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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BOYS' ADVENTURE BOOKS AND LATE VICTORIAN IMPERIALISM

BY

TIM HEATH

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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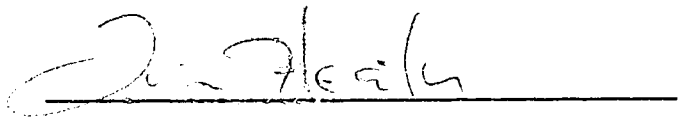

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines three boys' books of the late Victorian period (1873-1901): H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines, Rudyard Kipling's Kim, and Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island, for the connection between "the boy" as a social formation and the imperial practices of Britain. The thesis proceeds by locating the invention of "the boy" in the early European Renaissance as a specialized form of the child, and traces the development of "the boy" in discourse. One chapter is devoted to a reading of each text to reveal the specific ideological work of "the boy", and the ways in which this adult construction, "the boy", serves to enable and justify imperial practices.

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I am indebted to Jo Ann Wallace in several ways. First, her superb course on "the boy" provided me with an interest and basis to begin this project. Second, her competent and gracious guidance made its completion possible.

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Introduction

This thesis focuses on the relation between "the boy" as a discursive formation and imperial ideology by examining boys' adventure books from the late Victorian period. Three texts that are hailed as typical boys' books are the site of my investigation: Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island (1883); H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885); and Rudyard Kipling's Kim (1901).[1] My purpose is to show how the ideology of imperialism takes up the discourse of "the boy", further constructs "the boy" in often contradictory ways, and then employs that construction as an enabling fiction for imperialism. My focus on "the boy" as a social formation makes him the speculative centre of this thesis; for this reason I will suspend "the boy" between quotation marks throughout to signify his questioned status. I also speak of "the boy" to reinforce the fact that I am discussing the discursively constructed "boy", not real historical boys.

King Solomon's Mines, Kim, and Treasure Island are homologous in many ways, chiefly because they are addressed to "boys", and because, with the exception of King Solomon's Mines, they deploy boy-heroes on quests in exotic or

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[1]The most commonly accepted dates for the "late Victorian" period are 1873 to 1901. Victoria's death in 1901 officially ends the period and her death, if nothing else, formally fixes Kim as Victorian.

imperial settings. For these reasons and others discussed below, these three books constitute a textual family. A brief plot summary of each text reveals the broad narrative similarities between them. King Solomon's Mines is a tale of quest and adventure. The work introduces Allan Quatermain, who, together with Sir Henry Curtis, Captain Good, and a Zulu warrior known as Umbopa, is in search of Sir Henry's lost brother. The journey is also motivated by rumours of an enormous treasure--Solomon's mines in "Kukuanaland". Guided by a fifteenth-century Portugese map, the adventurers suffer thirst, hunger, and warring tribes, to arrive in Kukuanaland. Through ingenuity, British pluck, and sheer coincidence, they defeat the witch Gagool and rediscover the legendary mines. Prior to leaving Kukuanaland, the whites mount a military campaign that reinstates Ignosi (who was disguised as Umbopa) as the rightful king. The plot is an archetypical male quest: the hero(es) pass(es) through a ritual number of tests, which are negotiated through the masculine codes of duty, knowledge, endurance, physical and mental agility, enter(s) a land of darkness (Kukuanaland), descend(s) into the earth (the mines), and re-emerge(s) richer and wiser (Batsleer 73).

Treasure Island is about the boy-hero, Jim Hawkins, whose mother operates the "Admiral Benbow," a coastal inn. Jim and his mother host a strange guest, an "old sea-dog,"

and eventually come to possess his map that details the location of buried treasure. Together with Squire Trelawney, Dr. Livesey, and Captain Smollett, Jim sets out to outwit a group of buccaneers and recover the substantial and legendary treasure of Captain Flint on "Treasure Island". As in King Solomon's Mines, the group is guided by a map, and is exposed to a number of trials and dangers which they must negotiate, the most formidable of which is Long John Silver, whose mix of geniality and cruelty, combined with his frequent appeal to "dooty," demands that Jim exhibit pluck and discernment. The island itself, though not a dark land, is hateful; Jim says it has a sort of "poisonous brightness" (69).[2] The quest is successful and the group leaves Treasure Island much richer and wiser.

Kim, too, partakes of the quest paradigm. Treasure is more ambiguously represented, however, since the quest is a seemingly spiritual one undertaken by the lama, a great Buddhist scholar. Kim is so fascinated by the lama that he joins him on his quest. Through the lama's journey Kipling provides an episodic plot along the "broad and open road", which is a retracing of the steps of Buddha in order to find the River of Arrow (18).[3] The spiritual quest motif is

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[2]Stevenson, Robert Louis. Treasure Island. 1883. New York: Oxford UP, 1985. All citations of Stevenson are from this edition.

[3]Kipling, Rudyard. Kim. 1901. Harmondsworth: Puffin Books, 1987. All citations of Kipling are from this edition.

complicated, however, by Kim's search for a secure place in the British Secret Service which is spoken of through the metaphor of the "Great Game". The lama, like Jim and Quatermain, is guided by a map of sorts: the "Wheel of Life" which functions symbolically and allegorically as both compass and map. Like Jim Hawkins, Kim negotiates his journey amidst a constellation of adult men who represent various options and roles for his action and character. Kim secures a place in the "Great Game" and grows spiritually: he too, then, ends his quest much richer and wiser.

Beyond their narrative similarities, these three books belong to the cultural context of late Victorian imperialism. A problem attends the use of the term "imperialism" that must be cleared at the outset of my discussion. "Colonialism" is frequently treated as if it were a synonymous term, yet thinkers of the nineteenth century saw a clear distinction between imperialism and colonialism. For example, Hobson's Imperialism: a Study (1905), is an example of the Victorian-Edwardian distinction between imperialism and colonialism. Hobson understands colonialism to mean acquisition of lands and trade relationships, whereas imperialism refers to the imposition and development of governmental structures (the "Great Game" being a prime example) inside a colony to maintain profit. The books referred to in this thesis, however, are

occasionally discussed in criticism as "colonial fiction".[4] Because the texts arise from and depict the practice of imperialism inside existing colonies, I suggest that the more accurate term should be "imperial fiction" (Bunn 3). The adventure book for boys forms a special category within imperial fiction and performs a special function within imperialism.

Although "the boy" is seemingly central to the production of these works, he is not explicitly inscribed in them. King Solomon's Mines is the clearest example. Its narrator assures the reader that there is "not a *petticoat* in the whole history" (9); however, just as there are no women, the text is also without a boy as a character.[5] Nonetheless, as the dedication page says, "This faithful but unpretending record of a remarkable adventure is hereby respectfully dedicated by the narrator, Allan Quatermain, to all the big and little boys who read it". King Solomon's Mines then, in its address to a male audience, somehow homogenizes men and boys of all ages and classes. The choice of the word "boy," despite its common-sense appeal to all male children of all times and places, constitutes a profound disavowal of all the material and ideological

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[4]Hugh Ridley in Images of Imperialism, focuses on the period between 1870 and 1914, but employs the terms "colonial literature" or "colonial fiction" throughout his discussion (1).

[5]Haggard, Rider H. King Solomon's Mines. 1885. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989. All citations from Haggard are from this edition.

practices that stand behind the category "boy". Haggard's address to boys is more an appeal than a dedication. He appeals to the myth of innocence and purity that invests "the boy" in the hope that this myth will, in turn, purify the imperialism expressed in King Solomon's Mines. Whereas Haggard's appeal is concretized in the dedication to "big and little boys", the other texts use different forms of appeal. Nonetheless, each appeal is from the adult to "the boy".

In each text the author who authoritatively constructs "the boy" is himself an adult, whose account of boyhood is motivated more by an adult need and desire to use "the boy" to explain, justify, and motivate imperialism than by a simple adult concern to produce a literature for boys. Henry James' essay "Robert Louis Stevenson" illustrates the adult investment in the boy's book:

> Treasure Island is a 'boy's book,' in the sense that it embodies a boy's vision of the extraordinary; but it is unique in this, and calculated to fascinate the weary mind of experience, that what we see in it is not only the ideal fable, but, as part and parcel of that, as it were, the young reader himself and his state of mind: we seem to read it over his shoulder, with an arm around his neck. It is all as perfect as a well-played boy's game . . . . (Henry James and

Robert Louis Stevenson 154)

The way in which James places an adult arm around the "young reader" recalls the dedication to King Solomon's Mines and shows how men and boys ("big and little boys") blur into one another--how "the boy" is a puppet or extension of the man. But just as "the boy" is understood as universal and innocent, so is the production of books for boys that depict adventure in foreign lands understood as nothing more than "fable" or a "well-played boy's game". Since the late Victorian period was characterized by guilt and ambivalence over imperialism, the need to encode imperial practice as a game, or as a "boy's vision" was paramount. James' phrase, "a boy's vision of the extraordinary", shows how "the boy" does more than simply lend innocence to imperialism; "vision" enables imperialism with its connotations of the prophetic and the visionary. For these reasons, I examine the relation between imperialism and the way that "the boy" is constructed by the adult authors of each book.

Four questions shape my approach. Each question forms one of the four chapters of my thesis: first, what discursive meanings exist for "the boy" and how are they displayed in the boy's book, and specifically, what late Victorian cultural conditions invest these meanings? Second, how does late Victorian imperialist ideology use "the boy" to justify and purify its material practices? Third, what possible subject positions exist for "the boy"

in the late Victorian boys' book. Finally, what meanings and contests for meanings arise in an ideological reading of the boys' book?[6]

These four inquiries--"the boy" in discourse, the ideological work of "the boy", subjectivity and "the boy", and contested meanings for "the boy"--shape my discussion, but are enormously complex questions, and thus my aim over-reaches itself. Not only are the questions complex, but the texts themselves, seemingly simple because for boys, are in fact very dense documents when read for their ideological significance. I offer, then, a provisional, interrogative reading that derives from, and is inspired by, the historical and economic focus of much contemporary textual interpretation. Given space restrictions, I am forced to enumerate rather than discuss exhaustively some of the problems these contingent factors raise in the "timeless" narrative of boys' adventure. In order to develop my response to each question fully, I will devote one chapter to each book: of King Solomon's Mines, I will ask the second question; of Treasure Island, the third; and of Kim, the fourth. In each case, I will restrict my discussion to the main text in question and, where appropriate, refer briefly to the other books.

Before proceeding I wish to expand briefly on the form,

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[6]I am indebted to Foucault's "What is an Author?" in Language, counter-memory, practice for these questions, particularly the third and fourth (138).

rationale, and direction of my reading strategy. Since I view "the boy" as a masculine, political and economic construction, the way that ideology is understood in relation to Kim, King Solomon's Mines, and Treasure Island, must be as clear as possible. The key term, "ideology" occupies a shifting register of meaning within literary criticism, particularly in criticism of imperial fiction. To restrict the possible meanings of ideology, I will employ Louis Althusser's simple but incisive definition: "a system (with its own logic and rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and role within a given society" (For Marx 231).

In Lenin and Philosophy, Althusser further clarifies ideology, and so offers another implication for its application to a reading strategy: "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (162). Bunn summarizes the significance of these two statements:

> [F]or Althusser "ideology" means at least three things: it has internal coherence; it is a form of material practice; and it is not a form of false consciousness in the normal sense because it embodies the real experience of men in representing their attitudes towards the world. Literature for Althusser, is included among those

> ideological apparatuses which reproduce the relations of production in a symbolic form. . . . (45-46)

These citations serve to make my point--ideology determines material practice. However, the causal relationship is best described as contingent, and most important, overdetermined with respect to specific cultural and historical contexts. By overdetermined, I have in mind the Althusserian notion that specifies economics as a determining factor of ideology only "in the last instance" (For Marx 112). Further, overdetermination allows that ideological elements ("images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case") have a vitality, logic, and illogic of their own (Dowling 69). I specify "illogic" since it allows that ideology is riven with contradictions.

"The boy" is an element of discourse within ideology and this discursive formation includes "images, myths, ideas, or concepts" (For Marx 231). Because Althusser's notion of overdetermination rescues ideology from being a simple dominant, monolith of culture, the possibility of contradiction is allowed within an ideology. By extension, a discourse within ideology may also be fraught with contrast and contradiction, as is the discourse of "the boy". In fact, for ideology to be a useful tool within a reading strategy, it must allow for contradiction within itself. Mary Poovey uses the term "uneven" to describe the

ideological contrasts she finds in the mid-Victorian years:

> The system of ideas and institutions I examine here, in other words, was uneven, and it developed unevenly. . . . This ideological formulation was uneven both in the sense of being experienced differently by individuals who were positioned differently within the social formation (by sex, class, or race, for example) and in the sense of being articulated differently by the different institutions, discourses, and practices that it both constituted and was constituted by. (3)

Poovey's final phrase, "both constituted and was constituted by", demonstrates the sense in which ideology is shaped by "institutions, discourses, and practices" and the way that ideology also shapes "institutions, discourses, and practises". Ideology, in this sense has a performative role in material practice or, as Poovey says, there is an "ideological work" whereby ideology has a distinct purpose within culture. The goal of this thesis, then, is to demonstrate how "the boy" works to justify, explain, explore, purify, and ultimately make possible, imperial practice.

Chapter I

The Determined Boy

This chapter examines the entry of the boy into discourse and the contradictions within the discourse of "the boy". I discuss the cultural invention of "the boy" in several media, notably costume, pastimes, and print. I will also show how three "founders of discursivity", Locke, Rousseau, and Darwin, made possible and, in fact, determined new developments in the formation of "the boy" (Foucault, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice 131). This brief archaeology is crucial to my reading of late Victorian imperial fiction because through it I demonstrate the ways in which "the boy" exists, not as a single unitary cultural construct, but as a polymorphous wished-for signified.

I use "wished-for" because Kim, Treasure Island, and King Solomon's Mines, although for or about boys, are paradoxically all without a character who is a boy. I will explain this absence further in subsequent chapters. For the present it is sufficient to describe the deficiency briefly. King Solomon's Mines, as I noted earlier, lacks a boy protagonist or even a minor character as a boy. Treasure Island, despite the centrality of Jim Hawkins, is actually narrated *post eventum* by an adult Jim Hawkins. Kim is unique because it employs the term "boy" frequently for its central character, but Kim is actually an individual in

late adolescence or early adulthood since his age is approximately fifteen at the narrative's outset. Because the book spans three years, Kim is a young man or adult of approximately eighteen by the close of the narrative. Thus, the three texts show three permutations of "the boy": missing in King Solomon's Mines; remembered in Treasure Island; and disguised in Kim. Each variation is a negativity, a want, hence my designation "wished-for". None of the authors is able to secure "the boy" within his text; signifiers such as "the boy", "lad", "child", "imp", even "Jim" and "Kim" point toward an absence. In place of "the boy" the authors signify their own desires. Jacqueline Rose explains the presence of adult desire in children's fiction thus: "Children's fiction sets up a world in which the adult comes first (author, maker, giver) and the child comes after (reader, product, receiver)" (1-2). I differ from Rose because my focus is on "the boy"; however, her argument is relevant to "the boy" because even though he is a special form of the child, "the boy" shares the same subordinate relation to adult prerogative. Boys' fiction is thus not about what the child wants; rather it is about what the "adult desires" (2). I also differ from her, however, because my approach locates adult desire for "the boy" in ideologic structures rather than psychic ones. By "ideologic structures", I recall Althusser's simple definition of ideology: "a system (with its own logic and

rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and role within a given society" (For Marx 231). These "images, myths, ideas, or concepts" that invest the ideology, and thus the discourse of "the boy", are contrasting and contradictory. For this reason, I discuss "the boy" as an ideological field with poles of meaning. For example, the boy represents regression as much he represents futurity, innocence as much as savagery. I will show just how these polar extremes are possible because of the developments in the history of the ideology of "the boy", and most important, how they are *necessary* to imperial boys' fiction. I turn now to examine "the boy" as he has been shaped in discourse.

Several problems of terminology must be cleared at the outset of this chapter. "The boy", as the construction under examination, belongs to two categories. Biologically "the boy" is male; culturally his gender is constructed as masculine. Childhood, because it does not specify a sex or gender, is an ambiguous designation. The European invention of childhood in the early Renaissance, not as an ontogenetic category, but as a cultural formation, was directed first toward the male, or the boy. Early ideas of childhood privileged the male, and hence the first children constructed were boys. Philip Ariès says:

> The attempt to distinguish children was generally

> confined to the boys: the little girls were distinguished only by false sleeves, abandoned in the eighteenth century, as if childhood separated girls from adult life less than it did boys. The evidence provided by dress bears out the other indications furnished by the history of manners: boys were the first specialized children. They began going to school in large numbers as far back as the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. (58)

The entry of the girl into childhood, was, as Ariès describes it, "slow and tardy" (58). For this reason, and to avoid appropriating the girl, who is outside the scope of this study, I will use "boy" as much as possible throughout this thesis, rather than the ambiguous terms "child", "children", or "childhood".[1]

Ariès, Plumb, de Mause, and Postman, all historians of childhood, say that only rudimentary notions of the boy existed from Roman times to the early Middle Ages. Postman's description of this time period stresses the deterioration of culture: "Every educated person knows about the invasions of the northern barbarians, the collapse of the Roman empire, the shrouding of classical culture, and Europe's descent into what is called the Dark and then the

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[1]Claudia Nelson's Boys Will be Girls stands as one of too few works on girls.

Middle Ages" (10). "Invasion", "barbarians", "collapse", "shrouding", and "descent" all speak clearly of regression and cultural erosion. Whether this is an appropriate description of the period in question is open to debate. Nonetheless Postman argues that a well-developed idea of culture is necessary to construct "the boy", and that during this time all ideas of boyhood disappear (10). Thus an archaeology of "the boy" must begin in the early Middle Ages.

Philip Ariès, the foremost historian of childhood, examines portraiture, religious iconography, dress, games, play, and pastimes of French culture from the eleventh to the eighteenth century.[2] Ariès begins his archaeology in the tenth and eleventh centuries with an examination of portraiture:

> Our starting-point in this study is a world of pictorial representation in which childhood is unknown; literary historians such as Mgr Calve have made the same observation about the epic, in which child prodigies behave with the courage and physical strength of doughty warriors. This undoubtedly means that the men of the tenth and eleventh centuries did not dwell on the image of childhood, and that the image had neither interest

[2]Because Ariès confines his inquiry to France any application of his work to English culture and books is necessarily extrapolative.

nor even reality for them. (34)[3]

On the whole, despite the germinal notions of childhood that Ariès finds in the Middle Ages, he characterizes the period as "unaware of childhood" (128). Medieval society regarded the boy as a member of adult society. Not only was there a paucity of linguistic forms for "child", but games, clothing, crafts, arms, and pastimes for children were also virtually indistinguishable from those intended for adults (128).

In the sixteenth century, boys of the upper classes began to acquire a special costume. Ariès says: "*The first children's costume was the costume which everybody used to wear about a century before, and which henceforth they were the only ones to wear*" (57). This tendency is called "archaizing" by Ariès; its sartorial function was to pinpoint the social position and rank of the wearer (57). Ariès notes that games, pastimes, stories, and books went through a continuous "evolution" whereby the obsolete was passed to the child (99). "The boy" then, because he

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[3]It is important to note that de Mause says that Ariès' view on the history of childhood is "the opposite of mine" (5). DeMause finds a very concrete idea of childhood in the Middle Ages: he calls Ariès' work "untenable," ignorant of "voluminous evidence" and "fuzzy" (5). The quibble between the two may derive from the disciplinary tension between Ariès' social historical view and de Mause's psychoanalytic view. In any case, de Mause is guilty of totalizing Ariès' work in so far as Ariès only excludes a notion of childhood from the tenth and eleventh centuries: he sees a variety of germinal notions at work in a variety of media--art, dress, iconography, and games--in the later Middle Ages.

receives cast-off costume and other archaic cultural media, holds a class position that is subordinate. Because "the boy's" invention is represented by "archaizing" he becomes associated with the past. "The boy", then, is understood as anterior to the present, or regressive, because he is physically immature, and because socially he belongs to the past.

Simultaneous to the process of archaizing, Ariès says that the child, "on account of his sweetness, simplicity and drollery became a source of amusement and relaxation for the adult" (129). In short, "coddling" began. Ariès attaches this idea, again derived from the adult, to women who were mothers and nannies of children. Coddling introduces the notion of innocence, or "sweetness" into the discourse of "the boy". At this point in history, Ariès notes that adult diaries begin to reflect delight with children, thereby moving "the boy" increasingly into the realm of discourse (49).

Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the "coddling" of children became more widespread, and began to include the lower classes. The seventeenth century also saw the rise of the moralist and the pedagogue, both of whom had distinct ideas about what constituted and benefitted boyhood. These two forces had different origins; the coddling arose from within the family, and the moralizing and educating from without. Although not antithetical,

these ideas of boyhood are sharply contrasted. The child, specifically "the boy", was a subject of interest inside the family for tenderness and affection. To the moralists and pedagogues, the boy became the subject of psychological interest and moral solicitude (Ariès 130).

Coddling, since it occurs from and on behalf of the adult position is concerned with keeping "the boy" the object of its indulgence, and hence reinforces the notion of archaizing "the boy". Education, on the other hand, increasingly moved "the boy" into the public sphere, and began to shape a discourse of futurity or potentiality for "the boy". Thus, a binary between the past and the future, between regression and futurity, is formed in the discourse of "the boy". Both these ideas are important in imperial fiction. For example, Kim is constantly referred to as a polo-pony who will one day play the Game as an initiate because of his education. On the other hand, because the Great Game belongs to the politically charged world of men, Kipling disguises Kim as a "boy" and thereby ensures that imperialism recedes behind a cloak of boyish innocence. Two representations of "the boy" in discourse, however much antithetical, thus enable the practice of imperialism. The ideas of futurity and regression gained further impetus through the writings of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Locke, in the seventeenth century, and Rousseau in the

eighteenth century, stand as "initiators of discursive practices" with respect to the invention of "the boy" (Foucault, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice 131). Foucault explains the exact significance of the term "initiators of discursive practices": "they produced not only their own work, but the possibility and the rules of formation of other texts" (131). Founders of discursivity establish "the endless possibility of discourse" (131). After Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693) and Emile (1762), "the boy" changed, because these two books "cleared a space for the introduction of elements other than their own" (132). Locke and Rousseau thus made possible an elaboration and complication of the construction of "the boy."

Locke's notion of the boy as *tabula rasa* pushed a heavy responsibility upon parents, schools, and eventually governments for what was written on the blank slate of the mind. Postman says:

> An ignorant, shame-less, undisciplined child represented the failure of adults, not the child. . . . Locke's tabula rasa created a sense of guilt in parents about their children's development, and provided the psychological and epistemological grounds for making the careful nurturing of children a national priority, at least among the merchant classes who were, so to

say, Locke's constituents. (57)

Postman demonstrates how the idea of regression failed to remain value-neutral in the early discourse of the boy. Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, cultural ideas of progress demanded that all members of society move forward. "The boy" who was thus subject to demands of conformity and shame, became a part of the means used to manipulate uniformity. Postman signals, by "shame-less", that "the boy" also was the destination of disciplinary actions as much as he was source of adult solicitude.[4]

A key factor in the production of shame was the Judeo-Christian notion of pilgrimage that linked biological maturation with spiritual maturation. As the bible gained a new-found currency during the Reformation, passages such as "flee the evil desires of youth" helped invest the discourse of "the boy" with shame (II Timothy 2:22). Writings such as Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress only intensified the need to move away from boyhood toward maturity.

Rousseau made two ideas possible in the discourse of boyhood. I specify "made possible" because Rousseau founded a discourse, but that discourse was then subject to the process of transformation Foucault describes:

In effect, the act of initiation is such, in its

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[4]Postman notes that the connection between shame and the boy is as old as the Romans, when barbarians were likened to children (9). The Roman idea of shame as a definer of "the boy", disappeared, Postman says, only to reappear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

> essence, that it is inevitably subjected to its own distortions; that which displays this act and derives from it is, at the same time, the root of its divergences and travesties. (135)

Thus, although Rousseau considered citizenry the goal of his educational philosophy, his notion of individualism was privileged by later commentators (Emile 7). Rousseau is thus presented as an antithesis to Locke, even though both thinkers saw "the boy" as a potential citizen. Ridley typifies this distortion of Rousseau's thought into a category that may only be considered Rousseauean: "He [Rousseau] wanted . . . a triumphant demonstration of the superiority of natural over civilized man" (8). The second development in the discourse of "the boy" that Rousseau enabled, grew out of the first. That is, the intellectual and emotional life of the boy, for Rousseau, was important because boyhood was the stage of life that most closely approximated nature. Rousseau clearly did not invent the idea of the boy as natural. Nevertheless, he "cleared a space" for the development of the romantic idea of the boy. Postman thus describes a Rousseauean notion of "the boy" when he says:

> Rousseau's obsession with a state of nature and his corresponding contempt for "civilized values" brought to the world's attention, as none had before him, the childhood virtues of spontaneity,

> purity, strength, and joy, all of which came to be seen as features to nurture and celebrate. (59)

In short, even though he did not differ substantially from Locke, Rousseau made possible the "cult of boyhood" that was understood to move in the exact opposite direction from Locke's notion of boyhood (Rose, 43).[5] The discourse of "the boy" then, by the mid-eighteenth century, was marked by two competing understandings of the boy.

The rise of education for "the boy" was enabled by the development of the printing press, an invention that gave "the boy" a new configuration. Reading created a new way to distinguish the adult from the boy:

> But as the printing press played out its hand it became obvious that a new kind of adulthood had been invented. From print onward, adulthood had to be earned. It became a symbolic, not a biological, achievement. From print onward, the young would have to *become* adults, and they would have to do it by learning to read, by entering the world of typography. And in order to accomplish that they would require education. Therefore European civilization reinvented schools. And by so doing, it made childhood a necessity. (Postman 36)

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[5]Although Ariès identifies "coddling" as a celebration of the boy's innocence as an earlier development than Rousseau's work, Rousseau fixed the notion in discursive practice.

Postman illustrates how "the boy" was not only invented by but also separated from adults, because literacy allowed a ready, comprehensive and compelling demarcation:

> Children were not separated from the rest of the population because they were believed to have a "different nature and different needs." They were believed to have a different nature and needs because they had been separated from the rest of the population. And they were separated because it became essential in their culture that they learn how to read and write, and how to be the sort of people a print culture required. (37-38)

Postman's argument illuminates the way that "the boy" is constructed; he reverses the usual cause and effect thinking about boys, and makes clear the adult role in constructing "the boy" as different and subordinate. Since reading promises epistemological sophistication and advancement, knowledge becomes an instrument of power. With respect to "the boy", knowledge-as-power reified the concepts of shame and of archaizing, while it reinforced the need for "the boy" to progress.

The idea of boyhood, then, as it reached the nineteenth century, was composed of two strands: the Lockean and the Rousseauean. Postman calls the Lockean strand "Protestant"; it typifies "the boy" as an unformed adult who through education, literacy, reason, and self-control may be made

into a civilized adult (59). The implications behind "self-control" are clear: if boys fail to discipline themselves, a clear adult mandate exists to provide "control". The Rousseauean or "Romantic" notion does not problematize "the boy", rather it is the adult who, as a deformed boy, is the problem.[6] "The boy", for Rousseau, possesses natural capacities for understanding, candour, curiosity and spontaneity, which are only deadened by literacy, education, reason, self-control, and shame (59).

Postman's analysis of these two competing ideas is unique because he attends to the metaphors of both thinkers, and because he demonstrates the shift in the valence of Locke and Rousseau's discourse. Locke, according to Postman, links the mind with tablets and thereby connects the boy with print (59). The metaphor is inorganic; there is nothing natural about it--the boy may be seen as a book, advancing toward maturity as the pages are filled up. Through Locke, or rather, Lockean thought, boyhood is imbued with notions of rationality, the process of forming "the boy" is sequential, segmented and linguistic (Postman 60).[7]

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[6]Wordsworth's conception of the child is perhaps the most obvious example of the "Romantic" view.

[7]Postman's interpretation overlooks the organic and fluid nature of Locke's language. For example, Locke sets up an extended simile for the education process that is very liquid: "[T]he Fountains of some Rivers, where a gentle application of the Hand turns the flexible Waters . . . I imagine the Minds of Children as easily turned this way or that Way, as Water it self" (Some Thoughts Concerning Education, 1-2)

Rousseau described the boy in organic terms: boyhood was natural and education was perceived as a process of subtraction, not addition. These seemingly antithetical ideas obtained throughout the nineteenth century. In Britain, the Lockean model remained largely dominant. However, in as much as Locke's idea was founded on an Augustinian-Calvinist notion of depravity that fell into disrepute in the nineteenth century, and because English poets such as Wordsworth or Southey had romanticized "the boy", a Rousseauean ideology of boyhood existed alongside. It is too simple, however, to suggest that the two ideas remained hermetically sealed from one another. Both ideas, despite Rousseau's focus on nature, are based on a model of education.

The Society for the Study of Child Nature, founded in 1890, shows the synthesis between Locke and Rousseau in these questions of pedagogy:

> Should implicit obedience be enforced upon children?
>
> How can the true idea of property be conveyed to the child?
>
> How much authority should older children have?
>
> Is a child's imagination stunted if it is made to adhere strictly to the truth? (in Postman 61)

The questions display an anxiety over what is assumed innate or natural (imagination) in "the boy", and what must be

added to "the boy" (obedience) and thus demonstrate the currency of both Lockean and Rousseauean notions of "the boy".

During the mid-Victorian years, Darwin, like Locke and Rousseau, made possible new meanings in the discourse of "the boy". Even though Darwin did not formally address "the boy", his conception of nature redefined it as a state of competition, not as the state of bliss or innocence of Rousseauean belief. The primitivism of Rousseau was now complicated. Lovejoy describes the complication by noting that two forms of primitivism were now possible: "hard primitivism" and "soft primitivism" (9). The "soft" form simply renames Rousseauean or Romantic primitivism, while the "hard" form introduces the possibility that "the boy" as associated with ideas of regression becomes invested with notions of savagery. Kipling demonstrates the currency of the hard form with the proverb "never make friends with the Devil, a monkey, or a boy" (107). A revealing constellation of ideas is thus combined: evil in the Devil and regression in the monkey show the possibility that nature is savage and malevolent, as also "the boy" may be.

The discourse of "the boy", then, as it reached the nineteenth century was exceptionally plastic. Because of its malleability, it served the many needs of imperialism well. On one hand, "the boy" in connection with regression, shame, and the primitive, allowed groups of "primitive"

people to be seen as young nations that, because seen as static or regressive by European standards, required imperial tutelage. The discursive development permitted by Darwin's notion of competition in nature also allowed a more rigourous and martial understanding of the imperial role. The imperial Other, individually and corporately, could be seen as a competitive threat to survival, thereby justifying disciplinary or military control. Conversely, the imperial Other, like "the boy" could be indulged fondly and protected from threat by a parental imperial nation. Again, Kim, with its contest between imperial Britain and Russia for India displays a rationale for imperialism made possible by "the boy".

These examples demonstrate my grounds for calling "the boy" a polymorphous wished-for signified. The variety of meanings for "the boy" allows and enables a variety of imperial practices--particularly those that must secure the imperial Other in a place of subordination. Just as contemporary semiotic practice unmoors the signifier from the signified, British imperialism divorces the boy from the discourse of "the boy" and thus secures an immense ideological leverage through a paradoxical process of binding and loosing. The divorce is finally so effective as to make possible a variety of placements of "the boy". As I noted at the outset of this chapter, "the boy" is respectively absent, remembered and disguised in the three

texts I consider. I turn now to see how the myth of "the boy" is powerful enough in the late Victorian period to serve as an ideological purification for imperialism--so much so, that King Solomon's Mines can go forward without a boy actually present at the level of character.

