident in this rather bland painting. The tent is the most exotic element, making the occasion seem more like an Indian than an Australian scene. Since both Louisa and the Le Freimann family emigrated to South Australia direct from Birmingham, it evidently had something to do with Le Freimann's health notions, too [...]. Hence this modest little oil painting of an apparently typical picnic conceals a surprisingly unorthodox artist and a most unusual happy family group. (Kerr, "*Bush Picnic Scene*" 67)

Whereas Kerr contrasts the "modest" painting's "bland" and 'un-Australian' appearance with juicy details from the artist's lifestyle that she perceives as being 'concealed' beneath what appears (to her) at surface level as a conventional scene,⁴ *Bush Picnic Scene* to me is very much an Australian painting in that it speaks of the hybrid nature and global reach of the late colonial era. By grouping together an extended English family (in a most unorthodox sense)

⁴ In a similar way, John Clark, who included the painting in his *Picturing Australia* and whose description of the painting is clearly based on Joan Kerr's assessment of the artist and her painting (which in turn is entirely based on Franklin's one-page sketch of his aunt), writes: "This ordinary sylvan scene was painted by an anything-but-ordinary English artist, Louisa Haynes (1863-1956), an agnostic turned theosophist and, most memorably, a member of a longstanding ménage à trois" (74).

under the shade of an Asian-style tent in the Australian bush, identified only by the painting's title as being somewhere 'near Adelaide,' the artist has not only linked a remote spot in the Australian bush to a wider colonial context, she has also linked her personal story to the global framework of Empire and migration, and the emerging national narrative of Australia.

12. Through its depiction of the Australian landscape (indicated mainly via the bright red earth), through its Impressionistic style and relatively small scale, reminiscent of the dimensions of a cigar box lid (9 inches by 5 inches), a format famously employed by Australian painters of the Heidelberg School, the painting can further be linked to Australian Impressionism, considered to be the first genuinely Australian school of painting. The Impressionist movement in Australia has also long been associated with a particularly physical approach to landscape painting. The artists, among them Tom Roberts, Frederick McCubbin, Arthur Streeton and Charles Conder, mainly worked out in the open and established artists' camps in Heidelberg near Melbourne and at Sirius Cove in Sydney. In their paintings, commonly regarded as "the most iconic and the most popular works in Australian culture" ("Australian Impressionism"), the Australian bush is a male domain. Tom Roberts' *Shearing the Rams* (1890) and *Bailing Up* (1895), Walter Withers' *The Fossickers* (1893), Frederick McCubbin's *Down on His Luck* (1889) and *On the Wallaby Track* (1896) are cases in point. As McLean writes, "these painters forged a pre-Federation sense of national identity" and "seemed to create, for the first time, national, rather than colonial, pictures" (57).

13 *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide*, by contrast, seems colonial, rather than national, in that it depicts a party of English teetotalers grouped around an Indian tent, with the only male in the picture wearing another colonial accessory originally associated with India, namely the pith helmet. The tent was not limited to the Indian context, though; bathing tents were a familiar site on beaches in British seaside resorts, as well as on late nineteenth-century Australian beaches, but clearly somewhat out of place in the Australian bush, rendering the scene slightly humorous. This notion of displacement is not shared by the group of women who have arranged themselves comfortably around their picnic and in the shade of their tent. The scenery is pastoral in the traditional sense of the word, and thus contradicts the iconic scenes of Australia's "pastoral industry, seen as the embodiment of the Australian character" (Radford and Hylton 177) as idealised in Australian Impressionist art.

