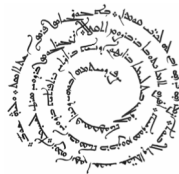


**A Bridge Over the Balkans:
Demetra Vaka Brown and the
Tradition of "Women's Orients"**



Gorgias Ottoman Travelers

4

This series seeks to explore the experiences of travelers in Greece, Turkey, Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt as reflected in their personal writings and memoirs and as analyzed by present-day scholars. The materials span the past two centuries and include historical studies as well as first-hand descriptions.

**A Bridge Over the Balkans:
Demetra Vaka Brown and the
Tradition of "Women's Orients"**

Eleftheria Arapoglou



gorgias press

2011

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

Copyright © 2011 by Gorgias Press LLC

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Gorgias Press LLC.

2011

♠



ISBN 978-1-59333-655-4

ISSN 1946-2212

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication
Data**

Arapoglou, Eleftheria.

A bridge over the Balkans : Demetra Vaka
Brown and the tradition of "women's orients" /
by Eleftheria Arapoglou.

p. cm. -- (Gorgias Ottoman travelers ;

4)

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Vaka, Demetra, 1877-1946--Criticism and
interpretation. 2. Identity (Psychology) in
literature. 3. Space and time in literature. 4.
Women--Identity. I. Title.

PS3503.R79535Z54 2011

813'.52--dc22

2011001985

Printed in the United States of America

To Eurydice and George

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction. Turning East, Turning West: Women Orientalists, Spatial Representation and Identity Politics	1
I. Space, Location, Positionality: The “New” Cultural Geography.....	1
II. Women Travel Writers “Unveiling” the Orient.....	8
III. Writing Travels, Writing the Self: The Life and Career of Demetra Vaka Brown	13
Chapter 1. Demetra Vaka Brown: “Child of the Orient” or Cultural Mediator?	29
1.1. Theorizing Vaka Brown’s Shifting Identification: Mapping the “Space Between” Two Names.....	29
1.2. “A Child of the Orient” in “the Heart of the Balkans”: Orientalism versus Balkanism	35
1.3. Exploring the Poetics and Politics of Self-Representation: The Hybridic Layerings of Demetra Vaka Brown’s Autobiographical Narrator.....	45
Chapter 2. Thinking Geographically / Thinking Historically: <i>A Child of the Orient</i> , “With a Heart for Any Fate,” Journalism	55
2.1. Moving through Spaces, Moving through Cultures: Demetra Vaka Brown as a Social and Cultural Geographer	55
2.2. Mapping History onto Topography: The Flâneuse in Vaka Brown’s Autobiographical Writings	68
2.3. Geopolitical Orientation versus Ideological Self-Location in Vaka Brown’s <i>Asia</i> Articles	80

Chapter 3. Women and/of the Orient: Demetra Vaka Brown, Hester Donaldson Jenkins, Anna Bowman Dodd, Halide Adivar Edib	95
3.1. Orientalism “Unveiled”: Demetra Vaka Brown and Hester Donaldson Jenkins.....	95
3.2. The Complexities of “Women’s Orients”: Demetra Vaka Brown and Anna Bowman Dodd	108
3.3. Suffragettes in the Harem: Demetra Vaka Brown and Halide Adivar Edib.....	117
Chapter 4. Demetra Vaka Brown and the Modern Greek State: <i>The Heart of the Balkans</i> and <i>In the Heart of German Intrigue</i>	135
4.1. The Politics of Travel Literature and Literary Journalism	135
4.2. <i>The Heart of the Balkans</i> : The Emergence of Modern Greek Nationalism as a Territorial Ideology.....	142
4.3. <i>In the Heart of German Intrigue</i> : Modern Greek Irredentism and American Diplomatic Policy	152
Epilogue	169
Bibliography	175

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although a book project is a personal venture, mostly composed in isolation, this specific project—the result of the postdoctoral research I conducted under the auspices of the Greek State Scholarships Foundation (I.K.Y.)—could have never been completed without the invaluable assistance and steadfast encouragement of several people.