Chapter II

The Absent Boy

One of the most troubling aspects of King Solomon's Mines, as a boy's book, is its lack of a boy protagonist, in spite of its dedication to all "big and little boys". This absence makes it unlike Kim or Treasure Island and calls for a reading that locates "the boy" as an audience outside the text, rather than as a specific character within the text. Whether "the boy" is located in the story, or outside it, King Solomon's Mines does not employ any single use of "the boy" to justify and enable imperialism. Instead, it deploys a pastiche of themes and motifs, all connected with "the boy" but without any overall unity. The motifs used to appeal to "the boy" include the religious, the initiatory, the educative, and the honorific, but no single one dominates. That is, Haggard hopes to purify the imperialism of King Solomon's Mines by showing how "the boys" the text is dedicated to will be edified, initiated, and educated; however, Haggard never offers any of these notions as a sole justification. This fragmentation is hardly surprising since Ridley notes that by the 1870s, Britain had ceased to believe strongly in a moral justification of imperialism:

> The paternalism of the 'civilizing mission' rings out hollowly in whatever language, and it would be futile to attempt to read too much into the

> stereotyped pictures of the colonists as 'representatives of Christ and Caesar' or as 'the legions defending humanity' and 'apostles and heroic pacifists'. (103)

Although Ridley includes "Christ" under the civilizing mission, he refers here primarily to a broad set of humanist values. However, Ridley also notes that "any belief in imperialism as an orthodoxly Christian activity" was a "casualty" of the late Victorian ambivalence over imperialism (105). Ridley sums up the loss of any unitary means of justifying imperialism:

> [C]olonial fiction was attracted by private justifications of imperialism . . . writers discovered in colonial society [the qualities] which they felt to be in themselves a justification of imperialism. Even when writers did not make this explicit and merely left open the question of justification, it was obvious that their allegiance to any of the standard excuses for colonialism had worn very thin. (116)

Thus, although <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> contains its own form of religious discourse to justify and make imperialism meaningful, Haggard displays a certain ambivalence toward a missionary motive for imperialism. It is not difficult to interpret Ignosi's words at the end of <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> as confirmation that, in Haggard's personal opinion, any

evangelical motive for imperialism had "worn very thin":

> "But listen, and let all the white men know my words. No other white man shall cross the mountains, even if any may live to come so far. I will see no traders with their guns and rum. My people shall fight with the spear, and drink water, like their forefathers before them. I will have no praying-men to put fear of death into men's hearts, to stir them up against the king, and make a path for the white men who follow to run on." (306)

Ignosi's interdict on traders and missionaries confirms Ridley's insight.

In the case of King Solomon's Mines, then, we have a book that is slanted strongly by Haggard's private justifications of imperialism.[1] This is signalled in the text when Allan Quatermain appeals to the private by noting that the third reason he has taken up his pen is to provide some diversion for "my boy Harry" (8). Thus, although "the boy" is absent at the level of character, he is not entirely missing, nor is he without a purpose in the text. My goal in this chapter is to demonstrate the ways in which discursive notions of "the boy" serve to purify the material

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[1]It is important to note that Ridley considers private justifications of imperialism to flow from situations where the author was somehow associated with actual imperial practice in a foreign setting. Haggard certainly fits this pattern, and there is a strong correspondence between him and Allan Quatermain.

practices of British imperialism in King Solomon's Mines. In short, I seek the ideological work of King Solomon's Mines and locate it in the discourse of "the boy" and in the adult investments in "the boy".

Although King Solomon's Mines presents itself, as its title suggests, as a quest-for-treasure-book, the quest gives way to a more explicit political and imperial motif. The men of King Solomon's Mines enact the characteristic pattern of imperialism when they overthrow Twala, the indigenous ruler of Kukuanaland, and subsequently establish an approved rival claimant (Bass 260). Allan Quatermain, Sir Henry Curtis, and Captain Good, however, do not originally plan to stage a military coup in Kukuanaland; they simply want to recover the wealth of Solomon's mines. Even the quest for treasure is secondary to the search for Sir Henry's brother, which is the primary motive for the journey undertaken in King Solomon's Mines. As a piece of imperial fiction, then, King Solomon's Mines, because its imperial activity develops as a secondary plot twist, challenges popular notions of boy's literature of the 1880s which imagine crass, jingoistic tracts urging boys on to British deeds of glory in foreign lands. However, as Patrick Dunae's research shows, boy's periodical literature did not begin to express blatant imperialist messages until 1898-99, and, even then, the literature was avidly imperialistic only until about 1902 (1980, 112-13). Dunae

notes that the most influential periodical, Boys Own Paper, was published by the Religious Tracts Society (1878) and, contrary to popular belief, the paper was evangelical in outlook and rather circumspect about imperialism. Dunae's research and the way in which the sub-plot with Ignosi is presented as a diversion from the treasure quest, suggest that in the 1880s imperial fiction sought to depict the expansion of the British empire in more subtle ways.

This need to encode imperialism delicately in fiction seems surprising since the 1880s marked the beginning of an increase in British imperialism. Despite the increase of imperial activity, however, Britain was divided in its opinions on imperialism. Arnstein notes: "Imperialism might win elections; but to the despair of politicians, the public proved all too fickle, and imperialism might equally well lose elections, as it did in 1880" (169). The Conservatives, in 1880, were defeated largely because of Disraeli's imperial policy in Afghanistan and South Africa (Arnstein 149). Bass argues that in addition to the economic entanglement, British society was guilt-ridden over the moral implications of exploiting indigenous people in its colonies (261). Thus, because of domestic ideological division, King Solomon's Mines faced the difficult task of attracting an audience and escaping censure as an imperial document. This problem becomes very apparent when Allan Quatermain notes his involvement in the Zulu Wars of 1879,

the very issue that caused the Disraeli government defeat: "I had been one of Lord Chelmsford's guides in that unlucky Zulu War, and had had the good fortune to leave the camp in charge of some waggons the day before the battle" (46-47). The martial reality of British imperialism in Africa is signalled by a threat that Quatermain issues in his attempt to intimidate the Kukuanas:

> The light from the transparent eye of him with the bare legs and the half-haired face (Good) shall destroy you, and go through your land: his vanishing teeth shall fix themselves fast in you and eat you up, you and your wives and children; the magic tubes shall talk with you loudly, and make you as sieves. Beware! (118)

Issued as a mock prophecy, Quatermain's words ironically display the eventual outcome of the plot and point to the reasons for domestic guilt over the material practices of imperialism.

The mixed support given to imperialism between 1880 (Disraeli's defeat) and 1885 (King Solomon's Mines), plus the muted imperial tone of popular boy's periodicals, indicates that any imperial fiction would need to sanitize its imperial ideology in some way. "The boy", even though seemingly absent, serves just this purpose in King Solomon's Mines. I turn now to examine just how the boy is inscribed in the narrative of King Solomon's Mines and what possible

meanings of "the boy" enable Haggard to somehow make the text acceptable to his audience.

Patrick Dunae notes that boys' periodical literature of the late Victorian period endorsed "the British empire as the successor to the ancient kingdom of Israel" (1980, 108). Allan Quatermain also confesses "I am not a literary man, though very devoted to the Old Testament" which suggests that Quatermain in his address to "big and little boys" will incorporate something of the Old Testament in his legend (7). Haggard too, as his sister notes, "had his own interpretation of Holy Writ and took it for granted that it was the only interpretation deserving of belief" (16). These three connections suggest that King Solomon's Mines encodes its imperialism in some way that addresses "the boy" specifically through the discourse of religion, partly as a way of purifying and justifying its practices, and partly as a way of giving voice to Haggard's private understanding of the link between imperialism and a divine mandate. All these elements are represented in King Solomon's Mines and condensed within the letter written by Silvestra which, although lengthy, I quote in full because of the way it compresses the entire text:

> I, José da Silvestra, who am now dying of hunger in the little cave where no snow is on the north side of the nipple of the southernmost of the two mountains I have named Sheba's Breasts, write this

> in the year 1590 with a cleft bone upon a remnant of my raiment, my blood being the ink. If my slave should find it when he comes, and should bring it to Delagoa, let my friend (name illegible) bring the matter to the knowledge of the king, that he may send an army which, if they live through the desert and the mountains, and can overcome the brave Kukuanes and their devilish arts, to which end many priests should be brought, will make him the richest king since Solomon. With my own eyes have I seen the countless diamonds stored in Solomon's treasure chamber behind the white Death; but through the treachery of Gagool the witch-finder I might bring nought away, scarcely my life. Let him who comes follow the map, and climb the snow of Sheba's left breast till he comes to the nipple, on the north side of which is the great road Solomon made, from whence three days' journey to the King's Place. Let him kill Gagool. Pray for my soul. Farewell.
>
> José Da Silvestra (28)

Silvestra's letter draws upon a much older, classical, indeed sacred, ideology of imperialism than that practised by the British. The letter, which is less epistolary and more imaginal in its appeal to the eye, recapitulates Moses on Mount Nebo. Silvestra is granted a gaze of the promised

land just as Moses was:

> Then Moses climbed Mount Nebo from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah, across from Jericho. There the Lord showed him the whole land--from Gilead to Dan, all of Naphtali, the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, all the land of Judah as far as the western sea, the Negev and the whole region from the Valley of Jericho, the City of Palms, as far as Zoar. Then the Lord said to him, "This is the land I promised on oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when I said, 'I will give it to your descendants.' I have let you see it with eyes, but you will not cross over into it."
>
> And Moses the servant of the Lord died there in Moab, as the Lord had said. He buried him in Moab, in the valley opposite Beth Peor, but to this day no one knows where his grave is. (Deuteronomy 34:1-7)

At an intertextual level, Quatermain evokes the patriarchal, Judeo-Christian notion of a promised land not quite realized. Silvestra effectively becomes a hero of the faith in a divinely promised land of plenty. The very fact that the treasure sought is Solomon's summons the entire lineage of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which moves from Isaac to Solomon in but fourteen generations (I Chronicles 1:3-5). Whether Haggard self-consciously wished to evoke the

typology of the bible is hardly the point; textually, King Solomon's Mines is a repository and extension of the Mosaic covenant in so far as it offers "the whole land" in the form of the map passed from the Moses-like Silvestra through his filial descendants finally to Quatermain. Quatermain is invested then with the spiritual authority needed to fuel the imperial dream. Since Moses' work was incomplete in the sense that he saw but never walked in the promised land, and because Silvestra dies, Quatermain's journey gains an urgency to continue the Portugese project; by extension, Britain assumes an obligation to continue imperial expansion.

The biblical intertexts of King Solomon's Mines may seem particularly remote to the twentieth-century reader, but even to the diluted Christian atmosphere of the late Victorian period the texts constituted, still, a recognizable discourse of religion, morals, and culture. Haggard's use of the Exodus-promised-land pattern is, however, without much spiritual or religious investment. Rather, Haggard was interested in the dynastic notion of passing knowledge and land from father to son.[2] Haggard, through Quatermain, gives voice to this with respect to "the boy" by noting that King Solomon's Mines is written for his "boy Harry" (8). Quatermain's "boy" is an address that

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[2]Haggard's sister notes this exact tendency in Haggard with respect to his son, Jock (16).

seeks to include "the boy" as reader into the divine pattern of filial initiation and promise to hold the land, in this case Africa, because all divinity and consanguinity dictates that it be so.

If Silvestra functions as a Mosaic figure who legitimizes a claim on Africa, whose map drawn in blood serves as a covenantal device, what can be said of Solomon? Read closely, Solomon is an interesting figure upon whom to base an imperial text. His wisdom, wealth, virility, and fame make him an archetype of the imperial ruler:

> Here is an account of the forced labour King Solomon conscripted to build the Lord's temple, his own palace, the supporting terraces, the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, Megido and Gezer. . . . He built up . . . whatever he desired to build in Jerusalem, in Lebanon and throughout all the territory he ruled.
>
> All the people left from the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites (these people were not Israelites), that is, their descendants remaining in the land, whom the Israelites could not exterminate--these Solomon conscripted for his slave labour force, as it is to this day. But Solomon did not make slaves of any of the Israelites; they were his fighting men, his government officials, his officers, his captains,

> and the commanders of his chariots and charioteers. They were also the chief officials in charge of Solomon's projects--550 officials supervising the men who did the work. (I Kings 9:15-23)

Beyond valorizing the similarities of Solomon's activities to late Victorian imperial government in Africa and India, there is another fascinating correspondence between Solomon and the text of King Solomon's Mines.

Quatermain is at pains to note that there is "no woman" in the story (except Foulata, who is killed). Haggard thus serves "the boy", and so justifies imperialism by providing an initiating discourse that warns of the dangers of women. However, despite the proclaimed lack of "petticoats," there is Gagaoola, "if she was a woman and not a fiend" (9), whom Silvestra calls treacherous and orders in his testament that she be killed by him who follows his map (28). The Gagool of Silvestra is of course the same woman, Gagaoola, (Quatermain later shortens her name) who has miraculously survived for generations (121). She is altogether wicked and terrible in Quatermain's account and allied with witchcraft and sorcery.[3] Solomon's relationship to women (and perhaps Haggard's) helps explain why Quatermain has

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[3]See Casteras' "Malleus Malificarum or The Witches Hammer: Victorian Visions of Female Sages and Sorceresses", Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse, Morgan ed. for the Victorian fascination with the wild and aberrant female.

such an aversion to them:

> He [Solomon] had seven hundred wives of royal birth and three hundred concubines, and *his wives led him astray*. As Solomon grew old, his wives turned his heart after other gods, and his heart was not fully devoted to the Lord his God, as the heart of David his father had been. He followed Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, and Molech the detestable god of the Ammonites. (I Kings 11:3-5, my emphasis)[4]

Solomon's marriages outside the tribe of Israel were largely for political ends. Because they were considered miscegenation and because they mixed pagan deities with the worship of Yahweh, Solomon's reign ended. Quatermain's aversion to women, his depiction of Gagool as a pagan goddess, and the way in which Foulata is killed to pre-empt her relationship with Good, suggest that Haggard is attempting to rewrite the Solomonic error and keep Britain or at least his "boys" from foreign gods:

> Good never was quite the same after Foulata's death, which seemed to move him very greatly. I am bound to say that, looking at the thing from

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[4]Haggard was certainly aware of this biblical intertext, for he cites it when he sees the colossi guarding the mines (259). Lilias Haggard, biographer of Rider Haggard, notes of his relation to women, "The fact is that he was not very good with the sex as a whole" (16).

> the point of view of an oldish man of the world, I consider her removal was a fortunate occurrence, since, otherwise, complications would have been sure to ensue. . . . no amount of beauty or refinement could have made an entanglement between Good and herself a desirable occurrence. (300).

In particular, "the boy" is warned of the dangers of women and the virtues of being true to the empire.

King Solomon's Mines attempts to disassociate itself from imperialism in several ways; chief among these, is its appeal to an audience of boys. By addressing King Solomon's Mines to boys, Haggard attempts to conceal Quatermain's, and by extension, the British quest for wealth and power in foreign lands. Exploitation is veiled, and in its place, the second half of King Solomon's Mines presents a facade of just, conservative, and didactic British values that are directed toward the moral solicitude of "all the big and little boys who read it."

The "boy" of King Solomon's Mines is thus a wished-for effect, a desired essence that will ensure the political purity of the tale, but not an actual presence that may derail the task of the "big boys". The rhetorical leverage of "the boy" springs mainly from Rousseauean ideas concerning the boy's innocence, naivete and purity. "The boy", then, can be seen operating throughout the narrative of the book; as the plot unfolds begrudgingly toward the

enthronement of Ignosi, the narrator employs a hierarchy of discourse to interpellate the boy, and to assure the "big boys" of the apolitical nature of what amounts to a military coup.

While King Solomon's Mines begins as a quest for treasure, it soon shifts into a political realm after the witch-hunt scene. Here several soldiers, identified by Gagool as evil, are speared and bludgeoned to death. Quatermain takes care to assure his readers that the practice is utterly barbaric:

> I have heard of the gladiatorial shows of the Caesars, and of the Spanish bull-fights, but I take the liberty of doubting if they were either of them half as horrible as this Kukuana witch hunt. Gladiatorial shows and Spanish bull-fights, at any rate, contributed to the public amusement, which was certainly not the case here. (165)

When Quatermain likens Kukuana practice to two of the most powerful and well-known imperial powers, Rome and Spain, he reverses the historical reality that connected Britain, not Africa, to Roman practices. Haggard was unquestionably aware of the domestic unease over Britain's imperial presence in South Africa. Liberal and Radical politicians questioned the motives behind imperialism and suggested that any humanitarian gestures were simply a veil to hide the commerce of exploitation (Bass 261). This domestic guilt

over the too close similarity between Rome and late Victorian Britain is signalled in this reference to Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India from 1898-1905:

> The similarities with the Roman Empire, actual and alleged, cannot do as much credit to the British Empire as its overriding dissimilarity in one crucial respect--the sense of guilt and the desire for atonement. There was a gnawing doubt from the first that could not be quelled by the passion for fanfare and pride in grandeur that reached their climax under Curzon. (Iyer in Bass 261)

The abuse of imperial power was especially evident in the Zulu War of 1879, an event that was extremely unpopular in England. Haggard would thus need to take all the more care to treat war between the Kukuanas as somehow justifiable. By associating Roman imperial carnage with Africa, Haggard secures a justification for the whites' intervention into Kukuana politics. The witch hunt scene is the pivotal event that shifts Quatermain, Good, and Sir Henry away from the treasure hunt. The Englishmen's sudden involvement with the Kukuanas is described as a moral imperative, and it is this moral tone which thus conceals the imperial ideology behind the ensuing civil war and the ultimate recovery of some of the wealth of the mines. Quatermain's narrative evokes British notions of honour and justice as the reasons for the English imperial involvement

with the Kukuanas:

> "And ye, white men, will ye help me? What have I to offer ye! The white stones, if I conquer and can find them, ye shall have as many as ye can carry hence. Will that suffice ye?"
>
> I translated this remark.
>
> "Tell him," answered Sir Henry, " that he mistakes an Englishman. Wealth is good, and if it comes in our way we will take it; *but a gentleman does not sell himself for wealth*. . . . It will be very pleasant to me to try and square matters with that cruel devil, Twala." (155, my emphasis)

This passage reveals what Belsey calls a "hierarchy of discourse" (70): it is Sir Henry's discourse that is privileged and given the most authority, and it is this moral discourse which interpellates the "big and little boys". While Sir Henry reveals moral superiority in his rejection of payment for his services, Quatermain, in contrast, confesses he is a coward and a "trader, and have to make my living, so I accept your offer about those diamonds" (156). Again, when Sir Henry asks if Good is willing to fight, his response also valorizes Sir Henry's position:

> "Well," said Good, to adopt the language of hyperbole, in which all these people seem to indulge, "you can tell him that a row is surely

> good, and warms the cockles of the heart, and that so far as I am concerned I'm his *boy*. (my emphasis 155)

The responses of Sir Henry, Good, and Quatermain to Ignosi represent, respectively, honour, obedience, and pragmatism. The ideological work of each response is clear: Sir Henry masks imperialism in morality; Good's boyish pluck offers the response that the interpellated "boy" should show; and Quatermain's pragmatism stops the "big boys" from a complete surrender to altruism. Good's response is crucial since it flows from Sir Henry's statement of honour; obedience and subordination to a higher principle are demonstrated because Good is Sir Henry's "boy". The principle that Good obeys is best illustrated from another book for boys, Tom Brown's Schooldays:

> After all, what would life be without fighting, I should like to know? From the cradle to the grave, fighting, rightly understood, is the business, the real, highest, honestest business of every son of man. Every one who is worth his salt has his enemies, who must be beaten, be they evil thoughts and habits in himself, or spiritual wickedness in high places . . . . (218)[5]

Hughes, like Haggard, uses superlatives to create a

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[5]All citations to Hughes are from the 1971 Puffin Books edition.

"hierarchy of discourse" to show "the boy", as reader, that fighting is obedience to a higher principle. Hughes explains the principle as "human nature" (218); Haggard implies the same, since Good does not wish to fight until he is forced into it by what Hughes would undoubtedly call Twala's "spiritual wickedness". Thus, even though he is a naval officer, Good is positioned as "boy" and simultaneously highlighted as the character the boy-reader should attend to.

Haggard uses Captain Good to personify "the boy" as an ideal in a number of ways and draws attention to his boyish character. When Good is first described he is categorized among naval officers as "just the best and bravest and nicest fellows I ever met, though given to the use of profane language" (12). The interpellated reader is clearly a "boy" since the superlatives and paratactical construction resonate as an appeal to "little boys". Quatermain also relates Good closely to "the boy" by using a "nice but naughty" form of indulgence on the issue of profanity that encompasses two of the poles of meaning in the discourse of "the boy". As subjects formed by the discourse of "the boy", boys reading <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> are greeted by a form of address they recognize since it simultaneously approves and censures Good. When Good pledges to help the Kukuanas he literally becomes "good", as do his imperial actions, because he demonstrates the values that "boys" are

to move toward.

The facade that conceals the imperial ideology of the text seems to grow at the point when the Englishmen make their commitment to Ignosi. The Englishmen refuse to help Ignosi until they extract a promise from him that he will end the practice of the witch hunt:

> "Ignosi," said Sir Henry, "promise me one thing."
>
> "I will promise Incubu, my friend, even before I hear it," answered the big man with a smile. "What is it?"
>
> "This: that if you ever come to be the king of this people you will do away with the smelling out of witches such as we have seen last night; and that the killing of men without trial shall not take place in the land." (176)

Ignosi's response shows that the Kukuanas have a different concept of justice than do the British:

> Ignosi thought for a moment, after I had translated this, and then answered--
>
> "The ways of black people are not as the ways of white men, Incubu, nor do we hold life so high as ye. Yet will I promise it." (176)

However, Haggard, in effect, has not really concealed imperialism here; rather, he has simply shifted its register away from the economic to the cultural. Ignosi hints at

this when he notes the differing values between "black people" and "white men", but he concedes the English point. Ignosi's promise secures the aid of the whites and plants English values on African soil (Bass 265). The implicitly inscribed message is clear: African diamonds are exchanged for precious English ideals, and "the boy" is "buttonholed" to attenuate the exchange and simultaneously justify it.

Once we realize that Haggard has shifted imperial endeavour away from simple economic gain to cultural refinement, it becomes clear that he secures the noblest of all reasons for imperialism--justice (Bass 265). Since Sir Henry is the spokesman for the Englishmen and because Sir Henry is described as "that great man" who is "good and brave" (288), the interpellated "boy" as reader is encouraged to note that might (Sir Henry) is in fact right when a point of honour is at stake. From the point when the whites agree to "'helping Umbopa to rebel against that infernal blackguard'" Twala, a series of remarkable transitions occur (169). The blacks who have been portrayed as boys in awestruck wonder over the power of the whites' guns and unusual appearance, are suddenly no longer boy-like, comic, or savage (Bass, 266). Quatermain describes the transformed Kukuanas as altogether admirable:

> There they were--going to certain death, about to quit the blessed light of day for ever, and yet able to contemplate their doom without a tremor.

> I could not even at that moment help contrasting their state of mind with my own, which was far from comfortable, and breathing a sigh of envy and admiration. Never before had I seen such an absolute devotion to the idea of duty . . . . (217-18)

Bass explains the change in the Kukuanas: "As the Kukuanas struggle to free themselves from the tyranny of centuries-old customs and barbaric practices, they are transformed in Haggard's mind from savages into men" (266). Bass uses the term "savages" but the analogy is clear: the Kukuanas evolve, spontaneously, from boys into men.

The Englishmen also undergo a number of transformations, but the most striking change is in Sir Henry Curtis. Up until the point when blood is shed, Sir Henry appears the paragon of the English gentleman; however, once the battle begins, he undergoes a regressive transformation:

> There he stood the great Dane, for he was nothing else, his hand, his axe, and his armour, all red with blood, and none could live before his stroke. Time after time I saw it come sweeping down, as some great warrior ventured to give him battle, and he struck as he shouted, "*O-hoy! O-hoy!*" like his Bersekir forefathers . . . . (226)

This primal Sir Henry fits Ridley's description of imperial

fiction that shows the value of regression:

> Much colonial fiction was therefore concerned with regression--both social and personal--and with the re-establishment in the colonies of more authentic and more primitive ways of life. One sees this in the portrayal of so many of the soldiers and administrators in anachronistic terms, as if they were feudal lords, knights-errant, or even re-incarnations of the ancient warriors of the nation. (112)

Sir Henry, then, does not so much descend primally as he transcends socially, the stultifying influences of civilization. The discourse of "the boy" in Rousseauean terms is thus evoked and as much as Sir Henry serves as an educational model for "boys" he also serves, paradoxically, to justify imperialism while he is the most incriminated in imperial practice. Ridley calls this motif the "cult of the primitive" and goes on to note that the primally awake European frequently won wars while demonstrating primitive arts of battle (112). Sir Henry again fits the pattern that Ridley describes because he meets Twala in single combat, is described as "our great Englishman", and eventually succeeds in beheading Twala (236). Ridley notes that this form of justification for imperialism was an "uneasy" one since it could hardly proclaim "imperialism as the hand-maiden of civilization" (112).

Haggard doubtless felt this tension and so was moved to continue associating Kukuanaland and Kukuanas with imperial Rome to ensure that England would not be implicated as the imperial agent of the story. For example, Quatermain says that Ignosi "might well be a proud man that day, for no Roman emperor ever had such a salutation from gladiators 'about to die'" (218). Yet Haggard never sees the whites and the Kukuanas on equal terms, and since Ignosi acknowledges that he owes his throne to them, "King at last, by the grace of you three right hands" (245), he remains a puppet king. Quatermain shows this in some of his parting words to Ignosi:

> Behold, Ignosi, with us thou camest a servant, and now we leave thee a mighty king. If thou art grateful to us, remember to do even as thou didst promise: to rule justly, to respect the law, and put none to death without a cause. (304)

The superiority of the whites is demonstrated when Ignosi offers them their own kingdoms--ironically the very thing that the imperialist dreams of. The whites, however, refuse and thus Haggard secures his ultimate purification of imperialism. The whites' act of renunciation demonstrates that they are a superior class of social redeemers; they are above the missionaries, traders, and soldiers that Ignosi swears he will ban from his country. All that Ignosi can offer is a form of immortality, and this he does with a

"different voice":

> Behold, I make a decree, and it shall be published from the mountains to the mountains, your names, Incubu, Macumazahn, and Bougwan, shall be as the names of dead kings, and he who speaks them shall die. So shall your memory be preserved in the land for ever. . (307)

The Englishmen thus reap their greatest reward--the pocketful of diamonds that Quatermain bears will ensure financial recompense-- but the final suggestion that Haggard makes is that the reward of imperialism is spiritual. Ignosi's words, "preserved in the land for ever" ring with Judeo-Christian notions that right actions are their own reward. Haggard thus shows a refinement on any of the typical justifications for imperialism since the benefit realized here is one of transformation of the imperial self and nation (Bass 268). The implication for "the boy" is clear--"little boys" ought not to be content with mere wealth. Rather, they should aspire to emulate the varied roles Haggard presents in the "brave white men" (306). The three whites form a triptych that shows "the boy" the virtues of imperial practice: the white explorer in Quatermain who is both pragmatic and religious in his own way; the aristocratic leader in Sir Henry Curtis who is both civil and savage; and the conventional English gentlemen in Good (Howarth 112). Ignosi's vow to memorialize these three

concretizes Haggard's belief that Africa *needed* the kind of characteristics embodied in the whites as much as the whites needed Africa to call out and prove these traits. "The boy", even though present only as reader, is likewise called upon to justify imperialism because like Kukuanaland, he is a site that needs to learn heroism, and imaginatively at least, "the boy" needs to express his own sense of heroism. Any single justification for imperialism in King Solomon's Mines, then, is absent in the same way that there is no single character who signifies "boy", and because "the boy" is both the source and the destination of the imperial ideology of the text. "The boy" is thus a wished-for signified because he provides an unseen, transcendental and self-certifying ground for imperial practice, just as it is assumed in conventional semiotic practice that there exists some unseen principle that guarantees meaning.

Chapter III

The Remembered Boy

"It never occurred to us to doubt Jim Hawkins"
(Treasure Island 84)

My purpose in this chapter is to investigate what subject positions are possible for "the boy" in imperial fiction. Perhaps the most enticing passage of Treasure Island with respect to potential subject positions is Long John Silver's attempt to convince Jim to join with the buccaneers:

> 'Now, you see, Jim, so be as you *are* here,' says he, 'I'll give you a piece of my mind. I've always liked you, I have, for a lad of spirit, and the picter of my own self when I was young and handsome. I always wanted you to jine and take your share, and die a gentleman, and now, my cock, you've got to. Cap'n Smollett's a fine seaman, as I'll own up to any day, but stiff on discipline. "Dooty is dooty," says he, and right he is. Just you keep clear of the cap'n. The doctor himself is gone dead again you--"the ungrateful scamp" was what he said; and the short and the long of the whole story is about here: you can't go back to your own lot, for they won't have you; and, without you start a third ship's company all by

> yourself, which might be lonely, you'll have to jine with Cap'n Silver.' (150)

The seeming dilemma of which party Jim will "jine" sums up the problem of subjectivity that is offered by boy's books in general and Treasure Island in particular. The issue of "jining" lends the appearance of free moral debate and suggests that the subject has the freedom to simply choose or even create his place in ideology. However, the issue is not simply one of moral debate; rather, joining a side serves to mask the way that imperial ideology demands certain subject positions of "the boy". Although "a third ship's company" gestures toward an alternate subjectivity for Jim, Long John offers him only an illusion of choice since imperial ideology entails a predetermined subjectivity for "the boy" Jim. Moreover, as Long John notes, a "third ship's company" might be "lonely", and thus signals the impossibility of a subject position outside of a societal context.

Jim's position as "boy" is called into suspicion very early in the book. For example, after Jim's escape from the pirates who ransack the Admiral Benbow is made possible by the intervention of the revenue officers, Jim is interpellated as a man, while Mr Dance is interpellated as a boy by the event. When the two enter Dr Livesey's home to deliver the map to him, Dance, although supervisor of the revenue officers, is contained within the ideological state

apparatus of the school as "boy":

> The supervisor stood up straight and stiff, and told his story like a lesson; and you should have seen how the two gentlemen leaned forward and looked at each other, and forgot to smoke in their surprise and interest. (30-31)

Although Dance is called a "noble fellow" for his role in the affair, he is dismissed from the Hall as quickly as possible. His dismissal from the narrative demonstrates that as part of the repressive state apparatus (revenue officer) Dance clears a space for the ideology of imperialism (he rides Pew down and kills him). And thus the ruling class (Dr Livesey and Squire Trelawney) is able to reproduce the means of production, because, once in possession of the map and the book, the ruling group is free to recover the treasure. The recovery of the treasure is in effect, an imperial allegory, because it involves claiming and ruling an alien space for the purpose of profit. The treasure is more than simple loot. It represents material production because its existence is possible only within a well-developed colonial-imperial apparatus; its reclamation is only a further aspect of venture capitalism. Jim, when he is invited to share a meal with the Squire and Livesey, is shown as part of the ruling ideological apparatus, and it is Jim's recovery of the map that enables the imperial efforts of Livesey and Trelawney to go forward. When they

call Jim a "trump" they interpellate him, and fix his subject position with their own--they are all imperial men (31). Jim confirms that he has recognized the interpellating address:

> The squire and I were *both* peering over his shoulder as he opened it, for Dr Livesey had kindly motioned me to *come round* from the side-table, where I had been eating, to enjoy the *sport of the search*. (32, my emphasis)

The implication of Dr Livesey's gesture is clear: Jim's subject position is not that of "the boy" who must choose the place of his allegiance; rather, his subject position is determined by adult ideology that hails Jim as fellow entrepreneur, adventurer, and ultimately imperialist. Thus, when the squire says "Hawkins shall come as cabin-boy", he describes not so much an expected event as he issues an ideological imperative that will be carried out because Jim has "heard" and responded to the interpellating address of imperialism.