14 Impressionism saw a development from the small scale of its early days to increasingly large canvases. As McLean writes: "Roberts and Streeton monumentalised the space, as if the viewer's eye was able to command it all, rather than be lost in its expanse"

(57). In their paintings the ubiquitous gum trees have become the new icons of Australia's wilderness, celebrated famously in Hans Heysen's *Mystic Morn* (1904). Strikingly, these new 'national' landscapes are devoid of Indigenous Australians, a development that is similar to that in American landscape painting, where Native Americans were increasingly pictured in the margins, or at a distance, as a romanticized part of nature, and generally vanishing, suggesting that "the life cycle of the native population has been completed" (Lubbers, *Born for the Shade* 170). In Australia, as McLean suggests, gum trees are

symbols of the new nation that bear the imprint of a repressed aboriginality. Another example is the 'bushie' on the wallaby track, an exemplary substitute figure of the Aborigine in the mould of the American frontier ethic, advanced by Frederick Jackson Turner, in which the white frontiersman takes on the qualities of the Indian. A good example of this is McCubbin's *The Pioneer* (1904). (59)

These rugged individuals and the muscular image of masculinity they represent are thus modelled on the visual vocabulary of the frontier idolized in American landscape painting of the nineteenth century. Tom Roberts' iconic *Break Away!* (1891) is a case in point. According to a contemporary review, it depicts a critical moment, when the mounted stockman is "vainly trying to stop a rushing mob of thirsty sheep who sight water" (qtd. in Radford and Hylton 177). Through this "expression of extreme physical energy" Roberts, according to Radford and Hylton, sought to reflect "the heroic quality of characteristically Australian bush life" (178). The painting is also suggestive of a larger symbolism. The rapid movement of the sheep and the extreme poise of the stockman leaning into the saddle, his right arm stretched out as far as possible, waving at the sheep and simultaneously gesturing beyond the fenced-in land, suggests that this sentimentally Australian painting is not only akin to the American frontier ethic, it also displays another key feature of American landscape painting in that it indicates a spatial as well as a temporal axis (as analysed by Lubbers in "Modelle Nationaler Identität") of expansion into the dry, dusty, red expanse of the unexplored, and 'uncultivated' Australian continent.

15 Such notions of the 'frontier,' of ruthless expansion into and exploitation of the Australian continent and its native peoples, are clearly absent in Haynes Le Freimann's painting that is, moreover, devoid of gum-trees. Here, the women are placed centre stage; they are neither weak (as the exhausted young mother in McCubbin's *On the Wallaby Track*) nor lost (as in McCubbin's *Lost* of 1886) nor overdressed ghost-like apparitions (as in Arthur Streeton's *Near Heidelberg* of 1890). The quiet, self-absorbed group of women and girls arranged informally in a circle is suggestive of a self-contained, utopian community of women. Like a miniature version of the all-female society envisioned two decades later in

Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland* (1915), they seem suspended in time and space on their slightly elevated sandy sunlit spot – one woman seeking the comfort and shade of the tent where she is resting with her baby (i.e. the artist and her one-year-old daughter Gladys), the other (i.e. Le Freimann's wife Emily) in conversation with a dark-haired woman in a red dress reclining comfortably with her back to the viewer (presumably the artist's sister Martha), while a girl (Emily's daughter Gertrude, then aged twelve), who is seated next to the artist and her baby, is glancing protectively at her baby half-sister. The women thus form a rather unusual family-group, in that they are all related, in one way or the other: either by birth or through their relationship with the only male in the picture. Another curious detail is worth noting concerning the woman in the red dress. The artist's sister Martha Haynes died of a stroke in Adelaide in June 1896. Therefore, the fact that the woman is the only one facing away from the viewer could indicate that she was, in fact, no longer alive when the picture was painted – a reading that could be supported by the woman's black belt (or black crepe) that stands in stark contrast to the bright colour of her dress. The group thus not only links Le Freimann's two partners and their daughters; it links the living and the dead, in an equally peaceful, sisterly way, suggestive of the artist's spiritual conviction.

