

Copyright

by

Miriam Rafia Murtuza

2010

**The Dissertation Committee for Miriam Rafia Murtuza
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:**

"Play Up, Play Up, and Play the Game":

Public Schools and Imperialism

in British and South Asian Diasporic Literature

Committee:

Mia Carter, Co-supervisor

Barbara Harlow, Co-supervisor

Kamran Ali

Linda Ferreira-Buckley

Syed Akbar Hyder

Gail Minault

**"Play Up, Play Up, and Play the Game":
Public Schools and Imperialism
in British and South Asian Diasporic Literature**

by

Miriam Rafia Murtuza, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2010

Acknowledgements

The road I have traveled while researching and writing this dissertation has been long and bumpy. Accordingly, this project would never have reached completion had it not been for the liberal assistance of a legion of people, only a fraction of whom I have room to mention here. First, I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation supervisors, Mia Carter and Barbara Harlow, who kindly took me under their wings more than a decade ago and who have profoundly shaped my worldview as a scholar and a citizen. I would also like to thank my dissertation committee members—Kamran Ali, Linda Ferreira-Buckley, Syed Akbar Hyder, and Gail Minault—for their generosity in sharing their time and expertise. I have appreciated the understanding of Wayne Lesser, the Graduate Advisor of the English Department. Everyone at my workplace, St. Stephen's Episcopal School, has been wonderfully supportive of my doctoral endeavors, for which I am grateful. Numerous friends have aided me in myriad ways over the years, from babysitting my children to reading my drafts. In particular, I would like to thank Colleen Hynes, Jeanette Herman, Virginia Raymond, Jodi Edgerton, and Clea Bunch, who have functioned variously as my editors, cheerleaders, and counselors. My parents have provided unflagging support, both intellectual and emotional, for which I cannot thank them enough. Finally, my husband, son, and daughter have been unbelievably patient and encouraging; my debt to them can never be repaid.

"Play Up, Play Up, and Play the Game":
Public Schools and Imperialism
in British and South Asian Diasporic Literature

Miriam Rafia Murtuza, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2010

Supervisors: Mia Carter and Barbara Harlow

This dissertation examines literary representations of the intersection between British imperialism and British and British-modeled public schools. I categorize British writers who have addressed this nexus in their literary works into two groups, idealists and realists, based on their views of British public schools, imperialism, and the effectiveness of the former in sustaining the latter. I present two examples of idealists, Henry Newbolt and the contributors to the *Boy's Own Paper*, followed by two examples of realists, Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster, who have often been viewed as opposites. I then provide an example of a South-Asian diasporic realist, Selvaduari, who builds upon the critiques of British realists by revealing the contemporary offspring of the marriage between British public schools and imperialism. By analyzing works by idealist and realist authors, I demonstrate the importance of public schools and school literature in promoting and sustaining as well as critiquing and condemning imperialism.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Should "A Pack of British Boys ... Have Been Able To Put Up a Better Show"?: The Idealists and Realists of Imperial School Literature.....	1
Thomas Arnold, Thomas Hughes, and Tom Brown: The Nascence of Imperial School Literature, Muscular Christianity, and Idealism.....	13
Contexts and Genealogies of Imperial School Literature.....	22
Criticism and Interventions.....	40
Overview of Chapters.....	45

Chapter One

"The Voice of a Schoolboy Rallies the Ranks": The Idealism of Henry Newbolt.....	50
" <i>Homo newboltiensis</i> or Newbolt Man" and Newbolt, the Man.....	56
"The Best School of All": The "Streetwalking" of Public-School Ideals.....	63
"Clifton Chapel": The Idealists' Creed.....	66
"An Essay on Criticism": A Dialogue with Kipling.....	71
"As If They Were Children's Games": A Twinge of Realism.....	81

Chapter Two

"A Boy's Own Creed": The Idealism of the Religious Tract Society's <i>The Boy's Own Paper</i>	85
An Overview of <i>The Boy's Own Paper</i>	91
The Religious Tract Society and "Christian Tone".....	95
Advertisements, Competitions, and the Readership of <i>The Boy's Own Paper</i>	100

"Play up, Play up, and Do Your Bit," or "We Are Praying for That Glorious Time When All Men Will Play 'Cricket'"	104
"A Victim of the Thugs": The Idealists' Imperial Anxiety	111
"Look to It, Boys of England": The Intrusion of Realism into <i>The Boy's Own Paper</i>	119
 Chapter Three	
"The Flannelled Fools at the Wicket [and] the Muddied Oafs at the Goals": The Realism of Rudyard Kipling	130
"Ten Years at an English Public School Do Not Encourage Dreaming": Education, Emotion, Imagination, and Romance in Kipling's "The Brushwood Boy"	141
We've Got to Get into the Army or—Get Out. ... All the Rest's Flumdiddle": Education and Realism in Kipling's <i>Stalky & Co.</i>	148
"The Best Schooling a Boy Can Get in India": Alternative Education in Kipling's <i>Kim</i>	165
 Chapter Four	
"Well-developed Bodies, Fairly Developed Minds, and Undeveloped Hearts": The Realism of E. M. Forster	188
"With a Bible in One Hand, a Pistol in the Other, and Financial Concessions in Both Pockets": Forster's "Notes on the English Character"	195
"Boys Can't Love the School When They Hate Each Other": Forster's <i>The Longest Journey</i>	201
"All England Were Closing Round the Wickets": Forster's <i>Maurice</i>	204
"Turtens and Burtons": Forster's <i>Passage to India</i>	213

Chapter Five

"The Best School of All," Reprised: The Realism of Shyam Selvadurai.....	235
Selvadurai "Introduc[es Him]self in the Diaspora"	235
Contexts and Criticisms.....	238
The Education of a "Funny Boy"	240
"Black Tie's Bad Side," or "The Future Ills and Burdens of Sri Lanka"	247
"The Best School of All," Reprised, or "This Fellow Really Loved School"	251
A Genealogy of Ethnic Genocide, or "Prize-Giving" in Sri Lanka.....	258
"How to Play the Game," or Love in a Time of Ethnic Nationalism.....	261

Conclusion

"Dangerous Books" for Boys and Girls?: Idealist Literature's Twenty-first Century Comeback.....	271
--	-----

Appendix A

Selected Poems of Henry Newbolt.....	283
"Vitai Lampada"	283
"Clifton Chapel"	285
"An Essay on Criticism"	286

Appendix B

Rudyard Kipling's "The Islanders"	290
Works Cited	293
Vita	315

Introduction

Should "A Pack of British Boys ... Have Been Able To Put Up a Better Show"?: The Idealists and Realists of Imperial School Literature

Perhaps undeservingly, I consider myself an expert on William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954); I have not studied the novel in a graduate-level course, nor have I devoted a chapter to it in my dissertation, but I have taught the novel twenty-seven times to a total of nearly five hundred eighth-grade students over the course of my twelve years as a middle-school teacher. Indeed, I view the book an old and trusted friend, for I can rely on it to propel even the most concrete-thinking students to a higher level of understanding of abstract literary concepts, especially symbolism, theme, and irony. Given my perceived intimacy with *Lord of the Flies*, I was surprised to find upon returning to it after a seven-year hiatus while I was in graduate school that I saw the novel in a new light. During the first eight years that I had taught the novel, I possessed only a moderate knowledge of the history of the British Empire and little familiarity with British public schools; hence I had failed to realize that at a time when the British Empire was collapsing, Golding had made a stinging critique of the authoritarian and imperialistic mindset inculcated by British public schools. Golding had understood in the 1950s what my graduate work had taught me fifty years later, namely that British public schools were intimately connected to the British Empire.

While lamenting the savagery lurking within all humans, Golding also critiques the savage tendencies of authoritarianism and violence that British public and grammar schools foster. Like his father, Golding taught at a grammar school, and because such

schools modeled themselves upon British public schools,¹ Golding would have been well acquainted with the public-school ethos. The character Jack had held higher positions of authority—as head boy (head of the prefects) and head chorister—at his public school than any other boy on the island, so he might have been expected to be the most adult and civilized of the boys; ironically, however, he becomes the most authoritatively savage of all the boys.² Jack's eventual tyranny over both his enemies and his self-proclaimed "tribe," Golding implies, is merely an extension of the power he had been awarded and trained to wield at his school. Unlike Jack, Piggy, who is the most rational and civilized character in the novel, had managed to escape the public-school ethos, for he had attended a state school³; through Piggy's behavior, Golding suggests that state schools are less savage than public and grammar schools.

The British hubris and savagery that Golding satirizes was fostered by British imperialism. Early in the novel, Jack defends the need for following rules, arguing, "We've got to have rules and obey them. After all, we're not savages. We're English, and the English are best at everything" (44); however, in the novel's final chapter Jack destroys the boys' island habitat and nearly kills his "tribe" in his short-sighted quest to

¹ Grammar schools in Britain date back to medieval times, when they were associated with churches and offered free Latin instruction to future clergymen. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, noblemen founded grammar schools where local boys could receive a free education in Latin with the goal of gaining admission to a university. During the nineteenth century, most grammar schools were transformed into government-endowed, fee-charging schools offering a broadened curricula and modeling themselves after public schools. By the time the younger Golding was teaching, grammar schools had become the top tier in the Tripartite System of state schools.

² The character Roger, who becomes an executioner, is arguably more savage than Jack but is less authoritative.

³ Several details suggest that Piggy had attended a state school: he uses improper grammar and has what sounds (to my untrained ears) like a Manchester accent (4); the "auntie" who raised him "kept a candy store" (10); and he wore a "greasy windbreaker" (2) rather than a "school sweater" (1) or other "school uniform" (17) like the other boys.

smoke out his prey, Ralph. Similarly, the naval officer who will "rescue" the boys by returning them to "civilization" scolds, "I should have thought that a pack of British boys ... would have been able to put up a better show than that" (234), yet he himself is engaged in a nuclear war that has destroyed Britain and could potentially extinguish life on Earth. Hence the two characters who most vehemently voice British pride are also the characters who play the largest roles in destroying their respective island "civilizations." Golding suggests that imperialism has brought out Britons' savagery while simultaneously increasing their arrogance.

Golding's critique of imperial hubris is also conveyed through his satire of R. M. Ballantyne's juvenile adventure novel, *The Coral Island* (1857). In Ballantyne's novel, published a century before *Lord of the Flies*, a group of British boys (including a Ralph and a Jack) survive their shipwreck on Fiji, battle pirates, and help Methodist missionaries convert the cannibalistic islanders.⁴ Instead of "civilizing" savages, the boys in Golding's novel become savages. Golding suggests that British schools do not prepare boys for "civilizing" missions, as some have supposed; moreover, Golding levels the racial hierarchy that had long been used as one of the primary justifications for British imperialism by positing that the inhabitants of the British Isles are no less savage than any other island dwellers, be they British schoolboys or native Fijians. Ballantyne's and Golding's novels serve as bookends to a critical century of British imperialism that began with the hysteria spurred by the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and ended with the

⁴ For an insightful analysis of how Ballantyne "allows the boys to get as close as possible to being both pirates (defiant, daring, individualist) and savages (survivors taming nature) but without turning into them" (107), see Richards' "Going Native: The Coral Island" (*Happiest Days* 103-9).

ambivalence felt during the rapid decolonization after the Second World War. Whereas Ballantyne hailed the opportunities for adventure, treasure, and evangelism afforded by British imperialism, Golding bemoaned the brutality and false pride that imperialism had fueled.

More than a century after their heyday, British public schools continue to wield an influence upon literature and culture, even in the United States. Just this past January, as I clarified the term "head boy" for my students, I asked if they had heard of British public schools; all of them but three (who had either lived in Britain or had a British or British-educated parent) looked at me blankly. I then asked if they knew the terms "prefect" or "proctor." The handful of boarding students in each of my classes responded that proctors were older students in their dormitories who "helped and took care of" them. As I began to explain that prefects in traditional British public schools played more of a disciplinary role than our school's proctors, many students' faces began to light up, and they blurted out, "Oh! Just like in *Harry Potter*!" Once my students connected Jack's school to Hogwarts, the fictional school in J. K. Rowling's phenomenally popular children's series, it dawned on them that they actually knew quite a bit about British public schools. I also reminded them that our school, an independent secondary school with day and boarding components, had been modeled upon northeast boarding schools in the United States, which, in turn, had been modeled upon British public schools.

My recent experiences teaching *Lord of the Flies* have reinforced my conviction that the legacies of British public schools warrant further attention, both from scholars and the general public. Americans tend to be less cognizant than other English-speaking

peoples of the profound and lingering impact that British public schools have had around the globe, in part because the United States gained independence from Britain prior to the efflorescence of British public schools in the latter half of the nineteenth century. British public schools have had a worldwide reach because they were closely entwined with British imperialism. The British Empire and British public schools reached their efflorescence concurrently in the late nineteenth century, and this concurrence is not coincidental. Empire and education perpetuated one another in a mutually beneficial cycle: imperial wealth fortified the upper and middle classes; the upper and middle classes fortified the public schools; and the public schools fortified the Empire by supplying legions (literally and figuratively) of imperial personnel. Indeed, British public schools influenced the establishment and maintenance of the British imperial ethos more than any other British institution, for religious, military, and governmental institutions were all connected to public schools, thereby enhancing the schools' power. The other reason for the pervasive influence of British public schools is the large body of literature in English that is set in or otherwise refers to British public schools. Golding's and Rowling's novels are simply recent additions to a category of literature that has been growing for a century and a half. British "school stories," as such literature has been labeled by its scholars, have reached multiple classes and cultures; hence middle- and working-class readers who could not afford to attend British public schools were exposed to and often indoctrinated with the public-school ethos—an ethos that dovetailed with the imperial ethos and, ultimately, recruited readers to participate in the imperial project.

Golding was certainly not the first British author to hypothesize why "a pack of British boys" failed "to put up a better show." The performance of British imperial personnel, who often were only slightly older than the boys in *Lord of the Flies*, was a subject of debate throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. Concurrent with debates over imperialism were debates over the effectiveness of British public schools in meeting the needs of the nation and, more importantly to many, of its Empire. The point of intersection of these two lines of debate was the question of how well British public schools prepared boys for imperial service; this question was addressed in the media as well as in "school stories."⁵ Of the school-literature writers whose works were inflected by British imperialism, of whom there were many, some, whom I call idealists, avowed that imperialism was a noble pursuit and that public schools were the perfect training ground for imperial personnel, while others, whom I call realists, challenged these views. The realists did not necessarily reject imperialism or public schools (though the later ones did), but they did call both institutions into question. Although idealism arose before realism within imperial school literature, by the end of the twentieth century idealists and realists were engaged in a kind of literary debate in which each side was defining itself against the other.⁶ The intensity of this debate fluctuated, peaking during times of war.

⁵ Henceforward, I will use the more inclusive term "school literature" rather than "school stories" because poetry as well as short stories and novels have featured public-school settings, plots, characters, and themes.

⁶ I use the terms "idealist" and "realist" to refer specifically to people who wrote stories involving British (or British-modeled) public schools and the British Empire, not in a more general fashion. The imperial school realists, as I define them, bear some resemblance to the literary realists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the two types of realists are nevertheless distinct and, therefore, should not be conflated.

As their name suggests, idealists celebrated British public schools, the British Empire, and the connection between them. Some idealists attended public schools themselves; hence their idealization of public schools arose as a form of nostalgia. Other idealists only wished they had attended public schools, so their idealism was a form of wish fulfillment. In addition, most idealists had no direct experience in the Empire, enabling them to romanticize it. The idealist viewpoint is aptly encapsulated in the well-known (but apocryphal) adage credited to the First Duke of Wellington, Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852): "the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton." The idealists subscribed to the Victorian notions of muscular Christianity, which held that athleticism inculcated "manliness" and morality, and the games ethic, which held that public-school cricket fields prepared boys for imperial battlefields⁷; hence, they averred that the lessons learned at a British public school could be parlayed easily and directly into the skills of an imperial soldier—or officer, administrator, schoolmaster, businessman, or missionary, for that matter. In accordance with their emphasis on Christian manliness, the idealists vaunted militarism and heroism, yet they suppressed sexuality, both heterosexual and homosexual, or at least in their writings. The idealists believed that it was an Englishman's national and religious duty to protect the British Empire. The evangelical goals of saving "heathen" souls and being divinely rewarded with wealth and social mobility for employing a Puritan work ethic in commercial enterprises underwrote idealists' portrayals of imperialism as unquestionably noble and divinely sanctioned as well as lucrative and adventure filled. They depicted non-white

⁷ For more exhaustive definitions of muscular Christianity and the games ethic, see Watson *et al* and Mangan, respectively.

racism as inferior but possessing the potential for development, particularly as soldiers, if lead by whites. Most idealists hailed from the upper-middle classes, yet their writings influenced people from a full spectrum of classes, including the working classes.

Thomas Hughes (1822-1896), author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), was the first idealist and was followed by numerous others, such as juvenile adventure novelist G. A. Henty (1832-1902), poet Henry Newbolt (1862-1938), and the publishers of and contributors to the many boys' periodicals, like the *Boy's Own Paper* (1879), that proliferated in the late nineteenth century.

The realists, in contrast, shared a more realistic and therefore more critical view of British public schools, the British Empire, and the relationship between them. Having experienced both of these institutions directly, the realists were better able to perceive their shortcomings. The realist perspective is handily summed up by George Orwell's pithy retort to the adage attributed to Wellesley: "Probably the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton, but the opening battles of all subsequent wars have been lost there" (Lion I: iv). The realists critiqued the games ethic along with muscular Christianity, yet some of them espoused an alternative Christianity or spirituality. The realists believed that most public schools produced the wrong sort of imperial personnel because they taught irrelevant subjects, inculcated conventional and racist attitudes, and/or stifled imagination and emotion. They conceived of the Empire as man-made, temporary, and potentially noble or disastrous, depending on how it was managed. By depicting imperial service as difficult, dangerous, and not necessarily lucrative, the realists avoided over-glorifying imperial heroes and, in turn, enticing imperial recruits

through false promises. Masculinity was defined variously by the realists, but on the whole it was less stereotypically "manly" than for the idealists. Romantic tensions, both heterosexual and homosexual, develop more often in realists' works; nevertheless, female characters are often absent or antagonistic in realists' works as they are in idealists' works. The realists, however, tended to portray non-white peoples and the working classes sympathetically. They also condemned upper and upper-middle class complacency, even though they typically hailed from these classes. The genealogy of British realists extends from the Boer War to the collapse of the British Empire and includes Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), Marmaduke Pickthall⁸ (1875-1936), E. M. Forster (1879-1970), Leonard Woolf (1880-1969), Orwell (1903-1950), Wilfred Owen (1893-1918), Golding (1911-1933), and Paul Scott (1920-1978), among others.

Neither the idealists nor the realists were homogeneous groups in terms of their political or religious perspectives. As one might expect of an idealist, G. A. Henty was a staunch, anti-Union Tory. Newbolt, in contrast, was a Liberal, albeit an increasingly conservative one, and the members of the pan-evangelical Religious Tract Society, which published *The Boy's Own Paper*, were moderate to radical Liberals. The idealists also varied in the degree to which religion buttressed their views of imperialism and public schools. Henty downplayed religion in his novels but espoused the more secular Victorian doctrine of diligence and upward mobility as articulated by Samuel Smiles (1812-1904) in his 1859 publication *Self-Help* (Richards, "Spreading" 52). Similarly,

⁸ Pickthall wrote *Sir Limpidus* (1919), a novel that satirizes public schools and their relationship to imperialism. Pickthall also converted to Islam, translated the Qur'an into an English edition that is still popular today, taught at Chaderghat High School in Hyderabad, and served as head of the Hyderabad Civil Service Academy. For a biography of Pickthall, see Peter Clark.

Newbolt's poems focused more on chivalry than on religion or morality. In contrast, the aims of the Religious Tract Society were explicitly and exclusively religious, though some of their publications, including *The Boy's Own Paper*, expressed these aims in a covert or understated manner. The politics and religious views of realists were as varied as those of the idealists. For instance, Kipling was a Conservative while Forster was a Liberal, though Kipling's view of Liberals was not as acrimonious as some have claimed, at least not consistently so.⁹ Although their religious views were not identical, both Kipling and Forster critiqued muscular Christianity and, influenced by Eastern religions, approached religion and spirituality in non-traditional ways. The political and religious diversity of the idealists and the realists attests to the heterogeneity of perspectives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to the complexity of the imperial debates at that time—a complexity that, a century later, is sometimes oversimplified.

My category of realists can be extended temporally and geographically beyond late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. School literature has proliferated in Britain during the past century and a half, and one might expect the same to be true in South Asia, where schools modeled on British public schools were established from the 1870s onward. Such is not the case, however, for the school story has not developed into a literary category in South Asia in the same way it has in Britain; nevertheless, some South Asian and South Asian diasporic authors have written literary works that are set in or otherwise feature British public schools or British-modeled schools in South Asia.

⁹ Gilmour asserts that "for Kipling the most insidious foes of the British Empire (at least until he identified the German threat) were the Radical and Liberal politicians in London" (82), yet as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, two of the people who most profoundly influenced Kipling's life were anti-imperial Liberals: Georgiana Burne-Jones, his aunt, and Cromwell Price, his headmaster.

These authors convey views of public schools, imperialism, and the relationship between them that strongly resemble those of the British realists. Indeed, such authors extend the trajectory of the British realists by foregrounding the long-lasting damage caused by the nexus of British education and colonization. Both Urdu poet Akbar Illahabadi (1846-1921) and Indian fiction writer R. K. Narayan (1906-2001) were South Asian realists.¹⁰ Indian-Canadian-American writer Shauna Singh Baldwin (1962-), Indian-American novelist Kiran Desai (1971-), and Sri Lankan-Canadian author Shyam Selvadurai (1965-) are all examples of contemporary South Asian diasporic realists.¹¹

My dissertation explores the intersection of British imperialism with British and British-modeled public schools; more specifically, it examines literary representations of this influential nexus. I argue that British writers who have addressed this nexus in their literary works should be divided into two groups, idealists and realists, based on their views of British public schools, imperialism, and the effectiveness of the former in sustaining the latter. I provide two examples of idealists, Newbolt and the contributors to

¹⁰ In six poems, which I have translated in "Sophisticated Satire" ("Poems" is a web version of these translations), Illahabadi exposes the folly and danger of Indian Muslims adopting various aspects of British culture, including receiving a British education, drinking whiskey and tea, and falling in love with a British "Miss"; for example, in the poem I have labeled "Untitled C," the mother of the iconic Leila will not allow her to marry Majnun unless he obtains an "M.A. Pass" ("Poems" 4). Along similar lines, Narayan's a semi-autobiographical trilogy of *Swami and Friends* (1935), *The Bachelor of Arts* (1937), and *The English Teacher* (1945), set in the fictional South Indian town of Malgudi before Independence, posits that British education, literature, and values do not suit the Indian—or, more precisely, Hindu—temperament and culture. Each novella presents the challenges faced by an Indian male at a particular stage in his British education: attending at a British mission school, preparing to go to London to earn a B. A. degree at a British university, and teaching at a British mission school.

¹¹ Baldwin's *What the Body Remembers* (1999) illustrates how a British university education can damage a South Asian's psyche; ever since he returned from Oxford, Sardarji, a canal engineer and *zamindar* in the Rawalpindi region, has been haunted by Cunningham, "his own personal English-gentleman-inside," (132), but following Partition he begins to reject Cunningham's advice. Similarly, in Desai's *The Inheritance of Loss*, a series of flashbacks reveals how studying at Cambridge and serving as an Indian Civil Service judge inculcate such self-loathing within J. P. Patel that "it crushed him into a shadow" (39) until "he felt barely human at all" (40). Selvadurai's *Funny Boy* will be discussed at length in Chapter Five.

the *Boy's Own Paper*, followed by two examples of realists, Kipling and Forster. By placing Kipling and Forster in the same category, I challenge the common perception that these two writers occupied opposite ends of an ideological spectrum. I then provide an example of a South-Asian diasporic realist, Selvadurai, who builds upon the critiques of British realists by revealing the contemporary offspring of the marriage between British public schools and imperialism. By analyzing works by idealist and realist authors, I demonstrate the importance of public schools and school literature in promoting and sustaining as well as critiquing and condemning imperialism. I also suggest that British public schools bolstered imperialism more than any other British institution because they fused the influences of religion, government, and the military. As I investigate idealists' and realists' views on the relationship between public schools and empire, I delve into their perspectives on the related issues of religion, class, race, gender, and sexuality. The scope of my project is broad, spanning the late nineteenth century to the present; Britain and South Asia; famous and lesser-known authors; "high" and popular literature; and upper-, middle- and working-class readerships. Such breadth is necessary, however, to demonstrate the pervasive influence of British public schools and, in turn, the importance of studying imperial school literature.

In the remainder of the Introduction, I provide relevant contextual information as a prelude to my analysis of the literature of idealists and realists. First, I summarize how Thomas Arnold, Thomas Hughes, and Tom Brown all influenced the development of imperial school literature, muscular Christianity, and idealism. Next I provide an overview of various historical contexts that affected the confluence of British public

schools and British imperialism. I then review the critical contexts of my project and explain my interventions in these contexts. Finally, I offer a synopsis of the five chapters and the Conclusion.

Thomas Arnold, Thomas Hughes, and Tom Brown: The Nascence of Imperial School Literature, Muscular Christianity, and Idealism

The *Rugby School Register* (1902) can be considered an antecedent of school yearbooks, alumni magazines, and even Facebook. Revised from earlier editions by Rev. A. T. Michell, the two-volume *Register* lists the headmasters, assistant masters, tutors, boarding houses, and students of Rugby School, one of Britain's "Great Schools,"¹² from 1675 to 1874. The *Register* serves multiple functions: as an historical record of the Rugby community over a two-hundred-year period, an address book, a source (and product) of school nostalgia, and a testament to the community members' elite social status. Most of the *Register* is comprised of lists of students, and these lists contain a variety of data that marks the students' social status, such as their fathers' names, titles, occupations, and places of residence as well as the students' birth order, degrees and college affiliations at Oxford or Cambridge, professional positions and awards, royal society affiliations, places of residence, and places and dates of death.

The *Register* also documents the relationship between British public schools and the British Empire. The list of students that enrolled in August of 1842 includes the following:

Sandford, Daniel Augustus, third son of the Rev. John Sandford, Dunchurch,

¹² The list of "Great Schools" has varied over time, but the Public Schools Act of 1868, which implemented the recommendations of the Clarendon Commission of 1861 to 1864, defined them as Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylor's, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's, Westminster, and Winchester (Staunton).

aged 13, August 12.

Arnold

Ensign, 2nd European Fusiliers. Served in the Punjab Campaign. Present at Ramnuggur, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat. Author of "Leaves from the Journal of a Subaltern." Died of fever at Lahore, 20 June, 1849. (II: 1)

Morris, Henry, son of John Carnac Morris, Esq., Civil service, Madras, aged 13, April 22.

Grenfell

Madras Civil Service, 1848. Retired, 1875. F. R. G. S. Author of "A History of India for Schools," and other works. Of Eastcote House, St. John's Park, Blackheath. (II: 6)

Sandford and Morris were the same age, thirteen, when they enrolled at Rugby, and both headed to India six years later as imperial servicemen. In addition, they both authored publications relating to India, thereby shaping British readers' perspectives on the region; Morris' textbook likely reached a larger audience than Sandford's journal, though.¹³ In other respects, however, the two men's histories differ significantly. Sandford was the third son of a clergyman at a nearby parish, while Morris was the eldest son of a civil servant in Madras. Sandford became a junior officer in a British (as opposed to "native") infantry regiment, fought in several battles in the Punjab Campaign (1848-49), and died from illness in Lahore shortly before his twentieth birthday (Lewis). Morris, on the other hand, lived a longer and seemingly more comfortable life, for he joined his father in the Madras Civil Service, retired to an upper-middle class London suburb at forty-six, became a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society, and lived until at least age seventy-three. Despite their various differences, however, Sandford and Morris occupied similar

¹³ Morris' *A History of India for Schools* is available at the HRC. In it Morris relates Indian history with a stereotypically pro-imperial bias, denigrating India's pre-colonial civilizations and justifying the Amritsar Massacre, for example.

socioeconomic positions as young men, for neither stood to inherit land in England;¹⁴ therefore, their most promising career option was imperial service.

Sandford's and Morris' entries in the *Rugby School Register* document the class- and birth order-determined path to imperial service that would be followed by generations of middle- and upper-class Englishmen during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Indeed, Sandford and Morris typify the sorts of public-school students who participated in the imperial project, and entries like theirs abound in the *Register*. Of the boys who enrolled at Rugby between 1842 and 1874 and later became imperial personnel, most joined the imperial military, while the remainder became imperial civil servants (including government officials, judges and magistrates, and civil and railway engineers), imperial clergymen (military and school chaplains, parish priests, and diocesan bishops), imperial educators (headmasters and masters), and imperial businessmen. Nearly a quarter of the boys (nineteen out of eighty-four) in the entering class of August 1842, for example, became imperial servants: twelve in the army or navy, five in the civil services, and two in the clergy (II: 1-7). By September of 1873, the percentage of entering students who later became imperial servants had dropped to fifteen percent (five out of thirty-seven boys) (II: 339-42), probably because the number of public schools catering to Empire-bound students had increased during the second half

¹⁴ As a clergyman, Daniel Sandford's father probably did not own land, but even if he did, Daniel would not have inherited it because he was not the eldest son. Henry Morris' father's title of "Esq." (esquire) could signify his status as a member of the landed gentry (below "knight" and above "gentleman") ("Esquire, n.1."); however, given that he lived in Madras and that Indian civil servants were typically conferred the title of "Esq.," it seems likely that he did not own land in England. Hence Morris would not have inherited English land even though he was the eldest son.

of the nineteenth century. The *Register* attests that Old Rugbeians (Rugby alumni)¹⁵ were stationed all over the world—in India, Afghanistan, the Crimea, China, southern Africa, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, or some combination of thereof—and participated in all of "Victoria's little wars." As exemplified by Sandford and Morris, the Rugby alumni who became imperial personnel were the sons of clergymen, military officers, and imperial civil servants as well as the younger sons of upper-class fathers. Many of these alumni died in battle or from disease, often at a young age, and some of them authorized the Empire by authoring books on the subject. Hence, as the *Register* demonstrates, British public schools were intimately connected with British imperialism.

Two months before Sandford and Morris enrolled at Rugby, its influential headmaster, Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), died, and a collection of his school sermons was subsequently published. In one of these sermons, Arnold contemplated the formative power that the students assembled before him would wield around the globe, apparently as they became imperial personnel: "Our country spreads forth her arms so widely that the scattering of the members of an English school, by the various circumstances of life, is literally a scattering over the whole habitable world." Arnold warned students that they would be venturing to "new settlements, with a small population, with institutions, habits and national character unformed as yet and to be formed . . . capable therefore in their unsettled state of being influenced greatly by the conduct and character of even a single individual" (146). Arnold suggested that a single Rugbeian could have a powerful influence upon a "native" society, but at the same time he hinted that living in the

¹⁵ "Old Boys" was the general term used for British public-school alumni; additionally, each public school had its own particular name for alumni, such as "Old Rugbeians" and "Old Etonians."

colonies could have a morally corruptive influence upon Christians.¹⁶ He did not specify the source of this potential corruption, but given his evangelical leanings¹⁷ and the prevailing racism of his time, it is likely that he was concerned by the low ratio of Christians to non-Christians in the colonies. By describing the "new settlements" as "unformed" in their "institutions, habits and national character," Arnold drew a parallel between colonial inhabitants—both British and "native"—and English boys freshly arrived at public school; this parallel was either inadvertent or ahead of its time, however, for the notion of the public school as the microcosm of the Empire did not gain cultural currency until later in the nineteenth century. Arnold then conveyed his hope that in preparation for their influential work, the students would fortify their Christian principles and practices:

... seeing and hearing the distant battle, is it not very natural to wish that those who may be called to take part in it should be well armed and well trained for the contest; that however trying may be the outward circumstances in which you will have to act, you may not be false to yourselves and to your duty; that you may be so armed with all a Christian's part, worthily, wisely, and zealously, in doing and in bearing? (147).

The "distant battle" to which Arnold referred was both literal and figurative: imperial armed forces battled to extend and defend the British Empire, while imperial Christians (clergy, missionaries, and lay people) battled to save non-Christians' souls through

¹⁶ Arnold made a similar comment in an 1830 letter not to be opened until after his death: "With regard to my children's worldly prospects I have no dread or dislike of colonisation, if they are strong enough in principle to bear the influence of so much lower a tone of morals" (147, 168). As it turned out, Arnold's son William did indeed become an imperial servant, the first Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab (168).

¹⁷ Although he is remembered as an education reformer, Arnold's own priority was religious reform. As an early proponent of the Anglican "Broad Church" movement, he believed that church should not be separated from the state, and, moreover, that the Church of England should become a united, national church that subsumed yet accommodated differences among the various Protestant (evangelical) churches (Copley 183-251).

conversion and defend their own souls from corruption. Arnold has been mistakenly regarded as a muscular Christian, even though his evangelicalism was the sort that predated muscular Christianity; nevertheless, this sermon paved the way for muscular Christianity with its linkage of Christianity, imperialism, and public schools.

Thomas Hughes (1822-96) likely heard Arnold deliver the sermon discussed above, for Hughes' schooldays at Rugby (1834-42) fell squarely within Arnold's tenure as headmaster (1828-42); moreover, Hughes conveyed ideas similar to those in Arnold's sermon in his semi-autobiographical and trend-setting juvenile novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), which had been reissued in close to fifty editions by 1890 (Harlow 353) and has never gone out of print (Richards 23). Hughes' novel was profoundly influential in multiple respects. First, it initiated the category of the school story (fiction set in British public schools) within the nascent genre of juvenile literature. Second, the novel served to popularize public schools, thereby increasing demand for them. Third, Hughes' fictionalized version of Rugby became the mold from which British public, British state, British-modeled colonial, and American private schools were cast. Hughes' professed reason for writing the novel was to prepare boys like his eight-year-old son for public school by teaching them Arnoldian precepts.¹⁸ Like Arnold, Hughes yoked together Christianity, public schools and imperialism as he highlighted the importance of Old Boys serving the British Empire. Although Hughes mentions the Empire explicitly on only a handful of occasions, imperialism is a critical subtext of the novel.

¹⁸ In his preface to the sixth edition of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, Hughes averred that “[his] sole object in writing [the novel] was to preach to boys,” but that he “put [his preaching] in the shape in which it will be most likely to get a hearing” (xxiii). In other words, he tried to provide moral instruction without seeming overtly didactic.

Hughes' interest in imperialism is demonstrated in his framing of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* with invocations of the Empire. As the novel opens, for example, the narrator, who is synonymous with Hughes, enumerates the noble qualities of English squires as represented by the Brown family; in doing so he lauds "[t]he great army of Browns who are scattered over the whole empire on which the sun never sets and whose general diffusion, [sic] I take to be the chief cause of that empire's stability" (1-2), for "[w]herever the fleets and armies of England have won renown, there stalwart sons of the Browns have done yeoman's work" (4). Here Hughes credits the squirearchy, his own class, with the success of the Empire, yet as the *Register* attests, the Rugbeians who became imperial personnel were more often the middle-class sons of landless clergy, military officers, and imperial servants than the upper-class sons of landed gentry. The narrator of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* again invokes the Empire in the novel's penultimate chapter, this time linking it to Rugby while reflecting on the process of writing his story: "As the old scenes became living, and the actors in them became living too, many a grave in the Crimea and distant India ... seemed to open and send forth their dead, and their voices and looks and ways were again in one's ears and eyes, as in the old school-days" (331).¹⁹ The narrator adds that recalling his schooldays does not make him melancholy, for he believes that he will be reunited with his former schoolmates in heaven. Hughes frames the flow of boys from public school to Empire in Christian terms, as did Arnold in his sermon. In the final chapter, referring to his former schoolmate East who had recently joined a military regiment in India, Tom Brown declares, "No fellow could

¹⁹ Henry Newbolt may well have been alluding to this passage in his poem "Clifton Chapel" when the speaker tells his son, "You too may speak with noble ghosts" upon revisiting the school chapel later in life.

handle boys better, and I suppose soldiers are very like boys" (350). By likening the relationship between younger and older schoolboys to that between imperial soldiers and officers, Tom and, by extension, Hughes present public schools as the microcosm of the Empire and the ideal preparation for imperial military service.

Both Arnold and Hughes conjoined public schools and imperialism in the context of Christianity, but Hughes did so more definitively and influentially. Although Arnold's impact as a religious and educational reformer was significant during his lifetime, it was greatly magnified through Hughes' novel. Ironically, however, both Hughes and his Victorian readers distorted Arnold's ideas to such an extent that Arnold might not have recognized them.²⁰ Arnold aimed to increase the centrality of religion in public schools by bolstering the prefect system, encouraging social concern, rewarding academic achievement, and dignifying classroom teachers; he also supported the traditions of flogging and fagging.²¹ Arnold is mistakenly credited with modernizing the public-school curriculum and fostering its cult of games, when in fact he endorsed the existing classical curriculum, which he redeployed as a vehicle for teaching morality, and placed little emphasis on athletics (Copley 150). Hughes, who shared Arnold's interest in inculcating morality, valorized in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* most of the educational practices that Arnold had promoted; however, Hughes downplayed academics while stressing athletics. Hughes adjusted Arnold's ideas to suit his own interests, including Carlyle's notions of work and heroism, Christian Socialism, and English nationalism. In

²⁰ A number of scholars have discussed the distortion of Arnold's ideas, including Bamford, Copley, Mack and Armytage, Quigly, and Richards.

²¹ Flogging was corporal punishment (usually with a cane) inflicted by masters and prefects; fagging was a hierarchy of social relations in which younger boys served older ones.

turn, Victorian readers overlooked the novel's evangelical ending, focusing instead upon the aspects of the novel that supported their predilections: chivalry, the games ethic, muscular Christianity, and imperialism. In sum, the publication of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* demarcated and also helped fuel the shift from early-Victorian ideals to late-Victorian ones (Richards 24).

Tom Brown produced an abundance of heirs, literary and societal.²² A host of characters modeled upon Tom Brown appeared in the school literature that *Tom Brown's Schooldays* spawned, particularly during the late-nineteenth century. A wide swath of readers—children and adults; male and female; upper-, middle-, and working-class; British and otherwise—conceptualized public-school life according to Tom Brown's fictional experiences. At the same time, the pugnacious and philistine public-school ethos and the muscular Christianity that Tom Brown came to symbolize exerted a formative effect upon schools and schoolboys in Britain as well as in its Empire. British public schools and British-modeled private schools in present and former British colonies fashioned themselves after the Rugby of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. In the twentieth century, Hughes' novel was used as a school textbook²³ and later adapted to film and BBC television. Passages from the novel were even used in fascist German books of the early 1930s to solidify a stereotype of British culture in the minds of German readers (Ogilvie 1).

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, British author George

²² Louis and Quigly have examined Tom Brown's literary heirs, while Honey has studied his societal ones.

²³ Houghton Mifflin, for example, published a 1931 American edition of the book that included study aids for student readers, such as questions for discussion, scenes for dramatization, and themes for papers.

MacDonald Fraser continued Tom Brown's legacy in a series of twelve humorous historical novels. Fraser posed as the editor of the newly unearthed "Flashman Papers," which record the scurrilous exploits of Harry Flashman, the vilified bully of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* who ironically became a military hero in a variety of imperial skirmishes around the world, including in Afghanistan, the Crimea, India, China, Africa, and even the United States, despite being a coward and womanizer. *Flashman* (1969), the first book in the series, opens with an excerpt from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* in which Flashman gets expelled from Rugby for inebriation and continues with Flashman's revised account of the event, including his fearful visit to Thomas Arnold's office and his parting rudeness to East, whom he describes as "a fool then, and a fool twenty years later, when he died in Cawnpore with a Sepoy's bayonet in his back.... that was all that his gallant goodness did for *him*" (15). Although *Flashman* satirizes *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and the public-school ethos, it attests to the lingering presence and influence of Arnold, Hughes, public schools, and imperial school literature; moreover, like Hughes' novel and the *Rugby School Register*, the Flashman series highlights the intimate and complex relationship that existed between British public schools and the British Empire.

Contexts and Genealogies of Imperial School Literature

In order to understand the relationship between British and British-modeled public schools and the British Empire as well as the emergence of the idealist and realist perspectives within imperial school literature, one must be cognizant of the various and interrelated religious, cultural, social, political, and economic forces that shaped these institutions and perspectives during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of the

most important of these forces in Britain and its colonies during the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries was evangelicalism, the outgrowth of the Great Awakening of the early eighteenth century. Because nearly all the Protestant denominations and groups in Britain developed evangelical factions, the doctrines, practices, governance, geographical locations, social classes, and politics of evangelicals varied widely (Fyfe 23); nevertheless, by the mid-nineteenth century pan-evangelical unity had increased significantly,²⁴ enabling the evangelicals to function as a formidable force at home and abroad. One of the ways in which evangelicals exerted a strong influence was by forming "societies" devoted to religious, political, and social causes, most notably abolition, labor reform, literacy, and education.²⁵ For example, during the 1780s evangelicals strongly supported the Sunday school movement since they wanted British working-class children to be able to read the Bible and, in turn, attain salvation. Another key means through which evangelicals wielded influence was missionary societies. During the 1790s evangelicals established the most prominent of the British missionary societies,²⁶ which initially directed their zeal toward non-whites in British colonies but later targeted whites in Britain. To that end, starting in the 1840s evangelicals helped found urban missions, like the London City Mission, which, in turn,

²⁴ With the formation of the Liberal Party in 1859, evangelicals from disparate backgrounds were united into a single political party. In addition, evangelicals banded together against what they considered to be threats against Protestantism: Unitarian influence in the political arena, the Oxford Movement, and Pope Pius IX's reinstatement of the English hierarchy of Roman Catholic bishops in 1850 (Fyfe 25).