Above all, I wish to thank my adviser, Dr. Yiorgos Kalogeras, without whose direction, advice, and expertise this book could never have been realized. Dr. Kalogeras' commitment to my post-doctoral project was as deep as mine, his enthusiasm about it inspiring, his criticism stimulating, and his wealth of knowledge enormous. Three people, even though at a distance, have fueled my determination to pursue and realize this project and to them I owe profound gratitude: Dr. Jeanne Reesman of The University of Texas at San Antonio, Dr. Michael Kiskis of Elmira College in New York, and Dr. Greg Zacharias of Creighton University. Their unflagging generosity—academic, intellectual, and personal—is rare and commendable.

For fellowship and scholarship support in the course of my post-doctoral research, I wish to thank: the Greek State Scholarships Foundation (I.K.Y.) for a post-doctoral fellowship that allowed me to conduct research on the life and work of Demetra Vaka Brown; the Friends of the Princeton University Library and the Program in Hellenic Studies who, by awarding me a generous Research Fellowship in August 2005, allowed me the opportunity to conduct original research using the Rare Books and Special Collections of the Princeton University Library; the Lucy Kulukundis Foundation for awarding me a travel grant that defrayed the cost of my research visit at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library of the University of Virginia; and the Karipeion Research Foundation Macedonia Thrace for

subsidizing the editing of this book. More specifically, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the following people: at Princeton, the Executive Director of the Program in Hellenic Studies Professor Dimitri Gondicas, the Manager of the Program in Hellenic Studies Carol Oberto, as well as Margaret Rich, AnnaLee Pauls and the staff at Firestone library; in Charlottesville, the staff at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library—especially Heather Riser and Regina Rush who have been extraordinarily helpful.

A section of chapter one was presented at the 2002 conference of the Portuguese Association of American Studies and was subsequently included in the selected conference proceedings entitled *Novas Histórias Literárias / New Literary Histories* (2005). A section of chapter two first appeared as part of an essay in the *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 21-22 (Winter 2004-2005). A section of chapter 3 first appeared as part of an essay in the volume entitled *Women in Dialogue: (M)uses of Culture* (2008). They are included here by permission of the editors.

Dearest friends, George Pappas and Anna Papafragou at The University of Pennsylvania not only welcomed me in their house upon my conducting research on site at the Van Pelt library, but also added their own keen insight into things literary. I also wish to express my deep gratitude to friend and colleague Maria Schoina whose encouraging interest, active support, and confidence in my project were indispensable to the writing of this book.

The editorial team of Gorgias Press, especially Katie Stott, read the manuscript with remarkable diligence and greatly contributed to the final stages of this project.

My deepest gratitude is for the sustaining help I have received from my family members who have been a constant source of emotional support. My parents, Lazaros and Evangelia Arapoglou, and my sister, Paraskevi Arapoglou, have never ceased to supply buoying relief. They have provided me with the unconditional sustaining love that only family can offer. Finally, this book is affectionately dedicated to my husband, Stavros Vougioukas, and our children, Eurydice and George, as a token of my eternal gratitude to them. Words could never express my deep appreciation not only for the sacrifices they have had to make to see this book materialize, but, more importantly, for reminding me that *human space is personally constructed*!

INTRODUCTION.

TURNING EAST, TURNING WEST: WOMEN ORIENTALISTS, SPATIAL REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY POLITICS

Can I today write better about this people which is my race?
The task is fraught with difficulties. [. . .]

I ought to know these various Greeks pretty well, since I was born and brought up among those of Constantinople, have travelled through the interior of the Ottoman Empire, lived for a while in Athens, and have been in almost all of those towns throughout the Balkans, in Servia, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Albania, where the Greek population forms a larger part of the total. I have also been on some Greek islands. [. . .]

The Greeks have been nearly as scattered as the Jews, and even more nationalistic; that is one reason why it is not so easy to write of Greece and the Greeks as it is to write of the other Balkan nations.

