IMAGINING THE EMPIRE

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THE FRONTIER AND MASCULINITY IN FICTION OF EMPIRE, 1885-1910

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the imaginative construction of the imperial frontier as a space in which masculinity could be successfully performed. I examine a number of fictions of empire produced between 1885 and 1910 by three popular male authors: H. Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, and John Buchan.

These texts were produced in the context of a contemporary crisis in masculinity. In response to this perceived crisis, the frontier took on particular significance as a space in which to articulate 'proper' masculinity. I examine the development of this space, paying particular attention to the war reportage of Winston Churchill and the instructional writings of Lord Baden-Powell.

Through their fictions, H. Rider Haggard enabled the extension of the Empire, Rudyard Kipling taught his readers how to rule the Empire, and John Buchan delineated the duties and responsibilities of the white, male imperial citizen. For each of these authors, the performance of 'proper' masculinity was inextricably linked to the extension or preservation of the Empire. At the same time, the success of the imperial project was dependent upon the performance of masculinity and the maintenance of strong homosocial bonds.

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CHAPTER ONE:

THE IMPERIAL CONTEXT

In <u>Wacousta</u>, John Richardson's romance of revenge at the frontier of British North America in 1763, the eponymous villain says that his revenge could have been had "in no other country in the world" (491)[1]. Although this novel slightly predates the beginning of the Victorian era, and predates the texts under consideration in this thesis by more than fifty years, Wacousta's statement is significant and relevant to our consideration in that it articulates a significant role of the Empire, and in particular the imperial frontier, in the constitution of British culture. It is my contention that the frontier served as a space in which a variety of socio-cultural issues could be resolved. In particular, this thesis will argue that the frontier provided an imaginative space in which British masculinity could be performed and that, therefore, masculine identity and the Empire were co-dependent.

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[1] <u>Wacousta</u> is a romance in which the villain is wronged in Britain and achieves his revenge on the frontier of British North America, by which many of the characters are psychologically and physically transformed. For our purposes, the significance of this text is that it represents the frontier as a space freed from the moral restrictions of British society. In this space actions and relationships that would not be acceptable at home are at least possible.

This thesis will examine a number of fictional texts produced by three British writers during what has been called the period of 'modern' imperialism: 1880 to 1914 (Baumgart 3). These texts are King Solomon's Mines (1885), She (1887), and Allan Quatermain (1887) by H. Rider Haggard, "The Man Who Would be King" (1888), The Light That Failed (1891), and Kim (1901) by Rudyard Kipling, and Prester John (1910) by John Buchan. All three of these men lived in the colonies for a time and both Haggard and Buchan were directly involved in the imperial project by virtue of being imperial officials. They are among the writers of this period who articulated an imperial vision in their fiction and other writings. Of particular significance to this thesis is their uniform insistence on the frontier as a space for men (and boys) and for the articulation of manhood.

This first chapter will establish the socio-cultural context in which these writers can be fully considered. It will describe the perceived crisis in masculinity at the time and the varied responses to it. The concepts of masculinity, adventure and the adventure story, and the role of the Empire and the frontier, will also be analysed in order to provide the necessary context for the succeeding chapters.

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In his memoir A Roving Commission, Winston Churchill nostalgically recalls the days when the British Empire was

strong and secure:

> I was a child of the Victorian era, when the
> structure of our country seemed firmly set,
> when its position in trade and on the seas
> was unrivalled, and when the realisation of
> the greatness of our Empire and of our duty
> to preserve it was ever growing stronger. In
> those days the dominant forces in Great
> Britain were very sure of themselves and of
> their doctrines. They thought they could
> teach the world the art of government, and
> the science of economics. They were sure
> they were supreme at sea and consequently
> safe at home. They rested therefore sedately
> under the convictions of power and security.
> (v-vi)

Yet, as early as 1869 John Ruskin had a somewhat bleaker image

of England:

> Our cities are a wilderness of spinning
> wheels instead of palaces; yet the people
> have not clothes. We have blackened every
> leaf of English greenwood with ashes, and the
> people die of cold; our harbours are a forest
> of merchant ships, and the people die of
> hunger.
> ("Future" 142)

This statement primarily concerns the unequal distribution of

resources, yet suggests fears about the degeneration of the

British populace which were soon to be directly expressed.

The period of modern imperialism was precisely the

period when concerns about the strength of the Empire and the

race, particularly its manhood, began to surface. In 1885,

coinciding with the Berlin Conference which divided up Africa

among the European nations and symbolically represents the

zenith of European imperialism (Baumgart 3), male

homosexuality was criminalized (Weeks 102). At the same time as the Empire began its greatest expansion it seemed to be deteriorating from within. These fears can be traced back to the 1850s, when concerns about sexuality and its negative effects (venereal disease and prostitution) began to enter official discourse (Weeks 20). Fears of imperial decline began to increase in the 1880s with the defeat of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885, the 'discovery' of urban degeneration, and the challenge to male authority represented by the feminist movement (Showalter 5-7), and were exacerbated by concerns about the 'Ireland Question', a socialist revival, and the expansion of the electorate (Weeks 87).

Richard Dellamora notes that there was a "public contest over the meaning of masculinity" in the 1890s (193), not to mention the meaning of femininity. Both the New Woman and decadent man thrust themselves into the public spotlight, and were referred to as the "twin apostles of social apocalypse" (Showalter 170). The New Woman, such as Rhoda Nunn, whose "countenance seemed masculine [and] expression somewhat aggressive--eyes shrewdly observant and lips consciously impregnable" (Gissing 22), "represented a female sexual autonomy that was a sign of radical social change" (Gilbert and Gubar 30). Concurrently, homosexuality was 'discovered' by Victorian society; the term 'homosexual' having entered the English language in the 1890s (Showalter

171). The homosexual was thrust into public awareness through the publication of Oscar Wilde's <u>The Picture of Dorian Gray</u> (1891) and by the trial and conviction of Wilde for homosexuality in 1895. Wilde's trial reinforced fears about sexual degeneracy at the heart of the Empire (Koven 375), raising doubts about the health of the imperial race and the virility of British manhood. These widespread "fears of a weakening virility" (MacDonald 1993: 16) were seemingly confirmed by the unexpected difficulties faced by British troops in the Boer War (1899-1902), and by the revelation that 60 percent of those who volunteered to serve in the war were unfit for service (Rosenthal 135)[2].

Baden-Powell feared the British were "lapsing into a nation of soft, sloppy, cigarette suckers" (in Warren 1987: 203) and blamed the destruction of the Roman Empire on young Romans "who lost the Empire of their forefathers by being wishy-washy slackers without any go or patriotism in them" (Baden-Powell 275-6). In his opinion, and in the opinion of others, Britain "no longer had the manhood to compete" (Rosenthal 132). The "specter of deterioration" (Rosenthal 159) was largely blamed on "the debilitating materialism of the city" (Warren 1987: 199). The common argument that "[t]oo

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[2]That this figure was highly exaggerated is, of course, of minor consequence. What is important is that this is what people believed and what they were willing to believe.

much civilization is inimical to the well-being of men, who
need constant gratification for their aggressive drives"
(Brittan 83), while of questionable merit, seems to sum up the
position of many at the time. In commenting on an earlier
crisis in masculinity during the late Restoration period,
Michael Kimmel discusses the popular perception of the city:

> Not only does the city liberate women,
> turning them into wanton, disrespectful, and
> arrogant wenches, but the city feminizes men,
> removing them from the land (the source of
> productive labour and hence diligence and
> masculine discipline) and exposing these
> rough-hewn rural men to the effete life of
> the fop.
>
> (137)

It does not seem too anachronistic to apply this comment to
late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain. The flight to the
cities spawned "a new type of degenerate--the weak, stunted,
over-excited, and too often diseased slum-dweller" (MacDonald
1993: 4) and "it was the polluted city, teeming with
pernicious aliens, that deformed the character and body of the
British worker" (Rosenthal 139). Baden-Powell directly blamed
the city for the 'degeneration' of Britain's men. "For my own
part," he wrote, "I feel that living in towns has a great deal
to say to the want of manliness" (in Warren 204). This was
the dark side of London as portrayed in The Picture of Dorian
Gray (Wilde 184-193). Two books, The Heart of the Empire
(1901), edited by C.F.G. Masterman, and From the Abyss (1901),
written by Masterman, firmly established the connection

between urbanization and degeneration in Britain's Edwardian consciousness[3]. They made readers aware of "a new degenerate race festering at the very heart of the Empire" (Koven 377). According to Masterman, those in the city were "stunted, narrow-chested, easily wearied; yet voluble, excitable, with little ballast, stamina, or endurance" (in Koven 378).

Sexual impurity and 'deviant' sexuality became of increasing concern as the century progressed, and were linked to fears of imperial decline in terms of the model of Rome. As Weeks points out, from the beginning of official discussion of sexuality in the 1850s Rome served as the symbol of British fear of decline (20). Charles Kingsley presented the decline of Rome as an example in The Roman and the Teuton (1864), in which the Teutons are "a young and strong race" while the Romans are "subtle and sophisticated" and the Roman palace is corrupt and abounding with "eunuchs, concubines, and spies". The unsubtle message was that "[i]t can happen in England, too" (Green 1980: 218). In a similar vein, in 1885 Rev. J.M. Wilson wrote: "Rome fell; other nations have fallen; and if England falls it will be this sin [masturbation], and her unbelief in God, that will have been her ruin" (in Weeks 107). Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts,

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[3]Interestingly, John Buchan was related to Masterman by marriage and worked with him in producing propaganda during World War I (Smith 174; 197).

consistently cited Rome as an example of what could happen if Britain did not get its act together (Rosenthal 133). For Baden-Powell, imperial decline was explicitly related to a decline in manliness. In Scouting for Boys (1908) he wrote:

> Remember that the Roman Empire, two thousand years ago, was comparatively just as great as the British Empire of today...it fell at last, chiefly because the young Romans gave up manliness altogether...
> (277)

Churchill also drew parallels between Britain and Rome, although positive (Malakand: 55). However, even he, in The Story of the Malakand Field Force (1898), consciously set his war reportage against the backdrop of the ruins of former empires, as if to warn his readers of such a possibility. He imagines the day when Britain is no longer a power, notes that "all traces of us would soon be obliterated by time" (96), and philosophizes that "it is impossible to avoid the conclusion...that the sun of civilization can never shine all over the world at once" (84). Perhaps these musings were the result of his recent discovery of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, of which he was a vehement partisan (Roving 111).

In addition to the social crisis, Elaine Showalter has identified a literary crisis. By the 1870s women novelists were becoming predominant. Three-quarters of the novels published in the United States in the 1870s and '80s were

written by women, and over 40 percent of the authors at large English publishing houses were women (Showalter 76-77). As well, the novel was mainly consumed by women. This "feminization of literature" (Showalter 77) must be considered along with fears of imperial decline and weakening masculine virility in our discussion of the responses to these crises. However, first it is necessary to briefly consider the means by which masculinity is constructed.

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We should not speak of 'masculinity', as Arthur Brittan points out, but 'masculinities' (1), for what is expected of men varies from culture to culture and from historical period to historical period. However, whether or not a "deep structure of manhood" exists, there does seem to be enough continuity to allow us to make some generalizations (Gilmore 220-231). Without entering into the debate as to whether masculinity is biological or the result of socialization[4] (Brittan 6-11), and given David Gilmore's statement that "many societies [including western societies] build up an elusive or exclusionary image of manhood through cultural sanctions, ritual, or trials of skill and endurance" (1), I think we can safely concentrate on socialization, or the production of masculinity. Certainly, as we will see,

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[4]Presumably both factors are significant.

late-Victorian and Edwardian thinkers believed that masculinity could be affected by training and environment. Gilmore argues: "[I]n Victorian England, a culture not given over to showy excess, manhood was an artificial product coaxed by austere training and testing" (18).

According to the socialization argument, men "learn to be 'men'" (Brittan 7). Gilmore notes that in most cultures "real manhood is different from simple anatomical maleness...[it] is a precarious or artificial state that boys must win against powerful odds" (11). Men become men through action, by passing what are often physical challenges. Within patriarchal culture this struggle for masculinity has "traditionally been bound up with expectations of and fantasies about power, not only in the home but in the workplace, politics and sport" (Roper and Tosh 18). As a result, manhood is restricted to those who have passed the test. Men prevent boys from entering their world, substituting for it myths and fantasies about masculinity (Middleton 42).

Despite ever-present fictions of omnipotent manhood, masculinity must be continually re-performed (Roper and Tosh 18). Graham Dawson suggests that this performance is as much an imaginative act as a 'real' one: "Masculine identities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination" (118). Masculinity is an act of the imagination. As a

result, the struggle for masculinity, including the late-Victorian/Edwardian crisis in masculinity, must be resolved, to a large extent, in the imaginative realm.

Hammond and Jablow suggest that in western culture "[m]en are most manly when they are fighting side by side in a world without women" (1987: 241). Their reading of literature about friendship suggests that male friendship is "forged in an agonistic setting" (245) and that "[c]onfrontation with extreme danger heightens and proves the essential quality of friendship" (248). Further, this valorization of male friendship promotes male solidarity at the expense of family responsibility, particularly responsibility to women (246). Jeffrey Richards points out that this "manly love", as it would have been called at the time, was "an integral part of nineteenth century life" (117). Intense, emotional friendships between men, as epitomised by the relationship between Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson in Conan Doyle's popular 1890s stories, were the norm rather than the exception (109). Eve Sedgwick uses the term "homosocial" to describe the continuum of relationships between men (1). She identifies and traces a pattern of "male homosocial desire" in English literature, hypothesizing "the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual" (1). The identification of this continuum, she argues, provides a means of analyzing the structure of relationships

between men[5]. Women are excluded from this continuum except in their position relative to men: "[M]en's heterosexual relationships...have as their *raison d'être* an ultimate bonding between men...this bonding, if successfully achieved, is not detrimental to 'masculinity' but definitive of it" (Sedgwick 50). Women serve both as markers of male competition and as a conduit for otherwise inexpressible homosocial desire[6].

* * * * *

The masculine ideal was transformed during the Victorian era. According to Ronald Hyam, there was a "shift from the ideals of moral strenuousness, a Christian manliness, to a cult of the emphatically physical...from serious earnestness to robust virility...from the ideals of godliness and good learning to those of clean manliness and good form" (72). This shift is clearly reflected in Victorian children's literature. Categorized with regard to class at the beginning

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[5]Len Deighton provides a description of the form of male bonding which Sedgwick is attempting to access: "Boys with uncertain sexual preferences, truly happy only in male society, arms interlinked, singing together very loudly and staggering away to piss against the wall" (324).