²⁵ Although evangelicals pursued and achieved important social reforms, they were sometimes perceived as self-righteous and intrusive, as Dickens' Mrs. Jellyby and Mrs. Pardiggle of *Bleak House* (1852-3) demonstrate.

²⁶ The three most prominent missionary societies were the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), and the Church Missionary Society (1799). Members of the London Missionary Society founded the Religious Tract Society (1799), which published *The Boy's Own Paper* starting in 1879.

supported "ragged schools" (schools for the British urban poor), boys' clubs, lending libraries, soup kitchens, and other charitable organizations (Fyfe 25-6).

During roughly the same period in which evangelicalism was ascendant, the publishing trade was transforming as a result of changes in legislation, literacy, and technology. Throughout much of the eighteenth century, only the clergy and the wealthy were literate, and they were also the only ones who had access to books, for books were expensive and printed in small runs.²⁷ In 1774 the House of Lords modified copyright laws so that works over 28 years old became part of public domain; as a result, publishers began issuing reprints that, at half their initial price, became affordable to the upper-middle classes. As prices dropped, publishers needed to sell greater numbers of books in order to make a profit, so more books were printed. At the same time, the Sunday schools, day schools, libraries, and mechanics institutes established in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries promoted literacy, thereby increasing the demand for books, yet the only reading materials available to the lower-middle and working classes were Bibles and inexpensive ballads and chapbooks. In the early nineteenth century, however, evangelical societies like the Religious Tract Society began distributing religious tracts and Bibles, while secular philanthropic societies like the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1829) began selling inexpensive publications meant to increase "general knowledge" (Fyfe 42-3). Like the changes in laws and literacy, the technological innovations of machine-made paper, steam-powered printing, and

²⁷ A typical book cost a minimum of ten shillings, equivalent to nearly a week's wages for a rural laborer or half to two-thirds of a week's wages for a clergyman (Fyfe 41-2).

stereotyping revolutionized the publishing industry by enabling the production of more abundant and less expensive publications (Fyfe 54-5).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, subsequent to evangelicalism's rise and the publishing industry's transformation, three types of expansion took place in Britain that served to intertwine empire and education. First, the middle classes grew, largely because of the wealth generated by the British Empire. Second, because the existing "Great Schools" could not accommodate the burgeoning middle classes, the number of British public schools significantly increased starting in the 1840s, and many of the new public schools were established for the express purpose of training imperial personnel. Haileybury College, for instance, was established in 1809 by one of the East India Company's governors-general and the founder of Fort William College in Calcutta, Richard Wellesley, in order to supply India with British civil servants. In the fifty years between Haileybury's founding and the Indian Rebellion of 1857, roughly two thousand Haileybury Old Boys were posted in India (Mehra 282-3, 756), a significantly larger number than any of the "Great Schools" supplied. Third, as mentioned previously, the publication of Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* in 1857 gave rise to the category of school literature, which was underwritten by imperialism. The expansion of the middle classes, the increased popularity of public schools, and the development of school literature all served to weave education and empire tightly together.

Over the course of the Victorian period (1837-1901), the predominant religious, cultural, social, and political views in Britain shifted significantly, resulting in fervent

patriotism and the rise of imperial propaganda.²⁸ One such shift in perspective was the emergence in the 1850s of a new (and competing) form of evangelicalism, muscular Christianity, which was due in large part to the popularity of Hughes' novel. Muscular Christianity, in turn, propagated another shift, the redefinition of masculinity. As Mangan explains, early Victorians believed Christian "manliness" was manifested through "seriousness, self-denial and rectitude," while late Victorians thought masculinity was evidenced by "robustness, perseverance and stoicism" (18); hence, what became known as "moral musculature" (Harlow 352) superseded moral integrity as a manly virtue and, as a result, promoted the "games ethic" (Mangan 18). Late Victorians sent their sons to British public schools in increasing numbers believing that public-school games (mostly cricket but also rugby) inculcated physical and moral musculature and also taught them how to lead and follow, thereby preparing them for imperial service. Similarly, British officials, missionaries, and educators in the colonies held that team games could serve Britain's "civilizing mission"²⁹ of teaching imperial subjects both the manliness that they were thought to be lacking and loyalty to the Crown. Indeed, the present-day enthusiasm for and political importance of cricket in former British colonies attests to the long-lasting impact of the late-nineteenth century confluence of muscular Christianity, the games ethic, public schools, and imperialism.

²⁸ "Propaganda," as defined by Mackenzie, is "the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients' attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced" (*Propaganda* 3).

²⁹ See Adas for a thorough list of attributes valorized by Britain's "civilizing mission" ideology (35).

In addition to adopting muscular Christianity, redefining masculinity, and propounding the games ethic, many late Victorians altered their views on militarism, monarchism, and racism. Amid concern over increasing militarism in Europe, interest in military organizations, practices, and ideals grew among all British classes. Schools, churches, and other non-military institutions formed their own paramilitary groups, such as cadet corps and the Salvation Army, and adopted militaristic language in their songs and publications (MacKenzie, *Prop* 5-6). Following the Crimean War (1854-1856), the first war in which British evangelicals supplied chaplains, Bibles, and hymnals to military units, soldiers came to be seen as souls to be saved rather than hopeless ruffians; moreover, after the Indian Rebellion (1857-1858), the notion that Christians made the best soldiers achieved popular currency. Hence, out of the pervasive militarism of the mid-nineteenth century arose the cult of the Christian military hero, which was reflected in sermons, lectures, memoirs, poetry, and juvenile adventure stories and peaked after General Gordon's death in Khartoum in 1885 (Anderson 46-72). During roughly the same period, scientific theories increased the momentum of racism's rise in Victorian Britain. In popular literature, theories about race, such as Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism, were used to explain the putative martial superiority of whites, as epitomized by British war heroes, and of the non-white "martial races," such as the Sikhs and Gurkhas of South Asia. In addition, when Queen Victoria proclaimed herself Empress of India in 1876, she ushered in a period of heightened prestige and pomp for the monarchy. Royal jubilees, coronations, funerals, and weddings functioned as celebrations of British imperialism (MacKenzie, *Prop* 3-5, 7). The combination of increased militarism and

Christian military hero-worship, racism, and monarchism coalesced into an imperially inflected patriotism which, in turn, led to the proliferation of imperial propaganda during the late nineteenth century and afterward.

The most important influences upon the idealist and realist perspectives were "Victoria's little wars" during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Crimean War, the Indian Rebellion, the Zulu War (1879), the Second Afghan War (1878-1880), the First Boer War (1880-1881), the Arabi Rebellion (1882), the Siege of Khartoum (1885), the Battle of Omdurman (1898), and the Second Boer War (1899-1902) all aroused both imperialist and anti-imperialist sentiments, but the Second Boer War was particularly controversial and therefore spurred an upsurge of both idealism and realism. Even though the British defeated the Boers, victory came at a hefty price: the war took longer and cost more lives and money than had been expected, and public opinion regarding British concentration camps for Boers was largely unfavorable.³⁰ Accordingly, British views of the Empire became more polarized.³¹ More Britons could vote than ever before, thanks to the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, so their views on the imperial project mattered more to politicians than they had in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Feeling an increasing need to promote their cause, imperialists produced a large volume and variety of propaganda in late nineteenth-century Britain. Although government bodies, such as the Imperial Institute (1893), issued official propaganda, the

³⁰ For a lengthy account of the Second Boer War, see Pakenham.

³¹ Anti-imperial views, such as those espoused by the isolationist "Little Englanders" who had opposed the war, gained ground, while pro-imperial views, such as those of the expansionist "Jingoes" who supported the war, were reified.

bulk of imperial propaganda came from the many non-governmental organizations established in the late nineteenth century, such as the Primrose League (1883). In turn, these organizations strongly influenced many British institutions, including schools, the military, youth movements, churches and missionary societies, music halls, and exhibitions. Businesses also purveyed imperial propaganda through their advertising and marketing activities. In addition, pro-imperial ideas were conveyed through school textbooks, militaristic youth organizations like Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts, periodicals and novels targeted at adults and children, plays and songs, imperial exhibitions, and even board games (MacKenzie, *Prop* 2-3, 28, 125, 150-2). These various forms of propaganda reinforced one another. For example, Victorian and Edwardian children were propagandized not only through their leisure reading, in the newly emergent genres of juvenile novels and popular periodicals, but also through their textbooks and school prize books; moreover, these different forms of propaganda were remarkably uniform in content and tone (Castle 3-6). One reason for this uniformity was that the same authors often wrote in more than one genre.³² Late nineteenth-century imperial propaganda became so widespread and entrenched that it continued to exert an influence upon children even into the late 1960s (MacKenzie *Prop* 190-1).³³ Imperial propaganda reached large audiences that were diverse in terms of class, age, gender, and geography;

³² Henty, for example, wrote boys' adventure novels, contributed to and edited boys' periodicals, and also authored an history textbook, *The Sovereign Reader* (1887). Similarly, Kipling, who unlike Henty was a realist, co-wrote an history textbook with historian C. R. L. Fletcher entitled *A School History of England* (1911), which Marsden has called "notoriously xenophobic" for its use of racial stereotypes (139).

³³ For instance, textbook author Muriel Masfield included Henty's *With Clive in India* and Newbolt's patriotic poetry on her recommended reading lists in her four-volume series, *The House of History*, first published in 1931 but reprinted eighteen times, the last of which was in 1968 when it was still the standard history text in many state schools (Mackenzie *Propaganda* 190-1).

adult males read periodicals and novels intended for juvenile audiences, as did women and girls, and the readership of propagandist literature extended beyond Britain to its colonies. Although the reach of imperialist ideology was wide, the primary targets of the subset of imperial propaganda that we can call literary propaganda—which includes the idealist literature that Chapters One and Two will explore—were the middle- and working-class British boys and men whose efforts were needed to sustain the imperial project.

Idealists and realists tended to write literature in different genres, reflecting their divergent ideologies and aims. Idealists typically wrote in three overlapping popular genres that targeted middle- and working-class boys and boy-like men: juvenile fiction, juvenile periodicals, and poetry. By doing so, they could purvey their upper middle-class worldview to the classes beneath theirs that they wanted to recruit into imperial service. Realists, on the other hand, most often wrote in the more "high-brow" genre of adult fiction, which was read primarily by upper- and upper middle-class adult males, reflecting their own class status as well as their desire to engage in intellectual debate with British ruling elites (as opposed to imperial recruitment). Kipling was an exception to this rule, however, for he was a realist who wrote poetry and juvenile fiction; perhaps he was an exception because he was the first realist and he supported the imperial project more than later realists. In addition, some of his works that have been construed as juvenile fiction, such as *Stalky and Co.* and *Kim*, seem intended as much for adult readers as juvenile ones. Likewise, Golding's *Lord of the Flies* is a mainstay of American high-school English curricula, yet the novel's dark themes were directed to adults in power as a

warning (Discovery). Because the rise of British juvenile fiction, juvenile periodicals, and popular poetry is less well known than the rise of the British novel, I will briefly discuss the former but not the latter.

British juvenile fiction arose in the last half of the nineteenth century as a result of a new societal interest in adolescence, increased literacy, and the transformation of the publishing industry.³⁴ Targeted primarily at boys, juvenile fiction developed two branches: adventure novels and school stories. The pioneers of the adventure branch were Captain Frederick Marryat (1792-1848), who published a number of nautical novels in the 1840s, and Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), author of *Westward Ho!* (1855). Following in their footsteps, W. H. G. Kingston (1814-1880) published over one hundred and thirty boys' adventure books between 1850 and 1880. During approximately the same period, R. M. Ballantyne (1825-1894) wrote over one hundred boys' adventure novels, including *Coral Island* (1857). Both Kingston's and Ballantyne's books were didactic in tone and reflected their evangelical interest in emigration to British colonies. The eighty-two boys' adventure novels written by Henty between 1871 and 1902 proved even more popular than those of his predecessors, for Henty privileged military exploits over religious didacticism, thereby appealing to the tastes of his time (MacKenzie *Prop* 209-10). H. Rider Haggard (1856-1925), another prolific author of adventure novels, was not exclusively a juvenile fiction writer, but he had a juvenile audience in mind for his Alan Quatermain series (Bristow 134).³⁵ The other branch of juvenile fiction, school

³⁴ For accounts of this process, see Mackenzie's *Propaganda and Empire* (209-10) and Dunae's "New Grub Street for Boys" (12-33).

³⁵ Haggard dedicated *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) to "all the big and little boys who read it."

stories, was initiated by Hughes. Published shortly after *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, Dean Farrar's *Eric* (1858), which like Kingston's and Ballantyne's books emphasized evangelical piety, served as the model for school stories in the 1860s and 1870s. By the 1880s, when school stories reached their apex, writers began to follow Hughes' example instead, toning down religion while emphasizing athleticism and imperialism, for, like Henty, they were echoing the societal shift from traditional evangelicalism to muscular Christianity (Richards *Hap* 14).

School stories were the central feature of British juvenile periodicals, which arose in the middle of the nineteenth century and multiplied most rapidly during its last two decades.³⁶ Samuel Beeton, husband of the famous Mrs. Beeton of *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861), created the first juvenile periodical, *Boy's Own Magazine*, in 1855 in order to compete with the inexpensive papers known as "penny dreadfuls," which evangelicals feared enticed boys into juvenile delinquency. By 1870 the number of boys' periodicals of both religious and secular intent had increased from one to ten, and after the establishment of *The Boy's Own Paper* and its sister periodical, *The Girl's Own Paper* (1880), a slew of juvenile periodicals followed in their footsteps.³⁷ The most influential writer of magazine school stories was Talbot Baines Reed, whose contributions to *The Boy's Own Paper* toned down evangelicalism to make it more palatable to boys. In addition to school stories, boys' magazines featured adventure

³⁶ For extensive discussions of the rise of juvenile periodicals, see Dunae, MacKenzie, and Quigly.

³⁷ *Comic Cuts* (1890), *Halfpenny Wonder* (1892), *Chums* (1892), *Halfpenny Marvel* (1893), a new incarnation of *Union Jack* (1894), *Pluck* (1894), *The Boys' Friend* (1895), *Captain* (1899), *Boys' War News* (1899), *Boys' Realm* (1902), *Boys' Herald* (1903), *Gem* (1907), *Magnet* (1908), and *Dreadnought* (1912).

stories, which channeled the violence and adventure of the "penny dreadfuls" away from Britain where it was deemed unacceptable and into the British Empire where it was deemed acceptable. As Orwell, a realist, correctly asserted in his 1939 essay "Boys' Weeklies," such periodicals were imperialistic and elitist and idealized public-school life.³⁸ Although the content of juvenile periodicals was predominantly focused on upper- and upper middle-class characters and preoccupations, especially public schools and public-school sports, the periodicals were most popular among middle- and working-class readers, who apparently enjoyed vicariously experiencing elite realms.

Poetry was another popular form of literature in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, particularly among the middle classes, and as such it was a useful vehicle for imperial propaganda. Children did not comprise the primary audience of British poetry, yet they often encountered it at school, where they received poetry collections as prize books and memorized poems for recitation. The first Victorian poet to popularize poetry on imperial themes was Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-1892). During his forty-two-year stint as poet laureate (1850-1892), Tennyson wrote many Empire-themed poems, including "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1854) and his war ballads of the 1880s. Kipling succeeded Tennyson as Britain's imperial poet, albeit unofficially. In the 1890s and the early 1900s, Kipling wrote an abundance of poetry on military and imperial

³⁸ Orwell, the grandson of an Indian Army officer and son of an imperial functionary who attended Eton and served as a policeman in Burma, critiqued the content and impact of boys' weeklies, particularly *Gem* and *Magnet*, which were even more affordable and therefore more widely circulated than *The Boy's Own Paper*. Orwell argued that such periodicals reflected a conservative, outdated pre-Great War outlook and, moreover, should not be dismissed as insignificant because they shaped national attitudes profoundly (308-9). He contended that boys' weeklies falsified public-school life, expunging both sex and religion as Baden-Powell had in his Boy Scout movement (285). Orwell also asserted, "The school story is a thing particular to England" because "in England education is mainly a matter of status" (287).

subjects³⁹ that proved as popular as, if not more than, Tennyson's poetry. Although neither Tennyson's nor Kipling's poetry should be considered unambiguously propagandistic, both were interpreted by many readers as reminders that imperialism was "the white man's burden," a noble if taxing duty, and that imperial servants, be they Tom Browns or Tommy Atkinses, deserved public appreciation. Newbolt was a contemporary of Kipling, and his poetry proved enormously popular, as will be discussed in Chapter One, yet he never matched Kipling's fame, skill, or literary stature.

Following Kipling's lead, realists began to predominate in imperial school literature rather than idealists from the turn of the twentieth century onward. This shift was a product of growing dissatisfaction with British public schools and disillusionment with British imperialism, both of which developed concurrently, triggered by the disappointing performance of Britain during the Second Boer War and the First World War. School literature in general (not just imperial school literature) became increasingly critical of public schools in the twentieth century,⁴⁰ charging them with maintaining a stagnant curriculum and unhealthy living conditions and with fostering elitism, brutality, philistinism, "buggery," and other kinds of "immorality." Public schools were also accused of failing to prepare their students for their eventual careers, especially imperial ones. British public schools had been chastised before the twentieth century, however, and had undergone various waves of reform. For example, Arnold inspired an increased focus on religion in public schools in the 1830s and 1840s, and the Clarendon

³⁹ Including *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1892), "Recessional" (1897), "The White Man's Burden" (1899), and his Boer War poems.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Alec Waugh's *The Loom of Youth* (1916).

Commission's report led to greater autonomy of public schools along with better financial management and living conditions in the 1860s and 1870s.⁴¹ Ironically, while public schools were falling out of favor in Britain, they were being founded in British colonies.

British-modeled public schools were established in India starting in the 1870s.⁴² Multiple forms of education predated British education in India; for example, students could receive tutelage at home or attend a *madrasa* or *gurukul*.⁴³ After 1857, the British felt an increasing need to inculcate sympathy and loyalty among the Indian royalty; hence, they founded seven "Chiefs' Colleges," residential secondary schools fashioned after British public schools and run by British Old Boys.⁴⁴ Recognizing the strategic importance of obtaining a British education for their children, Indian rulers provided the bulk of the funding for these schools. The Chiefs' Colleges met with limited success, though their popularity improved following the institution of reforms starting in 1902 by Lord Curzon, Governor-General and Viceroy of India (1899-1905). Curzon's reforms

⁴¹ For the complete Clarendon Commission report, see Staunton.

⁴² For discussion of the founding of Chiefs' Colleges, see de Souza (22), Mangan (125, 127-8, 140), and Singh (3).

⁴³ A *madrasa* is a Muslim school, and a *gurukul* is Brahmin (Hindu) school.

⁴⁴ British-modeled education was established at the university as well as the secondary level in India. The first such university in India was the University of Calcutta, established in 1857 by the colonial government and modeled upon London University. In 1875 Muslim social reformer Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, which later became Aligarh Muslim University, basing it in part upon Oxford and Cambridge. The British colonial government wielded a significant degree of authority over Indian universities, for it controlled the content of the Indian Civil Service exam as well as the number of Indians allowed to pass it. Urdu poets, including Iqbal and Akbar Allahabadi, expressed skepticism about the merits of British-modeled education in their poetry. A number of Indian Muslim leaders and even an Englishman (Wilfrid Scawen Blunt) proposed less-British alternatives to Aligarh, one of which was Jamia Millia Islamia, established in 1920. For discussions of Aligarh and Jamia Millia Islamia, see Lelyveld's *Aligarh's First Generation* and Lelyveld and Minault's "The Campaign for a Muslim University." For discussions of Urdu poetry used as a form of political resistance against British rule, see Minault's *The Khilafat Movement* (154-63) and "Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement" and Miriam Murtuza's "Sophisticated Satire" and "Farang or Maghrib?" For discussions of Blunt's proposed university, see Blunt and Yousufuddin.

were intended to increase academic rigor and to improve the practicality of the curricula by including instruction in law, politics, and revenue. The Chiefs' Colleges continued to be criticized by non-elite classes in India, however, for only serving the Indian nobility.

Another adaptation of British public-school model occurred in the 1930s. At that time, if upper-class Indian families wanted their children to receive a Western secondary education, thereby enhancing their social prestige and securing their relationship with the British colonial government, they were faced with two less-than-ideal options: sending them to a mediocre Chiefs' College or to an expensive British public school. The second option was available only to middle-class families—and then only if they were especially wealthy or their children obtained scholarships. The former was the case for Jawaharlal Nehru's father, an affluent barrister and politician, who sent his son to Harrow and then Cambridge (Nehru 17-26) and by doing so provided him with an educational pedigree that would prove advantageous to him as a statesman, such as when he negotiated India's independence with a fellow Cambridge alumnus, Lord Mountbatten. Sufficient numbers of Indians attended British public schools to warrant the introduction of Indian characters into British school literature.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, middle- and upper-class Indians desired Indian alternatives to British public schools that would be more accessible and rigorous than the Chiefs' Colleges and would prepare a new generation of leaders for Indian

⁴⁵ The most famous of such characters was Huree Jamset Ram Singh, Nabob of Bhanipur (nicknamed “Inky”), a comic figure playing upon the Bengali babu stereotype who attended the fictional Greyfriars School in a long-running, highly popular serial by Frank Richards published in *Magnet* (Quigly 98; Orwell 287, 292).

independence, for as the competing nationalisms of the 1920s and 1930s⁴⁶ suggested, independence was becoming a likely prospect (Singh 6-7; de Souza 22-4).

In response to the push for alternative British-modeled education, the Chiefs' Colleges were modernized and a new generation of Indian public schools was established beginning in the 1930s. The differences between the old and new Indian public schools paralleled those between the old and new British public schools: the new schools, unlike the old ones, were intended to serve the middle and upper-middle classes and produce civil servants. One such new school was the Doon School, a residential boys' school in northern India.⁴⁷ In 1928 S. R. Das (1872-1928), a British-educated Calcutta barrister and conservative nationalist,⁴⁸ created the Indian Public Schools Society (IPSS) with the aim of "founding schools without distinctions of caste, creed, or social status" (*Doon School Book* 1; qtd. in Srivastava 27), and in 1935 the IPSS established the Doon School. Having absorbed the bourgeois and racist British "civilizing mission" ideology,⁴⁹ the founders of Doon designed it to promote rationality, scientism, secularism, and egalitarianism—attributes that Indians were thought to lack and that the Chiefs' Colleges failed to instill given their alleged tolerance of "feudalism."⁵⁰ Although it has yet to

⁴⁶ On the radical end of the nationalist spectrum were movements like Jugantar, which used "terrorist" tactics like assassination and armed attacks to challenge British colonialism in Bengal (Bose 137-9), and Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement, which instead utilized civil disobedience (Mehra 515-8). On the other end of the nationalist spectrum were parties like the Swaraj Party and the more conservative "Water-hyacinth" Party, which believed cooperation with the British was the most effective means to achieve independence (Srivastava 23).

⁴⁷ My discussion of the Doon School draws from Srivastava, MacDougall, and the Doon School Website.

⁴⁸ Das led a failed attempt to found the "Water-hyacinth" Party, a conservative response to Swaraj party, of which his more famous cousin C. R. Das was a leading member (Srivastava 23).

⁴⁹ For a succinct definition of the British "civilizing mission" ideology, see Adas (35).

⁵⁰ As Srivastava explains, at Mayo College, a Chiefs' College established in Rajasthan in 1875, students could eat, sleep, and worship alone or with others of the same region or religion (54). In contrast, Doon

achieve secularism or egalitarianism, Doon has become one of the most prestigious schools in India and has educated many of the country's past and present political, social, intellectual, and commercial elites,⁵¹ including Rajiv Gandhi, whose choice of Doon over Eton, the *alma mater* of his grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru, attests to a shift in Indian attitudes regarding the preferred mode of elite British education. In addition, Doon exemplifies how the British public school was adopted and adapted in the Indian context from the late nineteenth century to the present and in the process an institution that represented British elitism, jingoism, and imperialism was transformed into one that promoted Indian nationalism, albeit in an elite form.

Unlike British public schools, which were criticized the most strongly during the world wars, Indian public schools gained social importance during the Second World War. The reason for this difference was that the British had linked Indian participation in the war to the promise of independence afterward, which would necessitate that Indians be trained to fill the posts vacated by British civil servants. In 1939 seven headmasters of Indian public schools,⁵² most of whom were British (including the first headmaster of Doon, Arthur E. Foot, formerly of Eton), founded the Indian Public Schools Conference

School students mixed with boys of faiths and regional backgrounds different from their own and worshipped in “secular” (albeit Hindu-influenced) services. Similarly, the architecture of Mayo College, with its incongruous juxtaposition of Indo-Muslim and British elements, suggests the British desire to dominate Indian elites while conveying the (false) impression of shared power; in contrast, the architecture of the Doon School, with its mostly Western elements set in a landscape of catalogued plants, suggests rationality and scientism. The Doon School was both literally and figuratively constructed as the “progressive” Other of Mayo College (43).

⁵¹ Contemporary Indian authors Vikram Seth and Amitav Ghosh are Doon School Old Boys (MacDougall).

⁵² The headmasters were from Aitchison College (Lahore), Daly College (Indore), the Doon School (Dehra Dun), Rajkumar College (Raipur), Rajkumar College (Rajkot), Scindia School (Gwalior), and Shri Shivaji Military Preparatory School (Poona). Aitchison, Daly, and the Rajkumar Colleges had been “Chiefs' Colleges.”

(IPSC), which was distinct from the IPSS but had the same goal of promoting Indian public school education. In the preface to the IPSC's 1942 mission statement, John Sargent, the Educational Commissioner for the Government of India, asserted that the IPSC would "mak[e] a contribution to Indian education, and thereby to the future prosperity of India, the value of which it would be hard to exaggerate" because India was experiencing an "urgent" need "for an adequate supply of public servants in the best and fullest sense of the word, which obviously will not confine the term to Government officials" (v). Like the British idealists, Sargent averred that the character-building aspect of public schools created the best "public servants," but he was envisioning them in a post-independence context rather than an imperial one. Sargent also deflected criticism that British and Indian public schools were too exclusive and that the latter were too Westernized (viii-ix), suggesting that despite their ascendancy, Indian public schools had encountered resistance.

Indeed, despite their prestige, public schools never gained the foothold in India—or elsewhere in South Asia, for that matter—that they had established in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consequently, the category of school literature did not flourish in South Asia as it did in Britain. South Asian and South Asian diasporic authors have, however, written poems, novels, short stories, and memoirs involving South Asian and British public schools. These literary works testify to the ways in which British public schools influenced South Asian politics, history, and cultures in profound and lasting ways.

Criticism and Interventions

The nexus of British literature, the British Empire, and British public schools has received little scholarly scrutiny relative to the amount of attention that has been paid to the intersections between various pairs of these three entities. For example, many scholars have examined the intersection of British literature and the British Empire, both the representations of imperialism in British literature as well as the harnessing of British literature in the service of imperialism. Bristow, Castle, Dunae, Green, MacKenzie, and Richards have all investigated imperialism in British juvenile literature, while Viswanathan has connected the establishment of British literature as a field of study to the indoctrination of imperial subjects in India. The intersection between the British Empire and British public schools has also received scholarly attention. Heussler, Mason (pseudonym Woodruff), and Wilkinson have highlighted the close ties between British public schools and the Indian Civil Service, and Mangan has identified the importance of the public-school "games ethic" in British imperialism. Scholars have likewise examined the intersection between British public schools and British literature. Literary critics, a sociologist, and an historian—Howarth and Quigly, Musgrave, and Richards, respectively—have categorized and created genealogies of school stories and even addressed imperialism in school stories in portions of their respective books. Indeed, nearly all of the scholars mentioned above have discussed the nexus of British literature, the British Empire, and British public schools, but none of them have devoted an entire publication to this important area of inquiry.

My dissertation builds upon Janet Adam Smith's 1972 essay "Boy of Letters" in *The Age of Kipling*. Unlike most of Kipling's more recent literary critics, Smith highlights the irony that Kipling, "who was to become the darling of the jingoes and imperialists," had life-long ties to anti-imperialist, anti-jingo Pre-Raphaelites (8). Smith also contrasts what she terms "the *Stalky* ethos" of Kipling with "the more refined outlook of that other writer of Empire, Henry Newbolt" (16), whose knowledge of the Empire was not borne out of experience. Smith incisively (and humorously) contrasts the imperial heroes in Newbolt's "Vitaī Lampada" and "He Fell Among Thieves" with Kipling's imperial heroes, most notably *Stalky*:

Newbolt's soldier who fell among Afghan thieves spends the last night of his life thinking about his school, his college, and the old country home. *Stalky*, one feels, would have used his night to talk his way out of trouble, with Afghan puns and smutty stories. Newbolt celebrates the solitary hero, honourable and brave, making a gallant gesture in a desperate (and conventionally conceived) situation—for England's sake. Kipling celebrates the ingenious and crafty hero, working with others in a vividly realized situation—to do his job. Newbolt's poetical heroes tend to die, nobly; Kipling's prose ones to survive, craftily. (17)

Hence Newbolt's soldiers were nobler but less realistic than Kipling's; accordingly, "Kipling's were more use to the Empire" (17), for they were better survivors. Smith stops short, however, of making the critique that Kipling himself repeatedly made in his writings, namely that British public schools were an insufficient way to educate future imperial functionaries, let alone a British public that showed little understanding of or appreciation for its Empire.

My work also augments Richards' scholarship. In *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction* (1988), Richards astutely observes that popular culture has

been more approving of British public schools than "high culture" (8). Richards implies that a primary reason for this difference in perspective is that "high culture" authors, like Forster, were more likely to have attended public schools than their counterparts in popular culture and, moreover, were ill-suited to the public-school milieu given their scholarly and artistic proclivities. Somewhat unfairly, Richards undermines the legitimacy of negative portrayals of public schools by claiming that their authors were "seeking to pay off old scores ... [and] purge their soul[s] in literary catharsis" (8) rather than provide "a general and detached philosophical standpoint" (9); however, he does raise the important issue of familiarity breeding contempt with respect to public schools. My analysis of literature that links public schools and imperialism demonstrates a related phenomenon. Authors who experienced public schools firsthand, such as Kipling and Forster, were better able to recognize such schools' failings than authors, such as those writing for the *Boy's Own Paper*, who did not. (Newbolt was an exception to this rule, for he glorified public schools even though he had attended one himself.) Similarly, authors who indirectly experienced British imperialism tended to idealize and romanticize the preparation public schools provided imperial personnel as well as the Empire itself, whereas authors who directly experienced imperialism tended to criticize both.

My categorization of authors who evaluate the involvement of British public schools in imperialism draws upon yet deviates from Richards' division of British school story writers into three categories: "the conformists, the innovators, and the rebels" (8). Richards places Newbolt in the first category (248), Kipling in the second (142), and

Forster in the third (168). Like Jane Adams Smith, Richards recognizes that although Newbolt and Kipling shared an interest in the Empire, they should not be lumped together. On the other hand, Richards mistakenly views Kipling as vastly different from Forster, as have most literary critics, who tend to simplify Kipling as a staunch imperialist and reactionary while considering Forster a questioner of Empire (at least to some extent) and a progressive.⁵³ Richards contends that Forster's humanism, as defined in his comment in his 1939 essay "What I Believe" that "[t]olerance, good temper and sympathy" would triumph "over cruelty and chaos,"

places him at the opposite end of the spectrum from Kipling, who saw the victory over cruelty and chaos in duty, service, work, and self-control as subsumed into that mystical concept, the British empire [sic], whose administrative agents in India he heroised and mythified as Forster criticized and undermined them. (169)

Richards correctly identifies "duty, service, work, and self-control" along with the British Empire as ideas Kipling held dear; however, although Kipling "heroised" a handful of characters who were "administrative agents in India," he more often satirized them for showing little "tolerance, good temper [or] sympathy" toward Indians. Both Forster and Kipling felt ambivalent about British imperialism, especially the gulf between its theory and practice, though Forster's doubts about the imperialism's benefits were stronger than Kipling's; nevertheless, Kipling should not be "place[d] ... at the opposite end of the spectrum from" Forster.

⁵³ See, for example, Bailey (4, 9 (footnote 1)). Gilmour also views Kipling and Forster as different in their views of the British Raj, though he describes Forster's depiction as "narrower and more one-sided" (49).

The overlap in Forster's and Kipling's views of imperialism springs from their shared disdain for traditional British public schools as well as the kinds of imperial servants that they produced, as Chapters Four and Five will demonstrate. Kipling mocked traditional public schools in his literary works, but he did see some (limited) value in non-traditional public schools like his own alma mater, United Services College (USC); nevertheless, he portrayed even non-traditional public schools as largely ineffectual at preparing boys for imperial service. Forster's critique of traditional public schools was even more stinging than Kipling's and sprung from more humanistic, less imperial concerns; however, both authors condemned public schools for their promotion of rigid authoritarianism, conformity, philistinism, athleticism, snobbery, and other forms of prejudice, and they believed that public schools created the wrong sort of Empire.

Whereas Richards considers only the works of British authors, I scrutinize a novel written by a South Asian diasporic author, Shyam Selvadurai. The category of school literature did not develop in South Asia in the same way it has in Britain. South Asian public schools do appear in English-language literary works by South Asian authors, but such works are neither as prolific nor as well documented as British school stories. In Chapter Five I summarize the limited amount of scholarship available on South Asian and South Asian diasporic realists. By analyzing Selvadurai's novel, I attempt to bridge the scholarly gap between British and South Asian public schools, thereby exploring the complexity of the colonial encounter, which has left a lasting, perhaps even indelible, mark on both the colonizer and the colonized.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter One, "'The Voice of a Schoolboy Rallies the Ranks': The Idealism of Henry Newbolt," presents Newbolt as an archetypal British idealist and, in doing so, gives the author and some of his works the kind of extensive critical scrutiny that they have yet to receive. The chapter examines Newbolt's use of "the voice of a schoolboy" to "rall[y] the ranks" of upper-, middle-, and working-class young men to "Play up!" in the imperial "game." As we shall see, in doing so Newbolt emphasizes the Victorian values of manliness, patriotism, militarism, hero-worship, and muscular Christianity. By analyzing four of Newbolt's turn-of-the-century poems—"Vitaī Lampada" (1897), "The Best School of All" (1902), "Clifton Chapel" (1898), and "An Essay on Criticism" (1902)—the chapter explores how Newbolt popularized idealist values and, as a result, how the public-school ethos transcended its upper-class origins. The chapter also considers the Boer War as a key factor in solidifying Newbolt's idealism. Additionally, the chapter brings to light Newbolt's forgotten literary debate with Kipling, a debate that illustrates the contemporaneousness and mutual dependency of idealism and realism as well as the complexity of turn-of-the-century views of British public schools and imperialism. Finally, Newbolt serves as an example of the diversity among idealists and of an idealist who became more realistic after the First World War.

Chapter Two, "'A Boy's Own Creed': The Idealism of the Religious Tract Society's *Boy's Own Paper*," continues the exploration of idealist literature. Like Newbolt's poetry, the *Boy's Own Paper*, a popular British juvenile periodical founded in 1879 by the evangelical Religious Tract Society, presented British imperialism as a noble

cause, British public schools as the optimal molders of imperial servants, and Victorian values as integral to the national character; however, what distinguished the idealism of *The Boy's Own Paper* from that of Newbolt's poetry was its use of eighteenth-century evangelism in addition to muscular Christianity, the late nineteenth-century form of evangelism. This chapter builds upon existing scholarship on *The Boy's Own Paper* while providing much needed archival work. After providing an overview of the paper and a brief history of its publisher, the chapter analyzes selected pieces from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century issues in order to demonstrate the ironic centrality of elite public schools in a publication directed primarily at middle- and working-class audiences. As we shall see, public schools, imperialism, and the two forms of evangelism were woven together in *The Boy's Own Paper* in a manner that simultaneously attempted to save souls, justify the imperial project, and recruit people for imperial service, which, as a result of muscular Christianity, had begun to overlap with missionary work in its aims. The chapter's subsections on cricket-related and serial stories in *The Boy's Own Paper* demonstrate that it advocated cricket's educational potential even more ardently than Newbolt did and, in addition, that imperial fears about "natives" lurk beneath the surface of idealist literature. The chapter also examines how idealist literature borrowed from other imperially inflected literature, repackaging it for lower-middle and working-class juvenile audiences. Finally, the chapter explores the moments of realism that occasionally punctuate the idealism of *The Boy's Own Paper*.

Starting with Chapter Three, "The Flannelled Fools at the Wicket [and] the Muddled Oafs at the Goals': The Realism of Rudyard Kipling," the dissertation shifts

from idealists to realists. Chapter Three presents Kipling as a realist author, thereby laying a foundation for a comparison with Forster in Chapter Four. The chapter begins by examining Kipling's poem "The Islanders" (1902) in order to outline his realist ideology, particularly his condemnation of "the flannelled fools at the wicket [and] the muddled oafs at the goals." After briefly mentioning relevant aspects of Kipling's biography, the chapter explores his short story "The Brushwood Boy" (1898), the first fictional work (aside from juvenilia) in which he assessed public schools as imperial training grounds. In the story Kipling suggests that although public schools prepare boys for imperial military service, they stifle emotion, imagination, and romance, leaving boys—and, ultimately, men—unfulfilled. The chapter then proceeds to Kipling's most famous treatment of public schools, *Stalky & Co.* (1899), which offers a stronger critique of public schools than "The Brushwood Boy," namely that public schools can only train boys for imperial service through non-traditional means, including purposeful pranks, pragmatic patriotism, and a progressive headmaster. Finally, the chapter examines *Kim* (1901), in which Kipling considers British-modeled public-school education in India. The analysis of the novel explores Kipling's extension of his previous criticism of public schools, his presentation of alternative forms of education for imperial service, and his suggestion that imperial service is simultaneously a burden, an opportunity, and a delight. By analyzing these four works, the chapter demonstrates how Kipling countered idealism with realism.

Chapter Four, "'Well-developed Bodies, Fairly Developed Minds, and Undeveloped Hearts': The Realism of E. M. Forster," continues our exploration of British

realists and, in doing so, compares Forster to Kipling. The chapter opens with Forster's essay "What I Believe" (1939) as a means of outlining his humanist creed and conception for a new social hierarchy. After a short introduction of Forster's life and works, the chapter examines Forster's essay "Notes on the English Character" (1920) in order to establish his realist ideology and provide a lens through which to read his novels. The chapter next introduces Forster's novel *The Longest Journey* (1907) as a prelude to his posthumously published novel *Maurice* (finished 1914, published 1971). The analysis of both novels demonstrates Forster's critical view of British public schools, elucidates his alternative social order, and lays a foundation for his critique of the Raj in *A Passage to India* (1924). As we shall see, Forster considered the flaws of British Indians to be extensions of the shortcomings of public-school boys and Englishmen, with their "well-developed bodies, fairly developed minds, and undeveloped hearts." The main focus of the chapter is *Passage*, in which Forster contrasts his heroic characters and his themes with the characteristics and ideology of his public-school characters, the "Turtons and Burtons." By analyzing these four works, the chapter demonstrates Forster's subversion of idealist notions, particularly the significance of team games.

Chapter Five, "'The Best School of All,' Reprised: The Realism of Shyam Selvadurai," continues the discussion of realists but shifts from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British idealists to a contemporary South-Asian diasporic realist. The chapter opens with a brief discussion of Selvadurai's essay "Introducing Myself in the Diaspora" (2005), in which he introduces himself both to readers and into the South Asian diaspora, providing a starting point for the chapter's analysis of Selvadurai's novel

Funny Boy (1994). As we shall see, the pattern observable among British authors in earlier chapters holds true for Selvadurai, but with significant contextual differences: the more directly an author has experienced British public schools and British imperialism—in Selvadurai's case, British-modeled public schools and the aftermath of colonialism—the more critical he is of these institutions and their symbiotic relationship. Even more so than Forster, Selvadurai extends his critique beyond public schools and empire to the larger forces of hatred, injustice, and oppression as experienced in Sri Lanka. Of course, Selvadurai was writing from a different context than either Kipling or Forster, for the British Empire was by then defunct, yet its after-effects persisted. In *Funny Boy* Selvadurai proposes a causal relationship between British imperialism, as symbolized by British-modeled Sri Lankan schools, and the country's bloody civil war. Selvadurai illustrates how Sri Lankan cultural identities have been damaged by colonialism; how both Sinhalese and Tamil communities have constructed essentialist identities in order to repair this damage; and finally how Sinhalese and Tamil nationalists have inherited the authoritarian structure and violence of the colonial government and education systems.

The Conclusion, "Public School Legacies, Global Tendencies," articulates the exigencies of my project and points to next steps in my research. The conclusion provides illustrations of the reception and usage of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British idealist writing in the present day. The conclusion reiterates why late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century imperial school literature still affects cultures, politics, and economic systems around the world.

Chapter One

"The Voice of a Schoolboy Rallies the Ranks": The Idealism of Henry Newbolt

British poet Henry Newbolt's most famous poem, "Vitaï Lampada" [The Torch of Life] (1897),⁵⁴ epitomizes the literature of the idealists, encapsulating their ideology and aims. The poem opens on a public-school playing field where an unnamed schoolboy faces seemingly insurmountable odds at a cricket match; though readers never learn the match's outcome, they are told that when the team captain "smote[s]" his hand on the schoolboy's shoulder, the latter is motivated to do his best, to "Play up! play up! and play the game!" The second stanza shifts from England to the Sudan,⁵⁵ where a British regiment faces a losing battle:

The sand of the desert is sodden red, —
Red with the wreck of a square⁵⁶ that broke; —
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

Once again, the speaker elides the outcome, this time of an imperial battle; however, the reader can infer that the regiment will fight courageously, emboldened by the "voice of a schoolboy" —the regiment's commanding officer, a team captain grown up—no matter

⁵⁴ See Appendix A for full text of poem.