16 The women are separated from the only man through several rocks, and the brook flowing in the foreground separates them further from the viewer, emphasizing the insular quality of the resting place of the little picnic group. Considering the non-conformist nature of the family group indicated by John Clark, who chose the caption "Ménage à trois" for his brief description of the painting, the leisurely all-female group may also be linked to harem scenes, popular with nineteenth-century French Orientalist painters. This reading could be supported by the presence of the two women's partner, Edward Le Freimann, who is gazing intently in their direction, mimicking the voyeuristic male gaze associated with the Orientalist genre, and possibly gesturing to the 'scandalous' nature of the family group. However, all of the women are appropriately dressed in accordance with Victorian English women's Orientalist discourse on female propriety (as analysed by Reina Lewis in *Gendering Orientalism*), a perspective famously introduced by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the eighteenth century. This tentative reading could additionally be supported by the presence of the Oriental tent which was, after all, widely used in Britain and overseas as a changing cabin serving to protect women from prying gazes at the seaside. Moreover, the voyeuristic male gaze is effectively hindered through the double barrier of the rocks and smoke from the campfire that has been lit somewhat redundantly. This group of vegetarians does not require a

barbeque of grilled meat; in reversal of traditional roles, the only man is probably pictured putting the kettle on in order to prepare tea.

17 On close inspection and through consideration of the personal, social and national contexts in which it was produced, the painting is thus anything but “bland,” “modest” or “ordinary.” At surface level it portrays a quietly feminine version of Impressionism, and yet it is highly subversive and strongly at odds with the ruthless expansionism and frontier rhetoric portrayed by the school of male Australian Impressionists. Rather than expressing a desire “to be absorbed into the land and locality” (McLean 57) the picnic painting literally provides a ‘green’ vision of peaceful co-existence with nature that critiques the destruction of nature, as depicted in Arthur Streeton’s *The Selector’s Hut* (1890), an “iconic image of the ‘pioneering spirit’ that underpinned Australian nationalist attitudes of the late nineteenth century” (Radford 69). Moreover, the unorthodox family group offers a radically different perspective on possibilities of tolerant co-existence in a nurturing and literally matriarchal, rather than patriarchal, society. On yet another level, the scene alludes to the artists’ camps favoured by Australian Impressionist painters which were largely closed to women artists. In this sense, Louisa Haynes Le Freimann’s *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* may be regarded as a comment on the frolicking and male bonding that was associated with artists’ camps consisting of improvised huts outside Melbourne and on Sydney’s beaches. Ironically, these camps have been equally critiqued as being ‘un-Australian,’ probably because they, too, stood at odds with the Victorian code of conduct. As McLean observes:

While the Impressionist nude is *plein-air* and seems a natural part of the life and ethic of the bohemian camps around Sydney and Melbourne at the time, it has often been pointed out that there is nothing particularly Australian about these artists’ camps. Smith, for example, saw them as part of an international ‘neo-pagan interest in nudity, sex and sun-cults.’ (McLean 59)

IV. Conclusion

18 This paper has concerned itself with reconstructing some details pertaining to the life and work of Anglo-Australian painter Louisa Haynes Le Freimann. The difficulty of assembling details from the artist’s life is strongly connected to the social restrictions women had to face in both Victorian England and in turn-of-the-century Australia. Had the fact become publicly known that she had two children out of wedlock with a presumably married man, the artist would have been regarded as a ‘fallen woman;’ her and her family’s reputation would have been ruined and her career would never have happened. Therefore, the artist actively went to great pains to avoid such a fate, including emigration to South Australia and the life-long pretence of being a married woman. *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* (1896),

one of the pictures that she painted at the end of her short but highly productive Adelaide period, resonates strongly with her personal history. Its rediscovery, one century after it was first exhibited, is due to Joan Kerr's *Heritage* project of 1995. Both Joan Kerr, who regarded the picture as part of the suppressed heritage of Australian women artists, and John Clark, who chose it for *Picturing Australia*, suggesting that it represents a particular, if curious, moment in Australia's national narrative, failed to understand the complexities resonating in Louisa Haynes Le Freimann's *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide*, but they nevertheless acknowledged its significance in a larger national context. Both Kerr and Clark had only a one-page memoir to rely upon; written by the artist's nephew in the 1970s it still echoes the 'cover up' in the extended Haynes family to secure a general sense of propriety.