[6]A clearer articulation of this important concept is provided by Martin Green:

> It shows men promoting the happiness of other men in transactions--even involving heterosexual love-relationships--that pass through and make use of women...Women are assigned a place in men's lives and are made secondary to what passes between a man and other men.
>
> (1991: 72-3)

of the Victorian era, by the late-nineteenth century it was categorized by gender: adventure for boys and domestic stories for girls (MacKenzie 1984: 202-3). The stories became concerned with propagating manly 'virtues' (Hammond and Jablow 1977: 101) as boys' fiction became the "primer of empire" (Showalter 80). In addition, Jeffrey Weeks notes that "from the 1860s there was a new cult of masculinity in the public schools", particularly evidenced by the new emphasis on games and militaristic training (40). The 'muscular Christianity' of Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley led to an increased emphasis on physical strength, resulting in a cult of athleticism by the end of the century (Richards 103-4). This emphasis on athleticism of course coincided with and resulted in the first modern Olympics in 1896.

Coincident with the increasing emphasis on physical health and the beginnings of fears about imperial decline and a crisis in masculinity were the beginnings of efforts to "organize the leisure and...character structure of Britain's rising generation" (Rosenthal 230). If something was to be done about reversing the degeneration of the British working-class male, then it would have to be targeted at boys. Seth Koven comments that "reformers saw working-class boys as the material out of which they could forge ideal citizens" (368). The first significant youth organization arose out of the YMCA in Glasgow: the Boys' Brigade of William Smith held its first

meeting in October 1883. Smith sought to extend the muscular Christianity of Hughes and Kingsley to working-class teenage boys who were too old to attend Sunday school. It was an attempt to demonstrate the manliness of Christianity (Springhall 1987: 54-5). The relative success[7] of the nondenominational Boys' Brigade inspired many sectarian imitators, such as the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade (1891), the Jewish Lads' Brigade (1895), the Catholic Boys' Brigade (1896), and the Boys' Life Brigade (1899) (Rosenthal 234-6).

In addition to the various brigades there were also men's settlement houses, first established in the 1880s. Young Oxford and Cambridge graduates moved to the settlement houses in the inner city where they could remain within the all-male world of their university experience, and extend their values to the working-class boys among whom they lived (Koven 365). However, these houses were not uniformly successful, and certainly not uncomplicated by sexual desire on the part of the young graduates. Particularly noteworthy was the Repton Club, in which the university graduates were vicariously implicated in the quite often criminal acts of the club's "rough lad" members, who had been purposefully recruited (365-376).

Certainly the most successful, and still significant,

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[7]There were over 60,000 members throughout Britain by 1910.

youth movement was Baden-Powell's Boy Scout movement. As Rosenthal points out, "Scouting was from the very beginning conceived as a remedy to Britain's moral, physical, and military weakness" (3). Baden-Powell envisioned Scouting as "a character factory" (in Rosenthal 6); for him "[b]ecoming a Scout [was] a step towards manhood" (MacDonald 1993: 137). The Scouting movement began after the extremely successful publication of the first edition of Scouting for Boys in 1908. This bible of the Scouting movement was originally conceived as a rewrite of his popular guide to military scouting, Aids to Scouting (1899), but became an introduction to the ideology of Scouting. As Rosenthal writes, "In a sense the handbook *is* the movement, defining the total universe of the Scouts, its priorities, practices, and principles" (161). It was explicitly a text concerned with masculinity: "Its orientation was aggressively masculine, its mission to save boys from the sapping habits of domestic and urban life" (MacDonald 1993: 8). As Baden-Powell wrote, "It aims to teach the boys how to live, not merely how to make a living" (9).

How could this task be achieved? For Baden-Powell the answer to that question was simple: the frontier. Baden-Powell had always been enthusiastic about "the natural equality and uncluttered nature of colonial life" (Warren 1986: 239). In his writings "life on the frontier...was held up as exemplary, as a place where individual freedom and

talent could be best cultivated, and where an active and healthy (if philistine) citizenry developed" (240). Life in the colonies was "youthful and vigorous...uncluttered by social class or convention" (241). This viewpoint was not unique to Baden-Powell; by the 1890s intellectuals in both Britain and America were "extoll[ing] nature's tonic freshness and its virile impetus" as a remedy to the virility-sapping city (Kimmel 139-140). The frontier was a regenerative space which "could redeem the fortunes of those fallen from high estate, improve the lot of the lowly [and] provide an arena for moral and military heroism" (Slotkin 40). The frontier was possibly "the last hope for the manhood of Britain. There, nature, in its most pristine state, was left still uncontaminated" (MacDonald 1993: 17).

The European, and male, inhabitants of the frontier, the frontiersmen, became the ideal of imperial masculinity for Baden-Powell and the Boy Scouts. Scouting was defined as "the work and attributes of backwoodsmen, explorers, and frontiersmen" (Baden-Powell 13). These frontiersmen were "real *men* in every sense of the word" (19); they were "among the most generous and chivalrous of their race, especially towards women and weaker folk. They become 'gentle men' by their contact with Nature" (59). This valorization of the frontiersman continued the Victorian practice of holding up explorers as "models for the instruction of the young and the

inspiration of all" (Hammond and Jablow 1977: 52), although without the often heavy-handed Christian overtones of the Victorians. The new imperial heroes were those who "hold the dykes of social progress against a rising deluge of barbarism which threatens every moment to overflow the banks and drown them all" (Churchill, Malakand 62).

Not the least important aspect of the frontier for Baden-Powell and other masculinist intellectuals of the time was the absence of women. As Hyam notes, "The nineteenth-century empire was a distinctly masculine affair" (38), and Baden-Powell argued that the values of men and women were contradictory. He said: "Manliness...can only be taught by men" (in MacDonald 1993: 123-4). In fact, by the late-Victorian period the separation of boys from girls was increasingly thought to be necessary in order to produce masculine men (Kimmel 145). MacDonald argues that the frontiersman was a figure who was "on the run from women and sexuality itself" (1993: 40), and was therefore a suitable, and one might say representative[8], figure. The outdoors, the Boy Scouts' substitute for the frontier, was "a sufficiently safe retreat from the enfeebling presence of the feminine"

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[8]Ronald Hyam describes the 'a-sexuality' of many significant imperial administrators, soldiers, etc., and argues that Scouting was the result of Baden-Powell's sexual repression (41). In addition, Jeffrey Richards notes that "[m]any of the great men of Empire were essentially boy-men" (107).

(61). As well, <u>Scouting for Boys</u> cites the 'primitive' rites of passage of the Zulus and Swazis as models for the production of a proper masculinity (Baden-Powell 59). The frontier represented a space safe from the 'domesticizing' aspects of England, in which boys could become men. As Michael Kimmel puts it, the "Boy Scouts celebrated a masculinity tested and proven against nature and other men, removed from the cultural restraints of home, hearth, school, and church" (148).

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Inextricably linked with the valorization of the frontier is the idealization of war. As Robert MacDonald argues, during this age of 'modern' imperialism there was a shift from a "Christian social morality" to a patriotic, and thence militaristic, ideology. Empire-building was a means of arresting the decline of society, and of masculinity (1993: 170). In America, at the same time, war was seen as "a remedy for feminized men" (Kimmel 147). War was a means of proving superior British masculinity. As John Ruskin said, war

> determines *who is the best man*;--who is the highest bred, the most self-denying, the most fearless, the coolest of nerve, the swiftest of eye and hand. You cannot test these qualities, unless there is a clear possibility of the struggle's ending in death. It is only in the fronting of that condition that the full trial of the man, soul and body, comes out.
> ("War" 104-5)

War determined who was the best man, as well as whose culture was stronger. The popular social Darwinism of the day led to the conclusion that in war "the fittest team survived, the side with the superior civilization" (MacDonald 1990: 27). Furthermore, war was healthily natural. Ruskin defined war as "beautiful play" (97-8) and saw fighting as a "fixed instinct" (103): "All healthy men like fighting, and like the sense of danger; all brave women like to hear of their fighting, and of their facing danger" (103).

Throughout his war journalism Winston Churchill consistently contrasts the life of war with that of the city, and he consistently prefers the "healthier atmosphere of war" (Boer War 234). For example, during the Boer War he wrote:

> Those who live under the conditions of a civilised city, who lie abed till nine and ten of the clock in artificially darkened rooms, gain luxury at the expense of joy. But the soldier, who fares simply, sleeps soundly, and rises with the morning star, wakes in an elation of body and spirit without an effort and with scarcely a yawn...Here life itself, life at its best and healthiest, awaits the caprice of the bullet...Existence is never so sweet as when it is at hazard.
> (Boer War 152)

Elsewhere he described "the compensations of war":

> The healthy, open-air life, the vivid incidents, the excitement, not only of realisation, but of anticipation, the generous and cheery friendships, the chances of distinction which are open to all, invest life with keener interests, and rarer pleasures (Malakand 174).

War provides opportunities for "splendid act[s] of courage" (Malakand 79-80) and "the responsibilities and dangers of an Empire produce" high-quality soldiers and administrators (55). War is a rite of passage instilling and enhancing manhood: "Thirty-seven years of soldiering...have steeled alike muscle and nerve," Churchill wrote of Sir Bindon Blood (Malakand 55). Churchill's fellow war correspondent, G.W. Steevens, agreed. For Steevens, war "was 'like a coming of age, turning boys into men'" (MacKenzie 1992: 16).

Colonial warfare provided an opportunity that had been lost as a result of the new techniques of modern mass warfare. It was warfare with little guilt and relatively little danger (MacKenzie 1992: 3). The perception was that colonial battles involved relatively few combatants, returning combat closer to the level of a one-on-one contest and individual heroism (5-6). For Ruskin (in the 1860s), this allowed combat to be chivalrous once again (99-100). However, by the end of the century even colonial warfare had lost some of its glamour. In 1900 Churchill complained that "a modern action is very disappointing as a spectacle" (Boer War 146) and thirty years later he described the Battle of Omdurman as "the last link in the long chain of those spectacular conflicts whose vivid and majestic splendour has done so much to invest war with glamour" (Roving 171). Yet, at the turn of the century frontier wars were still felt by Churchill to play an

important part in the maintenance of the Empire. They were of the "greatest value" in making Britain's soldiers into "effective fighting machines" (Malakand 184).

Robert MacDonald points out that the metaphor of war as sport, and sport as war, was common in the late nineteenth century (1990: 18). Churchill eulogized a fellow officer as being "a fine soldier and a good sportsman" (Malakand 81), making the connection explicit. For Churchill war was a "splendid game" in which death provided the "sporting element" (Roving 180). Hunting was also directly implicated in the imperial project and its necessary companion, the frontier war. Marcel Detienne points out that hunting is often linked to war (in Green 1993: 18). Baden-Powell considered hunting to be "the essence of the pioneering spirit, the source of all the attributes that prepared the peace scout for war" (MacKenzie 1987: 178). Hunting was a sign of the virile, imperial male, ready to defend his Empire and fight for it (179). Teaching boys to shoot and hunt, and, significantly, to kill, was seen as essential in the training of the Empire's future soldiers (MacKenzie 1988: 42). The fact that both sports and hunting were explicitly implicated in the militarism of the imperialist project and their prominence within late-Victorian and Edwardian culture indicate the extent to which British culture was infused with an imperialist and militaristic ethos.

The frontier wars also played a significant role in the metropolis, at home. Ben Shephard notes that "[e]very colonial war was almost instantly replayed for the audience in Britain and soldiers with a talent for public speaking--like Baden-Powell--became public personalities" [94]. The relative lack of casualties and frontier wars' distance from home turned them into "big box office" (MacKenzie 1992: 8). This transformation of war into spectacular entertainment was largely the result of the war correspondents and the war artists. Artists like Melton Prior "developed their own brand of adventure story disguised as news, with themselves often cast as the heroes in the events they portrayed or, on occasion, wrote about" (Springhall 1986: 54) and writers such as G.W. Steevens and Winston Churchill also became war celebrities. The war correspondent was portrayed as a hero; he was "a dashing adventurer who bravely risked death to bring battle news and...sometimes died on service" (Stearn 151) and, as is the case with Winston Churchill, often fought alongside those soldiers whose deeds they were chronicling. Churchill's personal exploits were often at the centre of his war reportage, such as his capture by and escape from the Boers (Boer War 45-92). To make his stories more exciting he invited the reader to imaginatively recreate the events for

himself[9]. For example, he invites the reader to recreate the
sound of Mauser musketry by drumming "the fingers of both his
hands on a wooden table" (<u>Boer War</u> 187). After describing his
leaving the field of action behind he invites the reader to
return to it on his own: "He is free and his imagination may
lead him back to the highland valleys, where he may continue
for a space among camps and men, and observe the conclusion of
the drama" (<u>Malakand</u> 185). War correspondents and artists
provided the raw (more or less) material from which writers of
fiction and fact created their own descriptions of the
frontier and its wars (Stearn 157). Further, their romantic
descriptions of the exploits of both themselves and those they
were covering quite often resembled, and were nearly
indistinguishable from, the imperial adventures that filled
many bookshelves. They mythologized the frontier as a space
of romance and adventure in which men could perform manly
activities, and thus played a crucial role in creating the
cultural context in which imperial adventures were written and
read.

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The Empire also served a significant imaginative role
as a space of opportunity for those constrained in one way or
another by the social regulation of British society. A degree

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[9]The implied reader is clearly specifically male.

of this 'opportunity' can be summed up as being the result of white male privilege[10]. Commenting on his life in India as a young officer, Winston Churchill notes: "Princes could live no better than we" (Roving 103). While recognizing that his princely life was largely due to the labours of his native servants, he seems untroubled by the fact that "[f]or a humble wage...there was nothing they would not do" (103). However, that rather banal form of opportunity is superseded in significance by forms of opportunity that represent, to a certain extent, a challenge to Victorian morality and socio-political regulation. Martin Green suggests that "all human societies have a center where their laws are promulgated and revered, and a frontier where they are partially ignored" (1991: 36). This seems to have been particularly true with regard to sexual behaviour. Ronald Hyam argues that the Empire provided the opportunity for sexual indulgence away from the repressive gaze of Victorian and Edwardian England. At the same time as the House of Commons passed the Labouchere

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[10]However, it must be recognized that the frontier and the colonies also provided opportunity for women. Hammond and Jablow note that British women often took the chance to "behave like gentlemen and sportsmen" (1977: 191); the closer women lived to the outer limits of the Empire the more gender distinctions broke down (Strobel 14). This freedom from gender restrictions was certainly not unproblematic as, to some extent, it was based on the racial hierarchy present in the colonies (Strobel 37). Also, the role of women in the colonies was often to recreate the social boundaries found in Britain (9). However, the very fact that a single woman such as Mary Kingsley could and did travel through West Africa without white male accompaniment, and publish an account of it, represents a clear challenge to the regulation of women, and to the gender restrictions of the metropolis. This thesis, however, is not the place to discuss the Empire's impact on women in any depth.

amendment, making all sexual activity between males illegal (57), the Empire served as "an ideal arena for the practice of sexual variation" (5-6). H.A.C. Cairns observes that "there was a partial equation of frontier life...with sexual freedom and indulgence"; the frontier was "a no-man's land in terms of moral conduct" (in Hyam 107). Hyam documents many cases of sexual relations between imperial administrators or soldiers and native boys, as well as native women.