⁵⁵ The details mentioned in the poem do not correspond precisely to a particular battle but rather are an amalgamation of British-Mahdist battles in the Sudan in the 1880s.

⁵⁶ Initially a "square" was a military formation through which an infantry defended itself from a cavalry attack; it evolved into a large-scale formation to protect traveling companies from attack by firearm-less forces. Because the British army had used the square successfully during the Napoleonic Wars, including the Battle of Waterloo, it became a symbol of British military supremacy (Ayres). In turn, a "broke[n]" square was a symbol of British defeat and humiliation, for it came to be associated in the late nineteenth century with British losses in the Sudan, particularly General Gordon's defeat in Khartoum (1885) and the Battle of Omdurman (1898).

how hopeless their situation is. The third stanza of the poem makes explicit what the parallelism of the first two stanzas implies, namely that public-school playing fields prepare boys for imperial battlefields. The speaker solemnly instructs the reader to "[b]ear through life like a torch in flame / and falling fling to the host behind" what he has been taught at school, to "Play up! play up! and play the game!"

"Vitaī Lampada" is not the only poem in which Newbolt equates the cricket field with the imperial battlefield,⁵⁷ yet it is the one best remembered among people of a wide range of social classes and nationalities. While not particularly impressive artistically, the poem's use of repetition and meter make it easy to memorize; however, this quality alone cannot justify its fame. Nor can the poem's success be attributed to its uniqueness, for its theme (always do your best) and its subject matter (an imperial battle in the Sudan) are unoriginal. Kipling, for example, had published "Fuzzy Wuzzy" (1890) seven years earlier. Additionally, Newbolt apparently borrowed from an anonymous poem, "A Ballad of the Berkshire Regiment," that appeared in *Punch* on April 11, 1885, twelve years before Newbolt published his poem, though no critics have noted this. The second stanza of "Vitaī Lampada" (quoted above) bears a striking resemblance to the fifth stanza of "A Ballad": "The sky was blind with sand and smoke, / With bullets shrieked the air, / Like wave on wave the desert broke / Against that stubborn square" (171). In addition, Newbolt's poem adopts similar diction, imagery, and meter to the ballad, which lauds the bravery of all the "Thomas Atkins[es]" who fought in the Battle of Tofrek in the Sudan earlier that spring. It seems likely that Newbolt heard "A Ballad of the Berkshire

⁵⁷ For instance, "The Schoolfellow" and "The School at War," both of which were published just after the Boer War, draw the same parallel.

Regiment," for it was popular enough then that it is still circulating now.⁵⁸ Whether Newbolt consciously alluded to the ballad or unconsciously copied it as he depicted a Sudanese battle, his desire to evoke two familiar scenes, one at home and one abroad, in the minds of his readers evidently took precedence over originality.

The reason for the popularity and longevity of "Vitaï Lampada" is its vehement veneration of what the idealists held dear: British public schools, the British Empire, and the synergy of the two, along with the attendant ideals of the public-school ethos, the games ethic, muscular Christianity, the Christian-military hero, Victorian manliness, and the East as a career. "Vitaï Lampada" served—and continues today to serve, as the Conclusion will discuss—as an efficient and effective form of imperial and public-school propaganda. The very placement of "Vitaï Lampada" within *Admirals All* (1897), Newbolt's first poetry collection, enacts the close relationship between public schools and the Empire that idealists endorsed: "Vitaï Lampada," the only school-themed poem, is grouped with two Empire-themed poems⁵⁹ to form a small, imperial (and imperious) island in a sea of English navy-themed poems. Newbolt maximized the emotional intensity and appeal of "Vitaï Lampada" by leaving its characters unnamed, its temporal

⁵⁸ Ayers quotes from "A Ballad of the Berkshire Regiment" in his notes to "Fuzzy Wuzzy" on the kipling.org website, and the entire ballad is posted on two war nostalgia websites, farmersboys.com and victorianwars.com. Nowhere have I found any mention of the resemblance between the ballad and "Vitaï Lampada," however. In terms of meter and diction, Newbolt's line, "And the regiment blind with dust and smoke" is nearly identical to the ballad's line, "The sky was blind with dust and smoke."

⁵⁹ "A Ballad of John Nicholson" relates a tale about a British officer who, "in the year of the Mutiny," puts an insolent Sikh captain serving the Rajah of Jalandhar in his proper (subservient) place, thereby teaching all the Rajah's captains that "When the strong command / Obedience is best" (25). "The Guides at Cabul, 1879" is an homage to a group of British-aligned Afghans who, inspired by the death cry of the last Englishman in their company, refused to surrender after the Englishmen were all killed and fought to the death. "The Guides at Cabul, 1879" opens with phrase "Sons of the Island race, wherever ye dwell" (26), which prefigures the title of Newbolt's second collection of poems, *The Island Race* (1898), instructing these "Sons" not to underestimate the loyalty and bravery of native troops (that fight on the British side).

settings unspecified, and its plots unresolved, enabling readers to insert themselves (or the cricket players/soldiers and matches/battles of their choosing) into the poem's framework. Through these techniques, Newbolt conveyed two messages: (1) that any public-school boy and, by extension, any working-class boy serving under a public-school officer, had the potential to become an imperial hero one day and (2) that the adage "it's not whether you win or lose but how you play the game" was true. These two messages, in turn, fulfilled two goals of the idealists: (1) palliating the sting of British losses in the Sudan, particularly General Gordon's death in Khartoum (1885), and (2) recruiting imperial soldiers.

As an idealist writer, Newbolt himself served as "the voice of a schoolboy [who] rallies the ranks" both literally and figuratively to "Play up! play up! and play the game!" Like all the idealists' works, Newbolt's poetry functioned as a form of propaganda that bolstered public support for public schools and Empire whenever it was flagging. Idealists offered their literary works as "vitaī lampadas," torches of life that they could "[b]ear through life... And falling fling to the host behind," in other words, subsequent generations of readers. Such guiding lights, the idealists hoped, would cut through the "dust and smoke," the challenges and ambiguities that could obfuscate one's patriotism and manliness on the (literal) imperial battlefield or on the (figurative) battlefield of public debate about the imperial project. Newbolt's moments of greatest popularity, during the turn of the twentieth century and through the First World War, corresponded to swells of criticism of public schools and the Empire. To a great extent, idealist writers like Newbolt were successful in using their propaganda to galvanize their readers in

support of the Empire— rhetorically, militarily, and financially. Idealists also reinforced one another; for example, Robert Baden-Powell, another idealist, turned "Vitaï Lampada" into a play that he included in his 1908 *Scouting for Boys* guidebook (Chitty 269).

Just as Newbolt's "Vitaï Lampada" illustrates the values and aims of the idealists, a phrase from one of the most popular adventure novels of G. A. Henty (1833-1902) demonstrates another commonality of the idealists: their lack of direct experience with the Empire. Henty was born a generation before Newbolt and became one of the best-known and most prolific idealist authors.⁶⁰ A number of scholars have analyzed Henty's endorsement of imperialism, but they have largely ignored his popularization of the public-school ethos.⁶¹ In Henty's *With Clive in India: The Beginnings of an Empire* (1884), the schoolboy-protagonist, Charlie, whose educational pedigree is vague but who possesses public-school traits, and his mentor, a fictionalized version of Lord Clive, "exchanged [a] pen for a sword" (77); in other words, they gave up their dull positions as clerks for the British East India Company in order to join the Company's armed forces, which were vying with France for control of India in the mid-eighteenth century. Through these "exchange[s]," Henty valorizes idealist values: "manly" action over feminized or orientalized passivity, military service over bureaucratic employment, upper middle-class values over lower middle-class ones, and self-help over stagnation.

⁶⁰ Henty published 144 books, 82 of which were boys' adventure novels written during the last thirty years of his life. Of these 82, roughly a third are set during an important moment in British imperial history; in them, middle- and upper-class British teens battle alongside actual British military figures in exotic imperial locales then return to England having gained fame and fortune. Henty's formulaic schoolboy heroes do not always possess a public-school pedigree, but they always exhibit the public-school ethos.

⁶¹ For discussions of Henty's imperialism, see Allen, Bristow, Castle, Clark, Harlow and Carter (*Archives and Imperialism*), MacKenzie (*Propaganda*), Naidis, Ranson, Richards ("Spreading"), and Quigly. Of these, only Clark, Naidis, and Ranson directly address Henty's view of public schools and their ideals, and they do so minimally.

Ironically, Henty himself served in the army only briefly (and perhaps dishonorably) in a non-combat position;⁶² then he exchanged his "sword" for a "pen," becoming a reporter and writer. He did travel and serve as a war correspondent; nevertheless, his experience of the Empire as an observer, not a participant, enabled him to romanticize it.

Henty typifies an irony of the idealists: although in their literary works and other writings they used "the voice of a schoolboy [to] rall[y] the ranks" of the British to "exchange a pen for a sword," they themselves exchanged a sword for pen, the pen of the propagandist. A further irony, however, is that the idealists' naïveté did not undermine their credibility in the eyes of their readers as the popularity of their works attests. Henty consciously recruited imperial soldiers through his boys' books, which were enormously popular,⁶³ and many boys did, in fact, heed his call to arms. In a 1902 article that Henty wrote for the *Boy's Own Paper*, he boasted that he "inculcate[d] patriotism in [his] books" and that his stories had inspired "very many boys" to join first the cadet corps and then the army (G. Arnold 63; qtd. in Bristow 147).⁶⁴ In an interview in the same year, Henty averred, "Many men have written to thank me for getting their boys into the Civil Service through my historical stories" and, "Officers have repeatedly told me that many had

⁶² After dropping out of Cambridge, Henty joined the army's Commissariat Department. He was posted to the Crimean War as a hospital supply officer and survived the siege of Sebastopol in 1855. In 1858 Henty suddenly resigned from the army; his 1907 biographer, G. Manville Fenn, claimed Henty had not been encouraged sufficiently by his superiors, but a more recent biographer, Nicholas Ranson, argues that Henty had mishandled army funds.

⁶³ According to the records of his publisher, Blackie, as of 1898, Henty's books were selling at a rate of 150,000 to 250,000 per year, and by 1952, Blackie had sold more than three-and-a-half million of his books (Naidis 2; Richards 62).

⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the 1902 volumes of *The Boy's Own Paper* are not part of the HRC's collections, so I have not yet read this article myself.

offered themselves for service simply after reading these little stories of mine"

(Blathwayt 8-10, qtd. in Richards, "Spreading" 62).

Henty's novels have received significantly more scholarly attention than Newbolt's poems have.⁶⁵ Although Newbolt's poems have been used as epigraphs for scholarly works,⁶⁶ they have in themselves been analyzed little (if at all), and yet Newbolt serves as an even more archetypal example of an idealist than Henty. Newbolt's work warrants more critical attention than it has been given. This chapter examines how Newbolt, as an idealist, enlisted the public-school ethos in order to encourage upper- and middle- as well as working-class young men to "Play up!" in the imperial "game." Through an analysis of the poems "The Best School of All" (1902), "Clifton Chapel" (1898), and "An Essay on Criticism" (1902), the chapter will demonstrate how Newbolt purveyed idealist values and, in doing so, enabled the public-school ethos to transgress class boundaries. The chapter will also explore how Newbolt and Kipling engaged in an idealist-realist literary debate. Newbolt will serve as an illustration that idealists were not an entirely homogeneous group and that they occasionally tempered their idealism with realism. Finally, this chapter will highlight the complexity of turn-of-the-century views of British public schools and imperialism, which critics have tended to minimize.

"*Homo newboltiensis* or Newbolt Man" and Newbolt, the Man

In *Play Up and Play the Game: the Heroes of Popular Fiction* (1973), Patrick

⁶⁵ For brief discussions of Newbolt's views on imperialism and public schools, see Harlow and Carter (352-4), Howarth (1-14), Mackenzie (*Propaganda* 215-6, 233), Nelson, and Richards (*Happiest* 50, 212, 248); for a longer (but hagiographic) discussion, see Chitty.

⁶⁶ Howarth used "Vitaī Lampada," as the epigraph for *Play Up and Play the Game*, and Richards used "The Best School of All" as the epigraph for *Happiest Days*.

Howarth traces the development of the public-school hero in popular British fiction from its origins in Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days* to its near extinction following the First World War. In doing so, he employs the biological metaphor of a "species" to stand for the sort of hero that Newbolt created:

From Newbolt's writings and from Newbolt's life, which were exceptionally harmoniously blended, there emerges ... a figure who is both an ideal and a reality. . . . Imbued with a strong sense of institutional loyalty, upper middle class by background, conformist in belief, dedicated to a concept, not simply of 'my country right or wrong', but of a nation enjoying a natural moral prerogative, accepting ungrudgingly the demands of service and duty, inclined to treat women either as companions or as uncompanionable; add to this a natural power of command, some degree of worldly success, a distrust of latter-day politicians and a tendency towards philistinism in artistic taste, and we have the species *homo newboltiensis* or Newbolt Man (13-4).

Howarth's lengthy definition of "Newbolt Man" is excerpted at length here because it summarizes the idealist worldview and also reveals Howarth's own idealist slant.⁶⁷ As an apologist for the idealists, Howarth fails to acknowledge what the realists understood, namely that "Newbolt Man" was much more of "an ideal" than "a reality." He also treats imperialism as one trait among many for "Newbolt Man" rather than the defining characteristic. Still, Howarth is correct in naming the archetypal public-school hero after Newbolt and in asserting that this figure was what made Newbolt's poetry popular during the poet's lifetime. Howarth's description of "Newbolt Man" is therefore a fitting point of departure for an examination of Newbolt as an archetypal idealist.

Sir Henry John Newbolt (1862-1938) was three years older than Kipling and began publishing poetry shortly after Kipling did; though he never matched Kipling's fame,

⁶⁷ This slant is even more clearly shown in the closing lines of Howarth's book: "The question unresolved is whether, all things considered, [Newbolt man's] game was worth playing. In the age and in the places in which he played it, I, for one, think it was" (175).

stature, or skill, he was one of Britain's most popular poets during the final years of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth.⁶⁸ Newbolt first gained notice in 1895 for his poem "Admirals All," an homage to a host of British admirals, published in *Longman's Magazine*. A year later, Newbolt published the even more popular poem "Drake's Drum," narrating a legend about Sir Francis Drake, in the *St. James's Gazette*. The next year Newbolt published a well-received collection of twelve poems, *Admirals All and Other Verses*, including "Vitaī Lampada." William Archer of the *Daily Chronicle* declared that *Admirals All* would "take an eminent and enduring place among our patriotic poetry. They are more spirit-stirring than anything that has appeared since Tennyson's 'Ballad of the Revenge' " (Chitty 111), thereby situating Newbolt as a patriotic bard in the same league as Tennyson and forecasting his lasting impact on British culture. *Admirals All* proved so popular that four printings were issued within two weeks, and thirty editions were issued by 1910. Only a year later, in 1898, Newbolt published his second collection of poems, *The Island Race*.

The reasons behind the popularity of Newbolt's poetry are multifold. The primary reason was the appeal of the idealism that his poems promoted. In addition, Queen Victoria's 1897 diamond jubilee had stirred public patriotism, and Kipling's *Barrack-Room Ballads*, published in two volumes in 1892 and 1896, had whet the public's appetite for patriotic, military-themed poetry. Because Newbolt's poetry was published

⁶⁸ Accounts of Newbolt's life and career are scant. For book-length accounts, see Newbolt's autobiography *My World as in My Time* and Chitty's *Playing the Game* (a biography written by a relative). Brief accounts appear in Dickinson's *Selected Poems of Henry Newbolt* (11-27), Howarth's *Play Up and Play the Game* (1-14), Mackenzie's *Propaganda and Empire* (215-16), and Nelson's "Henry Newbolt." One fourth of Stanford's book, *A Critical Study*, is devoted to Newbolt's biography and works.

in inexpensive and moderately priced periodicals as well as in inexpensive book format, it was accessible to working-, middle-, and upper-class readers. Books of Newbolt's poetry were often awarded to boys as school prizes, and his poems were also included in school curricula (Steiner 15-6). The ubiquity of his poetry among schoolchildren both during and after his lifetime would likely have pleased Newbolt, for he professed a desire to inspire patriotism in young people—and that he did. As MacKenzie attests, for better or worse, Newbolt succeeded in "imprint[ing] his naval verses on a whole generation of children's minds" (*Propaganda* 216).

In most respects, Newbolt's life was typical of the upwardly mobile middle class of the Victorian period, and, moreover, of idealists, whose experience of the British Empire was often indirect. Hailing from a mixed working- and middle-class family,⁶⁹ Newbolt attended Clifton College, which was only as old as he was (fourteen) when he matriculated there. The Clifton of Newbolt's schooldays (1876-80) resembled the Rugby of Thomas Hughes' schooldays (1834-42), for Clifton's first headmaster had modeled Clifton after Rugby, where he had served under Thomas Arnold; this similarity of schools helps explain why Newbolt's and Hughes' works idealized their schools in such a similar fashion. Newbolt played cricket, but unlike his brother, he was not a star player. He was also a day student rather than a boarder, so he may have been spared some of the bullying that realists like Forster experienced at school. After attending Oxford, Newbolt volunteered at a working-class boys' club in London, just as Hughes had done, where

⁶⁹ Newbolt's mother's family was working class, while his father's family was middle class. Newbolt's mother was of Hungarian Jewish origin but converted to Christianity while at boarding school. She taught Sunday school to working-class children at a country church in a coal-mining town near Birmingham, where she met her future husband, a Cambridge-pedigreed vicar who was the son of a navy captain.

Newbolt drew patriotic inspiration from working-class boys;⁷⁰ ironically, working-class boys, along with middle- and upper-class ones, would later draw patriotic inspiration from Newbolt's poetry. Newbolt did not participate in the Second Boer War himself, but it was still a pivotal event in his life. His *Island Race* (1898) became a favorite among soldiers, who carried it with them to battle, and the war inspired him to nearly double his poetic output.⁷¹ Newbolt also wrote pro-war editorials in *The Monthly Review*,⁷² for which he was the founding editor, and he solidified his political position as a "Liberal Imperialist."⁷³ Newbolt's example demonstrates that pro-imperial propaganda did not issue solely from political conservatives and also that the idealists were not an entirely homogenous group, despite their similarities.

Newbolt continued to serve as an imperial propagandist in a variety of capacities from the end of the Boer War to his death. He published two more collections of naval poetry in 1904 and 1910 that inspired copycat collections targeting school and other

⁷⁰ Newbolt wrote that the boys at this Notting Hill club gave him "the sense of corporate life" and "enlarged [his] idea of patriotism" so much that "when [he] had to leave them [he] found nothing to replace them" (*My Life* 154). Like Newbolt and Hughes, Maurice, the semi-autobiographical character in Forster's novel of the same name, volunteered at a working-class boys' club in London, the kind of club that evangelicals founded. As mentioned in Ch. Four, readers infer, and Maurice himself later admits, that observing boys while volunteering at the club was a means of satisfying his repressed homosexual desire. I have come across no direct evidence that Newbolt was queer, but his poems have a decidedly homosocial undertone.

⁷¹ Newbolt's first Boer War poem was "The Sailing of the Long Ships" (1899), which honored the deployment of 50,000 troops to South Africa at the start of the war. Next came his collection *The Sailing of the Long Ships* (1902), which presents a more somber view of war.

⁷² The title of one such editorial, published in November of 1901, asked, "Have We Been Humiliated?" which Newbolt answered with, "No, we have not" (Chitty 142). *The Monthly Review* was owned by John Murray, a conservative, but the content of the magazine was politically varied.

⁷³ Prior the war, Newbolt had considered himself to be liberal leaning but not attached to a particular party. Right after the war, however, Newbolt aligned himself with the pro-imperial liberals led by Lord Roseberry in opposition to the anti-imperial liberals under Campbell Bannerman. By the summer of 1904, Newbolt resigned from the *Monthly Review* so that he would be free to participate more actively in liberal politics (Chitty 150-1).

juvenile audiences.⁷⁴ During the First World War, Newbolt wrote juvenile novels, such as *The Book of the Happy Warrior* (1917), the release of which was timed to coincide with the Christmas holiday when boys would have time to read for pleasure and, he hoped, be inspired to enlist. Newbolt also worked for the Admiralty Office, the Foreign Office, and the Ministry of Information, where he wrote official wartime propaganda and proposed a wireless service for imperial news. After the war, Newbolt held a variety of posts⁷⁵ that enabled him to reach a wide audience with his views.

The fervent admiration for public schools and imperial heroes that Newbolt expressed in his literature was no mere propagandist technique, however; it was a reflection of his personal convictions, as a passage from his memoirs, *My World as in My Time* (1932), in which he recounts having met a survivor of the Battle of Omdurman (1898) at a house reunion at Clifton,⁷⁶ illustrates. The anecdote is positioned at the end of a chapter entitled "Poetry Without Tears," in which Newbolt explains how writing poetry brought him happiness and "a sense of power" (203) because it was appreciated by people he respected: writers, literary critics, and, most of all, the school people. Newbolt makes a polite attempt to downplay his pleasure at being warmly received during his visit

⁷⁴ Newbolt's *Songs of the Sea* (1904) and *Songs of the Fleet* (1910) inspired, for example, Heinemann's *Our Glorious Heritage*, "a Book of Patriotic Verse for Boys and Girls" (Mackenzie, *Propaganda* 216).

⁷⁵ He wrote poetry; served as chair of the Departmental Committee on English Education; helped the publisher Nelson plan its imperial textbooks; wrote a naval history of the First World War; collaborated with Lord Cromer, Lord Milner, and General Haldane on a book on about post-war reconstruction; delivered lectures on literary criticism; and contributed to BBC annual broadcasts on Empire Day and Christmas.

⁷⁶ Chitty claims that Newbolt wrote "Vitaï Lampada" as early as 1892, inspired by an Omdurman survivor he had "recently met" at a Clifton reunion (110); however, she is mistaken in two respects. First, "Vitaï Lampada" was published in 1897, prior to the Battle of Omdurman (1898). Second, although Newbolt does not specify when the reunion was held, it could not have been in 1892 as Chitty claims. Newbolt says the reunion was held on the occasion of the "last House Supper" of (George Hyde) Wollaston, who was retiring (204). Wollaston was an assistant master at Clifton from 1870 to 1899 ("Wollaston's House"), so the reunion must have happened in 1899.

to Clifton, but it is clear from his reverential tone and the placement of the episode at the conclusion of the chapter that the approbation of the greater Clifton community—his former schoolmasters, current students, and Clifton alumni, past and present—mattered to him more than any other kind of approval.

Quoting from his journal, Newbolt expresses awe at belonging to a fraternity of such great men and soon-to-be-men:

...I sat among my old friends, and thought them finer fellows than ever—home from Australia and South Africa and India and Khartum [sic]—and the younger ones were equal to them, or will be. It's a pure marvel, a School, and the intangible invisible thing we call 'House-feeling' is about the most wonderful thing in it. If I had met such tall handsome soldiers or bustling rectors and painters and engineers anywhere else, we should have bowed with reserve and called each other 'Mr. Smith' and 'Captain Jones.' Whereas at 3 in the morning I was still sitting on the bed of a man I'd never seen before, reading extracts from his diary of the Soudan. (204)

In the above passage, Newbolt's veneration for public schools and the public-school ethos reaches its apex for the chapter. What Newbolt appreciates about public-school affiliations is the "House-feeling"—the camaraderie and intimacy, in multiple senses of the word—that it engenders among men he views as heroes. Underwriting this description of "House-feeling" is a reverence for imperial personnel (soldiers, rectors, and engineers) as well as a palpable homoerotic desire. Indeed, this passage reveals Newbolt's infatuation with the Omdurman veteran, who, he rues, "came to Clifton the year after [he] left!" and was, presumably, one of the "tall handsome soldiers" to whom Newbolt refers above. Newbolt apparently was titillated by being intimate with a man (by sitting on his bed and reading his diary late at night), who was, paradoxically, both a stranger and a fraternity brother and, best of all, an imperial hero.

Newbolt then quotes the soldier's "ripping [supper] speech" at length. The gist of the speech is that shortly before the soldier had reached Omdurman, "every Clifton man" in among the army officers had received a letter from the school listing "all our names" and saying, "God bless you all." Quoting from his own journal, Newbolt relates how heartened he had felt to hear how these soldiers "lay rolled in their blankets in the desert, and thought of the great fellowship that was thinking of them" (205). Surprisingly, these real-life soldiers' alma mater was so important to them that they thought about it at a time when death hovered on the horizon, just like the fictional soldiers had in "Vitaï Lampada." What Newbolt rhapsodizes in his memoirs, then, is exactly what he praises in "Vitaï Lampada" and other poems—the sustaining power of public-school *esprit de corps* and the heroism of imperial soldiers—only in his memoirs, the homoerotic subtext to this adulation is more apparent. Green has observed that "it is a striking feature of late Victorian culture that its emotional focus was on boys" (389), and Richards has added that the intense male friendships of men of this period were evidence of "a condition of prolonged adolescence, in which the emotions and attitudes of school continue to loom large" (*Happiest* 213). Hence Newbolt's homoerotic feelings, school spirit, and hero worship are reflections of the late-Victorian culture of "boy-men" (Richards, *Happiest* 212).

"The Best School of All": The "Streetwalking" of Public-School Ideals

"The Best School of All" (1899), which appeared in Newbolt's post-Boer War collection, *The Sailing of the Long Ships* (1902), extols the virtues of "honour[ing]" one's school (see Appendix A). Although Newbolt does not name "the best School of all," the

details of the poem and Newbolt's habit of writing about his *alma mater* confirm that the subject of the poem is Clifton in particular and public schools in general. The speaker of the six-stanza poem, who is congruent with Newbolt himself, is visiting his old school, perhaps during a reunion. The first two stanzas emphasize the nostalgia, pride, and sense of duty that the speaker feels toward his "School," with a capital S, by repeating the superlative descriptor "the best School of all" twice and the vow to "honour [her] yet" three times. The speaker casts his *alma mater* as long-lost female figure, perhaps a childhood lover or a mother—just the sort of idealized and inviolable female figure to which a chivalric gentleman could devote himself. In the third through fifth stanzas, the speaker makes a sweeping set of assertions regarding the importance of public schools: (1) that no adult fame or wealth can equal the boyhood adulation one receives playing cricket at school, (2) that school masters, "the men who tanned the hide of us, / "Our daily foes and friends," deserve credit for "all we are" will be immortalized "the round world" over through his poem, and (3) that a man can face his death in good conscience knowing that his legacy is "[t]he school we handed on!" to subsequent generations of boys. The speaker's school eclipses his family, for his schoolmates (the "we" of the poem) function like brothers; his masters, like his father; and his school, like his mother, lover, and heirs, all at once. The speaker seals his pledge of fidelity to the school by repeating the nostalgic refrain of the second stanza, which ends with these boyish, trite, and metrically halting lines, "*For, working days or holidays, / And glad or melancholy days, / They were great days and jolly days / At the best School of all*" [italics in the original].

"The Best School of All" demonstrates Newbolt's nostalgia for his schooldays at Clifton as well as the esteemed position that public schools occupied in British society at the turn of the century. Newbolt characterizes public schools as places where the best days of one's life are spent and, moreover, as institutions to which a man owes an allegiance as strong as that which he owes to his country; coming from a patriot as fervent as Newbolt, this was a strong assertion. Newbolt constructs manliness as a chivalric loyalty, duty, and honor towards one's school and country. As in other Newbolt poems, such as "Vitaī Lampada," "The Best School of All" idealizes cricket, the game which had come to symbolize the games ethic and which Newbolt probably wished he had played better.

In "The Best School of All" we can see evidence of what Newbolt's one-time friend H. G. Wells termed Newbolt's "streetwalking" of public-school ideals in his poetry. Wells and Newbolt had a brief but intense friendship despite their political differences, for Wells was a self-described socialist. Wells told Newbolt in 1904: "You believe in the 'Great Age' in rare moments, but your heart is with Clifton and the accidents of your own life," suggesting that Newbolt's poetry was too self-centered and insular to be meaningful, and, in the process, was indecently proffering public-school ideals for a profit, thereby cheapening them. Newbolt retorted, "There is no such thing as 'petty loyalty' since loyalty is not a quality, not a quantity, and cannot be petty: nor is the obligation to practice it any less binding in smaller affairs than greater" (Chitty 138). Newbolt was asserting, in other words, that loyalty, whether to one's school or (implicitly) to one's country, is a noble virtue that should and could not be underestimated

or trivialized. Wells' comments serve as a reminder that despite the popularity of Newbolt's poetry, his public-school propaganda was not uniformly appreciated by his contemporaries.

"Clifton Chapel": The Idealists' Creed

Newbolt establishes his idealist views of public schools and imperialism even more plainly in "Clifton Chapel," published in his second poetry collection *The Island Race* (1898),⁷⁷ than in "Vitaī Lampada." In "Clifton Chapel," the speaker, who again serves as the voice of Newbolt, is a father visiting Clifton Chapel with his son and recalling the life-lessons he learned there as a schoolboy: "the words that one by one / the touch of Life has turned to truth." He hopes that his son will, as an adult, make the same pilgrimage to the chapel to "speak with noble ghosts / Of manhood and the vows of war / You made before the Lord of Hosts." Here Newbolt is representing the chapel as a site of pilgrimage, holy not only because it is a place of worship, but also because it is a place where "noble ghosts" of boys past reside and where boys come of age. Newbolt is thereby establishing a lineage of boys and men who are connected by blood and/or school affiliation and at the same time yoking religion with manliness, patriotism, and militarism.

In the second stanza, the father lays out the "vows of war," what he calls an "oath" in the next stanza, which he hopes his son will swear, as he had sworn when he was a youth. This "oath" neatly encapsulates the idealists' creed:

To set the cause above renown,

⁷⁷ See Appendix A for full text of poem.

To love the game beyond the prize,
To honour, while you strike him down,
The foe that comes with fearless eyes;
To count the life of battle good,
And dear the land that gave you birth,
And dearer yet the brotherhood
That binds the brave of all the earth—

As in "Vitai Lampada," Newbolt draws a parallel between the public school and the British Empire. Accordingly, "the cause" refers to both "the School" and imperialism, as underwritten by God's will; "the game," to both school games and warfare; "the foe," to both opposing school teams and opponents to the British Empire; "the life of battle," to the life of both a sports team player and a British imperial soldier; and "the land that gave you birth," to both the school grounds and England. "[T]he brotherhood" includes both the fraternity of Clifton alumni and the fraternity of all brave men, including "the foe[s]"—a gesture Newbolt likely intended as magnanimous in its inclusivity. Clearly, the school is the microcosm of the world in the speaker's estimation.

In the third stanza of "Clifton Chapel," the speaker notes that although his son must decide whether he will swear the aforementioned "oath" before God, God will determine the ultimate course of his life in "this world of strife" and "Pain" and "Death." The speaker then reiterates the weighty role of public schools in a line that, like the second stanza, sums up the idealists' creed: "Henceforth the School and you are one, / And what You are, the race shall be." Although the speaker acknowledges that God is the most important force in his son's life, he asserts that his "School" is the next most important force, for it will determine his character and, in turn, his character will determine the future of the entire English "race."

In the final stanza of the poem, the speaker expresses two wishes: that God bless his son with a fortunate life and, moreover, that his son will be willing to die for his country. He ends the poem by quoting a Latin saying "which glows on yonder brass" (presumably a brass plaque in the chapel): " 'Qui procul hinc,' the legend's writ,— / The frontier-grave is far away— / 'Qui ante diem periit: / Sed miles, sed pro patria,' " As was typical of Newbolt, he did not translate the Latin lines,⁷⁸ revealing his presumption of an elite audience, yet, ironically, this poem became popular among readers of all classes. The Latin lines, which mean, "[Those] who [died] far away from here, [those] who died before their day. But [they died] as soldiers, and for their country," allude to Horace's oft-quoted line, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori [Fitting and proper it is to die for one's country]" (*Ode III.2.13*),⁷⁹ which was used in the nineteenth century as a justification for British imperialism, especially during the Boer Wars ("Dulce"). Newbolt alludes to Horace's line in a straight fashion that is diametrically opposed to Trench poet Wilfred Owen's use of the line as the ironic title of his famous 1917 poem. The speaker of "Clifton Chapel" views imperial service as a form of duty that is simultaneously patriotic and religious; therefore, he encourages his son to pursue such service, despite the fact that his son might well end up in a "frontier-grave" that feels literally and figuratively remote to the speaker. The location of the bronze plaque within the chapel symbolizes how

⁷⁸ Newbolt used Latin and Greek, which were taught in British public schools, and French, which was a hobby language of the British aristocracy, without accompanying translations in his poems, his criticism, and even his autobiography, suggesting that he enjoyed displaying his class-related scholarly prowess and, moreover, that he wanted to reserve some of his meaning for those who could understand these privileged secret codes.

⁷⁹ Translation courtesy of Dr. David Dean-Jones, my colleague at St. Stephen's, who also identified Newbolt's allusion to Horace.

imperialism was sanctified at the public school.

Despite their similarities in theme, "Clifton Chapel" has more realistic implications than "Vitaï Lampada" in three respects. One is that "Clifton Chapel" highlights the Christian part of muscular Christianity by making religion a visible part of imperialism. On the other hand, given that Newbolt's father was an Anglican vicar and his mother was a Sunday-school teacher and convert to Christianity from Judaism, one might expect Christianity to figure more prominently in his poetry than it does. Newbolt suited the religion in his poems to his times, when muscular Christianity had replaced the evangelism of his parents' generation. Another feature of "Clifton Chapel" that distinguishes it from "Vitaï Lampada" is that Newbolt realistically identifies the sacrifices ("strife," "Pain," and "Death") required of imperial soldiers, though he idealistically places such sacrifices above "fortune." In the end, though, idealism prevails over realism for Newbolt since, as he asserts in this poem, no code or path is "more pure" to follow than the soldier's. Finally, "Clifton Chapel" makes a gesture of racial expansiveness through Newbolt's notion of "the brotherhood / That binds the brave of all the earth"; this expansiveness is overshadowed, however, by the imperial imperative of "striking down, / The foe that comes with fearless eyes." Nonwhite "foes" of the British Empire, such as the Sudanese soldiers to whom Newbolt refers in "Vitaï Lampada," might be worthy of respect as brave fighters, but, ultimately, even respectable "natives" must be killed in order to establish and secure Britain's empire. Kipling makes the same point in "Fuzzy-Wuzzy," but he does so with more sympathy, regret, and irony. In sum,

although Newbolt gestures toward realism in "Clifton Chapel," the poem is nevertheless an idealistic one.

Just in case a reader of "Clifton Chapel" somehow managed to overlook the connection posited between Clifton and the British Empire, Newbolt reiterated the connection in a note at the end of *The Island Race*:

Clifton is one of the two schools from which the largest number of boys pass directly into the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.⁸⁰ Thirty-five Old Cliftonian officers were engaged in the late campaign on the Indian frontier: of these, twenty-two were "mentioned in dispatches" and six were recommended for the Distinguished Service Order. The school record in the Egyptian and Soudanese wars is scarcely less brilliant. (59)

This endnote attests that Newbolt was proud of his school for three reasons: (1) Clifton supplied a large number of boys to British military academies (Haileybury must have been the other of the "two schools" to which Newbolt refers),⁸¹ (2) Clifton graduates were able to "pass directly" into the academies—in other words, they passed the entrance exams without having to spend an extra year or two studying with a tutor called a "crammer" as boys often did, and (3) Old Cliftonians had a "brilliant" military record in Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Sudan. Newbolt's endnote confirms that "the foe[s]" to which the speaker refers in "Clifton Chapel" are Afghans, Egyptians, and Sudanese, and that "the life of battle" to which the speaker hopes his son will aspire was a reality for many Old Cliftonians, such as the Omdurman survivor he would later meet at a house

⁸⁰ At Woolwich and Sandhurst, public-school graduates were trained to become navy and army officers, respectively.

⁸¹ Haileybury, a public school still extant today, was established in 1862 on the grounds of the then-defunct East India College, which had been commissioned in 1806 by the East India Company as a training college for its civil servants. In 1942, Haileybury merged with Imperial Services College, which had been called United Services College until it relocated from Westward Ho! to Windsor. United Services College was Rudyard Kipling's alma mater, and its first headmaster, Cromwell Price, had been a master at Haileybury.

reunion; however, it was not a reality for Newbolt, who had the luxury of admiring "the life of battle" from a distance. Finally, although Newbolt's endnote indicates that his poem honors an elite class of imperial soldiers (officers), his poem's glorification of imperial servicemen would have appealed to readers outside the upper and middle classes, for working-class soldiers were also dying in "frontier-grave[s]...far away," and in greater numbers than middle- and upper-class officers; hence, "Clifton Chapel," despite its potentially alienating public-school setting and Latin ending, was accessible to working-class readers.

"An Essay on Criticism": A Dialogue with Kipling

Although idealists like Newbolt lacked direct experience on the imperial "frontier," they did not lack exposure to the perspectives of the realists; rather, idealists actively engaged with realists in various forms of discourse, suggesting that their idealism was perpetuated through denial, not ignorance. Though it has not received scholarly attention,⁸² Newbolt engaged in just such an ideological battle with Kipling, which took the form of a dialogue in literature and editorials. Newbolt began the dialogue by critiquing Kipling's "Fuzzy Wuzzy" (1890) through "Vitaï Lampada" (1897). In Kipling's poem a Tommy speaker raises a toast to his enemy, the "Fuzzy Wuzzies," the Sudanese Beja tribes who posed a serious challenge to the British in the Sudan in 1884-85 as part of the Mahdist forces.⁸³ The poem is characteristically complex, for it is

⁸² In her biography of Newbolt, Chitty briefly mentions (in half a paragraph) that Newbolt's "An Essay on Criticism" was a response to Kipling's "Islanders" (142-3), a fact which is apparent if you have read the poems. As far as I can tell, no one has argued that Kipling and Newbolt engaged in a dialogue.

⁸³ The Hadendowa, Amarar and Bisharin tribes of the Beja wore their hair in a frizzy afro, hence the diminutive nickname (Ayers).

amusing yet disturbing and simultaneously honors and mocks both "Fuzzy Wuzzies" and Tommy Atkins.⁸⁴ Newbolt's "Vitai Lampada" is similar to "Fuzzy Wuzzy" in that without pinpointing a single battle, it reminds readers of all the wounds to British pride that were suffered in the Sudan; however, Newbolt's poem is not subversive. Newbolt offered "Vitai Lampada" as a kind of corrective to Kipling's "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" that would shift the readers' attention from the comic valor of those whom he considered lesser "players," the Tommies and the Sudanese, to the putatively more serious valor of those whom he considered greater "players," the Tom Browns who "rallie[d] the ranks" of the Tommies. Indeed, Newbolt's choice of public-school pedigreed officers to play the starring roles in his poems reveals his underlying classism and racism.⁸⁵

Kipling continued the dialogue by using the Latin phrase at the end of Newbolt's "Clifton Chapel" ("Qui procul hinc...") as the epigraph for "A Little Prep," a chapter of *Stalky and Co.* that was first published in 1898. As will be addressed in Chapter Three, Kipling's epigraph is both ironic and straight. Through the title of his poem "The Islanders," published in January of 1902, five months before the Boer War drew to a close, Kipling made a second allusion to Newbolt's poetry, thereby mocking Newbolt's schoolboy pride and patriotism. Newbolt had published his second collection *The Island Race* in 1898 and had used the phrase "the Island race" in two poems in his previous

⁸⁴ For instance, when the speaker of Kipling's poem calls his enemy "a pore benighted 'eathen but a first-class fightin' man," Kipling is challenging prevailing Victorian beliefs by attributing valor to a non-white race and by mocking the evangelical attitude toward "heathens" (pity mixed with disdain). The phrase "pore benighted heathen" was popularized by Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892), a Baptist preacher whose sermons were heard and read widely in Britain in the 1860s (Ayers).

⁸⁵ In "Clifton Chapel" Newbolt "honour[s], while [he] strike[s] him down, / The [native] foe that comes with fearless eyes." In "The Guides at Cabul, 1879" he praises the loyalty and bravery of pro-British Indian troops, but in "A Ballad of John Nicholson" he reminds the same kinds of troops to act more subserviently toward their British superiors.

collection, *Admirals All*⁸⁶; consequently, he would have been associated with the phrase in the minds of British readers, including Kipling, whom we know from the epigraph for "A Little Prep" was familiar with at least one of Newbolt's poems. In "The Islanders," as will be discussed further in Chapter Three, Kipling railed against aristocratic passivity, suggesting that public-school boys—"the flannelled fools at the wicket or muddled oafs at the goals"—had been too busy playing their silly games to trouble themselves with military preparedness, and as a result their "shame [was later] revealed, / At the hands of a little people [the Boers], few but apt in the field." Newbolt responded to Kipling's poem with a stinging poem of his own entitled "An Essay on Criticism."⁸⁷ The title of Newbolt's poem alludes to Alexander Pope's 1711 poem of the same title, in which Pope discourses on the rules that poets and critics of poets should follow; Newbolt does the same in his own "Essay on Criticism," criticizing Kipling for violating the rules of poetry and criticism in "The Islanders" and, in addition, for besmirching the honor of the public schools.⁸⁸

The speaker of Newbolt's "An Essay on Criticism," who, once again, is congruent with the poet, begins the poem by positing that writing poetry and, to a lesser degree, reading it are a "waste of time" and, moreover, "dangerous" when poets "poison others' ears" with "a peevish tongue." In the days of the ancient Greeks, he claims, when the

⁸⁶ "The Guides at Cabul, 1879" (26) and "Ionicus" (29)

⁸⁷ See Appendix A for full text of poem. I have yet to locate the original publication date and place of "An Essay on Criticism," but it was included in Newbolt's *Songs of Memory and Hope* (1909) and *Poems: New and Old* (1921).