19 In spite of the paucity of public material (itself partly incorrect) available on the artist's life, an investigation of various archival documents has brought to light additional layers of meaning inscribed in her enigmatic *Bush Picnic Scene near Adelaide* (1896) that clearly challenges the discourse on the emerging Australian nation in the pre-Federation years. As I have shown, the painting can be linked, through style, scale and genre, to Australian Impressionism. And yet it consciously contradicts the masculinist as well as nationalistic vision of that school of painting in various ways. It idealizes quiet tranquility instead of aggressive expansionism, sisterhood and an alternative way of life instead of repressive gender roles and male bonding. It also suggests peaceful co-existence with nature indicated by the vegetarian life-style to which this nonconformist group subscribed. All these layers are to be found in a small painting created three years after the artist's arrival in the 'Land of Opportunity' from Birmingham, one of Britain's busiest cities, in both economic and cultural terms. It is through the exploration of the painting that the artist's hidden history unfolds. The painting also indicates that in spite of the social restrictions women faced during the artist's lifetime, Australia did promise a range of possibilities that England probably would not have provided.

20 One important feature was the chance for the artist to reinvent herself, first in Adelaide, then in Sydney, where she went in 1897, and would spend the rest of her life – not in a permanent ménage-à-trois, as John Clark implies, but living with her daughter, son-in-law, and her two grandchildren, until they moved out and had families of their own. The story of her Sydney years is strongly connected with her commitment to the Theosophical Society, which she joined within days of her arrival in the city. Significantly, the members' book of Blavatsky Lodge in Sydney records that two people joined on the same day: Louisa Le Freimann and Edward Le Freimann. Once more, the artist made the effort to present herself as

a married woman. Even though Le Freimann seems to have left for good soon after, this seems to have been one last act of solidarity with the woman who risked so much when she came to Australia with him.

21 Although Louisa Haynes Le Freimann was part of the Theosophical Society (TS) for decades, her work has not yet been appreciated in that context. Jenny McFarlane, the author of an in-depth study of women artists in the Theosophical Society, the first and only one so far, lists Louisa Haynes among a number of TS artists who “appear to have no connection, innovative or otherwise, between their work and their real commitment to the Society” (161, note 7). The fact that the picnic painting is expressive of exactly the features that McFarlane identifies as being representative of the alternative Modernism created by TS women artists such as Jane Price, Florence Fuller and Ethel Carrick, namely “essentially feminist, spiritual and cross-cultural” (160) clearly contradicts this assessment. The painting even links the visible and the invisible world, expressive of the artist’s spiritual vision. This is yet another level of the ‘hidden history’ of Louisa Haynes Le Freimann that is still to be discovered, which provides an important alternative version, and vision, of Australia.

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1 Originating from papers presented at the 2007 conference “Gender Matters: Re-Reading Violence, Death, and Gender in Early Modern Literature and Culture” at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, this edited volume presents an interdisciplinary and multivalent approach to questions surrounding gendered violence from the late Middle Ages through to the 18th century. Organized thematically, the collection predominantly treats Europe with an emphasis on England and Germany, but also includes an essay on Japanese drama (Oyler) and one that points to the New World (Niekerk). Because of its interdisciplinarity, with chapters in the fields of literature, history, musicology, art history, performance, and cultural studies, this volume is appealing and relevant to a wide range of scholars working in and around Early Modern Studies.

2 The first thematic section entitled “Women Warriors, Fact and Fiction” includes two essays, one on historical women and one on Japanese drama. Judith Aikin’s contribution considers three German countesses serving as leaders during wartime over the town of Rudolstadt in the principality of Schwarzburg. Beginning with the context of polemicists who wrote both against and in favor of female rulers in the *querelles des femmes*, Aikin situates three historical women within this discourse who each achieved increased protection for their principality during their respective residencies, and were depicted in image or writing as militant in some way. With particular attention to Aemilia Juliana and her written songs and prayers, Aikin argues that these women, though not participating in violent military campaigns, proved to be effective in protecting the lands and people they were expected to watch over. Nonviolent yet effective female leaders proves to be an engaging inquiry, which could benefit from more analysis of the reception of the countesses by others, and the countesses’ own self-construction, which this essay points to but does not elaborate upon. The second chapter, by Elizabeth Oyler, follows the character of Tomoe through both official repertoires and extracanonical no plays. Through historical background and analysis of the prolonged narratives that concern the most-recognizable pre-modern Japanese woman warrior, Oyler contends that the alternative stories recounted in the extracanonical no and kabuki theaters serve as a space for resistance against the reduced feminine roles that Tomoe is permitted to inhabit. As this is the only essay that treats a topic outside of the European

early modern period, more context would be helpful to aid those who are unfamiliar with the described canon. The fascinating subject of Tomoe is a bit constrained by the short piece offered here, and a little more focus, either on the textual analysis or historical background, would make for a more developed argument.