Vaka Brown, *The Heart of the Balkans* 205–6

I. SPACE, LOCATION, POSITIONALITY: THE “NEW” CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

More than forty years after Michél Foucault’s unequivocal proclamation that “[t]he anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space, no doubt a great deal more than with time,” the importance of spatiality in history, sociology, anthropology, as well as in literary studies figures more prominently than ever (23). As Sara Blair has correctly observed, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, “[i]t is old news [. . .] that we inhabit a posthistorical era

[. . .] [since] temporality as the organizing form of experience has been superseded by spatiality, the affective and social experience of space” (544). What Blair’s observation reveals is that, following several decades of scientific and academic devaluation, questions of “space” and “place” have reemerged on the scholarly agenda, thus adding another dimension to the above-mentioned fields of study: history, sociology, anthropology, as well as literary studies. Hence, addressing the concept of spatiality, sociologists have become engaged in the “geographical moment” and, therefore, view place today as “a cultural artifact of social conflict and cohesion.”¹ Along similar lines, anthropologists have paid closer attention to the empowering aspect of place, while those working in the field of American Studies use the concept of place to provide a new basis for their research. Consequently, they “reground” their studies by addressing the question of how place evokes and shapes art.

Over the last two decades, numerous scholars and texts have addressed the question of spatiality versus temporality. Some of these intellectuals, theorists, and researchers have agreed with Foucault’s proclamation about the significance of the “spatial” in critical thought and have elaborated on spatiality as the organizing form of modern experience, while others have counter argued and dismissed the affective and social experience of space. For example, preeminent Marxist intellectuals, such as David Harvey in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989), have conceded that space—rather than time—hides consequences from us today, because it raises the “omni-present danger that our mental maps no longer match current realities” (306). At the same time, geographers, like John Urry in *The Tourist Gaze* (1991), have argued for space as the distinctively significant dimension of contemporary capitalism. Also, post-colonial theorists have not only applied but also extended the concept of space in discussions of cultural identity;

¹ The term comes from R. Friedland’s article, “Space, Place, and Modernity: The Geographical Moment,” that appeared in *Contemporary Sociology* in 1992. In it, the sociologist argues that the aspect of spatiality is as important as that of temporality to the study of modernity. Subsequently, he employs “locality,” “region,” “landscape,” “territory,” and “area” as keywords for his theoretical study of modernity.

thus, Homi Bhabha has coined the term “third space” (“The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha” 211).

One of the effects of this renaissance of scholarly interest in the debate over spatiality as a valid critical consideration is that the terminology of space, location, positionality, and place is today as much at the center of literary discussions, as it is at the center of wider scientific, social, political, and cultural debates. Therefore, many strands of literary and cultural studies are being reoriented toward spatial questions and, certainly, the increasing awareness of the “new” cultural geography as an important field of study has significantly contributed to this end.

However, the renewed interest in geography as part of the scholarly agenda is not the sole reason for which “space” and “place” constitute foci for literary studies today. The interdisciplinary nature of space studies undoubtedly suggests the valuable contribution of geography to literary analysis. Hence, the central geographic question of how place, landscape, and space both define and provide the context for human experience is an important one to be addressed in the study of literature. This is because space can no longer be viewed as a topographic concept, but rather as socially and culturally produced and constructed. Indeed, looking at the place of literature as a dynamic and fluid contested terrain, the function of authors’ geographical imaginations is crucial and yields interesting insights.

The works of Demetra Vaka Brown discussed in this book specifically address questions of space, geography, and identity. My aim in this study has been to examine these texts for the different theories of human-place relations that are inherent in their narrative discourses. More specifically, I argue that the development in spatial representation that the author’s works illustrate raises an important set of critical questions related to the concept of cultural identity and the process of self-identification. Vaka Brown’s spatial poetics also enquire into the socio-political stakes involved in the formation of alternative identity positions and the intriguing relationship between place and self. This is because the events in which Vaka Brown was involved—such as the Balkan and First World Wars, the setting of the border between Greece and the Balkan countries, the Eastern question, the Young Turks Revolution of 1908—as well as specific aspects of the history of the formation of the Greek and Turkish modern nations

have not only had an impact on Vaka Brown's authorial choices, but also affected the politics and poetics of the female self-identity she constructed and projected through her writing. Hence, one of the central concerns of this book is to explore the generative role of place, culture and travel in the formation of Demetra Vaka Brown's cultural identity. At the same time, my reading of Vaka Brown's works elucidates the complexities and ambiguities of women travel writers' imperial positionings at the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