⁸⁸ In a later essay, "Some Poets and their Scenery," which appeared in *Studies Green and Gray* (1926), Newbolt criticizes Pope's "Essay on Criticism" for misrepresenting Theocritus' view of nature as a result of Pope's inability to read Greek (212), but apparently this shortcoming did not prevent Newbolt from borrowing the poem's title.

various communities of the world were unable to communicate with one another, the complaints of disgruntled poets had limited effects: "Time was, the owner of a peevish tongue, / The pebble of his wrath unheeding flung, / Saw the faint ripples touch the shore and cease, / And in the duckpond all again was peace" (5-8).⁸⁹ Now that "Science" and the development of the "Press" have connected the various peoples of the globe, however, he fears that poets' "peevish tongue[s]" have a widened and more damaging reach: "We see the widening ripples pass beyond, / The pond becomes the world, the world a pond, / All ether trembles when the pebble falls, / And a light word may ring in starry halls" (11-14). Newbolt asserts, moreover, that whereas an ancient Greek herald-poet would never have bothered to "spend his rhymes" (27) on those he perceived as "barbarians beyond his gate / [who] Were lower beings, of a different date" (25-6), today's herald is the British "Pressman" (35) whose goal is profit, whose attitudes are chauvinistic, and whose "news" is circulated worldwide via the foreign publications he buys or manipulates:

"Our rulers are the best, and theirs the worst,
Our cause is always just and theirs accurst,
Our troops are heroes, hirelings theirs or slaves,
Our diplomats but children, theirs but knaves,
Our Press for independence justly prized,
Theirs bought or blind, inspired or subsidized.
For the world's progress what was ever made
Like to our tongue, our Empire and our trade?"
So chant the nations, till at last you'd think
Men could no nearer howl to folly's brink; (37-46)

⁸⁹ One wonders if Newbolt would have reduced Homer to the status of a "disgruntled poet"; certainly the literature of Homer and other Greeks caused more than "faint ripples" in a "duckpond" given their tremendous influence on Western civilization, literature, and thought. The public-school understanding of classical texts was limited and selective, in part because the public-school focus was on grammar rather than literary or historical analysis and in part because classical texts were viewed through an upper-class British lens.

These criticisms might seem surprising coming from Newbolt, given that his poetry expresses similarly jingoistic sentiments and that he had been part of the "Press" as the editor for John Murray's *Monthly Review* since 1900; apparently Newbolt considered the *Monthly Review* to be superior to daily newspapers like *The Times* which he mentions by name. In addition, although he faults such newspapers for their arrogant "tone" (31) and charges that British chauvinism is almost excessive ("Men could no nearer howl to folly's brink"), he does not go as far as to call it excessive. Newbolt confirms his belief in British superiority by condemning Kipling and others for elevating the Boers above the British: "Yet some in England lately won renown / By howling word for word, but upside down" (47-8). In other words, Kipling presented the British, as opposed to the Boers, as "barbarians," which was "upside down," an inversion of the racial hierarchy, according to Newbolt.

Newbolt goes on to lament that Kipling, to whom he refers as "Apollo," the god of song, has conflated his role as "Bard" with that of the "Critic," suggesting that Newbolt believes the "Bard[s]" of empire should engage in praise rather than criticism. Newbolt castigates Kipling for making his criticisms so publicly; once satisfied with "the hindmost sheet" of the newspaper, Kipling now insists on proclaiming his ideas from the front page: "But now, grown bold, he dashes to the front, / Among the leaders bears the battle's brunt, / Takes steel in hand, and cheaply unafraid / Spurs a lame Pegasus on Jameson's Raid" (63-6). Kipling had been spending his winter holidays in South Africa since 1898, was a friend of Jameson, started a newspaper in Bloemfontein for British troops, and published poetry and articles on the Boer War in a variety of newspapers. According to

Newbolt, Kipling was acting more like a sensational journalist and would-be soldier than a lofty poet. Newbolt's criticism of Kipling is hypocritical, for his own poems can hardly be called apolitical, given their imperialistic fervor, though, to be fair, Newbolt's poems (other than "An Essay on Criticism," of course) typically describe historical rather than contemporary events.

In Newbolt's estimation, Kipling has committed three sins: inverting the hierarchical relationship between the British and the Boers, stooping to the level of a journalist, and, worst of all, insulting public schools. Newbolt mocks Kipling's scornful attitude towards public-school-boys-turned-military-men, such as General Buller, by paraphrasing "The Islanders":

"So well I love my country that the man
Who serves her can but serve her on my plan;
Be slim, be stalky, leave your Public Schools
To muffs like Bobs and other flannelled fools:
The lordliest life (since Buller made such hay)
Is killing men two thousand yards away;
You shoot the pheasant, but it costs too much
And does not tend to decimate the Dutch;
Your duty plainly then before you stands,
Conscription is the law for seagirt lands;
Prate not of freedom! Since I learned to shoot
I itch to use my ammunition boot." (73-84)

Here Newbolt satirically, but not inaccurately, summarizes Kipling's arguments in "The Islanders": (1) public schools are the province of idle aristocrats, "muffs like Bob," who hypocritically shirk warfare while they "Prate... of freedom," and (2) such aristocrats ought to be required to serve in imperial trenches alongside the working classes if Britain wants to retain her Empire. Newbolt also impugns that Kipling is trigger-happy and

coarse, lacking in gentlemanly propriety—a charge tainted by school snobbery, for Kipling attended United Services College, a less prestigious school than Clifton but one with a similarly imperial purpose. In the above passage, as in the remainder of the poem, Newbolt alludes to a host of Kipling's literary works. "[B]e stalky" refers to *Stalky & Co.*, impugning that Kipling foolishly believes that resourceful and iconoclastic boys like Stalky, who scoff at stuffier, more traditional public-school boys, make the most effective imperial soldiers; indeed, Kipling did believe that boys like Stalky made the best soldiers, for he was a realist as opposed to an idealist, as Chapter Three will discuss.

Newbolt then laments the loss of the former Kipling, whose characterizations of all classes of military men, whether subalterns or colonels, were typically sympathetic:

O Rudyard, Rudyard, in our hours of ease
(Before the war) you were not hard to please:
You loved a regiment whether fore or aft,
You loved a subaltern, however daft,
You loved the very dregs of barrack life,
The amorous colonel and the sergeant's wife. (97-102)

The parenthetical phrase "Before the war" leaps off the page, highlighting a key difference between Newbolt and Kipling: whereas the Boer War made Kipling more of a realist with respect to his view of public schools and the Empire, the war solidified Newbolt's idealism. It was not until the First World War that Newbolt became more of a realist, as we shall see. Newbolt praises a number of works by Kipling, including "Mandalay," *Kim*, and *The Jungle Book*, before concluding "An Essay on Criticism" with the following stanza, entreating Kipling to resume his former approach of providing gentler, less offensive—and therefore, in Newbolt's estimation, more effective—criticism

through his literary works:

In that Day's Work be sure you gained, my friend,
If not the critic's name, at least his end;⁹⁰
Your song and story might have roused a slave
To see life bodily and see it brave.
With voice so genial and so long of reach
To your Own People you the Law could preach,
And even now and then without offence
To Lesser Breeds expose their lack of sense.
Return, return! and let us hear again
The ringing engines and the deep-sea rain,
The roaring chanty of the shore-wind's verse,
Too bluff to bicker and too strong to curse.
Let us again with hearts serene behold
The coastwise beacons that we knew of old;
So shall you guide us when the stars are veiled,
And stand among the Lights that never Failed. (113-28)

By "that Day's Work" Newbolt refers both to Kipling's recent collection of short stories *The Day's Work* (1898) and to all of the popular literary works Kipling wrote prior to "The Islanders." In these earlier works, Newbolt asserts, Kipling used "a voice so genial and so long of reach" that he "could preach" against Englishmen ("[his] Own People") and even "now and then" against colonized peoples ("Lesser Breeds") "without offence." Here, as he did earlier in the poem when he called Kipling's valorization of the Boers "upside down," Newbolt is revealing his racial biases when he employs Kipling's term "Lesser Breeds" without irony and confirms "their lack of sense."⁹¹ If Kipling would "return!" to his primary and proper role as "Bard" not "Critic," Newbolt asserts, he could

⁹⁰ "[H]is end" seems to be a pun meaning both "aim" and "ass"; hence Newbolt contends that in "The Islanders" Kipling has engaged in criticism and made an "ass" of himself in the process.

⁹¹ Newbolt's patronizing view of "Lesser Breeds" can also be seen in his essay "The Future of the English Language" in *Studies Green and Gray* in which he voices concern about the dilution of "Standard English" in the Empire and America and argues for more active policing of language as is done in France, for, "It is no mere patriotic boast to say that [English] is the most important language in the world" (231).

once again serve as a "beacon" to guide "the islanders" safely home from their imperial exploits.

Having examined Newbolt's "An Essay on Criticism" in the context of his literary dialogue with Kipling, this chapter has shown that Newbolt's idealism regarding public schools and imperialism was not simply a set of naïve notions formed in an ideological vacuum; rather, Newbolt was well aware of contradictory opinions of these institutions and of the relationship between them, and he actively and publicly sought to refute them. On the other hand, as was typical of idealists, Newbolt's opinions were formed in an experiential vacuum, even though he had attended a public school, for unlike Kipling, he had not witnessed the Boer War himself. Without having experienced the reality of empire or war in a personal, firsthand way, idealists like Newbolt could remain idealistic.

Newbolt continued his dialogue with Kipling in editorials he wrote in 1902 and 1904. In the *Monthly Review* in April of 1904, for instance, Newbolt defended the public-school notion of war as a game that should be played according to civilized rules:

War is either a game or else a brutality worse than bestial. The Islander, the child of all ages upon our playing fields, will "play the game": he will win if he can do it within the rules but not at the cost of that which is more than any game.

Newbolt does not mention Kipling by name, but his use of the phrase "the Islander" and his reference to "playing fields" suggest that Kipling is his target. The "cost" to which Newbolt refers is the loss of honor, in a chivalric sense. What he is suggesting is that "Islander[s]" —or, more specifically, public-school trained military officers—value fair play more than do uncivilized people, like the Boers; if the Boers had played fairly instead of using guerrilla tactics, he implies, the British would have defeated them more

soundly. Newbolt adds that "a rule of conduct prescribed neither by field-marshal nor chaplain but founded in the blood and memory of the race itself" has "been in the pocket-book of our army in South Africa" (Qtd. in Chitty 143). In other words, British people "play the game" of war fairly not simply because of their military or religious training but because of their race- and class-determined chivalry.

In this April 1904 editorial, Newbolt ignored the fact that British troops had violated their own "rule of conduct" by pursuing a "scorched earth" policy in South Africa and by imprisoning Boers, including women and children, in concentration camps. Newbolt's brother-in-law Bernard Holland, who served on the Transvaal Concessions Commission, questioned Newbolt's games-ethic logic in a letter he wrote to Newbolt: "It does not seem to me that life is a 'game' at all, but a serious work and business, and so possibly it may seem to Dutch Republican farmers who have not been bred on football and cricket" (Chitty 143). As an idealist, then, Newbolt was willing to defend the honor of public schools and imperialism, even in the face of evidence clouding that honor. In an earlier editorial, which appeared in the *Monthly Review* in September of 1902, Newbolt acknowledges that some of the British generals in the Boer War performed poorly, but he blames it on their age and the complacency of their upper-class society, not on their public-school education: "Their training had been obliterated by thirty years' exposure to the influence of luxurious, idle and frivolous society" (Qtd. in Chitty 143). This comment is surprising in that it reveals that Newbolt, an idealist, agreed with Kipling, a realist, in his condemnation of upper-class decadence, despite his own classism.

"As If They Were Children's Games": A Twinge of Realism

In a little over a decade, Newbolt idealism was tempered even further by the grim realities of the First World War, and he began to question, albeit privately rather than publicly, the games ethic he had previously defended. Many "Old Cliftonians" were injured or killed in the war, and Newbolt's son, Francis, returned in April of 1915 wounded and shell-shocked from the trenches of Ypres, the first battle in which the Germans used poison gas on a large scale. A month before his son's return, in March of 1915, Newbolt had written a letter to his sister-in-law Alice in which he expressed guilt for using the games ethic to glorify war in his juvenile novels, thereby enticing young readers into military service: "I write about heroic deeds and hairsbreadth escapes as if they were children's games, with no real pain or danger in them" (qtd. Chitty 228); nevertheless, Newbolt published another such novel, *The Book of the Thin Red Line*, later that year. In the same year, Newbolt wrote a short poem entitled "A Perpetual Memory: Good Friday, 1915," which was not published until 1981, when it was included in Patrick Dickinson's *Selected Poems of Henry Newbolt*. In this poem Newbolt's view of war is more realistic than idealistic: "Broken and pierced, hung on the bitter wire, / By their most precious death the Sons of Man / Redeem for us the life of our desire— / O Christ how often since the world began!" (Dickinson 137). Although Newbolt uses a metaphor of Christian redemption in these lines, thereby elevating the sacrifices made by soldiers to a religious plane, the metaphor is tempered by his lament, spoken directly to Christ, that so many "Sons of Man" have been thusly sacrificed in wars "since the world began." In acknowledging the futility of war, Newbolt resembles the Trench Poets, of whose poems

he only selectively approved.⁹² Despite the twinge of realism which the First World War provoked in him, Newbolt continued to serve as a propagandist for the rest of his life, and it is the idealistic, rather than the realistic, Newbolt who is remembered today.

The popularity of Newbolt's poetry declined sharply after the First World War. Compared to the modernist poetry that was emerging at that time, like the poems of the Trench Poets, Newbolt's blustery patriotism seemed empty and naïve.⁹³ Before he died in 1938, Newbolt remarked that he had already been dead twenty years as far as the public was concerned (Chitty xviii). Indeed, only a handful of Newbolt's poems retained their popularity over time, much to Newbolt's chagrin, for they eclipsed his other poetry and scholarship. During a lecture tour to Canada in 1923, Newbolt wrote a letter to his wife in which he rued the Canadians' obsessive regard for "Vitaï Lampada":

It's a kind of Frankenstein's Monster that I created thirty years ago and now I find it falling on my neck at every corner! In vain do I explain what is poetry: they roar for "Play up": they put it on their flags and on their war memorials and their tombstones: it's their National Anthem. (Chitty 267)

Ironically, then, the Canadians' patriotic zeal was overwhelming for Newbolt, the patriotic poet, though it likely was not their patriotism but their single-minded focus on "Vitaï Lampada" that troubled him. The Newbolt poems that have persisted in the public eye the longest are those that have been set to music, especially those enshrined in school songbooks, which are only rarely revised. Newbolt's "The Best School of All," for instance, was set to music by Lawrence Adamson (1860-1932), an alumnus of Rugby and

⁹² For instance, of Wilfred Owen's poetry Newbolt incorrectly predicted, "I don't think these self-pitying, shell-shocked poems will move our grandchildren greatly," but he liked Siegfried Sassoon's poetry because it contained at least some hints of optimism (Chitty 251).

⁹³ Ironically, despite his disapproval of some modernist poetry, in his capacity as a literary critic, Newbolt helped the modernist poets T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound garner recognition.

Oxford who went on to serve as headmaster of Wesley College in Australia, and included in the college *Song Book*. British poet laureate John Betjeman edited a collection of Newbolt's poems in 1940 and published an article about the author in 1962, in which he lamented that school anthologies no longer included Newbolt's poems.

In recent decades Newbolt's poetry has experienced a modest return to favor. The *Oxford Book of Twentieth Century English Verse* (1975) and *The Amis Anthology* (1988) both included poems by Newbolt. Poet and BBC poetry editor Patric Dickinson edited a collection of Newbolt's poems in 1981. Newbolt's "Drake's Drum" and "Vitaï Lampada" have been popular on BBC Radio; in fact, in the mid-1990s "Drake's Drum" was the most broadcast of any poem on Radio 4, and "Vitaï Lampada" was requested ten times in the first half of 1996 (Chitty xix). "Vitaï Lampada" is also mentioned briefly in British romance novelist Jilly Cooper's *Polo* (1991), and "The Best School of All" figures significantly in Sri Lankan-Canadian novelist Selvadurai's *Funny Boy* (1994); in both of these novels, though, characters view Newbolt's poems as outdated relics of a bygone era. More recently, five of Newbolt's poems were featured between 1999 and 2003 on a daily poem email service and web anthology entitled "Wondering Minstrels." In 2006, R. W. Crump edited *A Critical Study of the Works of Four British Writers* by Donald Stanford, highlighting the life and works of "minor" writers, including Newbolt, whom he thought deserved more attention, and on April 26, 2009, Christopher Nield praised "Vitaï Lampada" as an inspirational poem about optimism in his column entitled "The Antidote—Classic Poems for Modern Life" in *The Epoch Times*. The persistent presence and surprisingly wide appeal of Newbolt's poetry given its mediocre artistry and narrowly

circumscribed subject matter attest to the cultural importance and staying power of the idealist perspective. Accordingly, the importance of Newbolt's archetypal views of the relationship between education and empire should not be underestimated.

Chapter Two

"A Boy's Own Creed": The Idealism of the Religious Tract Society's *The Boy's Own Paper*

The Boy's Own Paper was the most enduring and one of the most popular juvenile periodicals in British literary history. Established in 1879 by the Religious Tract Society, *The Boy's Own Paper* targeted a schoolboy audience and was published in illustrated weekly installments until 1913 and, subsequently, monthly installments until 1967. Like Newbolt's poetry, *The Boy's Own Paper* promoted an idealist point of view, for it presented British imperialism as a noble cause and British public schools as an optimal place to train imperial servants. The periodical also shared the late-Victorian preoccupations of Newbolt's poems: manliness, patriotism, militarism, and hero-worship. Like Newbolt, the Religious Tract Society, wanted to educate boys and to influence them in ways it considered beneficial to society. What distinguishes the idealism of *The Boy's Own Paper* from that of Newbolt's poetry, however, is its evangelical slant. Figuratively, Newbolt was an evangelist, for like all idealists he preached about the importance of public schools, particularly to the British Empire; however, Newbolt was not an evangelical, despite the fact that his parents were evangelicals. The idealism of Newbolt's poetry is underwritten by Christianity, as is best illustrated in "Clifton Chapel," but it is the muscular Christianity of the late nineteenth century as opposed to the evangelicalism of the early nineteenth century. In contrast, *The Boy's Own Paper* promoted both types of Christianity; the majority of the periodical's content had a muscular Christian bent and therefore conveyed religious ideas implicitly, yet the less

prominent features of the paper communicated these ideas explicitly and in a more traditionally evangelical fashion. Through *The Boy's Own Paper*, the Religious Tract Society fulfilled its evangelical mission (to save souls) in two ways: by inculcating evangelical values in its readers and by channeling its profits into missionary work both at home and overseas.

The ideals, goals, and target audiences of *The Boy's Own Paper* are encapsulated in Robert Richardson's poem "A Boy's Own Creed," which appeared in the May 1893 installment of the magazine. The poem articulates the evangelical ideals to which the Religious Tract Society wanted its readers to aspire but which were usually conveyed implicitly rather than explicitly. Richardson, who contributed at least twenty-three poems and two articles to the *Boy's Own Paper* from 1879 to 1894 (Holland), urges readers to "[b]e gentle ... in act and speech," to "[b]e straight and honest as the day," to "[b]e simple ... in all thy ways," and, finally, to

Strive a high standard to maintain,
A high ideal of faith and deed;
E'en though again and yet again
You fall below your written creed.
Narrow your soul, and it must be
Your life shall narrow, past all doubt.
Worth is the best nobility,—
Think noble thoughts and live them out. (BOA 1892-3, Pt. 171, 426)

Readers can infer that the "faith" to which Richardson refers is Christianity, but by eliding its name he stops short of preaching, as did most contributors to *The Boy's Own Paper*, for they believed that boys would naturally be more inclined to read a seemingly non-religious magazine than a religious one. Richardson acknowledges the fallibility of

Christians ("again and yet again / You fall below your written creed.") but encourages his readers to "[s]trive a high standard to maintain, / A high ideal of faith and deed"; by doing so, Richardson gestures toward the magazine's goal of preventing boys from reading the inexpensive juvenile periodicals, known as "penny dreadfuls" and "blood-and-thunder papers," that evangelicals believed enticed them into juvenile delinquency. In addition, Richardson uses "nobility" not as a synonym for "aristocracy" but to mean "[t]hink[ing] noble thoughts and liv[ing] them out," thereby appealing to the magazine's targeted audiences, middle- and working-class boys. Finally, the piety, humility, and perseverance that Richardson advocates stand in stark contrast to the bravery, chivalry, and patriotism that Newbolt would soon valorize in his poetry, yet Richardson was writing for a publication that, like Newbolt's poetry, belongs in the idealist category. In sum, "A Boy's Own Creed" articulates the original, evangelical creed of *The Boy's Own Paper*; moreover, the poem serves as a reminder that idealist publications, like their idealist authors, were not homogeneous.

In addition to expressing evangelical values, serving evangelical aims, and targeting working- and middle-class readers, *The Boy's Own Paper* included overtly religious content (albeit to a limited degree), encouraged pan-evangelicalism, promoted muscular Christianity along with traditional evangelism, and supported imperialism. These latter four characteristics, which like the former three characteristics distinguish *The Boy's Own Paper* from Newbolt's poetry, are exemplified by a magazine-sponsored club, the League of Friendship, created nearly twenty years after the publication of "A Boy's Own Creed." Established in 1912 by editor Arthur Lincoln Haydon, the League of

Friendship prefigured the League of Nations both in its name and its purpose, to foster cooperation among people around the world; unlike the League of Nations, however, the League of Friendship was underwritten by muscular Christianity and imperialism. The mere existence of the League of Friendship testifies to the breadth of the magazine's readership, which extended beyond England to missionaries and their families and converts throughout the British Empire, and, moreover, suggests that in the years leading up to the First World War, Haydon anticipated a need to foster connections among such readers. Indeed, the League of Friendship, which lasted at least until 1916,⁹⁴ positioned itself as a kind of cross-nation, cross-race, and cross-class glue that could hold together the diverse British and British colonial young men who would be called upon to serve in Britain's armed forces during the First World War.

A description of the League of Friendship appeared monthly on "The Editor's Page," located near the end of each monthly installment, where only the most devoted readers might find it and, not coincidentally, where explicitly religious content was most likely to appear:

The League of Friendship was founded ... with a view to its forming a bond of union between readers of the 'B.O.P.' the whole world over. Its ideals are those of the paper which for so many years has stood for all that is highest and purest and best in life. Without binding its members to any definite vows the League calls on its supporters to lead a clean, manly, Christian life, to be active workers for good in the world, not to be slackers or merely passive lookers-on. (1915-16 BOA 703)

Here Haydon equates the "ideals" of the League with those of *The Boy's Own Paper*, which he positions as the "highest and purest and best" boys' periodical available. In

⁹⁴ The League of Friendship may have lasted even longer, but I have been unable to view issues of *The Boy's Own Paper* later than 1916.

turn, the "ideals ... of the paper" reflect the aims of the Religious Tract Society: to evangelize in a non-denominational way and to provide Christians with what they deemed appropriate reading materials. The evangelism of the Religious Tract Society is explicitly revealed in the League's "call[ing] on its supporters to lead a clean, manly, Christian life," while its avoidance of "binding its members to any definite vows" reflects the pan-evangelical nature of the Religious Tract Society. A comparison of the "ideals" of the League of Friendship to those expressed in "A Boy's Own Creed" indicates how the Christianity underpinning *The Boy's Own Paper* became more muscular over the course of two decades, for Haydon placed significantly more emphasis on "manl[iness]" and action than Richardson did. Haydon did not explicitly ask his readers to proselytize, but they easily could have interpreted his call "to be active workers for good in the world" as a call to missionaryism or imperial service. Through this sort of language, *The Boy's Own Paper* initiated the move away from the traditional evangelicalism that had dominated school stories since Farrar's *Eric*.

This chapter fills gaps in the existing scholarship on *The Boy's Own Paper*. The periodical has received some scholarly attention but not enough given its critical role in purveying imperial propaganda. Aside from the school stories of Talbot Baines Reed, a major contributor to *The Boy's Own Paper* in its early years, the content of the periodical during its nearly ninety-year run has received only minimal critical scrutiny.⁹⁵ Such

⁹⁵ The only full-length book on *The Boy's Own Paper* is an historical account written by the periodical's last editor, Jack Cox. Bristow devotes a subsection of a chapter of *Empire Boys to The Boy's Own Paper*, while Howarth, Richards, and Quigly tangentially discuss the paper in their respective chapters on the school stories of Reed in *Play Up and Play the Game*, *Happiest Days* and *The Heirs of Tom Brown*. Dunae and Bristow include the paper in their examination of imperialism in boys' popular literature the chapters they

studies have not sufficiently analyzed the paper's evocation of a public-school ethos in the service of imperialism or its wide appeal in terms of class, gender, age, location, and nationality. Nor have such scholars recognized that despite the periodical's remarkable continuity over time, moments of realism punctuate its idealism.

This chapter first provides an overview of *The Boy's Own Paper* and a brief history of its publisher, the Religious Tract Society. Next, the chapter performs much needed archival work by bringing to light a number of articles selected from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century issues of the magazine. The analysis of these unearthed articles demonstrates how portrayals of public schools and public school boys figured centrally in popular British publications and, moreover, how the idealist editors and contributors of *The Boy's Own Paper* employed such portrayals in their imperial propaganda, which was directed primarily at non-public school middle- and working-class audiences, ironically. In the magazine, public schools, imperialism, and two forms of Christianity (evangelical⁹⁶ and muscular) were intertwined in a manner that justified the imperial project and recruited people for imperial service, which, as a result of muscular Christianity, had begun to overlap with missionary work in its aims. This chapter's subsections on cricket-related pieces and serial stories in *The Boy's Own Paper* examine how the magazine presented cricket's educational potential even more broadly than Newbolt did, and how imperial fears about native power trouble the seemingly

contributed, respectively, to Richard's *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* and Mackenzie's *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Castle mentions the paper's racist stereotypes in *Britannia's Children*, and Fyfe and touches on *The Boy's Own Paper* while summarizing the history of the Religious Tract Society in *Science and Salvation*.

⁹⁶ Henceforward, I use the term "evangelical" to denote the eighteenth-century type of evangelism, as opposed to the nineteenth-century form of evangelism that I refer to as "muscular Christianity."

placid surface of idealist literature. This chapter also examines how idealist literature reinforced itself through frequent borrowing and reshaping of content taken from other imperially inflected literature, which was often, but not always, idealist in tone and ideology. In the context of juvenile literature, borrowings from adult and juvenile literature reflect a desire to repackage propagandistic ideas in a form that better appealed to lower-middle and working-class juvenile audiences. The chapter also situates *The Boy's Own Paper* within the context of idealist literature by comparing and contrasting it to Newbolt's poetry. Finally, the chapter reveals how even in the midst of an idealist publication, pockets of realism rise to the surface.

An Overview of *The Boy's Own Paper*

The Boy's Own Paper and its sister publication, the *Girl's Own Paper*, were the most successful publications of the Religious Tract Society. *The Boy's Own Paper* advertised that it had garnered 600,000 readers within six months of its inception, and by the end of the first year, it had turned a profit of over 2,000 pounds. A decade later when the magazine reached its heyday, its profits had doubled and readership had more than doubled to an estimated 1.4 million, a larger circulation than the cumulative circulation of all the other boys' journals it had inspired, of which there were twelve at the time (Dunae 17, 23; Richards, *Happiest* 105). A key reason for the popularity of *The Boy's Own Paper* was its enlistment of authors who were already popular among juvenile male readers. Contributors included R. M. Ballantyne (1825-1894), Arthur Conan Doyle

(1859-1930), Jules Verne (1828-1905), Reed, and Henty,⁹⁷ as well as a multitude of lesser-known authors deeply connected to the evangelical movement, muscular Christianity, the public-school ethos, and/or the imperial project.

The types of features that comprised *The Boy's Own Paper* were diverse yet consistent over time. A characteristic feature of the periodical was its serialized and single-installment stories, which were typically set in idealized public schools or exotic imperial locales and were loosely historically based. Other standard features were how-to and other informative articles for the aspiring athlete, naturalist, hunter, explorer, scout, scientist, engineer, photographer, or soldier; poems, plays, and songs which could be recited or performed at school or at home during vacations; black-and-white and full-color illustrations, especially of British imperial soldiers and their present and future allies and enemies; editorial commentary and moral instruction; responses to letters from readers; contents and clubs; brain teasers, puzzles, and chess-playing strategies; humorous anecdotes; and cartoons. One reason for the consistency in the features of *The Boy's Own Paper* was the lack of turnover in its editors, of whom there were only eight⁹⁸ during the nearly ninety years of the periodical's existence (Stephenson-Payne 51).

The idealism of *The Boy's Own Paper* was transmitted through nearly all of its various features. The magazine valorized public schools in its serial stories, poems,

⁹⁷ Henty contributed articles and stories to *The Boy's Own Paper* during the 1880s, the same period when he began writing adventure novels in earnest, though he was more deeply involved with two of the paper's rival periodicals, *Union Jack* and *Boy's Own Magazine*.

⁹⁸ James Macaulay (Supervising Editor 1879-97), George Andrew Hutchison (Sub-editor/Acting-editor/Editor 1879-1912; Consulting Editor 1912-13), Arthur Lincoln Haydon (1912-24), Geoffrey Richard Pocklington (1924-33), George J.H. Northcroft (1933-5), Robert Harding (1935-42), Leonard Halls (1942-6), and Jack Cox (1946-67).

articles on games, advice on how to handle challenging aspects of school such as "fagging," and editorials. Similarly, *The Boy's Own Paper* glorified imperialism and war in its serial stories, its poems, practical articles (such as how to prepare for the Indian Civil Service exam), tributes to imperial and First World War heroes, fold-out illustrations of soldiers and battles, clubs, and editorials. The Second Boer War, which solidified Newbolt's idealism, instead presented a conundrum for *The Boy's Own Paper* because the Baptist contingent of the Religious Tract Society opposed the Boer War. The magazine elided discussion and glorification of the Boer War, unlike its competitors; consequently, its readership declined (Mackenzie, *Propaganda* 204). Whereas the muscular Christianity of *The Boy's Own Paper* was communicated in all of the features listed above, its evangelism was recognizable only in its less prominent elements, such as editorials, letters to the editor, occasional articles,⁹⁹ and advertisements. During the initial decades of the paper, members of the Religious Tract Society worried that it contained too much fiction and not enough "Christian truth and influence," but the magazine's editor, George Andrew Hutchison, fought to keep the overt religiosity of the paper to a minimum during his tenure (1879-1913) (Howarth 50-1; Richards, *Happiest* 104-5). Hutchison was a devoted evangelist—he participated actively in the Sunday school movement and edited a host of evangelical publications—but he felt that *The Boy's Own Paper* would be more successful in achieving its mission if its evangelism were understated rather than blatant.

⁹⁹ Such as a 1892-3 series on "Institutions for Boys" that included London missions sponsored by public schools.

The idealism promoted in *The Boy's Own Paper* reached a wide audience. Indeed, the magazine's audience was more diverse in terms of class, age, sex, and location than one might expect for a periodical whose content primarily reflected the narrowly circumscribed concerns of middle- and upper-class English schoolboys. The diversity of the audience was both an effect and a cause of the expanding sphere of influence of the Religious Tract Society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since the organization had expanded the number, types, and content of its publications in the 1840s in order to broaden its audience to middle- as well as working-class readers, it had been earning greater profits and, in turn, channeling these profits into its Charitable Fund, which provided grants of money and/or publications to overseas and domestic missions and to church and school libraries. Free copies of *The Boy's Own Paper* could be distributed to missions and libraries, cultivating even more demand for the periodical. Additionally, because the paper was advertised in Religious Tract Society publications, of which there were many, anyone connected to the Religious Tract Society, whether through membership in it or in one of its auxiliary tract societies or through the receipt of free Religious Tract Society publications, would have been exposed to advertisements for the magazine. The first such advertisement for *The Boy's Own Paper* asserts the ambitiousness of the paper's mission and, in turn, the breadth of its targeted audience:

It is intended not only to provide the lads of our own families and schools with wholesome, elevated reading, but to supplant, if possible, some of the literature the injurious effect of which all so sincerely deplore. In order that the new paper may achieve what is desired for it, the prompt and hearty cooperation of ministers and parents, schoolmasters and teachers, and indeed of the friends of youth generally, is necessary. *The Boy's Own Paper* should be introduced into every home and school—should be circulated by employers in their shops and

factories—should be given away largely through our ragged schools and juvenile missions—and, in short, should be brought well before the attention of every boy in the land. (Richards, *Happiest* 104-5¹⁰⁰)

As this passage attests, the Religious Tract Society planned to use all of the myriad organizations and institutions to which it was connected—churches, missions, boys' clubs, libraries, schools, factories, businesses, and more—in order to spread its evangelical message. An additional means through which the Religious Tract Society "brought [*The Boy's Own Paper*] before the attention of every boy in the land" was by issuing it in two versions targeting different demographic groups: an inexpensive weekly issue affordable to boys and working-class families and a more expensive monthly issue, which bound the weekly parts in a special wrapper, affordable to middle-class families (Cox 22; Richards, *Happiest* 104-5). The diversity of the paper's readers in terms of class, age, sex, and location ensured that idealist views of public schools and imperialism were spread among multiple strata of British and British imperial societies, fostering a uniformity of outlook among people around the world.

The Religious Tract Society and "Christian Tone"

Given its worldwide reach, the Religious Tract Society should not be underestimated as a religious and cultural force in the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ By the end of that century, the Religious Tract Society had, as Fyfe puts it, "reformulated itself from a middle-class society evangelising the working-classes to a British society bringing Christianity and literacy to the world" (267). The Religious Tract Society was founded in

¹⁰⁰ Richards quotes from p. 132 of Dunae's "*Boy's Own Paper: Origins and Editorial Policies*" (1976), which is part of the author's private library and, therefore, inaccessible to me.

¹⁰¹ For accounts of the history of the Religious Tract Society, see Fyfe and Jones; the organization is briefly mentioned in the works listed in footnote 2.

1799 for essentially the same reason *The Boy's Own Paper* was created nearly a century later: to provide Christians with reading material deemed appropriate by evangelicals. Members of the London Missionary Society feared that working-class Britons who had been made literate through the Sunday school movement of the 1780s would jeopardize their salvation by reading popular publications rather than the Bible. The Religious Tract Society was subsequently formed in order to produce inexpensive religious tracts (pamphlets) that were religious in content but easier to read and more engaging than the Bible and to disperse them in churches and missions as well as in places where the evangelists themselves were not welcome, such as pubs, shops, and homes in working-class neighborhoods. Initially, the Religious Tract Society exclusively published tracts of four to sixteen pages printed in the tens of thousands at a time; these were sold to domestic missionary societies in urban areas and auxiliary tract societies around Britain. By 1850, however, the organization had greatly expanded the number, types, and content of the publications it offered as well as the kinds of audiences it targeted.¹⁰² In addition to tracts, the Religious Tract Society had begun offering religious and secular periodicals and books aimed at a wider range of readers: working and middle class, Christian and "heathen," adult and child. Although its publications failed to reach as large a working-class audience as the Religious Tract Society desired, its working-class audience was larger than that of any other contemporary nonfiction publisher (Fyfe 6).

¹⁰² At least 44.5 million copies of 280 different Religious Tract Society tracts had been issued by the mid-1820s. By 1850 the society had issued more than 450 million copies of 5,300 different publications, with more than 19 million issues and nearly 200 new publications having been launched in the past year alone (Jones App. V; qtd. in Fyfe 35).

The Religious Tract Society played a major role in missionary activity in Britain and its colonies. One reason for the organization's pervasive missionary presence was its pan-evangelical nature. Only three years after its inception, the Religious Tract Society's rosters included lay and clerical Anglicans, Presbyterians from the Church of Scotland and the Secession Church (an offshoot of Presbyterianism), Baptists, Independents, Methodists, Connexionists,¹⁰³ Lutherans, and Quakers. By the mid-nineteenth century, the organization's tracts were published in over a hundred languages and sold to overseas as well as domestic missionary societies. Eventually, the Religious Tract Society provided publications to nearly all missions at home and abroad, regardless of their denominational affiliations, making it the leading religious publisher in the nineteenth century. The increasing income that the organization received from its publications enabled it to enlarge its charitable endeavors and, in turn, heighten its influence at home and abroad. At first, the Religious Tract Society had needed to subsidize its publication of tracts through its charitable income (subscriptions, donations, benefactions, and legacies). By 1835, however, the organization's publishing wing (Trade Fund) had become self-sufficient, and by the late 1830s, the Trade Fund was able to use a portion of its profits to subsidize the organization's Charitable Fund, inverting the original relationship between the two wings of the Religious Tract Society and enabling the Charitable Fund to devote itself solely to the issuing of grants. The Religious Tract Society's sales income peaked in 1885 at more than 180,000 pounds a year, having tripled since 1850 due to the enormous success of *The Boy's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Own*

¹⁰³ Members of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion Church, a Calvinist offshoot of Methodism

Paper, demonstrating the central role these two juvenile periodicals played in funding missionary activity in Britain and around the world.

In order to maintain its evangelical mission while publishing secular content, the Religious Tract Society developed the notion of "Christian tone" in the 1840s. The organization adopted the term from Thomas Arnold, who in 1831 had advised the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* to adopt "a decidedly Christian tone" in its publications (Stanley I: 253, 271) and in 1832 praised that society for following his advice in an article in its *Penny Magazine*:

That article is exactly a specimen of what I wished to see, but done far better than I could do it. I never wanted articles on religious subjects half so much as articles on common subjects written with a decidedly Christian tone. (Stanley I: 272).

Here Arnold was expressing his hope that writers for *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* would use their Christian faith and morality to present their secular subject matter in such a way as to engender such faith and morality in their readers. Through the word "tone" Arnold suggests both literary style and moral muscle tone, the latter of which would become solidified in the muscular Christianity that emerged in the mid-1800s, as Fyfe has noted (100-1). Arnold died three years before the Religious Tract Society's initiation of its secular "Monthly Series" in 1845, but the society nevertheless positioned him as a posthumous endorser of the series by quoting his comment (above) in all of its advertising. The choice of Arnold as figurehead was somewhat odd, for although Arnold was an Anglican reformer he was not an evangelical one¹⁰⁴; however,

¹⁰⁴ Evangelicals were suspicious of the German biblical scholarship that Arnold admired, while Arnold criticized evangelicals, particularly radical Anglican ones, as possessing "infinitely little minds" and no "Christian wisdom" (Fyfe 101; Stanley 260-1). On the other hand, both Arnold and the Religious Tract

Arnold's name had significant cachet when the "Monthly Series" was launched because the previous year Stanley had published his popular biography of Arnold. By attaching Arnold's name to its new publication, the Religious Tract Society could enhance its prestige and credibility in the eyes of its expanding readership (Fyfe 103). The organization's use of Arnold as a figurehead indirectly linked its publications to the British public-school ethos, a link that would be solidified thirty-five years later in *The Boy's Own Paper*.

Between the 1840s and the 1880s, as the Religious Tract Society became more willing to accommodate its readers' taste for entertainment, it strengthened its definition of "Christian tone." Whereas in the 1840s the organization quoted Arnold's comment on "Christian tone" but did not explicitly define the term, in the 1880s, as *The Boy's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Own Paper* gained momentum, the Religious Tract Society codified its own definition; in its 1889 Report, it described its secular publications as

permeated by Christian principle; always on the side of pure morals; ... not obtrusively religious, but using all its influence on the side of Christ; lively and interesting, and yet not sensational in any bad sense of the word; truth teaching, but not dull; elevating, but yet attractive. (265)

The succession of pairs of contrasting terms used in this definition, such as "elevating, but yet attractive," attests that the Religious Tract Society was attempting to walk a fine line between being too religious to be entertaining and being too entertaining to be religious. The organization decided to adopt a primarily secular approach in *The Boy's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Own Paper* only after nearly three decades of publishing its

Society felt disappointed by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and opposed the Tractarians. In addition, Arnold's views on Christianity were less objectionable to evangelicals than those of John Newman and inclusive enough to appeal to supporters of pan-evangelical unity.

primarily secular family periodical, *Leisure Hour* (1852), and after being advised by consultants to focus more on entertainment value (Fyfe 270; Dunae 23). In order to downplay the evangelicalism undergirding *The Boy's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Own Paper*, the Religious Tract Society used the imprint of "The *Leisure Hour* Office" instead of its own imprint. In addition, the organization's codification of "Christian tone" a decade after the birth of *The Boy's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Own Paper* suggests that it felt a need to prevent these publications from becoming so entertaining that they would no longer be distinguishable from the ostensibly corrupting "penny dreadfuls" with which they were competing.

Advertisements, Competitions, and the Readership of *The Boy's Own Paper*

The Boy's Own Paper appealed to an even wider audience than did Newbolt's poetry, and therefore it purveyed idealism even more widely. The more broadly the paper extended its audience, the better the Religious Tract Society could achieve its evangelical mission; moreover, the more widely *The Boy's Own Paper* cultivated idealism, the more support Britain could enlist for its public schools and its imperial project. An examination of the less visible features of the paper—its advertisements and competitions—will reveal that the magazine's audiences included working-class readers as well as middle-class ones, adults as well as children, females as well as males, and residents of "foreign" nations and British colonies and consulates as well as of Britain. The advertisements readily accessible in the front and back of the October 1893 issue (Part 176), for example, target both schoolboys and mothers, indicating that within thirteen years of the periodical's inception both types of people read it. Mothers mattered

to the Religious Tract Society because they played an essential role in inculcating Christian values in their sons. In addition, mothers could encourage their sons to participate in the imperial project. Half of the one-page advertisement at the front of the monthly issue is dedicated to products that schoolboys would desire: rugby equipment, violins, stamps, sore throat lozenges, and toys.¹⁰⁵ The other half of the page, however, clearly targets mothers, for it contains a single advertisement from Mellin's Food Works in southeast London promoting its biscuits and tonic "for infants and invalids" and offering free product samples and a pamphlet on parenting.¹⁰⁶ This advertisement may have been aimed at mothers of the middle-class boys; however, it seems more probable that Mellin's giveaways were intended to appeal to working-class mothers as well. Such mothers could have obtained *The Boy's Own Paper* through their sons, for whom the paper was slightly expensive but still within reach at a penny per weekly issue, or through missionaries, churches, or libraries. The fact that equal space was dedicated to boys and mothers on the page indicates that both the companies placing advertisements in *The Boy's Own Paper* and the Religious Tract Society viewed mothers as a significant constituency of the paper's readership. Because mothers were reading the periodical, they could be influenced by its evangelism and idealism.