Even though Stevenson calls Jim's subject position as "boy" into question, he nonetheless creates a compelling impression of "the boy" through the narrator Jim Hawkins. Unlike <u>King Solomon's Mines</u>, <u>Treasure Island</u> foregrounds "the boy" throughout its narrative. The narrative voice of "the boy" is, however, an effect created by an adult narrator. In the first two paragraphs, Jim says that he was

asked "to write down the whole particulars about Treasure Island" and that even though he "must go back to the time," he remembers the characters and events "as if it were yesterday" (1). Jim as "boy" is present in the narrative only as focalizer or centre of consciousness that Stevenson creates through a shift in viewpoint. Adult reminiscence gives way to "boyish" apprehensions, perceptions, and dreams very early in the narrative to create the effect of "the boy". Jim's nightmares about the "'seafaring man with one leg,'" because they are meant to describe boyish fears, typify Stevenson's presentation of Jim as "boy":

> How that personage haunted my dreams, I need scarcely tell you. On stormy nights, when the wind shook the four corners of the house, and the surf roared along the cove and up the cliffs, I would see him in a thousand forms, and with a thousand diabolical expressions. Now the leg would be cut off at the knee, now at the hip; now he was a monstrous kind of a creature who had never had but the one leg, and that in the middle of his body. To see him leap and run and pursue me over hedge and ditch was the worse of nightmares. (3)

Stevenson's narrative device is a clever one since he masks the construction of "the boy" by giving the adult Jim Hawkins a voice through the "boy" Jim Hawkins. Jackson

notes the near invisibility of this effect when he calls Stevenson's narrative "seductive" because it appeals to the reader's nostalgia for boyhood (28). When the seduction is identified, however, it is clear that there is no "boy" present in the text; rather, there is but an adult construction of him.

Once we realize Jim is but a memory, an adult construction, and it is clear that the narrator is actually the adult Jim, the apparent difference between the narrators of Kim, King Solomon's Mines and Treasure Island is minimalized. These three books shape "the boy" and offer subject positions from adult perceptions, memories, needs, desires, and ideologies. In short, the subject positions available to Jim and therefore to "the boy" are dictated by adult values and anxieties over subjectivity. Consequently "the boy" becomes a trope for adult need. He is present only as a trace, an effect, yet once again because of the votive element in memory, he is a wished-for signified.

I want to demonstrate in this chapter what I shall call a "poetics of the boy", and thereby demonstrate just what Stevenson wished for in "the boy".[1] I also want to develop the connection between Stevenson's poetics of "the boy", imperialism, and adult subjectivity. In an 1884 essay

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[1]I use the term "poetics", not so much to describe a formal treatise on the style and rationale of boys' books, as I do to signify through its Greek root, *poieo*, the fact that Stevenson is a "maker", one who manufactures or constructs "the boy".

called "A Humble Remonstrance", written to Henry James, Stevenson displays what "the boy" signifies:

> There never was a child (unless Master James) but has hunted gold, and been a pirate, and a military commander, and a bandit of the mountains; but has fought, and suffered shipwreck and prison, and imbrued its little hands in gore, and gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty. (Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson 94)

"The boy" that Stevenson here depicts nearly recapitulates the entire plot of Treasure Island: Jim seeks treasure; sympathizes with Silver as much as he fears him; is alongside Captain Smollett in the stockade; finds Ben Gunn on the island; is marooned, then held captive by Silver; kills Israel Hands; and emerges somehow innocent when he is declared a "good boy" by Captain Smollett (185). Stevenson's conception of the boy's imaginary world is a revealing one. He explains the boy's desire for treasure, piracy, command, robbery, gore, gallantry, and triumph as an adult one that resides in the writer: "I believe, in a majority of cases, that the artist writes with more gusto and effect of those things which he has only wished to do, than of those which he has done" (94). The construction of the boy, according to Stevenson, is not about what the boy wants, but what the adult wants, and *can do* under the aegis

of imperialism, and under the mask of "the boy" in imperial fiction. The kinds of desire expressed by Stevenson--treasure, piracy, command, robbery, gore, gallantry--are all in the masculine register, and all belong to the ideological climate of late Victorian imperialism where, in the name of Britannia, imperial activity personified the search for treasure and its attendant piracy, militarism, robbery, and gore. Stevenson's construction of "the boy" appeals to the theme of timelessness--"there *never* was"--and so seeks to universalize and legitimize "boyish" activity. The value of legitimizing the boy's imaginary world is immense since, if the boy has anything to do with "innocence and beauty" or gallantry, imperial activity is justified as innocent and universal. The poetics of "the boy" are thus the poetics of empire--as the boy is constructed so too is the empire made. An ideological circle is thus created: imperial ideology constructs the boy, and the boy valorizes imperial activity by providing a universal, pure, and nostalgic basis for the ideology.

Stevenson perhaps was aware of how important it was to keep Jim imbued with notions of the "child" when he chose to omit Jim's age from the 1883 book edition of Treasure Island. The 1881 serialized version of Treasure Island, published in Young Folks, gives Jim's age as he recites his role in sabotaging the pirates:

> '"And if you ask me how I did it, tortures

> wouldn't drive me, in the first place; and, in the second, much good it would do you, now the harm's done, and you ruined. And now you can kill me, if you please. The laugh's on my side. I've as good as hanged you, every man, and I'm *not fifteen till my next birthday*."' (209, my emphasis)

On the other hand, the 1883 book edition of the same passage reads:

> And as for the schooner, it was I who cut her cable, and it was I who brought her where you'll never see her more, not one of you. The laugh's on my side; I've had the top of this business from the first; I no more fear you than I fear a fly. Kill me, if you please, or spare me. (152)

The Young Folks version places Jim at age fourteen, that adolescent zone somewhere between man and boy which is too far from the innocence and nostalgia that Stevenson would require to palliate the imperialism of Treasure Island. By omitting Jim's age from the book version of the story, Stevenson secures the myth of the boy-hero and all its attendant power to simplify and purify imperial practice.

"The boy" as represented by Jim Hawkins is a constant construction and illusion, albeit one drawn with considerable skill. The power of the illusion derives from the dual register for "the boy" that Stevenson presents in the seeming dilemma of "jining": one register is the "good

boy", the other is the "bad boy". By suggesting that Jim is poised between the pirates and the stockade party, Stevenson invites the reader to locate these two subject positions for "the boy" in Jim. If Stevenson is successful in his construction of Jim as a "boy" torn between conflicting allegiances to the Englishmen and to Long John, Jim's efforts to recover the treasure stand as a form of moral triumph because it appears he has chosen empire over rebellion, duty over "dooty", and right over wrong. But, as I suggest above, Jim has his subject position and his "choices" predetermined by the late Victorian ideology expressed in Stevenson's poetics of "the boy". I do not, however, intend to suggest that there is no subject position for "the boy" present in Treasure Island. Indeed, the buccaneers collectively embody "the boy", specifically the "bad boy".

The pirates, throughout Treasure Island, are represented as misbehaving boys, who require discipline: they are irresponsible, they squander their resources, and act on impulse (Jackson 30). The buccaneers are also "boys" because they are illiterate. Not only can they not read, but they also distort language when they speak. Both facts recall Postman's observation that print, and mastery over it, is one of the prime demarcations between the man and "the boy". The pirates are explicitly described as children when Jim observes their demeanour while Dr Livesey attends

to them:

> 'Well,' he added, after he had dosed them round, and they had taken his prescriptions, with really laughable humility, more like charity school-children than blood-guilty mutineers and pirates--'well, that's for to-day. (165)

The pirates are sick because, like "school-children" they foolishly camped too close to the pestilent marshes of the island.

If the pirates are "boys", they are also portrayed as imperial Others. The representation of the pirates as boys and as imperial Others enables Treasure Island to become an imperial allegory. The allegory's constituent parts include the island as subject nation, the pirates, and Ben Gunn in particular, as its indigenes, Flint's treasure as the subject nation's resources, the stockade as the seat of imperial government, and its occupants, Captain Smollett, Dr Livesey, Squire Trelawney, and Jim as its imperial agents. The allegory is recognizable and possible chiefly because it encodes late Victorian notions of imperial spaces and people. The allegory is also made possible by two of Stevenson's narrative conventions. First, unlike King Solomon's Mines and Kim, Treasure Island has no actual setting in a subject nation such as Africa or India. Second, Treasure Island offers the pretence of being a historical fiction, whereas both Kim and King Solomon's

Mines date themselves, through events such as the Zulu Wars of 1879, as contemporary fiction. Thus, when Jim Hawkins says that he takes up his pen "in the year of grace 17--", and also withholds the location of Treasure Island, temporal and spatial indicators are thus removed which allows the story to become a representative imperial tale.

The allegorical pattern of Treasure Island continues to emerge from the way that the mutiny splits the ships's party into two groups who occupy two symbolically-charged spaces. The stockade party, as its titular members suggest--Dr Livesey, Squire Trelawney, and Captain Smollett--represents imperial Britain. The stockade itself is the only building on the island, and its very name indicates that it is part of the repressive state apparatus that imperialism requires to rule a subject nation. When the captain "run[s] up the colours" (95), he explicitly fixes the stockade as the seat of imperial control. As the centre of imperial power, the stockade itself must be rigidly ruled and maintained. When the members of the stockade party desert their posts in order to overhear the captain's parley with Silver, the Captain treats their actions as mutinous:

> As soon as Silver disappeared, the captain, who had been closely watching him, turned towards the interior of the house, and found not a man of us at our post, but Gray. It was the first time we had ever seen him angry.

> 'Quarters!' he roared. And then, as we all slunk back to our places, 'Gray,' I'll put your name in the log; you've stood by your duty like a seaman. Mr. Trelawney, I'm surprised at you, sir. Doctor, I thought you had worn the king's coat! If that was how you served at Fontenoy, sir, you'd have been better in your berth.' (109)

When read as an allegory of imperial power, Captain Smollett's anger does not seem out of proportion with the party's deeds: the imperial power cannot be let go of, not even for a moment.

Captain Smollett, in the allegory, is the imperial leader who possesses all the apparatuses of imperial power at his fingertips, as the contents of his pockets reveal:

> In the meantime the captain, whom I had observed to be wonderfully swollen about the chest and pockets, had turned out a great many various stores--the British colours, a Bible, a coil of stoutish rope, pen, ink, the log-book, and pounds of tobacco. (94)

These "various stores" are the adult imperial world incarnate: state, religion, discipline, education, duty, and trade.

The imperial allegory is further made possible by the descriptions of the island; topography and imperial ideology combine here to betray the late Victorian conceptions of the

alien space of the subject nation. Imperial Britain felt a deep unease over its imperial landscapes. Jim shows this disquiet as he describes Treasure Island and his qualms on approaching it:

> Perhaps it was this--perhaps it was the look of the island, its grey, melancholy woods, and wild stone spires, and the surf that we could both see and hear foaming and thundering on the steep beach--at least, although the sun shone bright and hot, and the shore birds were fishing and crying all around us, and you would have thought anyone would have been glad to get to land after being so long at sea, my heart sank, as the saying is, into my boots; and from that first look onward, I hated the very thought of Treasure Island. (69-70)

The island is "melancholy" with "wild stone spires", and its trees and hills are "strangely shaped" (68). The very oddity of Treasure Island challenges and betrays Jim's Old World perceptions: "Here and there were flowering plants *unknown to me* . . . then I came to a long thicket of these *oak-like* trees . . . which grew curiously twisted, the foliage compact, like a thatch" (73 my emphasis). Jim has difficulties placing or categorizing this new environment; the trees and the flowering plants challenge the perceptions and ordering mechanisms of the imperialist's world and thus produce anxiety. Bunn says that this malaise over alien

space derives from the descriptive habits of early exploratory travelogues which "persist well into the nineteenth century" (67). Although Bunn contextualizes this remark to Africa, travelogues from a variety of colonial landscapes demonstrate the colonialist and imperialist explorer struggling to accommodate new phenomena within his Old World lexicon. Bunn says: "Typically overwhelmed by the richness of the strange environment, feeling that he has somehow stumbled back into Eden, the discoverer senses that before him is a species of raw chaos which cannot be tamed" (69). In Treasure Island, Jim is encoded as the Old World traveller who meets a rich environment that is exhilarating, but also chaotic. Jim continues to describe the oddness, but notes:

> I felt for the first time the joy of exploration. The isle was uninhabited; my shipmates I had left behind, and nothing lived in front of me but dumb brutes and fowls. (73)

The Edenic pattern that Bunn sees as being typical of imperial travelogues and of writings derived from this tradition is brought out when Jim notes that "here and there I saw snakes . . . little did I suppose that he was a deadly enemy" (73).

Bunn points out that, if the alien land was a challenge to the ordering correspondences of the Old World traveller, the alien people were a greater challenge since they were

nearly always perceived as bestial in some way (69). The pirates undergo an interesting transformation once they go ashore to the island; aboard the *Hispaniola* they were simply different--mutineers--but once on the island they become perceived and treated as its native inhabitants--as the alien imperial Others. Jim's first experience with the pirates upon the island follows the pattern outlined by Bunn. The pirates are indeed shown as savage and bestial when Jim witnesses Long John murder Alan and Tom: "Silver, agile as a monkey, even without leg or crutch, was on the top of him next moment, and had twice buried his knife to the hilt in that defenceless body" (76). In this passage, late Victorian assumptions about the imperial Other occupying lower levels on an evolutionary racial hierarchy are clear. This effect is only heightened when Jim describes the buccaneer's attack on the stockade: "The boarders swarmed over the fence like monkeys" (111).

Since I read Treasure Island as an imperial allegory, Stevenson's own allegory in his poetics of "the boy" must be taken into account in an examination of the subject positions available for Jim. Stevenson includes in "A Humble Remonstrance" a startling intertext that links his imaginary "boy" to Moses, and thereby to the Moses-da Silvestra-Quatermain Exodus pattern of King Solomon's Mines, demonstrating a similar justification of imperialism. Stevenson, to explain what the artist has "wished to do",

offers this justification: "Desire is a wonderful telescope, and Pisgah the best observatory" (94). In this essay it seems that Stevenson imagines "the boy" alongside Moses, where he saw the promised land, was ensured of his right to it, and commissioned to take and rule the land in the most expedient way. Following the biblical typology along generational lines, "the boy-artist" conglomerate that Stevenson offers shifts to evoke Moses' protege, Joshua, the military imperialist par excellence. "The boy", then, is finally about "desire" for a promised land, a treasure bearing island (milk and honey?) that may be plundered with impunity since the last act of the imagination that Stevenson describes in his essay, specifies that the boy "gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty" (94). The battle that had been "lost" is twofold; one loss is typological, the other cultural. First, there is the loss of Moses, who dies on Mount Nebo (Pisgah), and second, there is the dwindling of the British economy in the great depression between 1873 and 1896 (Arnstein 130). Seen from the British perspective, both losses are tragic and in need of redress, and Stevenson's "boy" provides the means of redressing these losses because, unlike Moses, he can enter the promised land and thereby reap the financial and national rewards.

Treasure Island is ultimately about the redress of lost wealth; and Jim is the figure who makes possible the

recovery of the treasure. I want now to pursue the allegory of imperialism through to the rescue of the treasure. If imperialism is about establishing governmental control of alien lands, commodities, and people, for the allegory of Treasure Island to work, an indigenous population must be present, and if not subjected to imperial rule by force, they must be at least coerced. Treasure Island with its sole inhabitant, Ben Gunn, offers, if not a true indigene, an analogue who has developed his own material base that only serves to illumine the true nature of the material practices of the group headed by Captain Smollett. On the island, Ben is described more as a "native" or imperial Other than he is as British: he holds his hands out in "supplication" to Jim; Jim is "Christian," his God ensures Ben's respect; Ben is sun burnt, "even his lips were black;" he shows "childish pleasure in the presence of a fellow-creature;" in short, Ben is savage, childish, and altogether outlandish (79). However, his clothing represents an indigenous mode of production that is "held together by a system of the most various and incongruous fastenings, brass buttons, bits of stick, and loops of tarry gaskin" (79). Ben also has what amounts to an indigenous agricultural industry in so far as he lives on goats, berries and oysters (79).[2]

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[2]Stevenson owes the appearance of Ben Gunn to Defoe's Robinson Crusoe : Ben's clothing recalls Crusoe and serves to specify his class and status. Michael Nerlich provides a

Beyond these seeming domestic and agrarian resources, Ben also holds the treasure in his cave and thus represents the indigenous figure whose complicity or cooperation is demanded by the imperialist who would possess and control the local resources. Ben, also a pirate and a symbolic imperial Other, is encoded as a "boy"; however, unlike the other buccaneers, Ben is a "good boy" and by extension a compliant imperial Other. When Ben first encounters Jim he complains over his lack of a "Christian diet" and thereby indicates his dissatisfaction with his indigenous social structure while he simultaneously acknowledges the superiority of the British system. Ben also fears Long John Silver, who is described as a "chieftain" in the title of chapter thirty-three, and thus shows his displeasure with the injustices of the indigenous tribal social formation. The insinuation is reasonably clear: Ben as a "good boy" displays dissatisfaction with his current tribal, indigenous, regressive subject position; because he is willing to be bartered with (the parmesan cheese), he is offered in a "passage home", the possibility of a new subjectivity. Because Ben "puts a precious sight more confidence --a precious sight, mind that--in a gen'leman

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compelling Marxist reading of Crusoe that identifies Robinson as a "threatening, anarchic element in bourgeois society" (268), because he exposes the impossibility "for the people to make individual fortunes within existing relations of dominance" (265). Without completely accepting Nerlich's reading, Ben's costume, gestures, and deference to Jim all indicate that Ben is the subordinate indigene.

born than in these gen'lemen of fortune" he trusts the stockade party with the treasure, and effectively the island, since from the perspective of the imperial allegory, the island is the treasure (83).

Ben does win his passage home, as does everyone, because of Jim's courage and heroism throughout the ordeal of the island. Stevenson's essay "A Humble Remonstrance" specifies that "the "boy" "gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty" (94). Ironically, Ben serves to illustrate Stevenson's desire to protect innocence, for through him the "good boy" as a subjectivity is displayed. This is particularly clear in the description of Ben's attempt to return to the social matrix of England:

> As for Ben Gunn, he got a thousand pounds, which he spent or lost in three weeks, or, to be more exact, in nineteen days, for he was back begging on the twentieth. Then he was given a lodge to keep, exactly as he had feared on the island; and he still lives, a great favourite, though something of a butt, with the country boys, and a notable singer in church on Sundays and saints' days. (191)

The patronizing, if affectionate tone, is at pains to note that the compliant Ben of the imperial allegory remains the fond indigenous character who is dependant upon the imperial

figure for his economic stability. Ben's status as a "great favourite" mirrors the simple innocence late Victorian ideology wished to grant the submissive imperial Other in this description of the only non-allegorized indigenes of Treasure Island:

> It was just at sundown when we cast anchor in a most beautiful land-locked gulf, and were immediately surrounded by shore boats full of negroes, and Mexican Indians, and half-bloods, selling fruits and vegetables, and offering to dive for bits of money. The sight of so many good-humoured faces (especially the blacks), the taste of the tropical fruits, and above all, the lights that began to shine in the town, made a most charming contrast to our dark and bloody sojourn on the island. . . . (190)

Jim's reflection once again betrays his adult subject position. The condescending and fond tone reveals Jim as the imperial adult who through "dark and bloody" deeds, secures the idyllic scene around him.

Jim also reflects an adult subject position when he adopts a superior moral tone in his description of the recovered treasure:

> . . . I beheld great heaps of coin and quadrilaterals built of bars of gold. That was Flint's treasure that we had come so far to seek,

> and that had cost already the lives of seventeen men from the *Hispaniola*. How many it had cost in the amassing, what blood and sorrow, what good ships scuttled on the deep, what brave men walking the plank blindfold, what shot of cannon, what shame and lies and cruelty, perhaps no man alive could tell. (185)

Not only does the moral tone ring hollow, it is blind to Jim's own piracy in recovering the treasure and his complicity in the imperial practices that went into amassing the treasure. The coins are a veritable catalogue of imperial endeavour:

> It was a strange collection . . . English, French, Spanish, Portugese, Georges, and Louises, doubloons and double guineas and moidores and sequins, the pictures of all the kings of Europe for the last hundred years, strange Oriental pieces stamped with what looked wisps of string or bits of spider's web, round pieces and square pieces . . . nearly every variety of money in the world must, I think, have a place in the collection. . . . (187)

The list of coins indicates a larger, more extensive piracy than Flint's--that of British imperialism--nearly a century of imperial piracy, and an even greater period of mercantilism and venture capitalism. The pleasure that Jim

takes in sorting them recalls Long John's offer to have Jim "jine" and take his share, and die a "gentlemen". Long John's offer, however, is a moment of dramatic irony, for Long John is unaware of the distinction between what Ben Gunn calls "a gen'leman born" and "these gen'lemen of fortune". The distinction between merit and birth serves as a metaphor for ideological interpellation. As Althusser notes in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses":

> Everyone knows how much and in what way an unborn child is expected. . . . it is certain in advance that it will bear its Father's Name, and will therefore have an identity and be irreplaceable. Before its birth, the child is therefore always-already a subject, appointed as a subject in and by specific familial ideological configuration in which it is 'expected' once it has been conceived. (in Latimer 97)

Jim, by virtue of his Father's Name, Stevenson and late Victorian imperial ideology respectively, is born to the subject position of imperial adult "conceived" to serve the ends of empire. Long John, unaware of the interpellating power of ideology, is blind to the larger piracy of Stevenson who is born to conceive plots whereby,

> there never was a child (unless Master James) but has hunted gold, and been a pirate, and a military commander, and a bandit of the mountains; but has

> fought, and suffered shipwreck and prison, and imbrued its little hands in gore, and gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty. (Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson 94)

Unaware, Long John, like the stockade party never thought to doubt Jim Hawkins.

Chapter IV

Kim: *Lusus Naturae*--"the boy" as a Sport of Nature

'Queer sort of boy' (Kim, 149)

At one point in Kipling's Kim, the Catholic Padre of the Maverick regiment expresses his amazement over Kim's ability to prophesy: "'Are there many more like you in India? said Father Victor, 'or are you by way of being a *lusus naturae*?'" (133). The Padre's question broaches the central problem of Kim: is Kim "normal" and "natural", or is he a *lusus naturae*--a sport or freak of nature? The query is a supreme moment of dramatic irony for the reader who resists the flow of Kipling's narrative and questions the transparency of Kim as "boy". The answer to the Padre's question, which is never given, seems obvious: Kim is the product, or sport, of Kipling's imperial ideology; he is furthest from "nature" or "natural" since he is crafted and constructed to be the paragon of the imperial leader that Kipling envisioned for India. The freakish nature of Kim is nowhere plainer than in his status as "boy".

In this chapter I examine "the boy" by asking what meanings and contests for meanings are displayed within the presentation of "the boy" in Kim. The phrase "*contests* for meaning" is felicitous because the central metaphor governing Kim is that of game, or more precisely, the "Great Game". The notion of "game" points immediately to Kim's

education (the process which enables a "boy" to become a "man"); Kim is repeatedly compared to a pony being trained for the sport of polo (153-54). This training, moreover, is so that Kim can one day be a participant (or gamester) in the "Great Game", which is a metaphor for the Secret Service. The "Great Game" thus serves to conceal the fact that what is being played for in this book is really Britain's imperial control of India in the late Victorian period.[1] The notion of "contest", or game, thus emphasizes imperialism as the ideological centre of Kim.

"Contest" is apposite to "meaning", another key word I use to seek the production of "the boy" in Kim. The notion of meaning refers to the act of signifying, or pointing to a signified with a signifier. Kim, as its title suggests, has the character Kim as its prime signifier. What is being signified, or pointed to, by the text is "boy", since Kim is described repeatedly as "boy". Thus, the "contest for meaning" in Kim closes in upon the signified "boy", and finds it a troubled and contested term because Kim is so far from boyhood. Although I understand "the boy" primarily as a social formation, "the boy" also has an ontogenetic dimension. The term "boy" signifies a male child--a

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[1]This connection between boys' games and politics is made expressly clear in Tom Brown's Schooldays when Hughes explains the similarities between battle and football: "My dear sir, a battle would look much the same to you, except that the boys would be men, and the balls iron; but a battle would be worth your looking at for all that, and so is a football match" (89).

physically immature male person; puberty is usually taken as the terminus of childhood and thus of boyhood. Kim's age, and hence his ontogenetic status, is presented by the narrator of Kim with considerable variance, and thus poses a real problem to his status as "boy".

The first reference to Kim's age in the novel occurs after Kim has joined the lama on his quest, on the evening of the first day of the book's narrative sequence, when Kim encounters Mahbub Ali: "Kim had had many dealings with Mahbub in his little life--especially between his tenth and his thirteenth year" (29). This is an unambiguous reference to time past; typically, a year of age is given only when one is past that mark, and so we can conclude that Kim is around fourteen years old at the very beginning of his journey. Perhaps Kipling sensed the incongruity of constructing a "boy" of fourteen in a late Victorian context, and by qualifying Kim's life as "little", attempted to place him closer to boyhood. Kim's age is again referred to in the context of his stay at St. Xavier's school. Twice, the duration of his time at school is given as three years, (220, 231) which would make him approximately seventeen by the time he is "removed on appointment" (220), a euphemism for his formal entry into the "Great Game". Yet, the narrative gives Kim's age as "fifteen years and eight months" at the time of his leaving school (220), and [illegible]ms this age upon his entry into the Secret Service

when his Principal remarks: "'It is great luck for you, for you are only sixteen'" (235). Finally, Kim's first formal experience in the "Great Game" involves a journey on foot of "four hundred miles of hill roads" (332), a journey which surely takes several months to complete, since the distance given is but one [illegible]. Thus, by the end of the novel, according to the [illegible] within the text, Kim must be around eighteen years [illegible] despite the narrative insistence that he is only sixteen. Throughout the novel, Kim is consistently referred to as a "boy" or a "child", and whether his age is taken as being sixteen--as the narrator would have us believe--or eighteen--as textual logic demands--it is clear that he is in no way a "boy". Indeed, by late Victorian standards, an eighteen year old would certainly have been considered adult.[2] Mahbub Ali's comment on his own accomplishments by the age of fifteen illustrates the incongruity of calling Kim a "boy": "'When I was fifteen, I had shot my man and begot my man, Sahib'" (230).

Thus, without suggesting that it is not "natural", Kipling offers in Kim a "boy" who is eighteen years old. This incongruity is striking, and raises several questions: What is the effect of signifying Kim as "boy"? What ideological work does this ploy accomplish? The creation of narrative confusion over Kim's age is the fundamental means

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[2]Class is certainly a consideration here; however, Kim is the son of an Irish soldier, which suggests that he is of a social rank that expects its boys to become men quickly.

by which "the boy" is produced in the novel, a "boy" who is thus inscribed as a wished-for presence. This chronological ambiguity serves, in fact, as an unconvincing mask for an adult imperialism; there is a clear connection between Kim's subject position as boy, and the position of India as subject to Britain.

"The boy" in Kim becomes a bivalent signifier operating at several levels of meaning, pointing most obviously to "boy", but simultaneously encoding "man" because of the sexual and imperial symbolism associated with Kim. The bivalency of "boy" corresponds to Kim's apparent double identity: he is "burned black as any native" but he is also "white" (7), a fact which emphasizes the two nationalities present in the book--the English and the Indian. Furthermore, "the boy" is shaped and structured by two competing cultural paradigms: one is Anglo-Saxon, Lockean, Protestant, imperial, and child-*like*; another is Indian, Rousseauean, pagan, primitive and child*ish*. Kim as "boy", then, can be described as an ideological field--the site of an ideological contest between man and boy, colonizer and colonized.

Paradoxically, when read as an ideological field, Kim is absent from the narrative as a unified and coherent character, and becomes instead a polymorphous, wished-for signified. This elusive signified is in fact the desired means to explain and justify Britain's imperial presence and

activity in India. In this respect, even though the boy Kim is hardly ever absent from a page, Kim shares with King Solomon's Mines and Treasure Island the paradoxical characteristic of being for boys and about boys, but without a boy actually present. Instead, each text offers in the wished-for boy a political and economic structure to purify, explore, and justify the ideas and practices of imperialism.

It is thus not an overstatement to say that "the boy" makes possible the idea of imperialism, since one of the chief functions of the boy is the creation of a racial and national hierarchy. Indeed, in the nineteenth century an explicit parallel was made between the boy's need for education in order to become fully mature, and the needs of "immature" or "less-developed" nations for moulding and "education". Thus a range of notions pertaining to the "adult's" responsibility towards the boy--from solicitude and indulgence to discipline and pedagogy--were gathered into an imperial practice which exchanged "the boy" for the subject nation.

Even in the very first pages of Kim, it is clear that Kim's position as "boy" is problematic; it is suggested that the games Kim plays are intrinsically related to his boyhood and domination rather than to playful childish innocence. Kim opens with a description of Kim operating in the world of very young boys, a world which at first seems simple and safe: "he consorted on terms of perfect equality with the

small boys of the bazaar" (7). He is shown innocently at play:

> [A]s he drummed his heels against Zam-Zammah he turned now and again from his King-of-the-castle game with little Chota Lal and Abdullah the sweetmeat-seller's son, to make a rude remark to the native policeman on guard over the rows of shoes at the museum door. (10)

The equanimity the policeman shows, "he grinned tolerably" (10), suggests that Kim is nowhere near the adult world where an insult to such an authority-figure would be a flagrant transgression. Furthermore, Kim is shown to be in perfect friendship with the other boys, and with the policeman--"he knew Kim of old" (10). The policeman's grin, the assurance that Kim's nickname is "Little Friend of all the World" and the jovial sense of jest in the play all point toward an innocent and idyllic mood of boyish fun. Another set of codes, however, competes with these markers to indicate that Kim is at, or approaching, the world of the adult: a man's world that is a sexual and political realm of hierarchy.

The site of the game is actually a cannon, and the first lines of Kim show Kim astride it:

> He sat, in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun Zam-Zammah on her brick platform opposite the old Ajaib-Gher--the Wonder House, as the natives call the Lahore Museum. Who hold Zam-

> Zammah, that 'fire-breathing dragon', hold the Punjab; for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot.
>
> There was some justification for Kim--he had kicked Lala Dinanath's boy off the trunnions--since the English held the Punjab and Kim was English. (7)

The gun, protruding from between Kim's legs, is unquestionably phallic--a detail which sexualizes Kim as adult male. The cannon is given a feminine pronoun ("her"), and is thus a double signifier: it is *beneath* Kim as woman, and simultaneously appended to him as a penis. Kim drums his heels against Zam-Zammah, a gesture which suggests the impatience or restiveness associated with a burgeoning sexuality expressed through a weapon of conquest. The game takes place outside an Indian national archive which has an English curator, demonstrating that the English-boy astride the cannon mirrors the Englishman astride the Punjab. The museum, as a repository of national culture, functions synecdochically as a referent to India and Indian culture under British imperial rule.

Kipling appears to take great pains to make sure that Kim, as "Little Friend of all the World", meets the whole world--his playmates are Mussulman and Hindu(11), the policeman is Punjabi (10), the lama is Tibetan (13) though he resembles "Fook Shing, the Chinese bootmaker" (11), the

museum's curator is English--with a jocular, boyish innocence in the first few pages of the book. But this attempt at harmony is contested by the very game Kim is playing--king-of-the-castle. Kim, "who thought he knew all castes" (11) is destined by virtue of his later participation in the "Great Game" to be not only the "king-of-the-castle" but also king-of-the-cast(l)es. Kipling thus creates a racial hierarchy in the book's first page through the boys' antics, and then expands this game to the "Great Game"--an adult game of politics with the English at the top of the racial pyramid.