A careful examination of the terms in which spatial representation has been discussed to date reveals that scholars in general and geographers in particular have not viewed space consistently through the years. Most geographical analyses before the 1970s adopted an absolute understanding of space, and viewed it as a static geometric concept within which objects are located and events occur. Such a "scientific geography," appropriating terms from Euclidian geometry, theorized space as an abstraction and did not pay attention to the problematic of spatial representations. As a consequence, the critics who theorized space in works of literature—influenced by classical Newtonian physics—viewed it as a passive arena, the setting for events, characters, and their interaction. Consequently, in poetry, fiction, and drama, "space" and "place" were examined as aspects of "setting." However, the fact that many works of literature offer topologically detailed accounts of distinct spatial contexts, although of interest to ethnographers or historians, obscures the function of authors' geographical imaginations with respect to the imaginative re-construction and literary representation of space. Nowadays, "scientific geography" is not popular as an interpretative tool for the study of literature.

In the 1970s, the application of humanistic theories about subjectivity, meaning, and experience shifted the focus of geography from the study of abstract space to that of personalized place. Accordingly, and since the ideas of human geography were also applied to the study of literature, mimetic readings of texts were substituted by interpretations that foregrounded the human significance of places. The pioneering geographer who rejected the geometries and quantifications of spatial science was Yi-Fu Tuan, whose work on the creation of place illustrates how existential philosophies inspired the development of "new" human

geographies in the 1970s. Tuan's work unearths the ways in which space impinges on the process of self-identification. To this effect, his books *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception Attitude and Values* (1974) and *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (1977) have elaborated on the idea that human identity is structured through the individual experience of space and place. Tuan's work shifted the focus of geography to the importance of people's feelings and meanings—hence, the term “human.” To him, place raises precisely the question of human meaning and, therefore, constitutes the “key” human geography concept.

The humanists brought the sensibilities of every-day, place-bound life into academic discourse. Edward Relph, another important scholar in the field of human geography, has argued that the sense of place itself is a feeling, that of belonging and inclusion. Relph's contestation has given rise to discussions about the “authentic sense of place” as a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of places (63). Subsequently, human geographers have turned their attention to affectionate attachment to specific places such as “home.” Relph has suggested that home is “an irreplaceable center of significance” (39), while Tuan has claimed that hearth, shelter, home or home base are intimate places to human beings everywhere (*Space and Place* 136–48). In fact, Relph has drawn on Heidegger's notion of “dwelling” to further elaborate on the connection between humanity and a sense of “insiderness,” making the claim that a sense of place is a universal human trait, which, he acknowledges, is mediated by cultural differences (49).

Tuan's and, by extension, the human geography school's significant contribution to space studies is that it de-contextualizes the notion of space from passive geometry and raises the question of how space is constituted and given meaning through human endeavor. This question has also been addressed by another school of geographers, those with a Marxist/Historicist background, who also reject the view of “space” as solely physical landscape, but who contextualize it as a social construct. Geographers' turn to Marxist theory represented a critique of humanistic interpretations of texts as essentially nostalgic, “using literature to identify a harmonious relationship between people and place which had seemingly been destroyed by progress and modernity” (Hubbard et al. 129). Marxist geographers agree with human geographers that the model of “fixed” spatial dimensions of existence has to be

rejected, but argue for this rejection on different grounds. More specifically, they contend that space is a product of cultural, social, political, and economic relations. To them, space is not essential in nature, but constructed and produced through certain processes. The Marxist/Historicist uptake questions the perspective of human geography, according to which places are comprehensible and meaningful to humans, by calling attention to the destructive effects of modernity on spatiality. Mainly, Marxist/Historicist geographers contend that place can no longer be seen as a solid ground for the process of identity construction, and that it needs to be dissociated from notions of stability and community.