In fact, "Oriental sex" had become a significant commodity in Western consumption of the Orient. Edward Said notes that "the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe" (1979: 190). This freedom was greatest at the furthest reaches of the Empire (Hyam 2). Of course, one must not fail to recognize that this freedom was for the most part only experienced by Europeans[11]. As Mark Berger points out, the sexual opportunity afforded to white men, for the most part, certainly must have necessitated the exploitation of native boys and women. The negative consequences should not be understated, but at the same time the challenge to Victorian morality presented by "the

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[11]Unfortunately, Hyam, for the most part, fails to recognize the suffering and exploitation, physical, economical, and mental, occasioned by the sexual opportunity he sees the Empire as providing. This failure and his often quite obvious nostalgic enthusiasm for the 'good old days' certainly legitimates Mark Berger's blunt criticisms.

temporary autonomous zones"[12] provided by the frontier must be considered.

A reading of the Empire as a realm of sexual opportunity suggests a Freudian interpretation in which the Empire serves as a space in which that which is normally repressed, whether by society or by self-regulation, can be acted out. It was a dumping ground of unwanted sexual desires and behaviours. Said points out that the Empire served as a literal dumping ground for the metropolis: "[C]olonial possessions...were useful as places to send wayward sons, superfluous populations of delinquents, poor people, and other undesirables" (1979: 190). Similarly, James Mill described the Empire as "a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes" (in Green 1993: 49). On the frontier men could act out their deepest impulses without directly challenging the authority of Victorian culture. Thomas Pynchon writes:

> Colonies are the outhouses of the European soul, where a fellow can let his pants down and relax, enjoy the smell of his own shit...in the colonies, life can be indulged, life and sensuality in all its forms, with no harm done to the Metropolis
> (317).

In this reading, then, the opportunities provided by the Empire provide a means of containing threats to itself; when

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[12]A temporary autonomous zone is a temporal and/or geographical space which is temporarily outside the social and political regulation of the centre, for example eighteenth-century pirate utopias [Bey 97-99].

homosexuality is 'discovered' it is criminalized at home and expelled into the vastness of the Empire.

Emigration to the frontier or the colonies was often seen as a transformative experience, particularly for those of the lower classes (Hammond and Jablow 1977: 81; Hyam 91). Upon her arrival in British North America, Susanna Moodie reprovingly recognized the new moral space into which she has entered (20-21) and noted the transformative impact of this new moral space on the behaviour of her fellow passengers on the voyage across the Atlantic:

> And here I must observe that our passengers, who were chiefly honest Scotch labourers and mechanics from the vicinity of Edinburgh, and who while on board ship had conducted themselves with the greatest propriety, and appeared the most quiet, orderly set of people in the world, no sooner set foot upon the island [Grosse Isle] than they became infected by the same spirit of insubordination and misrule, and were just as insolent and noisy as the rest.
>
> (21)

She recognizes that the societal conventions and interpersonal relationships of her old life had broken down in this new land. This perception makes clear the challenge that colonial society represented to the regulatory gaze of the metropolis.

When considering the colonies and frontiers of the British Empire, it is necessary to take into account by whom the boundaries are defined. Said argues that "imperialism has monopolized the entire system of representation" (1993: 25).

The British Empire was a construction of the British, and Britain's definition of the world was imposed upon its possessions, by force if necessary. For example, Victorian explorer Richard Burton defined what he called the "Sotadic Zone" as a space of transgressive sexuality. This Sotadic Zone included the Mediterranean, North and Central Africa, the Near East, Northern India, and the Far East (Showalter 81-2). Burton's "imaginative geography" (Said 1979: 51) of a large chunk of the world was simply part of the Orientalist tradition in Western thought, by which Western intellectuals labelled and defined the Orient. Said argues that "[t]he Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences" (1979: 1). Similarly, Hammond and Jablow note that Africa was "a field for the free play of European fantasy" (1977: 13) and was often represented in feminine terms (71-2)[13]. This Western imposition upon the non-Western world allowed it to contain the non-Western challenge to Western culture. By "postulating an Orient which is exotic in form, while being in reality profoundly similar to the Occident" (Barthes 101), the West is able to see the other as either a pale reflection of itself or as a perversion (Said 1979: 68-73). By mythologizing a particular vision of

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[13]This gendered reading of Africa will become particularly significant in considering H. Rider Haggard.

the rest of the world, Western Europe naturalises its actions towards and in the rest of the world[14]. Winston Churchill noted that to a generation previous to his "the East meant the gateway to the adventures and conquests of England" (Roving 122). For Churchill, exotic lands were "regions of possibility" (Boer War 18) for the British. In discussing South Africa, he refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the land's use by the "indolent Kaffir" and envisions South Africa as a land able to offer "even the most unfortunate citizen of the Empire fresh air and open opportunity" (19). This "eracing the space" (Roderick 149) is the process by which British culture, in this case, discursively delegitimates the natives' right to the land and legitimates its own use of that land, and of its inhabitants. Specifically, it allows Churchill to imagine South Africa as a landscape to be managed by British manhood.

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Since J.A. Hobson's classic work, Imperialism (1902), critics have drawn the connection between the adventure story and the imperial project (Green 1993: 49). In Martin Green's memorable, and often quoted, phrase, adventure stories were "the energizing myth of English imperialism" (1979: 3). As

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[14]I am using myth in the sense employed by Roland Barthes: "[M]yth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal" [155].

"the story England told itself as it went to sleep at night" (3), it is no surprise that the high period of the adventure story, 1880-1914, (Green 1991: 36) coincides with the period of 'modern' imperialism. The connection is particularly significant because of its programmatic nature. As Robert MacDonald points out, "The adventure story writes a program for imperialism" (1990: 26). It is "the means by which the people of one particular culture have taken possession of most of the globe" (Green 1993: 226). All readers are thereby implicated in the imperialist project by virtue of their role as "imaginative adventurers" (Green 1991: 158).

Martin Green, the leading theorizer of adventure literature, defines adventure as "a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in settings remote from the domestic and probably from the civilized...which constitute a challenge to the central character". In meeting that challenge the adventurer performs heroic acts, exhibiting "courage, fortitude, cunning, strength, leadership, and persistence" (1979: 23). As the adventurer often defeats his enemies through 'superior' knowledge and technology, it is, significantly, also an assertion of the modern society over the 'primitive' (23).

Adventure stories are also explicitly "masculinist" in nature (Green 1991: 3). Adventure heroes are "emblems of masculinism" who only truly come to life in the conditions of

adventure: "storm, shipwreck, mutiny, savagery, and danger"
(65). The adventure story shows its readers boys becoming
men, meeting the challenges that are the rites of passage
separating boyhood from manhood (41). Green argues that men
read adventures to imaginatively prepare themselves for the
challenges that the frontier represents (36). They are an
imaginative rite of passage.

John Ruskin argued for a masculinist and martial art.
"War," he said, is "the foundation of all great art" (93) and
art inevitably declines in times of peace (96). The adventure
story is explicitly martial and masculinist. To use Peter
Schwenger's term, it is "a masculine mode" of expression; it
is "an attempt to render a certain *maleness of experience*"
(102). Elaine Showalter characterizes the rise of the
adventure novel as "men's literary revolution" against the
female dominance of the novel (78-9). At the time it was
explicitly characterized as masculine; Robert Louis Stevenson
was called the "father of the modern masculine novel" by Conan
Doyle (in Showalter 79) and Andrew Lang praised this "exotic"
literature for its virility (in Green 1980: 233). It
represented a mythologized escape to a world in which the
constraining feminine influence was absent (Showalter 81). In
fact, women were directly excluded from the adventure story.
They were stories about men, written and narrated by men,

implicitly and explicitly intended for male readers (83)[15]. These men were, of course, of a specific class, were all gentlemen. As Michael Nerlich points out, the quest for adventure is a marker of class (6).

A significant aspect of the adventure story is its emphasis on the male body. Schwenger identifies the primacy of the body as a defining characteristic of the masculine mode (102). Green notes that the adventure tale pays as much attention to the body as does the love story (1991: 19). This emphasis often has erotic connotations, and can represent homoerotic desire as well as a desire for the identity signified by a tanned face and muscled body, that of a frontiersman (Green 1993: 6). The eroticized, healthy male body is a sign of adventure.

As with the frontier, adventure exists outside the social order. To legitimate the adventure as a socially approved act, the adventurers must be of the proper class to undertake the adventure (Nerlich 7) and the adventurer must be seen as acting on behalf of his society and its values (Green 1993: 190-191). In other words, for the adventure to be contained within the Victorian and Edwardian moral and social universe, it must be undertaken by gentlemen on behalf of God,

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[15]When women are present they are relegated to being "the disturbance, the distraction, the reward, the decoration, the horizon point, for the heroes of this male enterprise" (Green 1991: 58).

the Queen (or King), and all of Britain.

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Said notes that "the enterprise of empire depends upon the *idea of having an empire*" (1993: 11). The three authors who will be examined in the remainder of this thesis each played a significant role in promulgating the idea of Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each of them imagined the Empire in a different way, but they were consistent in their representation of the frontier as a masculine space and in their implication of British masculinity with the imperial project. It is this implication of masculinity with an often exploitive and oppressive imperialism, and the frontier's role in formulating that connection, that will be the focus of my discussion in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO:

H. RIDER HAGGARD

According to Hammond and Jablow, the romances of H. Rider Haggard "have been incorporated into the mystique of Africa" (1977: 118). For their late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century audiences they defined the space that was (and still is) labelled 'Africa'. As Morton Cohen puts it, "For many Englishmen, Africa became the Africa of King Solomon's Mines" (94). Indeed, Haggard's romances played a crucial role in defining the Empire, particularly its African possessions, for his audience. As Wendy Katz writes, "With its imaginative renderings of African people, geography, and history, his fiction gave the Empire a semblance of reality to the British at home" (153).

Haggard's imaginative act, of course, was not without its consequences in the material world. As Tom Pocock notes, "Rider Haggard became the spur to imagination which would produce achievements both within and beyond the boundaries of his own conceptions" (247). Although Haggard's romances may not have directly portrayed or agitated for the British colonial Africa that did develop, they certainly helped to provide the imaginative space that made it possible. Cohen

notes that Graham Greene cited <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> as influencing his decision to seek a colonial career, and "there were undoubtedly many other young Englishmen before Greene in whom Haggard awakened a thirst for adventure that helped settle the Empire" (231). On his African visit of 1914 Haggard came face to face with the results of his imagination. He was given a tour of Rider Haggard Street and met "ex-patriots who [were] lured to Africa by the imaginative power of his fiction" (Siemens 156). Haggard's romances particularly influenced the desire to fill in the blank spaces in the European map of Africa, specifically those areas north of the settled areas of South Africa. John MacKenzie argues that many of the members of the Pioneer Column that set out to colonize this area in 1890 "were lured northwards by the complex myth of Central Africa, incorporating gold, adventure, and the Hunt. Several proclaimed themselves as influenced by the popular literature of the period, [such as] the works of Rider Haggard..." (1988: 131). Haggard imagined those areas beyond the furthest frontiers of the Empire and, as he wrote, "imagination has often proved to be the precursor of the truth" (<u>Days</u> I: 242).

This chapter will examine Haggard's first three romances: <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> (1885), its sequel, <u>Allan Quatermain</u> (1887), and <u>She</u> (1887); particularly in terms of placing them within a "discourse of imperial virility" (Stolar

1). It is my contention that Haggard enabled the expansion of the Empire through his acts of imagination, and that in his romances the frontier and masculinity were inextricably intertwined in the production of an "energizing myth" of expansion.

<p style="text-align:center">* * * * *</p>

King Solomon's Mines was published in 1885 to enthusiastic critical and popular response. Along with Robert Louis Stevenson, who had published Treasure Island in 1883, Haggard was hailed by Andrew Lang for returning "King Romance" to his throne. W.E. Henley praised Haggard for rescuing "the novel from arid 'analysis of character' and [making] it green again" (Showalter 79). As Cohen writes,

> For too long the reader's attention had been trained on London slums, prison houses, artists' attics, Manchester mills, and village vicarages, and King Solomon's Mines was one of the books that offered a 'way out.'
>
> (96)

Promoted as "the most amazing story ever written" (Cohen 87), it "reclaim[ed] the kingdom of the English novel for male writers, male readers, and men's stories" (Showalter 79) and articulated men's desires and fears.

Along with many of his contemporaries, Haggard was deeply concerned about what he saw as the deterioration of the Anglo-Saxon race. A member of the rural gentry, he blamed this deterioration on the migration of rural people to the

cities. For Haggard, as he wrote in 1902, this migration meant "nothing less than the progressive deterioration of the race" (Rural England 541). The cause of this deterioration, the problem facing all 'civilized' countries, was the "glutted, foul, menacing" city (Days II: 188). "The problem then is: the Poor *in* the Cities, and the answer to it should be, the Poor *on* the Land, where they would cease to be poor" (188). For Haggard one means of achieving this shift back to the land from the cities was through emigration to the colonies, particularly Rhodesia (Green 1993: 174). The colonies provided the necessary land for the poor to make a new life for themselves. They provided a space in which to re-establish the old rural order. Katz argues: "For those like Haggard, who faced the passing of a rural existence, the imperial landscape became more and more appealing. One could easily transfer one's sympathies to the non-industrial--hence more satisfying and enlivening--refuge of Empire" (31).

Patrick Brantlinger notes that fears of decadence increased as the nineteenth century drew to a close, culminating, as has already been discussed, with the panic resulting from the fiasco that was the Boer War. He cites Allan Quatermain as one of the first texts to explicitly address concerns about racial and cultural decadence (33). In the introduction to Allan Quatermain, the first sequel to King Solomon's Mines, Quatermain describes England as a country in

which real men have no place. As a frontiersman he does not
fit "in this prim English country, with its trim hedgerows and
cultivated fields, its stiff formal manners, and its well-
dressed crowds"; his "heart arises in rebellion against the
strict limits of the civilised life" (419). Although the
modern institutions have great advantages, the ease and safety
which they provide inevitably lead to the deterioration of
society. Civilization has hospitals, "but then, remember, we
breed the sickly people who fill them. In a savage land they
do not exist" (420). In England "Good has been running to fat
in a most disgraceful way" as a result of "idleness and over-
feeding" (423). Sir Henry Curtis is tired of the "insipid"
life in England, where he is a "squire in a country that is
sick of squires" (424). Even Milosis, the Frowning City, is
not a place for a warrior. As Umslopogaas tells Quatermain,

> "[H]ere is not my place...I love not this
> soft life in stone houses that takes the
> heart out of a man, and turns his strength to
> water and his flesh to fat...When we fought
> the Masai at the kraal yonder, ah, then life
> was worth the living..."
> (580-1)

The narrator of She, Ludwig Horace Holly, similarly describes
England as lacking vitality. He describes the academic
comrades he has left behind in England as "fossils" and
continues: "[M]y experience is that people are apt to
petrify, even at a University, if they follow the same paths
too persistently. I was becoming fossilised myself but of

late my stock of ideas had been very much enlarged" (72). The frontier is valorized as a space that can provide new ideas, new challenges. As Holly tells Billali, "We came to find new things...We are tired of the old things; we have risen up out of the sea to know that which is unknown" (73)[1]. Holly's statement is definitive of an Englishman in Haggard's terms. Quatermain explicitly states that "Englishmen are adventurers to the backbone" (Quatermain 490). To explore the world and create new settlements is simply to be English; it is natural.