Mahbub's simple narrative of maturation--"shot my man and begot my man"--raises the problem of Kim's sexuality. Just as the sexualized cannon scene undercuts Kim as "boy", revealing him to be closer to the adult world than the narrator would admit, his position as "boy" is further eroded by the two female characters of the text. Both the Woman of Kulu and the Woman of Shamlegh apprehend Kim as a sexual being and thus further expose the facade that Kipling attempts to build with "the boy". Kipling's view of women seems encapsulated in the remark that Mahbub makes to Kim: "for it is by means of women that all plans come to ruin" (237).[3] To sexualize Kim would at once undermine his

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[3]Kipling, like Haggard, fears the possibility of miscegenation that imperialism offers. The Woman of Shamlegh was once betrothed to a sahib, but of course, the relationship is never consummated (349). The Woman of Shamlegh is described as "fair" which is surely the quality that even made such a

status as "boy", and also divert him from his path of national loyalty.

Despite the great care Kipling takes to show that the Woman of Kulu is old and "unlovely", and therefore no longer desirable, Kim's relations with her are very much sexually charged. Kim and the Woman flirt when they speak to one another, and clearly the Woman regards Kim as a desirable man. During one exchange Kim reminds the woman of the time she was called "Breaker of Hearts and a Dispenser of Delights" (286). Even though Kim is only repeating another's words, they are not lost on the woman:

> 'To remember that! It was true. So he did. That was in the time of the bloom of my beauty.' She chuckled like a contented parrot above the sugar lump. 'Now tell me of thy goings and comings--as much as may be without shame. How many maids, and whose wives, hang upon thine eyelashes?' (286)

When the Woman of Kulu mentions "shame", "maids" and "wives" she obviously refers to Kim's viable and attractive sexuality. Her aside to the lama, "See the women do not follow thy *chela* too openly", only reinforces the difficulty of taking Kim as a "boy".

Again, when Kim and the Woman of Shamlegh meet, there is an obvious sexual energy present:

> 'My husbands are also out there gathering wood.'

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relationship conceivable (349).

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BOYS' ADVENTURE BOOKS AND LATE VICTORIAN IMPERIALISM

BY

TIM HEATH

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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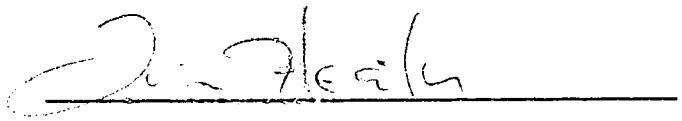

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Dr. J. Wallace

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines three boys' books of the late Victorian period (1873-1901): H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines, Rudyard Kipling's Kim, and Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island, for the connection between "the boy" as a social formation and the imperial practices of Britain. The thesis proceeds by locating the invention of "the boy" in the early European Renaissance as a specialized form of the child, and traces the development of "the boy" in discourse. One chapter is devoted to a reading of each text to reveal the specific ideological work of "the boy", and the ways in which this adult construction, "the boy", serves to enable and justify imperial practices.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the relation between "the boy" as a discursive formation and imperial ideology by examining boys' adventure books from the late Victorian period. Three texts that are hailed as typical boys' books are the site of my investigation: Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island (1883); H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885); and Rudyard Kipling's Kim (1901).[1] My purpose is to show how the ideology of imperialism takes up the discourse of "the boy", further constructs "the boy" in often contradictory ways, and then employs that construction as an enabling fiction for imperialism. My focus on "the boy" as a social formation makes him the speculative centre of this thesis; for this reason I will suspend "the boy" between quotation marks throughout to signify his questioned status. I also speak of "the boy" to reinforce the fact that I am discussing the discursively constructed "boy", not real historical boys.

King Solomon's Mines, Kim, and Treasure Island are homologous in many ways, chiefly because they are addressed to "boys", and because, with the exception of King Solomon's Mines, they deploy boy-heroes on quests in exotic or

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[1]The most commonly accepted dates for the "late Victorian" period are 1873 to 1901. Victoria's death in 1901 officially ends the period and her death, if nothing else, formally fixes Kim as Victorian.

imperial settings. For these reasons and others discussed below, these three books constitute a textual family. A brief plot summary of each text reveals the broad narrative similarities between them. King Solomon's Mines is a tale of quest and adventure. The work introduces Allan Quatermain, who, together with Sir Henry Curtis, Captain Good, and a Zulu warrior known as Umbopa, is in search of Sir Henry's lost brother. The journey is also motivated by rumours of an enormous treasure--Solomon's mines in "Kukuanaland". Guided by a fifteenth-century Portugese map, the adventurers suffer thirst, hunger, and warring tribes, to arrive in Kukuanaland. Through ingenuity, British pluck, and sheer coincidence, they defeat the witch Gagool and rediscover the legendary mines. Prior to leaving Kukuanaland, the whites mount a military campaign that reinstates Ignosi (who was disguised as Umbopa) as the rightful king. The plot is an archetypical male quest: the hero(es) pass(es) through a ritual number of tests, which are negotiated through the masculine codes of duty, knowledge, endurance, physical and mental agility, enter(s) a land of darkness (Kukuanaland), descend(s) into the earth (the mines), and re-emerge(s) richer and wiser (Batsleer 73).

Treasure Island is about the boy-hero, Jim Hawkins, whose mother operates the "Admiral Benbow," a coastal inn. Jim and his mother host a strange guest, an "old sea-dog,"

and eventually come to possess his map that details the location of buried treasure. Together with Squire Trelawney, Dr. Livesey, and Captain Smollett, Jim sets out to outwit a group of buccaneers and recover the substantial and legendary treasure of Captain Flint on "Treasure Island". As in King Solomon's Mines, the group is guided by a map, and is exposed to a number of trials and dangers which they must negotiate, the most formidable of which is Long John Silver, whose mix of geniality and cruelty, combined with his frequent appeal to "dooty," demands that Jim exhibit pluck and discernment. The island itself, though not a dark land, is hateful; Jim says it has a sort of "poisonous brightness" (69).[2] The quest is successful and the group leaves Treasure Island much richer and wiser.

Kim, too, partakes of the quest paradigm. Treasure is more ambiguously represented, however, since the quest is a seemingly spiritual one undertaken by the lama, a great Buddhist scholar. Kim is so fascinated by the lama that he joins him on his quest. Through the lama's journey Kipling provides an episodic plot along the "broad and open road", which is a retracing of the steps of Buddha in order to find the River of Arrow (18).[3] The spiritual quest motif is

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[2]Stevenson, Robert Louis. Treasure Island. 1883. New York: Oxford UP, 1985. All citations of Stevenson are from this edition.

[3]Kipling, Rudyard. Kim. 1901. Harmondsworth: Puffin Books, 1987. All citations of Kipling are from this edition.

complicated, however, by Kim's search for a secure place in the British Secret Service which is spoken of through the metaphor of the "Great Game". The lama, like Jim and Quatermain, is guided by a map of sorts: the "Wheel of Life" which functions symbolically and allegorically as both compass and map. Like Jim Hawkins, Kim negotiates his journey amidst a constellation of adult men who represent various options and roles for his action and character. Kim secures a place in the "Great Game" and grows spiritually: he too, then, ends his quest much richer and wiser.

Beyond their narrative similarities, these three books belong to the cultural context of late Victorian imperialism. A problem attends the use of the term "imperialism" that must be cleared at the outset of my discussion. "Colonialism" is frequently treated as if it were a synonymous term, yet thinkers of the nineteenth century saw a clear distinction between imperialism and colonialism. For example, Hobson's Imperialism: a Study (1905), is an example of the Victorian-Edwardian distinction between imperialism and colonialism. Hobson understands colonialism to mean acquisition of lands and trade relationships, whereas imperialism refers to the imposition and development of governmental structures (the "Great Game" being a prime example) inside a colony to maintain profit. The books referred to in this thesis, however, are

occasionally discussed in criticism as "colonial fiction".[4] Because the texts arise from and depict the practice of imperialism inside existing colonies, I suggest that the more accurate term should be "imperial fiction" (Bunn 3). The adventure book for boys forms a special category within imperial fiction and performs a special function within imperialism.

Although "the boy" is seemingly central to the production of these works, he is not explicitly inscribed in them. King Solomon's Mines is the clearest example. Its narrator assures the reader that there is "not a *petticoat* in the whole history" (9); however, just as there are no women, the text is also without a boy as a character.[5] Nonetheless, as the dedication page says, "This faithful but unpretending record of a remarkable adventure is hereby respectfully dedicated by the narrator, Allan Quatermain, to all the big and little boys who read it". King Solomon's Mines then, in its address to a male audience, somehow homogenizes men and boys of all ages and classes. The choice of the word "boy," despite its common-sense appeal to all male children of all times and places, constitutes a profound disavowal of all the material and ideological

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[4]Hugh Ridley in Images of Imperialism, focuses on the period between 1870 and 1914, but employs the terms "colonial literature" or "colonial fiction" throughout his discussion (1).

[5]Haggard, Rider H. King Solomon's Mines. 1885. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989. All citations from Haggard are from this edition.

practices that stand behind the category "boy". Haggard's address to boys is more an appeal than a dedication. He appeals to the myth of innocence and purity that invests "the boy" in the hope that this myth will, in turn, purify the imperialism expressed in King Solomon's Mines. Whereas Haggard's appeal is concretized in the dedication to "big and little boys", the other texts use different forms of appeal. Nonetheless, each appeal is from the adult to "the boy".

In each text the author who authoritatively constructs "the boy" is himself an adult, whose account of boyhood is motivated more by an adult need and desire to use "the boy" to explain, justify, and motivate imperialism than by a simple adult concern to produce a literature for boys. Henry James' essay "Robert Louis Stevenson" illustrates the adult investment in the boy's book:

> Treasure Island is a 'boy's book,' in the sense that it embodies a boy's vision of the extraordinary; but it is unique in this, and calculated to fascinate the weary mind of experience, that what we see in it is not only the ideal fable, but, as part and parcel of that, as it were, the young reader himself and his state of mind: we seem to read it over his shoulder, with an arm around his neck. It is all as perfect as a well-played boy's game . . . . (Henry James and

Robert Louis Stevenson 154)

The way in which James places an adult arm around the "young reader" recalls the dedication to King Solomon's Mines and shows how men and boys ("big and little boys") blur into one another--how "the boy" is a puppet or extension of the man. But just as "the boy" is understood as universal and innocent, so is the production of books for boys that depict adventure in foreign lands understood as nothing more than "fable" or a "well-played boy's game". Since the late Victorian period was characterized by guilt and ambivalence over imperialism, the need to encode imperial practice as a game, or as a "boy's vision" was paramount. James' phrase, "a boy's vision of the extraordinary", shows how "the boy" does more than simply lend innocence to imperialism; "vision" enables imperialism with its connotations of the prophetic and the visionary. For these reasons, I examine the relation between imperialism and the way that "the boy" is constructed by the adult authors of each book.

Four questions shape my approach. Each question forms one of the four chapters of my thesis: first, what discursive meanings exist for "the boy" and how are they displayed in the boy's book, and specifically, what late Victorian cultural conditions invest these meanings? Second, how does late Victorian imperialist ideology use "the boy" to justify and purify its material practices? Third, what possible subject positions exist for "the boy"

in the late Victorian boys' book. Finally, what meanings and contests for meanings arise in an ideological reading of the boys' book?[6]

These four inquiries--"the boy" in discourse, the ideological work of "the boy", subjectivity and "the boy", and contested meanings for "the boy"--shape my discussion, but are enormously complex questions, and thus my aim over-reaches itself. Not only are the questions complex, but the texts themselves, seemingly simple because for boys, are in fact very dense documents when read for their ideological significance. I offer, then, a provisional, interrogative reading that derives from, and is inspired by, the historical and economic focus of much contemporary textual interpretation. Given space restrictions, I am forced to enumerate rather than discuss exhaustively some of the problems these contingent factors raise in the "timeless" narrative of boys' adventure. In order to develop my response to each question fully, I will devote one chapter to each book: of King Solomon's Mines, I will ask the second question; of Treasure Island, the third; and of Kim, the fourth. In each case, I will restrict my discussion to the main text in question and, where appropriate, refer briefly to the other books.

Before proceeding I wish to expand briefly on the form,

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[6]I am indebted to Foucault's "What is an Author?" in Language, counter-memory, practice for these questions, particularly the third and fourth (138).

rationale, and direction of my reading strategy. Since I view "the boy" as a masculine, political and economic construction, the way that ideology is understood in relation to Kim, King Solomon's Mines, and Treasure Island, must be as clear as possible. The key term, "ideology" occupies a shifting register of meaning within literary criticism, particularly in criticism of imperial fiction. To restrict the possible meanings of ideology, I will employ Louis Althusser's simple but incisive definition: "a system (with its own logic and rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and role within a given society" (For Marx 231).

In Lenin and Philosophy, Althusser further clarifies ideology, and so offers another implication for its application to a reading strategy: "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (162). Bunn summarizes the significance of these two statements:

> [F]or Althusser "ideology" means at least three things: it has internal coherence; it is a form of material practice; and it is not a form of false consciousness in the normal sense because it embodies the real experience of men in representing their attitudes towards the world. Literature for Althusser, is included among those

> ideological apparatuses which reproduce the relations of production in a symbolic form. . . . (45-46)

These citations serve to make my point--ideology determines material practice. However, the causal relationship is best described as contingent, and most important, overdetermined with respect to specific cultural and historical contexts. By overdetermined, I have in mind the Althusserian notion that specifies economics as a determining factor of ideology only "in the last instance" (For Marx 112). Further, overdetermination allows that ideological elements ("images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case") have a vitality, logic, and illogic of their own (Dowling 69). I specify "illogic" since it allows that ideology is riven with contradictions.

"The boy" is an element of discourse within ideology and this discursive formation includes "images, myths, ideas, or concepts" (For Marx 231). Because Althusser's notion of overdetermination rescues ideology from being a simple dominant, monolith of culture, the possibility of contradiction is allowed within an ideology. By extension, a discourse within ideology may also be fraught with contrast and contradiction, as is the discourse of "the boy". In fact, for ideology to be a useful tool within a reading strategy, it must allow for contradiction within itself. Mary Poovey uses the term "uneven" to describe the

ideological contrasts she finds in the mid-Victorian years:

> The system of ideas and institutions I examine here, in other words, was uneven, and it developed unevenly. . . . This ideological formulation was uneven both in the sense of being experienced differently by individuals who were positioned differently within the social formation (by sex, class, or race, for example) and in the sense of being articulated differently by the different institutions, discourses, and practices that it both constituted and was constituted by. (3)

Poovey's final phrase, "both constituted and was constituted by", demonstrates the sense in which ideology is shaped by "institutions, discourses, and practices" and the way that ideology also shapes "institutions, discourses, and practises". Ideology, in this sense has a performative role in material practice or, as Poovey says, there is an "ideological work" whereby ideology has a distinct purpose within culture. The goal of this thesis, then, is to demonstrate how "the boy" works to justify, explain, explore, purify, and ultimately make possible, imperial practice.

Chapter I

The Determined Boy

This chapter examines the entry of the boy into discourse and the contradictions within the discourse of "the boy". I discuss the cultural invention of "the boy" in several media, notably costume, pastimes, and print. I will also show how three "founders of discursivity", Locke, Rousseau, and Darwin, made possible and, in fact, determined new developments in the formation of "the boy" (Foucault, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice 131). This brief archaeology is crucial to my reading of late Victorian imperial fiction because through it I demonstrate the ways in which "the boy" exists, not as a single unitary cultural construct, but as a polymorphous wished-for signified.

I use "wished-for" because Kim, Treasure Island, and King Solomon's Mines, although for or about boys, are paradoxically all without a character who is a boy. I will explain this absence further in subsequent chapters. For the present it is sufficient to describe the deficiency briefly. King Solomon's Mines, as I noted earlier, lacks a boy protagonist or even a minor character as a boy. Treasure Island, despite the centrality of Jim Hawkins, is actually narrated *post eventum* by an adult Jim Hawkins. Kim is unique because it employs the term "boy" frequently for its central character, but Kim is actually an individual in

late adolescence or early adulthood since his age is approximately fifteen at the narrative's outset. Because the book spans three years, Kim is a young man or adult of approximately eighteen by the close of the narrative. Thus, the three texts show three permutations of "the boy": missing in King Solomon's Mines; remembered in Treasure Island; and disguised in Kim. Each variation is a negativity, a want, hence my designation "wished-for". None of the authors is able to secure "the boy" within his text; signifiers such as "the boy", "lad", "child", "imp", even "Jim" and "Kim" point toward an absence. In place of "the boy" the authors signify their own desires. Jacqueline Rose explains the presence of adult desire in children's fiction thus: "Children's fiction sets up a world in which the adult comes first (author, maker, giver) and the child comes after (reader, product, receiver)" (1-2). I differ from Rose because my focus is on "the boy"; however, her argument is relevant to "the boy" because even though he is a special form of the child, "the boy" shares the same subordinate relation to adult prerogative. Boys' fiction is thus not about what the child wants; rather it is about what the "adult desires" (2). I also differ from her, however, because my approach locates adult desire for "the boy" in ideologic structures rather than psychic ones. By "ideologic structures", I recall Althusser's simple definition of ideology: "a system (with its own logic and

rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and role within a given society" (For Marx 231). These "images, myths, ideas, or concepts" that invest the ideology, and thus the discourse of "the boy", are contrasting and contradictory. For this reason, I discuss "the boy" as an ideological field with poles of meaning. For example, the boy represents regression as much he represents futurity, innocence as much as savagery. I will show just how these polar extremes are possible because of the developments in the history of the ideology of "the boy", and most important, how they are *necessary* to imperial boys' fiction. I turn now to examine "the boy" as he has been shaped in discourse.

Several problems of terminology must be cleared at the outset of this chapter. "The boy", as the construction under examination, belongs to two categories. Biologically "the boy" is male; culturally his gender is constructed as masculine. Childhood, because it does not specify a sex or gender, is an ambiguous designation. The European invention of childhood in the early Renaissance, not as an ontogenetic category, but as a cultural formation, was directed first toward the male, or the boy. Early ideas of childhood privileged the male, and hence the first children constructed were boys. Philip Ariès says:

> The attempt to distinguish children was generally

> confined to the boys: the little girls were distinguished only by false sleeves, abandoned in the eighteenth century, as if childhood separated girls from adult life less than it did boys. The evidence provided by dress bears out the other indications furnished by the history of manners: boys were the first specialized children. They began going to school in large numbers as far back as the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. (58)

The entry of the girl into childhood, was, as Ariès describes it, "slow and tardy" (58). For this reason, and to avoid appropriating the girl, who is outside the scope of this study, I will use "boy" as much as possible throughout this thesis, rather than the ambiguous terms "child", "children", or "childhood".[1]

Ariès, Plumb, de Mause, and Postman, all historians of childhood, say that only rudimentary notions of the boy existed from Roman times to the early Middle Ages. Postman's description of this time period stresses the deterioration of culture: "Every educated person knows about the invasions of the northern barbarians, the collapse of the Roman empire, the shrouding of classical culture, and Europe's descent into what is called the Dark and then the

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[1]Claudia Nelson's Boys Will be Girls stands as one of too few works on girls.

Middle Ages" (10). "Invasion", "barbarians", "collapse", "shrouding", and "descent" all speak clearly of regression and cultural erosion. Whether this is an appropriate description of the period in question is open to debate. Nonetheless Postman argues that a well-developed idea of culture is necessary to construct "the boy", and that during this time all ideas of boyhood disappear (10). Thus an archaeology of "the boy" must begin in the early Middle Ages.

Philip Ariès, the foremost historian of childhood, examines portraiture, religious iconography, dress, games, play, and pastimes of French culture from the eleventh to the eighteenth century.[2] Ariès begins his archaeology in the tenth and eleventh centuries with an examination of portraiture:

> Our starting-point in this study is a world of pictorial representation in which childhood is unknown; literary historians such as Mgr Calve have made the same observation about the epic, in which child prodigies behave with the courage and physical strength of doughty warriors. This undoubtedly means that the men of the tenth and eleventh centuries did not dwell on the image of childhood, and that the image had neither interest

[2]Because Ariès confines his inquiry to France any application of his work to English culture and books is necessarily extrapolative.

nor even reality for them. (34)[3]

On the whole, despite the germinal notions of childhood that Ariès finds in the Middle Ages, he characterizes the period as "unaware of childhood" (128). Medieval society regarded the boy as a member of adult society. Not only was there a paucity of linguistic forms for "child", but games, clothing, crafts, arms, and pastimes for children were also virtually indistinguishable from those intended for adults (128).

In the sixteenth century, boys of the upper classes began to acquire a special costume. Ariès says: "*The first children's costume was the costume which everybody used to wear about a century before, and which henceforth they were the only ones to wear*" (57). This tendency is called "archaizing" by Ariès; its sartorial function was to pinpoint the social position and rank of the wearer (57). Ariès notes that games, pastimes, stories, and books went through a continuous "evolution" whereby the obsolete was passed to the child (99). "The boy" then, because he

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[3]It is important to note that de Mause says that Ariès' view on the history of childhood is "the opposite of mine" (5). DeMause finds a very concrete idea of childhood in the Middle Ages: he calls Ariès' work "untenable," ignorant of "voluminous evidence" and "fuzzy" (5). The quibble between the two may derive from the disciplinary tension between Ariès' social historical view and de Mause's psychoanalytic view. In any case, de Mause is guilty of totalizing Ariès' work in so far as Ariès only excludes a notion of childhood from the tenth and eleventh centuries: he sees a variety of germinal notions at work in a variety of media--art, dress, iconography, and games--in the later Middle Ages.

receives cast-off costume and other archaic cultural media, holds a class position that is subordinate. Because "the boy's" invention is represented by "archaizing" he becomes associated with the past. "The boy", then, is understood as anterior to the present, or regressive, because he is physically immature, and because socially he belongs to the past.

Simultaneous to the process of archaizing, Ariès says that the child, "on account of his sweetness, simplicity and drollery became a source of amusement and relaxation for the adult" (129). In short, "coddling" began. Ariès attaches this idea, again derived from the adult, to women who were mothers and nannies of children. Coddling introduces the notion of innocence, or "sweetness" into the discourse of "the boy". At this point in history, Ariès notes that adult diaries begin to reflect delight with children, thereby moving "the boy" increasingly into the realm of discourse (49).

Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the "coddling" of children became more widespread, and began to include the lower classes. The seventeenth century also saw the rise of the moralist and the pedagogue, both of whom had distinct ideas about what constituted and benefitted boyhood. These two forces had different origins; the coddling arose from within the family, and the moralizing and educating from without. Although not antithetical,

these ideas of boyhood are sharply contrasted. The child, specifically "the boy", was a subject of interest inside the family for tenderness and affection. To the moralists and pedagogues, the boy became the subject of psychological interest and moral solicitude (Ariès 130).

Coddling, since it occurs from and on behalf of the adult position is concerned with keeping "the boy" the object of its indulgence, and hence reinforces the notion of archaizing "the boy". Education, on the other hand, increasingly moved "the boy" into the public sphere, and began to shape a discourse of futurity or potentiality for "the boy". Thus, a binary between the past and the future, between regression and futurity, is formed in the discourse of "the boy". Both these ideas are important in imperial fiction. For example, Kim is constantly referred to as a polo-pony who will one day play the Game as an initiate because of his education. On the other hand, because the Great Game belongs to the politically charged world of men, Kipling disguises Kim as a "boy" and thereby ensures that imperialism recedes behind a cloak of boyish innocence. Two representations of "the boy" in discourse, however much antithetical, thus enable the practice of imperialism. The ideas of futurity and regression gained further impetus through the writings of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Locke, in the seventeenth century, and Rousseau in the

eighteenth century, stand as "initiators of discursive practices" with respect to the invention of "the boy" (Foucault, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice 131). Foucault explains the exact significance of the term "initiators of discursive practices": "they produced not only their own work, but the possibility and the rules of formation of other texts" (131). Founders of discursivity establish "the endless possibility of discourse" (131). After Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693) and Emile (1762), "the boy" changed, because these two books "cleared a space for the introduction of elements other than their own" (132). Locke and Rousseau thus made possible an elaboration and complication of the construction of "the boy."

Locke's notion of the boy as *tabula rasa* pushed a heavy responsibility upon parents, schools, and eventually governments for what was written on the blank slate of the mind. Postman says:

> An ignorant, shame-less, undisciplined child represented the failure of adults, not the child. . . . Locke's tabula rasa created a sense of guilt in parents about their children's development, and provided the psychological and epistemological grounds for making the careful nurturing of children a national priority, at least among the merchant classes who were, so to

say, Locke's constituents. (57)

Postman demonstrates how the idea of regression failed to remain value-neutral in the early discourse of the boy. Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, cultural ideas of progress demanded that all members of society move forward. "The boy" who was thus subject to demands of conformity and shame, became a part of the means used to manipulate uniformity. Postman signals, by "shame-less", that "the boy" also was the destination of disciplinary actions as much as he was source of adult solicitude.[4]

A key factor in the production of shame was the Judeo-Christian notion of pilgrimage that linked biological maturation with spiritual maturation. As the bible gained a new-found currency during the Reformation, passages such as "flee the evil desires of youth" helped invest the discourse of "the boy" with shame (II Timothy 2:22). Writings such as Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress only intensified the need to move away from boyhood toward maturity.

Rousseau made two ideas possible in the discourse of boyhood. I specify "made possible" because Rousseau founded a discourse, but that discourse was then subject to the process of transformation Foucault describes:

In effect, the act of initiation is such, in its

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[4]Postman notes that the connection between shame and the boy is as old as the Romans, when barbarians were likened to children (9). The Roman idea of shame as a definer of "the boy", disappeared, Postman says, only to reappear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

> essence, that it is inevitably subjected to its own distortions; that which displays this act and derives from it is, at the same time, the root of its divergences and travesties. (135)

Thus, although Rousseau considered citizenry the goal of his educational philosophy, his notion of individualism was privileged by later commentators (Emile 7). Rousseau is thus presented as an antithesis to Locke, even though both thinkers saw "the boy" as a potential citizen. Ridley typifies this distortion of Rousseau's thought into a category that may only be considered Rousseauean: "He [Rousseau] wanted . . . a triumphant demonstration of the superiority of natural over civilized man" (8). The second development in the discourse of "the boy" that Rousseau enabled, grew out of the first. That is, the intellectual and emotional life of the boy, for Rousseau, was important because boyhood was the stage of life that most closely approximated nature. Rousseau clearly did not invent the idea of the boy as natural. Nevertheless, he "cleared a space" for the development of the romantic idea of the boy. Postman thus describes a Rousseauean notion of "the boy" when he says:

> Rousseau's obsession with a state of nature and his corresponding contempt for "civilized values" brought to the world's attention, as none had before him, the childhood virtues of spontaneity,

> purity, strength, and joy, all of which came to be seen as features to nurture and celebrate. (59)

In short, even though he did not differ substantially from Locke, Rousseau made possible the "cult of boyhood" that was understood to move in the exact opposite direction from Locke's notion of boyhood (Rose, 43).[5] The discourse of "the boy" then, by the mid-eighteenth century, was marked by two competing understandings of the boy.

The rise of education for "the boy" was enabled by the development of the printing press, an invention that gave "the boy" a new configuration. Reading created a new way to distinguish the adult from the boy:

> But as the printing press played out its hand it became obvious that a new kind of adulthood had been invented. From print onward, adulthood had to be earned. It became a symbolic, not a biological, achievement. From print onward, the young would have to *become* adults, and they would have to do it by learning to read, by entering the world of typography. And in order to accomplish that they would require education. Therefore European civilization reinvented schools. And by so doing, it made childhood a necessity. (Postman 36)

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[5]Although Ariès identifies "coddling" as a celebration of the boy's innocence as an earlier development than Rousseau's work, Rousseau fixed the notion in discursive practice.

Postman illustrates how "the boy" was not only invented by but also separated from adults, because literacy allowed a ready, comprehensive and compelling demarcation:

> Children were not separated from the rest of the population because they were believed to have a "different nature and different needs." They were believed to have a different nature and needs because they had been separated from the rest of the population. And they were separated because it became essential in their culture that they learn how to read and write, and how to be the sort of people a print culture required. (37-38)

Postman's argument illuminates the way that "the boy" is constructed; he reverses the usual cause and effect thinking about boys, and makes clear the adult role in constructing "the boy" as different and subordinate. Since reading promises epistemological sophistication and advancement, knowledge becomes an instrument of power. With respect to "the boy", knowledge-as-power reified the concepts of shame and of archaizing, while it reinforced the need for "the boy" to progress.

The idea of boyhood, then, as it reached the nineteenth century, was composed of two strands: the Lockean and the Rousseauean. Postman calls the Lockean strand "Protestant"; it typifies "the boy" as an unformed adult who through education, literacy, reason, and self-control may be made

into a civilized adult (59). The implications behind "self-control" are clear: if boys fail to discipline themselves, a clear adult mandate exists to provide "control". The Rousseauean or "Romantic" notion does not problematize "the boy", rather it is the adult who, as a deformed boy, is the problem.[6] "The boy", for Rousseau, possesses natural capacities for understanding, candour, curiosity and spontaneity, which are only deadened by literacy, education, reason, self-control, and shame (59).

Postman's analysis of these two competing ideas is unique because he attends to the metaphors of both thinkers, and because he demonstrates the shift in the valence of Locke and Rousseau's discourse. Locke, according to Postman, links the mind with tablets and thereby connects the boy with print (59). The metaphor is inorganic; there is nothing natural about it--the boy may be seen as a book, advancing toward maturity as the pages are filled up. Through Locke, or rather, Lockean thought, boyhood is imbued with notions of rationality, the process of forming "the boy" is sequential, segmented and linguistic (Postman 60).[7]

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[6]Wordsworth's conception of the child is perhaps the most obvious example of the "Romantic" view.

[7]Postman's interpretation overlooks the organic and fluid nature of Locke's language. For example, Locke sets up an extended simile for the education process that is very liquid: "[T]he Fountains of some Rivers, where a gentle application of the Hand turns the flexible Waters . . . I imagine the Minds of Children as easily turned this way or that Way, as Water it self" (Some Thoughts Concerning Education, 1-2)

Rousseau described the boy in organic terms: boyhood was natural and education was perceived as a process of subtraction, not addition. These seemingly antithetical ideas obtained throughout the nineteenth century. In Britain, the Lockean model remained largely dominant. However, in as much as Locke's idea was founded on an Augustinian-Calvinist notion of depravity that fell into disrepute in the nineteenth century, and because English poets such as Wordsworth or Southey had romanticized "the boy", a Rousseauean ideology of boyhood existed alongside. It is too simple, however, to suggest that the two ideas remained hermetically sealed from one another. Both ideas, despite Rousseau's focus on nature, are based on a model of education.

The Society for the Study of Child Nature, founded in 1890, shows the synthesis between Locke and Rousseau in these questions of pedagogy:

> Should implicit obedience be enforced upon children?
>
> How can the true idea of property be conveyed to the child?
>
> How much authority should older children have?
>
> Is a child's imagination stunted if it is made to adhere strictly to the truth? (in Postman 61)

The questions display an anxiety over what is assumed innate or natural (imagination) in "the boy", and what must be

added to "the boy" (obedience) and thus demonstrate the currency of both Lockean and Rousseauean notions of "the boy".