3 The next section explores the theme of “Violent Women, Violated Men” with essays in art history and literary studies that examine this topic within German, Italian, and French contexts. Helmet Puff claims that Albrecht Dürer casts the male artist as an “exceptional victim figure” in his drawing *The Death of Orpheus* (43). This well-researched piece considers religious undertones of male victimhood, as well as tensions with the Italian state that issued forth the model for Dürer’s drawing. As Italy is both a seat for Renaissance art and known for homoeroticism, the figure of Orpheus, who also serves as a symbol for the male artist, is particularly complicated but ultimately malleable as a figure throughout this period. This essay could further elaborate on the victimhood of Orpheus in concrete terms; there is a lot to say about how he is tied to the Christ figure in this drawing, which could be more substantially rendered. The investigation into German art continues with Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly’s chapter on the eroticization of Judith, which considers the dialogue between Luther’s Bible translation and early modern artists. Watanabe-O’Kelly’s interdisciplinary and comparative approach proves to be very effective in her considerations of German visual artists who eroticize Judith against the Italian artists and German dramatists who present a less-sexualized version of the widow who moves from the banquet to the beheading without a bedroom scene. Here, the vestiges of the conference paper are a little too apparent as not all of the images (that would be most welcome in a presentation) build upon the argument, and more analysis is desired. However, in the striking discussion of the male gaze and the complication of the figure of Judith, Watanabe-O’Kelly justifies her assertion that German artists are unique in their depiction of Judith.

4 The following two essays in this section pair well as inquiries into Marguerite de Navarre’s *Heptaméron*. Julie Singer’s chapter focuses on three narratives surrounding the 1537 assassination by Lorenzino de’ Medici of his cousin, the Florentine duke Alessandro de’ Medici. Each of these three narratives – Lorenzino’s own *Apologia*, Benedetto Varchi’s *Storia fiorentino*, and the twelfth novella of the *Heptaméron* – pivot around homoerotic and homosocial triangles at the heart of the historical story. In particular, Singer’s analysis of the normalization of the antagonists within the French narrative by Marguerite de Navarre as contrasted with the more forceful Italian narratives is most cogent, as she argues that each of these texts work to remasculate Lorenzino. Marcus Keller’s essay discusses how tales 1 and

70 of the *Heptaméron* function to frame the collection with violent female characters working against innocent men. Through well-considered analysis, Keller makes the case that “women’s cruel behavior depends on the complicity of violent men and only becomes effective in a society that is ... dominated by men” (127).

5 Catherine Gray, Brian Sandberg, and Lori Humphrey Newcomb contribute politically-minded essays to the third section, “Violence and the Gendered Body Politic.” Gray and Newcomb analyze English texts in the 17th century that consider masculine soldier bodies in contrast to the feminine body politic of England in the excellent and polished “Tears of the Muses: 1649 and the Lost Political Bodies of Royalist War Elegy,” and a new convincing reading of Davenant’s 1662 play in “The Law Against Lovers: Dramatizing Civil Union in Restoration England,” respectively. This latter piece is particularly effective in that it considers Restoration civil union legislation against contemporary marriage and partner legislation, suggesting that gender institutions are always in flux. Sandberg’s “Calm Possessor of his Wife, but Not of her Château: Gendered Religious Violence in the French Wars of Religion” evaluates the political consequences of mixed-confessional marriages in the south of France, with Paule de Chambaud and Claude de Hautefort’s union as a case study.