Robert MacDonald notes that the typical Haggard romance begins with "this fraternity of honest Englishmen together sensing that something is dead in the dreary December of England, and that life is to be fought for in the 'wild land' of Africa" (1993: 51). At the beginning of Allan Quatermain all three adventurers express the degree to which they feel confined and trapped by Britain and its society. They are unlike the vast majority of their fellow Britons, who "have forgotten, sheltered as they have been, [about] nature and their own deeper nature. [Haggard's] characters who have lived adventurous lives abroad feel very out of place in England" (Green 1991: 178). They are men who do not fit in the city, but belong out on the veldt. Curtis is always

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[1]A similar statement is made in Allan Quatermain. Quatermain tells Umslopogaas: "[W]e go to hunt and seek adventures, and new places, being tired of sitting still, with the same old things around us" (430).

dreaming of the adventures described in <u>King Solomon's Mines</u>

(<u>Quatermain</u> 424), while Quatermain

> long[s] to see the moonlight gleaming silvery
> white over the wide veldt and mysterious sea
> of bush, and watch the lines of game
> travelling down the ridges to the water...[He
> longs] for the keen breath of the desert air;
> [he dreams] of the sight of Zulu impis
> breaking on their foes like surf upon rocks.
> (419)

This is the theatre of manhood; the space in which men could

be men. In <u>She</u>, Ayesha says: "My empire is of the

imagination" (147). Ayesha is in a similar position to the

British in that she is one woman controlling an entire people

while the British are just a few controlling the vast masses

of the subject peoples. However, the phrase is suggestive of

much more than Ayesha explicitly articulates. Imperialism is

also an imaginative act on the part of the imperial people.

Thus the material failures that seemed to be facing the

British Empire must have had at their root an imaginative

failure. Haggard lays the blame "at the door of our national

lack of imagination: we cannot embody in our minds or provide

against that of which we have had no recent experience" (<u>Days</u>

II: 98). This is the result of living within the "narrow

world" of Britain, in which "adventure...is a limited

quantity" (<u>Days</u> II: 90). The romance writer's job, then, is

to provide this world of adventure for his[2] readers; to free their imaginative being from the dull realities of their material existence. Quatermain makes this objective explicit near the beginning of King Solomon's Mines. One of the reasons he gives for writing his narrative is to amuse his son, Harry. He writes: "Hospital work must sometimes rather pall and get rather dull...and as this history won't be dull...it may put a little life into things for a day or two while he is reading it" (8). Morton Cohen notes that King Solomon's Mines

> let the reader turn his back on the
> troublesome, the small, the sordid;
> and...took him on a journey to the Empire's
> frontier to perform mighty deeds he could
> believe in.
> (96)

On the frontier

> [n]ot all is daily drudgery...not all is
> narrow living yoked by political intrigue and
> high finance--freedom and excitement still
> dwell upon the heights or on the horizon, at
> least in the imagination.
> (220)

Haggard's romances provided an escape for the Victorian reader, for in their pages readers could "breathe the large air of a better and nobler world than [their] own" (R.L. Green 148). The adventures undergone by Haggard's characters

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[2]As already noted, given the late-Victorian concept of 'romance' and Haggard's own understanding of the genre the author must explicitly be male, as must the reader.

provided a means by which readers could imaginatively rehearse their own masculinity outside the stifling confines of British society.

Africa is a transformative space. In <u>She</u>, Holly is nearly instantaneously transformed from a mathematician cloistered with his books to a virile fighting man who overcomes many physical challenges. He is "gifted...with iron and abnormal strength" (19), but England provides no arena for the performance of his physical strength. The transformation begins in Chapter Four, "The Squall", as Holly contrasts his former life in Cambridge with his present situation:

> Gone are the quiet College rooms, gone the
> wind-swayed English elms, the cawing rooks,
> and the familiar volumes on the shelves, and
> in their place rises a vision of the great
> calm ocean gleaming in shaded silver lights
> beneath the beams of a full African moon.
> (51)

Holly has moved from the safe confines of his college rooms to the immensity of the ocean, signalling the removal of limitations and restrictions on his actions. This is a world that is empty and unconquered. While Holly did not fit into the 'civilized' society of Cambridge, due to his ugliness, he is at home in Africa. His dark, tough skin and hairiness allow him to withstand the onslaught of mosquitoes (67-8). His physical strength is now valuable: "[F]or the first time in my life the great physical power with which Nature has endowed me stood me in good stead" (91); he uses that physical

strength to "slowly crush the life" out of two attackers (92)
and to rescue Billali from drowning (106). It is only in
Africa that Holly becomes a virile man, a real man. As Katz
points out, "Haggard lets the physical immensity of Africa
enlarge the man" (67). According to D.S. Higgins, Africa
caused a similar transformation in the character of Haggard:

> In Africa he found the essential elements
> hitherto absent in his life--responsibility,
> respect, justified praise, much adventure,
> and the companionship of influential men...an
> inadequate, uncertain boy was to turn into a
> man of passion and determination who would
> become one of the outstanding successes of
> his generation.
>
> (16)

Karen Michalson further notes that, upon his initial return to
England in 1879, "he lost much of the status of his newly-
acquired manhood" (175). Like one of G.A. Henty's heroes,
then, Haggard could only become a man in the colonies. His
romances served a similar function for those who could not
venture out into the Empire. Martin Green notes that
Haggard's readers became, or were at least assisted in
becoming, gentlemen "by going through the fires of savagery in
their imagination as an initiation" (1991: 180).

In one respect Haggard's romances reverse Henty's
formula. While Henty's heroes become men in the imperial
space, Haggard's heroes often revert to their boyhood. After
all, Quatermain dedicates his narrative "to all the big and
little boys who read it" (Mines 1), implying that boyhood is

not simply a matter of age but is accessible to his adult male readers, at least within the pages of his story. Cohen argues that "Haggard takes us back to the bold, uncomplicated world of the nursery" (220), and Brantlinger notes that "Africa was a setting where...British men, like Haggard's heroes, could behave like boys with impunity" (190). Haggard's Africa is a world in which men can return to a world of play and adventure; they can hunt and kill as much as they wish.

More significantly, Africa is a space of temporal regression. In the introduction to his eponymous narrative Quatermain reminds his readers that they are nineteen parts savage and one part civilized: "[W]e must look to the nineteen savage portions of our nature, if we would really understand ourselves, and not to the twentieth". Civilization is simply "the veneer on the table", disguising our savage nature. In periods of crisis, however, it is the savagery upon which we must rely (421). As Martin Green points out, "Haggard saw the value of savagery, especially for a ruling race" (1980: 230). The savage inside the gentleman must stay ready to defend civilization. Norman Etherington notes that "Haggard's adventurers proceed from present-day Europe toward an encounter with the past in Africa. The past they encounter is their own past. Centuries, even millennia, are stripped away in the course of each quest" (1984: 52). It is in the depths of Kôr that Leo truly realizes that he is the

reincarnation of Kallikrates (She 192-6), who died over two thousand years ago. Sir Henry Curtis is explicitly equated with the ancient Danes, who in turn are described as "a kind of white Zulus" (Mines 11); further, the similarities between Curtis and Umbopa are made explicit on a number of occasions (Mines 49; 65). A reproduction of the Kukuana steel shirt that fit Sir Henry's "magnificent frame like a glove" (Mines 158) fits Umslopogaas "like a skin" (Quatermain 471), thus making the comparison between Curtis and the 'noble savage' in each romance (Umbopa and Umslopogaas) explicit. Malcolm Elwin points out that in Victorian times beards and moustaches were the fashion because they signalled the superiority of men over women and connected Victorian men to their primal selves, such as the Vikings (23). Both Good and Curtis have beards and Holly is described as being hairy. In fact, Good's half-shaved beard plays a crucial role in the plot, playing a significant role in convincing the natives of the white men's status as gods (Mines 112). The adventurers' savage roots are further signalled by their being given Zulu names by their native servants: Bougwan (Good), Incubu (Curtis), and Macumazahn (Quatermain). This duality of identity is reinforced in Allan Quatermain when Quatermain introduces Curtis and Good to Umslopogaas by their Zulu names (430), and then by the fact that they continue to use these names, even though they are presumably just as foreign to Zu-Vendis as

English names would be.

That the adventures of Quatermain and his companions are taking place in a different time, as well as space, is further indicated by the manner in which the speech of the Africans is represented. As H.F. Ellis notes, they speak in a noticeably archaic form of English, "in the prose of the Authorized Version" (in Katz 145). This archaism is further accentuated through the comparisons Haggard makes between Kukuanaland and Zu-Vendis and Europe's past. For instance, Nyleptha is described as "a Zu-Vendi Henry the Eighth" (<u>Allan Quatermain</u> 591). As well, the adventures take place against a background of ruins alleged to be the remains of ancient white civilizations (Etherington 1984: 52)[3]. Haggard brings his heroes face to face with their past, which is assumed to be a time when the 'white race' was more manly.

As already noted, Africa provides an arena for the expression of man's 'true' instincts. The most fundamental, primal instinct, in Haggard's terms, is the fighting instinct. This emphasis was Haggard's innovation: the introduction of "a lyrical or threnodic militarism" to English literature (Green 1980: 233). Haggard addresses this issue in his

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[3]The background of ruined civilizations is also a warning that the British Empire itself is "a thing of transience" (Ellis 7). One wonders about the influence of Haggard on Winston Churchill's own musings about the transience of empire in books like <u>The Story of the Malakand Field Force</u>. As a boy Churchill was a fan of Haggard (Higgins 117).

autobiography. He writes:

> [M]an is a fighting animal...from the time of
> Homer down, and probably for tens of
> thousands of years before it, some of his
> finest qualities--such as patriotism,
> courage, obedience to authority, patience in
> disaster, fidelity to friends and a noble
> cause, endurance, and so forth--have been
> evolved in the exercise of war, as we need go
> no further than the pages of the Old
> Testament to learn.
> (Days II: 103-4)

Fighting, and as a result killing, is a natural and positive

activity. Further, Haggard argues that the fighting valorized

in his romances is much more positive than much of the

violence to be found in the 'civilized' world: "Of which is

it the more harmful to read--of a fight between the splendid

Zulu impis, faithful to death; of old Umslopogaas holding the

stair against overpowering odds; or, let us say, of the

dismemberment of a wife or the massacre of little children by

some human brute or lunatic?" (104-5). Similarly, Umbopa

says: "Kisses and the tender words of women are sweet, but

the sound of the clashing of men's spears, and the smell of

men's blood are sweeter far!" (Mines 178). Umslopogaas echoes

the same statement: "Man is born to kill. He who kills not

when his blood is hot is a woman, and no man. The people who

kill not are slaves" (Quatermain 452); and later says:

"[M]ine is a red trade, yet it is better and more honest than

some. Better is it to slay a man in fair fight than to suck

out his heart's blood in buying and selling and usury after

your white fashion" (581)[4].

These three romances are stories about men, and about the relationships between men. Wayne Koestenbaum points out that, despite the fact that the quest of She is one for a matriarchal goddess, it is really a homosocial text (in Showalter 83). Leo has been raised in the total absence of women. His mother is long dead by the time the reader first meets him at five years old, and Holly wants "no woman to lord it over me about the child, and steal his affections from me" (28). Therefore, Holly hires another man to help him look after Leo. In the first three chapters of the story, those set in Cambridge, there are no women present (except marginally). It is a world from which women are intentionally and studiously excluded. The only exception to this state of affairs occurs when women pay attention to the unsuspecting Leo. His flaw as a man, at least in Holly's eyes, seems to be that he is susceptible to the flattery of women, thus foreshadowing his devotion to Ustane and his inability to resist Ayesha (although Holly is also unable to resist) despite his desire to do so. However, it is the relationship between Holly and Leo which survives, and is strengthened, throughout the story. In Cambridge Leo had defended Holly's

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[4]Michael Moorcock notes that as a 'noble savage' Umslopogaas is able to "utter philosophy which, for reasons of reticence and good breeding, the central characters could not" (112).

honour by thrashing "a strapping butcher's man, twice his size" for insulting Holly (30). Later, during the squall, at the beginning of their quest, Holly saves Leo by catching him as a wave throws him across the deck (55). They fight side by side and overcome all challenges, both 'savages' and nature itself. Leo saves Holly's life again as they are leaving the dead Ayesha behind (245-6). Throughout their quest each other's survival depends upon the bonds between them, and unlike the women characters they are left alive at the end.

The adventures of Quatermain and his companions also reinforce male bonding. Curtis says: "[W]e are three men who will stand together for good or for evil to the last" (Mines 73) and together the three adventurers "undergo a series of punishing tests" (Etherington 1978: 76): the hunt, the extremes of nature, hunger, warfare, and sexual temptation, among others. King Solomon's Mines is an account of the adventurers proving their manhood and building a friendship in a space "removed from the psychological and moral verities of their age" (Etherington 1978: 77), successfully overcoming all challenges and finally returning to England as strong friends. As Etherington points out, the adventurers are forced by these tests into deeper self-knowledge (1978: 77-9). For example, faced with imminent death in the bowels of King Solomon's Mines Quatermain realizes that "wealth, which men spend all

their lives in acquiring, is a valueless thing at the last" (<u>Mines</u> 287).

The greatest challenge to the homosocial relationships described in these romances is represented by women. As Showalter argues, the male romance is about the flight from women and the domestic confines of marriage (82). "<u>She</u>," Showalter writes, "is about the flight from women and male dread of sexual, creative and reproductive power" (83). Women, then, are a threat to masculinity and masculine relationships. In both <u>She</u> and <u>Allan Quatermain</u> two of the adventurers compete for the attentions of women. Against his will, Holly begins to see Leo, virtually his adopted son, as a rival for the affections of Ayesha (<u>She</u> 135), and Good's desire for Sorais must compete with her affection for Curtis (<u>Quatermain</u> 570). According to Holly, marriage is when a man "place[s] his life under the influence of a mysterious creature of evil tendencies" (<u>She</u> 197). Quatermain notes the threat that marriage represents to male relationships:

> [Marriage] mean[s] the breaking-up of so many old ties as well as the undertaking of so many new ones, and there is always something sad about the passing away of the old order...as for the old friends--well, of course they have taken the place that old friends ought to take, and which ladies are as a rule very careful to see they do take when a man marries, and that is, the second place.
> <div align="center">(<u>Quatermain</u> 593)</div>

Marriage transforms men, diminishing them: Curtis "has never

been quite the same since that little scene in the chapel"
(593).