The notion of treating space as dynamic and socially produced was first suggested by the French sociologist and philosopher, Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre, in his seminal work *The Production of Space* (originally published in French in 1974, translated into English in 1991), questions why space cannot “constitute a principle of explanation at least as acceptable as any other” (275). He is the first to distinguish between three distinctively different types of space—all of the same substance and force: physical space (nature), mental space (spatial abstractions), and social space (the space of human activity, conflict, and perception). Lefebvre also identifies the three elements that make up space: spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation. He uses Marx’s theory about the periodization of capitalism to illustrate how the different relations between these three elements of space can produce different forms of space; for example, the historical space of classical times, or the contradictory spaces of late capitalism.

Considering the emphasis Lefebvre has placed on the geographical analysis of social life, his contribution to geography has been tremendous. Inspired by his theory on the “social production of space,” contemporary geographers like Doreen Massey and Edward Soja have further built on the idea of places as constituted of multiple, intersecting, social, political, and economic relations. For example, in her article “Politics and Space/Time,” Massey asserts that “to the aphorism of the 1970s—that space is socially constructed—was added in the 1980s the other side of the coin: that the social is spatially constructed too” (146). Massey convincingly argues that the fact that society is constructed spatially determines how it works (146). To her, space does not connote rootedness and tradition but flow and movement, because “the

social relations which create it are themselves very dynamic by their very nature” (156). Soja, on the other hand, agrees with Massey that space is given shape through material processes, flows and relationships, but in his book *Thirdspace* (1996) suggests a more restricted definition of spatiality than Massey’s. Although he agrees with Massey that “spatiality” equals socially produced space, he also qualifies this by claiming that, whereas all spatiality is socially produced, all space is not.

Although utilizing both human and Marxist geography principles in literary discussions might initially appear contradictory—since the two schools are often seen as approaching space from completely different angles—this is a deliberate choice I have made in this study that has been dictated by Vaka Brown’s texts themselves. The main premise of my argument is that Vaka Brown’s writing communicates a strong, but at the same time highly idiosyncratic sense of place. For example, the awareness of history and politics that Vaka Brown’s narrators exhibit shapes their spatial view and determines their spatial poetics. For this reason, I propose that the author’s spatial poetics are theorized given two underlying considerations: first, the historical and cultural background of the specific works, and second, the suggestions the texts themselves make about the links between the structures of place and the politics and processes of identity-formation. The latter suggestions guide my reading as much as the social, historic, and cultural background of the specific works. After all, I do not consider the two geographical approaches—one emphasizing the affective and social experience of space, and the other emphasizing human subjectivity in relation to spatiality—to be antagonistic. Rather, I see them as two different emphases in the complex relation between space and literature.

Because of my attitude toward the human and Marxist modes of thinking about space and place, my perspective is synthetic rather than exclusive. Therefore, while I espouse the Marxist approach that views space as a product of historical, social, political, economic, and cultural processes, I also recognize its limitations with respect to the specific ways in which individuals relate to place. This is why I believe the humanist perspective on space to be equally important for my discussion. Ultimately, although I am aware that cultural Marxism—emphasizing spatial texts as realizations of social, political, and cultural relations—has

been theorized as an alternative to human geography—examining texts as resources that reveal the intricacies of human interaction with the environment—I do not wish to use any one of the two schools of geographic thought as my exclusive frame of reference. Instead, the alternative approach I am proposing synthesizes Marxist considerations with considerations informed by a human geography perspective.

The section that follows sets up the theoretical framework within which the work of Demetra Vaka Brown is contextualized and interpreted, taking its bearings from the problematics of “Western” representations of “the East” in travel literature and related issues of identity construction, place-making, cultural mediation and translation, all informed by the insights of cultural theory. More specifically, the second section of the Introduction identifies three research directions in the book: first, it points to the discursive techniques employed in *women* Orientalists’ identification processes; second, it highlights these women’s “unveiling practices” vis-à-vis the context of the dominant themes and preoccupations of the Orientalist tradition; third, it foregrounds the ambivalences and contradictions underlying the models of identity shaped within and by these women’s texts.