During the mid-Victorian years, Darwin, like Locke and Rousseau, made possible new meanings in the discourse of "the boy". Even though Darwin did not formally address "the boy", his conception of nature redefined it as a state of competition, not as the state of bliss or innocence of Rousseauean belief. The primitivism of Rousseau was now complicated. Lovejoy describes the complication by noting that two forms of primitivism were now possible: "hard primitivism" and "soft primitivism" (9). The "soft" form simply renames Rousseauean or Romantic primitivism, while the "hard" form introduces the possibility that "the boy" as associated with ideas of regression becomes invested with notions of savagery. Kipling demonstrates the currency of the hard form with the proverb "never make friends with the Devil, a monkey, or a boy" (107). A revealing constellation of ideas is thus combined: evil in the Devil and regression in the monkey show the possibility that nature is savage and malevolent, as also "the boy" may be.

The discourse of "the boy", then, as it reached the nineteenth century was exceptionally plastic. Because of its malleability, it served the many needs of imperialism well. On one hand, "the boy" in connection with regression, shame, and the primitive, allowed groups of "primitive"

people to be seen as young nations that, because seen as static or regressive by European standards, required imperial tutelage. The discursive development permitted by Darwin's notion of competition in nature also allowed a more rigourous and martial understanding of the imperial role. The imperial Other, individually and corporately, could be seen as a competitive threat to survival, thereby justifying disciplinary or military control. Conversely, the imperial Other, like "the boy" could be indulged fondly and protected from threat by a parental imperial nation. Again, Kim, with its contest between imperial Britain and Russia for India displays a rationale for imperialism made possible by "the boy".

These examples demonstrate my grounds for calling "the boy" a polymorphous wished-for signified. The variety of meanings for "the boy" allows and enables a variety of imperial practices--particularly those that must secure the imperial Other in a place of subordination. Just as contemporary semiotic practice unmoors the signifier from the signified, British imperialism divorces the boy from the discourse of "the boy" and thus secures an immense ideological leverage through a paradoxical process of binding and loosing. The divorce is finally so effective as to make possible a variety of placements of "the boy". As I noted at the outset of this chapter, "the boy" is respectively absent, remembered and disguised in the three

texts I consider. I turn now to see how the myth of "the boy" is powerful enough in the late Victorian period to serve as an ideological purification for imperialism--so much so, that King Solomon's Mines can go forward without a boy actually present at the level of character.

Chapter II

The Absent Boy

One of the most troubling aspects of King Solomon's Mines, as a boy's book, is its lack of a boy protagonist, in spite of its dedication to all "big and little boys". This absence makes it unlike Kim or Treasure Island and calls for a reading that locates "the boy" as an audience outside the text, rather than as a specific character within the text. Whether "the boy" is located in the story, or outside it, King Solomon's Mines does not employ any single use of "the boy" to justify and enable imperialism. Instead, it deploys a pastiche of themes and motifs, all connected with "the boy" but without any overall unity. The motifs used to appeal to "the boy" include the religious, the initiatory, the educative, and the honorific, but no single one dominates. That is, Haggard hopes to purify the imperialism of King Solomon's Mines by showing how "the boys" the text is dedicated to will be edified, initiated, and educated; however, Haggard never offers any of these notions as a sole justification. This fragmentation is hardly surprising since Ridley notes that by the 1870s, Britain had ceased to believe strongly in a moral justification of imperialism:

> The paternalism of the 'civilizing mission' rings out hollowly in whatever language, and it would be futile to attempt to read too much into the

> stereotyped pictures of the colonists as 'representatives of Christ and Caesar' or as 'the legions defending humanity' and 'apostles and heroic pacifists'. (103)

Although Ridley includes "Christ" under the civilizing mission, he refers here primarily to a broad set of humanist values. However, Ridley also notes that "any belief in imperialism as an orthodoxly Christian activity" was a "casualty" of the late Victorian ambivalence over imperialism (105). Ridley sums up the loss of any unitary means of justifying imperialism:

> [C]olonial fiction was attracted by private justifications of imperialism . . . writers discovered in colonial society [the qualities] which they felt to be in themselves a justification of imperialism. Even when writers did not make this explicit and merely left open the question of justification, it was obvious that their allegiance to any of the standard excuses for colonialism had worn very thin. (116)

Thus, although <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> contains its own form of religious discourse to justify and make imperialism meaningful, Haggard displays a certain ambivalence toward a missionary motive for imperialism. It is not difficult to interpret Ignosi's words at the end of <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> as confirmation that, in Haggard's personal opinion, any

evangelical motive for imperialism had "worn very thin":

> "But listen, and let all the white men know my words. No other white man shall cross the mountains, even if any may live to come so far. I will see no traders with their guns and rum. My people shall fight with the spear, and drink water, like their forefathers before them. I will have no praying-men to put fear of death into men's hearts, to stir them up against the king, and make a path for the white men who follow to run on." (306)

Ignosi's interdict on traders and missionaries confirms Ridley's insight.

In the case of King Solomon's Mines, then, we have a book that is slanted strongly by Haggard's private justifications of imperialism.[1] This is signalled in the text when Allan Quatermain appeals to the private by noting that the third reason he has taken up his pen is to provide some diversion for "my boy Harry" (8). Thus, although "the boy" is absent at the level of character, he is not entirely missing, nor is he without a purpose in the text. My goal in this chapter is to demonstrate the ways in which discursive notions of "the boy" serve to purify the material

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[1]It is important to note that Ridley considers private justifications of imperialism to flow from situations where the author was somehow associated with actual imperial practice in a foreign setting. Haggard certainly fits this pattern, and there is a strong correspondence between him and Allan Quatermain.

practices of British imperialism in King Solomon's Mines. In short, I seek the ideological work of King Solomon's Mines and locate it in the discourse of "the boy" and in the adult investments in "the boy".

Although King Solomon's Mines presents itself, as its title suggests, as a quest-for-treasure-book, the quest gives way to a more explicit political and imperial motif. The men of King Solomon's Mines enact the characteristic pattern of imperialism when they overthrow Twala, the indigenous ruler of Kukuanaland, and subsequently establish an approved rival claimant (Bass 260). Allan Quatermain, Sir Henry Curtis, and Captain Good, however, do not originally plan to stage a military coup in Kukuanaland; they simply want to recover the wealth of Solomon's mines. Even the quest for treasure is secondary to the search for Sir Henry's brother, which is the primary motive for the journey undertaken in King Solomon's Mines. As a piece of imperial fiction, then, King Solomon's Mines, because its imperial activity develops as a secondary plot twist, challenges popular notions of boy's literature of the 1880s which imagine crass, jingoistic tracts urging boys on to British deeds of glory in foreign lands. However, as Patrick Dunae's research shows, boy's periodical literature did not begin to express blatant imperialist messages until 1898-99, and, even then, the literature was avidly imperialistic only until about 1902 (1980, 112-13). Dunae

notes that the most influential periodical, Boys Own Paper, was published by the Religious Tracts Society (1878) and, contrary to popular belief, the paper was evangelical in outlook and rather circumspect about imperialism. Dunae's research and the way in which the sub-plot with Ignosi is presented as a diversion from the treasure quest, suggest that in the 1880s imperial fiction sought to depict the expansion of the British empire in more subtle ways.

This need to encode imperialism delicately in fiction seems surprising since the 1880s marked the beginning of an increase in British imperialism. Despite the increase of imperial activity, however, Britain was divided in its opinions on imperialism. Arnstein notes: "Imperialism might win elections; but to the despair of politicians, the public proved all too fickle, and imperialism might equally well lose elections, as it did in 1880" (169). The Conservatives, in 1880, were defeated largely because of Disraeli's imperial policy in Afghanistan and South Africa (Arnstein 149). Bass argues that in addition to the economic entanglement, British society was guilt-ridden over the moral implications of exploiting indigenous people in its colonies (261). Thus, because of domestic ideological division, King Solomon's Mines faced the difficult task of attracting an audience and escaping censure as an imperial document. This problem becomes very apparent when Allan Quatermain notes his involvement in the Zulu Wars of 1879,

the very issue that caused the Disraeli government defeat: "I had been one of Lord Chelmsford's guides in that unlucky Zulu War, and had had the good fortune to leave the camp in charge of some waggons the day before the battle" (46-47). The martial reality of British imperialism in Africa is signalled by a threat that Quatermain issues in his attempt to intimidate the Kukuanas:

> The light from the transparent eye of him with the bare legs and the half-haired face (Good) shall destroy you, and go through your land: his vanishing teeth shall fix themselves fast in you and eat you up, you and your wives and children; the magic tubes shall talk with you loudly, and make you as sieves. Beware! (118)

Issued as a mock prophecy, Quatermain's words ironically display the eventual outcome of the plot and point to the reasons for domestic guilt over the material practices of imperialism.

The mixed support given to imperialism between 1880 (Disraeli's defeat) and 1885 (King Solomon's Mines), plus the muted imperial tone of popular boy's periodicals, indicates that any imperial fiction would need to sanitize its imperial ideology in some way. "The boy", even though seemingly absent, serves just this purpose in King Solomon's Mines. I turn now to examine just how the boy is inscribed in the narrative of King Solomon's Mines and what possible

meanings of "the boy" enable Haggard to somehow make the text acceptable to his audience.

Patrick Dunae notes that boys' periodical literature of the late Victorian period endorsed "the British empire as the successor to the ancient kingdom of Israel" (1980, 108). Allan Quatermain also confesses "I am not a literary man, though very devoted to the Old Testament" which suggests that Quatermain in his address to "big and little boys" will incorporate something of the Old Testament in his legend (7). Haggard too, as his sister notes, "had his own interpretation of Holy Writ and took it for granted that it was the only interpretation deserving of belief" (16). These three connections suggest that King Solomon's Mines encodes its imperialism in some way that addresses "the boy" specifically through the discourse of religion, partly as a way of purifying and justifying its practices, and partly as a way of giving voice to Haggard's private understanding of the link between imperialism and a divine mandate. All these elements are represented in King Solomon's Mines and condensed within the letter written by Silvestra which, although lengthy, I quote in full because of the way it compresses the entire text:

> I, José da Silvestra, who am now dying of hunger in the little cave where no snow is on the north side of the nipple of the southernmost of the two mountains I have named Sheba's Breasts, write this

> in the year 1590 with a cleft bone upon a remnant of my raiment, my blood being the ink. If my slave should find it when he comes, and should bring it to Delagoa, let my friend (name illegible) bring the matter to the knowledge of the king, that he may send an army which, if they live through the desert and the mountains, and can overcome the brave Kukuanes and their devilish arts, to which end many priests should be brought, will make him the richest king since Solomon. With my own eyes have I seen the countless diamonds stored in Solomon's treasure chamber behind the white Death; but through the treachery of Gagool the witch-finder I might bring nought away, scarcely my life. Let him who comes follow the map, and climb the snow of Sheba's left breast till he comes to the nipple, on the north side of which is the great road Solomon made, from whence three days' journey to the King's Place. Let him kill Gagool. Pray for my soul. Farewell.
>
> José Da Silvestra (28)

Silvestra's letter draws upon a much older, classical, indeed sacred, ideology of imperialism than that practised by the British. The letter, which is less epistolary and more imaginal in its appeal to the eye, recapitulates Moses on Mount Nebo. Silvestra is granted a gaze of the promised

land just as Moses was:

> Then Moses climbed Mount Nebo from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah, across from Jericho. There the Lord showed him the whole land--from Gilead to Dan, all of Naphtali, the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, all the land of Judah as far as the western sea, the Negev and the whole region from the Valley of Jericho, the City of Palms, as far as Zoar. Then the Lord said to him, "This is the land I promised on oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when I said, 'I will give it to your descendants.' I have let you see it with eyes, but you will not cross over into it."
>
> And Moses the servant of the Lord died there in Moab, as the Lord had said. He buried him in Moab, in the valley opposite Beth Peor, but to this day no one knows where his grave is. (Deuteronomy 34:1-7)

At an intertextual level, Quatermain evokes the patriarchal, Judeo-Christian notion of a promised land not quite realized. Silvestra effectively becomes a hero of the faith in a divinely promised land of plenty. The very fact that the treasure sought is Solomon's summons the entire lineage of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which moves from Isaac to Solomon in but fourteen generations (I Chronicles 1:3-5). Whether Haggard self-consciously wished to evoke the

typology of the bible is hardly the point; textually, King Solomon's Mines is a repository and extension of the Mosaic covenant in so far as it offers "the whole land" in the form of the map passed from the Moses-like Silvestra through his filial descendants finally to Quatermain. Quatermain is invested then with the spiritual authority needed to fuel the imperial dream. Since Moses' work was incomplete in the sense that he saw but never walked in the promised land, and because Silvestra dies, Quatermain's journey gains an urgency to continue the Portugese project; by extension, Britain assumes an obligation to continue imperial expansion.

The biblical intertexts of King Solomon's Mines may seem particularly remote to the twentieth-century reader, but even to the diluted Christian atmosphere of the late Victorian period the texts constituted, still, a recognizable discourse of religion, morals, and culture. Haggard's use of the Exodus-promised-land pattern is, however, without much spiritual or religious investment. Rather, Haggard was interested in the dynastic notion of passing knowledge and land from father to son.[2] Haggard, through Quatermain, gives voice to this with respect to "the boy" by noting that King Solomon's Mines is written for his "boy Harry" (8). Quatermain's "boy" is an address that

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[2]Haggard's sister notes this exact tendency in Haggard with respect to his son, Jock (16).

seeks to include "the boy" as reader into the divine pattern of filial initiation and promise to hold the land, in this case Africa, because all divinity and consanguinity dictates that it be so.

If Silvestra functions as a Mosaic figure who legitimizes a claim on Africa, whose map drawn in blood serves as a covenantal device, what can be said of Solomon? Read closely, Solomon is an interesting figure upon whom to base an imperial text. His wisdom, wealth, virility, and fame make him an archetype of the imperial ruler:

> Here is an account of the forced labour King Solomon conscripted to build the Lord's temple, his own palace, the supporting terraces, the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, Megido and Gezer. . . . He built up . . . whatever he desired to build in Jerusalem, in Lebanon and throughout all the territory he ruled.
>
> All the people left from the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites (these people were not Israelites), that is, their descendants remaining in the land, whom the Israelites could not exterminate--these Solomon conscripted for his slave labour force, as it is to this day. But Solomon did not make slaves of any of the Israelites; they were his fighting men, his government officials, his officers, his captains,

> and the commanders of his chariots and charioteers. They were also the chief officials in charge of Solomon's projects--550 officials supervising the men who did the work. (I Kings 9:15-23)

Beyond valorizing the similarities of Solomon's activities to late Victorian imperial government in Africa and India, there is another fascinating correspondence between Solomon and the text of King Solomon's Mines.

Quatermain is at pains to note that there is "no woman" in the story (except Foulata, who is killed). Haggard thus serves "the boy", and so justifies imperialism by providing an initiating discourse that warns of the dangers of women. However, despite the proclaimed lack of "petticoats," there is Gagaoola, "if she was a woman and not a fiend" (9), whom Silvestra calls treacherous and orders in his testament that she be killed by him who follows his map (28). The Gagool of Silvestra is of course the same woman, Gagaoola, (Quatermain later shortens her name) who has miraculously survived for generations (121). She is altogether wicked and terrible in Quatermain's account and allied with witchcraft and sorcery.[3] Solomon's relationship to women (and perhaps Haggard's) helps explain why Quatermain has

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[3]See Casteras' "Malleus Malificarum or The Witches Hammer: Victorian Visions of Female Sages and Sorceresses", Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse, Morgan ed. for the Victorian fascination with the wild and aberrant female.

such an aversion to them:

> He [Solomon] had seven hundred wives of royal birth and three hundred concubines, and *his wives led him astray*. As Solomon grew old, his wives turned his heart after other gods, and his heart was not fully devoted to the Lord his God, as the heart of David his father had been. He followed Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, and Molech the detestable god of the Ammonites. (I Kings 11:3-5, my emphasis)[4]

Solomon's marriages outside the tribe of Israel were largely for political ends. Because they were considered miscegenation and because they mixed pagan deities with the worship of Yahweh, Solomon's reign ended. Quatermain's aversion to women, his depiction of Gagool as a pagan goddess, and the way in which Foulata is killed to pre-empt her relationship with Good, suggest that Haggard is attempting to rewrite the Solomonic error and keep Britain or at least his "boys" from foreign gods:

> Good never was quite the same after Foulata's death, which seemed to move him very greatly. I am bound to say that, looking at the thing from

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[4]Haggard was certainly aware of this biblical intertext, for he cites it when he sees the colossi guarding the mines (259). Lilias Haggard, biographer of Rider Haggard, notes of his relation to women, "The fact is that he was not very good with the sex as a whole" (16).

> the point of view of an oldish man of the world, I consider her removal was a fortunate occurrence, since, otherwise, complications would have been sure to ensue. . . . no amount of beauty or refinement could have made an entanglement between Good and herself a desirable occurrence. (300).

In particular, "the boy" is warned of the dangers of women and the virtues of being true to the empire.

King Solomon's Mines attempts to disassociate itself from imperialism in several ways; chief among these, is its appeal to an audience of boys. By addressing King Solomon's Mines to boys, Haggard attempts to conceal Quatermain's, and by extension, the British quest for wealth and power in foreign lands. Exploitation is veiled, and in its place, the second half of King Solomon's Mines presents a facade of just, conservative, and didactic British values that are directed toward the moral solicitude of "all the big and little boys who read it."

The "boy" of King Solomon's Mines is thus a wished-for effect, a desired essence that will ensure the political purity of the tale, but not an actual presence that may derail the task of the "big boys". The rhetorical leverage of "the boy" springs mainly from Rousseauean ideas concerning the boy's innocence, naivete and purity. "The boy", then, can be seen operating throughout the narrative of the book; as the plot unfolds begrudgingly toward the

enthronement of Ignosi, the narrator employs a hierarchy of discourse to interpellate the boy, and to assure the "big boys" of the apolitical nature of what amounts to a military coup.

While King Solomon's Mines begins as a quest for treasure, it soon shifts into a political realm after the witch-hunt scene. Here several soldiers, identified by Gagool as evil, are speared and bludgeoned to death. Quatermain takes care to assure his readers that the practice is utterly barbaric:

> I have heard of the gladiatorial shows of the Caesars, and of the Spanish bull-fights, but I take the liberty of doubting if they were either of them half as horrible as this Kukuana witch hunt. Gladiatorial shows and Spanish bull-fights, at any rate, contributed to the public amusement, which was certainly not the case here. (165)

When Quatermain likens Kukuana practice to two of the most powerful and well-known imperial powers, Rome and Spain, he reverses the historical reality that connected Britain, not Africa, to Roman practices. Haggard was unquestionably aware of the domestic unease over Britain's imperial presence in South Africa. Liberal and Radical politicians questioned the motives behind imperialism and suggested that any humanitarian gestures were simply a veil to hide the commerce of exploitation (Bass 261). This domestic guilt

over the too close similarity between Rome and late Victorian Britain is signalled in this reference to Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India from 1898-1905:

> The similarities with the Roman Empire, actual and alleged, cannot do as much credit to the British Empire as its overriding dissimilarity in one crucial respect--the sense of guilt and the desire for atonement. There was a gnawing doubt from the first that could not be quelled by the passion for fanfare and pride in grandeur that reached their climax under Curzon. (Iyer in Bass 261)

The abuse of imperial power was especially evident in the Zulu War of 1879, an event that was extremely unpopular in England. Haggard would thus need to take all the more care to treat war between the Kukuanas as somehow justifiable. By associating Roman imperial carnage with Africa, Haggard secures a justification for the whites' intervention into Kukuana politics. The witch hunt scene is the pivotal event that shifts Quatermain, Good, and Sir Henry away from the treasure hunt. The Englishmen's sudden involvement with the Kukuanas is described as a moral imperative, and it is this moral tone which thus conceals the imperial ideology behind the ensuing civil war and the ultimate recovery of some of the wealth of the mines. Quatermain's narrative evokes British notions of honour and justice as the reasons for the English imperial involvement

with the Kukuanas:

> "And ye, white men, will ye help me? What have I to offer ye! The wnite stones, if I conquer and can find them, ye shall have as many as ye can carry hence. Will that suffice ye?"
>
> I translated this remark.
>
> "Tell him," answered Sir Henry, " that he mistakes an Englishman. Wealth is good, and if it comes in our way we will take it; *but a gentleman does not sell himself for wealth*. . . . It will be very pleasant to me to try and square matters with that cruel devil, Twala." (155, my emphasis)

This passage reveals what Belsey calls a "hierarchy of discourse" (70): it is Sir Henry's discourse that is privileged and given the most authority, and it is this moral discourse which interpellates the "big and little boys". While Sir Henry reveals moral superiority in his rejection of payment for his services, Quatermain, in contrast, confesses he is a coward and a "trader, and have to make my living, so I accept your offer about those diamonds" (156). Again, when Sir Henry asks if Good is willing to fight, his response also valorizes Sir Henry's position:

> "Well," said Good, to adopt the language of hyperbole, in which all these people seem to indulge, "you can tell him that a row is surely

> good, and warms the cockles of the heart, and that so far as I am concerned I'm his *boy*. (my emphasis 155)

The responses of Sir Henry, Good, and Quatermain to Ignosi represent, respectively, honour, obedience, and pragmatism. The ideological work of each response is clear: Sir Henry masks imperialism in morality; Good's boyish pluck offers the response that the interpellated "boy" should show; and Quatermain's pragmatism stops the "big boys" from a complete surrender to altruism. Good's response is crucial since it flows from Sir Henry's statement of honour; obedience and subordination to a higher principle are demonstrated because Good is Sir Henry's "boy". The principle that Good obeys is best illustrated from another book for boys, Tom Brown's Schooldays:

> After all, what would life be without fighting, I should like to know? From the cradle to the grave, fighting, rightly understood, is the business, the real, highest, honestest business of every son of man. Every one who is worth his salt has his enemies, who must be beaten, be they evil thoughts and habits in himself, or spiritual wickedness in high places . . . . (218)[5]

Hughes, like Haggard, uses superlatives to create a

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[5]All citations to Hughes are from the 1971 Puffin Books edition.

"hierarchy of discourse" to show "the boy", as reader, that fighting is obedience to a higher principle. Hughes explains the principle as "human nature" (218); Haggard implies the same, since Good does not wish to fight until he is forced into it by what Hughes would undoubtedly call Twala's "spiritual wickedness". Thus, even though he is a naval officer, Good is positioned as "boy" and simultaneously highlighted as the character the boy-reader should attend to.

Haggard uses Captain Good to personify "the boy" as an ideal in a number of ways and draws attention to his boyish character. When Good is first described he is categorized among naval officers as "just the best and bravest and nicest fellows I ever met, though given to the use of profane language" (12). The interpellated reader is clearly a "boy" since the superlatives and paratactical construction resonate as an appeal to "little boys". Quatermain also relates Good closely to "the boy" by using a "nice but naughty" form of indulgence on the issue of profanity that encompasses two of the poles of meaning in the discourse of "the boy". As subjects formed by the discourse of "the boy", boys reading <u>King Solomon's Mines</u> are greeted by a form of address they recognize since it simultaneously approves and censures Good. When Good pledges to help the Kukuanas he literally becomes "good", as do his imperial actions, because he demonstrates the values that "boys" are

to move toward.

The facade that conceals the imperial ideology of the text seems to grow at the point when the Englishmen make their commitment to Ignosi. The Englishmen refuse to help Ignosi until they extract a promise from him that he will end the practice of the witch hunt:

> "Ignosi," said Sir Henry, "promise me one thing."
>
> "I will promise Incubu, my friend, even before I hear it," answered the big man with a smile. "What is it?"
>
> "This: that if you ever come to be the king of this people you will do away with the smelling out of witches such as we have seen last night; and that the killing of men without trial shall not take place in the land." (176)

Ignosi's response shows that the Kukuanas have a different concept of justice than do the British:

> Ignosi thought for a moment, after I had translated this, and then answered--
>
> "The ways of black people are not as the ways of white men, Incubu, nor do we hold life so high as ye. Yet will I promise it." (176)

However, Haggard, in effect, has not really concealed imperialism here; rather, he has simply shifted its register away from the economic to the cultural. Ignosi hints at

this when he notes the differing values between "black people" and "white men", but he concedes the English point. Ignosi's promise secures the aid of the whites and plants English values on African soil (Bass 265). The implicitly inscribed message is clear: African diamonds are exchanged for precious English ideals, and "the boy" is "buttonholed" to attenuate the exchange and simultaneously justify it.

Once we realize that Haggard has shifted imperial endeavour away from simple economic gain to cultural refinement, it becomes clear that he secures the noblest of all reasons for imperialism--justice (Bass 265). Since Sir Henry is the spokesman for the Englishmen and because Sir Henry is described as "that great man" who is "good and brave" (288), the interpellated "boy" as reader is encouraged to note that might (Sir Henry) is in fact right when a point of honour is at stake. From the point when the whites agree to "'helping Umbopa to rebel against that infernal blackguard'" Twala, a series of remarkable transitions occur (169). The blacks who have been portrayed as boys in awestruck wonder over the power of the whites' guns and unusual appearance, are suddenly no longer boy-like, comic, or savage (Bass, 266). Quatermain describes the transformed Kukuanas as altogether admirable:

> There they were--going to certain death, about to quit the blessed light of day for ever, and yet able to contemplate their doom without a tremor.

> I could not even at that moment help contrasting their state of mind with my own, which was far from comfortable, and breathing a sigh of envy and admiration. Never before had I seen such an absolute devotion to the idea of duty . . . . (217-18)

Bass explains the change in the Kukuanas: "As the Kukuanas struggle to free themselves from the tyranny of centuries-old customs and barbaric practices, they are transformed in Haggard's mind from savages into men" (266). Bass uses the term "savages" but the analogy is clear: the Kukuanas evolve, spontaneously, from boys into men.

The Englishmen also undergo a number of transformations, but the most striking change is in Sir Henry Curtis. Up until the point when blood is shed, Sir Henry appears the paragon of the English gentleman; however, once the battle begins, he undergoes a regressive transformation:

> There he stood the great Dane, for he was nothing else, his hand, his axe, and his armour, all red with blood, and none could live before his stroke. Time after time I saw it come sweeping down, as some great warrior ventured to give him battle, and he struck as he shouted, "*O-hoy! O-hoy!*" like his Bersekir forefathers . . . . (226)

This primal Sir Henry fits Ridley's description of imperial

fiction that shows the value of regression:

> Much colonial fiction was therefore concerned with regression--both social and personal--and with the re-establishment in the colonies of more authentic and more primitive ways of life. One sees this in the portrayal of so many of the soldiers and administrators in anachronistic terms, as if they were feudal lords, knights-errant, or even re-incarnations of the ancient warriors of the nation. (112)

Sir Henry, then, does not so much descend primally as he transcends socially, the stultifying influences of civilization. The discourse of "the boy" in Rousseauean terms is thus evoked and as much as Sir Henry serves as an educational model for "boys" he also serves, paradoxically, to justify imperialism while he is the most incriminated in imperial practice. Ridley calls this motif the "cult of the primitive" and goes on to note that the primally awake European frequently won wars while demonstrating primitive arts of battle (112). Sir Henry again fits the pattern that Ridley describes because he meets Twala in single combat, is described as "our great Englishman", and eventually succeeds in beheading Twala (236). Ridley notes that this form of justification for imperialism was an "uneasy" one since it could hardly proclaim "imperialism as the hand-maiden of civilization" (112).

Haggard doubtless felt this tension and so was moved to continue associating Kukuanaland and Kukuanas with imperial Rome to ensure that England would not be implicated as the imperial agent of the story. For example, Quatermain says that Ignosi "might well be a proud man that day, for no Roman emperor ever had such a salutation from gladiators 'about to die'" (218). Yet Haggard never sees the whites and the Kukuanas on equal terms, and since Ignosi acknowledges that he owes his throne to them, "King at last, by the grace of you three right hands" (245), he remains a puppet king. Quatermain shows this in some of his parting words to Ignosi:

> Behold, Ignosi, with us thou camest a servant, and now we leave thee a mighty king. If thou art grateful to us, remember to do even as thou didst promise: to rule justly, to respect the law, and put none to death without a cause. (304)

The superiority of the whites is demonstrated when Ignosi offers them their own kingdoms--ironically the very thing that the imperialist dreams of. The whites, however, refuse and thus Haggard secures his ultimate purification of imperialism. The whites' act of renunciation demonstrates that they are a superior class of social redeemers; they are above the missionaries, traders, and soldiers that Ignosi swears he will ban from his country. All that Ignosi can offer is a form of immortality, and this he does with a

"different voice":

> Behold, I make a decree, and it shall be published from the mountains to the mountains, your names, Incubu, Macumazahn, and Bougwan, shall be as the names of dead kings, and he who speaks them shall die. So shall your memory be preserved in the land for ever. . (307)

The Englishmen thus reap their greatest reward--the pocketful of diamonds that Quatermain bears will ensure financial recompense-- but the final suggestion that Haggard makes is that the reward of imperialism is spiritual. Ignosi's words, "preserved in the land for ever" ring with Judeo-Christian notions that right actions are their own reward. Haggard thus shows a refinement on any of the typical justifications for imperialism since the benefit realized here is one of transformation of the imperial self and nation (Bass 268). The implication for "the boy" is clear--"little boys" ought not to be content with mere wealth. Rather, they should aspire to emulate the varied roles Haggard presents in the "brave white men" (306). The three whites form a triptych that shows "the boy" the virtues of imperial practice: the white explorer in Quatermain who is both pragmatic and religious in his own way; the aristocratic leader in Sir Henry Curtis who is both civil and savage; and the conventional English gentlemen in Good (Howarth 112). Ignosi's vow to memorialize these three

concretizes Haggard's belief that Africa *needed* the kind of characteristics embodied in the whites as much as the whites needed Africa to call out and prove these traits. "The boy", even though present only as reader, is likewise called upon to justify imperialism because like Kukuanaland, he is a site that needs to learn heroism, and imaginatively at least, "the boy" needs to express his own sense of heroism. Any single justification for imperialism in King Solomon's Mines, then, is absent in the same way that there is no single character who signifies "boy", and because "the boy" is both the source and the destination of the imperial ideology of the text. "The boy" is thus a wished-for signified because he provides an unseen, transcendental and self-certifying ground for imperial practice, just as it is assumed in conventional semiotic practice that there exists some unseen principle that guarantees meaning.

Chapter III

The Remembered Boy

"It never occurred to us to doubt Jim Hawkins"
(Treasure Island 84)

My purpose in this chapter is to investigate what subject positions are possible for "the boy" in imperial fiction. Perhaps the most enticing passage of Treasure Island with respect to potential subject positions is Long John Silver's attempt to convince Jim to join with the buccaneers:

> 'Now, you see, Jim, so be as you *are* here,' says he, 'I'll give you a piece of my mind. I've always liked you, I have, for a lad of spirit, and the picter of my own self when I was young and handsome. I always wanted you to jine and take your share, and die a gentleman, and now, my cock, you've got to. Cap'n Smollett's a fine seaman, as I'll own up to any day, but stiff on discipline. "Dooty is dooty," says he, and right he is. Just you keep clear of the cap'n. The doctor himself is gone dead again you--"the ungrateful scamp" was what he said; and the short and the long of the whole story is about here: you can't go back to your own lot, for they won't have you; and, without you start a third ship's company all by

> yourself, which might be lonely, you'll have to jine with Cap'n Silver.' (150)

The seeming dilemma of which party Jim will "jine" sums up the problem of subjectivity that is offered by boy's books in general and Treasure Island in particular. The issue of "jining" lends the appearance of free moral debate and suggests that the subject has the freedom to simply choose or even create his place in ideology. However, the issue is not simply one of moral debate; rather, joining a side serves to mask the way that imperial ideology demands certain subject positions of "the boy". Although "a third ship's company" gestures toward an alternate subjectivity for Jim, Long John offers him only an illusion of choice since imperial ideology entails a predetermined subjectivity for "the boy" Jim. Moreover, as Long John notes, a "third ship's company" might be "lonely", and thus signals the impossibility of a subject position outside of a societal context.