Haggard represents women as having a sinister control
over men. Good "allowed [Sorais] to gain a complete
ascendancy over himself" (Quatermain 579) and Leo fears that
he is "sold into bondage...and [Ayesha] will take my soul as
the price of herself!" (She 196). This lack of masculine
control is emphasized by the fact that in Kôr women choose
their husbands. Through much of the story Leo is passive,
spending much of the narrative unconscious, and under the
control of either Ustane or Ayesha. This control often
threatens to destroy the manhood of those under the spell of
women. As Quatermain notes, "[T]he beauty of a woman is like
the beauty of lightning--a destructive thing and a cause of
desolation" (Quatermain 527). Billali makes a similar point,
citing a proverb that says in part: "[A]s for women, flee
from them, for they are evil, and in the end they will destroy
thee" (She 97). The fear of woman's destructive capacity is
made most explicit by the Amahaggar hotpotting ceremony. The
victim of the ritual must be seduced by a woman in order that
he should believe "that he [is] the object of love and
admiration, and so to soothe his injured feelings, and cause
him to expire in a happy and contented frame of mind" (She
89). After the victim has been fondled and called names of
endearment a red-hot pot is placed upon his head (89-90). As

Gilbert and Gubar point out, this is a "nightmare vision of sexual intercourse" that "enact[s]...both castration fears and birth anxieties" (1989: 14). The feminine aspect of this ceremony is accentuated by the fact that the instrument is a cooking pot. The attempted hotpotting of Mahomed is even more explicitly blamed on the woman, as the reader is told that "it was the woman...who put it into their evil hearts to 'hotpot' him" (She 95). Less gruesomely, Umslopogaas informs Quatermain that he is in exile because he was betrayed by his own wife (Quatermain 429), and he later tells the story to Good as a warning of the "evil" of women (583). The fraternity of male relationships survives the threat posed to it by women, specifically Sorais, when Good refuses to betray his friends to Sorais. He says: "[E]ven to marry her I could not betray my friends" (584).

Along with, and possibly as a result of, the valorization of the homosocial and the representation of the feminine as destructive there is an erotic dimension to the relationships between men. Holly clearly eroticizes Leo throughout She. He comments on Leo's beauty when Leo is only five (28), and later, in the middle of battle, he describes Leo's "beautiful pale face crowned with its bright curls" (92). Leo's boyish beauty eroticizes his manly fighting. Similarly, but less explicitly, Curtis is portrayed by Quatermain as a hypermasculine figure (Mines 11; Quatermain

422). Additionally, many of the male characters are feminized at certain points in the narrative. When trapped in King Solomon's Mines, Quatermain breaks down in tears and leans on Curtis for support and consolation (Mines 288); and Karen Michalson points out that She begins with both Holly and Job in socially-defined feminine roles, that of governess and nurse (197-8). Further, before jumping the chasm during their escape from the Place of Life, Holly kisses Leo (She 244).

Patrick Brantlinger points out the fantasy-like aspect of Haggard's landscapes. "Over and over," he writes, "Haggard's adventurers liken their experiences to dreams as they leave the actual geography of Africa or Asia for landscapes that obviously have more affinity to the world of fantasy than the real one" (246). In the absence of detailed geographical knowledge of the areas in which he set his stories Haggard was able to let "his imagination loose" (Pocock 61)[5] and create "highly subjective landscapes of the mind" (Brantlinger 245). The "exotic landscape" (Moorcock 59) that Haggard created has often been read as allowing a psychological journey into the self (Etherington 1978: 84), or as "journeys into the dreams of the protagonists and

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[5]Haggard described King Solomon's Mines as "a work of pure imagination" (Days II: 96). For Haggard, unexplored spaces upon which writers could impose their imagination were central to the creation of romance fiction. He felt "sorry for the romance writers of the future" who were faced with a world that was all "explored and exhausted" (Days II: 91).

ultimately of Haggard himself" (Brantlinger 246). In this respect Haggard's Africa is similar to that of Conrad in Heart of Darkness, as Etherington notes (1978: 77).

Haggard's landscape is conventionally read in sexual terms. Showalter argues that the adventurers in She are "undertaking a symbolic journey into a body that seems disturbingly sexual, both female and male" (85). Claudia Crawford suggests that "[t]he images of the three ever smaller boxes and the veils of language through which we [are] obliged to pass" to reveal the story of She are repeated by their travel in ever more confining spaces: "ocean, river, canal, and brush" (85). Crawford asks: "Are we supposed to feel as if we were entering into the very body of woman?" (86). Etherington's answer: Yes. He argues:

> The narrow passes between the beautiful shrubbery suggest the loins of a woman. The two extinct volcanoes where most of the action occurs suggest breasts standing up from the broad African plains. The ancient channel cut to drain the water from the lake is most strongly reminiscent of the birth canal from which the waters burst at the moment of parturition...Guided by Ayesha the adventurers crawl "into a kind of rut or fold of rock," which becomes a tunnel at whose end is the chasm that She tells them "goeth down to the very womb of the world."
> (1991: xxxiv)

Even previous to the shipwreck, Holly notes that the sea is "heaving like some troubled woman's breast" (She 57).

The landscape of King Solomon's Mines is even more

explicitly feminine. José da Silvestra's treasure map (27) clearly resembles a woman's anatomy. William Scheick points out that the three major geographic features correspond "to the breasts, the navel, and the genitals of the female body" (23). Quatermain's description of Sheba's breasts, two mountains, makes it clear they are like "Lilliputians climbing over a Gulliverian woman" (Scheick 28). He begins his description by saying that they are "exactly like a woman's breasts", then continues:

> Their bases swelled gently up from the plain, looking, at that distance, perfectly round and smooth; and on the top of each was a vast round hillock covered with snow, exactly corresponding to the nipple on the female breast (Mines 85).

Interestingly, Quatermain finds himself "impotent even before their memory" (85). As Scheick points out, Solomon's treasure cave in the Place of Death is clearly representative of female genitalia, and represents both the source of life and the source of death for men (25). This feminized landscape is repeated in Allan Quatermain when the adventurers are sucked into a narrow tunnel heated by the rose of fire, suggesting sexual intercourse, which eventually leads them to Zu-Vendis, a land ruled by two Queens.

In addition to imagining his exotic landscape as the topography of the female body, Haggard peopled his landscape with attractive women. Quatermain writes near the beginning

of <u>King Solomon's Mines</u>: "[T]here is not a *petticoat* in the whole history" (9). By petticoat he clearly means European women, and there are none in these three romances (with the exception of Mrs. Mackenzie and her daughter Flossie in <u>Allan Quatermain</u>[6]), but there are certainly many women. Aldiss and Wingrove cite the "attractions of exotic women" as a reason for the success of Haggard's romances (139). Paul Wheeler agrees, citing the fact that "[f]requently two women counteract each other in an exciting manner" as one of the elements of interest (216). The Amahaggar women are "exceedingly good-looking", and evidently their interest is aroused by Leo (<u>She</u> 75), and the Kukuana women have "wonderfully fine" figures (<u>Mines</u> 129), while the clothing of the women of Zu-Vendis leaves the right arm and breast exposed (<u>Quatermain</u> 512). Both Foulata in <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> and Ustane in <u>She</u> are portrayed as exotic, sensual women, devoted to and eventually willing to die for their (white) man. The two Zu-Vendi queens are represented as being exceptionally beautiful (<u>Quatermain</u> 526) and they start a civil war over Curtis. Clearly there is an important element of sexual

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[6]But then Flossie is portrayed as a very masculine young girl. She carries a gun (451), with which she kills an attacking Masai (478). She is described by Quatermain as a "child of the wilderness" who has "more courage, discretion, and power of mind than many a mature woman nurtured in idleness and luxury". Unlike those women, Flossie has not had her "originality or self-resource that nature...endowed [her] with" drilled out of her mind (486).

fantasy implicit, and explicit, in these romances.

Of course, Ayesha is the epitome of feminine beauty, entrancing even the self-proclaimed misogynist Holly (She 131-2). An extremely complex mythical figure, Ayesha is the ultimate male sexual fantasy. Haggard's initial idea was to tell a story about "an immortal woman inspired by an immortal love" (Days I: 246). In one respect she fulfils the male fantasy of a woman by loyally waiting for centuries for her love to return (She 195). Yet, at the same time she is a destructive figure; after all, it was she who killed Kallikrates in a jealous rage in the first place (194-5). Gilbert and Gubar argue that she is the archetypal Victorian New Woman, representing displaced male fears about that particular social phenomenon (6-7), while Brantlinger argues that, like Dracula, she represents a comprehensive set of perceived threats to Britain (234). Her threat to overthrow Queen Victoria and establish a world dictatorship certainly suggests a number of implied fears. Yet, at the same time she is representative of the "eternal feminine", to use the Freudian term (Etherington 1978: 71), which Gilbert and Gubar ally with the goddess (21). Her sexualized death represents "the annihilation of the goddess" (21), or a containment of

the subversive threat embodied in Ayesha[7]. Sandra Gilbert

argues that as the archetype of the New Woman, she was a

subversive threat to norms of femininity, and therefore

masculinity (133). She is of ambiguous sexuality in that she

is both a creator and destroyer (128). This ambiguity cannot

be tolerated, so she is destroyed by the phallic pillar of

life (130). According to this argument, Ayesha is punished

for her transgression of gender roles. Similarly, Michalson

suggests that Ayesha represents an "egalitarian, non-sexist

state of affairs in social relationships" that threatens Leo

and Holly (205). Assuming a certain degree of sympathy toward

Ayesha on the part of Haggard, Michalson argues that She is at

least in part a subversive text (214). However, Ayesha is

destroyed and Leo and Holly survive. Further, throughout the

text Ayesha's power is undermined.   For example, Holly

describes her as being "only a woman" (133). In addition, she

is portrayed as emotional, jealous, merciless (159), and

susceptible to flattery (122), all qualities stereotypically

associated with women.   D.S. Higgins suggests that Haggard

titillates his audience with "the vision of the most beautiful

woman in the world standing naked, arms outstretched in the

flames' embrace" then contains her sensuality by consigning

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[7]Laura Chrisman, however, criticizes Gilbert and Gubar for essentially rehearsing ideas already suggested by Freud, Jung, and Henry Miller (48).

her to the "punishing flames so like the fires of hell which each Sunday were vividly kindled in the imagination of church and chapel congregations throughout the country" (106).

Hammond and Jablow point out that, although Haggard's romances superficially conform to Victorian morality, they are highly sexual texts (102) presenting a titillating "male fantasy of conquering the female body" (Scheick 21). Seemingly unaware of all the implications of the following statement, Morton Cohen notes that "[p]enetrating Africa was strictly a man's job" (90). His statement pinpoints the manner in which Haggard "yokes male adolescent pornographic fantasies with...misogynist and imperialistic impulses" (Scheick 20). Despite claims that Haggard is not an imperialist, even an anti-imperialist[8], it is clear that in these three romances masculinity is implicated in the imperial project and *vice versa*. Each of these romances presents the journey of male adventurers across a metaphorical female body. As the narrative progresses they meet and survive the

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[8]Alan Sandison argues that Haggard repudiates "the whole arrogant notion of the white man's burden" and is free from "the vice of racial prejudice" (31). Etherington agrees, arguing that the empire simply provided a convenient metaphor for Haggard's journey into the self. He argues that "[t]his literature was neither a cause nor an effect of colonial expansion and deserves study quite apart from the problems of political and economic imperialism" (1978: 87). However, Jeff Bass convincingly argues that Haggard's romances must be read in terms of imperialism; in fact, he argues that they actually disguise the true nature of imperialism, thereby naturalizing it. He argues that "[b]oth King Solomon's Mines and Allan Quatermain emphasize the ability and duty of a superior culture to impose its beliefs, attitudes, and values upon less advanced cultures" (260).

challenges posed by this landscape, asserting their mastery over it. This mastery is represented as being a necessity. Quatermain describes the coast of Natal, and then writes: "[H]owever beautiful a view it may be, it requires the presence of man to make it complete" (Mines 35-6). Later, in describing central Africa, he writes: "It is a glorious country, and only wants the hand of civilised man to make it a most productive one" (Quatermain 456)[9]. In each of the romances the adventurers participate in the imperial project, whether intentionally or not. In King Solomon's Mines, they install their servant as king (211) and impose a rudimentary form of the British judicial system upon Kukuanaland (176). Their intervention is justified by the cruelty of Twala (151), as Haggard justifies the British war against Cetywayo on the basis that "he was a much deeper offender against his own people" (Cetywayo xiv). In Allan Quatermain they indirectly cause a civil war, with Good and Quatermain acting as generals, bringing about the accession of Curtis to the throne. Although Curtis pledges to maintain the isolation of Zu-Vendis, at the same time he also pledges to introduce Christianity and British culture (634). Finally, in She Leo and Holly indirectly cause the death of Ayesha, leaving a

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[9]This echoes Haggard's rhetorical question and answer in discussing the Transvaal. He asks: "[W]hat more is required to make a country rich and great? Only one thing, an Anglo-Saxon Government" (Cetywayo lviii).

political vacuum and potential chaos behind.

In these three romances Haggard provides an imaginative space in which his heroes can be men, performing masculinity. That space is, at least metaphorically, Woman. Masculinity is performed and proved on the site of the female body. The subversive power of Ayesha and the other female characters is successfully contained, and order (white rule) is imposed. The competing discourses of fraternity and love are both articulated, with fraternity winning out. The end of both King Solomon's Mines and She "valorizes an all-male world, a sort of paradise regained and temporarily free from the curse of female-bequeathed mortality" (Scheick 28). Significantly, this all-male paradise is achieved through the overthrow of native, female authorities (Gagool, Ayesha, the twin Queendom of Nyleptha and Sorais), and their replacement by male authorities and the imposition of indirect British rule in both Kukuanaland and Zu-Vendis. Allan Quatermain prefigures Kipling's The Light That Failed in constructing a space in which a man can die 'like a man', while fighting to establish indirect British rule. While King Solomon's Mines legitimates the imperial project by disguising its economic aspect (see Bass and Chrisman 49-57), Allan Quatermain legitimates the sacrifice of one's life in manly combat as a means of maintaining and expanding the Empire.

CHAPTER THREE:

RUDYARD KIPLING

Exploding onto the British literary scene four years after the publication of King Solomon's Mines, Kipling was an even more phenomenal commercial and critical success than Haggard, with over fifteen million copies of his books sold by the time of his death in 1936 (Orel 1). Described by Edmund Gosse as a "new star out of the East" (in Showalter 89), for contemporary critics he represented a challenge to both conventional literature and the romances of Stevenson and Haggard. In 1890 Henry James wrote to Stevenson that Kipling had already "killed one immortal--Rider Haggard" (in Showalter 89)[1]. Ann Parry points out that Kipling's enthusiastic reception was largely based on the perceived masculinity of his work (254). Andrew Lang praised Plain Tales from the Hills as a "man's book" and Gosse described Kipling as "eminently masculine" (in Parry 256)[2]. Kipling represented a more literary response to the perceived feminization of

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[1]Nevertheless, Kipling and Haggard became close and lasting friends.

[2]Such an identification of Kipling with the masculine persisted beyond the *fin de siècle*. For example, in 1928 Virginia Woolf said that Kipling's work "celebrate[s] male virtues, enforce[s] male values and describe[s] the world of men" (100). Reading Kipling is like being "caught eavesdropping at some purely masculine orgy" (101).