¹⁰⁵ Such toys include "The Magician's Cabinet of Tricks," a "Magic Fountain Pen," "A Real Working Steam Fire Engine," and "magic lanterns and slides" (perhaps similar to a modern-day "Viewfinder") with slides entitled "Man Swallowing Rats," "Chinese Fireworks," and "Queen," among others.

¹⁰⁶ The advertisement reads, "Illustrated Pamphlet on the Feeding and Rearing of Infants: A Practical and Simple Treatise for Mothers, containing a large number of portraits of Healthy and Beautiful Children, together with Facsimiles of Original Testimonials which are of the greatest interest to all mothers, to be had, with samples, free by post, on application to Mellin's Food Works, Stafford Street, Peckham, S.E."

The same October 1893 issue of *The Boy's Own Paper* that contains the aforementioned advertisements confirms the diversity of the periodical's readership through its lists of winners of its weekly "Prize Competitions." The paper offered large cash prizes and certificates to the winners of four different competitions for works of art, poetry, and woodwork. These competitions reflect the views of the Religious Tract Society and of late-Victorians in general. One such competition for "the best illumination (in oil or water colours) of the competitor's favourite New Testament promise" (815) reveals the evangelism of *The Boy's Own Paper*. Another contest for "the best original Poem sent in on the subject of a drawing entitled 'Saving the Wounded Chief'" (830) reflects the paternalism toward and exoticization of Native Americans that grew out of late-Victorian racial attitudes. The most boy-centric of the contests asks for "the best articles ... produced wholly by means of a pocket-knife" (839), reflecting the late-Victorian interest in quasi-military training that Robert Baden-Powell would soon channel into his Boy Scout movement. Through competitions such as these, *The Boy's Own Paper* promoted evangelicalism, muscular Christianity, and imperialism among its diverse body of readers. At the same time, it enticed readers to keep buying issues until the winners of the contests were announced, thereby increasing profits that were used to fund the missionary work of the Religious Tract Society.

The lists of winners of "Prize Competitions" in the October 1893 issue of *The Boy's Own Paper* illustrate the diversity of its audience in terms of class, age, sex, location, and nationality. For each competition, contestants were grouped into three or four different divisions based upon their age; for instance, the pen-and-ink competition,

which had the largest number of winners of the four competitions, divided entrants into a "Jr. Div. (up to 16)," a "Sr. Div." (16-24), and an "Over-Age Section" (783). The divisions containing sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds fielded the largest number of winners in all four contests, suggesting that adolescents in the upper secondary grades were the most likely to enter the paper's contests and also were the paper's primary readers; nevertheless, the existence of the "Jr." and "Over-Age" divisions indicates that young children and adults were also reading *The Boy's Own Paper*. Through the winners' names and places of residence, we can see that although the majority of them were boys, a handful of girls, adult men, and residents of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Antigua, and the British Consulate of Turkey also garnered prizes or certificates. At least half of the female winners lived outside of England. One of them, Myra Kathleen Hughes of Barntown House¹⁰⁷ in Wexford, Ireland, whose name suggests that she was Irish Catholic, placed in three out of four contests that month; she either did not enter or did not place in the pocket-knife contest. Another winner was a resident of the "London Orphan Asylum," while another was a reverend. The prizes ranged from a certificate to five guineas, which was a substantial amount of money to a working-class or even middle-class reader: given that the price of a weekly installment of *The Boy's Own Paper* was one penny in 1893, five guineas would have bought twenty-three years' worth of the paper. No wonder readers worldwide were willing to spend money on the

¹⁰⁷ Barnard House was the home of a British landed gentry family with a last name of Perceval (Burke 614), which suggests that the family was Protestant. Perhaps Mary was employed as a domestic servant at the house.

postage required to send in their contest submissions. Along similar lines, a later contest, held in 1915, seeking the best "Nature Note" or "Nature Photograph" specifically encouraged "colonial and foreign readers" who belonged to the paper's "Boy's Own Field Club" to apply (BOA 61), indicating that such readers—British colonists and natives of British colonies and other countries visited by British missionaries—comprised a significant portion of the magazine's audience. Through the competitions and advertisements of *The Boy's Own Paper*, we can deduce that its audience was even broader than of Newbolt's poetry, for the paper reached female, working-class, adult, expatriate British, and even non-British readers. Accordingly, the writers of *The Boy's Own Paper* could spread their idealism even farther than Newbolt did.

"Play up, Play up, and Do Your Bit," or "We Are Praying for That Glorious Time When All Men Will Play 'Cricket'"

Cricket was a staple subject in stories, poems, articles on how to improve one's athleticism, and other features of *The Boy's Own Paper*. In late nineteenth-century issues of the paper, cricket is depicted as an entertaining public-school game that develops a boy's body and, in turn, his character. Prefiguring Newbolt, *The Boy's Own Paper* asserted that the influence of cricket extended into the British Empire, though by molding its subjects rather than its soldiers, as Newbolt would claim. In the early twentieth-century, after Newbolt's poems had linked cricket fields to imperial battlefields, the paper began to portray cricket not only as a means of character development but also as the ideal preparation for military service. Newbolt's use of poetry as imperial propaganda paved the way for the paper's use of poetry as First-World-War propaganda, even though

Newbolt himself began to question his use of literature as propaganda during the First World War. The public-school ethos was employed heavily in the paper's First-World-War propaganda. For instance, in the thirty-eighth volume of *The Boy's Own Annual*, the collection of issues of *The Boy's Own Paper* from November 1915 to October 1916, nearly all of the poetry lauds public-school boys, and the majority of the schoolboy poems draw parallels between schoolboys and soldiers (imperial, contemporary, or unidentified), usually through a metaphor involving the public-school sports of cricket, rugby, and crew. Indeed, poetry is used more than any other feature in the 1915-16 *The Boy's Own Annual* as a wartime recruitment tool. Although the use of cricket as a literary and propagandistic device in *The Boy's Own Paper* is similar to its use in Newbolt's poetry, the paper ascribed a much stronger Christian dimension to cricket than did Newbolt. In addition, the periodical spread the public school ethos more widely than Newbolt did by including working-class British and upper-class Indian boys in both its subject matter and its audience.

C. C. Mott's poem "A Golden Rule of Cricket," which appeared in the August 1892 issue of *The Boy's Own Paper*, prior to the publication of Newbolt's famous cricket poems, exemplifies the paper's initial depiction of cricket as a character-building but not necessarily imperial endeavor. In his poem Mott encourages boys to play cricket in their spare time rather than puzzle over Mensa's brainteasers. An occasional contributor of school poems and songs to *The Boy's Own Paper*, Mott asserts that cricket will teach boys attentiveness, perseverance, and sportsmanship and will also garner them respect: "Play the game, by all respected, / By your masters, selves, and chums!" (625) By

privileging athleticism over intellectualism, Mott's poem reflects the public-school ethos of the late nineteenth century. At the same time, the poem exemplifies the muscular Christianity of its time, for it promotes Christianity in an understated way—if only through its title's allusion to the Biblical phrase, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," attributed to Jesus (Luke 6:31)—while emphasizing physical muscularity as a builder of character.

Prior to Newbolt's publication of "Vitaī Lampada" in 1897, an article in *The Boy's Own Paper* posited that the improving powers of cricket could be used in the British Empire; however, the article's version of the games ethic was more egalitarian than Newbolt's, for it extended the games ethic to British colonial subjects rather than just British imperial soldiers. In a July 1893 article entitled "Indian Boys," Rev. R. D'O. Martin, M.A., an apparently Protestant¹⁰⁸ Irishman who attended an Irish public school and taught at a British-modeled Delhi public school, vaunted cricket as a means of inculcating British values in Indian boys. Martin comments, "We thought the cricket field a most important place in our educational scheme, for Delhi boys played not outdoor games till we started cricket." Martin recounts that when he had first arrived at the Delhi school, he had expressed to the headmaster, "I'm afraid that I won't be of much use to you until I know something of the language," to which the headmaster responded, "Oh! If you can do nothing else, you can, at any rate, teach the boys how to play cricket." The headmaster's view that it was more important for a teacher to be able to teach the boys to play cricket than to communicate with them, let alone teach them, in their native

¹⁰⁸ The use of the title "Rev." rather than "Father" suggests that Martin was Protestant rather than Catholic.

language reflects the predomination of the Anglicist school of thought, as opposed to the Orientalist one, in the late nineteenth-century British Empire. Martin boasts, "It was a proud day for our cricket club when nine Indian boys and two white men¹⁰⁹ met the eleven of the Manchester Regiment and retired victors by 91 runs with an innings [sic] to spare!" (622). Here and elsewhere in the article, Martin asserts that as athletes and as scholars, Indian boys can rival British boys. While Martin's assertion may demonstrate his resistance to the prevailing racism of his day, it might equally reveal the view, shared by many evangelists, that the "natives" of the British Empire were capable of salvation and, therefore, worthy of conversion to Christianity. By publishing more than twenty articles by Martin on the wildlife and peoples of India from 1893 to 1896, *The Boy's Own Paper* positioned Martin as an expert on India and, in turn, suggested that his views were congruent with those of the Religious Tract Society.

Building upon Newbolt's equation of the cricket field and the imperial battlefield, later issues of *The Boy's Own Paper* linked cricket to the First World War as part of its wartime propaganda. One example of such propaganda is the poem "Run It Out!" which appeared in the December 1915 issue of the paper. The poem's author, Frank Ellis (a pseudonym for Frank Elias), contributed more than thirty poems to the paper between 1914 and 1916 (Holland), which are readily distinguishable through their liberal use of exclamation points and patriotic subject matter. Ellis' "Run It Out!" is clearly a copy of "Vitaī Lampada." Like Newbolt's poem, Ellis' poem moves in three stanzas from the cricket field to the battlefield. The poem's speaker directly invokes Newbolt's refrain by

¹⁰⁹ The "two white men" to whom Martin refers could have been coaches or players; if the latter was the case, then Martin's language reveals his discriminatory view of Indians as childlike.

admonishing readers to "Play up for the Old School's glorious name," and to "Play up, play up, and do your bit" (BOA 91). What Ellis means by "do[ing] your bit" is elaborated in the final stanza:

Brace yourself up for right and truth,
Strike a blow for the cause sublime.
Does your heart fail you? Oh, once more
List to the brave, the heartening shout.
Hear the old cry again, the roar—
"Run it out, sir, run it out!" (BOA 91)

Ellis' refrain ("Run it out, sir, run it out!") is a less musical and metaphorical than Newbolt's "Play up, play up, and play the game," but Ellis concludes his poem with the same idea as Newbolt had: even in the worst of battle situations, the "voice of a schoolboy" can "rall[y] the ranks." Although Ellis does not say so explicitly, "the cause sublime" to which he refers is not one of Victoria's "little wars" but a much larger conflict, the First World War. The year of 1915 had been a difficult one for Britain. In the spring, Allied troops had suffered heavy casualties in the trenches of the Western Front, where the Germans had used poison gas for the first time, and by the close of the year—shortly after the December issue of *The Boy's Own Paper* was released—the Allied forces began a humiliating evacuation from Gallipoli, on the Southern Front. Ellis apparently felt a need to "rally the ranks" of the paper's readers in order to counteract the waning of national morale.

A poem that appeared nearly a year later in October 1916 refers more explicitly to the First World War and alludes to another of Newbolt's poems. "The Old School" by D. L. A. Jephson, who contributed more than ten poems and short stories to *The Boy's Own*

Paper before and during the war, encourages schoolboys to fight on behalf of their "old school" and country through its closing refrain:

So here's to the boys of the old school,
That answered their country's call!
The game they now play for the old school,
Why, that's just the best of all! (BOA 703)

The last line in Jephson's poem echoes Newbolt's refrain in "The Best School of All" and similarly stirs up public-school loyalty; moreover, Jephson follows Newbolt's example in elevating duty to one's school and duty to one's country to the same level, thereby conflating the two. By doing so, Jephson could use public-school loyalty to recruit public-school alumni—along with working-class boys who envied them—to enlist in the war effort a time when military recruits were badly needed. As Ellis' and Jephson's poems demonstrate, writers for *The Boy's Own Paper* used Newbolt's public-school rhetoric as a central element in their war propaganda, which was intended to persuade readers to join "the cause sublime."

The most sweeping and emphatic declaration of the worth of cricket in the 1915-1916 *The Boy's Own Annual* was made by its editor, Arthur Lincoln Haydon, in one of his monthly sermon-like editorials called "A Talk to Boys. By an Old One [Old Boy]." In Haydon's "Talk" which appeared in the June 1916 issue, he invests cricket with a national, imperial, and, most importantly, God-given value. Haydon begins by lamenting the slowdown in cricket caused by the war. He then declares, "Thank God for cricket, say I, for almost more than any other thing has it engendered manliness and honour and fair play in this imperial nation." Not only is cricket "the game in which the peculiar

qualities and virtues, the genius of the Anglo-Saxon, show best," Haydon asserts, but it has been used to teach Britain's imperial subjects, whether with "yellow, or black, or coffee-coloured skin," to "play cricket"—both literally and figuratively, in the sense of "playing fair." Using a long string of cricket metaphors, the editor then asserts that the rules of gentlemanly warfare are identical to the rules of cricket. He closes his "Talk" by assigning a Christian dimension to cricket: "We pray daily 'Thy kingdom come.' What do we mean? We are praying for that glorious time when all men will play 'cricket'.... God's kingdom on earth will be very near when that time comes" (BOA 468). In other words, cricket, the game, symbolizes fair play, which, in turn, stands for humans following God's teachings; once humans have learned to "play 'cricket,'" to internalize Christianity's message, God can establish a "kingdom on earth." Given the publication date of Haydon's editorial, we can infer that he was implicitly accusing Germany of not "playing cricket" in the war. During the previous year, the German forces had sunk U.S. merchant and passenger ships without warning and had used poisonous gas in the trenches. On June 5, Boer War veteran Lord Kitchener had been killed when his ship was hit with a mine launched by a German U-boat, though Haydon may not have known that when the June issue of *The Boy's Own Paper* went to press. In Haydon's eyes, cricket was a symbol of Anglo-Saxon superiority, not only over its colonized peoples but also over its enemies in the First World War; in turn, Haydon presents cricket and, indirectly, the public schools, as the means through which the British Empire, according to God's plan, improves humanity.

As the five examples above have illustrated, *The Boy's Own Paper* figured cricket in much the same way that Newbolt did: as a character-building institution that was especially helpful in training soldiers and a symbol of British superiority. Earlier than Newbolt, *The Boy's Own Paper* made the connection between cricket and the Empire; however, unlike Newbolt, the paper explored the possibility of using cricket as an evangelical tool among British colonial subjects. Indeed, the paper invested cricket with significantly more religious importance than did Newbolt. Most importantly, both Newbolt and *The Boy's Own Paper* used cricket as a central metaphor in their military propaganda.

"A Victim of the Thugs": The Idealists' Imperial Anxiety

Just as cricket was a dominant motif of *The Boy's Own Paper*, serialized stories were a characteristic feature of the periodical. Despite the reluctance of the Religious Tract Society to include fiction in its publications, *The Boy's Own Paper* positioned its serial stories as its central element, advertising the stories heavily and using them to attract and retain readers. These serial stories typically featured schoolboy protagonists and were set either in an exotic colonial locale or in a British public school. Stories in the first category contained schoolboy characters who became imperial heroes, just like the protagonists in Henty's novels. As might be expected, these stories reinforced national, racial, and religious stereotypes: the English were brave, Africans were savage, "Oriental" men were cowardly and treacherous unless serving white masters, "Oriental" women were exotically beautiful, and Muslims were violent and fanatical. By reading such stories, British readers, regardless of their class status, were indoctrinated to believe

in Anglo-Saxon superiority. They could also be seduced into enlisting in imperial service, through which they hoped to experience what the serial stories' protagonists had: the thrill of traveling among and battling "natives" while serving God and country as young missionary-colonizers.¹¹⁰ Serial stories in the second category, those set in public schools, enabled readers—particularly those who could not afford or were not allowed to attend public schools themselves—to imagine themselves into a less exotic but equally exciting and, for some, foreign location. These school stories are filled with cricket and rugby games, snowball fights, "rows" (fights between different houses at school or between public-school and town boys), conflicts with cruel masters and bullies, and mischievous pranks, which were inspired by Kipling's *Stalky & Co.* after its publication in 1899. Talbot Baines Reed set the tone for the school stories of *The Boy's Own Paper* during its early decades. His stories emulated Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days* but more closely resembled Frederic Farrar's *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858), the novel whose sanctimoniousness is mocked by the main characters in *Stalky & Co.*, though Reed protested that his stories were nothing like Farrar's (Howarth 54). Reed, like Farrar, created characters who were susceptible to moral failings, but in Reed's stories, they

¹¹⁰ One such serial story is "Unseen Depths: or, the Secret of Adam's Peak. A Story of Plantation Life in Ceylon," which was published in 25 installments between Oct. 1892 and Mar. 1893. Four of the story's main characters are public-school boys (from Winchester, Eton, and Rugby), yet the protagonist is a working-class servant named Bob Clive. The story warrants further study given its appeal to a working-class boy audience, its allusion to Lord Clive, and its inclusion of Arabi Pasha as a character; however, the story was too lengthy to analyze within this chapter. "Unseen Depths" and other stories in *The Boy's Own Paper* stand in stark contrast to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, which first appeared as a three-installment series in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1899 (Allingham); Conrad's serial story trenchantly questioned racial stereotypes and the premises and practices of European imperialism, while the serial imperial stories in *The Boy's Own Paper* did the opposite.

eventually redeemed themselves. Over time, as other writers succeeded Reed, the school stories of *The Boy's Own Paper* became less overtly didactic.

A serialized school story by John Lea entitled "Chronicles of Clay House: Some Humorous Records of School Life," which appeared in *The Boy's Own Paper* in five installments between November 1915 and April 1916, will serve as an example of the second category of serial stories, those set in British public schools. The author of "Chronicles," John Lea (1871-?), contributed over one hundred poems, stories, and songs to the paper during the first quarter of the twentieth century (Holland). The six installments of the "Chronicles" are loosely connected through a frame story: a loquacious boy convinces the boys in his dorm to let him tell them a story every night for six nights in a row. All of the stories involve a boy, a group of boys, or even a headmaster playing a clever trick on a person perceived as annoying, such as a townsman who resents the privileged public-school boys or, more often, a school bully or braggart. The third installment of "Chronicles of Clay House," entitled "A Victim of the Thugs," will illustrate the idealist utilization of the public school ethos in *The Boy's Own Paper*. In addition, "Chronicles" will demonstrate the extent to which imperial stereotypes and tropes had become part of British popular culture by the early nineteenth century as well as how *The Boy's Own Paper* re-packaged adult imperial texts—texts made possible through an imperial encounter—in order to suit its juvenile audience. Most importantly, by inverting the idealist notion of a public-school boy venturing among "natives," "Chronicles" will reveal Britain's fear that the margins of its Empire would infiltrate its center.

"A Victim of the Thugs" begins with an illustration of a menacing-looking turbaned man with what appears to be a four-armed statue of a Hindu deity behind him. In the story a boy named Renniks attempts to trick a younger boy, Caster, in order to use his bicycle during a half-day holiday from school. Renniks tells Caster, "My great-grandfather was a high official in the service of the [British East India] Company, and one fateful day, with perfectly innocent intentions, he accepted a beautiful shining jewel from a cadet of the princely house of Hidgee Bah" (160-1). Despite the fact that Renniks' family no longer possesses the jewel, "Thugs" have been maliciously pursuing them for three generations. The thugs have now tracked Renniks to his British public school and have insisted on meeting with him secretly, Renniks claims. Renniks persuades Caster to hide in the shed where the secret meeting will take place in order to give him moral support; while Caster is hidden, Renniks plans to abscond with his bicycle. The frightened Caster confides in his friend Pollock, and the two youngsters devise a plan through which Caster will be protected when the thugs show up: they remove football equipment belonging to the burliest of the schoolboys from the gym and deposit it in the shed where the secret meeting is to take place, knowing that if the football boys are tipped off regarding the whereabouts of their equipment, they will charge the shed, thereby making themselves available to battle the Indian thugs, albeit inadvertently. The boys' plan works, and the football players charge angrily to the shed, finding not thugs but Renniks, whom they incorrectly assume is the person who had moved their equipment. Renniks' trick to "borrow" Caster's bicycle has been cleverly subverted by the innocent Caster and Pollock, whose stellar names refer to the twin stars Castor and Pollux in the Gemini

constellation, suggesting that they are the stars of the story. Renniks has been made into "a victim of the thugs"—ironically the "thugs" are football players, not Indians—and is thereby punished for his selfish duplicity. The story gestures at a moral: selfish tricks played on innocents are unfair, while unselfish tricks played on selfish schemers are fair. The story's main function, however, is "humorous," as its subtitle suggests, rather than instructive, as a primary function of Reed stories published two decades earlier had been.

"A Victim of the Thugs" should not be dismissed as a merely "humorous" story, however, for it demonstrates how tightly imperial texts had been woven into the fabric of British popular culture by 1915 and, moreover, how *The Boy's Own Paper* refigured such imperial texts in ways that would engage its juvenile audience while still satisfying the evangelical code of the Religious Tract Society. For example, Lea borrowed the frame device of "A Victim of Thugs" from *One Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of Persian, Arabic, and Asian stories dating back to 800 A.D., in which a young wife, Scheherazade, prevents her husband, a sultan, from executing her by telling him an unfinished tale every night for one thousand and one nights. Richard Burton (1821-1890) had published an English translation of this story collection in sixteen volumes between 1885 and 1888. Burton's translation proved quite popular, in large part because unlike previous translators, he had retained the erotic parts (Thompson). Unlike Scheherazade, the boy telling tales in "Chronicles" is not staving off death, but he is forestalling his dorm mates from bullying him. Lea apparently considered Burton's titillating translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* inappropriate for his (allegedly) innocent boy readers and therefore limited his borrowing from the work to the sex-free frame tale. As a rule,

The Boy's Own Paper avoided sexually charged material—excepting the occasional reference to exotically beautiful native women in serial stories.

Another way in which "A Victim of Thugs" draws upon an imperial text is through its employment of the term "thug." The Hindustani word *thug* was incorporated into the English language in the early nineteenth century ("Thug, n."). W. H. Sleeman (1788-1856) brought the Hindustani words "*thug*" (bandit) and "*thuggee*" (banditry) into popular British use with his 1839 publications *The Thugs or Phansigars of India* and *The Ramaseeana, or Vocabulary of the Thugs Language*.¹¹¹ Through his sensationalized accounts of *thuggee*, in which he portrayed Indians as devious and vicious criminals, Sleeman provided justification for the imposition of British-modeled laws and government in India. Lea's use of the term "thug" in his story's title testifies to the term's having become sufficiently commonplace in Britain for it to be understood by a juvenile audience. The purpose of the term's inclusion in Renniks' and, in turn, Lea's story is sensational: to generate excitement through fear. The opening illustration of the story, depicting a malevolent-looking thug who never materializes in the story, reinforces this sensationalism. Lea uses the fear generated by the depiction and mention of thugs to engage and excite his juvenile readers—an orientalist excitement which he apparently considered more suitable to youngsters than that afforded by the orientalist sexual excitement offered by Burton's version of *One Thousand and One Nights*. Although Lea inverts the term "thug" by implying that it can be applied to public-school rugby players,

¹¹¹ Sleeman served under William Bentinck, governor-general of India; between 1831 and 1837, Sleeman imprisoned and executed more than three thousand alleged Indian thugs (Harlow and Carter *Archives* 285-7).

for Renniks ironically became "a victim of the thugs," Lea does so in a light-hearted, superficial manner that fails to challenge the stereotype of criminal Indians.

"A Victim of Thugs" borrows from yet another imperial text: Renniks' fabricated story about the jewel is taken from Wilkie Collins' popular novel *The Moonstone* (1869). In *The Moonstone*, which T. S. Eliot credited as being the first English detective novel (Harlow 195), a British soldier steals a precious jewel from the treasure trove of Tipu Sultan, ruler of Mysore, after Sultan was killed in the Storming of Seringapatam (1799). The jewel is cursed, however, bringing danger to the soldier's family, including their being stalked by three Brahmins who are trying to restore the jewel to India, where it originally had been set in the forehead of a sacred statue depicting a four-handed Hindu deity. In Collins' novel the moonstone represents India, a precious but dangerous "jewel in the crown" of Queen Victoria that had been stolen in cold blood, thereby suggesting that the imperial project might not, after all, be a noble pursuit. In contrast, the jewel plot in Lea's story, in which a high official in the Company accepts a jewel from a princely family "with perfectly innocent intentions," is primarily an exotic tidbit that dazzles and frightens both Castor and the reader. The fictitiousness of the jewel plot lessens its significance. At most, it can be considered a mild reproach of the so-called "naughty Nabobs," high officials of the British East India Company who amassed enormous fortunes in India through questionable means, the most famous of whom were Robert Clive and Warren Hastings (Harlow and Carter 24-5). The four-armed Hindu deity depicted behind the thug in the illustration that accompanies the story also alludes to *The Moonstone*; in Collins' novel, the deity was the original possessor of the stone, yet in

Lea's story, the deity is never mentioned, so its inclusion in the illustration is gratuitous.

We can conclude that Lea alluded to *The Moonstone* in "A Victim of Thugs" through the jewel plot and the story's illustration for the same reason he alluded to *thuggee*: to titillate his readers by generating an exotic, fear-inducing atmosphere in his story.

Most importantly, Lea's story suggests that imperial anxiety underlies the confident, even smug, exterior of the public school story and, in turn, the public schools and British imperialism. Renniks' claim that Indian thugs have tracked him down at his British boarding school might have been dismissed as improbable by a more savvy boy than Castor; however, the story is narrated in such a way that the reader, like Castor, is duped by Renniks' tale until a little later in the story, when we learn that Renniks has fabricated it. Renniks' subterfuge is paralleled by the author's subterfuge, both of which depend upon a fear of the Empire's margin infiltrating its center. The trajectory of "A Victim of Thugs" is the opposite of that of the idealist serial stories in *The Boy's Own Paper*: instead of public school boys venturing out into the Empire, imperial subjects are venturing into the public school and causing alarm by doing so. Lea assuages this anxiety about the wide reach of Indian thugs by suggesting that if any such thugs had actually made it to a British public school, they would have proved no match for the burly football team, yet he nevertheless acknowledges the existence of such an anxiety in public schools and, more generally, in Britain.

In addition to revealing imperial anxiety, Lea's three borrowings from imperial texts illustrate the familiarity as well as the exotic appeal of such imperial texts and of the imperial project that they represented to the diverse audience of *The Boy's Own Paper*.

These borrowings further demonstrate how the paper's authors selectively extracted and repackaged elements of imperial texts — violence, intrigue, stereotypes of Indians — that they felt would appeal to and suit their impressionable readers and would also promote the imperial project.

"Look to It, Boys of England": The Intrusion of Realism into *The Boy's Own Paper*

The content and tone of *The Boy's Own Paper*, as we have seen, was overwhelmingly idealistic: the imperial project was presented as a noble project, and public schools were presented as the ideal training ground for imperial servants. On rare occasions, though, minor pieces appeared in the paper that either acknowledged (then refuted) or endorsed alternative, more critical views of empire and public schools.¹¹² Two such pieces, a poem and a letter from a reader which gestured toward a more realist views of imperialism and public schools, appeared in the 1892-1893 issues of *The Boy's Own Paper*. The editor during that period, George A. Hutchison, apparently was willing to allow the expression, albeit unobtrusively, of views that called into question the prevailing idealism of the magazine.

The December 1892 issue of *The Boy's Own Paper* contains a poem by C. E. Johnstone entitled "England" that acknowledges realist criticisms that had been leveled against the British Empire and public school boys but then emphatically refutes them (190-1). C. E. Johnstone contributed more than twenty poems and articles to the paper from 1891 to 1894, including a series of "Letters to Schoolboys" providing advice on

¹¹² The HRC's holdings of *The Boy's Own Paper* (assorted numbers from 1884-8; the complete numbers of 1887-8, 1891-2, 1892-3, and 1894-5; and a few numbers from 1896, 1900, and 1901) along with the 1915-16 *The Boy's Own Annual* contain only a handful of realist pieces, suggesting that they were relatively uncommon.

quintessential public-school topics like "fagging" (a system in which younger boys were conscripted into serving older ones) and "greening" (the process through which boys seasoned inexperienced masters). Johnston's "England" prefigures both Newbolt's poem "An Essay on Criticism" and Kipling's "The Islanders" in its themes involving the fate of the British Empire. Johnstone begins his poem with a stanza in which a smug character articulates a maxim that the rest of the poem will refute:

Their talk was of the nations of the world
From heights of fame to sudden darkness hurled;
And there was one who, mocking, wagged his head,
And, with an air of crushing wisdom, said,
"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

What the "mocking" speaker of the maxim is suggesting is that the British Empire, growing too wealthy and complacent, will disintegrate just like previous ones, such as the Roman Empire. Kipling expressed this same imperial-decay argument in his poems "Recessional" (1897) and "The Islanders" (1902), but clearly he was not the first to do so, as Johnstone's poem attests. The second stanza explicitly poses the question that the previous stanza had implied:

Is the glory of England dying? Must a nation's greatness fade,
Because she has circled the world about with the network of her trade?
Is the doom of her downfall spoken? Are there yet no sands to run,
Because of the gold, that in sums untold, the hand of her sons have won?

Johnstone devotes the next twelve stanzas to answering these questions with a resounding "No!" An affirmative answer to this question could hardly be expected from a poem in *The Boy's Own Paper*, an overwhelmingly idealist publication, yet the fact that Johnstone raised the question at all and, moreover, spent so many stanzas refuting it indicates that

he perceived a need to persuade readers that the "sums untold" which England's "sons ha[d] won" would not lead to the nation's "downfall."

The next four stanzas of the poem use British cultural superiority, evangelism, and muscular Christianity to defend the longevity of the British Empire. The third and fourth stanzas of the poem tout England's superiority in the arenas of commerce, technology, and exploration. In the fifth and sixth stanzas, however, the speaker returns to what a realist, like the smug "one" quoted in the first stanza, would say in response, such as "Yet Wealth, it is said, with Honour can scarcely be reconciled, / And luxury saps the manhood from the heart of the peace-bred child;" and "How shall a man do bravely, they ask, who has spent his days / In comfort snug, like a pampered pug that basks in the sun's hot rays?" To late-Victorian idealists, who considered manliness next to Godliness, the image of a "pampered pug" would have seemed as insulting as Kipling's image of "flannelled fools at the wicket" in its derision of aristocratic complacency; through the speaker's inclusion of the caveats "it is said" and "they ask," however, he makes clear that *he* is not the one defaming England's masculinity and that he disagrees with such naysayers. In the seventh stanza, the speaker uses an evangelical perspective to refute the assertion that the British Empire is doomed to fall:

Yet Wealth may be Wisdom's handmaid, for it is not all unclean,
And the uses of filthy lucre are great, tho' itself be mean.
Hardly the rich shall enter; and yet who dares to state
That he may not try through the needle's eye to win the Heavenly gate.

In order to justify his imperial idealism, the speaker is using the evangelical argument that wealth was not necessarily corrupting, for it could be beneficially put to use in the

service of God. The next two stanzas underscore the speaker's belief in a more muscular form of Christianity: if the men who serve in the army and navy and work in mines ever become cowards and forget "the cause of the weak and helpless," the speaker asserts, then "[i]t were time to lament that [England's] strength is spent, and her glory on the wane." The next stanza clarifies that such a "time" is only hypothetical, for although there may be some Englishmen who are "curs" and "coward[s]," the vast majority possess "[g]race. . . honour. . . [and] courage."

In the poem's final four stanzas, the speaker shifts his focus from England's "men" to its "boys," by whom he refers to public-school boys. The first of these stanzas defends schoolboys against the charge that they are "less manly"—and, therefore, less English—than their predecessors:

If our boys have banished the motto, "Let the weaker go to the wall,"
And no longer the lout and bully are reckoned the best of all,
Are they for that less manly? Does their gentler mood imply
They have not one whit less pluck and grit than the boys in days gone by?

In other words, just because the post-Thomas Arnold generation of British public schools emphasizes chivalry over bullying, it does not mean that their students are "less manly."

The speaker suggests that in the distant past England was less civilized but has since reached an apex of civility. Along similar lines, in the next stanza the speaker asserts that the old schoolboys and England were strong like "iron," but the new ones are "stronger" like "steel" and "tempered," meaning both hardened through a tempering process and even-tempered. He adds that "many a man soft-nurtured shall bear him gallantly, / And shall show his breed, when the day of need calls forth his chivalry." In this line

Johnstone asserts that good "breed[ing]," the product of upper-class birth and public-school education, will maintain England's "glory," despite realist imputations to the contrary.

In the penultimate stanza, the speaker asks, hypothetically, if heroes like those of the Crimean War exist no longer:

Are there to-day no worthy sons of the valiant men and true
Who, with Cardigan or Scarlett, cut the Russian line two?
If the order "Die, men, where you stand" again today were heard
Would none answer "Ay, Sir Colin," with the gallant Ninety-third?¹¹³

Here the speaker echoes the popular poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1854), in which Tennyson lauded the courage of the men who made the unsuccessful charge at the Battle of Balaclava (1854) during the Crimean War. Unlike Tennyson, however, Johnstone elides the fact that these men died needlessly because, as Tennyson put it, "Someone had blunder'd"; through this omission, Johnstone encourages his young readers to blindly adopt what Tennyson termed a "do or die" attitude toward soldiering. The speaker does not directly answer the question he poses in the above stanza, but the content and tone of the entire poem suggest that he believes "worthy sons of the valiant" do, in fact, still exist. Nevertheless, the poem's final stanza, which charges "boys of England" with the task of defending their country's interests, reveals some uncertainty about their "worth":

Look to it, boys of England, that the men whom ye shall make,
Be men of might and mettle to strive for this their country's sake—

¹¹³ James Brudenell, The Earl Cardigan (1791-1868), and James Yorke Scarlett (1799-1871) both served as commanders in the Charge of the Light Brigade (1854) during the Crimean War. Colin Campbell (1792-1863) was a commander of the Scottish Highland Brigade during the Battles of Alma (1854) and Balaclava in the Crimean War and also during the Indian "Mutiny" (1857).

Men stout of heart to bear their part in the battle that round them burns,
Until their breath shall fail in death, and the light to darkness turns.

If the speaker had complete confidence in the "might and mettle" of England's boys, then he would not feel the need to exhort them "to strive for this their country's sake."

Although Johnstone's "England" affirms an idealist viewpoint on the nobility of the British Empire and the efficacy of public schools in preparing boys for imperial service, its idealism is undercut by an anxiety prompted by realist criticisms.

A second poem by Johnstone that appeared in the December 1892 issue of *The Boy's Own Paper* expresses the author's anxiety about the masculinity of England's boys more directly. Unlike in "England," where Johnstone's emphasis on "breed[ing]" suggests that he privileges upper-class status, in "The Refined Academy," part of a series entitled "Boarding School Ballads," Johnstone assigns masculine (and therefore positive) traits to the working-class characters rather than the upper-class ones. In a mock-serious tone, Johnstone's speaker relates a story about "a happy, high-class private school" (12) called "Culture House," where the principal, "Reverend Doctor Coddleton," coddles his aristocratic pupils. These effeminate boys prefer promenading, knitting, and embroidery to rugby and play cricket with a "woolly ball" instead of a hard one. When a boy of "low birth" named Dick—whose name signals his ordinariness and, perhaps, his class status and masculinity as well—enters the school, he pokes fun at both the pupils and the Principal, disobeys his rules, and gets expelled. By juxtaposing Dick's carefree response to his expulsion against the shocked reaction of the coddled students, who need lemonade and biscuits "to readjust [their] shattered nerve[s]," Johnstone satirizes schools that

coddle rather than toughen their students. Johnstone seems to be suggesting that privilege can weaken the upper classes and, therefore, they need strong schools to prevent them from being emasculated, embarrassed, and, ultimately, overpowered by the working classes. Working-class readers of the paper could identify with Dick, the hero of the poem, delighting in his masculine prowess, while upper-class readers could view Dick as a cause for shame and, therefore, a warning against emasculation. In "The Refined Academy," Johnstone aligns himself with the realist antagonist in "England" who in the latter poem's opening stanza pronounces, "Where wealth accumulates, and men decay." As Newbolt would later do in one of his Boer War editorials, Johnstone accuses the British aristocracy of growing complacent; unlike Newbolt, however, Johnstone faults a certain type of public school for perpetuating complacency. Johnstone might seem to resemble Kipling in his critique of some, but not all, public schools; however, Johnstone, unlike Kipling, suggests that rugby and cricket can cure the aristocracy of its effeminacy. Considered together, "England" and "The Refined Academy" suggest that Johnstone was an idealist, for he considered public schools—more specifically, the proper (manly) ones—to be the best training ground for imperial soldiers, yet his view of Britain's handling of its Empire is nevertheless tinged by realism.

Frederick G. Aflalo's commentary "The Study of Modern Languages," which appeared in the December 1892 issue along with "England" and "The Refined Academy," makes a stronger realist incursion into an idealist publication than either of Johnstone's poems does. Aflalo contributed seven articles to *The Boy's Own Paper* from 1891 to 1896, all of which discuss sea fishing except this one (Holland). Aflalo's editorials,

which is part of a readers' comments section entitled "Help's by the Way: Every Man's Experience is a Lesson Due to All," charges British public schools with failing to prepare their graduates for the "disheartening" realities of the highly competitive job market:

We have all been thought a great variety of subjects at school: classics and mathematics, French, and perhaps a smattering of German, history and geography, grammar and Scripture—all these and more have probably found a place in the list; and as some of us, at all events, have really devoted a certain amount of honest labour to the task of mastering their difficulties, it is really disheartening when school life, with all its many pleasures and trifling annoyances is o'er and sterner work of life is about to commence, to be told that three quarters of the subjects are practically useless, while the remaining quarter is unfortunately that to which our public schools till quite recently have given the least genuine attention.

Cricket and football have been regarded as far more deserving objects of devotion than French and German; and yet it is precisely a knowledge, even if partial, of these languages that will claim the attention of employers in these days of competition, where, as a wag put it, "human brains are cheaper than sheep's." (207)

Aflalo, who apparently is a recent graduate of a public school, dismisses the importance of cricket and football in preparing public-school graduates for a career five years before Newbolt would publish "Vitaī Lampada," which venerated cricket as the ideal preparation for imperial servicemen. The fact that criticism of the value of a public-school education predates the publication of "Vitaī Lampada" suggests that Newbolt was defending the public school ethos as much as he was consolidating it and demonstrates that idealism was concomitant with realism. What exactly Aflalo has in mind as a career for himself and whether it involved imperial service are unclear, but he nevertheless recommended that public schools place more emphasis on the teaching of French and German. Aflalo's opinion may have been shaped by two events of the previous year: fighting in Mengo, Uganda, between British and French missionaries and the formation

of the Triple Alliance among German, Austria, and Italy. What is significant about Aflalo's article is that it voices dissatisfaction with the antiquated classics-based public-school curriculum and the prevailing games ethic and, moreover, that *The Boy's Own Paper*, which normally glorified public schools, was willing to publish it. The inclusion of three pieces in the December 1892 issue that to varying degrees express a realist perspective suggests that editor Hutchison did not feel the need to squelch anti-public school and anti-imperial sentiment at the time. Since Britain was not engaged in any major imperial conflicts at the time, drumming up support for the imperial project among his readers was not a pressing need and, therefore, Hutchison could deviate from the usual idealism of *The Boy's Own Paper*.

In contrast to the December 1893 issue of *The Boy's Own Paper*, the 1915-1916 *The Boy's Own Annual* contains no pieces that express a realist or even partially realist perspective. The editor at that time, Arthur L. Haydon, must have felt that the exigencies of the First World War, especially the need to recruit more young soldiers, outweighed the desire to appease the paper's diverse readership by representing the full spectrum of their views. Any criticism of Britain's Empire, which presently was being defended by thousands of young men including colonial subjects, could have been perceived as unpatriotic or insulting to many readers and, therefore, needed to be avoided. The surfacing of realist views in late-nineteenth century issues of *The Boy's Own Paper* during the, despite the subsequent suppression of such views during the First World War, serves as a reminder: first, that idealism did not predate realism but rather emerged

simultaneously with it, and second, that public opinion in Britain was heterogeneous rather than homogenous.

Through the analysis of selected pieces from the archive of *The Boy's Own Paper*, which has received insufficient scrutiny from scholars, this chapter has examined the paper's evocation of the public-school ethos in the service of imperialism as well as the magazine's wide reach in terms of the class, gender, age, location, and nationality of its readers. The chapter has demonstrated how centrally portrayals of public schools and public school boys figured within popular British publications and, moreover, how the periodical's idealist editors and contributors employed such portrayals in their imperial propaganda, which peaked during the First World War. The chapter has asserted that *The Boy's Own Paper* envisioned cricket as a more far-ranging educational tool in terms of race and class than did Newbolt and that imperial anxiety about the power of "natives" underlies the paper's serial stories set in public schools. Unlike in Newbolt's poetry, both evangelical and muscular Christianity were linked public schools in *The Boy's Own Paper*, justifying the imperial project and recruiting people for imperial service. The chapter has illustrated how the paper borrowed and reshaped content from imperial texts in order to appeal to its audiences while still fulfilling the wishes of the Religious Tract Society. Lastly, the chapter has contended that even an overwhelmingly idealist publication like *The Boy's Own Paper* presented realists' views, highlighting the contested nature of views of public schools and empire. As Chapters Three and Four explore, the literature of realists became ascendant during the late-nineteenth century and

continued to do so during the twentieth century, spurred by the disillusionment resulting from the world wars.