Jim's position as "boy" is called into suspicion very early in the book. For example, after Jim's escape from the pirates who ransack the Admiral Benbow is made possible by the intervention of the revenue officers, Jim is interpellated as a man, while Mr Dance is interpellated as a boy by the event. When the two enter Dr Livesey's home to deliver the map to him, Dance, although supervisor of the revenue officers, is contained within the ideological state

apparatus of the school as "boy":

> The supervisor stood up straight and stiff, and told his story like a lesson; and you should have seen how the two gentlemen leaned forward and looked at each other, and forgot to smoke in their surprise and interest. (30-31)

Although Dance is called a "noble fellow" for his role in the affair, he is dismissed from the Hall as quickly as possible. His dismissal from the narrative demonstrates that as part of the repressive state apparatus (revenue officer) Dance clears a space for the ideology of imperialism (he rides Pew down and kills him). And thus the ruling class (Dr Livesey and Squire Trelawney) is able to reproduce the means of production, because, once in possession of the map and the book, the ruling group is free to recover the treasure. The recovery of the treasure is in effect, an imperial allegory, because it involves claiming and ruling an alien space for the purpose of profit. The treasure is more than simple loot. It represents material production because its existence is possible only within a well-developed colonial-imperial apparatus; its reclamation is only a further aspect of venture capitalism. Jim, when he is invited to share a meal with the Squire and Livesey, is shown as part of the ruling ideological apparatus, and it is Jim's recovery of the map that enables the imperial efforts of Livesey and Trelawney to go forward. When they

call Jim a "trump" they interpellate him, and fix his subject position with their own--they are all imperial men (31). Jim confirms that he has recognized the interpellating address:

> The squire and I were *both* peering over his shoulder as he opened it, for Dr Livesey had kindly motioned me to *come round* from the side-table, where I had been eating, to enjoy the *sport of the search*. (32, my emphasis)

The implication of Dr Livesey's gesture is clear: Jim's subject position is not that of "the boy" who must choose the place of his allegiance; rather, his subject position is determined by adult ideology that hails Jim as fellow entrepreneur, adventurer, and ultimately imperialist. Thus, when the squire says "Hawkins shall come as cabin-boy", he describes not so much an expected event as he issues an ideological imperative that will be carried out because Jim has "heard" and responded to the interpellating address of imperialism.

Even though Stevenson calls Jim's subject position as "boy" into question, he nonetheless creates a compelling impression of "the boy" through the narrator Jim Hawkins. Unlike King Solomon's Mines, Treasure Island foregrounds "the boy" throughout its narrative. The narrative voice of "the boy" is, however, an effect created by an adult narrator. In the first two paragraphs, Jim says that he was

asked "to write down the whole particulars about Treasure Island" and that even though he "must go back to the time," he remembers the characters and events "as if it were yesterday" (1). Jim as "boy" is present in the narrative only as focalizer or centre of consciousness that Stevenson creates through a shift in viewpoint. Adult reminiscence gives way to "boyish" apprehensions, perceptions, and dreams very early in the narrative to create the effect of "the boy". Jim's nightmares about the "'seafaring man with one leg,'" because they are meant to describe boyish fears, typify Stevenson's presentation of Jim as "boy":

> How that personage haunted my dreams, I need scarcely tell you. On stormy nights, when the wind shook the four corners of the house, and the surf roared along the cove and up the cliffs, I would see him in a thousand forms, and with a thousand diabolical expressions. Now the leg would be cut off at the knee, now at the hip; now he was a monstrous kind of a creature who had never had but the one leg, and that in the middle of his body. To see him leap and run and pursue me over hedge and ditch was the worse of nightmares. (3)

Stevenson's narrative device is a clever one since he masks the construction of "the boy" by giving the adult Jim Hawkins a voice through the "boy" Jim Hawkins. Jackson

notes the near invisibility of this effect when he calls Stevenson's narrative "seductive" because it appeals to the reader's nostalgia for boyhood (28). When the seduction is identified, however, it is clear that there is no "boy" present in the text; rather, there is but an adult construction of him.

Once we realize Jim is but a memory, an adult construction, and it is clear that the narrator is actually the adult Jim, the apparent difference between the narrators of Kim, King Solomon's Mines and Treasure Island is minimalized. These three books shape "the boy" and offer subject positions from adult perceptions, memories, needs, desires, and ideologies. In short, the subject positions available to Jim and therefore to "the boy" are dictated by adult values and anxieties over subjectivity. Consequently "the boy" becomes a trope for adult need. He is present only as a trace, an effect, yet once again because of the votive element in memory, he is a wished-for signified.

I want to demonstrate in this chapter what I shall call a "poetics of the boy", and thereby demonstrate just what Stevenson wished for in "the boy".[1] I also want to develop the connection between Stevenson's poetics of "the boy", imperialism, and adult subjectivity. In an 1884 essay

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[1]I use the term "poetics", not so much to describe a formal treatise on the style and rationale of boys' books, as I do to signify through its Greek root, *poieo*, the fact that Stevenson is a "maker", one who manufactures or constructs "the boy".

called "A Humble Remonstrance", written to Henry James, Stevenson displays what "the boy" signifies:

> There never was a child (unless Master James) but has hunted gold, and been a pirate, and a military commander, and a bandit of the mountains; but has fought, and suffered shipwreck and prison, and imbrued its little hands in gore, and gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty. (Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson 94)

"The boy" that Stevenson here depicts nearly recapitulates the entire plot of Treasure Island: Jim seeks treasure; sympathizes with Silver as much as he fears him; is alongside Captain Smollett in the stockade; finds Ben Gunn on the island; is marooned, then held captive by Silver; kills Israel Hands; and emerges somehow innocent when he is declared a "good boy" by Captain Smollett (185). Stevenson's conception of the boy's imaginary world is a revealing one. He explains the boy's desire for treasure, piracy, command, robbery, gore, gallantry, and triumph as an adult one that resides in the writer: "I believe, in a majority of cases, that the artist writes with more gusto and effect of those things which he has only wished to do, than of those which he has done" (94). The construction of the boy, according to Stevenson, is not about what the boy wants, but what the adult wants, and *can do* under the aegis

of imperialism, and under the mask of "the boy" in imperial fiction. The kinds of desire expressed by Stevenson--treasure, piracy, command, robbery, gore, gallantry--are all in the masculine register, and all belong to the ideological climate of late Victorian imperialism where, in the name of Britannia, imperial activity personified the search for treasure and its attendant piracy, militarism, robbery, and gore. Stevenson's construction of "the boy" appeals to the theme of timelessness--"there *never* was"--and so seeks to universalize and legitimize "boyish" activity. The value of legitimizing the boy's imaginary world is immense since, if the boy has anything to do with "innocence and beauty" or gallantry, imperial activity is justified as innocent and universal. The poetics of "the boy" are thus the poetics of empire--as the boy is constructed so too is the empire made. An ideological circle is thus created: imperial ideology constructs the boy, and the boy valorizes imperial activity by providing a universal, pure, and nostalgic basis for the ideology.

Stevenson perhaps was aware of how important it was to keep Jim imbued with notions of the "child" when he chose to omit Jim's age from the 1883 book edition of Treasure Island. The 1881 serialized version of Treasure Island, published in Young Folks, gives Jim's age as he recites his role in sabotaging the pirates:

> '"And if you ask me how I did it, tortures

> wouldn't drive me, in the first place; and, in the second, much good it would do you, now the harm's done, and you ruined. And now you can kill me, if you please. The laugh's on my side. I've as good as hanged you, every man, and I'm *not fifteen till my next birthday*."' (209, my emphasis)

On the other hand, the 1883 book edition of the same passage reads:

> And as for the schooner, it was I who cut her cable, and it was I who brought her where you'll never see her more, not one of you. The laugh's on my side; I've had the top of this business from the first; I no more fear you than I fear a fly. Kill me, if you please, or spare me. (152)

The Young Folks version places Jim at age fourteen, that adolescent zone somewhere between man and boy which is too far from the innocence and nostalgia that Stevenson would require to palliate the imperialism of Treasure Island. By omitting Jim's age from the book version of the story, Stevenson secures the myth of the boy-hero and all its attendant power to simplify and purify imperial practice.

"The boy" as represented by Jim Hawkins is a constant construction and illusion, albeit one drawn with considerable skill. The power of the illusion derives from the dual register for "the boy" that Stevenson presents in the seeming dilemma of "jining": one register is the "good

boy", the other is the "bad boy". By suggesting that Jim is poised between the pirates and the stockade party, Stevenson invites the reader to locate these two subject positions for "the boy" in Jim. If Stevenson is successful in his construction of Jim as a "boy" torn between conflicting allegiances to the Englishmen and to Long John, Jim's efforts to recover the treasure stand as a form of moral triumph because it appears he has chosen empire over rebellion, duty over "dooty", and right over wrong. But, as I suggest above, Jim has his subject position and his "choices" predetermined by the late Victorian ideology expressed in Stevenson's poetics of "the boy". I do not, however, intend to suggest that there is no subject position for "the boy" present in Treasure Island. Indeed, the buccaneers collectively embody "the boy", specifically the "bad boy".

The pirates, throughout Treasure Island, are represented as misbehaving boys, who require discipline: they are irresponsible, they squander their resources, and act on impulse (Jackson 30). The buccaneers are also "boys" because they are illiterate. Not only can they not read, but they also distort language when they speak. Both facts recall Postman's observation that print, and mastery over it, is one of the prime demarcations between the man and "the boy". The pirates are explicitly described as children when Jim observes their demeanour while Dr Livesey attends

to them:

> 'Well,' he added, after he had dosed them round, and they had taken his prescriptions, with really laughable humility, more like charity school-children than blood-guilty mutineers and pirates--'well, that's for to-day. (165)

The pirates are sick because, like "school-children" they foolishly camped too close to the pestilent marshes of the island.

If the pirates are "boys", they are also portrayed as imperial Others. The representation of the pirates as boys and as imperial Others enables Treasure Island to become an imperial allegory. The allegory's constituent parts include the island as subject nation, the pirates, and Ben Gunn in particular, as its indigenes, Flint's treasure as the subject nation's resources, the stockade as the seat of imperial government, and its occupants, Captain Smollett, Dr Livesey, Squire Trelawney, and Jim as its imperial agents. The allegory is recognizable and possible chiefly because it encodes late Victorian notions of imperial spaces and people. The allegory is also made possible by two of Stevenson's narrative conventions. First, unlike King Solomon's Mines and Kim, Treasure Island has no actual setting in a subject nation such as Africa or India. Second, Treasure Island offers the pretence of being a historical fiction, whereas both Kim and King Solomon's

Mines date themselves, through events such as the Zulu Wars of 1879, as contemporary fiction. Thus, when Jim Hawkins says that he takes up his pen "in the year of grace 17--", and also withholds the location of Treasure Island, temporal and spatial indicators are thus removed which allows the story to become a representative imperial tale.

The allegorical pattern of Treasure Island continues to emerge from the way that the mutiny splits the ships's party into two groups who occupy two symbolically-charged spaces. The stockade party, as its titular members suggest--Dr Livesey, Squire Trelawney, and Captain Smollett--represents imperial Britain. The stockade itself is the only building on the island, and its very name indicates that it is part of the repressive state apparatus that imperialism requires to rule a subject nation. When the captain "run[s] up the colours" (95), he explicitly fixes the stockade as the seat of imperial control. As the centre of imperial power, the stockade itself must be rigidly ruled and maintained. When the members of the stockade party desert their posts in order to overhear the captain's parley with Silver, the Captain treats their actions as mutinous:

> As soon as Silver disappeared, the captain, who had been closely watching him, turned towards the interior of the house, and found not a man of us at our post, but Gray. It was the first time we had ever seen him angry.

> 'Quarters!' he roared. And then, as we all slunk back to our places, 'Gray,' I'll put your name in the log; you've stood by your duty like a seaman. Mr. Trelawney, I'm surprised at you, sir. Doctor, I thought you had worn the king's coat! If that was how you served at Fontenoy, sir, you'd have been better in your berth.' (109)

When read as an allegory of imperial power, Captain Smollett's anger does not seem out of proportion with the party's deeds: the imperial power cannot be let go of, not even for a moment.

Captain Smollett, in the allegory, is the imperial leader who possesses all the apparatuses of imperial power at his fingertips, as the contents of his pockets reveal:

> In the meantime the captain, whom I had observed to be wonderfully swollen about the chest and pockets, had turned out a great many various stores--the British colours, a Bible, a coil of stoutish rope, pen, ink, the log-book, and pounds of tobacco. (94)

These "various stores" are the adult imperial world incarnate: state, religion, discipline, education, duty, and trade.

The imperial allegory is further made possible by the descriptions of the island; topography and imperial ideology combine here to betray the late Victorian conceptions of the

alien space of the subject nation. Imperial Britain felt a deep unease over its imperial landscapes. Jim shows this disquiet as he describes Treasure Island and his qualms on approaching it:

> Perhaps it was this--perhaps it was the look of the island, its grey, melancholy woods, and wild stone spires, and the surf that we could both see and hear foaming and thundering on the steep beach--at least, although the sun shone bright and hot, and the shore birds were fishing and crying all around us, and you would have thought anyone would have been glad to get to land after being so long at sea, my heart sank, as the saying is, into my boots; and from that first look onward, I hated the very thought of Treasure Island. (69-70)

The island is "melancholy" with "wild stone spires", and its trees and hills are "strangely shaped" (68). The very oddity of Treasure Island challenges and betrays Jim's Old World perceptions: "Here and there were flowering plants *unknown to me* . . . then I came to a long thicket of these *oak-like* trees . . . which grew curiously twisted, the foliage compact, like a thatch" (73 my emphasis). Jim has difficulties placing or categorizing this new environment; the trees and the flowering plants challenge the perceptions and ordering mechanisms of the imperialist's world and thus produce anxiety. Bunn says that this malaise over alien

space derives from the descriptive habits of early exploratory travelogues which "persist well into the nineteenth century" (67). Although Bunn contextualizes this remark to Africa, travelogues from a variety of colonial landscapes demonstrate the colonialist and imperialist explorer struggling to accommodate new phenomena within his Old World lexicon. Bunn says: "Typically overwhelmed by the richness of the strange environment, feeling that he has somehow stumbled back into Eden, the discoverer senses that before him is a species of raw chaos which cannot be tamed" (69). In Treasure Island, Jim is encoded as the Old World traveller who meets a rich environment that is exhilarating, but also chaotic. Jim continues to describe the oddness, but notes:

> I felt for the first time the joy of exploration. The isle was uninhabited; my shipmates I had left behind, and nothing lived in front of me but dumb brutes and fowls. (73)

The Edenic pattern that Bunn sees as being typical of imperial travelogues and of writings derived from this tradition is brought out when Jim notes that "here and there I saw snakes . . . little did I suppose that he was a deadly enemy" (73).

Bunn points out that, if the alien land was a challenge to the ordering correspondences of the Old World traveller, the alien people were a greater challenge since they were

nearly always perceived as bestial in some way (69). The pirates undergo an interesting transformation once they go ashore to the island; aboard the *Hispaniola* they were simply different--mutineers--but once on the island they become perceived and treated as its native inhabitants--as the alien imperial Others. Jim's first experience with the pirates upon the island follows the pattern outlined by Bunn. The pirates are indeed shown as savage and bestial when Jim witnesses Long John murder Alan and Tom: "Silver, agile as a monkey, even without leg or crutch, was on the top of him next moment, and had twice buried his knife to the hilt in that defenceless body" (76). In this passage, late Victorian assumptions about the imperial Other occupying lower levels on an evolutionary racial hierarchy are clear. This effect is only heightened when Jim describes the buccaneer's attack on the stockade: "The boarders swarmed over the fence like monkeys" (111).

Since I read Treasure Island as an imperial allegory, Stevenson's own allegory in his poetics of "the boy" must be taken into account in an examination of the subject positions available for Jim. Stevenson includes in "A Humble Remonstrance" a startling intertext that links his imaginary "boy" to Moses, and thereby to the Moses-da Silvestra-Quatermain Exodus pattern of King Solomon's Mines, demonstrating a similar justification of imperialism. Stevenson, to explain what the artist has "wished to do",

offers this justification: "Desire is a wonderful telescope, and Pisgah the best observatory" (94). In this essay it seems that Stevenson imagines "the boy" alongside Moses, where he saw the promised land, was ensured of his right to it, and commissioned to take and rule the land in the most expedient way. Following the biblical typology along generational lines, "the boy-artist" conglomerate that Stevenson offers shifts to evoke Moses' protege, Joshua, the military imperialist par excellence. "The boy", then, is finally about "desire" for a promised land, a treasure bearing island (milk and honey?) that may be plundered with impunity since the last act of the imagination that Stevenson describes in his essay, specifies that the boy "gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty" (94). The battle that had been "lost" is twofold; one loss is typological, the other cultural. First, there is the loss of Moses, who dies on Mount Nebo (Pisgah), and second, there is the dwindling of the British economy in the great depression between 1873 and 1896 (Arnstein 130). Seen from the British perspective, both losses are tragic and in need of redress, and Stevenson's "boy" provides the means of redressing these losses because, unlike Moses, he can enter the promised land and thereby reap the financial and national rewards.

Treasure Island is ultimately about the redress of lost wealth; and Jim is the figure who makes possible the

recovery of the treasure. I want now to pursue the allegory of imperialism through to the rescue of the treasure. If imperialism is about establishing governmental control of alien lands, commodities, and people, for the allegory of Treasure Island to work, an indigenous population must be present, and if not subjected to imperial rule by force, they must be at least coerced. Treasure Island with its sole inhabitant, Ben Gunn, offers, if not a true indigene, an analogue who has developed his own material base that only serves to illumine the true nature of the material practices of the group headed by Captain Smollett. On the island, Ben is described more as a "native" or imperial Other than he is as British: he holds his hands out in "supplication" to Jim; Jim is "Christian," his God ensures Ben's respect; Ben is sun burnt, "even his lips were black;" he shows "childish pleasure in the presence of a fellow-creature;" in short, Ben is savage, childish, and altogether outlandish (79). However, his clothing represents an indigenous mode of production that is "held together by a system of the most various and incongruous fastenings, brass buttons, bits of stick, and loops of tarry gaskin" (79). Ben also has what amounts to an indigenous agricultural industry in so far as he lives on goats, berries and oysters (79).[2]

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[2]Stevenson owes the appearance of Ben Gunn to Defoe's Robinson Crusoe : Ben's clothing recalls Crusoe and serves to specify his class and status. Michael Nerlich provides a

Beyond these seeming domestic and agrarian resources, Ben also holds the treasure in his cave and thus represents the indigenous figure whose complicity or cooperation is demanded by the imperialist who would possess and control the local resources. Ben, also a pirate and a symbolic imperial Other, is encoded as a "boy"; however, unlike the other buccaneers, Ben is a "good boy" and by extension a compliant imperial Other. When Ben first encounters Jim he complains over his lack of a "Christian diet" and thereby indicates his dissatisfaction with his indigenous social structure while he simultaneously acknowledges the superiority of the British system. Ben also fears Long John Silver, who is described as a "chieftain" in the title of chapter thirty-three, and thus shows his displeasure with the injustices of the indigenous tribal social formation. The insinuation is reasonably clear: Ben as a "good boy" displays dissatisfaction with his current tribal, indigenous, regressive subject position; because he is willing to be bartered with (the parmesan cheese), he is offered in a "passage home", the possibility of a new subjectivity. Because Ben "puts a precious sight more confidence --a precious sight, mind that--in a gen'leman

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compelling Marxist reading of Crusoe that identifies Robinson as a "threatening, anarchic element in bourgeois society" (268), because he exposes the impossibility "for the people to make individual fortunes within existing relations of dominance" (265). Without completely accepting Nerlich's reading, Ben's costume, gestures, and deference to Jim all indicate that Ben is the subordinate indigene.

born than in these gen'lemen of fortune" he trusts the stockade party with the treasure, and effectively the island, since from the perspective of the imperial allegory, the island is the treasure (83).

Ben does win his passage home, as does everyone, because of Jim's courage and heroism throughout the ordeal of the island. Stevenson's essay "A Humble Remonstrance" specifies that "the "boy" "gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty" (94). Ironically, Ben serves to illustrate Stevenson's desire to protect innocence, for through him the "good boy" as a subjectivity is displayed. This is particularly clear in the description of Ben's attempt to return to the social matrix of England:

> As for Ben Gunn, he got a thousand pounds, which he spent or lost in three weeks, or, to be more exact, in nineteen days, for he was back begging on the twentieth. Then he was given a lodge to keep, exactly as he had feared on the island; and he still lives, a great favourite, though something of a butt, with the country boys, and a notable singer in church on Sundays and saints' days. (191)

The patronizing, if affectionate tone, is at pains to note that the compliant Ben of the imperial allegory remains the fond indigenous character who is dependant upon the imperial

figure for his economic stability. Ben's status as a "great favourite" mirrors the simple innocence late Victorian ideology wished to grant the submissive imperial Other in this description of the only non-allegorized indigenes of Treasure Island:

> It was just at sundown when we cast anchor in a most beautiful land-locked gulf, and were immediately surrounded by shore boats full of negroes, and Mexican Indians, and half-bloods, selling fruits and vegetables, and offering to dive for bits of money. The sight of so many good-humoured faces (especially the blacks), the taste of the tropical fruits, and above all, the lights that began to shine in the town, made a most charming contrast to our dark and bloody sojourn on the island. . . . (190)

Jim's reflection once again betrays his adult subject position. The condescending and fond tone reveals Jim as the imperial adult who through "dark and bloody" deeds, secures the idyllic scene around him.

Jim also reflects an adult subject position when he adopts a superior moral tone in his description of the recovered treasure:

> . . . I beheld great heaps of coin and quadrilaterals built of bars of gold. That was Flint's treasure that we had come so far to seek,

> and that had cost already the lives of seventeen men from the *Hispaniola*. How many it had cost in the amassing, what blood and sorrow, what good ships scuttled on the deep, what brave men walking the plank blindfold, what shot of cannon, what shame and lies and cruelty, perhaps no man alive could tell. (185)

Not only does the moral tone ring hollow, it is blind to Jim's own piracy in recovering the treasure and his complicity in the imperial practices that went into amassing the treasure. The coins are a veritable catalogue of imperial endeavour:

> It was a strange collection . . . English, French, Spanish, Portugese, Georges, and Louises, doubloons and double guineas and moidores and sequins, the pictures of all the kings of Europe for the last hundred years, strange Oriental pieces stamped with what looked wisps of string or bits of spider's web, round pieces and square pieces . . . nearly every variety of money in the world must, I think, have a place in the collection. . . . (187)

The list of coins indicates a larger, more extensive piracy than Flint's--that of British imperialism--nearly a century of imperial piracy, and an even greater period of mercantilism and venture capitalism. The pleasure that Jim

takes in sorting them recalls Long John's offer to have Jim "jine" and take his share, and die a "gentlemen". Long John's offer, however, is a moment of dramatic irony, for Long John is unaware of the distinction between what Ben Gunn calls "a gen'leman born" and "these gen'lemen of fortune". The distinction between merit and birth serves as a metaphor for ideological interpellation. As Althusser notes in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses":

> Everyone knows how much and in what way an unborn child is expected. . . . it is certain in advance that it will bear its Father's Name, and will therefore have an identity and be irreplaceable. Before its birth, the child is therefore always-already a subject, appointed as a subject in and by specific familial ideological configuration in which it is 'expected' once it has been conceived. (in Latimer 97)

Jim, by virtue of his Father's Name, Stevenson and late Victorian imperial ideology respectively, is born to the subject position of imperial adult "conceived" to serve the ends of empire. Long John, unaware of the interpellating power of ideology, is blind to the larger piracy of Stevenson who is born to conceive plots whereby,

> there never was a child (unless Master James) but has hunted gold, and been a pirate, and a military commander, and a bandit of the mountains; but has

> fought, and suffered shipwreck and prison, and imbrued its little hands in gore, and gallantly retrieved the lost battle, and triumphantly protected innocence and beauty. (Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson 94)

Unaware, Long John, like the stockade party never thought to doubt Jim Hawkins.

Chapter IV

Kim: *Lusus Naturae*--"the boy" as a Sport of Nature

'Queer sort of boy' (Kim, 149)

At one point in Kipling's Kim, the Catholic Padre of the Maverick regiment expresses his amazement over Kim's ability to prophesy: "'Are there many more like you in India? said Father Victor, 'or are you by way of being a *lusus naturae*?'" (133). The Padre's question broaches the central problem of Kim: is Kim "normal" and "natural", or is he a *lusus naturae*--a sport or freak of nature? The query is a supreme moment of dramatic irony for the reader who resists the flow of Kipling's narrative and questions the transparency of Kim as "boy". The answer to the Padre's question, which is never given, seems obvious: Kim is the product, or sport, of Kipling's imperial ideology; he is furthest from "nature" or "natural" since he is crafted and constructed to be the paragon of the imperial leader that Kipling envisioned for India. The freakish nature of Kim is nowhere plainer than in his status as "boy".

In this chapter I examine "the boy" by asking what meanings and contests for meanings are displayed within the presentation of "the boy" in Kim. The phrase "*contests* for meaning" is felicitous because the central metaphor governing Kim is that of game, or more precisely, the "Great Game". The notion of "game" points immediately to Kim's

education (the process which enables a "boy" to become a "man"); Kim is repeatedly compared to a pony being trained for the sport of polo (153-54). This training, moreover, is so that Kim can one day be a participant (or gamester) in the "Great Game", which is a metaphor for the Secret Service. The "Great Game" thus serves to conceal the fact that what is being played for in this book is really Britain's imperial control of India in the late Victorian period.[1] The notion of "contest", or game, thus emphasizes imperialism as the ideological centre of Kim.

"Contest" is apposite to "meaning", another key word I use to seek the production of "the boy" in Kim. The notion of meaning refers to the act of signifying, or pointing to a signified with a signifier. Kim, as its title suggests, has the character Kim as its prime signifier. What is being signified, or pointed to, by the text is "boy", since Kim is described repeatedly as "boy". Thus, the "contest for meaning" in Kim closes in upon the signified "boy", and finds it a troubled and contested term because Kim is so far from boyhood. Although I understand "the boy" primarily as a social formation, "the boy" also has an ontogenetic dimension. The term "boy" signifies a male child--a

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[1]This connection between boys' games and politics is made expressly clear in Tom Brown's Schooldays when Hughes explains the similarities between battle and football: "My dear sir, a battle would look much the same to you, except that the boys would be men, and the balls iron; but a battle would be worth your looking at for all that, and so is a football match" (89).

physically immature male person; puberty is usually taken as the terminus of childhood and thus of boyhood. Kim's age, and hence his ontogenetic status, is presented by the narrator of Kim with considerable variance, and thus poses a real problem to his status as "boy".

The first reference to Kim's age in the novel occurs after Kim has joined the lama on his quest, on the evening of the first day of the book's narrative sequence, when Kim encounters Mahbub Ali: "Kim had had many dealings with Mahbub in his little life--especially between his tenth and his thirteenth year" (29). This is an unambiguous reference to time past; typically, a year of age is given only when one is past that mark, and so we can conclude that Kim is around fourteen years old at the very beginning of his journey. Perhaps Kipling sensed the incongruity of constructing a "boy" of fourteen in a late Victorian context, and by qualifying Kim's life as "little", attempted to place him closer to boyhood. Kim's age is again referred to in the context of his stay at St. Xavier's school. Twice, the duration of his time at school is given as three years, (220, 231) which would make him approximately seventeen by the time he is "removed on appointment" (220), a euphemism for his formal entry into the "Great Game". Yet, the narrative gives Kim's age as "fifteen years and eight months" at the time of his leaving school (220), and [illegible]ms this age upon his entry into the Secret Service

when his Principal remarks: "'It is great luck for you, for you are only sixteen'" (235). Finally, Kim's first formal experience in the "Great Game" involves a journey on foot of "four hundred miles of hill roads" (332), a journey which surely takes several months to complete, since the distance given is but one [illegible] Thus, by the end of the novel, according to the [illegible] within the text, Kim must be around eighteen years [illegible] despite the narrative insistence that he is only sixteen. Throughout the novel, Kim is consistently referred to as a "boy" or a "child", and whether his age is taken as being sixteen--as the narrator would have us believe--or eighteen--as textual logic demands--it is clear that he is in no way a "boy". Indeed, by late Victorian standards, an eighteen year old would certainly have been considered adult.[2] Mahbub Ali's comment on his own accomplishments by the age of fifteen illustrates the incongruity of calling Kim a "boy": "'When I was fifteen, I had shot my man and begot my man, Sahib'" (230).

Thus, without suggesting that it is not "natural", Kipling offers in Kim a "boy" who is eighteen years old. This incongruity is striking, and raises several questions: What is the effect of signifying Kim as "boy"? What ideological work does this ploy accomplish? The creation of narrative confusion over Kim's age is the fundamental means

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[2]Class is certainly a consideration here; however, Kim is the son of an Irish soldier, which suggests that he is of a social rank that expects its boys to become men quickly.

by which "the boy" is produced in the novel, a "boy" who is thus inscribed as a wished-for presence. This chronological ambiguity serves, in fact, as an unconvincing mask for an adult imperialism; there is a clear connection between Kim's subject position as boy, and the position of India as subject to Britain.

"The boy" in Kim becomes a bivalent signifier operating at several levels of meaning, pointing most obviously to "boy", but simultaneously encoding "man" because of the sexual and imperial symbolism associated with Kim. The bivalency of "boy" corresponds to Kim's apparent double identity: he is "burned black as any native" but he is also "white" (7), a fact which emphasizes the two nationalities present in the book--the English and the Indian. Furthermore, "the boy" is shaped and structured by two competing cultural paradigms: one is Anglo-Saxon, Lockean, Protestant, imperial, and child-*like*; another is Indian, Rousseauean, pagan, primitive and child*ish*. Kim as "boy", then, can be described as an ideological field--the site of an ideological contest between man and boy, colonizer and colonized.

Paradoxically, when read as an ideological field, Kim is absent from the narrative as a unified and coherent character, and becomes instead a polymorphous, wished-for signified. This elusive signified is in fact the desired means to explain and justify Britain's imperial presence and

activity in India. In this respect, even though the boy Kim is hardly ever absent from a page, Kim shares with King Solomon's Mines and Treasure Island the paradoxical characteristic of being for boys and about boys, but without a boy actually present. Instead, each text offers in the wished-for boy a political and economic structure to purify, explore, and justify the ideas and practices of imperialism.

It is thus not an overstatement to say that "the boy" makes possible the idea of imperialism, since one of the chief functions of the boy is the creation of a racial and national hierarchy. Indeed, in the nineteenth century an explicit parallel was made between the boy's need for education in order to become fully mature, and the needs of "immature" or "less-developed" nations for moulding and "education". Thus a range of notions pertaining to the "adult's" responsibility towards the boy--from solicitude and indulgence to discipline and pedagogy--were gathered into an imperial practice which exchanged "the boy" for the subject nation.

Even in the very first pages of Kim, it is clear that Kim's position as "boy" is problematic; it is suggested that the games Kim plays are intrinsically related to hierarchy and domination rather than to playful childish innocence. Kim opens with a description of Kim operating in the world of very young boys, a world which at first seems simple and safe: "he consorted on terms of perfect equality with the

small boys of the bazaar" (7). He is shown innocently at play:

> [A]s he drummed his heels against Zam-Zammah he turned now and again from his king-of-the-castle game with little Chota Lal and Abdullah the sweetmeat-seller's son, to make a rude remark to the native policeman on guard over the rows of shoes at the museum door. (10)

The equanimity the policeman shows, "he grinned tolerably" (10), suggests that Kim is nowhere near the adult world where an insult to such an authority-figure would be a flagrant transgression. Furthermore, Kim is shown to be in perfect friendship with the other boys, and with the policeman--"he knew Kim of old" (10). The policeman's grin, the assurance that Kim's nickname is "Little Friend of all the World" and the jovial sense of jest in the play all point toward an innocent and idyllic mood of boyish fun. Another set of codes, however, competes with these markers to indicate that Kim is at, or approaching, the world of the adult: a man's world that is a sexual and political realm of hierarchy.