II. WOMEN TRAVEL WRITERS “UNVEILING” THE ORIENT

Although women’s representations of “the Orient” were often overlooked or underestimated in seminal discussions of the interchanges between “the Empire” and “subaltern elements” outside it—as in Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978)—recently, scholars have extensively critiqued and revised conventional conceptualizations of the Orient that do not incorporate an analysis of gender into their approach. More specifically, critics like Antoinette Burton, Inderpal Grewal, Lisa Lowe, John Mackenzie, and Kenneth Parker² have illustrated how women’s travels to and records of “the East” have played a decisive role in determining the

² Antoinette Burton *At the Heart of the Empire* (1998); Inderpal Grewal *Home and Harem* (1996); Lisa Lowe *Critical Terrains* (1991); John Mackenzie *Orientalism* (1995); Kenneth Parker *Early Modern Tales of Orient* (1999).

politics of representation, which, as cultural theory informs us, are involved in the production of a version of the world. Contesting the Saidian paradigm considerably, the above mentioned scholars have also pointed out that travelers' representations were not homogeneous but inflected by such parameters as race, class and nationality. Moreover, they have indicated changes over time; hence, Ali Behdad's term "belated travelers."

As all theorists of Orientalism agree, for centuries, "the West" textually represented "the East" in such a way as to reinforce the relations of power and assumptions that lay at the foundation of Western imperialism and colonialism. Casting "Occident" and "Orient" as binary terms was of extreme importance for the development of Western subject-hood in the age of colonialism and, as Billie Melman puts it, "hinged upon the construction of the colonized as an 'alterity'" ("Transparent Veils" 434). According to the founder of the study of "Orientalism," Edward Said, following the rise of modern colonialism, the Orient became particularly essentialized and exoticized as a figure of "otherness." In Said's view, "Orientalism," functioning as a type of Foucauldian discourse, managed and even produced the "Orient" politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively. Echoing Said's arguments, A. L. Macfie has claimed that the "Orientalist" has assisted in the creation of a series of stereotypical images, according to which

Europe (the West, the "self") is seen as being essentially rational, developed, humane, superior, authentic, active creative, and masculine, while the Orient (the East, the "Other") (a sort of surrogate, underground version of the West or the "self") is seen as being irrational, aberrant, backward, crude, despotic, inferior, inauthentic, passive, feminine, and sexually corrupt. (8)

All those "orientalist" fantasies have contributed to the construction of a saturating hegemonic system, designed to dominate, restructure, and have authority over the "Orient," ultimately promoting Western imperialism and colonialism.

When Said's *Orientalism* appeared in 1978, analysing colonial or cross-cultural relations within the context of cultural and American studies involved mythical and gender archetypes, such as, for example, the "Virgin Land" archetype in Henry Nash Smith's

work, the “machine” and the “garden” archetypes in Leo Marx’s study, or the gendered struggle for domination discussed by Annette Kolodny.³ The revolutionary change brought about by Said’s *Orientalism* was the introduction of the work of Michel Foucault to the colonial scene, as well as the “decentering” perspective in studies of imperialism, a perspective which is today frequently adopted by scholars. Based on Foucault’s discussion of the relationships between power and knowledge and building on the concepts of discourse and epistemic field, Said’s work identified the nature of the “orientalist” discourse as a created body of theory and practice, designed to serve the interests of Western imperial powers. Perhaps the most valuable legacy of Said’s work, the “critical eccentricity” of looking at imperial cultures from their margins, has prompted a range of extensions, revisions and critiques by scholars who have by now firmly established the view that colonialism and imperialism are not marginal and/or negligible by-products of modernity.

Critiques of *Orientalism* have revised Said’s conventional and essentialist conceptualizations of the Orient as a unified and monolithic *topos* and have recovered a history of writings about and travels to the East that illustrates a subaltern voice and agency that critics such as Said seemed to overlook. For example, Homi Bhabha’s insights in *The Location of Culture* (1994) on the heterogeneity of colonial and postcolonial experience, which he explains as a result of a fundamental ambivalence in the colonizer’s relation to the colonized, constitute an important contribution to the field of contemporary studies on the Orient. Furthermore, feminist scholars, such as Billie Melman in *Women’s Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918* (1995),⁴ have protested against the writing out of gender and class from Orientalist

³ Henry Nash Smith *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950); Leo Marx *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964); Annette Kolodny *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (1975).

⁴ The phrase “Women’s Orients” in the title of this book alludes to the tradition of female Orientalists that Billie Melman discusses in her book.