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literature than did Haggard. Unlike Haggard's, Kipling's "imagination is strictly bound by existing laws" and his writings can therefore be read as 'literature' (Gosse in Parry 256).

Kipling's impact extended far beyond sales figures and initially enthusiastic critical response. He was a writer of and from the Empire rather than Britain (Bristow 200) at a time "when the national imagination had suddenly grasped the vastness of the British Empire" (Birkenhead 93). His work became synonymous with the Empire (Baumgart 55): "Whether the British Empire created Rudyard Kipling or whether Rudyard Kipling created the British Empire might be a question worth debating" (Eby 149). This was most true in the case of India. In 1961 Leonard Woolf did not know how to answer this question:

> "I could never make up my mind whether Kipling had moulded his characters accurately in the image of Anglo-Indian society or whether we were moulding our characters accurately in the image of a Kipling story."
> (in Wurgaft 1)

Kipling played a significant role in creating the Empire, particularly India, for his readers. As the unofficial Poet Laureate of the British Empire, presenting the 'truth' about the Empire was explicitly his goal. In his autobiography he writes that he tried "to tell the English something of the world outside England...[to describe] the whole sweep and

meaning of things and effort and origins throughout the Empire" (<u>Something</u> 54) in an effort to counter the threats to Empire represented by purveyors of "pernicious varieties of safe sedition" (55).

For Kipling, the Empire is "a milieu where young men could perform tasks in outsize circumstances...To function in such an environment [is] to have one's existence imbued with an epic quality" (Sandison 1972: 129); in India Kipling "is Kipling *Sahib*. He is a prince" (Braddy 74). Kipling celebrates "the *joie de vivre* that flourished outside the cramped domestic experience of the English middle classes" (Stokes 94). In contrast to the healthy open spaces and vivid life of the colonies, England is portrayed as dark and confining. He describes his early childhood in India as being full of "light and colour" (<u>Something</u> 3), while he first describes the England of his later childhood as "a dark land, and a darker room full of cold" (5). In 1891 the "darkness of Villiers Street" in London caused him to experience a "staleness and depression" (56) that was only relieved by his visit to Cape Town, where "[t]he dry, spiced smell of the land and the smack of the clean sunshine were health-restoring" (57).

The first sentence of Kipling's autobiography is: "Give me the first six years of a child's life and you can have the rest" (<u>Something</u> 3). Its prominent position

indicates the centrality of boyhood to Kipling's *oeuvre* (A. Wilson 1-7). As we will see, Kipling represents the Empire as a space in which boys can truly be boys, in which eternal boyhood can and must be preserved.

This chapter will examine three prose works by Kipling: "The Man Who Would Be King" (1888), The Light That Failed (1891), and Kim (1901). Each of these texts represents the frontier of the Empire as a space in which masculinity can be performed, and intertwines the imperial project and masculinity. As Kipling wrote in "If--",

> Yours is the earth and everything that's in it,
> And--which is more--you'll be a Man, my son!
> (Verse 473).

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"The Man Who Would Be King" was the last story Kipling wrote while in India[3], and is often considered to represent the peak of this period of Kipling's career. It was praised by such writers as Arthur Conan Doyle and Andrew Lang (Showalter 89), and described by H.G. Wells as one of the best stories in the world (Birkenhead 100). It is a complex story, being "a parable of what might happen to the English if they should forfeit their moral authority" (E. Wilson 55), as well as an exploration of Kipling's fear of female power

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[3]It is important to keep in mind, then, that this story was originally intended for and directed to an Anglo-Indian audience rather than a British one.

(Knoepflmacher 15) and his related valorization of male bonding (Showalter 94). As will become clear, these concerns are all directly related.

Like Haggard's heroes, Kipling's adventurers feel confined by the restrictions of Anglo-Indian society. "India," Carnehan says, "isn't big enough for such as us" (47). Carnehan complains that it "isn't half worked out, because they that governs it won't let you touch it" (48). Therefore he and Dravot are going to "go away to some other place where a man isn't crowded and can come to his own...we are going away to be Kings" (48). In Kafiristan the women are "very beautiful" (48) and mineral wealth is abundant and for the taking (58). It is a space, then, that is truly attractive to those who are, like Carnehan and Dravot, at the bottom of the white social ladder; it is a space in which these two "loafers" can be men, even kings. Further, the framing narrative implicates the reader in Carnehan and Dravot's actions. Manfred Draudt points out that the narrator serves as "a mouthpiece for the readers' own scepticism" (318). Thus the fact that the narrator implicitly approves of their plan by participating in the planning of it "allows [readers] to have the secret satisfaction of committing [themselves] to the efforts of Dravot and Carnehan" (Bascom 166).

"The Man Who Would Be King" clearly serves as an

allegory of British imperialism in India. The method by which Dravot, the intellectual of the two, says they intend to conquer Kafiristan closely resembles that by which the British made their Empire. They will use their modern military techniques and weapons to assist one ruler against another and then "subvert the King and seize his Throne and establish a Dy-nasty" (48); they will rely on a divide-and-conquer policy (49). Presumably, Kipling's Anglo-Indian audience would be aware of Dravot's echoing of British imperial policy. A celebration of "the days of untrammelled imperial adventure" (Paffard 77), it is also a warning of the dangers of the imperial project. Like Kurtz in Heart of Darkness, Dravot is destroyed by "the white man's burden" (Verse 261-2); as Kings they are oppressed by their duties and responsibilities (King 62-3). They fall victim to their own version of the Indian Mutiny ("our own Fifty-Seven" (67)). As W.J. Lohman points out, Kipling's tale makes clear the vulnerability of the Anglo-Indian community. After all, two white men ruling two million people is not that different from a few hundred thousand whites ruling three hundred million people. Their veneer of authority is so thin that one mistake leads to their overthrow (Lohman 174). This is Kipling's warning to his readers.

Bascom argues that for Kipling the highest good "is fellowship itself" (169), and Kipling clearly valorizes

homosocial relationships in his tale. The fraternal bond between Carnehan and Dravot is made explicit in the form of a written contract, in which they promise to become Kings together, avoid women and liquor, and stay by the other when in trouble (50). As Showalter points out, the story's epigraph "presents male relationships as transcending class" (90) and the Masonic Order serves a significant function in providing a means by which to bind together the male characters, who otherwise have little in common. The Masonic bond draws the narrator into the adventurers' plans, at least vicariously, and also is the means by which Carnehan and Dravot maintain the loyalty of Billy Fish (who has been given primacy within their lodge by Carnehan and Dravot). The final battle provides the ultimate test of the homosocial relationship of Carnehan, Dravot, and Billy Fish[4]. The bond between these men survives even the knowledge of certain death, as both Carnehan and Billy Fish choose to stay and fight with Dravot (67-8). The frontier, then, serves as a space for the making and testing of homosocial relationships.

In this story, the greatest threat to the bonds between men is woman. As already mentioned, the two adventurers contracted to not look at any "Woman black, white, or brown" (50) because "dealings with a woman in foreign

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[4]Billy Fish is of course the good native who remains loyal to his imperial masters, as did the old soldier in Kim during the Indian Mutiny.

parts...could not but be risky" (65). As we have seen in Haggard's romances, women and marriage represent a threat to the primacy of the homosocial relationship. Further, as Carnehan makes clear, women are an impediment to the masculine sphere of work and clearly represent a threat to the fraternal order of Dravot's imagined Empire, based as it is on the fraternity of the Masons. It is Dravot's decision to take a wife from among the Kafiristanis, over the repeated objections of Carnehan (63), that leads to their downfall. His decision "is a violation not only of his contract with Carnehan, but of an unspoken code of imperial male bonding that surpasses the love of woman" (Sullivan 106). It is the bite of his intended bride, in a scene that echoes "the castrating vampire-woman of other *fin-de-siècle* stories" (Showalter 94), that reveals him to be mortal. As Showalter notes, "Symbolically...the man who would be king must stay away from women" (94). Further, as David Stewart suggests, the threat of miscegenation is raised for the reader and then contained by the punishment of Dravot (197).

"The Man Who Would Be King" represents the frontier as a space in which masculinity can be performed and tested, both physically and morally. Kafiristan provides an occasion for Dravot and Carnehan, as well as the narrator and the reader, "to learn self-mastery and loyalty and what are sometimes embarrassingly called the masculine virtues" (Mallett 106); as

the Congo does in <u>Heart of Darkness</u>, it provides a space in which white men can test their morality outside the safety net of civilization. It allegorically rehearses the 1857 Indian Mutiny (both mutinies resulting from ignorance of native religious practice) and suggests, as <u>Kim</u> will, that successful rule is based on both knowledge of the natives and distance from them. As Zohreh Sullivan notes, this is a text "in which personal and political desire collide at the boundary of a native woman's body" (97). The temptation represented by woman inevitably destroys the patriarchal structure diligently constructed by Dravot, and strains the personal bonds between men that form the basis of that structure. Kipling's narrative reveals the centrality of masculinity and the homosocial to the successful maintenance of the Empire. As in <u>She</u>, native, uncontrolled woman represents a threat to the Empire. "The Man Who Would Be King" is both a power fantasy and a warning of the potential danger that the unleashing of the desire for power, both sexual and political, generated by the mythology of imperialism represents to the Empire.

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Kipling's autobiographical first novel, <u>The Light That Failed</u>, was published in 1891, at the height of Kipling's popularity, to a mixed critical reception (Coustillas 127). It is often read as a failed novel, evidence that Kipling is a great storyteller and not a novelist (Lyon vii). It is my

contention that this perception is largely a result of the thematic structure of the novel[5]. A reading of <u>The Light That Failed</u> gives the impression that it is three distinct stories uncomfortably conflated within one narrative. However, when considered with "The Man Who Would Be King" and <u>Kim</u>, and when given a closer reading, it becomes clear that the novel's three stories are necessarily and inextricably intertwined. The text constructs meaning through the interaction of these three distinct yet interdependent stories, each embodying a specific discourse: love, art, and the homosocial[6]. The consonance and assonance between these three discourses result in the production of a discourse of masculinity.

The text's first words signal Kipling's gendered presentation of the world and the resultant discourse of masculinity. The dedication, with its references to the nurturing feminine figure of mother, begins the process of defining what actions and ways of being are feminine (3). The mother figure is represented as a nurturer who is given no existence other than in relation to the author. In representing one of the conventional types of femininity, the dedication indicates the text's division of women into the

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[5]That is not to say that it is a completely successful novel, simply that it has its virtues.

[6]I am indebted to Mark Kinkead-Weekes, from whom I adapted my terminology (202).

roles of nurturer and its opposite, destroyer. The next page, the Preface, again placed before the beginning of the actual narrative, signals another concern of the text: the discourse of art. The Preface seeks to give authenticity to the text that follows by emphasizing that this is the story "originally conceived by the Writer" (5), thus foreshadowing the incident in which Dick bowdlerizes his painting "The Last Shot" in order to sell it (40-1).

The first scene in the novel illustrates masculine superiority. Dick contributes more than Maisie to the purchase of a revolver for pistol practice, which Maisie explains is due to the fact that Dick is better able to save and because "boys ought to do these things" (7). By defining boyhood Maisie implicitly defines girlhood as being its opposite. Maisie cannot save because she is a girl and therefore has no self-discipline. The gendered role-definition continues when the narrator reports that "Maisie...promised to care for [Dick] for an indefinite length of time" (14), reinforcing the nurturing woman image expressed in the dedication. Yet, Maisie is revealed as a destructive, castrating figure when she accidentally blinds Dick on two occasions in the first chapter (11; 14). When, after returning from Africa, Dick meets Maisie again, he is temporarily blinded (46). As Nora Crook notes, Maisie is "the cold virgin who competes with man, the reluctant destroyer,

for whose sake the man emasculates himself" (152). Despite her promise, she is both unwilling and unable to be the nurturing woman for Dick (Light 161).

As in "The Man Who Would Be King", women represent a threat to masculinity. Torpenhow describes Maisie as a "demon" (139) who threatens Dick's masculinity. In fact, as the Nilghai comments, she threatens to come between Dick and both his work and the fraternity of war correspondents: "She'll spoil his hand. She'll waste his time, and she'll marry him, and ruin his work for ever...he'll never go on the long trail again" (72). Similarly, Dick rescues Torpenhow from Bessie, that "Jezebel" (122), by sending him away (121). Ironically, of course, Maisie refuses such a domestic role. As Lyon points out, Maisie is Kipling's version of the New Woman, and as such "receives [Kipling's] most vehement contempt" (xix). She is symbolically responsible for Dick's blindness (Miller 6). Betty Miller argues that Dick's emasculation is as a result of his being "allotted the feminine and subservient role" in his relationship with Maisie (5). His emasculation is captured in the red-haired girl's portrait of him: "[I]t presented the dumb waiting, the longing, and, above all, the hopeless enslavement of the man, in a spirit of bitter mockery" (Light 63). This is in contrast to his feeling that Maisie "was his right" (54). Significantly, he imagines reversing roles in the context of

his frontier experience: "He reflected that he might capture her by the strong arm, as he had seen women captured in the Southern Sudan, and lead her away" (113).

Following Ruskin, in this text art is clearly identified with masculinity, as true art must result from lived experience, which can only be masculine. As Lyon notes, for Kipling "true art is masculine, the product of a life of action" (xviii). Only life can teach the truth about colour (39) and life can only be experienced on the frontier when man is "fighting for his life" (41). "His Last Shot", based on a water-colour done outside El Maghrib, is 'true' art in Dick's terms, in that it is "brutal and coarse and violent" (40-1). Yet Dick must bowdlerize it in order to sell it, just as Kipling was tempted to write his novel with a happy ending rather than a tragic one. As Dick cynically comments, "This is Art" (41). England is a land of "Woman's Art" (58), exemplified by the impressionist art of Maisie and her female friends which displays a failure to grasp reality (or life). Clearly Dick's realistic portrayals of manly fighting are given primacy over Maisie's impressionistic efforts. Dick's status is explicitly indicated by Maisie's acceptance of him as an instructor (56). Further, women are a threat to the male artist. Maisie symbolically blinds Dick and Bessie destroys his 'masterpiece'.

Dick's artistic vision fails as a result of his

obsession with Maisie and of the lack of vitality in England. The first description of England upon his return from Africa is clearly devoid of vitality: "A thin grey fog hung over the city, and the streets were very cold; for summer was in England" (29). This grey landscape is populated by the weak and the near-dead. The publisher he humiliates is "soft all over--like a woman" (35), while the faces of Londoners have "death written on their features" (45). Maisie herself is described as being "like a little grey mouse" (57), while her life-story is "almost as grey as her dress" (54). As Lohman comments, Dick's "inability to make a successful re-entry into his own culture results in his destruction" (233). Maisie tells Dick that he is "out of step" (47). Home is out on the frontier. On the frontier there is "colour, light, and motion, without which no man has much pleasure in living" (202). It is only when he boards ship to return to the frontier that he is finally comfortable again: "He who had taken so long to move about his own darkened rooms well understood the geography of a ship" (191). On ship he exclaims: "Oh, it's good to be alive again!" (192). By the time he reaches Port Said he is fully alive again. The heat, the sand underfoot, and "the well-remembered smell of the East" have cured him (193).