The site of the game is actually a cannon, and the first lines of Kim show Kim astride it:

> He sat, in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun Zam-Zammah on her brick platform opposite the old Ajaib-Gher--the Wonder House, as the natives call the Lahore Museum. Who hold Zam-

> Zammah, that 'fire-breathing dragon', hold the Punjab; for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot.
>
> There was some justification for Kim--he had kicked Lala Dinanath's boy off the trunnions--since the English held the Punjab and Kim was English. (7)

The gun, protruding from between Kim's legs, is unquestionably phallic--a detail which sexualizes Kim as adult male. The cannon is given a feminine pronoun ("her"), and is thus a double signifier: it is *beneath* Kim as woman, and simultaneously appended to him as a penis. Kim drums his heels against Zam-Zammah, a gesture which suggests the impatience or restiveness associated with a burgeoning sexuality expressed through a weapon of conquest. The game takes place outside an Indian national archive which has an English curator, demonstrating that the English-boy astride the cannon mirrors the Englishman astride the Punjab. The museum, as a repository of national culture, functions synecdochically as a referent to India and Indian culture under British imperial rule.

Kipling appears to take great pains to make sure that Kim, as "Little Friend of all the World", meets the whole world--his playmates are Mussulman and Hindu(11), the policeman is Punjabi (10), the lama is Tibetan (13) though he resembles "Fook Shing, the Chinese bootmaker" (11), the

museum's curator is English--with a jocular, boyish innocence in the first few pages of the book. But this attempt at harmony is contested by the very game Kim is playing--king-of-the-castle. Kim, "who thought he knew all castes" (11) is destined by virtue of his later participation in the "Great Game" to be not only the "king-of-the-castle" but also king-of-the-cast(l)es. Kipling thus creates a racial hierarchy in the book's first page through the boys' antics, and then expands this game to the "Great Game"--an adult game of politics with the English at the top of the racial pyramid.

Mahbub's simple narrative of maturation--"shot my man and begot my man"--raises the problem of Kim's sexuality. Just as the sexualized cannon scene undercuts Kim as "boy", revealing him to be closer to the adult world than the narrator would admit, his position as "boy" is further eroded by the two female characters of the text. Both the Woman of Kulu and the Woman of Shamlegh apprehend Kim as a sexual being and thus further expose the facade that Kipling attempts to build with "the boy". Kipling's view of women seems encapsulated in the remark that Mahbub makes to Kim: "for it is by means of women that all plans come to ruin" (237).[3] To sexualize Kim would at once undermine his

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[3]Kipling, like Haggard, fears the possibility of miscegenation that imperialism offers. The Woman of Shamlegh was once betrothed to a sahib, but of course, the relationship is never consummated (349). The Woman of Shamlegh is described as "fair" which is surely the quality that even made such a

status as "boy", and also divert him from his path of national loyalty.

Despite the great care Kipling takes to show that the Woman of Kulu is old and "unlovely", and therefore no longer desirable, Kim's relations with her are very much sexually charged. Kim and the Woman flirt when they speak to one another, and clearly the Woman regards Kim as a desirable man. During one exchange Kim reminds the woman of the time she was called "Breaker of Hearts and a Dispenser of Delights" (286). Even though Kim is only repeating another's words, they are not lost on the woman:

> 'To remember that! It was true. So he did. That was in the time of the bloom of my beauty.' She chuckled like a contented parrot above the sugar lump. 'Now tell me of thy goings and comings--as much as may be without shame. How many maids, and whose wives, hang upon thine eyelashes?' (286)

When the Woman of Kulu mentions "shame", "maids" and "wives" she obviously refers to Kim's viable and attractive sexuality. Her aside to the lama, "See the women do not follow thy *chela* too openly", only reinforces the difficulty of taking Kim as a "boy".

Again, when Kim and the Woman of Shamlegh meet, there is an obvious sexual energy present:

> 'My husbands are also out there gathering wood.'

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relationship conceivable (349).

> She drew a handful of walnuts from her bosom, split one neatly, and began to eat. Kim affected blank ignorance.
>
> 'Dost thou not know the meaning of the walnut--priest?' she said coyly, and handed him the half-shells.
>
> 'Well thought of.' He slipped the piece of paper between them quickly. 'Hast thou a little wax to close them on this letter?'
>
> The woman sighed aloud, and Kim relented.
>
> 'There is no payment till service has been rendered. (339-40)

Kim's commentary on this exchange shows that he is indeed "a man", but a curiously de-sexualized one:

> 'How can a man follow the Way or the Great Game when he is so-always pestered by women? There was the girl at Akrola of the Ford: and there was the scullion's wife behind the dovecot--not counting the others--and now comes this one! When I was a child it was well enough, but now I am a man and they will not regard me as a man'. (341)

Here Kim disparages women as much as he does his sexuality, a sexuality which is understood strictly in terms of imperialism--the "Great Game"--or religion--"the Way". Women "pester" Kim; they do not appeal to him in any way, despite his obvious appeal to them.

The Woman of Shamlegh is but a diversion, an impediment or obstacle that Kim must surmount. Kim's final evasion of the Woman of Shamlegh snows Kipling's blatant need to keep Kim a "boy" and contain his sexuality. When the Woman implores Kim to stay he refuses:

> 'Hillwoman,' said Kim, with austerity that could not harden the outlines of his young oval face, 'these matters are too high for thee.'
>
> 'The Gods be good to us! Since when have men and women been other than men and women?'
>
> 'A priest is a priest. He says he will go upon this hour. I am his *chela*, and I go with him. We need food for the road. He is an honoured guest in all the villages, but'--he broke into a pure boy's grin--'the food here is good. Give me some.'

Kim shows "austerity" but it is softened by his "young" face; he puts his loyalty to the lama and the Great Game over any relation to the Woman. Kipling's stroke of genius in constructing Kim as "boy" is the "pure boy's grin", which sidesteps the issue of sexuality and effectively neuters Kim. The Woman of Shamlegh grows angry toward Kim from this moment on; it is as though she resents Kipling's denial of her "natural" appeal to the too simple and obvious sexuality of men and women. Kim, ironically, is a *lusus naturae* who has what the Woman considers "natural" erased from his

"nature" by dint of Kipling's need to construct him as a loyal and pure boy of the empire. Once again a dramatic irony surrounds Kim: the Woman of Kulu is angry because Kipling allows her to see only the manly facade that harbours the freakish imperial "boy". These "matters" are not "too high" for the Woman; they are simply hidden from her.

If the Woman of Shamlegh has the bivalent significance of "the boy" hidden from her, the two Englishmen have nothing hidden from them. Lurgan Sahib and Colonel Creighton are Kim's imperial educators, and both embody the racial hierarchy of the late nineteenth century that was one of the chief enabling fictions of imperialism. Creighton, in particular, represents Kipling's late Victorian imperial ideology, and he indicates yet another contest of meaning relating to "the boy": a competition between the imperial nation and the imperial subject. Creighton, a great scholar and military official, is depicted with a special dignity:

> No man could be a fool who knew the language so intimately, who moved so gently and silently, and whose eyes were so different from the dull fat eyes of other sahibs. (159)

The Colonel, as the acting head of the Secret Service, as ethnographer, and aspirant to the Royal Society, epitomizes the sort of knowledge that Said identifies as the heart of Orientalism:

> Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny; this object is a "fact" which, if it develops, changes, or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently do, nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable. To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"--the Oriental country since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as* we know it. (Orientalism 32)

The Colonel's ethnographic and cartographic interest is an all-consuming and controlling force that functions as knowledge-as-power. Creighton's ghost-like superintendence of the Great Game keeps his character necessarily undeveloped. Yet, precisely because of his absence Creighton becomes a symbolic figure--the ultimate imperial officer who understands India, and by virtue of this comprehension holds the right to rule in as subversive and covert a manner as necessary. The Colonel thus becomes *The Colonel*: a literary conceit that signifies transcendental imperial benevolence and omniscience.

Creighton's status as the ideal form of imperial official is confirmed by his foil Hurree Chunder Mookerjee--

the Babu. The two men share much: they aspire to be Fellows of the Royal Society, both are learned, and both are members of the Secret Service. However, whereas Creighton is always depicted with sincerity and dignity, the Babu is constantly undercut. Said explains the significance of this constant devaluation:

> Yet he is almost always funny, or gauche, or somehow caricatural not because he is incompetent or inept in his work--on the contrary he is exactly the opposite--but because he is not white, that is, he can never be a Creighton. . . . Hence, lovable and admirable though he may be, there remains in Kipling's portrait Babu the grimacing stereotype of the ontologically funny native, hopelessly trying to be like "us". (Raritan 52)

Said's observation is intensified when placed alongside Patrick Dunae's assertion that one of the colonial stereotypes of the Asian Indian was his ability to be "trained" to serve Western civilization (1977, 103). The Babu is unquestionably competent, and by late Victorian standards he is portrayed honorifically enough, at or near the top of the racial hierarchy that the social Darwinism of the late century had created.[4] However, when Kim says to

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[4]Darwinian notions of evolution are surely at work when Hurree explains his "fearfulness" thus, "'It was process of Evolution, *I* think, from Primal Necessity" (298).

the Babu, "then why talk like an ape in a tree" (294), the lower end of the racial hierarchy, occupied by the black African is invoked, since as Dunae notes: "the negro was often seen to possess only an emulative ability" (1977, 89). The Babu is incriminated here as only a copyist, he apes in his language, and ultimately apes the Colonel.[5] Said, by introducing the ontological, lays bare the intellectual watershed of Western assumptions. Clearly the Platonic morality that condemns the copy of the form is at work; the Babu is a laughable construction twice removed from reality.[6] As the Babu is removed from reality he is a child-like frozen figure who can never approach true manhood since he can never ground himself outside of his emulative fantasy. All India is indicted by these assumptions and relegated to the register of "child" or more specific to the masculine realm of Kim, "boy". When Hurree Chunder finishes guiding the Russian sahibs out of the hills, even though he is role playing, Kipling says that the Babu "sobbed with emotion", which also offers the insinuation that he is not

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[5]"Babu is a Hindi term that originally was a title of respect--"sir" or "squire" being rough equivalents. However, the term soon came to be pejorative and was applied to the Indian who sought to emulate the Brit. The paronomasia whereby "Babu" evokes "baboon" is a grim and infelicitous coincidence; Kim's remark to the Babu shows that Kipling was not above playing with the correspondence. The pun is only intensified when Chunder's first name, "Hurree," is coupled with "Babu"; the leap to "Hairy Baboon" is truly a small one.

[6]I have in mind the second and third books of The Republic, that deal specifically with the "sin" of copying the forms.

only inferior racially, but also sexually since such emotional lability is typically taken as "feminine", which is another way of registering his inferiority.

The ultimate form of emulation that Hurree can aspire to is membership in the Royal Society; Kipling shows his approval through the Colonel: "So Creighton smiled, and thought the better of Hurree Babu, moved by like desire" (234). Hurree Chunder's aspirations to the society, though parallel to Creighton's, are flattering and commendable but also futile, as Hurree's remark shows: "I have contributed *rejected* notes to Asiatic Quarterly Review on these subjects" (242, my emphasis). Chunder's attempts to publish and so attain the official status of ethnographer are rejected. The Babu is thus a true foil to Creighton; he is the transcendental India signified--a fallen culture that can only "appear" to be British.

As much as the Babu is a farcical figure, he represents the correct road that Kipling's imperialism envisaged for India since he is willing to emulate Western culture. His lecture to Kim on paying "strict attention to plays called Lear and Julius Caesar" shows this, since by them a "man might go far" (217). Kipling is unquestionably priorizing Western culture, but he does so along imperial lines. When the Babu ranks mensuration over literature, Kipling signals an imperial agenda: better than the imposition of English culture and politics (Burke) is a measurement, description,

and representation of India in the form of a map. The map thus epitomizes what Said identifies as the sort of knowledge that allows the imperialist to control and subject a nation to scrutiny (Orientalism 32). India in this respect is analogous to "the boy" because she is a *tabula rasa* who must be inscribed or mapped, ironically, by "the boy" Kim. Although both India and Kim are represented as "boy" because each is regressive, and each is a blank slate awaiting the firm orthography of the Colonel's cartography, only Kim enjoys the bivalence that enables him to be groomed in the hope of his future potential.

To discuss only the disapprobation of mimesis in the construction of the Babu and India is to overlook another set of forces at work in the late nineteenth century. These later assumptions, far from conflicting with the Platonic, only fortify them. Said, in direct reference to Kipling, says:

> Such ideas and their authors emerge out of complex historical and cultural circumstance, at least two of which have much in common with the history of Orientalism in the nineteenth century. One of them is the culturally sanctioned habit of deploying large generalizations by which reality is divided into various collectives: languages, races, types, colors, mentalities, each category being not so much a neutral designation as an

> evaluative interpretation. Underlying these categories is the rigidly binomial opposition of "ours" and "theirs", with the former always encroaching upon the latter (even to the point of making "theirs" exclusively a function of "ours"). This opposition was reinforced not only by anthropology, linguistics, and history but also, of course, by the Darwinian theses on survival and natural selection, and--no less decisive--by the rhetoric of high cultural humanism. (Orientalism 227)

Said's binomial opposition between "theirs" and "ours" is displayed clearly in the opposition between Lurgan Sahib and Mahbub Ali. Despite Mahbub's overt masculinity and competence in the Great Game, he is encoded as inferior to Kim or "the boy" in a number of ways. Ironically, or paradoxically, Kim, "the boy" is superior to Mahbub the man. Even the father-son relationship between Kim and Mahbub does not remove the racial hierarchy erected between the pair. Two features in particular are used to encode the superiority of the white "boy". Kim serves as Mahbub's rescuer a number of times, each time being the ultimate rescue: Kim saves Mahbub's life and considers Mahbub's life "forfeit to him" (178). Second, Kim is named as sahib in relation to Mahbub.

Mahbub's character is nearly a caricature of the good

savage; he is of martial Afghan stock, loyal, ignorant but willing to learn, and submissive. When Mahbub picks Kim up during his attempted escape from the military compound of the Maverick regiment, the two speak of Kim's future. Mahbub shows that he is aware of Kim's racial superiority: "'Be patient. Once a sahib, always a sahib. When thou art a man--who knows?--thou wilt be grateful to Mahbub Ali'" (145). His proverb, coupled with the suspended "who knows?", indicates that Mahbub is alert to the need to keep sahibs grateful. The word "sahib" in the proverb is not capitalized as it always is for Colonel Sahib or Lurgan Sahib, yet Mahbub later says to Kim that Lurgan Sahib "'sends his salaams to thee--Sahib'" and thereby indicates that Kim's education grants him titular and racial respect (236). Again, Mahbub's diction is ruptured by a dash, this time it signals the impossibility of an egalitarian relationship between him and Kim since Kim as "Sahib" is "master".

The inequality between Mahbub and Kim is intensified by the affiliation between Kim and Lurgan Sahib. Mahbub's introduction of Lurgan, "men say he does magic, but that should not touch thee", equates sahib with Sahib by admitting that Lurgan's magic will not touch Kim since he too is white (197). The very next words that Mahbub speaks, "'Go up the hill and ask. Here begins the Great Game'" are loaded with imperial significance (197). Kim must ascend

"up the hill" to enter Lurgan's world; entry signals Kim's official membership into the domain of the Englishman, and thus into the realm of the imperialist.

Lurgan's house is also a shop of things oriental and curious:

> The Lahore Museum was larger, but here were more wonders--ghost-daggers and prayer-wheels from Tibet; turquoise and raw amber necklaces; green jade bangles; curiously packed incense-sticks in jars crusted over with raw garnets; the devil-masks of overnight and a wall full of peacock-blue draperies; gilt figures of Buddha, and little portable lacquer altars; Russian samovars with turquoises on the lid; egg-shell china sets in quaint octagonal cane boxes; yellow ivory crucifixes--from Japan of all places in the world, so Lurgan Sahib said; carpets in dusty bales . . . . (203-04)

The catalogue continues in its exhaustive scope; it is a museum, and the similarity between it and the one in Lahore is most profound in respect to the curator. Lurgan Sahib is just that, an Englishman with a consumptive, encyclopedic appetite for relics, for objects that become "his" (Said's "ours") by virtue of a possessive knowledge.

White or English knowledge is the special domain of Lurgan. Knowledge, as Said suggests, is a perceptual

apparatus that is linked to control:

> To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"--the Oriental country since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as* we know it. (Orientalism 32)

Lurgan tests Kim's perceptual control in a very curious passage that involves a broken water-jug and near hallucinatory experience caused by Lurgan's "magic" when he induces Kim to see the jug reassemble. There is no clear explanation for this passage; it suggests that Kipling held a bivalent epistemology--that Europeans see the world one way, and Indians see it another way. Kim manages to pass the test:

> The jar had been smashed--yess, smashed--not the native word, he would not think of that--but smashed--into fifty pieces, and twice three was six, and thrice three was nine, and four times three was twelve. He clung desperately to the repetition. The shadow outline of the jar cleared like a mist after rubbing eyes. (206)

The means of Kim's success is rote repetition of the multiplication table in English. The suggestion is plain--Kim resorts to British rationality and it allows him to see the jar *as* it is truly is, just as the British imperialist

sees the world as it truly is, in need of a superior guiding hand, a hand, like Lurgan's placed on the back of the subject nation's neck.

The test of Lurgan Sahib connects India and "the boy" and simultaneously disassociates them. This seeming paradox is possible because two competing ideas of "the boy" are present. On one hand, "the boy" is white, and Lockean, a "jewel" that Lurgan must test and "set". On the other hand, "the boy" is Asiatic and primitive and must be moulded or healed. Lurgan is called "the healer of sick pearls" (213); the only "pearl" that he demonstrates his ability on is Kim. Kim's sickness, or flaw, is his bivalent nature:

> So far Kim had been thinking in Hindi, but a tremor came on him, and with an effort like that of a swimmer before sharks, who hurls himself half out of the water, his mind leaped up from a darkness that was swallowing it and took refuge in--the multiplication table in English! (205-06)

Kim is healed; he is cured, or at least shown the limitations of "thinking in Hindi" and of being a "boy" whose bivalence permits Rousseauean notions of simplicity. The restoration is intended to be for Kim's benefit, since his mind is being swallowed up by a "darkness" that can only be understood as the Asiatic mind-set.[7] When the rite

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[7] Kim is filled with disparaging references to the "Oriental" mind: it is deceitful, superstitious, greedy, disordered, and mysterious, (36, 40, 41, 89, 120), to select only a few examples.

ends, Kim feels "unusually wide awake" (206), his mind is now clear from "thinking in Hindi"; just as Kim walked up a hill to enter Lurgan's shop, his mind, under Lurgan's hand, has "leaped up from a darkness" to the clear, mathematical, Lockean world that is preternaturally clear. Lurgan explains the purpose of the trial thus:

> It was only to see if there was--a flaw in a jewel. Sometimes very fine jewels will fly all to pieces if a man holds them in his hand, and knows the proper way. That is why one must be careful before one sets them. (206)

The jewel, which requires only the "proper way" of being held, symbolizes India as Britain's possession, or 'jewel in the imperial crown'. To hold and set this gem, a moulding hand must try it: as "the boy" becomes precious by leaping "up from a darkness" so India will be saved if she will allow herself to become British.

The chief problem raised by the association of "the boy" with India is described by Radha Achar when he says of India, "it did have proof of four thousand years of civic living and alternate traditions of philosophy, art, literature and science" (51). In short, any suggestion that "the boy" and India form a conceptual pair in imperial ideology must account for the chronological discrepancy of pairing the young, "boy", with the old, India. Yet, the imperial mindset managed. Achar explains:

> As a way out, colonial ideology postulated a clear disjunction between India's past and its present. *Civilized* India was in the bygone past. The present India was only nominally related to its history and India to the extent that it was an old decrepit version of her once youthful self. (51)

Thus, imperial ideology juxtaposes youth and senescence which is exactly what the final pair of characters on the ideological field of "the boy" do.

Kim and the lama form an enduring bond that lasts the entire book. The relationship is rife with apparent oppositions: old versus young; master versus *chela*; English versus Tibetan; and boy versus man. Yet, the oppositions and what is typically understood as Kipling's masterful "synthesis" between these binaries vanishes when the ideology of "the boy" is entered into a reading of the relationship.

The lama consistently is described as a "boy", or child, and Kim is consistently shown as his provider and rescuer. Thus, a role reversal lies beneath the "boy" Kim--"aged" lama opposition. The exchange depicts what is best expressed in Kipling's own phrase: the lama is the whiteman's [boy's] burden, or, as Kipling says in Kim: "Kim's shoulders have all the weight of it--the burden of an old man" (358). Kipling, to carry off this relationship, privileges the disguised white adult of "the boy", Kim.

The interplay between Kim and the lama can be read as a mutually beneficial arrangement: Kim looks after the lama's material wants, while the lama teaches Kim the Way. The lama also is responsible for Kim's education as a sahib since he provides the money for the three years at St. Xavier's. Kim thus receives two kinds of education from the lama, one that is Asiatic and designed to simplify and free Kim from worldly concerns, and another that is white in orientation and designed to complicate Kim and engage him with the imperial world. Kim reminds the lama of this when he says "I am still a sahib--by thy favour" (254). But the idea that the lama provides Kim with a "Way" that is of equal stature with the way of St. Xavier's is undercut by the way that Kipling changes the lama by giving him a British perspective. At the outset of the pilgrimage, the curator of the Lahore museum gives the lama a pair of eyeglasses. When the lama puts the English glasses on he says, "'A feather! A very feather upon the face!' . . . 'How scarcely do I feel them! How clearly do I see!'" (21). The English glasses are a metaphor for the sort of clear vision that Kim gained in Lurgan Sahib's shop when his mind "leaped up from a darkness" (205). In effect, the Lama, is "bleached" through the Western glasses, he becomes white and British when he gains this new perceptual apparatus. Thus, the lama is simply functioning as a white or British mentor figure, when, in a moment of clear vision, he provides for

Kim's education at St. Xavier's. It is this British perspective, made possible by the device of the eyeglasses, that allows Kipling to conceal the lama's willingness to grant "the boy" mastery over India by ensuring that Kim learns the art of mensuration.

Although Kipling does not entirely remove the lama's Asiatic vision, the final pages of the text show the inability of the British-bespectacled lama to offer Kim an Asiatic perspective. After Kim recovers from his journey out of the mountains, two very suggestive scenes demonstrate that "the boy" has been but a veil, an enabling fiction of imperialism. The lama's mock-Asian wisdom is also revealed as a facade since, although he is Tibetan, he views the world through the eyeglasses of a sahib. Lurking behind each disguise is a possible meaning of "the boy": regressive in the case of the lama and India, progressive in the case of Britain and Kim.

The first passage shows Kim weeping, very boyishly, after his convalescence:

> He did not want to cry--had never felt less like crying in his life--but of a sudden easy, stupid tears trickled down his nose, and with an almost audible click he felt the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without. Things that rode meaningless on the eyeball an instant before slid into proper proportion. Roads were meant to be

> walked upon, houses to be lived in, cattle to be driven, fields to be tilled, and men and women to be talked to. (374)

In this passage, which recapitulates the scene in Lurgan's shop, Kim wakes up to his own sense of mastery. His facade of "boy" is abandoned as he appropriates the world around him. The "audible click" taken with "wheels of being" suggests a very mechanical and domineering way of being--an adult male way. Said describes this perspective, "being a white man, in short, was a very concrete manner of being-in-the-world, a way of taking hold of reality, language, and thought" (Orientalism 227). Kim's readiness to see, walk, inhabit houses, drive cattle, plow, and talk (with the exception of walking and talking all these are uncharacteristic of Kim or "the boy") encompasses Said's view of the White *Man's* way of being. Significantly, immediately after this passage Kim goes to "Mother earth" for his final restoration:

> She breathed through him to restore the poise he had lost lying so long on a cot cut off from her good currents. His head lay powerless upon her breast, and his opened hands surrendered to her strength. The many-rooted tree above him, and even the dead manhandled wood beside, knew what he sought, as he himself did not know. Hour upon hour he lay deeper than sleep. (374)

The passage is one of the most sensual and sexual in all of Kim. It depicts a highly symbolic entrance into the adult world of sexuality, made possible by the "audible click" of entering the White Man's world. Kim as "boy" disappears nearly altogether from the narrative at this point. This absence occurs because Kim is no longer serving as "the boy"; he is fully a man now, he is the surveyor, the measurer, drawer, the bewitcher of "childish" Indians, the protege of the Lurgan Sahib, under the all-seeing eye of Colonel Creighton. Kipling thus encodes Kim entirely as male, invested with a White Man's mastery.

The final page of Kim shows the lama absolving Kim:

> "I have found it. Son of my Soul, I have wrenched my Soul back from the Threshold of Freedom to free thee from all sin--as I am free, and sinless! Just is the Wheel! Certain is our deliverance! Come!"
>
> He crossed his hands on his lap and smiled, as a man may who has won salvation for himself and his beloved. (383)

This passage is an altogether clear admission of Kipling's need for absolution for the wrongs committed in the name of the Great Game. Paradoxically, the lama is at his most innocent or boy-like here and his absolution is offered to another "boy". Kipling thus pairs two of the competing meanings of "the boy" off against one another in the hope

that both ideological registers are possible. He hopes that India can be simultaneously venerable but boy-like, while he hopes that Kim, as the adult imperial Britain, can somehow control India and also be forgiven for it because he is a "boy" who has "acquired merit". The fashion in which these meanings of "the boy" contest one another in this passage recalls the organizing metaphor of Kim.

The Great Game is a masterful example of how powerful the politics of language and representation are. Calling imperialism a game drives its elements of power underground--out of sight--to a place where they may be ignored. Subversive and ruthless imperial rule by virtue of association with game, and a disguised "boy" moves both into the ideologically free zone of innocence. There, the "Great Game" accrues "boyishness"; imperialism becomes guileless, mildly dangerous, but good fun. Imperialism also becomes invested with the edifying quality of sport. To be a member of the Secret Service Kim must "make the team"; however, once on the team, playing the game continues to mould the boy/man into the ideal imperial servant. Empire thus becomes a grand playing field. Given the Victorian notion that a nation's games were an index of its cultural sophistication, the very idea that Britain could rule out of a spirit of sport or play is an ultimate indication of a belief in inherent British superiority (Dunae, 1977, 95). Kipling, in making Kim the consummate artist of disguise who

plays the "Great Game" with finesse when he "slip[s] into Hindu or Muhammadan garb" (10), makes imperialism the best sport by cross-dressing a man as a "boy"--a freak of nature whose lusory ends are indeed "Great" because they are finally about fulfilling the imperial dream.

Conclusion

> **boy** (boi) *n., interj.* --*n.* **1** a male child. **2** son: *Is that your boy?* **3** a male servant. **4** a boy or man employed to run errands, carry things etc. **5** *Informal.* any man; fellow: *the boys at the office. He's a local boy.*
> --*interj. Informal.* an exclamation of surprise, admiration, pleasure, contempt, etc.: *Boy, is it hot! Boy, is he a liar!* [ME *boy, boi;* origin uncertain]
>
> Gage Canadian Dictionary

Where do boys come from? The cryptic "origin uncertain", condenses several of the problems I have attempted to deal with in this thesis. On one hand, the biological answer to the question is very simple; on the other hand, the ideological origin of "the boy" is a more complex issue. If this source of "the boy" is uncertain, the reason for his invention is less murky. James Kincaid says that the "child" as a social formation is a cultural necessity:

> I am especially interested in some of the ways we have formed what we like to call "the child," that "child" being understood not so much as a thing in itself as a cultural necessity, an historical and social growth created out of complex forms of

cultural desire. (1)

Kincaid, does not actually deal specifically with "the boy"; rather, he speaks of "the child". This imprecision reveals one of the difficulties I have attempted to address herein, namely, "the boy" is a special form of "the child" with special connections to specific forms of "cultural desire". I derive, nevertheless, from Kincaid the important idea that "the boy" like "the child" is no ideological accident, but rather the result of adult needs. Thus, the stories that we tell of boys and to boys can be read to disclose their adult investments. As Kincaid says, these adult investments are "complex"; nevertheless, because I restrict my inquiry to the very narrow confines of late Victorian ideology, I am prepared to offer the following summaries and conclusions that speak to the three different texts under consideration.

King Solomon's Mines differs from both Kim and Treasure Island because it offers a specific location and time for its setting: Africa and the ideologically ambivalent 1880s respectively. These two factors are significant since British guilt over imperialism had a special connection to the use of force in Africa. Hence, Haggard presents a "boys' book" that faces the distinct problem of attempting to endorse imperialism while simultaneously distancing itself from its practice. Haggard attempts this balancing act by providing a series of different appeals to "the boy". In da Silvestra, he uses a Moses-Exodus literary motif that

would likely be understood by boys used to connecting imperial activity to divine mandates for expansionism and profit. Further, the Mosaic motif also endorses a pattern of filial initiation which has to do not only with land, but extends also to the Solomonic error over women. Haggard thus pairs a certain misogyny with the need to "educate" boys over the ills of miscegenation. Finally, through the three white men, Haggard provides a hierarchy of discourse to interpellate "the boy" and display the moral, ethical, and martial superiority of Englishmen. In each case, however, Haggard takes care not to align either Quatermain, Good, or Sir Henry Curtis with the stock figures of the trader, missionary, or soldier. Rather, by having the three whites effectively renounce the treasure of Solomon's mines and by earning Ignosi's praise, Haggard shows that his characters are a class of superior social redeemers.

Kim is most like King Solomon's Mines because it also has a definite imperial context in the space of India. Yet Kim is unlike King Solomon's Mines because it dates from a period of time when there was less need to encode imperialism with subtlety. Thus Kipling is quite open about the means and ends of the "Great Game". However, by disguising Kim as a boy, Kipling achieves two ends. First, Kipling is able to promote his personal support of imperialism among any "boys" who read Kim. Second, even though he is open about his political agenda, Kipling

invests imperialism with the innocence of a boy's game and with the "natural" right for a white boy to master every situation and every person he encounters on the "broad and open road".

Treasure Island is, as Henry James suggests, the most fable-like of the three books considered. Because it lacks a specific imperial setting it avoids the problem of political censure and promises to be the most purely imaginative of the three texts. However, it is this very feature that makes Treasure Island the most schematic description of imperial endeavour: rumour of great wealth motivates the squire, Livesey and Captain Smollett to stake their own capital (the purchase and command of the *Hispaniola*) in a venture that demands that they establish and maintain control of the stockade long enough and well enough to gain the cooperation of the indigenous (Ben Gunn) and assume control of the island's resources. "The boy", because he is so obviously subject to the adult design of Stevenson, shows how desire fuels both imperialism and the invention of "the boy"--that imperialism is actually made possible by the invention of "the boy". The way that Stevenson presents Jim Hawkins as poised between the buccaneers and the stockade party suggests that "the boy" has a real sense of volition and agency. However, the ideology of imperialism ensures that "the boy" has only an illusory choice; his subject position is actually that of

the imperial adult because he is invented by the imperial adult.