Chapter Three

"The Flannelled Fools at the Wicket [and] the Muddied Oafs at the Goals": The Realism of Rudyard Kipling

Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals.

—From Kipling's "The Islanders" (1902)

The scathing lines above are often quoted but not always attributed to their source. On January 4, 1902, five months before the Second Boer War drew to a close, Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) published his poem "The Islanders" (see Appendix B for full text) in *The Times*. A year earlier, Lord Roberts, the initial commander of the Second Boer War, had suggested that Kipling write "some stirring lines" in support of mandatory military service in Britain, and that he did, though not in the manner that Roberts had probably envisioned. Kipling took a personal interest in the Boer War, for he vacationed in South Africa with his family at the invitation of Cecil Rhodes, established a newspaper for troops in Bloemfontein at Roberts' behest, and visited hospitals and battle sites in the Free State. Although Kipling initially supported the war, by the beginning of 1902 he was gravely disappointed by Britain's poor performance, which he attributed chiefly to the complacency of the British aristocracy. As a result, in "The Islanders" Kipling went beyond merely championing mandatory military service: he excoriated the British upper classes as well as churches, the press, the government, the monarchy, and, most importantly, British public schools. "The Islanders" is, as Gilmour has aptly described it, "the sternest of all his sermons, the most scolding, intemperate and brilliant of the

prophet's rebukes" (160).¹¹⁴ Not surprisingly, given the wide swath of its satire, the poem provoked intense outrage, particularly because it was accompanied by a lead article criticizing public schools for promoting "an abnormal reverence for athletic prowess" and ushering "so many young men of the governing classes out into life with no higher ideals than those of the cricket ground or football field" (Gilmour 162).

In "The Islanders" Kipling accuses elites of passivity, effeminacy, and disinterest in the British Empire, which they perceive as far removed and therefore unimportant. The 87-line poem is comprised of only three stanzas; two smaller stanzas frame a much longer one, whose length contributes to its breathless, ranting tone. Both frame stanzas begin with the first half of a Biblical verse, "No doubt but ye are the People" (Job 12), but omit the second half, "and wisdom shall die with you," ironically suggesting that wisdom will be reborn only after "the People['s]" death. By alluding to the Old Testament, with which Kipling was intimately familiar,¹¹⁵ Kipling's speaker, which in this case is Kipling himself, aligns himself with God, the ultimate judge. At the same time, he adopts a tone of mock obsequiousness, averring, "[Y]our throne is above the King's," thereby positing that Britons rank themselves above both King Edward VII and God. Kipling begins his 80-line stanza with images of protection and complacency:

Fenced by your careful fathers, ringed by your leaden seas,
Long did you wake in quiet and long lie down at ease;
Till Ye said of Strife, "What is it?" of the Sword, "It is far from our ken";

¹¹⁴ Kipling wrote other poems critical of the British handling of the Boer War, including "Stellenbosch," "The Reformers," "Rimmon," "The Lesson," and "The Absent-Minded Beggar." See Gilmour for a brief discussion of some of these poems (160). See Kipling's *War Stories and Poems* for additional Boer War literature.

¹¹⁵ Kipling's evangelical caretaker in Southsea forced him to memorize Old Testament verses as a punishment when he was a boy.

Till Ye made a sport of your shrunken hosts and a toy of your armed men (5-8). Here Kipling charges the British upper classes with diminutively viewing the imperial project as a mere "sport," colonized peoples as "shrunken hosts," and the British military as a mere "toy" — a view that they could afford to hold since they were not directly involved in defending the Empire. Kipling charges that the aristocrats were so busy with their elitist pursuits, public schools and hunting, that they could not be bothered with serving in, or even supporting, the armed forces: "Because of your witless learning and your beasts of warren and chase, / Ye grudged your sons to their service and your fields for their camping place" (11-12). As a result, the atrophied armed forces proved no match for the outnumbered yet skillful Boers, "[A] little people, few but apt in the field" (17), during the initial phase of the war. The "shame[d]" British forces had to be "saved by a remnant (and your land's long-suffering star)" (18-9). The "star" to whom Kipling refers is likely Lord Kitchener who, with Lord Roberts, was sent to South Africa in 1899 to aid the embattled General Buller (Chitty 142). Buller was an Old Etonian, whereas Kitchener was educated in Switzerland and at the Royal Military Academy. Kipling is implying that in the Second Boer War, public-school pedigrees proved less valuable than less prestigious ones. Roberts also attended Eton, but Kipling does not target him, perhaps because he had requested the poem.

Kipling charges that even after the early defeats in the war, the arrogant elites remained idle and aloof. Instead of volunteering to fight, they assembled recruits from the urban working classes and sent them off ill prepared: "Sons of the sheltered city — unmade, unhandled, unmeet — / Ye pushed them raw to the battle as ye picked

them raw from the street" (21-2). Afterward, the aristocrats foolishly declared, "The end is close" (27), and, untroubled, resumed their elitist pursuits: "Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls / With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oaf at the goals" (31-2). This famous comment refutes the views of Newbolt and other idealists by contending that the public-school games of cricket and rugby serve as *distractions* from imperial wars rather than as the perfect *preparation* for them.

Perhaps thinking of people like Newbolt who made patriotic declarations in public discourse, Kipling condemns those who vaunt Britain's greatness but absent themselves from military service: "[W]hat is your boasting worth / If ye grudge a year of service to the lordliest life on earth?" (37-8)

Kipling then reminds "ye who inherit" (40) fortunes and the Empire of what they have forgotten, namely that the British Empire is not a God-given, eternal prize but rather a hard-won, temporary possession requiring effort to retain:

It was not made with the mountains, it is not one with the deep.
Men, not gods, devised it. Men, not gods, must keep.
Men, not children, servants, or kinsfolk called from afar,
But each man born in the Island broke to the matter of war.
Soberly and by custom taken and trained for the same,
Each man born in the Island entered at youth to the game—
As it were almost cricket, not to be mastered in haste,
But after trial and labour, by temperance, living chaste.
As it were almost cricket—as it were even your play,
Weighed and pondered and worshipped, and practised [sic] day and day. (41-50)

While advocating mandatory military service for everyone, Kipling debunks the aristocratic sense of entitlement, the muscular Christian notion of imperialism as divinely sanctioned, and the public-school games ethic. The upper classes, he contends, ought to

take responsibility for Britain's wars instead of leaving working- and middle-class boys, "native" recruits from the colonies, and British colonizers living abroad to fight in their stead. With heavy irony Kipling asserts that although the elites treat war as a mere game insofar as they refuse to take it seriously, they will only maintain the British Empire if they approach military service with as much seriousness, dedication, and reverence as they "play" the game of cricket.

Kipling warns that if the upper classes ignore his call to get involved in wars abroad, protesting, "It will mar our comfort," or, "It will [di]minish our trade" (59), then England itself will inevitably face invasion, at which point it will be defenseless. In an unrelenting, witty tirade, Kipling asks the aristocrats who will be able to defend them from an enemy incursion: their cricket teams, their pampered game animals (such as the "kept cock-pheasant," whom Kipling uses as an emasculating metaphor for the landed gentry itself: "Arid, aloof, incurious, unthinking, unthanking, gelt" (66-7)), their schoolboys, or their hired help? Directly attacking public schools and their games, he asks, "Will ye pitch some white pavilion, and lustily even the odds, / With nets and hoops and mallets, with rackets and bats and rods" (64), and, "Will ye loose your schools to flout them till their brow-beat columns melt?" (68) Included in Kipling's attack are the churches, the press, the government, and the monarchy, which have been complicit in the aristocracy's complacency. Kipling concludes his poem by warning, "On your own heads, in your own hands, the sin and the caving lies!" (87) Through his use of stinging satire, Kipling asserts his realist conviction that public schools and the games they treat as sacred are ineffectual means through which to prepare Britain to defend its Empire.

"The Islanders" has received little attention from scholars other than biographers¹¹⁶ but warrants more for several reasons. One is the poem's impressively trenchant and skillful use of meter, imagery, and satire. Another reason is that the poem testifies to the heterogeneity of British public opinion regarding both imperialism and public schools at the turn of the century. More specifically, the poem is part of the political debate, expressed primarily through literary means, between Kipling, a realist, and Newbolt, an idealist. Kipling initiated the debate with his allusion to "Clifton Chapel" in *Stalky & Co.* (1899) and continued it through the title of "The Islanders," an allusion to Newbolt's *The Island Race* (1898), which was popular during the Boer War. Newbolt retorted with "An Essay on Criticism" and several editorials in the *Monthly Review*, as discussed in Chapter One. The third, and perhaps most important, reason "The Islanders" should not be overlooked is that the poem itself and the indignation it generated serve as a reminder that Kipling consternated the very constituencies—British ruling classes, jingoists, imperialists, conservatives, public school idealists—for which he has erroneously come to be viewed as a spokesman by many scholars and the general public.

As mentioned in the Introduction, critics have tended to position Kipling and Forster as opposites, particularly regarding their views on imperialism. My contention, however, is that the two authors' perspectives on British public schools, the British Empire, and the nexus between them were actually quite similar—so much so that they

¹¹⁶ See, for example, brief discussions of the poem by biographers Gilmour (160-3) and Ricketts (275-6) and by literary critics Bristow (200-1) and Richards (*Happiest* 143).

belong in the same category. Both authors attended public schools and experienced the Empire personally, albeit to varying degrees; as a result, they were able to adopt a more realistic view of both institutions and the relationship between them than idealists were. Kipling and Forster both questioned the idealist notion that traditional public schools were the ideal imperial training ground, for they believed such schools taught irrelevant subjects, inculcated conventional and hierarchical attitudes, and stifled boys' emotions and imaginations. Both authors criticized upper- and upper middle-class complacency and attempted (not always successfully) to valorize the working classes despite their own class prejudices; unlike Forster, however, Kipling venerated at least some of the imperial middle classes. Kipling and Forster both portrayed the Empire as a potentially noble project if approached correctly but a disastrous one if handled poorly. They also acknowledged the harsh realities of imperialism, not simply its imagined glories. Both authors critiqued muscular Christianity and approached the issues of religion and spirituality in non-traditional ways. Kipling's heroes are men of action, though they are far from philistine, while Forster's heroes are men of thought. Though their definitions of masculinity differ, the two authors' works include homosocial and homoerotic elements; however, Kipling, unlike Forster, did not directly address the issue of homosexuality. Both authors focused more on male than female characters, yet the latter nevertheless play key roles in their narratives. Most importantly for this dissertation, the realist works of Kipling and Forster stand in stark contrast with the idealist works of Newbolt and the contributors to *The Boy's Own Paper*.

This chapter presents Kipling as a realist author, thereby laying a foundation for a comparison with Forster in the following chapter. Having already examined "The Islanders" in order to outline Kipling's realist ideology, particularly his condemnation of "the flannelled fools at the wicket and the muddled oafs at the goals," the chapter briefly addresses relevant aspects of Kipling's life and works. Next the chapter explores Kipling's short story "The Brushwood Boy" (1898), the first fictional work (aside from juvenilia) in which he assessed public schools as imperial training grounds. In the story Kipling suggests that although public schools prepare boys for imperial military service, they stifle emotion, imagination, and romance, leaving boys—and, ultimately, men—unfulfilled. The chapter then shifts to Kipling's most famous treatment of public schools, *Stalky & Co.* (1899), hereafter referred to as *Stalky*, which offers a stronger critique of public schools than "The Brushwood Boy." In *Stalky* Kipling contends that public schools train boys for imperial service—not through games or other traditional activities but through non-traditional means, including purposeful pranks, pragmatic patriotism, and a progressive headmaster. Finally, we will examine *Kim* (1901), in which Kipling turns to British-modeled public-school education in India. My analysis will show how *Kim* furthers Kipling's criticism of public schools and also presents alternative forms of education for imperial service, including hands-on training in espionage and Buddhism. We will also observe how *Kim* extends Kipling's imperial realism, suggesting that imperial service is simultaneously a burden, an opportunity, and a delight. By analyzing these four works, we will see how Kipling challenged idealism with his own brand of realism.

In contrast to Newbolt and the contributors to *The Boy's Own Paper*, Kipling wrote about public schools and imperialism in a realistic fashion, for he had firsthand experience with both institutions.¹¹⁷ Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was born in and spent his first six—and, by his own account, happiest—years in Bombay, where his father was a sculptor-professor at the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy School of Art and Industry. A fact often elided by scholars painting Kipling as a consummate conservative is that his parents were involved in the Pre-Raphaelite and Arts and Crafts Movements,¹¹⁸ for one of Kipling's maternal aunts was married to Edwin Burne-Jones. Both of Kipling's grandfathers and his maternal great-grandfather and uncle were Methodist ministers, but Kipling's parents eschewed evangelism. Hence it is puzzling that they sent Kipling to live with evangelical caretakers, the Holloways, in Southsea, England, from 1871 to 1878, a grim period punctuated by yearly visits to "paradise" (*Something* 13), the London home of the Burne-Joneses.¹¹⁹ There Kipling met Cromwell Price, one of the men whom, like William Morris, he considered "Deputy-Uncles" (*Something* 25) and who served as a surrogate parental figure. Price was an anti-imperialist Liberal who was recruited away from Haileybury to become the headmaster of a new public school, United Services College (USC), in Devonshire. USC, to which Kipling referred in his autobiography as "The School before Its Time" (23), was founded in 1874 by a group of retired army

¹¹⁷ Sources on Kipling's life are abundant, but the ones from which I drew most heavily were Kipling's *Something of Myself*, Gilmour, Green, Ricketts, Angus Wilson, and, to a lesser extent, Gray and Richards.

¹¹⁸ Kipling's parents also shared a love of the poetry of Robert Browning (Ricketts (2), who was a friend of the Burne-Joneses (*Something* 14).

¹¹⁹ In *Something of Myself* Kipling averred, "for a month each year I possessed a paradise which I verily believed saved me [from the physical and mental abuse he suffered at the hands of the Holloways]. Each December I stayed with my Aunt Georgy, my mother's sister, wife of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, at The Grange, North End Road" (13).

officers who could not afford prestigious public schools or London "crammers" (private tutors) for their sons but nevertheless wanted them to be able to gain admission to the military academies at Sandhurst and Woolwich. Kipling's schooldays at USC from 1878 to 1882 formed the basis for *Stalky*. Many readers, particularly Kipling's former classmates, have debated the degree to which his portrait of USC was accurate, but the consensus seems to be that although he took some artistic liberties, the book was fairly true to life. Richards has argued that *Stalky* "firmly suppressed" the aestheticism of Kipling and his friends as well as the anti-imperial Liberalism of Price (156-7, 161), but I would counter that these qualities are included in his stories, albeit in somewhat subdued form. When the majority of his USC classmates entered the armed forces, Kipling headed to Lahore as an assistant editor and reporter for *The Civil and Military Gazette*, a small sister paper of the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, and later contributed to the *Pioneer* (1882-89). After seven years in India, Kipling returned to England, where he spent much of the rest of life but never felt he fully belonged.

No shortage of critics has taken Kipling as a subject, though his reception among them has always been mixed. Responses to Kipling's works by critics as well as general readers have often been polarized and extreme. As Kucich has noted, late twentieth-century critics have tended to focus on Kipling's politics, debating his complex attitudes toward race and imperialism while largely ignoring his views on social class (33-4). Kucich questions the notion that Kipling's works appealed to a broad spectrum of classes, arguing instead that this spectrum was limited to the English middle classes, from the lower-middle to the upper-middle class. While Kipling did indeed valorize the middle

classes and satirize the upper classes, his treatment of the working classes was more varied and broad than Kucich supposes; for example, Kipling portrays working-class Indians more favorably than working-class Britons, though his portrait of the latter is, at times, quite sympathetic. Kucich contends that the ideology underwriting Kipling's works is a hybrid sort of sadomasochism combining elements of lower-middle class evangelicalism and upper-middle class professionalism. I would counter that the brutality that Kipling depicts both reflects and chafes against the authoritarianism characteristic of age-, class- and race-based hierarchies, such the unequal relationships between teacher and student, Lord and commoner, and colonizer and colonized. Indeed, Kipling may well have been exploring the kind of situation-dependent cruelty that contemporary social psychologist Zimbardo has termed "the Lucifer effect." In addition, while an emphasis on professionalism does pervade Kipling's works, Kucich's claim that "evangelicalism infused the spiritualized tone of his works, as well as his frequent allusions to the Bible and hymnal" (56) is unfounded, for it disregards the satirical manner with which Kipling treats both evangelicalism and its successor, muscular Christianity. Whereas Kucich views Kipling as an evangelist, most critics have ignored or downplayed Kipling's religion, yet Christianity and spirituality figure significantly in his works.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Indeed, as M. Athar Murtuza argues in *Without Benefit of Clergy: Kipling's Religious Views and Imperial Beliefs*, "Religion and Empire were two sides of the same coin for Kipling," for he believed that British Empire-builders ought to emulate Christ as well as the apostle Paul by being self-sacrificing, uniting people of diverse ethnic groups without subsuming their identities, and adopting the customs of those whom they served (v).

This study attempts to intervene where Kipling scholars have left gaps. Kipling's "The Islanders" and "The Brushwood Boy" have received little critical attention.¹²¹ A number of critics have examined, to varying degrees, connections between public schools and imperialism in *Stalky*;¹²² however, these scholars have highlighted only a handful of passages from the stories, thereby reducing the stories' complexity. In addition, the commentary on public schools offered in *Kim* has hitherto been left unexplored.¹²³

"Ten Years at an English Public School Do Not Encourage Dreaming": Education, Emotion, Imagination, and Romance in Kipling's "The Brushwood Boy"

Kipling's earliest fictional representation of public schools, excluding those in his juvenilia,¹²⁴ appears in his story "The Brushwood Boy," first published in 1895 in *The Century Magazine* and later included in *The Day's Work* (1898). "The Brushwood Boy" can be viewed as an abbreviated *bildungsroman*, but, like *Stalky* and *Kim*, it is an atypical one, for although the protagonist's figurative education is beneficial, his literal education is detrimental. In "The Brushwood Boy" Kipling presents a theme that anticipates one of Forster's themes: although public schools (and military academies, for that matter)

¹²¹ See footnote 4 for discussions of "The Islanders" and footnote 9 for discussions of "The Brushwood Boy."

¹²² See Kucich (36-47), Quigly (109-25), Richards (*Happiest* 142-66), and Jane Adam Smith (8-17) for relatively lengthy discussions and Bilsing (75) for brief a reference.

¹²³ Quigly briefly compares *Stalky* to *Kim* in that "he becomes very much a part of India, of his men's lives and customs" (117). Bristow notes that "Kim has not benefited from a sustained public school education," yet his "experiences as a spy have made a public school athlete out of him" insofar as he "possesses untiring physical strength" (210); however, the subsection of a chapter in *Empire Boys* that Bristow devotes to *Kim* (195-213) examines the protagonist's Boy Scout qualities rather than the work's critique of public-school education.

¹²⁴ Kipling contributed many pieces dealing with public schools to his school newspaper, the *United Services College Chronicle*, first as its editor and later as an alumni contributor. In *Schoolboy Lyrics* (1881) Kipling's parents privately published a number of Kipling's poems that had initially appeared in the *Chronicle*. Kipling's essay "An English School," written a decade after he left U.S.C., first appeared in the *Chronicle* but was later included in *Land and Sea Tales* (1923). These works of Kipling's juvenilia will need to be addressed at a later time.

prepare boys for imperial service, they squelch boys' emotions and imaginations and, in so doing, impede their development as human beings. Kipling's assessment of the relevance of public-school education to imperial military service is more approving, hence more like that of an idealist, in "The Brushwood Boy" than in his later works, such as *Stalky*, which he would publish five years later; nevertheless, the maturation of the protagonist, George Cottar, is delayed during his time at public school, at Sandhurst, and even in India. Only when he regains his lost dream world does he become a fully actualized adult.

"The Brushwood Boy" has received some scholarly attention but warrants more scrutiny.¹²⁵ Only Richards has focused on the connection between public schools and empire in the story. Richards briefly discusses "The Brushwood Boy" as a prelude to his analysis of *Stalky*, correctly positing that Cottar embodies three British—and, I would add, masculine—icons: public schools, chivalry, and boyhood (*Happiest* 144-5).

Richards asserts that Kipling presents George's public school as an effective training ground for imperial service and that "[i]t is the dreamer, the mystic within the ideal soldier, the soul that vivifies and animates the fit and perfectly co-ordinated body of empire" (145). Although Richards recognizes the mystical dimension of the story, he considers it a part of imperialism and likens it to the mystical aspects of works by other

¹²⁵ Two editors of the *Kipling Journal* have disagreed over whether "The Brushwood Boy" is a prelude to *Stalky*. Roger Lancelyn Green has asserted that George is an early version of the character Flint or Carson in *Stalky* and that George's school is actually Kipling's alma mater U.S.C, while Alastair Wilson has rightly countered that although Kipling may have drawn upon his recollections of U.S.C. in depicting George's school, George's membership in the landed gentry would have dictated that he attend an older, more prestigious school than U.S.C. Both Green and Richards have noted that the original version of "The Brushwood Boy" contained a longer description of George's schooldays, which Kipling edited out when he included the story in *The Day's Work*, perhaps because he did not want it to overlap with the *Stalky* stories he had begun writing (Green; Richards 146).

imperial writers, including Haggard and Doyle. I would contend that Kipling's mysticism is different than Richards posits, for it arises not in association with imperialism but in contradistinction to it and is gendered as feminine rather than masculine. In "The Brushwood Boy" Kipling suggests not only that dreaming enlivens an imperial officer's life, but also that the putatively feminine qualities of imagination and emotion that are squelched in public schools, military academies, and imperial armies can be revived by living in India and by engaging in (heterosexual) romance; without imagination and emotion, the lives of public-school boys and imperial soldiers, while satisfying in some respects, are incomplete. In this way, Kipling highlights the failure of public schools—and, likewise, of military academies and the imperial military forces—as character-building institutions, for they ignore critical, feminine dimensions of male lives. This theme may seem surprising given that female characters are either absent or troublesome in Kipling's most famous works; however, romance figures importantly in other, lesser-known works, such as the story "William the Conqueror," in which imagination and romance combined with faith make for a richer life and fortify people for life's hardships and handicaps.

As his quintessentially English first name suggests, George is a typical upper-middle class English boy in every respect except one: he is imaginative. From the age of three, when the story opens, he experiences vivid recurring dreams spurred by events in his daily life, and from the age of six he invents stories that he narrates to himself. While visiting the town of Oxford at age seven, he meets a girl his age who impresses him with her kindness and sympathy, and from then on he incorporates her into his dreams and

stories. Georgie's imaginative life comes to an abrupt end, however, when he starts attending a public school. There he rises to the top of his class by proving his masculine mettle as an athletic, hard working, responsible, and morally upright yet humble young man. Similarly, at Sandhurst, George's model behavior earns him "another string of athletic cups, a good-conduct sword, and, at last, Her Majesty's commission as a subaltern in a first-class line regiment" (392). In India Cottar, as he is now called, distinguishes himself once again by avoiding "runnin' after women, white *or* black" (396) and by reforming his "sickly crew" (393) inclined to drink, gamble, and fight by teaching them boxing and the public-school games of paper-chase and single-stick¹²⁶ and by encouraging them to learn wrestling from the locals. Cottar also performs well during "a very ugly war" on "the [Afghan] Border" (406), for which he receives a medal and a promotion. Cottar's dreams resume while he is in India and continue when he returns to his family's English country estate during a leave. Ironically, he discovers that the new neighbor's daughter Miriam, whom he had put off meeting because his parents were so eager to pair him up with her, is the very girl he had met in Oxford as a child. After realizing they have both been dreaming the same dreams since then, George and Miriam summarily decide to marry.

In "The Brushwood Boy" Kipling depicts public-school life as formative but incomplete. After years of being an underling at school, George enjoys the admiration and authority that come with being chosen head prefect of his house and "ex-officio captain of the games" as well as the privilege of becoming "an intimate friend and ally of

¹²⁶ Paper-chase entails chasing a trail of torn paper through the countryside. Single-stick is another name for cudgels, a martial art mentioned in *Tom Brown's School Days*.

the Head himself" (391), as Kipling himself had been at U.S.C. and as he would fashion Stalky in *Stalky*. At the same time, Kipling pokes fun at those aspects of school life which idealists vaunted most: games and the fagging and prefect systems. His narrator highlights the enforced nature of games, "which provided for three lawful cuts of a ground-ash if any boy absented himself from these entertainments," and the physical abused endured by "rumple-collared, dusty-hatted fag[s]" at the hands of older students (390). Kipling also jests, albeit sympathetically, at the inflated sense of self-importance cultivated by the oldest boys of the school: "Above all, [George] was responsible for that thing called the tone of the school, and few realise with what passionate devotion a certain type of boy throws himself into this work" (391).

Kipling's most direct criticism of George's public school is that it stifles his imagination and emotions. In fact, Kipling frames his discussion of George's schooldays by identifying this inadequacy of the school; Kipling opens the schooldays section with "Ten years at an English public school do not encourage dreaming" (390) and closes it with "the school was not encouraged to dwell on its emotions, but rather to keep in hard condition, to avoid false quantities, and to enter the army direct, without the help of the expensive London crammer, under whose roof young blood learns too much" (393). Although the school trains the boys' bodies through games, inculcates their morality by teaching them not to lie and keeping them away from the temptations of London, and enables them to enter the army, it fails to develop their imagination and emotions, which Kipling genders as feminine qualities. Kipling does not specify that George's school also hampered his romantic development (at least in a heterosexual fashion) since it was an

all-male institution, but Kipling could have assumed this to be understood by his readers. George's dreams and romantic isolation prefigure those of Maurice, the titular character of Forster's posthumously published novel, albeit minus the explicit homosexuality; in both works, the protagonist's schooldays retard his emotional development.

Despite his realist criticism of public schools, Kipling idealistically links public schools and imperial military service as Hughes had in *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) and Newbolt would later do in "Vitaī Lampada" (1897), "Clifton Chapel" (1898), and other school poems. For example, from his "wise and temperate Head," Cottar learns, "more by half-hints than by any direct word, how boys and men are all of a piece, and how he who can handle the one will assuredly in time control the other" (392). Later, when Cottar is transforming his first group of unruly recruits in India, "he did not forget that the difference between a dazed and sulky junior of the upper school and a bewildered, browbeaten lump of a private fresh from the depot was very small indeed" (396). Here, unlike in his later works, Kipling asserts that public schools are an imperial training ground where astute boys like Cottar learn how to understand and control their charges, be they Tom Browns of the lower school or Tommy Atkinses new to India. Also like Newbolt, Kipling figures chivalry as an heroic trait, for Cottar is nicknamed "Galahad" by his fellow officers (407).

What distinguishes Kipling's story from Hughes' novel and Newbolt's poems, however, is that Kipling faults public schools for failing to develop boys' imagination and emotions, without which their lives—though honorable, gratifying, and at times exciting—will be sterile. Kipling presents living in India and finding a soulmate as

antidotes to the stultifying effects of public schools, though he focuses more on the latter than the former. George resumes dreaming while stationed in India, and he becomes whole after meeting Miriam. Another characteristic of Kipling's story that differs from idealist works and from many of his own literary works, as well, is that "The Brushwood Boy" includes a pivotal and estimable female character with whom the protagonist develops a romance. Although Cottar is admired by all—male and female, officer and private, English and Indian, no one is aware of his secret dream life; as a result, no one really knows him, and, moreover, his secret obsession could become harmful. Cottar records his dreams in journals that are as elaborate and meticulous as those he maintains as an army officer. In fact, the narrator divulges, "There was, indeed, a danger—his seniors said so—of his developing into a regular 'Auntie Fuss' of an adjutant, and when an officer once takes to old-maidism there is more hope for the virgin of seventy than for him" (406). With this stereotypical old-maid metaphor, Kipling posits that Cottar needs to find a woman with whom to share his romantic dream world, or his otherwise perfect life might develop an irreversible flaw. Kipling is suggesting, paradoxically, that if George suppresses his feminine side, he could become feminized as an "old-maid." George (as the narrator refers to him once he is back in England, signaling his return to a more original self) is able to retain his masculinity because he meets his soulmate, Miriam. The story ends with a passionate kiss and an equally passionate discussion between the newfound lovers about their shared dreams, suggesting that George is now a complete person; his masculine military-officer side is now balanced by his feminine emotional and imaginative side, which he need no longer hide.

In sum, in "The Brushwood Boy" Kipling credits public schools with providing effective training for military officers, yet at the same time he criticizes such schools for stifling emotion and imagination, without which life can only be partially fulfilling. Kipling posits that suppressing these putatively feminine qualities can, ironically, emasculate men. Finally, Kipling suggests that men need women, not simply as companions but as soulmates who enable them to express their feminine qualities, making them whole.

We've Got to Get into the Army or—Get Out. ... All the Rest's Flumdiddle": Education and Realism in Kipling's *Stalky & Co.*

Published after "The Brushwood Boy," Kipling's *Stalky & Co.* (1899), a collection of nine loosely connected stories that initially appeared in *The Windsor Magazine* of Britain and *McClure's Magazine* of the United States from 1897 to 1899, offers a significantly more critical view of British public schools. More so than in "The Brushwood Boy," in *Stalky* Kipling asserts that public schools have only limited utility in preparing boys for imperial service and, moreover, that nontraditional public schools are more effective in this regard than traditional ones. In *Stalky* Kipling portrays the iconic aspects of public schools—games, the prefect system, house rivalries, and muscular Christianity—as irrelevant and even antithetical to the imperial project. Kipling asserts, moreover, that the best training for future imperialists, be they would-be military officers, engineers, or journalists, comes from schoolboy pranks that cleverly enforce justice; from the guidance of an intelligent, sensible, and courageous headmaster; and from an understated patriotism and a pragmatic view of imperial service. *Stalky* is a cross

between a *bildungsroman* and a picaresque. Insofar as the work illustrates the literal and figurative education of its main characters (Stalky, M'Turk, and Beetle¹²⁷), it is a *bildungsroman*, yet the main characters' development, brought about largely through the efforts of their Head, is limited given that they are realist heroes from the start. Stalky also contains picaresque elements: its rascally main characters, episodic construction, and satire of both upper-class and working-class idealists. *Stalky* is an unusual picaresque, however, because its sympathy lies primarily with the middle (rather than the working) classes and because it is commingled with a *bildungsroman*.

The genesis, purpose, and reception of *Stalky* are worth mentioning briefly, for they all involve public schools. The inspiration for *Stalky* may have been Kipling's visit to USC on the occasion of Cromwell Price's retirement in 1894 (Richards *Happiest* 146); this hypothesis is supported by Kipling's dedication of *Stalky* to Price and by the volume's unnamed prefatory poem, which pays tribute to his former masters and Head at USC.¹²⁸ Kipling wrote the stories during the spring of 1896 while he and his family were living in Torquay, Devon; therefore, it seems likely that living in the county where his *alma mater* was located served as an additional inspiration for the stories. In *Something of Myself*, Kipling avers that *Stalky* arose out of a didactic impulse while he was in Torquay: "there came to me the idea of beginning some tracts or parables on the education of the young." Kipling's choice of the preposition "on" rather than "for" implies that his "tracts or

¹²⁷ The school friends upon whom Kipling based the characters of Stalky, M'Turk (short for McTurk), and Beetle are Major General Lionel Dunsterville, George C. Beresford, and Kipling himself, respectively.

¹²⁸ The poem begins "Let us now praise famous men," an allusion to Ecclesiasticus 44:1. Although the poem gently pokes fun at the strictness and doggedness of schoolmasters, it nevertheless expresses deep appreciation for their challenging and often thankless labors; therefore, the poem stands in ironic contrast to the stories that follow it, in which nearly all adults (except the Head and Chaplain) are satirized.

parables" were meant to instruct adults, not children. The fact that Kipling opted to publish his stories in adult periodicals instead of in one of the many boys' magazines that had proliferated by the end of nineteenth century also suggests that he intended them, at least primarily, for an adult audience. Quigly describes Kipling's use of the religious terms "tracts" and "parables" to describe *Stalky* as "grotesque" given the book's violent and seemingly irreligious content (123). Kipling's use of the terms "tracts" and "parables" is satirical rather than grotesque, however, for through it he mocks the religious didacticism of idealist authors such as Hughes, the contributors to *The Boy's Own Paper*, and Farrar, whose novel *Eric* is lampooned by the characters in *Stalky*. Through *Stalky*, Kipling could educate idealists about public-school education. In his autobiography Kipling implies that "[h]is very dear Headmaster," who visited him while he was in Torquay, read his stories prior to their publication, for he notes that Price predicted that "[Kipling's] tracts would be some time before they came into their own" (144). Whatever the genesis and purpose of *Stalky* may have been, they evidently involved USC, Price, and public-school education.

Price's prediction proved correct, for *Stalky* was received with disapprobation.¹²⁹ Although in the daily papers *Stalky* was praised as an entertaining and authentic representation of public-school life, in literary and educational circles the book was vehemently denounced as a savage and misrepresentative portrayal of the same (Richards, *Happiest* 162). This polarized reception suggests that class and the attendant issue of public-school affiliation (or lack thereof) were significant factors influencing the

¹²⁹ I will not detail the reception of *Stalky* here, as it has been addressed amply by others, including Richards (*Happiest* 162-4), Quigly (110-2), and Gilmour (130-2).

book's reception. Another factor was that *Stalky* was misperceived as a juvenile rather than an adult book. Kipling himself aptly summarized his stories' reception in his autobiography: "On their appearance they were regarded as irreverent, not true to life, and rather 'brutal.' This led me to wonder, not for the first time, at which end of their carcasses grown men keep their school memories" (144). Kipling's crass retort to his critics highlights his disdain for public-school idealism. Kipling concludes his discussion of *Stalky* by asserting, "It is still read ([as of] '35) and I maintain it is a truly valuable collection of texts" (145). One reason Kipling viewed *Stalky* as "truly valuable" may have been its instructional value as a realist text—in other words, a text that gave a realistic portrayal of boys, imperial service, and the kind of public school that best prepared them for such service.

Imperialism underwrites the entirety of *Stalky*; with each successive story, however, the Empire becomes increasingly important to the plot, just as the Empire becomes increasingly salient to the stories' characters as they approach graduation. The antepenultimate story, "The Flag of Their Country" (1899), has received the most attention for its treatment of imperialism; hence my discussion of the story will be limited. Richards has offered the most skillful analysis of the story, correctly asserting that it demonstrates Kipling's "clear rejection of the jingoism with which thoughtless and superficial commentators so often label [him] and the recognition of a higher patriotism" (*Happiest* 150). Besides critiquing the hypocrisy and jingoism of idealists, Kipling presents a realist version of patriotism that is private and profound rather than flag-waving and false.

Central to the story's critique of idealism is its satire of quasi-military drill, which had become increasingly prevalent in public schools since the mid-nineteenth century and reflected a cross-class interest in military and paramilitary organizations. At the outset of the story, the school employs drill solely as punishment for lateness and is aptly supervised by Foxy, the working-class and ex-military school sergeant; however, at the behest of a member of the school's Board of Council, a retired general of the Indian Army, the Head agrees to establish a cadet-corps. Just as the school's chaplain predicts, the student body lacks enthusiasm for the corps because "[i]t isn't the temper of the school. We prepare for the Army" (179). Though the Chaplain's comment may seem paradoxical, it reveals Kipling's view that quasi-military activities are frivolous for army-bound public-school boys. Because the majority of this school's students will soon enter the armed forces, they feel no need to play at soldiering beforehand. Another reason why the students avoid embracing the corps is that they frown upon the sort of public displays of patriotism that drill entails. Our hero Stalky, for example, joins the corps, but only so that he can reduce the time he will spend drilling at Sandhurst; moreover, he and the rest of the corps members quit when Foxy insists that they march publicly carrying a flag.

Kipling makes his strongest critique of idealism in the story through the character of Mr. Raymond Martin and the ironies that engulf him. Kipling uses verbal, dramatic, and situational irony throughout *Stalky*, but he employs these techniques, particularly sarcasm, most liberally and damningly in conjunction with Martin. Gilmour has identified Martin as a satirical version of J. E. C. Welldon (164), Headmaster of Harrow School (1881-1895) and Bishop of Calcutta (1898-1902); Mangan has described Welldon

as "the public school headmasters' most eloquent, persistent and opinionated spokesman on schools and imperialism" (33), and I would add that he was an idealist's idealist. The general who endowed the school's cadet-corps arranges for Martin, a friend of a friend who is an MP and "impeccable Conservative," to take a brief hiatus from his trip "down into the West country, to spread light on some benighted constituency" ("benighted" perhaps because it is Liberal or working-class or both) in order to deliver a patriotic speech at the school "taking the admirable and newly-established cadet-corps for his text" (189). During his blustery peroration, Martin offends and embarrasses his listeners by treating them like naïve children and waving the Union Jack, both literally and figuratively: "in a raucous voice, he cried aloud little matters, like the hope of Honor and the dream of Glory, that boys do not discuss even with their most intimate equals, cheerfully assuming that, till he spoke, they had never considered these possibilities" (194). Martin underestimates his audience's sophistication, duty, and patriotism because he lacks understanding of boys in general and these boys in particular: "He did not know that the last census showed that eighty per cent. of the boys had been born abroad—in camp, cantonment, or upon the high seas; or that seventy-five per cent. were sons of officers in one or other of the services ... looking to follow their fathers' profession" (192-3). In turn, the students view Martin, whom Stalky dubs the "Jelly-bellied Flag-flapper" (195),¹³⁰ as a profaner of patriotism, which in their—and, clearly, Kipling's—view should be "a matter shut up, sacred and apart" (195-6), and also as a

¹³⁰ Barbara Harlow has pointed out to me that Stalky's epithet for the MP might be an allusion to Dickens' Mrs. Jellyby, a similarly meddlesome and hypocritical figure.

hypocrite for admonishing them to join the armed forces when he himself has served only in a quasi-military volunteer regiment.

The ironies that abound around Martin underscore Kipling's blistering criticism of idealists. For example, the Head could have alerted Martin to his audiences' imperial-military savvy, "but, after an hour-long dinner in his company, the Head decided to say nothing whatever" because "Mr. Raymond Martin seemed to know so much already" (193); moreover, Martin never realizes that his speech has appalled his audience, for at its climactic conclusion when the boys remain in stunned silence, the Head moves them to applause by archly winking as he thanks Martin for his "most enjoyable address" (196). In effect, the Head plays a Stalky-style prank—one that is clever, fitting, and avoids negative repercussions for its author—on Martin, of which he remains oblivious.

Another irony is that Martin holds a position of political power even though, according to the school's chaplain, his former schoolmate, he is "without form and void"; the reader can infer that the MP attained his position because he is "desperately earnest" (190) rather than well qualified. An additional irony is that the students draw mistaken conclusions about Martin's political party and class status based upon his boorish behavior. M'Turk, for instance, assumes Martin is a Radical after witnessing him argue with a coach driver over his fare (191). Along similar lines, the boys erroneously but unanimously conclude that "Mr. Raymond Martin, beyond question, was born in a gutter, and bred in a Board-school, where they played marbles" (196-7) given the offensiveness of Martin's speech (in their eyes) and his mention of marbles as one of the games that they must give up to grow up. Martin likely hails from the upper- or upper-middle classes, however, given

that he was a classmate of the school chaplain. Marbles function as multivalent symbols in *Stalky*, serving as markers of both childishness and working-class status while simultaneously enabling Kipling to mock upper-class public-school snobbishness about games. Hence Martin insults the boys by asserting that they play with marbles, and they in turn insult him by assuming that he played marbles as a boy. Readers can infer that class status is not as clearly marked—or important—as people might like to think it is.

Kipling's treatment of class in "The Flag of Their Country," like his treatment of marbles, is more complex than it might initially seem, in part because he links class to familiarity with public schools and the Empire. The working-class characters in this story and the others are humorous caricatures, yet they are also viewed sympathetically by other characters and the reader. Kipling satirizes working-class characters less harshly than upper-class ones; indeed, he suggests that upper-class people like Martin are dangerously foolish because they are powerful, whereas working-class people are only harmlessly, even endearingly, foolish. Foxy, for example, despite having firsthand knowledge of a public school and of imperial military service, was "touched to the quick by [the MP's] eloquence" (196), apparently because of his working-class lack of sophistication. Likewise, the "electors" for whom Martin reuses his speech during his tour of "some benighted [West-country] constituency" also find it stirring (195), probably because they are working class and have only a secondhand knowledge of public schools and the Empire. In contrast, the students easily perceive Martin's emptiness, hypocrisy, pomposity, jingoism, and ignorance, for they are middle-class, familiar with public schools, and, most importantly, intimately connected to the Empire. Kipling thereby

suggests that upper-class people (like Martin) and working-class people (like Foxy and the "electors") are more vulnerable to idealist rhetoric than middle-class people (like the students) and, further, that realists' patriotism is superior to idealists' jingoism.

An essential aspect of the realistic patriotism that Kipling endorses is an awareness of the grim realities of imperial service. In "The Flag of Their Country," for example, Kipling juxtaposes the boys' profound yet private patriotism with their human instinct for self-preservation. M'Turk jokingly asks Stalky, "Don't you want to die for your giddy country?" and Stalky matter-of-factly retorts, "Not if I can jolly well avoid it" (184). For Stalky, as for most of the boys at the school, getting into the military is the immediate and primary goal; fighting in wars is an expectation, not a goal or aspiration. Kipling also ironically foreshadows some of the boys' fates while describing their behavior during drill. A boy who is embarrassed to march publicly will eventually die publicly "in the Burmese sunlight outside Minhla Fort" (180). When M'Turk jokes that the drill sergeant should let a young boy in the corps since the Army has taken to accepting young recruits, the narrator explains that this very boy will "be a bimbashi [major] of the Egyptian Army ere his thirteenth year" (181). A prefect whom Foxy allows to practice leading drill will be "shot in Equatorial Africa by his own men" (187). These moments of foreshadowing that are both dramatically and situationally ironic expose less-than-glorious aspects of imperial military service and prepare the reader to view Martin's veneration of such service as overly idealized. Though the boys, unlike the narrator, are unaware of exactly what their futures will hold, they are nevertheless

cognizant that imperialism can be deadly. This cognizance is even more pronounced in the previous story in *Stalky*.