6 Elizabeth Black’s strong essay leads the section on “Gender in Print” with an examination of three emblems and their implications of women’s status within law in Pierre Coustau’s *Pegme*. In her analysis, Black shows how Coustau’s argument – that women should be treated as children before the state – falls apart due to his inclusion of exceptions, failure to thoroughly address the Amazons, and general belief that gender difference lies in the mind and not the body. Black is particularly adept at her discussion of gender and this proves to be a solid contribution to the collection. Tara L. Lyons’s chapter discusses the function of prayer books as props in the hands of a lady on the early modern English stage, and how it is often a malleable symbol that can be redefined. She includes a fascinating discussion on the depiction of the Dance of the Dead in *A Book of Christian Prayers*. More details around the history of this particular book could tie the arguments of this essay together a bit more, as it is unclear what specific book would be utilized in the plays discussed. Gerhild Scholz Williams considers the theme of gender and violence comprehensively in his essay on the function of news in two novels by Eberhard Happel. As it treats the major themes of this collection quite well, this essay is very topical here, though more nuanced treatment of cross-dressing could be offered, in addition to some comparative context

alongside other errant knight stories from the early modern period (such as Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*).

7 Although previous essays have addressed drama, the section "Gender and Violence on the Stage" provides three more contributions to the inquiry around dramatic writing. Susan Parisi offers an interesting comparative analysis that considers how the classical myth of Cybele and Atys proliferates into opera libretti by Francesco Rasi and Philippe Quinault. The discussion of gender could be more fluid here, and a point-by-point argument may have built a stronger claim. In a compelling essay that contextualizes literature within its political circumstances, Curtis Perry argues that the collaboratively-written play *Gismond of Salern*, based on Boccaccio's *Decameron* tale, serves as a critique of Elizabeth's failure to address the question of succession, while simultaneously recommending its own writers to serve within government. This robust essay could be rendered even stronger through the addition of the context of Elizabethan English consumption of other Italian texts, including advice literature. Addressing the violent female masquers in Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, Elizabeth Zeman Kolkovich convincingly asserts that the women who all literally die over the course of their own masque also manage a degree of success in that they "substantially and permanently [disrupt] the male-controlled court" (301). Missing from Kolkovich's discussion is an analysis of the use of Italian character names in this English play, which certainly must have significance.

8 The final section on "Virtue and Violence" features two closely-connected essays on Flemish art and Neostoicism from Carmen Ripollés, who uses images very effectively to substantiate her arguments on the figure of Fortune within Frans Francken's *The Painter's Studio*; and Lisa Rosenthal who discusses *kunstkamer* paintings in Antwerp, including Francken's, to make a case on gender codification at work in masculine consumers and producers, and the seductive feminine-gendered economic market. Anne J. Cruz's essay on the figure of the *emparedada*, or walled-in woman, provides literary context and theoretical approach to her mediation between the debasement and empowerment of the *emparedada*'s position. The volume closes fittingly with the chapter by Carl Niekerk on the 1746 treatment by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's story of Inkle and Yarico. Using postcolonial theory to more fully access the multiple layers of violence and gender expectations at work in this imperialistic narrative, Niekerk effectively argues that the tale is not anti-imperialist, as traditionally contended, but actually denotes a shift of the goals behind imperialism.

9 Though this text does maintain some of its origins as a conference, with a particularly long view of the Early Modern period, the resulting volume's varied approaches and broad

perspective make for a comprehensive approach to gender and violence. With abstracts prefacing each chapter, valuable images utilized by several contributors, and a focused introduction by Mara R. Wade, the book is well-appointed for scholarly consultation. The essays, in their scope, offer insight to both those working in particular fields and those with more interdisciplinary approaches to Early Modern Studies.

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Katrin Althans studied English Literature and Language, German Literature and Language as well as Communication Studies at the University of Münster, Germany. She received her Master's degree in 2005 and also holds a German Law degree (Erstes Staatsexamen). In 2010, Katrin published her dissertation *Darkness Subverted: Aboriginal Gothic in Literature and Film* and received her PhD from the University of Bonn, Germany. Since then, she has taught at a number of German universities. Her research focuses on postcolonial studies and law & literature, in particular Australian and Indigenous studies, legal fictions, spatial theories and migration, 19th-century literature as well as gender, film, and game studies.

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