These conclusions are also summaries of the three readings I offer: "the boy", whether he is present only as a wished-for audience, as a remembered consciousness created by a desiring adult, or as a disguised adult, serves to enable and justify imperialism. I have used "wished-for" throughout my discussion to signal how "the boy" as an element of discourse is a desired signified whose presence is paradoxical. On one hand, "the boy" makes imperialism possible because his invention is represented by regression which allows an epistemology of hierarchy at a familial level. This hierarchy in turn makes possible the racial, economic, and political hierarchies necessary for imperial activity. In this restricted sense, then, "the boy" makes imperialism possible and, in the same restricted sense, "the boy" is necessary for imperialism to occur. Yet, as much as "the boy" stands for regression, he represents futurity, and thus allows an epistemology of progress that enables imperialism because it looks forward to the "growth" or "maturation" of the subject nation and Other in the same way that a parent looks forward to the maturation of a "boy". Convenient to the adult and to the imperial nation, "the boy" also represents a subject that needs discipline and guidance in order to mature. These two extremes, regression and futurity, sum up what may be called a dialectic in the

discourse of "the boy". Seen as a dialectic, "the boy" is all the more an adult invention. For Kipling, Stevenson, and Haggard, then, "the boy" is not so much an elusive or paradoxical signified as he is a means of signifying adult desire for imperial practice.

I now want to ask some of the questions that remain unanswered or outside my readings, and stand in need of further investigation. The questions are several: What is the relation between the adventure genre and maleness? What of the slippage between men and boys as readers of "boy's books"? In what ways is masculinity a continuum, and in what ways are "boys" created as masculine subjects by the boy's book? Each book considered presents boys within a certain genre--adventure. However, the adventure genre is many-faceted. Are there different uses made of "the boy" in boy's school books like Hughes' Tom Brown's Schooldays or Kipling's Stalky and Co.? In island books like Robinson Crusoe, The Coral Island, or the more recent Lord of the Flies? In frontier books like Seton's Two Little Savages, or Kingston's The Frontier Fort, and The Grateful Indian: A Tale of Rupert's Land? In picaresques like Kim, or The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn? Since all of these variants on the boy's adventure book can be placed within a late Victorian imperialist context, will they yield similar ideological uses of "the boy"? What is the ideological work of "the boy" in fiction that post-dates the zenith of

imperial activity? Beyond Haggard's and Kipling's treatment of women, how do "boy's books" deal with the feminine and how do they construct women? Obviously more work is needed on "the boy" since these are but a few of the many questions raised by an ideological reading of boy's fiction.

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> She drew a handful of walnuts from her bosom, split one neatly, and began to eat. Kim affected blank ignorance.
>
> 'Dost thou not know the meaning of the walnut--priest?' she said coyly, and handed him the half-shells.
>
> 'Well thought of.' He slipped the piece of paper between them quickly. 'Hast thou a little wax to close them on this letter?'
>
> The woman sighed aloud, and Kim relented.
>
> 'There is no payment till service has been rendered. (339-40)

Kim's commentary on this exchange shows that he is indeed "a man", but a curiously de-sexualized one:

> 'How can a man follow the Way or the Great Game when he is so-always pestered by women? There was the girl at Akrola of the Ford: and there was the scullion's wife behind the dovecot--not counting the others--and now comes this one! When I was a child it was well enough, but now I am a man and they will not regard me as a man'. (341)

Here Kim disparages women as much as he does his sexuality, a sexuality which is understood strictly in terms of imperialism--the "Great Game"--or religion--"the Way". Women "pester" Kim; they do not appeal to him in any way, despite his obvious appeal to them.

The Woman of Shamlegh is but a diversion, an impediment or obstacle that Kim must surmount. Kim's final evasion of the Woman of Shamlegh snows Kipling's blatant need to keep Kim a "boy" and contain his sexuality. When the Woman implores Kim to stay he refuses:

> 'Hillwoman,' said Kim, with austerity that could not harden the outlines of his young oval face, 'these matters are too high for thee.'
>
> 'The Gods be good to us! Since when have men and women been other than men and women?'
>
> 'A priest is a priest. He says he will go upon this hour. I am his *chela*, and I go with him. We need food for the road. He is an honoured guest in all the villages, but'--he broke into a pure boy's grin--'the food here is good. Give me some.'

Kim shows "austerity" but it is softened by his "young" face; he puts his loyalty to the lama and the Great Game over any relation to the Woman. Kipling's stroke of genius in constructing Kim as "boy" is the "pure boy's grin", which sidesteps the issue of sexuality and effectively neuters Kim. The Woman of Shamlegh grows angry toward Kim from this moment on; it is as though she resents Kipling's denial of her "natural" appeal to the too simple and obvious sexuality of men and women. Kim, ironically, is a *lusus naturae* who has what the Woman considers "natural" erased from his

"nature" by dint of Kipling's need to construct him as a loyal and pure boy of the empire. Once again a dramatic irony surrounds Kim: the Woman of Kulu is angry because Kipling allows her to see only the manly facade that harbours the freakish imperial "boy". These "matters" are not "too high" for the Woman; they are simply hidden from her.

If the Woman of Shamlegh has the bivalent significance of "the boy" hidden from her, the two Englishmen have nothing hidden from them. Lurgan Sahib and Colonel Creighton are Kim's imperial educators, and both embody the racial hierarchy of the late nineteenth century that was one of the chief enabling fictions of imperialism. Creighton, in particular, represents Kipling's late Victorian imperial ideology, and he indicates yet another contest of meaning relating to "the boy": a competition between the imperial nation and the imperial subject. Creighton, a great scholar and military official, is depicted with a special dignity:

> No man could be a fool who knew the language so intimately, who moved so gently and silently, and whose eyes were so different from the dull fat eyes of other sahibs. (159)

The Colonel, as the acting head of the Secret Service, as ethnographer, and aspirant to the Royal Society, epitomizes the sort of knowledge that Said identifies as the heart of Orientalism:

> Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny; this object is a "fact" which, if it develops, changes, or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently do, nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable. To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"--the Oriental country since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as* we know it. (Orientalism 32)

The Colonel's ethnographic and cartographic interest is an all-consuming and controlling force that functions as knowledge-as-power. Creighton's ghost-like superintendence of the Great Game keeps his character necessarily undeveloped. Yet, precisely because of his absence Creighton becomes a symbolic figure--the ultimate imperial officer who understands India, and by virtue of this comprehension holds the right to rule in as subversive and covert a manner as necessary. The Colonel thus becomes *The Colonel*: a literary conceit that signifies transcendental imperial benevolence and omniscience.

Creighton's status as the ideal form of imperial official is confirmed by his foil Hurree Chunder Mookerjee--

the Babu. The two men share much: they aspire to be Fellows of the Royal Society, both are learned, and both are members of the Secret Service. However, whereas Creighton is always depicted with sincerity and dignity, the Babu is constantly undercut. Said explains the significance of this constant devaluation:

> Yet he is almost always funny, or gauche, or somehow caricatural not because he is incompetent or inept in his work--on the contrary he is exactly the opposite--but because he is not white, that is, he can never be a Creighton. . . . Hence, lovable and admirable though he may be, there remains in Kipling's portrait Babu the grimacing stereotype of the ontologically funny native, hopelessly trying to be like "us". (Raritan 52)

Said's observation is intensified when placed alongside Patrick Dunae's assertion that one of the colonial stereotypes of the Asian Indian was his ability to be "trained" to serve Western civilization (1977, 103). The Babu is unquestionably competent, and by late Victorian standards he is portrayed honorifically enough, at or near the top of the racial hierarchy that the social Darwinism of the late century had created.[4] However, when Kim says to

---

[4]Darwinian notions of evolution are surely at work when Hurree explains his "fearfulness" thus, "'It was process of Evolution, *I* think, from Primal Necessity" (298).

the Babu, "then why talk like an ape in a tree" (294), the lower end of the racial hierarchy, occupied by the black African is invoked, since as Dunae notes: "the negro was often seen to possess only an emulative ability" (1977, 89). The Babu is incriminated here as only a copyist, he apes in his language, and ultimately apes the Colonel.[5] Said, by introducing the ontological, lays bare the intellectual watershed of Western assumptions. Clearly the Platonic morality that condemns the copy of the form is at work; the Babu is a laughable construction twice removed from reality.[6] As the Babu is removed from reality he is a child-like frozen figure who can never approach true manhood since he can never ground himself outside of his emulative fantasy. All India is indicted by these assumptions and relegated to the register of "child" or more specific to the masculine realm of Kim, "boy". When Hurree Chunder finishes guiding the Russian sahibs out of the hills, even though he is role playing, Kipling says that the Babu "sobbed with emotion", which also offers the insinuation that he is not

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[5]"Babu is a Hindi term that originally was a title of respect--"sir" or "squire" being rough equivalents. However, the term soon came to be pejorative and was applied to the Indian who sought to emulate the Brit. The paronomasia whereby "Babu" evokes "baboon" is a grim and infelicitous coincidence; Kim's remark to the Babu shows that Kipling was not above playing with the correspondence. The pun is only intensified when Chunder's first name, "Hurree," is coupled with "Babu"; the leap to "Hairy Baboon" is truly a small one.

[6]I have in mind the second and third books of The Republic, that deal specifically with the "sin" of copying the forms.

only inferior racially, but also sexually since such emotional lability is typically taken as "feminine", which is another way of registering his inferiority.

The ultimate form of emulation that Hurree can aspire to is membership in the Royal Society; Kipling shows his approval through the Colonel: "So Creighton smiled, and thought the better of Hurree Babu, moved by like desire" (234). Hurree Chunder's aspirations to the society, though parallel to Creighton's, are flattering and commendable but also futile, as Hurree's remark shows: "I have contributed *rejected* notes to Asiatic Quarterly Review on these subjects" (242, my emphasis). Chunder's attempts to publish and so attain the official status of ethnographer are rejected. The Babu is thus a true foil to Creighton; he is the transcendental India signified--a fallen culture that can only "appear" to be British.

As much as the Babu is a farcical figure, he represents the correct road that Kipling's imperialism envisaged for India since he is willing to emulate Western culture. His lecture to Kim on paying "strict attention to plays called Lear and Julius Caesar" shows this, since by them a "man might go far" (217). Kipling is unquestionably priorizing Western culture, but he does so along imperial lines. When the Babu ranks mensuration over literature, Kipling signals an imperial agenda: better than the imposition of English culture and politics (Burke) is a measurement, description,

and representation of India in the form of a map. The map thus epitomizes what Said identifies as the sort of knowledge that allows the imperialist to control and subject a nation to scrutiny (Orientalism 32). India in this respect is analogous to "the boy" because she is a *tabula rasa* who must be inscribed or mapped, ironically, by "the boy" Kim. Although both India and Kim are represented as "boy" because each is regressive, and each is a blank slate awaiting the firm orthography of the Colonel's cartography, only Kim enjoys the bivalence that enables him to be groomed in the hope of his future potential.

To discuss only the disapprobation of mimesis in the construction of the Babu and India is to overlook another set of forces at work in the late nineteenth century. These later assumptions, far from conflicting with the Platonic, only fortify them. Said, in direct reference to Kipling, says:

> Such ideas and their authors emerge out of complex historical and cultural circumstance, at least two of which have much in common with the history of Orientalism in the nineteenth century. One of them is the culturally sanctioned habit of deploying large generalizations by which reality is divided into various collectives: languages, races, types, colors, mentalities, each category being not so much a neutral designation as an

> evaluative interpretation. Underlying these categories is the rigidly binomial opposition of "ours" and "theirs", with the former always encroaching upon the latter (even to the point of making "theirs" exclusively a function of "ours"). This opposition was reinforced not only by anthropology, linguistics, and history but also, of course, by the Darwinian theses on survival and natural selection, and--no less decisive--by the rhetoric of high cultural humanism. (Orientalism 227)

Said's binomial opposition between "theirs" and "ours" is displayed clearly in the opposition between Lurgan Sahib and Mahbub Ali. Despite Mahbub's overt masculinity and competence in the Great Game, he is encoded as inferior to Kim or "the boy" in a number of ways. Ironically, or paradoxically, Kim, "the boy" is superior to Mahbub the man. Even the father-son relationship between Kim and Mahbub does not remove the racial hierarchy erected between the pair. Two features in particular are used to encode the superiority of the white "boy". Kim serves as Mahbub's rescuer a number of times, each time being the ultimate rescue: Kim saves Mahbub's life and considers Mahbub's life "forfeit to him" (178). Second, Kim is named as sahib in relation to Mahbub.

Mahbub's character is nearly a caricature of the good

savage; he is of martial Afghan stock, loyal, ignorant but willing to learn, and submissive. When Mahbub picks Kim up during his attempted escape from the military compound of the Maverick regiment, the two speak of Kim's future. Mahbub shows that he is aware of Kim's racial superiority: "'Be patient. Once a sahib, always a sahib. When thou art a man--who knows?--thou wilt be grateful to Mahbub Ali'" (145). His proverb, coupled with the suspended "who knows?", indicates that Mahbub is alert to the need to keep sahibs grateful. The word "sahib" in the proverb is not capitalized as it always is for Colonel Sahib or Lurgan Sahib, yet Mahbub later says to Kim that Lurgan Sahib "'sends his salaams to thee--Sahib'" and thereby indicates that Kim's education grants him titular and racial respect (236). Again, Mahbub's diction is ruptured by a dash, this time it signals the impossibility of an egalitarian relationship between him and Kim since Kim as "Sahib" is "master".

The inequality between Mahbub and Kim is intensified by the affiliation between Kim and Lurgan Sahib. Mahbub's introduction of Lurgan, "men say he does magic, but that should not touch thee", equates sahib with Sahib by admitting that Lurgan's magic will not touch Kim since he too is white (197). The very next words that Mahbub speaks, "'Go up the hill and ask. Here begins the Great Game'" are loaded with imperial significance (197). Kim must ascend

"up the hill" to enter Lurgan's world; entry signals Kim's official membership into the domain of the Englishman, and thus into the realm of the imperialist.

Lurgan's house is also a shop of things oriental and curious:

> The Lahore Museum was larger, but here were more wonders--ghost-daggers and prayer-wheels from Tibet; turquoise and raw amber necklaces; green jade bangles; curiously packed incense-sticks in jars crusted over with raw garnets; the devil-masks of overnight and a wall full of peacock-blue draperies; gilt figures of Buddha, and little portable lacquer altars; Russian samovars with turquoises on the lid; egg-shell china sets in quaint octagonal cane boxes; yellow ivory crucifixes--from Japan of all places in the world, so Lurgan Sahib said; carpets in dusty bales . . . . (203-04)

The catalogue continues in its exhaustive scope; it is a museum, and the similarity between it and the one in Lahore is most profound in respect to the curator. Lurgan Sahib is just that, an Englishman with a consumptive, encyclopedic appetite for relics, for objects that become "his" (Said's "ours") by virtue of a possessive knowledge.

White or English knowledge is the special domain of Lurgan. Knowledge, as Said suggests, is a perceptual

apparatus that is linked to control:

> To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"--the Oriental country since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as* we know it. (Orientalism 32)

Lurgan tests Kim's perceptual control in a very curious passage that involves a broken water-jug and near hallucinatory experience caused by Lurgan's "magic" when he induces Kim to see the jug reassemble. There is no clear explanation for this passage; it suggests that Kipling held a bivalent epistemology--that Europeans see the world one way, and Indians see it another way. Kim manages to pass the test:

> The jar had been smashed--yess, smashed--not the native word, he would not think of that--but smashed--into fifty pieces, and twice three was six, and thrice three was nine, and four times three was twelve. He clung desperately to the repetition. The shadow outline of the jar cleared like a mist after rubbing eyes. (206)

The means of Kim's success is rote repetition of the multiplication table in English. The suggestion is plain--Kim resorts to British rationality and it allows him to see the jar *as* it is truly is, just as the British imperialist

sees the world as it truly is, in need of a superior guiding hand, a hand, like Lurgan's placed on the back of the subject nation's neck.

The test of Lurgan Sahib connects India and "the boy" and simultaneously disassociates them. This seeming paradox is possible because two competing ideas of "the boy" are present. On one hand, "the boy" is white, and Lockean, a "jewel" that Lurgan must test and "set". On the other hand, "the boy" is Asiatic and primitive and must be moulded or healed. Lurgan is called "the healer of sick pearls" (213); the only "pearl" that he demonstrates his ability on is Kim. Kim's sickness, or flaw, is his bivalent nature:

> So far Kim had been thinking in Hindi, but a tremor came on him, and with an effort like that of a swimmer before sharks, who hurls himself half out of the water, his mind leaped up from a darkness that was swallowing it and took refuge in--the multiplication table in English! (205-06)

Kim is healed; he is cured, or at least shown the limitations of "thinking in Hindi" and of being a "boy" whose bivalence permits Rousseauean notions of simplicity. The restoration is intended to be for Kim's benefit, since his mind is being swallowed up by a "darkness" that can only be understood as the Asiatic mind-set.[7] When the rite

---

[7] Kim is filled with disparaging references to the "Oriental" mind: it is deceitful, superstitious, greedy, disordered, and mysterious, (36, 40, 41, 89, 120), to select only a few examples.

ends, Kim feels "unusually wide awake" (206), his mind is now clear from "thinking in Hindi"; just as Kim walked up a hill to enter Lurgan's shop, his mind, under Lurgan's hand, has "leaped up from a darkness" to the clear, mathematical, Lockean world that is preternaturally clear. Lurgan explains the purpose of the trial thus:

> It was only to see if there was--a flaw in a jewel. Sometimes very fine jewels will fly all to pieces if a man holds them in his hand, and knows the proper way. That is why one must be careful before one sets them. (206)

The jewel, which requires only the "proper way" of being held, symbolizes India as Britain's possession, or 'jewel in the imperial crown'. To hold and set this gem, a moulding hand must try it: as "the boy" becomes precious by leaping "up from a darkness" so India will be saved if she will allow herself to become British.

The chief problem raised by the association of "the boy" with India is described by Radha Achar when he says of India, "it did have proof of four thousand years of civic living and alternate traditions of philosophy, art, literature and science" (51). In short, any suggestion that "the boy" and India form a conceptual pair in imperial ideology must account for the chronological discrepancy of pairing the young, "boy", with the old, India. Yet, the imperial mindset managed. Achar explains:

> As a way out, colonial ideology postulated a clear disjunction between India's past and its present. *Civilized* India was in the bygone past. The present India was only nominally related to its history and India to the extent that it was an old decrepit version of her once youthful self. (51)

Thus, imperial ideology juxtaposes youth and senescence which is exactly what the final pair of characters on the ideological field of "the boy" do.

Kim and the lama form an enduring bond that lasts the entire book. The relationship is rife with apparent oppositions: old versus young; master versus *chela;* English versus Tibetan; and boy versus man. Yet, the oppositions and what is typically understood as Kipling's masterful "synthesis" between these binaries vanishes when the ideology of "the boy" is entered into a reading of the relationship.

The lama consistently is described as a "boy", or child, and Kim is consistently shown as his provider and rescuer. Thus, a role reversal lies beneath the "boy" Kim--"aged" lama opposition. The exchange depicts what is best expressed in Kipling's own phrase: the lama is the whiteman's [boy's] burden, or, as Kipling says in Kim: "Kim's shoulders have all the weight of it--the burden of an old man" (358). Kipling, to carry off this relationship, privileges the disguised white adult of "the boy", Kim.

The interplay between Kim and the lama can be read as a mutually beneficial arrangement: Kim looks after the lama's material wants, while the lama teaches Kim the Way. The lama also is responsible for Kim's education as a sahib since he provides the money for the three years at St. Xavier's. Kim thus receives two kinds of education from the lama, one that is Asiatic and designed to simplify and free Kim from worldly concerns, and another that is white in orientation and designed to complicate Kim and engage him with the imperial world. Kim reminds the lama of this when he says "I am still a sahib--by thy favour" (254). But the idea that the lama provides Kim with a "Way" that is of equal stature with the way of St. Xavier's is undercut by the way that Kipling changes the lama by giving him a British perspective. At the outset of the pilgrimage, the curator of the Lahore museum gives the lama a pair of eyeglasses. When the lama puts the English glasses on he says, "'A feather! A very feather upon the face!' . . . 'How scarcely do I feel them! How clearly do I see!'" (21). The English glasses are a metaphor for the sort of clear vision that Kim gained in Lurgan Sahib's shop when his mind "leaped up from a darkness" (205). In effect, the Lama, is "bleached" through the Western glasses, he becomes white and British when he gains this new perceptual apparatus. Thus, the lama is simply functioning as a white or British mentor figure, when, in a moment of clear vision, he provides for

Kim's education at St. Xavier's. It is this British perspective, made possible by the device of the eyeglasses, that allows Kipling to conceal the lama's willingness to grant "the boy" mastery over India by ensuring that Kim learns the art of mensuration.

Although Kipling does not entirely remove the lama's Asiatic vision, the final pages of the text show the inability of the British-bespectacled lama to offer Kim an Asiatic perspective. After Kim recovers from his journey out of the mountains, two very suggestive scenes demonstrate that "the boy" has been but a veil, an enabling fiction of imperialism. The lama's mock-Asian wisdom is also revealed as a facade since, although he is Tibetan, he views the world through the eyeglasses of a sahib. Lurking behind each disguise is a possible meaning of "the boy": regressive in the case of the lama and India, progressive in the case of Britain and Kim.

The first passage shows Kim weeping, very boyishly, after his convalescence:

> He did not want to cry--had never felt less like crying in his life--but of a sudden easy, stupid tears trickled down his nose, and with an almost audible click he felt the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without. Things that rode meaningless on the eyeball an instant before slid into proper proportion. Roads were meant to be

> walked upon, houses to be lived in, cattle to be driven, fields to be tilled, and men and women to be talked to. (374)

In this passage, which recapitulates the scene in Lurgan's shop, Kim wakes up to his own sense of mastery. His facade of "boy" is abandoned as he appropriates the world around him. The "audible click" taken with "wheels of being" suggests a very mechanical and domineering way of being--an adult male way. Said describes this perspective, "being a white man, in short, was a very concrete manner of being-in-the-world, a way of taking hold of reality, language, and thought" (Orientalism 227). Kim's readiness to see, walk, inhabit houses, drive cattle, plow, and talk (with the exception of walking and talking all these are uncharacteristic of Kim or "the boy") encompasses Said's view of the White *Man's* way of being. Significantly, immediately after this passage Kim goes to "Mother earth" for his final restoration:

> She breathed through him to restore the poise he had lost lying so long on a cot cut off from her good currents. His head lay powerless upon her breast, and his opened hands surrendered to her strength. The many-rooted tree above him, and even the dead manhandled wood beside, knew what he sought, as he himself did not know. Hour upon hour he lay deeper than sleep. (374)

The passage is one of the most sensual and sexual in all of Kim. It depicts a highly symbolic entrance into the adult world of sexuality, made possible by the "audible click" of entering the White Man's world. Kim as "boy" disappears nearly altogether from the narrative at this point. This absence occurs because Kim is no longer serving as "the boy"; he is fully a man now, he is the surveyor, the measurer, drawer, the bewitcher of "childish" Indians, the protege of the Lurgan Sahib, under the all-seeing eye of Colonel Creighton. Kipling thus encodes Kim entirely as male, invested with a White Man's mastery.

The final page of Kim shows the lama absolving Kim:

> "I have found it. Son of my Soul, I have wrenched my Soul back from the Threshold of Freedom to free thee from all sin--as I am free, and sinless! Just is the Wheel! Certain is our deliverance! Come!"
>
> He crossed his hands on his lap and smiled, as a man may who has won salvation for himself and his beloved. (383)

This passage is an altogether clear admission of Kipling's need for absolution for the wrongs committed in the name of the Great Game. Paradoxically, the lama is at his most innocent or boy-like here and his absolution is offered to another "boy". Kipling thus pairs two of the competing meanings of "the boy" off against one another in the hope

that both ideological registers are possible. He hopes that India can be simultaneously venerable but boy-like, while he hopes that Kim, as the adult imperial Britain, can somehow control India and also be forgiven for it because he is a "boy" who has "acquired merit". The fashion in which these meanings of "the boy" contest one another in this passage recalls the organizing metaphor of Kim.

The Great Game is a masterful example of how powerful the politics of language and representation are. Calling imperialism a game drives its elements of power underground--out of sight--to a place where they may be ignored. Subversive and ruthless imperial rule by virtue of association with game, and a disguised "boy" moves both into the ideologically free zone of innocence. There, the "Great Game" accrues "boyishness"; imperialism becomes guileless, mildly dangerous, but good fun. Imperialism also becomes invested with the edifying quality of sport. To be a member of the Secret Service Kim must "make the team"; however, once on the team, playing the game continues to mould the boy/man into the ideal imperial servant. Empire thus becomes a grand playing field. Given the Victorian notion that a nation's games were an index of its cultural sophistication, the very idea that Britain could rule out of a spirit of sport or play is an ultimate indication of a belief in inherent British superiority (Dunae, 1977, 95). Kipling, in making Kim the consummate artist of disguise who

plays the "Great Game" with finesse when he "slip[s] into Hindu or Muhammadan garb" (10), makes imperialism the best sport by cross-dressing a man as a "boy"--a freak of nature whose lusory ends are indeed "Great" because they are finally about fulfilling the imperial dream.

Conclusion

> **boy** (boi) *n., interj.* --*n.* **1** a male child. **2** son: *Is that your boy?* **3** a male servant. **4** a boy or man employed to run errands, carry things etc. **5** *Informal.* any man; fellow: *the boys at the office. He's a local boy.*
> --*interj. Informal.* an exclamation of surprise, admiration, pleasure, contempt, etc.: *Boy, is it hot! Boy, is he a liar!* [ME *boy, boi;* origin uncertain]
>
> Gage Canadian Dictionary

Where do boys come from? The cryptic "origin uncertain", condenses several of the problems I have attempted to deal with in this thesis. On one hand, the biological answer to the question is very simple; on the other hand, the ideological origin of "the boy" is a more complex issue. If this source of "the boy" is uncertain, the reason for his invention is less murky. James Kincaid says that the "child" as a social formation is a cultural necessity:

> I am especially interested in some of the ways we have formed what we like to call "the child," that "child" being understood not so much as a thing in itself as a cultural necessity, an historical and social growth created out of complex forms of

cultural desire. (1)

Kincaid, does not actually deal specifically with "the boy"; rather, he speaks of "the child". This imprecision reveals one of the difficulties I have attempted to address herein, namely, "the boy" is a special form of "the child" with special connections to specific forms of "cultural desire". I derive, nevertheless, from Kincaid the important idea that "the boy" like "the child" is no ideological accident, but rather the result of adult needs. Thus, the stories that we tell of boys and to boys can be read to disclose their adult investments. As Kincaid says, these adult investments are "complex"; nevertheless, because I restrict my inquiry to the very narrow confines of late Victorian ideology, I am prepared to offer the following summaries and conclusions that speak to the three different texts under consideration.

King Solomon's Mines differs from both Kim and Treasure Island because it offers a specific location and time for its setting: Africa and the ideologically ambivalent 1880s respectively. These two factors are significant since British guilt over imperialism had a special connection to the use of force in Africa. Hence, Haggard presents a "boys' book" that faces the distinct problem of attempting to endorse imperialism while simultaneously distancing itself from its practice. Haggard attempts this balancing act by providing a series of different appeals to "the boy". In da Silvestra, he uses a Moses-Exodus literary motif that

would likely be understood by boys used to connecting imperial activity to divine mandates for expansionism and profit. Further, the Mosaic motif also endorses a pattern of filial initiation which has to do not only with land, but extends also to the Solomonic error over women. Haggard thus pairs a certain misogyny with the need to "educate" boys over the ills of miscegenation. Finally, through the three white men, Haggard provides a hierarchy of discourse to interpellate "the boy" and display the moral, ethical, and martial superiority of Englishmen. In each case, however, Haggard takes care not to align either Quatermain, Good, or Sir Henry Curtis with the stock figures of the trader, missionary, or soldier. Rather, by having the three whites effectively renounce the treasure of Solomon's mines and by earning Ignosi's praise, Haggard shows that his characters are a class of superior social redeemers.

Kim is most like King Solomon's Mines because it also has a definite imperial context in the space of India. Yet Kim is unlike King Solomon's Mines because it dates from a period of time when there was less need to encode imperialism with subtlety. Thus Kipling is quite open about the means and ends of the "Great Game". However, by disguising Kim as a boy, Kipling achieves two ends. First, Kipling is able to promote his personal support of imperialism among any "boys" who read Kim. Second, even though he is open about his political agenda, Kipling

invests imperialism with the innocence of a boy's game and with the "natural" right for a white boy to master every situation and every person he encounters on the "broad and open road".

Treasure Island is, as Henry James suggests, the most fable-like of the three books considered. Because it lacks a specific imperial setting it avoids the problem of political censure and promises to be the most purely imaginative of the three texts. However, it is this very feature that makes Treasure Island the most schematic description of imperial endeavour: rumour of great wealth motivates the squire, Livesey and Captain Smollett to stake their own capital (the purchase and command of the *Hispaniola*) in a venture that demands that they establish and maintain control of the stockade long enough and well enough to gain the cooperation of the indigenous (Ben Gunn) and assume control of the island's resources. "The boy", because he is so [illegible]ously subject to the adult design of Stevenson, shows how desire fuels both imperialism and the invention of "the boy"--that imperialism is actually made possible by the invention of "the boy". The way that Stevenson presents Jim Hawkins as poised between the buccaneers and the stockade party suggests that "the boy" has a real sense of volition and agency. However, the ideology of imperialism ensures that "the boy" has only an illusory choice; his subject position is actually that of

the imperial adult because he is invented by the imperial adult.

These conclusions are also summaries of the three readings I offer: "the boy", whether he is present only as a wished-for audience, as a remembered consciousness created by a desiring adult, or as a disguised adult, serves to enable and justify imperialism. I have used "wished-for" throughout my discussion to signal how "the boy" as an element of discourse is a desired signified whose presence is paradoxical. On one hand, "the boy" makes imperialism possible because his invention is represented by regression which allows an epistemology of hierarchy at a familial level. This hierarchy in turn makes possible the racial, economic, and political hierarchies necessary for imperial activity. In this restricted sense, then, "the boy" makes imperialism possible and, in the same restricted sense, "the boy" is necessary for imperialism to occur. Yet, as much as "the boy" stands for regression, he represents futurity, and thus allows an epistemology of progress that enables imperialism because it looks forward to the "growth" or "maturation" of the subject nation and Other in the same way that a parent looks forward to the maturation of a "boy". Convenient to the adult and to the imperial nation, "the boy" also represents a subject that needs discipline and guidance in order to mature. These two extremes, regression and futurity, sum up what may be called a dialectic in the

discourse of "the boy". Seen as a dialectic, "the boy" is all the more an adult invention. For Kipling, Stevenson, and Haggard, then, "the boy" is not so much an elusive or paradoxical signified as he is a means of signifying adult desire for imperial practice.

I now want to ask some of the questions that remain unanswered or outside my readings, and stand in need of further investigation. The questions are several: What is the relation between the adventure genre and maleness? What of the slippage between men and boys as readers of "boy's books"? In what ways is masculinity a continuum, and in what ways are "boys" created as masculine subjects by the boy's book? Each book considered presents boys within a certain genre--adventure. However, the adventure genre is many-faceted. Are there different uses made of "the boy" in boy's school books like Hughes' Tom Brown's Schooldays or Kipling's Stalky and Co.? In island books like Robinson Crusoe, The Coral Island, or the more recent Lord of the Flies? In frontier books like Seton's Two Little Savages, or Kingston's The Frontier Fort, and The Grateful Indian: A Tale of Rupert's Land? In picaresques like Kim, or The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn? Since all of these variants on the boy's adventure book can be placed within a late Victorian imperialist context, will they yield similar ideological uses of "the boy"? What is the ideological work of "the boy" in fiction that post-dates the zenith of

imperial activity? Beyond Haggard's and Kipling's treatment of women, how do "boy's books" deal with the feminine and how do they construct women? Obviously more work is needed on "the boy" since these are but a few of the many questions raised by an ideological reading of boy's fiction.

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