The sixth story, "A Little Prep.," has received some scholarly attention but requires more, for the story foregrounds the realistic view of public schools and imperial military service held by everyone at Kipling's fictional version of USC as well as the important role played by the Head in preparing boys for imperial service. Literally, the title of this story denotes the extra study hall ("prep.") assigned to the entire student body by the Head as a punishment for disobeying a master; figuratively, however, it refers to the Head's skillful preparation of students for imperial service by tutoring them for army and navy entrance exams, engineering their interaction with military alumni, and functioning as an ethical role model. As mentioned previously, the epigraph to "A Little Prep." is an excerpt from Newbolt "Clifton Chapel" containing a Latin phrase meaning, "Who far from this place, who before day to have perished, but soldiers, but for fatherland."¹³¹ Newbolt's poem was published in *The Island Race* in 1898, the same year in which "A Little Prep." was first published. By invoking Newbolt's poem in an ironic fashion, Kipling initiated a literary dialogue with Newbolt that would continue in Kipling's "The Islanders" and Newbolt's "Essay on Criticism." In addition, the epigraph prefigures Kipling's challenge to Newbolt's idealism in the story to follow through his realist critique of traditional public-school activities and his stark portrayal of imperial military service.

¹³¹ "Qui procul hinc," the legend's writ, / — The frontier-grave is far away — / "Qui ante diem periit: / Sed miles, sed pro patria" (*Stalky* 146).

Kipling positions two characters as foils in "A Little Prep.": the beloved, realist Head and the despised, idealist senior master, King, whose very name signals his self-importance and upper-class status. When the Head is summoned off campus, he places King in charge of the school. King irritates his middle-class pupils by flaunting his Oxford-Baliol pedigree and condescending to them. M'Turk, who ironically is upper class himself, mocks King's elitist view of his students as philistine, materialistic, and overly pragmatic by parroting him: "Crass an' materialised brutality of the middle classes—readin' solely for marks. Not a scholar in the whole school" (147). King's staunch idealism was exemplified in an earlier story when he instructed a younger master "that by games, and games alone, was [the boys'] salvation wrought" (62); clearly, King is the sort of person Kipling would have considered one of "the flannelled fools at the wicket or muddied oafs at the goals." In the present story we learn that King condemns marbles as a "Board-school game" (152), the opposite of a public-school game. Beetle decides to play marbles to annoy King; in return, King orders Flint, a prefect, to punish Beetle, but Flint refuses on the grounds that the Head has not outlawed marbles. King then attempts to incite all the prefects into "row" by calling them "crammer's rejections," thereby requiring them to defend their honor according the chivalric code of public schools. Flint calmly urges his fellow prefects to ignore King's provocation, however, because "King's the best classical cram we've got; and 'tisn't fair to bother the Head with a row. He's up to his eyes with extra-tu. [extra tuition (tutoring)] and Army work as it is." In other words, sympathy for the head and pragmatism regarding their need to pass the army entrance exam ought to dictate their actions. Flint adds, "Besides, as I told King,

we aren't a public school. We're a limited liability company payin' four per cent. My father's a shareholder, too." When another prefect asks, "What's that got to do with it?" Flint replies, "Well, seems to me that we should be interferin' with ourselves. We've got to get into the Army or—get out, haven't we? King's hired by the Council [trustees of the school] to teach us. All the rest's flumdiddle" (153).

The fictional conflict between King and Flint, an ally of the Head, reenacts the actual conflict between realists and idealists at the turn of the twentieth century. Recognizing that he and his peers are not traditional public-school boys, Flint dismisses as mere "flumdiddle" the public-school traditions that King advocates: the petty chivalric code, the blind adherence of prefects to their masters' commands, the pretentious games ethic, and even the notion of pure (as opposed to applied) scholarship, which at the time was more of an university tradition than a public-school one. What really matters to Flint and his middle-class peers is "get[ting] into the Army." Through Flint's comments Kipling suggests that school should not be a place for idle games but rather a type of corporation, "a limited liability company."¹³² Figuratively and, in this case, literally, students and their families are "shareholder[s]" in the company as well as consumers of its product, imperial military careers; therefore, it is in the students' best interest not to squander the product that their families have purchased on their behalf, for by doing so they would harm themselves and their families in terms of potential financial gain and prestige and would also harm the corporation, calling into question its ability to deliver

¹³² The liability of investors in joint stock companies was unlimited until the passage of the Limited Liability Act of 1855; the Companies Act of 1856 reduced the number of shareholders required to form a limited liability company from 25 to 7.

its product and, in turn, diminishing the value of their families' shares. Rather than condemning schools like USC for functioning like corporations, Kipling is asserting that educational corporations are necessary components of the imperial project, unlike traditional public schools.¹³³ Kipling's no-nonsense metaphor of nontraditional-public school-as-corporation provides a striking contrast to Newbolt's lofty metaphor of traditional-public-school-as-microcosm-of-the-Empire; instead of a sacred institution operating as an instrument of the Church and State to build "character" in the nation's young, Kipling contends, the school should be a vocational institution functioning to sustain the imperial project. In addition to contrasting realist and idealist views of public schools, the conflict between Flint and King recalls the pre-1857 struggle between the East India Company and the British Crown over the control of India. Although Kipling is not advocating the return of India to Company control, he is suggesting that India might have been better off in Company hands. Through the character of King, Kipling ridicules the British aristocracy and monarchy for neglecting the imperial project, while through Flint and his schoolmates, Kipling valorizes the military, mercantile, and professional middle classes for supporting it; hence "A Little Prep." makes a political statement similar to that of "The Islanders."

Kipling positions the Head, like Flint, on the opposite side of the realism-idealism spectrum from King, as the Head prepares boys for imperial service both directly and indirectly. Just after Flint makes the remarks discussed above, the Head enters the

¹³³ The comparison of private schools to corporations is still generating debate today, at least in the U.S. Increasingly, boards of trustees and students' parents want private schools to be operated like businesses, teachers resist the idea, and administrators are caught in the middle.

prefects' study to inform them that because "[i]t will be a tight squeeze for Sandhurst this year," he needs to give them "extra-tu"; as a result, they must forego athletic events until they graduate, including the upcoming rugby match with the "Old Boys." The Head jokingly adds, "I ought to have had you out before the Exeter match, but it is our sacred duty to beat Exeter" (154). Unlike King, the Head recognizes that school games are not, in fact, "sacred," though they do provide an entertaining means of asserting their humble school's superiority over more prestigious ones like Exeter. One of the prefects, Dawson, wryly replies, "And all to be cut up by those vile Afghans, too. Wouldn't think there'd be so much competition [to get into Sandhurst], would you?" (154) Dawson's remark demonstrates the boys' realistic view of imperial military service: cognizant of its dangers but nevertheless accepting it as their family- and class-determined fate.

In addition to tutoring students and clarifying their priorities, the Head prepares them for imperial service by providing them with alumni role models. The Head reads a group of students an article from an Indian newspaper describing the bravery of Crandall, an "Old Boy" who would soon be playing in the upcoming rugby match. Crandall had been "rather knocked about" on the Afghanistan border with his Native Infantry regiment while recovering the body of another Old Boy, Duncan, who had been attacked while transporting a load of silver "to pay troops with" (163). The boys listen to the article with the kind of admiration and school pride that Newbolt effuses in his poems; in this way, Kipling's characters show themselves capable of school loyalty, but their loyalty is evoked by military battles not sports matches. One of the boys comments that nine Old Boys have been killed in action during the past three years, a statistic that demonstrates

the school's intimate involvement in the imperial project. The scene also illustrates the Head's shrewdness and subtlety in preparing the boys for the imperial battlefield; rather than deliver a King-style lecture, he piques the boys' interest in Crandall, ensuring that they will listen to Crandall when he arrives. Just as the Head had planned, the return of the "Old Boys" serves to prepare current students for imperial service, not by fostering blind hero worship but by informing them about what they might encounter. Because these students are realists, their "welcome" of the visiting alumni is "nicely proportioned to [the Old Boys'] worth" (156), which is the product of their military rank, imperial experience, and humility. As one of the Old Boys correctly surmises, the Head has arranged for Crandall to sleep in one of the boys' dormitories to serve "as an object-lesson, for moral effect and so forth" (158); accordingly, boys from all the dormitories gather to hear Crandall's stories. Crandall's unvarnished narratives about Old Boys—to which Kipling devotes three full pages, emphasizing their significance¹³⁴—avoid dramatizing his actions or glorifying war. For example, Crandall uses the term "scrimmage" (164) to downplay his valor in a battle rather than to equate imperial battles with rugby matches. Kipling subverts the idealist notion that public-school playing fields prepare boys for imperial battlefields. In addition, he foregrounds the imperial trajectory of his public-school characters as well as the importance of exposing them to the realities, as opposed to the putative glamour, of the imperial battlefield.

¹³⁴ One quarter of the illustrations (two out of eight) in the Doubleday edition of *Stalky* depict Crandall's tales, suggesting the importance of imperial drama to the publisher and to readers. These illustrations in Kipling's realist book ironically echo the illustrations in idealist magazines like *The Boy's Own Paper* and in imperial biographies and travelogues, all of which reflect the imperialist emphasis on the picturesque.

The final way in which the Head prepares students for their future careers is by setting an example through his own valor. A central theme of the story is that true valor requires awareness of risk and humility. Most of the story's characters demonstrate this sort of valor: the students resist King's idealism and authoritarianism and face the likely prospect of dying in combat, and the alumni fight imperial battles. The Head, however, is the most valiant of all, for he knowingly risks death by saving a day-boy, Stettson major, from dying of diphtheria by "sucking out the stuff [in his throat]" through a tube. The Head humbly attempts to keep his good deed secret, but Stalky discovers it and reveals it to Crandall, who observes that it "was about the bravest thing a man can do" (165). Through Crandall's comment, Kipling positions the Head as the most valorous character in the story, thereby suggesting that altruistic, compassionate valor is superior to that which is necessitated by war, even though both types of valor are humble and cognizant of risk. Stalky then reveals the secret to the entire student body in a characteristically strategic fashion. King, upset with the head for "allowing so-called men of the world to contaminate the morals of boyhood," had demanded that the Head punish boys who had snuck out of their dormitories to listen to Crandall's stories, once again demonstrating King's pettiness, lack of realism, and misunderstanding of boys in contrast to the Head. In order to "back up the housemasters," the Head had agreed, assigning the boys an extra "prep" (study hall) even though vacation was about to begin. When the boys behaved insolently during "prep," the Head had assigned them "lines" (homework over vacation) and "caning." He is unable to cane them all, however, because Stalky informs the students and alumni of the Head's having rescued Stettson, and they

cheer him wildly. The story ends with Stalky leading his friends in singing a song that appears in multiple stories in *Stalky*: "It's a way we have in the Army, / It's a way we have in the Navy, / It's a way we have in the Public Schools, / Which nobody can deny!" (172).¹³⁵ This song, which serves the same purpose (and can be sung to the same tune) as "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," celebrates the Head's bravery as well as Stalky's cleverness, a trait sometimes termed "stalkiness" in *Stalky*, in finding a means to liberate the students from punishment. In addition, the song underscores the fraternal nature of both educational and military institutions as well as their connectedness, for boys in public schools follow "way[s]" (traditions) that prepare them for the "way[s]" of the armed forces. At the same time, Kipling has prepared the reader to view the song somewhat ironically, for throughout the story he has asserted that non-traditional public schools are better at preparing boys for the imperial military forces than traditional ones.

As we have seen, "The Flag of Their Country" and "A Little Prep." amply illustrate the realism Kipling propounds in *Stalky*. Kipling's stories do not eschew public-school nostalgia entirely, for they romanticize the character of the Head, yet Kipling pays tribute to a different kind of public school and different entities within it than idealists do. *Stalky* also resists glorifying imperialism by realistically acknowledging the hardships

¹³⁵ Another version of this song appears in the next story in *Stalky*, "The Flag of Their Country": "For the way we have with our Army / Is the way we have with our Navy / An' both of 'em lead to adversity, / Which nobody can deny!" The narrator explains that M'Turk and Beetle "had found the poem in an old volume of Punch" (182); apparently the poem was a parody of the Army and Navy. In Quigly's notes to "Slaves of the Lamp, Part I" on the Kipling.org website, which she adapted from her notes to the Oxford World Classics edition of *Stalky* (1987), she attributes this song to J. B. Goeghegan (1863); however, I found an earlier reference to the song in an article entitled "College Debts" in an 1860 issue of *The Ladies' Companion*, Bradbury and Evans, ser. 2, v. 17 (accessed through Google Books). In this 1860 version, "Public Schools" was replaced by "the Varsity," which was slang for "university." I would contend that the song predates Goeghegan's 1863 version and was adapted by people at various military and educational institutions for both humorous and serious purposes.

and casualties it creates. In addition, Kipling's stories expose the upper-class bias and superficial patriotism of idealists. Intellectualism is figured much more positively in *Stalky* than in idealist texts, for it is encouraged by the heroic Head, yet vocational training ultimately supercedes intellectualism, at least for middle-class students. Like the idealists, Kipling valorizes manliness, but it is a manliness established through different means: self-effacing bravery, "stalkiness," resistance to undeserving authority, and freedom from illusion. Finally, Kipling mocks Christianity, both evangelical and muscular, in *Stalky*, yet all the heroic characters, including the Chaplain, are guided by a code of ethics.

"The Best Schooling a Boy Can Get in India": Alternative Education in Kipling's *Kim*

Following closely on the heels of *Stalky*, Kipling's *Kim* was initially published in serial installments in *McClure's Magazine* from December 1900 to October 1901 and *Cassell's Magazine* from January to November 1901; MacMillan published *Kim* in novel format in October 1901. In *Kim* Kipling makes a realist critique of public schools that is similar to that in *Stalky* but focuses instead on British-styled public schools in India. Kipling suggests that such schools, like their counterparts in England, play only a minor role in training imperial personnel. In addition, the view of the British Empire that Kipling presents in *Kim* is just as realistic as that of *Stalky*, presenting imperial service as both a burden and an opportunity for middle- and upper middle-class British boys, though in slightly different ways. What *Kim* includes that *Stalky* does not is a celebration of life in India, not simply an opportunity or a burden but as a pleasure that can be fulfilling on

multiple levels: personal, vocational, spiritual, and cultural. Interwoven with Kipling's views on education and empire in *Kim* are his views on religion, race, and gender, which are more progressive than some of his critics have charged.

Kim has much in common with Stalky. Both boys are innately clever, resourceful, and mischievous; as such, they delight in playing pranks—sometimes purely boyish, sometimes with a serious purpose—on others. Both boys elicit the respect of the admirable characters and the ire of the less admirable characters in their respective novels. Both boys are educated at British public schools, though Kim's school, St. Xavier's in Lucknow, occupies a less prominent place in Kim's narrative than Stalky's unnamed school does in his narrative. Most importantly, both boys enter into imperial service in India and prove themselves to be extraordinarily skilled at it, in part because they are "stalky" and in part because they "go native." The two boys' schools are also similar but not entirely so. St. Xavier's is located in India not Britain, is Catholic as opposed to secular or Anglican, and has both an Anglo-British and a mixed race Anglo-Indian rather than solely Anglo-British clientele. Both schools serve the middle classes, though St. Xavier's also serves upper-class (but mixed-race) students. Kipling supplies very little information about the curriculum of St. Xavier's, yet its inclusion of mensuration and map-making suggests that it prepared its students more directly for their imperial vocations than did the curriculum of traditional British public schools. Students from both schools play cricket and plan to become imperial functionaries of one form or another; however, unlike Newbolt, Kipling does not in any way suggest that cricket prepares the boys for their future careers. Rather, in both *Stalky* and *Kim*, Kipling posits

that the majority of experiences that prepare boys for imperial service take place outside the confines of the public-school classroom or playing field; in *Stalky* these experiences occur on or near the school grounds, while in *Kim* they occur far from the school. With *Kim* as with *Stalky*, Kipling provides would-be imperial servants with a model that downplays the importance of traditional British public schools.

In his 1987 introduction to the Penguin edition of *Kim*, Edward Said identifies the link between the "great game"¹³⁶ and the games ethic. To illustrate his point, Said notes how similarly Kipling and Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts and admirer of Kipling's boy characters, conjoin "fun and service [in order] to produce row after row of bright-eyed, eager and resourceful little middle-class servants of empire" (14). While Said's comparison of Kipling's and Baden-Powell's imperial boys is justifiable, in positioning Kipling as a proponent of the games ethic, Said glosses over realists' and idealists' differing views of public-school games. What Said calls "Kipling's seemingly inexhaustible fund of boyish enjoyment in the sheer momentary pleasure of playing a game"(13) is not a pleasure in organized team games, such as cricket, for such games are too predictable and rigid for boys as resourceful and clever as Kim and Stalky; instead, it is a pleasure in playing innovative, improvised games that hone an individual's prowess, whether boyish pranks or espionage. Players of the "great game" do work together, but with more autonomy and individuality than boys on a cricket team. Despite Said's

¹³⁶ As Harlow has noted, Kipling popularized the term "great game" in *Kim*, but it was first used in 1842 by Captain Arthur Connolly, a British scout in the Afghanistan region. The term has come to refer to the period between 1839 and 1907, from the beginning of the First Afghan War (the first of "Victoria's little wars") to the Anglo-Russian Convention, during which Britain and Russia competed with one another for dominance in the area along the northwest frontier of British India (*Imperialism* 184-5).

conflation of idealists and realists, he is correct in emphasizing the high stakes with which the "great game" was played, despite its playful elements; as Mahbub Ali, Afghan spy for the British, reminds his British superior, Colonel Creighton, on more than one occasion, "we need men" (215) to play this game.

Like *Stalky*, *Kim* contains elements of both a *bildungsroman* and a picaresque. Arguably, *Kim* is a picaresque, and the novel's sprawling narrative is episodic enough (though more coherent than that of *Stalky*) to be considered picaresque; however, insofar as the novel traces Kim's education as a Buddhist *chela* (disciple), an Anglo-Indian Sahib,¹³⁷ and a British spy in the "great game," it can be categorized as a *bildungsroman*. Kim assumes the role of apprentice to a series of teacher-professionals: the Tibetan lama, the Afghan horse trader Mahbub Ali, the English Anglican Reverend Bennett, the Irish Catholic Father Victor, the British teachers at the military school and St. Xavier's, the Bengali Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, and the British spies Lurgan Sahib and Colonel Creighton. Although Kim had already developed a chameleon-like nature before he began apprenticing with these teacher-professionals, they nevertheless teach him the skills he needs to become an extraordinary Buddhist, Sahib, and spy. This chapter will focus on Kim's education as a Sahib, yet his education as a Buddhist and a spy are equally important to the novel and are interwoven with his Sahib's education.

In narrating Kim's education as a Sahib, Kipling sharply critiques muscular Christianity. When Kim locates his father's Irish regiment, the Mavericks, he is taken

¹³⁷ In Urdu *sahib* is a title of respect that roughly means "Mr." or "Sir"; during Raj, however, the term came to refer specifically to male British colonists and was roughly synonymous with "gentleman." I have opted to capitalize but not italicize "sahib" because I am using it in the Raj sense, as an English proper noun.

under the wings of its two chaplains, Reverend Bennett and Father Victor, who function as character foils. Although Kipling satirizes both clergymen by assigning them stereotypical characteristics, he presents Father Victor sympathetically and the Reverend Bennett unsympathetically. Kipling's contrasting attitudes toward the two chaplains are reflected even in the names by which the narrator refers to them: the title "Father" always precedes "Victor," but the "Reverend" that should precede "Bennett" is omitted or exchanged for "Mr." after the character is introduced. In addition, Kipling vilifies Bennett for his violent tendencies; his insensitive treatment of Kim and the lama; his missionary zeal; and his staunch ethnic, national, and religious prejudices. In introducing Bennett, the narrator describes him as "ever a man of action" (132); in contrast to a idealists, who revered men of action, Kipling uses the epithet to satirize the literal and figurative muscularity of Bennett's Christianity. After accidentally stepping upon Kim, who was hiding in the Mavericks' mess tent, Bennett "caught [Kim] by the throat and nearly choked the life out of him" (132). As a "man of action," Bennett uses excessive force with a child, despite being a chaplain and, therefore, expected to uphold a higher standard of behavior than most men; through Bennett's action Kipling suggests that muscular Christianity is a prejudiced, violent, excessive, and dangerous force in India. Bennett continues to treat Kim abusively even after he learns that Kim is not the Indian street boy he had mistaken him to be but rather the son of a deceased Maverick. Bennett treats the lama as disrespectfully as he treats Kim: "Bennett looked upon [the lama] with the triple-ringed uninterest of the creed that lumps nine-tenths of the world under the title of 'heathen,' " whereas the lama behaves respectfully toward Bennett, whom he views as

a fellow "Churchman" (136). Here, as in the previous example, Kipling reveals his distaste for muscular Christianity, though in this case he satirizes muscular Christians for their hypocritical "uninterest" in the "heathen" whose souls they claim to want to save.

Kipling assesses Roman Catholicism as a more benign force in India than muscular Christianity. Kipling depicts Father Victor as the opposite of Reverend Bennett: gentle, kind, and respectful toward Kim and the lama; well meaning and thoughtful, if bumbling and slightly prejudiced, in his effort to understand other creeds and peoples; and more tempered in his missionary zeal. Even Bennett, flawed as he is, respects Father Victor, to whom he turns for advice on secular matters:

Between himself and the Roman catholic Chaplain of the Irish contingent lay, as Bennett believed, an unbridgeable gulf, but it was noticeable that whenever the Church of England dealt with a human problem she was very likely to call in the Church of Rome. Bennett's official abhorrence of the Scarlet Woman [Catholicism] and all her ways was only equaled by his private respect for Father Victor. (133)

This passage reveals Bennett's only redeeming quality: his ability to put aside his ethnic and religious prejudices, albeit behind closed doors. In this passage Kipling employs synecdoche that functions in two directions: just as the phrases "the Church of England" and "the Church of Rome" stand in for Bennett and Father Victor, respectively, so do these characters stand in for the churches with which they are affiliated. Kipling suggests that in the context of India, Irish Catholicism in its military-missionary form is less objectionable than muscular English Anglicanism, for the Catholic missionaries are more humane and more receptive to the diversity of religions and cultures in India than the Protestant ones and therefore can better handle "human problem[s]." Of the three priest

figures in *Kim*, the lama is clearly positioned as the most benign, Victor as the second most benign, and Bennett as the worst, suggesting a corresponding hierarchy of religions in Kipling's estimation.

All three priests want to determine the course of Kim's education as a Sahib, but the lama prevails in the end, demonstrating his religion's superiority. Kim has three schooling possibilities: the Military Orphanage in Sanawar, the Masonic Orphanage also located in the Punjab region, and St. Xavier's School in Lucknow. As the Secretary of the Regimental Masonic Lodge, Bennett thinks Kim should be sent to the Masonic Orphanage, the tuition for which his Lodge would likely pay since Kim's father was a member (136). Father Victor would prefer Kim to attend St. Xavier's because it is a Catholic institution, but he acknowledges the financial appeal of the Military Orphanage (143). After reflection the lama decides to provide the steep tuition for St. Xavier's for two reasons. First, he wants Kim to receive the best education available, and Father Victor had told him that "the best schooling a boy can get in India is, of course [at St. Xavier's]" (142). Second, the lama hopes that Kim "wilt be such a Sahib as he who gave me these spectacles ... in the Wonder House in Lahore" (170), by whom the lama means the Museum Curator, a character Kipling modeled after his father. St. Xavier's also meets the approval of Kim's teacher-professionals in the field of espionage because it will provide Kim with training as a Sahib and a surveyor; however, it is the lama, ironically, who is the driving force behind Kim's getting an education at St. Xavier's.

For a brief period before Kim enters St. Xavier's, he attends the barrack school at the Mavericks' military encampment in the city of Umballa, and Kipling depicts this

school as oppressive and of no educational value. Given Kim's working-class origins—he was "a poor white of the very poorest" (49), the son of an Irish colour-sergeant who fought in the Second Afghan War and a nursemaid to a Colonel's family—a barrack school might seem to be the appropriate place for him, for there he could be trained to be a soldier like the drummer boys who were his classmates; however, Kim's disposition as well as his Indian upbringing render him ill-suited to the barrack school. Kim has no interest in becoming a soldier, for "[t]here was nothing in his composition to which drill and routine appealed" (141). Kipling confirms that Kim's talents would be squandered as a soldier when Creighton thinks to himself, "That boy mustn't be wasted [as a soldier] if he is as advertised [by Mahbub Ali]" (158). Kim also experiences severe culture shock at the barrack school, where his soul feels "fettered" (148). He detests eating bland camp food in the public setting of the mess hall, sleeping on an uncomfortable cot in the barracks, and wearing the regimental "[t]rousers and jacket [which] crippled mind and body alike" (154). Kim does not like the "angry man" who is their schoolmaster and who treats him roughly; nor does he have any interest in sitting in a classroom in order to expand his minimal ability to read English, "for this was the very school and discipline he had spent two-thirds of his young life in avoiding" (147). In addition, Kim feels out of place and lonely among his working-class classmates, like the drummer boy from a Liverpool suburb who is charged with preventing Kim from running away and who beats Kim mercilessly because he disapproves of Kim's "native" predilections and Kim's lack of interest in him. Through this interlude, Kipling shows that Kim's exposure to Indian cultures coupled with his inherent characteristics have

enabled him to transgress the bounds of his class and race. Kipling further suggests that working-class Indians make better companions than (and therefore are superior to) working-class whites—an attitude which seemingly contradicts the sympathetic view of Tommy Atkinses shown in other Kipling works such as *Barrack Room Ballads*; however, Kipling's apparent disdain for the drummer boy seems to be connected more to his racism and cruelty than his class status.

St. Xavier's proves a better fit than the barrack school for a boy who transgresses racial and class boundaries. St. Xavier's serves a middle- and upper middle-class, Anglo-Indian clientele, in both senses of the term "Anglo-Indian."¹³⁸ Kipling may have modeled St. Xavier's after an actual school in Lucknow, St. Francis' College and Orphanage, founded in 1885.¹³⁹ As in *Stalky* Kipling devotes significant attention (an entire page) in *Kim* to describing the varied parents, homes, and experiences of the boys of St. Xavier, indicating that they are worthy of the reader's attention. Most of the boys hail from middle- and upper middle-class families, though some belong to upper-class mixed-race families; all the families are involved in some aspect of the imperial enterprise, whether governmental, mercantile, or religious:

They were sons of subordinate officials in the Railway, Telegraph, and Canal Services; of warrant-officers, sometimes retired and sometimes acting as commanders-in-chief to a feudatory Rajah's army; of captains of the Indian Marine Government pensioners, planters, Presidency shopkeepers, and missionaries. A few were cadets of the old Eurasian houses [of Calcutta].... Their parents could well have educated them in England, but they loved the school that had served their own youth, and generation followed fallow-hued generation at St. Xavier's. (171-2)

¹³⁸ (1) British people living in India, and (2) mixed-race British and Indian people, also called "Eurasians"

¹³⁹ Today St. Francis' College still serves primarily Anglo-Indian Catholics but is open to all students (Lewis).

Like the boys in *Stalky* and Kipling's schoolmates at USC, the boys at St. Xavier's have been steeped in the day-to-day workings of the Empire and are headed to imperial professions. Although by both birth and circumstances Kim's background is working class, Kim feels more comfortable with his new middle- and upper middle-class classmates than with his old working-class ones, for, like him, the St. Xavier's boys have grown up in India, transgressed racial boundaries, and are headed to imperial professions ranked above "soldier." Hence when the St. Xavier's boys narrate tales of their adventures back home, "Kim watched, listened, and approved. This was not the insipid, single-word talk of the drummer boys. It dealt with a life he knew and understood. The atmosphere suited him, and he thrived by inches" (172).¹⁴⁰ Kim's ability to "thr[i]ve" at St. Xavier's suggests that Kipling considered race and culture to be more formative influences in a boy's life than class and, moreover, that Kipling saw some, albeit limited, value in British-modeled Indian public schools.

Despite the transracial and transcultural fluency of the boys at St. Xavier's, Kim still cannot be wholly himself while at school, for his classmates, especially the half-Indian ones, retain a British-imbued sense of racial superiority over "natives." For instance, Kim refrains from narrating his own tales of adventure at school because

St Xavier's looks down on boys who 'go native all-together.' One must never forget that one is a Sahib, and that some day, when examinations are passed, one

¹⁴⁰ In the same paragraph in which the narrator tells us that Kim "throve by inches" at St. Xavier's, he notes that "His quickness would have delighted an English master; but at St Xavier's they know the first rush of minds developed by sun and surroundings, as they know the half-collapse that sets in at twenty-two or twenty-three" (173). Here Kipling is making an editorial generalization about pupils in India, asserting that the climate, landscape, and perhaps peoples to which they have been exposed sharpen and also dull their minds more quickly than those of their counterparts in England.

will command natives. Kim made a note of this, for he began to understand where exams led (173).

For the white and partly white boys at St. Xavier's, it was acceptable to "go native" to a limited degree, such as to speak the vernacular having learned it from one's native foster-mother, but it was not acceptable to abandon one's whiteness entirely, for as adults they would need to assert their authority over "natives." Kim, who has "gone native all-together" for most of his life, must be trained to claim his white privilege as a Sahib; indeed, this training is one major purpose for his education at St. Xavier's, as Father Victor expresses when he tells Kim, "They'll make a man out o' you, O'Hara, at St Xavier's—a white man, an', I hope, a good man" (165). Accepting his role as a Sahib is not easy for Kim, however. After three months at St. Xavier's, Kim lights out on his own, and when he encounters Mahbub Ali on the road, he entreats Ali to request permission from Colonel Creighton for him to "go native all-together" during school vacations: "To the *madrissah* [school] I will go. At the *madrissah* I will learn. In the *madrissah* I will be a Sahib. But when the *madrissah* is shut, then must I be free and go among my people. Otherwise I die!" (184). The intensity with which Kim desires to "be free and go among [his] people" illustrates just how difficult it is for Kim to accept his role as a Sahib; moreover, the vividness and tenderness with which the narrator describes Kim's blissful hiatuses from "the *madrissah*" reveal Kipling's nostalgic sympathy for Kim. After all, Kipling himself had largely "gone native" in India as a boy.

Kipling presents Kim's education as a Sahib as painful and lamentable but nevertheless necessary, for Kim must claim his birthright as "a Sahib and a son of a

Sahib" in order to participate in the "great game." *Kim* contains echoes of "The White Man's Burden" (1899), written two years earlier, insofar as every student at St. Xavier's understood that "where exams led" was to jobs as imperial functionaries, and that such jobs required them to "command natives," although the context of the novel is different from that of the poem.¹⁴¹ In *Kim* as opposed to the poem, however, the "natives" are presented as companionable rather than burdensome, and the work of empire is presented as both a burden and an opportunity for British people from a range of classes. For Kim, becoming a Sahib feels like a burden because it tears him away from his carefree childhood environment and forces him to adopt the unfamiliar culture of white men, but as "he began to understand where exams led," he perceived it as an opportunity as well. Unlike graduates of Eton and other similarly prestigious public schools in England, graduates of St. Xavier's would not hold the top positions in the imperial enterprise; still, they could establish a lucrative career in India, particularly as surveyors. Creighton tells Kim on the way to St. Xavier's that "[i]f he were very good, and passed the proper examinations, he would be earning thirty rupees a month at seventeen years old" as a chain-man for the Survey of India (166). That a monthly salary of thirty rupees was estimable is confirmed later in the novel when Mahbub Ali and Lurgan Sahib are impressed by the monthly salary of twenty rupees that Creighton offers sixteen-year-old Kim an entry-level position in the Secret Service (223).¹⁴² Along the same lines, when

¹⁴¹ Unlike *Kim*, which deals with British involvement in India, Kipling's poem addresses U.S. involvement in the Philippines, as its full title, "The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands," indicates.

¹⁴² At this point in the novel, the narrator interjects that the Secret Service "is ludicrously starved, of course, but the funds are administered by a few men who do not call for vouchers or present itemized accounts"

the Head of St. Xavier's tells Kim that Creighton has secured him a position as an assistant chain-man with the Canal Department, he compliments Kim on his "great luck" and his having chosen mathematics as an area of focus, for a person could potentially earn up to four hundred and fifty rupees per month as a surveyor (224). Of course, the Head does not realize that Kim will actually be working for the Secret Service rather than the Canal Department, but his comment nevertheless demonstrates how profitable a surveying career in India could be. Hence in addition to learning how to be a Sahib, Kim's education at St. Xavier's trains him for the quintessentially imperial and middle-class profession of surveying, and this, in turn, trains him for the profession of espionage.

The beauty of Kim's profession as a spy, as Kipling presents it, is that partially resolves Kim's internal conflict between wanting to "be free and go [native] among his people" and being expected to function as "a Sahib and son of a Sahib." Kipling offers Creighton as a role model for Kim, for he balances a sympathy for and interest in "the natives" with appropriately Sahib-like behavior during the "great game." For instance, while escorting Kim to the school for the first time, Creighton warns Kim not to adopt the prevailing racist attitude at St. Xavier's: "Do not let [your good spirit] be blunted at St Xavier's. There are many boys there who despise the black men." Kim retorts with an insult, "Their mothers were bazar-women [sic]," for Kim "knew well there is no hatred like that of the half-caste for his brother-in-law." In other words, Kim astutely perceives that Anglo-Indians discriminate against "black men" out of their own British-taught self-

(223); in other words, according to Kipling, although the Secret Service is underfunded, the freedom with which its employees can spend their government-allotted funds compensates for the deficiency in their salaries.

loathing. Creighton responds by instructing Kim repeatedly never to "be led to contemn [sic] the black men" because unlike the mixed-race Anglo-Indians, Kim should know better as "a Sahib and the son of a Sahib" (167). Through Creighton's advice Kipling suggests that racism against Indians is a deplorable quality for Englishmen, regardless of their class.

Creighton's opposition to racism arises from two sources, one pragmatic and the other academic. Because Creighton is grooming Kim to be a spy, he wants Kim to maintain his connections to the various peoples of India. Additionally, Creighton's position in the Ethnological Survey Department is more than a mere sham disguising his espionage activities, as his secret desire to become an FRS (Fellow of the Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge),¹⁴³ a desire he shares with Hurree, attests. In *Kim* Kipling links two kinds of surveying—ethnological and geographical—both of which are employed in espionage in general and the "great game" in particular. Creighton, like Kipling and his father, possesses an anthropologist's sympathy for and interest in Indian peoples; yet Creighton's interest in "natives," unlike that of the two Kiplings or Kim, is predominantly academic, rather than partially personal or altruistic. Much of the literary criticism written since the 1970s about Kipling's works has addressed the degree to which Kipling's works reify racism;¹⁴⁴ therefore, I will only briefly address the issue here. In *Kim*, Kipling's portrayal of Indians is, on the whole, knowledgeable, nuanced, and admiring. He does reinforce common stereotypes of

¹⁴³ The Royal Society was founded in 1660 and still functions as the academy of sciences for the United Kingdom.

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, Said's introduction to the Penguin edition of *Kim*.

"Asiatics" in the novel, describing them as, for example, excitable, fatalistic, fanatical, untrustworthy, and slavishly imitating the British; at the same time, however, Kipling presents negative views of whites through Indian and, in the case of Kim, white-but-culturally-Indian eyes, suggesting that whites are, for example, impatient, grumpy when hungry, overly rigid, and even dirty. Kipling also has Mahbub tell Kim, "This matter of creeds is like horseflesh. The wise man knows horses are good—that there is a profit to be made from all; and for myself—but that I am a good Sunni and hate the men of Tirah [Shias]—I could believe the same of all faiths." Mahbub then provides examples illustrating that each type of horse is most useful, and therefore most appreciated, in its native region and concludes with an egalitarian statement that seems to reflect Kipling's own beliefs: "Therefore I say in my heart the Faiths are like horses. Each has merit in its own country" (191-2). As these examples suggest, Kipling's *Kim* both reinforces and erodes British prejudices against Indians.

The portion of the novel that Kipling devotes to St. Xavier's indicates that Kim's formal schooling comprises only a small part of his total education, which is religious, vocational, and racial-cultural in its subjects and hands-on in its methods. St. Xavier's plays a relatively small role in *Kim* given that Kim spent three years there; the school is mentioned in six chapters (Chapters Five through Ten), within which the vast majority of pages are spent describing Kim's experiences away from school, such as during school holidays. The lama provides religious instruction, teaching Kim to be a *chela* during their travels together, while Creighton, Hurree, Mahbub, and Lurgan all provide vocational instruction, teaching Kim to be a spy during his time with them on the road

and in Lurgan's shop. St. Xavier's educates Kim on how to be a Sahib, though he must resist the racism could arise in the process, and how to be a surveyor; in all other respects, however, his St. Xavier's education is superfluous to his professional and other development. The limited role of St. Xavier's in Kipling's narrative demonstrates his view of the limited importance of public schools—even Indian public schools—as training grounds for imperial servants.

Kipling critiques British-modeled public-school education in India through what he leaves unsaid about Kim's tenure at St. Xavier's. Near the end of Chapter Nine, the focus of which is Kim's apprenticeship with Lurgan during a school holiday, the narrator devotes a long paragraph to summarizing Kim's official record at St. Xavier's in which the omissions are more important than the record itself. The narrator opens the paragraph with a dismissive comment downplaying the importance of school records and signaling the reader to read between the record's lines: "The record of a boy's education interests few save his parents, and, as you know, Kim was an orphan" (212). The narrator continues to satirize public schools' inflated sense of self-importance as well as their unnecessary meticulousness in record keeping by using pompous passive voice phrases like "it is written in the books of St. Xavier's in Partibus" and "it is further recorded in the same books" (212). The narrator then notes that Kim

showed great aptitude for mathematical studies as well as map-making, and carried away a prize (*The Life of Lord Lawrence*, tree-calf, two vols., nine rupees, eight annas¹⁴⁵) for proficiency therein; and the same term played in St Xavier's eleven against the Alighur [sic] Mohammedan College" (212).

¹⁴⁵ Reginald Bosworth Smith, a graduate of Trinity College at Oxford and an assistant master at Harrow, published *Life of Lord Lawrence* in 1883. John Lawrence (1811-1879) was a military commander in the

Kim's school record shows that he has excelled in the ways that typical public-school boys, whether in India or England, are supposed to excel: he has won a prize book and has played on a cricket team. The choice of prize book is fitting and ironic, both on the part of the school and of Kipling. A dry biography written by a public-school master on a notable figure in British history is precisely the sort of book that was typically chosen for school prizes; moreover, John Lawrence was, like Kim, an Irish imperialist in India. On the other hand, Lawrence avoided conflict in Afghanistan and increased educational opportunities for Indians but decreased the power of Indian elites—policies that seem contrary those that Kim might favor; hence Kipling's choice of prize-books seems somewhat ironic. The mention of cricket in the above passage is the only one in the novel, suggesting, as Kipling elucidates in *Stalky*, that playing cricket at public school has no bearing on one's readiness for imperial service. Later in the record is a note that Kim passed an elementary surveying exam "with great credit" at age fifteen and eight months. Kim has "played the [public-school] game" as expected, yet doing so has not substantially affected his readiness for imperial service.

In the paragraph on Kim's school record, Kipling directs the reader to focus upon what is written, literally and figuratively, in its margins. The narrator informs readers that "[p]encil notes on the edge of an old muster-roll record that [Kim] was punished several times for 'conversing with improper persons' and ... for 'absenting himself for a day in the company of a street beggar [the lama]' " (212). Readers can infer from this

First and Second Sikh Wars (1845-46 and 1848-49) and Indian Uprising (1857) and later served as Viceroy of India (1864-69).

impermanent marginalia that although Kim adapted to the culture of St. Xavier's, he also followed Creighton's advice to avoid becoming racist; Kim continued to fraternize with people of all colors and castes in defiance of the school's rules. The reader can also infer that Kim retained his connection to the lama while he was at school. The narrator concludes the paragraph by mentioning the final marginal note in Kim's record, which states that Kim was "removed on appointment" and that his name does not appear on the list of boys who joined the Survey of India. Once again, Kipling conveys important information about Kim's life through omission: Kim did not graduate from St. Xavier's because he became a spy at or before the age of sixteen. In sum, the reader is led in this paragraph to conclude that Kim's schooling at St. Xavier's played only a limited role in his education as a spiritualist, Sahib, and spy. While at school Kim's religious instruction with the lama was minimized, though not curtailed. At St. Xavier's Kim also learned how to behave like a Sahib, yet he had to consciously resist the school's racism in doing so. Finally, at St. Xavier's Kim studied math and map-making, both of which prepared him to learn the skill of surveying that he would need as a spy, yet most of his spy training occurs in hands-on experiences outside the school gates, or the "Gates of Learning" (213) as the lama calls them. Kipling uses the term "Gates of Learning" ironically. Ultimately, it is Kim's inborn traits of adaptability, luck, and fearlessness rather than his school-bestowed skills that best prepare him for espionage, as we can infer from Mahbub's hyperbolic comment to Creighton that "only once in a thousand years is a horse born so well fitted for the game as this our colt" (215).