The homosocial is given primacy in this text. Once Dick becomes a war artist he is inducted into "the New and

Honourable Fraternity of war correspondents" (21). As Robert
Moss points out, this fraternity has its own professional
jargon, its own exclusive language (45), recalling the codes
of the Masons in "The Man Who Would Be King" and the Secret
Service in Kim. Love between men is valorized as

> the austere love that springs up between men
> who have tugged at the same oar together and
> are yoked by custom and use and the
> intimacies of toil. This is a good love,
> and...does not die, but increases, and is
> proof against any absence and evil conduct.
> (Light 58)[7]

Throughout the text homosocial relationships are valued over
heterosocial ones: "[A]fter his first experience of an entire
day spent in the society of a woman", Dick "went whistling to
his chambers with a strong yearning for some man-talk and
tobacco" (89). Elsewhere Kipling notes that "the loveliest
sound in the world" is "deep-voiced men laughing together over
dinner" (Something 10). U.C. Knoepflmacher argues that Dick's
failure to deal with the feminine power represented by
Maisie's rejection of him leads him to "return to the quasi-
adolescent bonds between the soldier-brothers of [Kipling's]
earlier stories" (25), and as a result Dick never transcends
adolescence (26). However, it is clear that the eternal
boyhood that the fraternity of war correspondents represents

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[7]Patrick Braybrooke echoes this description in his comments on the
novel, significantly adding that it is a "perfect relationship" because
"there is no suggestion of the inevitable 'irritation' of sex which
persists in all friendships entered upon by those of opposite sex" (31).

(see Moss 51-7) is not simply an alternative to Maisie as emasculating New Woman but also to the domesticity of marriage which cuts the male artist "off from the rich diversity of experience which is the inspiration for his work" (Lyon xix).

Both love and art fail Dick, leaving the homosocial as his final refuge. Kinkead-Weekes argues: "At last, when Love and Art have failed, it is to a dawn attack in the desert that Dick returns, to find merciful release in a man's arms as a bullet finds its mark" (202). The fraternity is in its element in "the glorious certainty of war" (147) at the frontiers of the Empire. The manner of Dick's death is a fulfilment of the homosocial discourse because, rather than dying blind and alone in feminized London, Dick chooses to die amongst his comrades on the frontier in the midst of the ultimate masculine experience: war. For that reason the text ends on a note of fulfilment not failure: "His luck had held to the last, even to the crowning mercy of a kindly bullet through his head" (208). It is only through the preservation and primacy of the homosocial that masculine virility can be preserved. In this text Dick's act has a personal significance, yet, if read within the context of the other texts (by all three authors) examined in this thesis, its imperial significance becomes clear. The Light That Failed is a celebration of the masculine virility that for Kipling can only be performed at the frontier, and which is necessary for

the continued survival of the Empire.

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Kim is widely considered to be Kipling's greatest achievement in the novel. In fact, Nirad Chaudhuri calls it "the finest novel in the English language with an Indian theme" and considers it to be among the greatest English-language novels (28). It has been seen as "the answer to nine-tenths of the charges levelled against Kipling" (Kinkead-Weekes 233), largely as a result of what Lionel Trilling calls Kipling's "anthropological view": "[T]he perception that another man's idea of virtue and honour may be different from one's own but quite to be respected" (88). Margery Fisher reads Kim as an "adolescent quest for identity" (223), and Vasant Shahane reads it as Kim's journey "from childhood to manhood" (58). While Alan Sandison recognizes the imperial significance of Kipling's writing, he attempts to depoliticize it by arguing that fundamentally Kipling "was *not* writing in order to express the idea of empire" (1967: 112) and by reading Kim as an existential quest for identity.

Yet the construction of any identity, let alone a masculine one, is a political act. Further, given the socio-historical context in which the narrative unfolds, and the context of Kipling's *oeuvre*, Kim must be read as an imperialist text. As Edward Said notes, it "is a master work of imperialism" (1989: 45), and our consideration of this text

must keep in mind that Kim is "a male child of empire on the road to adult male subjectivity as servant of the British Raj" (David 133). The political implications of the story are explicitly indicated through its incorporation into Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys, the manual of the Boy Scouts, in a reductive yet perceptive reading (21-4).

Trilling comments that Kim "is full of wonderful fathers" (88). Kim alternately participates in two seemingly opposing worlds: "the masculine sphere of power, glamour and action" of Mahbub Ali and the "serene world of the Lama" (Islam 118). Yet for all their differences, each sphere is masculine. Ali inducts Kim into the Secret Service, which is another fraternal order that establishes exclusivity through the use of coded language (Moss 49) and perpetuates boyhood through the exclusion of women and participation in the Great Game. As Kim notes, the Great Game is simply an extension of his childhood activities, yet better: "Every time before that I have borne a message it concerned a woman. Now it is men. Better" (86). Similarly, his relationship with the lama is that of guru and chela, of priest and acolyte. The priesthood is as exclusively masculine as is the fraternity of the Secret Service. In the tradition of texts such as Twain's Huckleberry Finn, "Kim celebrates the friendship of two men in a difficult, and sometimes hostile, environment" (Said 1989: 14). The frontier represents a space in which Kim proves his

masculinity by assisting in the capture of the documents belonging to the Russian spies (297), and it is a space in which his loyalty to both the lama and the Secret Service can be put to the test. Significantly, Kim's participation in both spheres of masculine behaviour is enabled by representatives of the opposite sphere. The lama pays for Kim's education at a Roman Catholic school for whites (Kim 152), and Ali urges Creighton to allow Kim to go out on the road with the lama (221). Kim is the site at which the two masculinities converge. As Said points out, he is a liminal figure who helps to maintain order by mediating the differing interests represented by the lama and the Secret Service (1993: 140-1).

While Kipling's representation of women in both "The Man Who Would Be King" and The Light That Failed is "prurient and misogynistic by turns" (Paffard 50), the women in Kim are portrayed in a different light. Said argues that in this text "to be always pestered by women...is to be hindered in playing the Great Game, which is best played by men alone" and he characterizes the female characters as "prostitutes, elderly widows, or importunate and lusty women" who are "debased or unsuitable for male attention" (1989: 12), and there is some evidence to support Said's claim. For example, Mahbub Ali tells Kim that "it is by means of women that all plans come to ruin and we lie out in the dawning with our throats cut"

(225), and Kim later complains: "How can a man follow the Way or the Great Game when he is so-always pestered by women?" (306). Yet there is a recognition that women are not always a threat to masculinity. The Sahiba tells Kim that "there are but two sorts of women...those who take the strength out of a man and those who put it back" (325). In fact, all the significant women characters are of the second sort. When Kim runs away from his school a prostitute helps him by disguising him as a native (174), and both the Woman of Shamlegh and the Sahiba, among others, assist Kim and the lama in periods of need. Given this, Crook argues: "Women, in Kim, and elsewhere in Kipling, wield a power that is often out of proportion to their visible presence in the tale" (2).

However, before lauding Kipling as a proto-feminist we must note that he only recognizes two roles for women. Women's goodness (or badness) is judged in terms of their relationship to men and, as Zohreh Sullivan argues, "the rigid definition and circumscribing of the roles of women as supporters or destroyers of men colonizes, controls, and marginalizes their function in the larger culture" (176). While The Light That Failed is filled with destructive women, Kim presents a plethora of nurturing mother figures. Dick does not find his nurturing woman until he returns to Port Said and is temporarily in the care of Madame Binat. In Kim women are desexualized and consigned to the nurturing role;

for Kipling, such is the proper position of women. However, the possibility of the sexual, destructive woman is recognized: the Sahiba tells Kim that she was once that type (325) and the prostitute asks Kim whether he knows what kind of women live in the brothel (174). Yet their sexuality is easily resisted, as in Kim's rejection of the Woman of Shamlegh's proposition (314), and therefore is not a threat. Women's attraction to Kim is a sign of his virility, while his easy rejection of temptation is a necessary rite of passage. Patrick Williams argues: "Kim is allowed sexuality so that he may triumph over it, in the unacceptable shape in which it presents itself, as part of his rites of passage to (proper) manhood" (47). At the same time Kim's repudiation of "genital sexuality" (Plotz 125) allows him to preserve the eternal boyhood which the Great Game, and the Empire, represent[8].

Kim's ability to disguise himself is of central importance to the text. Kinkead-Weekes asserts that Kim's ability "not merely to see and know from the outside, but to become the 'other'" represents a deepening of Kipling's vision in that it recognizes difference (217). However, such an interpretation surely understates the political implications. In addition to being an important asset for the practical purposes of spying, Kim's "remarkable gift for disguise" (Said

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[8]Descriptions of Kim as boyish continue throughout the text.

1989: 41) is central to Kipling's imperial ideology as expressed in this text. Green points out that Kipling asserts that the ability to successfully imitate other races is "particularly an Anglo-Saxon gift" (1980: 268). At Lurgan Sahib's, the Hindu child, competing with Kim for his master's affections, "could not temper [himself] to enter another's soul" but "a demon in Kim woke up and sang with joy as he put on the changing dresses, and changed speech and dresses therewith" (Kim 207)[9]. It is possible for Kim, a white boy, to pass as a native, but the reverse, that a native could pass as white, is not allowed. As Bristow notes, the attempts of Hurree Babu to adopt European behaviours and ideas, particularly the thought of Herbert Spencer, are portrayed as comically ludicrous (209).

Kim's ability is a source of power over the Indians he is travelling amongst. As a result of his disguise, "[a]ll India, especially that which is out of bounds, is Kim's province" (Plotz 115). The "broad, smiling river of life" (Kim 109) that exists on and along the Grand Trunk Road is catalogued by Kim (109-11) and serves as an inventory of the Indian Empire for the reader in England. As Said argues, "Kim...is expressly designed as a novel to show how a white sahib can enjoy life in this lush complexity" (1989: 42).

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[9]Carnehan and Dravot in "The Man Who Would Be King" also disguise themselves successfully in order to get to Kafiristan.

Kim's ability to disguise himself represents "a desire to be invisible, to belong, to contain the threat of any real encounter, to observe without being observed--in short to rule colonial India without seeming to do so" (Mohanty 331). Kim in disguise resembles nothing so much as a monarch wandering throughout his/her dominion and mingling with her/his subjects[10]. In fact, this is surely what he is doing. Kim's ability recalls the exploits of Sir Richard Burton and prefigures Lawrence of Arabia. As Graham Dawson suggests in his analysis of the myth of Lawrence of Arabia, becoming the native "is...an essential component of Lawrence's transformation into an adventure hero", as it allows "those Arab qualities coded as positive and felt to be lacking by English-British masculinity [to] be desired without, however, threatening imperial superiority" (132-3). Kim incorporates the necessary Indian qualities while remaining racially 'pure', and thus becomes a liminal figure able to mediate between the cultures of the rulers and the ruled.

As "The Man Who Would Be King" illustrates, a successful disguise is no protection against ignorance about those one wishes to rule. As John McClure suggests, <u>Kim</u> presents a blueprint for the education of India's future

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[10]Kim's greatest disguise is surely the mask he wears when with the lama. Serving as the lama's chela, Kim successfully manipulates their search to also allow him to fulfil his responsibilities in the Great Game.

rulers.   Kipling's plan is that

> instead of being exiled to the society of the
> dominant community--that is, to England--the
> young Anglo-Indian should be raised in India
> and exposed to its society, to the community
> of the subject peoples.
> (McClure 58)

Such an education strategy would prevent the fate experienced
by Carnehan and Dravot (and by the British in the 1857 mutiny)
and at the same time save Anglo-Indian children from the
alienation and culture shock experienced by Kipling himself.
St. Xavier's is an example of what Kipling is suggesting.   Its
Anglo-Indian students quickly learn because they are in an
atmosphere that suits them (172-3).   Kim's disguised journeys
throughout India, his stay with Lurgan, and his Secret Service
responsibilities are also important elements of his education.
St. Xavier's teaches him how to be white, the Great Game
teaches him the surveillance and coercive techniques necessary
to rule, and his journey teaches him about his future
subjects.   Kipling is engaged in the valorization of the
Anglo-Indian as ideal ruler.   He "creates a distinct racial
identity for the British colonial rulers of India" (Mohanty
339).   A native women tells Kim that Anglo-Indians are

> "the sort to oversee justice.   They know the
> land and the customs of the land.   The
> others, all new from Europe, suckled by white
> women and learning our tongues from books,
> are worse than the pestilence".
> (Kim 124)

As K.C. Belliappa notes, Kim's education will produce "an

ideal sahib, an ideal ruler" (157).

The India of <u>Kim</u> is an idealized representation, indicating Kipling's fantasies about his lost childhood and the land in which he was born. These fantasies have a significant political resonance. As Mohanty argues, it is a "political story in which adventure is indistinguishable from surveillance, pleasure is intertwined with power, and the values of childhood are but a thin allegory of imperial ideology" (326). More than simply an attempt to naturalize and legitimize the continued British rule of India, <u>Kim</u> is Kipling's imagining of a perfect India in which one never needs to outgrow boyhood certainties about social and political relationships. Sullivan argues:

> What appears to be a boy's adventure story is
> also a complex fantasy of idealized
> imperialism and colonialism, and the
> friendship between Kim and his lama is
> Kipling's fable of the ideal relationship
> between the Englishman (ever a boy at heart)
> and the Indian--eternally passive, unworldly,
> and childlike (150)[11].

One might go even further and suggest that, in addition, <u>Kim</u> illustrates the ideal position of the colonized (Hurree Babu and the old soldier, for example) and women: in subservience to and support of white men. Kipling's India is a land in which everyone knows his/her place and is satisfied with it.

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[11]Or as Noel Annan more concisely puts it: "Kim and the Lama each has his vocation. Kim to govern, the Lama to achieve Nirvana. These vocations are not contradictory but complementary" (118).

Kim is the ideal colonial *man*, who can only be formed in a colonial setting. The particular masculine virility he represents is necessary for the preservation of the Indian Empire, and the Indian Empire is necessary for the production of that masculine virility. The insidious message of <u>Kim</u> is that India and its Anglo-Indian rulers are co-dependent.

CHAPTER FOUR:

JOHN BUCHAN

Kipling's relationship to the Empire he documented and praised in his poetry and fiction was largely unofficial. Haggard served as a bureaucrat in South Africa early in his life, and later, after making his literary reputation, served on various government commissions, but he was a writer first and foremost. John Buchan, however, had an official and often significant relationship to the Empire for much of his life. In addition to being a publisher and a prolific writer in a variety of genres and on a variety of subjects, he often played a central role in the administration and maintenance of the Empire. From 1901 to 1903 he worked under Lord Milner in South Africa on the task of reconstruction following the Boer War. With the beginning of the First World War in 1914, he worked in secret intelligence gathering and then propaganda, eventually becoming the Director of Intelligence in 1917. He was a Conservative Member of Parliament from 1927 to 1935, and then served as Canada's Governor-General from 1935 until his death in 1940. Much of Buchan's fiction clearly reflects this background, and demands to be read within such a context.

Prester John (1910) is no exception. In fact, as

David Daniell notes, it is his only "Empire novel" in the tradition of Haggard and Kipling (1994: xii). It was written as a boys' adventure in reaction to the "dullness of most boys' books" (Memory 194) and featured the adventures of a Scottish adolescent boy in the midst of a native rebellion in South Africa[1]. However, of course, its status as a boys' adventure does not obviate a reading of the text in imperialist terms for it is both implicitly and explicitly political. As Patrick Brantlinger points out, King Solomon's Mines and Prester John provide bookends to the so-called scramble for Africa (192), and it is surely significant that Prester John was published the same year that the Union of South Africa was created and granted Dominion status within the British Empire. If Haggard enabled the extension of the Empire and Kipling taught his readers how to be rulers, then Buchan's boys' adventure is a primer on the duties and responsibilities of the white, male imperial citizen.

Kate Macdonald argues that "Buchan was never able to participate in the exotic heroics his soul craved" and therefore created characters such as Sandy Arbuthnot (in the Richard Hannay thrillers) through whom he could vicariously experience a life of adventure (xiv). David Crawfurd is the

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[1]As with Haggard, boyhood is not so much a matter of biology or chronology as it is of attitude. His dedication to Lionel Phillips, in whom "the boy is not over" (3), makes this clear.

John Buchan who could have been. Strong and athletic rather than "bookish and sedentary" (<u>Prester John</u> 18), David is prevented from experiencing the brilliant academic career of Buchan by the death of his father and forced to earn a living in South Africa (18-19). David's youth parallels Buchan's own experience upon first arriving in Africa:

> In London I had slipped into a sort of spiritual middle-age. Now, at the age of twenty-five, youth came back to me like a spring tide, and every day on the voyage to the Cape saw me growing younger...I recovered the same exhilaration which long ago, as a boy on the Fife coast, I had got from the summer sea.
>
> (<u>Memory</u> 96-7)[2]

Buchan, a man whose "approach to practical life had been from the side of theory" (<u>Memory</u> 96), was now in a land where he could become like the men he describes in <u>The African Colony</u>: "the true adventurer type--long, thin, hollow-eyed, tough as whipcord...the advance-guard of our people, the men who know much and fear little" (in Green 1980: 383). These were men like Richard Hannay and Peter Pienaar, whose adventures he documented in thrillers like <u>The Thirty-Nine Steps</u> (1914) and <u>Greenmantle</u> (1916), among others. Brian Street points out that Hannay's and Pienaar's experiences in Africa prepared them "to succeed in the British secret service in Europe"

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[2]This parallel identification of David with Buchan is further enhanced by the use of the same chapter title for the chapters documenting David and Buchan's arrival in Africa: Chapter II of <u>Prester John</u> and Chapter V of <u>Memory Hold-the-Door</u>.

(38). Life in Africa presents David and Buchan with the opportunity to learn the colonial virtues, and, as Martin Green points out, this was a significant benefit of the imperial experience (1990: 94). The opportunity was also economic. The Empire is presented as a realm of opportunity for one such as David who does not have the skills or education to succeed in England. As David's uncle tells him, "If you want to better your future you must go abroad, where white men are at a premium" (19). Elsewhere Buchan writes: "I saw in the Empire a means of giving to the congested masses at home open country instead of a blind alley" (Memory 125). It is clear at whose expense David and all white settlers are given such an opportunity: the African population. Wardlaw makes this clear when he tells David: "You'll exploit the pockets of the black men" (21).

Daniell argues that "Prester John belongs to that class of empire literature which sees the frontier as a place of physical, moral and spiritual renewal for a young British male" (1985: 138). The frontier certainly was such a site for Buchan himself and served such a role in the conclusion of his early novel The Half-Hearted (1900), in which "the previously unmasculine, rather chinless and 'half-hearted' hero finds his consummation in giving his life to prevent, with his mutilated body, the Russian invasion of India" (Daniell 1994: xii-xiii). Like a Kipling hero, Buchan's hero must prove his masculinity

at the furthest reaches of the Indian Empire. This theme receives its most comprehensive articulation in <u>Prester John</u>, in which Laputa's rebellion serves as a rite of passage for David Crawfurd. He attains manhood by assisting in the maintenance of order, by fighting on the side of 'civilization' against 'savagery' (Kruse 30-31). However, as we will see, the challenges that David must overcome go beyond the simply physical and the assertion of white supremacy through brute force. This is what distinguishes Buchan's adventure from those of G.A. Henty, for example.

In <u>Prester John</u> the reader is plunged into a purely masculine world. No woman is represented or allowed to speak in the entire text except for Zeeta, and she is of little significance. David's mother and the chieftainess Majinje are simply referred to in an offhand and dismissive manner[3]. Critics often situate Laputa at the centre of this masculine world. Daniell notes the parallels drawn between Laputa and David's father, and argues that the narrative provides a fictional space in which Buchan could confront his father and, like David, "successfully triumph" over him (1994: ix-x). In a similar vein, Claudia Nelson sees <u>Prester John</u> as "a meditation on magnificent masculinity, a male counterpart to

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[3]Significantly, Majinje's "location was a miserable affair, and her tribe was yearly sinking in numbers" (38). This dismissive reference presumably serves as an example of the failure of women's rule.

She" (143). In order to defeat Laputa and become a man David must "understand, acquire, and govern masculinity" (146). David's confrontations with Laputa, then, provide an educational opportunity for David, in which he intellectually and emotionally learns what it means to be a man (Fisher 253). Further, Laputa teaches David the nature of submission. Brantlinger notes the erotic nature of Laputa's attraction for David (192), and there is surely a degree of eroticism in Buchan's representation of their relationship. For example, David observes Laputa's "splendid proportions" (83), and both Laputa and David appear naked, wearing only the jewels (103; 128). Theirs is a sado-masochistic relationship in which David agrees to the following arrangement: "I [Laputa] will ride there, and you [David] will run beside me, tied to my saddle" (148)[4]. Further, "in the grip of [Laputa's] great arms [David is] helpless" and David is physically gagged by Laputa (152). The text eventually does not allow David to fully submit himself to Laputa, but does not necessarily seem to condemn the erotic act of submission. It is Laputa who is unacceptable, not the actual act of submission, as is made clear by David's reaction to Laputa's speech at the launching of the rebellion: "I longed for a leader who should master me

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[4]This scene is an interesting reversal of the instance in Allan Quatermain in which Quatermain rides a horse while Umslopogaas runs beside him.

and make my soul his own, as this man mastered his followers" (106). Or are Laputa and the submission he requires simply perversions of 'proper' masculinity, and therefore perversions of the order which the text inevitably preserves?[5] This is a question that I do not think Buchan answers.

However, such an emphasis on Laputa neglects the other men in the text. David is presented with a variety of examples of masculinity from which he must learn how to be a white man. Japp is a poor example of white masculinity: a drunkard who viciously and arbitrarily beats his native servant because she is "without rights" (34) while he treats other natives "with a sort of cringing friendliness" (35). "His methods [are] a disgrace to a white man" (35) and therefore he serves as an example of how not to interact with the natives. Arcoll, on the other hand, is a positive example of white masculinity. Like Kim, he wanders across Africa for British intelligence, often posing as a native (70). He is presumably knowledgeable about African culture and history, and, although aware of the justice of some native grievances, he never forgets what side he is on. David becomes more boyish in his presence, excited by a small compliment: "I have never been more pleased in my life" (70). As in Haggard

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[5]Laputa presents an interesting contrast to Hurree Babu in Kim. While the Babu's attempts to adopt Western ideas are rendered comic by Kipling, Laputa's mastery of Western thought is threatening.

and Kipling, David enters into a fraternity of men as a result of the threat posed by Laputa. Janet Adam Smith notes that "the motif of the group of men from different backgrounds...coming together in a great enterprise" is central to many of Buchan's novels (141-2). However, this recognition of other masculinities in the text is not to understate the importance of Laputa to the text's delineation of a 'proper' masculinity.

In addition, two incidents reinforce the instructional nature of the text. In the first, David represents himself as being sympathetic to Laputa's cause. He "made [Laputa] sit on a chair opposite [him], a thing no white man in the country would have done" (84). By negative example, David's narration delineates the 'proper' relationship between white men and black men. In the second incident, Henriques attempts to misrepresent his intentions as being on the side of the British by speaking 'like a white man':

> "I am a white man, Mr. Storekeeper, and I
> play the white man's game. Why do you think
> I am here? Simply because I was the only man
> in Africa who had the pluck to get to the
> heart of this business. I am here to dish
> Laputa, and by God I am going to do it".
> (115)

The use of expressions such as 'pluck' and 'dish' make it clear that to be a 'white man' is to be British. The pattern of action Henriques describes, then, is that which the text is prescribing as suitable for British men to follow.

The rite of passage that David undergoes is as much spiritual as it is physical. Daniell notes that David "is more frequently weak, defeated, collapsed, cowardly, in pain and need, desperate for relief from pain or bonds, than is permitted in" most popular imperialist fiction (1994: xxi). David constantly remarks that he is afraid and helpless: "I was horribly afraid, not only of unknown death, but of my impotence to play any manly part" (Prester John 61). His adventures provide a test of his courage, both physical and spiritual. After discovering the Rooirand, he "wondered if [he] should have the courage to follow it up" (49), and, later, the crossing of the Little Letaba does not present a physical test but rather a test of his courage (127). While attempting to escape with the jewels, David is caught by his own pride as much as by his pursuers (131). The religious nature of his adventure is made explicit through David's comparison of his plight to that of the saints of the covenant (110). It is only by putting his faith in Divine Providence that David can overcome his fear and weakness. He explicitly describes his escape from Laputa as "salvation" at the hands of Divine Providence. After his revelation his "panic ceased, [his] lethargy departed, and a more manly resolution took their place" (160). By submitting himself to "God's will" (173) he has "conquered terror and seen the other side of fear" (174); he has achieved a state of grace (Bedell 233).

The unlikely defeat of a rebellion by a nineteen year-old storekeeper is to be understood in these terms. It is God's will. Laputa tells David: "God has used the weak things of the world to confound the strong" (177). Jeanne Bedell argues that Prester John, like much of Buchan's fiction, must be understood in the context of Bunyan's Puritan allegory The Pilgrim's Progress (232-4). In The African Colony Buchan explicitly draws such a connection: "It is not unlike a child's conception of the landscape of Bunyan" (Clearing 120). Bedell describes Prester John as "a Protestant fairy tale" (234) "in which patriotic men who adhere to traditional moral and religious beliefs are rewarded with both worldly success and the promise of salvation" (241). By the end of his adventures David has entered into religious faith and is materially rewarded for doing so.

Alan Sandison argues that, for Buchan, the Empire is an idea that allows one to transcend oneself; it is both a spiritual and a moral ideal (149-194). The Empire provides Buchan with a "political faith" (Memory 124). In the early part of the century the Empire "was an inspiration for youth to realise the magnitude of its material heritage, and to think how it might be turned to spiritual issues". Buchan "dreamed of a world-wide brotherhood with the background of a common race and creed, consecrated to the service of peace" (124-5). David must come to a similar understanding before he

can attain manhood. The first step is for him to learn his proper position. He learns the joy of obedience: "I had a great notion of carrying out orders, and a certain zest in the mere act of obedience" (80). As his later submission to Divine Providence allows him to overcome fear, so does the knowledge that he is "only one wheel in a great machine of defence" (80). Yet he also learns how to rule. He breaks the will of his dog, Colin, and forces him to submit to his authority (36). One might speculate that Colin's loyalty and self-sacrifice, echoing as it does that of Umslopogaas, Billy Fish, and Arcoll's Kaffir (note the possessive), represent an ideal relationship between the white man and his subject peoples: that of master and servant. Ultimately, it is not his adventure during the rebellion but David's more prosaic experience administering the settlement of those displaced by the upheaval that "turn[s] [David] from a rash boy into a serious man" (197). It is this experience that teaches him the selflessness of "the white man's duty" (197)[6].

As Daniell notes, Buchan's concern in Prester John is with the creation of a nation (1994: xvi). Tensions between the recently defeated Boers and the British are obscured by Laputa's threat. Through positive and negative example David

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[6]One might question David's selflessness, however. As T.J. Couzens points out, David's selfless service does not prevent him from essentially stealing the wealth accumulated by the natives and exploiting it for his own benefit (23).

learns how a white man should treat native people. Like Kim he learns how to be a ruler, and he also learns how to obey and serve the greater cause of Empire. David learns his place within the Empire. In this manner, then, <u>Prester John</u> creates a space in which the passage to manhood is inextricably linked with the creation of a nation.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

In all the texts examined in this thesis the Empire, specifically the frontier, is represented as a space in which masculinity could be constituted and performed; the frontier is the realm of the homosocial. This masculinization of space has ideological implications that extend beyond issues of gender, and it lies at the very foundation of the imperial project. Indeed, in each of the texts the masculine identity of one or more of the central characters is inextricably bound up with the extension or preservation of the Empire. The Empire is as essential to the constitution of masculinity as masculinity is essential to the constitution of the Empire. These texts provide an imaginative space in which their (implied) readers (men and boys) could (per)form a masculine identity through vicarious participation in the expansion and preservation of the Empire.

That masculinity is proven through confrontation with alterity. Yet it is often that alterity which dominates the texts. Despite the containment of alterity in each of these texts, a subversive thought may be left in the readers' minds: Perhaps there is another way of being. It seems to me that

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this is one of the most significant aspects of any empire. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin write:

> ...imperial expansion has had a radically destabilizing effect on its own preoccupations and power. In pushing the colonial world to the margins of experience the 'centre' pushed consciousness beyond the point at which monocentrism in all spheres of thought could be accepted without question. In other words the alienating process which initially served to relegate the post-colonial world to the 'margin' turned upon itself and acted to push that world through a kind of mental barrier into a position from which all experience could be viewed as uncentred, pluralistic, and multifarious.
> (12)

Each text must recognize alterity and the existence of a multiplicity of experience before attempting to contain it. Surely that simple recognition represents a challenge to the status quo. After all, often despite the presumed intentions of the author, the reader takes away from these fictions images of Ayesha, John Laputa, and the multiplicity of alternative lifestyles in India rather than merely the virtues of the hero. In an odd way Haggard anticipates Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Herland (1915), Kipling an independent India (1947), and Buchan the new South Africa (1994). Further, as Thomas Pynchon illustrates in Gravity's Rainbow, the exotic alterity of the Empire must inevitably transform the metropole.

We can conclude, then, that while these texts operate as instructional manuals on masculinity, and link that

masculinity to the Empire, the subversive alterity imagined by their authors overcomes the rhetorical containment that the texts provide. In a small, unimagined way each of these texts contributes to the undermining of the values and experiences they were intended to articulate, legitimate, and maintain.

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