Just before the narrator reports on Kim's official school record, when Hurree lectures Kim about education, Kipling questions the value of a more traditional British public-school education. Proud of being "an MA of Calcutta University,"¹⁴⁶ Hurree "spoke uninterruptedly" for an hour and a half about "the advantages of education" (210); apparently, Hurree views himself as an expert on education, of which he considers British education the pinnacle. Kipling paints Hurree as a stereotypical Bengali "babu": chubby, long-winded, anglophilic, speaking in flowery yet imperfect English, and obsequious to those of high rank. In his 1989 introduction to *Kim*, Said keenly identifies Hurree as means through which Kipling could parody Utilitarianism and Spencerianism in defense of Orientalism (28). For all his peccadilloes as a babu, Hurree is highly respected by all of his fellow spies, including Kim, and by Kipling, I would assert. Nevertheless, Hurree's peroration on what comprises a good (British) education is presented as comic, not simply because Hurree himself is a comic figure and his delivery is comical, but because the topics of his peroration—Latin, Wordsworth's *Excursion*, French, Shakespeare's *Lear* and *Julius Caesar*, Edmund Burke, and Augustus Hare—are bewildering and largely irrelevant to Kim. At the time of *Kim*'s publication, every subject in this list except Latin would have seemed troublesomely progressive to masters at many British public schools, for English literature, modern foreign languages, and political philosophy were newcomers to the traditional public-school curriculum of classical languages. Indeed, as

¹⁴⁶ The University of Calcutta was proposed in 1854 by the East India Company and founded in 1857 by the British government, four months before the Indian Uprising began; the university was intended to educate a ruling class of Indians who would be sympathetic to British imperialism and was modeled after the University of London, which itself was intended to extend educational opportunities to people other than Anglican elites.

Viswanathan has shown, English literature as a field of study was imported from India, where it was introduced in British educational institutions. Because, as the narrator notes with a pun on Hurree's mention of Latin, "all this [talk] was Greek to Kim" (210), Kipling suggests that the subjects that Hurree and, in turn, non-traditional and traditional British public schools considered to be crucial to a boy's education were actually useless to an imperial servant. In contrast, what "interested [Kim] very much" was Hurree's discussion of more practical skills he ought to acquire at school, such as "the art and science of mensuration" using measuring-chains and foot-paces, "for here was a new craft that a man could tuck away in his head and by the look of the large wide world unfolding itself before him, it seemed that the more a man knew the better for him" (211). Here Kipling lauds practical, skills-based, vocational education—exactly the kind of education Kim gleans from St. Xavier's, in spite of its being a British-styled public school—while satirizing both liberal-arts education and its predecessor, classical education, for practical education prepares Kim for "the large wide world," particularly the world of Imperial India.

Kim's three types of education—racial-cultural, vocational, and religious—are closely connected to "the World," a recurrent trope in *Kim* that appears in conjunction with another trope, "the Wheel." Said explores Kipling's use of "the World" and "the Wheel," but he downplays the importance of the lama at the novel's conclusion and, in turn, in Kim's process of education. "The World" is Indian and English; it is the panoply of cultures, religions, and peoples that animate India as well as the British presence in Imperial India: its technology, its laws, and its host of government servants, especially its

spies. The lama, the British spies, and others in the novel consider Kim a "Friend of all the World" because his chameleon-like nature allows him to easily navigate "the World," in all its senses. Like "the World," "the Wheel" is used in both Indian and British senses in *Kim*. Most of the time Kipling uses "the Wheel" to mean the cycle of birth and rebirth as conceptualized by Buddhists and Hindus, but against this meaning he counterpoises two different kinds of British "wheels." One of these is the wheel of fortune or fate, as when "Kim flung himself whole-heartedly upon the next turn of the wheel" as he set off to Lurgan's house in Simla for the first time (196). Another such "wheel" is a cogwheel that is symbolic of British train technology; in the climax of the novel after a second crisis of identity induced by Kim asking himself repeatedly, "And what is Kim?" Kim regains control of himself in a mechanical way: "with an almost audible click Kim felt the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without" (331). In other words, "the wheel" in a Buddhist sense is the wheel of the world that entraps beings and keeps them from salvation—something the lama and Kim, following in his footsteps, try to escape; in contrast, "the wheel" in the British senses is something Kim desires to ride, one that engages him solidly within the world.

The duality of "the world" and "the wheel" parallels Kim's straddling of two worlds, one Indian and one British. The central conflict of the novel is the internal conflict Kim experiences between his "native" side and his "Sahib" side, a conflict that is resolved, at least to some extent, in the rapid series of events at the end of the novel once Kim has completed his religious, vocational, and racial-cultural education. First, as a result of the Sahiba's nursing, Kim recovers from the physical and mental exhaustion

precipitated by his first spy mission. He then regains a sense of purpose and solidity when "the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without," as described above. Next, Kim is fully healed by Mother Earth, who "breathed through him to restore the poise he had lost lying so long on a cot cut off from her good currents" (331). Finally, Kim is reunited with the lama, who, having found the sacred "River of the Arrow" and thereby ended his "Search," "crossed his hands on his lap and smiled, as a man may who has won salvation for himself and his beloved" (338). Despite being reunited with the lama, Kim will likely continue his spy work; however, by giving the lama the last words in the novel, and by suggesting that the lama has won Kim's salvation by postponing his own salvation, Kipling suggests that Kim can have the best of both "worlds": he can be free of the world in his afterlife, and in the meantime he can enjoy being "lock[ed] up[on]" the world during his present life. In spite of—not because of—Kim's schooldays at a British-modeled public school in India, he has been trained to be a Sahib and spy. Even more importantly, as a result of the guidance of the various male teacher-professionals who have educated him as a Sahib, spy, and Buddhist and of the female nurturing of the Sahiba and Mother Earth, Kim has miraculously managed to straddle his Indian and British worlds, a feat that Kipling was able to achieve with more perfection in his fiction than in his life.

As this chapter has demonstrated, Kipling, unlike Newbolt, conveyed through his literary works a realist perspective on British public schools, British imperialism, and the nexus between them. During the four years that elapsed between Kipling's writing of "The Brushwood Boy" and "The Islanders," his critique of the public schools as training

grounds for imperial personnel became increasingly strident. The Second Boer War was a pivotal event for both Newbolt and Kipling, but whereas the war solidified Newbolt's idealism, it strengthened Kipling's realism. Ironically, Kipling, like Newbolt, was employed as a propagandist during the First World War but came to regret it later. Kipling strongly encouraged his son John to join the war effort, arranging a commission for him despite his poor eyesight. As Bilsing has persuasively argued, however, after John was killed in action in 1915, Kipling felt a tremendous sense of regret, for he recognized that he had been fooled and, in turn, fooled others into believing that the war was a worthy cause and would end in a glorious victory; hence, Kipling's "Common Form," one of his *Epitaphs of War* (1919), can be read as a poignant indictment of the very same "old Lie" that Wilfred Owen rued in "Dulce et Decorum Est" (1917): "If any question why we died / Tell them because our fathers lied."

Chapter Four

"Well-developed Bodies, Fairly Developed Minds, and Undeveloped Hearts": The Realism of E. M. Forster

Writing "under the shadow of the aeroplanes" and disturbed by "the present world-wide mess," E. M. Forster (1879-1970) outlined his humanist creed and with it his conception for a new world order in his 1939 essay "What I Believe." Throughout the essay Forster is critical of "Belief" and "Faith" in general and Christianity in particular, yet his views are not those of a secular humanist, for he maintains some hope of a divine presence.¹⁴⁷ Forster asserts that "[t]olerance, good temper and sympathy ... are what matter really, and if the human race is not to collapse they must come to the front before long"; however, "for the moment they are ... battered beneath a military jackboot. They want stiffening, even if the process coarsens them." Such "stiffening" is his stated aim in professing the articles of his "Faith," something he normally would avoid. Forster condemns "force and violence" and "hero-worship" while endorsing "personal relationships," "democracy," "aristocracy," and above all, "Love."¹⁴⁸ Forster's "aristocracy" is "[n]ot an aristocracy of power based upon rank and influence, but an aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate, and the plucky. Its members are to be found in all nations and classes.... They represent the true human tradition, the one permanent victory of our queer race over cruelty and chaos." The new world order which Forster proposes can be achieved through human means or, failing that, divine intervention: "The

¹⁴⁷ Forster professes, "My law-givers are Erasmus and Montaigne, not Moses and St Paul. My temple stands not upon Mount Moriah but in that Elysian Field where even the immoral are admitted. My motto is: 'Lord, I disbelieve—help thou my unbelief.'"

¹⁴⁸ Forster asserts that love merits three cheers, whereas democracy only merits only two, whence the title of the essay collection *Two Cheers for Democracy* (1951), which contains "What I Believe," originates.

Saviour of the future—if ever he comes—will not preach a new Gospel. He will merely utilize my aristocracy" (77-85). The views that Forster expresses in "What I Believe" are, as he himself admits, somewhat pessimistic, for they were colored by the Second World War context in which he was writing. Indeed, "What I Believe" is considerably more pessimistic than Forster's earlier essay, "Notes on the English Character" (1920), which reflects a pessimism fostered by the First World War. Nevertheless, Forster's "creed" as expressed in "What I Believe" contains some optimism, although it is a very different sort of optimism than that which was proclaimed by the idealists. Whereas the idealists had faith in God and country (more specifically a Christian God and the British Empire), Forster had faith in some sort of deity and in human goodness.

Forster does not mention public schools in "What I Believe," yet if one is familiar with his fiction and non-fiction writings about such schools, one can discern the public-school antipathy that is a subtext of the essay. Two of Forster's proclamations, for instance, seem directed squarely at idealists like Newbolt: "I hate the idea of causes, and if I had to choose between betraying my country and betraying my friend, I hope I would have the guts to betray my country," and, "What is good in people—and consequently the world—is their insistence on creation, their belief in friendship and loyalty for their own sakes." Along similar lines, although Forster's proposed "aristocracy" perpetuates hierarchical social positioning, it inverts the present social hierarchy and in turn negates the influence public schools have had on the English character. Forster's "aristocracy" privileges emotional sensitivity—the very quality that in "Notes on the English Character" he charges public schools with squelching—over class and even race.

Although Forster has an idealistic perspective on "[w]hat is good in people—and consequently the world," his views of British public schools and the British Empire are diametrically different from those of the idealists; therefore, he belongs in the category of realists.

As suggested previously, the ideologies and works of Kipling and Forster have much more in common than critics have supposed, and these commonalities are explored in this chapter. Both authors assert that the education that boys receive outside of public schools is substantially superior that which they receive inside them. In addition, both authors contend that public schools have caused the British Empire to go astray. Kipling and Forster vehemently condemn upper- and middle-class snobbery and celebrate cross-class, cross-cultural, and cross-racial connections. Finally, both authors point to the importance of emotions and spirituality while simultaneously highlighting the hypocrisy and other pitfalls of muscular Christianity.

Of course, Kipling's and Forster's views were not identical. Forster calls for a more radical departure from existing class structures and places more explicit emphasis on emotions and spirituality than Kipling does. In addition, whereas Kipling portrays public schools as potentially but not necessarily harmful, for if you are a Stalky or a Kim you can resist their corrosive influence, Forster portrays public schools as inevitably damaging, for they stamp out humanist qualities. While neither Kipling nor Forster advocates the dissolution of the British Empire, Forster is more critical of the imperial project. Similarly, Forster presents all of his Raj characters as reprehensible, whereas Kipling presents some of his Raj characters, such as Colonel Creighton, as laudable.

Conversely, Kipling's English (as opposed to Raj) characters are more often detestable than Forster's English characters. Finally, while Forster admires what he calls the "muddle of India," Kipling adores it. Some of these differences between Kipling and Forster may be attributable to Kipling's having spent more time in India than Forster, and to Kipling's never having adjusted to life in England. Additionally, the two men were writing during different eras; whereas the Boer War shaped Kipling, the First and Second World Wars and Indian nationalist struggles molded Forster.

This chapter presents Forster as a realist author. After a brief introduction to Forster's life and works, the chapter examines Forster's essay "Notes on the English Character" (1920) as a means of clarifying his realist ideology and providing a lens through which to read his literary works. Next, the chapter briefly introduces Forster's novel *The Longest Journey* (1907) as a prelude to his posthumously published novel *Maurice* (finished 1914, published 1971). The analysis of both novels demonstrates Forster's critical view of British public schools, elucidates his alternative social order, and lays a foundation for Forster's critique of the British Raj in *A Passage to India* (1924). As we shall see, Forster considered the flaws of British Indians to be an extension and intensification of the shortcomings of public-school boys and Englishmen. The bulk of the chapter focuses on *Passage*, scrutinizing Forster's presentation of the heroic aspects of his characters and his themes in contradistinction to the characteristics and ideology of its public-school products, the "Turtens and Burtons." The analysis of these four works reveals Forster's subversion of idealist beliefs, particularly through the refiguring of the

symbolic significance of games, as well as the commonalities between Forster's and Kipling's works.

As has been the case for all of the writers considered thus far, Forster's life experiences are reflected in his writing.¹⁴⁹ Forster was born into an upper-middle class family. He received an inheritance from his great-aunt, Marianne Thornton, whose family belonged to the Clapham Sect of evangelists, which paid for his education and enabled him to travel and become a man of letters. Forster did not enjoy his years as a day student at Tonbridge,¹⁵⁰ a public school which was founded in 1553 and came of age in the nineteenth century as a supplier of imperial functionaries, as his depiction of the fictional Sawston School in *The Longest Journey* reveals; however, he loved being at King's College, Cambridge (1897-1901), as his rapturous depictions of Cambridge life in *The Longest Journey* and *Maurice* attest. At the university he developed a friendship with H. O. Meredith, the prototype for the character Clive in *Maurice*, and joined the Apostles, whose members later formed Bloomsbury group, to which Forster also belonged. Forster's work as an instructor at the Working Men's College in London from 1902-22 as well as his decision to decline knighthood (Smith, Zadie), a decision that Newbolt did not make, reflect Forster's commitment to the revision of the existing class system.

¹⁴⁹ For a full-length biography of Forster, see Furbank. For shorter biographical accounts, see Bailey, Doll, McDowell, Rahman, Singh, Suleri, Smith, Truitt, and Zareer.

¹⁵⁰ Ironically, the home page of the Tonbridge School website advertises Forster as an Old Tonbridgian, despite the fact that Forster was vocal in his denunciation of public schools: "we hope to foster a life-long empathy for the needs and views of others: in the words of the great novelist and Old Tonbridgian, E.M. Forster: 'Only Connect.'"

Like other realists, including Kipling, Forster had more exposure to, and therefore a deeper understanding of, the workings of the British Empire than the idealists did. In 1912-13 he spent six months in India visiting his friend and love, Syed Ross Masood,¹⁵¹ whom he had tutored in Latin in 1907 and who was the grandson of the Indian educator and Islamic reformer Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Singh has suggested that Forster considered Masood to be a co-creator of *Passage*, for in a 1924 letter to Masood Forster referred to the novel as "our book," and a number of critics, including Rahman, believe Masood was the model for the character of Aziz. During the First World War, Forster was a conscientious objector, but he worked for the Red Cross in Alexandria, Egypt, where he developed a relationship with Mohammad el-Adl, a young tram conductor. Forster returned to India to serve as the secretary of the Maharajah of Dewas (a small princely state in central India) for ten months in 1921-1922, years during which anti-British sentiment was rising. Such sentiment was fueled by Britain's failure to grant India dominion status after the First World War, the Amritsar Massacre, and various Indian nationalist movements, including Gandhi's *swaraj* movement and the *Khilafat* movement. Indeed, the period during which Forster was writing *Passage*, 1912-1924, was a period of significant turmoil in India. Forster was well aware of Indian politics and felt the days of the Raj were numbered (Zareer), as is reflected in the novel's pessimistic outlook on the possibility of "friendship" between the Indians and the English.

Forster's works, even more so than Kipling's, have received a great deal of critical attention. During the past four decades, as the postcolonial and queer fields within

¹⁵¹ Forster's letters suggest that although he wanted Masood to be his lover, their relationship remained platonic; in any case, Forster was devastated by Masood's death in 1937.

literary criticism have grown, Forster scholarship has tended to fall into one of these two categories or into both at the same time.¹⁵² One such study is Suleri's "Forster's Imperial Erotic" (1992), which claims that in *Passage*, "racial difference serv[es] as a substitute for gender [difference]" (133), and therefore the homoeroticism of the novel is Forster's reworking of the typical Orientalist trope of the white male violating the brown female. A more recent study that takes a similar approach is Quentin Bailey's "Heroes and Homosexuals: Education and Empire in E. M. Forster" (2002), which contends that the tensions of class and sexuality in *Maurice* and Forster's other novels set in England are a "domestication" or "displacement" of the colonial tensions in *A Passage to India* (8); in other words, because the myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority propagated by British public schools, the Church, and the State would not allow Britons and Indians to "only connect," Forster attempted to resolve his colonial anxiety by forging connections with male lovers across class lines and by channeling it into the modernist themes of alienation and exile. Although postcolonial-psychological readings like Bailey's and Suleri's draw necessary attention to the similarities among various subaltern categories (homosexuals, the working classes, "natives"), they tend to collapse the categories into a single one ("Other"), thereby eliding their distinctiveness and importance. Viewing the homoeroticism and homosexuality of Forster's novels as a mere "substitut[ion]" or "displacement" of colonial tensions is a reductive move.

¹⁵² As Singh has noted, Forster's treatment of Hinduism and Islam in his works has received surprisingly little scholarly attention; Indian scholars have paid more attention to it than American and British scholars, but they have tended to privilege Hinduism over Islam.

As mentioned in the Introduction, scholars have tended to position Forster and Kipling as opposites; moreover, they have largely ignored how Forster's works comment on the nexus between education and empire, thereby reflecting his realist views. Bailey at least introduces the subject of this nexus, but he does not address Forster's critique of public-school education in *Passage*, and he discusses Maurice's education only minimally. Richards explores Forster's public-school antipathy in *Journey* and, to a lesser extent, *Maurice*, but he only fleetingly acknowledges Forster's condemnation of the public-school tainted Indian administrators in *Passage*:

[I]n *A Passage to India* [it is] precisely the public school qualities of the typical administrator and of the Anglo-Indian mentality that are undermining the Raj. For what it precluded was [sic] the things that Forster valued most—sympathy, humanity, brotherhood, and love. (*Happiest Days* 168)

This chapter fills in gaps left by Bailey and Richards in order to present a more complete picture of Forster's realist views of public schools, imperialism, and the nexus between them.

"With a Bible in One Hand, a Pistol in the Other, and Financial Concessions in Both Pockets": Forster's "Notes on the English Character"

In "Notes on the English Character" (1920), Forster clearly and forcefully articulates his realist views, which are underwritten by his humanism; an examination of this essay is therefore a useful and necessary prelude to a study of the realism expressed in his literary works. In a sweeping and frank yet humorous and slightly apologetic manner, Forster attributes all that is wrong with England, both in his eyes and the eyes of the world, to its public schools. First, Forster asserts that "the character of the English is essentially middle-class" because the middle classes have been predominant for so long;

as he correctly observes, "They gained wealth by the Industrial Revolution, political power by the Reform Bill of 1832; [and t]hey are connected with the rise and organization of the British Empire" (3). He then posits that "[j]ust as the heart of England is the middle classes, so the heart of the middle classes is the public-school system,"¹⁵³ which "perfectly... expresses their character—far better, for instance, than does the university, into which social and spiritual complexities have already entered" and "produces a type whose weight is out of all proportion to its numbers" (3-4). The complexity—and superiority—of a university mindset compared to the simplicity of a public-school mindset is a theme to which Forster, who much preferred Cambridge to Tonbridge, returns repeatedly in "Notes" as in his novels.

Forster spends a lengthy paragraph mocking public-school graduates for their nostalgia, their refusal to grow up, their philistinism, their lingering but false belief that "school is the world in miniature ... and no one can love his country who does not love his school," their clannishness as Old Boys, and their arrogant insularity (4). He ends the humorous but trenchant paragraph with this famous (to idealists, infamous) passage:

And they go forth into a world that is not entirely composed of public-school men or even of Anglo-Saxons, but of men who are as various as the sands of the sea; into a world of whose richness and subtlety they have no conception. They go forth into it with well-developed bodies, fairly developed minds, and undeveloped hearts. And it is this undeveloped heart that is largely responsible for the difficulties of Englishmen abroad.

The "incomplete[ness]" (10) of public-school boys, with their "well-developed bodies, fairly developed minds, and undeveloped hearts," is a second theme that Forster develops

¹⁵³ Forster observes that the public-school system is "local," for it "can flourish only where [Anglo-Saxon middle classes] can flourish," though he notes that it has "inspire[d] other great institutions" such as Aligarh in India and schools in America—likely a nod to his friend Ross Masood, who attended Aligarh.

in *Journey*, *Maurice*, and *Passage*. Kipling conveys this same theme in his works, as we saw in Chapter Three. Indeed, the critique Forster makes of public schools and "the English character" in "Notes" is nearly identical to that which Kipling makes in "The Islanders," only less caustic in its satire. Forster's corollary theme, that "it is this undeveloped heart that is largely responsible for the difficulties of Englishmen abroad," is central to *Passage* and is also illustrated in Kipling's works (for example, in the character of Rev. Bennett), though Forster puts more emphasis on the homoerotic aspect of "heart," as will be discussed later.

In the following six pages, Forster keenly expounds upon the "undeveloped hearts," the stultified emotions and spirituality, of Englishmen. He asserts that "it is not that the Englishman can't feel," for the "great literature" of Shakespeare and the Lake Poets proves otherwise; rather, "it is that he is afraid to feel," for he "has been taught at his public school that feeling is bad form" (5). Along similar lines, Forster contends that England is not "unspiritual"; instead, "it expresses its belief, not in fasting and visions, not in prophetic rapture, but in the daily round, the common task" (10). "Religion," he posits, "is more than an ethical code with a divine sanction. It is also a means through which man may get into direct communication with the divine"; however, "judging by history, few Englishmen have succeeded in doing this" because the English approach to religion is perfunctory and practical rather than passionate and theological (9-10). The kind of spirituality that Forster advocates countervails muscular Christianity, of which he would have been well aware given that his relatives belonged to the Clapham Sect and he had attended Tonbridge. In discussing the emotional and religious limitations of "the

Englishman," Forster twice challenges Orientalist stereotypes, though he stops short of overturning them: he does not deny that the East is "mysterious" (having hidden depths, in this case, depth of emotion) (8) and "spiritual" (10), but he does contend that the West exhibits these qualities, albeit in different ways. Here and elsewhere in "Notes," Forster's ideas prefigure those of Said,¹⁵⁴ for he counters Orientalism (in which the West/"Self" creates itself in opposition to an imagined East/"Other") with humanism (in which the West/"Self" seeks to find commonality with the East/"Other"), and as a humanist he battles insularity and engages in self-criticism.

Forster's critique of English character, unlike that of public schools, is somewhat apologetic, but it is nevertheless incisive. He argues that the Englishman's public-school education has given his nation a negative reputation—partly deserved and partly undeserved—around the world, and his indifference to criticism exacerbates this ill repute. Although "[n]o national character is complete the English national character is incomplete in a way that is particularly annoying to the foreign observer" because "it has a bad surface—self-complacent, unsympathetic, reserved" (13). Forster then methodically addresses four charges that "foreign observer[s]" have leveled against the British: hypocrisy, treachery, cruelty, and fanaticism. The first charge, he concludes, is a "true" one: "we are perfide Albion, the island of hypocrites, the people who have built up an Empire with a Bible in one hand, a pistol in the other, and financial concessions in both pockets" (10-11). Once again Forster demonstrates his antipathy toward muscular Christianity. Forster qualifies his strong indictment of the British Empire, however, by

¹⁵⁴ See *Orientalism* (1978) and *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (2004).

adding a caveat: the English are guilty not of "*conscious* deceit" but of "*unconscious* deceit," what he terms "muddleheadedness" ("A public-school education does not make for mental clearness, and [an Englishman] possesses to a very high degree the power of confusing his own mind") (11).

Forster denies charges of English treachery, cruelty, and fanaticism, for "[the Englishman's] character, which prevents his rising to certain heights, also prevents him from sinking to these depths"; one can, he adds, find examples of "these depths" in police courts and the Amritsar Massacre, which occurred the year before Forster wrote this essay, "but one does not look at the police courts or the military mind to find the soul of any nation" (12-3). While one could argue that Forster is excusing British colonial violence by positioning General Dyer as an exception, what Bose terms a "rogue-colonial individualis[t]" (73), but one could counter that in *Passage* Forster characterizes violence as characteristic of both the military and civilian components of the Raj and, moreover, as inexcusable. In "Notes" and even more so in *Passage*, Forster demonstrates his awareness of Indian grievances against the English, yet he does not so far as to call for an end to the Raj; however, the fact that Forster presents nothing at all redeeming about the Raj in *Passage* suggests that he might favor its dissolution.

Forster concludes "Notes" by expressing his "hope and belie[f]" that the English national character will improve because "[t]he supremacy of the middle classes is probably ending," and although whatever "new elements the working classes will introduce one cannot say ... at all events they will not have been educated at public schools" (13). Here Forster anticipates the ascendancy of the working classes because

although such a phenomenon would be new and therefore alien, it would be free of a public-school taint. Forster also warns that "[th]e nations must understand one another, and quickly; and without the interposition of their governments, for the shrinking of the globe is throwing them into one another's arms" (14). Although Forster's prediction that the working classes would dominate English society did not come to fruition, his warning about "the shrinking of the globe" resonates uncannily with the modern-day notion of financial globalization as a means to achieving world harmony; however, Forster's vision springs from humanism, rather than capitalism.

As previously observed, the realist arguments Forster presents in "Notes on the English Character" echo themes he expresses in *Journey*, *Maurice* and *Passage*. Yet another such theme is that "[th]e nations must understand one another, and quickly," a variant of the famous theme of *Howard's End*, "only connect" — which, as Richards has noted, runs through all of Forster's novels and was also a personal creed (*Happiest* 168). In both "Notes" and *Passage*, Forster implicitly figures nations as homosexual lovers. When Forster wrote "Notes" (1920), "the shrinking of the globe" — via the British Empire and the First World War — had already "throw[n him] into [the] arms," both literally and figuratively, of Masood and el-Adl. It would seem that Masood was on Forster's mind when he wrote "Notes" and likely was part of his intended audience, for in the essay Forster relates a series of conversations he had with Masood, referred to only as "an Indian friend," in order to illustrate how the Englishman, in this case Forster himself, "measure[s] out [his] emotions as if they were potatoes" (5). In *Passage*, which is dedicated to Masood, Forster uses nearly the same language in a dialogue between Aziz

and Fielding (282-3), as Rahman has noted (78). As we shall see later in this chapter, Aziz and Fielding, the symbols of India and England, respectively, try but are unable to realize the goal Forster sets forth in "Notes": to "understand one another, and quickly."

"Boys Can't Love the School When They Hate Each Other": Forster's *The Longest Journey*

The Longest Journey (1907) is the first novel in which Forster expresses his realist view of public schools. As noted in the Introduction, antipathy toward public schools stretches back in time as far as the schools themselves, but literary critiques of such schools came in waves; the Second Boer War set one such wave in motion, and the First World War initiated an even bigger wave. *The Longest Journey*, like Kipling's *Stalky* and *Kim*, was part of the former wave. Reed calls *The Longest Journey* "the first truly modern criticism of the public school by a major novelist" (Reed 135; qtd. in Richards 168). In *Happiest Days* (1988) Richards discusses Forster's condemnation of public schools in *The Longest Journey* at length; therefore, this chapter discusses the novel only briefly in order to demonstrate how it illustrates Forster's realist views. What Forster challenges in *The Longest Journey* are key myths propagated by public schools: that they foster patriotism and *esprit de corps*, and that they are the world in miniature. He also elevates middle- and upper-class university intellectuals and working-class country people over middle-class suburbanites, as he does in "Notes," *Maurice*, and *Passage*.

The Longest Journey chronicles the tragic life of Rickie Elliot, a congenitally lame suburban Englishman, who, in many respects, is a projection of Forster himself.¹⁵⁵ The novel is divided into three sections—Cambridge, Sawston, and Wiltshire—each of which covers a different period and place of residence for Rickie and corresponds to a particular emotional and intellectual frame of mind. At Cambridge Rickie is the happiest, for he is surrounded by liberal, intellectual aesthetes like him; at Sawston, a (fictional) public school where he is a master, Rickie is miserable, for he feels stultified by his philistine wife and brother-in-law and the position that they had obtained for him there; and finally, at his aunt's home in rural Wiltshire, Rickie finally regains happiness as he befriends (and falls in love with) his working-class half-brother Stephen, only to be run over by a train as he pulls a drunken Stephen off the tracks.

The oppressive yet satirical picture of public-school life and attitudes that Forster paints in the Sawston section of the novel forcefully conveys his realist views. When the narrator explains that Sawston "aimed at producing the average Englishman, and, to a very great extent, it succeeded" (55), Forster implicitly blames public schools for the mediocrity of British society and culture, a charge he repeats in "Notes," *Maurice*, and *Passage*. Rickie's brother-in-law Mr. Pembroke, who is a barely sympathetic caricature of public-school housemasters, serves as the school's self-appointed and most ardent champion of both *esprit de corps* and patriotism, which he views as connected: "'Through the house,' Pembroke said, 'one learns patriotism for the school, just through the school

¹⁵⁵ Like Forster, Rickie was closer to his mother than his father, loathed suburban life, did not fit into the public-school scene very well, viewed Cambridge as a utopia, was skeptical of marriage, and idealized rural life and people.

one learns patriotism for the country'" (56). Similarly, in an opening night address to his House, Pembroke links public schools to the British Empire by "only a short ladder":

'[S]chool is the world in miniature.' ... Taking a wider range, he spoke of England, or rather of Great Britain, and of her continental foes. Portraits of empire-builders hung on the wall, and he pointed to them. He quoted imperial poets. He showed how patriotism had broadened since the days of Shakespeare... And it seemed to him that only a short ladder lay between the preparation room [classroom] and the Anglo-Saxon hegemony of the globe. (182)

Here Pembroke espouses a typically idealistic view of the relationship between public schools and the Empire, and he uses "imperial poets"—we can imagine he might have quoted Newbolt or, ironically, Kipling—to support his argument. In this passage and the scene from which it is excerpted, Forster mocks Pembroke's authoritarian manner, his lack of eloquence, his pomposity, and, most of all, his grandiose ideas. Public schools are not as important as they believe themselves to be, Forster suggests. Because Pembroke is a comic figure in the novel, the reader views Pembroke's idealistic claim "that only a short ladder lay between the preparation room and the Anglo-Saxon hegemony of the globe" as overstated, yet there was, in fact, some truth to his statement, for, as we have seen, public schools were a powerful force in the perpetuation of the Empire. Although he does not do so in *The Longest Journey*, in *Passage* Forster foregrounds the very real—and damaging—connection between public schools and the Empire.

Although Rickie, like the boys listening to Pembroke's peroration, initially finds Pembroke's ideas moderately persuasive, he later questions them, particularly when one of the boarders in his dorm is permanently scarred, literally and figuratively, by the

bullying to which he has been subjected by his peers and which has been ignored by his masters. In a rare moment of assertiveness with his wife, Rickie declares that

Patriotism and *esprit de corps* are all very well, but masters a little forget that that they must grow from sentiment. They cannot create one.

Cannot—cannot—cannot. I never cared a straw for England until I cared for Englishmen, and boys can't love the school when they hate each other. (196)

In other words, public schools cannot do what they purport to do (foster patriotism and *esprit de corps*) until they first foster brotherhood and kindness. Unlike Newbolt, who treats "House feeling" as holy, Forster treats it as oxymoronic, for at school, boys learn to suppress emotions rather than cultivate them. As soon as Rickie utters the words above he regrets them, yet the reader understands that despite his timidity, Rickie speaks for Forster, the humanist, in denouncing public schools and their negative influence upon the character of England and its Empire.

"All England Were Closing Round the Wickets": Forster's *Maurice*

In many respects, Forster's novel *Maurice*, completed in 1914 but not published until 1971, is, as Richards has posited, "the novel lurking beneath the surface of *The Longest Journey*" in which open homosexuality is a social possibility (*Happiest* 177). Like *Journey*, *Maurice* critiques public schools as well as their deleterious effect on "the English character." *Maurice* goes further in its public-school critique than does *Journey*, however, for *Maurice* offers an alternative to middle-class dominance that prefigures what Forster terms in "What I Believe" an aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate, and the plucky." In the alternative hierarchy that Forster proposes in *Maurice*, social class no longer matters but capacity for emotion does. Just as Forster refashions

"aristocracy" in *Maurice*, he redefines "playing up" and "playing cricket," thereby subverting the idealist ideology with which these terms are invested. Although *Maurice* does not explicitly critique the effects of public schools on the British Empire, it does contain what Bailey has correctly identified as imperial traces and it lays a foundation for his exploration of imperialism in *Passage*.

Maurice chronicles the emotional and sexual development of Maurice Hall, the suburban son of a stockbroker, from his schooldays into adulthood. In contrast to Rickie, Maurice has a well-developed body, fairly developed mind, and undeveloped heart, but by the end of the novel he has developed his heart substantially. The fact that Maurice's schooldays constitute only a small portion (three chapters out of a total of forty-six) of a novel that, like *Kim*, is a *bildungsroman* suggests that Forster did not consider formal schooling to be the critical shaper of character that public-school advocates had long claimed; moreover, Forster depicts Maurice's definitively "mediocre" prep and public schools not merely as ineffectual but as detrimental, for they cloud and stifle his emotional and sexual development. Maurice's true education comes in the form of his intellectual, social, and romantic experiences at Cambridge University and, even more importantly, his post-Cambridge love affairs.

Forster opens the novel at the turn of the century¹⁵⁶ just before the fourteen-year-old Maurice leaves his prep school for public school. Forster characterizes Maurice's prep school as ineffectual as an educational institution yet relatively harmless compared to a public school: "Amid mutual compliments the boys passed out into a public school,

¹⁵⁶ In his "Terminal Note" Forster specifies that "the novel's action-date is 1912" (239), which would put Maurice's departure date from prep school around the turn of the twentieth century.

healthy but backward, to receive upon undefended flesh the first blows of the world" (3). The primary function of the prep school scene is to emphasize the innocence and vulnerability of boys as they enter public school. One of the prep-school masters, Mr. Ducie, pulls Maurice aside during a school outing in order to explain the scientific aspects of sex and puberty, about which Maurice knows nothing, and extol the Christian virtues of chastity and marriage before the boy heads off to public school (4); however, Mr. Ducie's clumsy lecture serves only to bewilder and shame Maurice. Mr. Ducie resurfaces in Maurice's life at a climactic moment near the end of the novel, as Maurice is arguing with Alec Scudder, the homosexual lover who will eventually become his life-partner. The schoolmaster serves as a device framing the troubled period of Maurice's sexual awakening, from its awkward beginning to its resolution as Maurice embraces his homosexuality. Through Mr. Ducie, Forster posits that schoolmasters—with their poor understanding of the psychology of juvenile and adolescent males, their hypocrisy regarding sex, and their valorization of heterosexuality—impede and complicate rather than enable and guide the emotional and sexual development of boys, particularly homosexual ones.

Rather than build character, Maurice's (fictional) public school, Sunnington, promotes philistinism, cruelty, and homogeneity, and, moreover, retards and complicates emotional and sexual development. Forster characterizes Maurice as "a mediocre member of a mediocre school [who] left a faint and favourable impression behind" but did not stand out, for "there were so many boys of his type—they formed the backbone of the school and we cannot notice each vertebra." Maurice "did the usual things":

competed his schoolwork perfunctorily, played games satisfactorily but not well, was once caned, studied classics, became a prefect, was bullied and in turn bullied others, "not because he was cruel but because it was the proper thing to do" (14). Maurice wins a prize for writing a poem in Greek chastising the Hague Conference for trying to abolish war; although the poem's "Greek was vile," it won because of its bellicose message and because "[t]he examining master had stretched a point in [Maurice's] favour since he was leaving and a respectable chap, and moreover leaving for Cambridge, where prize books on his shelves would help to advertise the school" (18). In this episode Forster exposes the public-school tradition of prize-giving as a subjective and self-interested sham. Selvadurai presents prize-giving in a similar light in *Funny Boy*, as Chapter Five discusses.

At Sunnington, Maurice felt "bewildered," for the clarity of his childhood "sexless[ness]" was replaced by a deadening confusion of adolescent sexuality. As a result, "[h]e was descending the Valley of the Shadow of Life" (14), an ironic metaphor drawn from Psalm 23 that Forster repeatedly uses for Maurice's sleep-like state prior to his homosexual awakening.¹⁵⁷ Maurice "became obscene" in "Thoughts" and "Acts," but the latter were limited to masturbation (15). He had "little opportunity of exchanging experiences with his school-fellows" because following "a terrific scandal" his school had actively suppressed all sexual activity (16). Although "the school library was immaculate," Maurice was titillated by an "unexpurgated" book of Latin poetry by Martial that he found in his grandfather's library (16). Like Kipling's George Cottar,

¹⁵⁷ Forster's metaphor might also allude ironically to Tennyson's "valley of Death," the setting of his poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1854).

Maurice was haunted by dreams, though in Maurice's case, the two dreams were vaguely homosexual; nevertheless, both characters' dreams are symptoms of the repression of feeling and creativity at public schools. Unlike Cottar, Maurice developed romantic feelings for other boys; only on one occasion were the feelings mutual, however, and that relationship ended after "a few days." Despite the constraints of school, Maurice's "feelings of beauty and tenderness.... grew yearly," but in a deformed fashion, "like plants that are all leaves and show no sign of flower" (17).

Maurice's emotional and sexual "flower[ing]" can take place only after he leaves his public school, Forster suggests, and then only gradually. At Cambridge, Maurice joined a college "patronized by ... old Sunningtonians, and during his first year managed to experience little in University life that was unfamiliar." His circle was philistine and clannish, "not car[ing] to risk knowing men who had come from other public schools." Here Forster illustrates the compound insularity of public-school graduates: they isolate themselves not only from those who had attended other sorts of schools but also from those who had attended rival public schools. Even though "[n]ow and then they got drunk and boasted mysteriously about women ... their outlook remained that of the upper fifth, and some of them kept it through life" (21). This stunted "outlook" applied not simply to their sexuality but to every aspect of their lives, for they never grew up or expanded their horizons—just like the public-school graduates Forster mocks in "Notes" and the "Turtens and Burtons" he satirizes in *Passage*.

Upon discovering that, unlike schoolboys, "grown-up men behave politely to one another" (21), Maurice becomes more adventurous in making new friends. In turn, he

realizes that people are "alive" as opposed to "flat pieces of cardboard stamped with a conventional design," as he had previously "*pretended to be [italics original]*" (22). He adopts a set of friends in Trinity College, "all of enormous intellect and culture" (27), and develops a Platonic relationship (philosophical and romantic but not sexual) with one of them, Clive Durham. Clive's name suggests Lord Robert Clive, perhaps as a symbol of upward mobility, for though Durham's family did not make its fortune in India, but it did rise from middle-class professional to landed gentry within the last several generations.¹⁵⁸ Maurice and Clive's relationship lasts beyond college but ends when Clive decides he wants to marry.¹⁵⁹ Crushed by Clive's rejection of him, Maurice takes up bourgeois paramilitary and charitable activities: he volunteers with a militia called the "Territorials" and "with the youth of the College Settlement in South London" (132), the kind of urban evangelical mission at which Newbolt volunteered. Eventually Maurice realizes, however, that his volunteerism sprang from sexual desire rather than Christian charity. Forster questions the putative altruism behind muscular Christians' allegedly patriotic and charitable endeavors as Kipling does, but Forster focuses on sexuality rather than violence.

Maurice finally can forget his failed relationship with Clive after he has a sexual encounter with Clive's undergamekeeper, Alec Scudder, whom he had inadvertently but subconsciously beckoned to his room one night while visiting Clive. The day after their

¹⁵⁸ "Clive's great-great-uncle had been Lord Chief justice in the reign of George IV, and the nest he had feathered was Penge [the Durham estate]" (77).

¹⁵⁹ Ironically, Clive makes his decision to renounce his homosexuality after taking a trip to Greece, demonstrating that his classically inspired idealization of Platonic love was only superficial.

liaison Maurice must play on the same cricket team as Alec in the annual match between Clive's estate and the local villagers, but he dreads it, for

Maurice hated cricket. It demanded a snickety neatness he could not supply; and, though he had often done it for Clive's sake, he disliked playing with his social inferiors. Footer [rugby] was different—he could give and take there—but in cricket he might be bowled or punished by some lout, and he felt it unsuitable. (186)

Maurice dread arises out of his lack of skill at cricket as well as his middle-class snobbery, which is exacerbated by his regret over having had sex with Alec. Maurice views the match as a battle between the middle and working classes—not "Park versus the Village" as the game was designed to be, but Maurice versus all the working-class players on both sides because he is the only non-working class member of the "Park" team.¹⁶⁰

Maurice's "storm of distaste" dissipates, however, when Alec smiles at him during the match, reminding him of their bond, and as a result, "Maurice played up too." For Maurice the match transforms into a new kind of battle, this time between homosexuals and their heterosexual oppressors:

... he felt that they [Alec and him] were against the whole world, that not only Mr. Borenus [the parish priest] and the field but the audience in the shed and all England were closing round the wickets. They played for the sake of each other and their fragile relationship—if one fell the other would follow. They intended no harm to the world, but so long as it attacked, they must punish, they must stand wary, then hit with full strength, they must show that when two are gathered together majorities shall not triumph. (187)

This passage is heavy with symbolism, as will be discussed in the following paragraph.

Maurice then notices that "[Alec] too was in white flannels, and their looseness made him

¹⁶⁰ Clive is too busy campaigning for his M.P. position to play, and he has no other male family members, so he recruits Maurice to represent his family in the game.

look like a gentleman or anyone else" (187). Maurice's drastic shift in perspective during what is arguably the climax of the novel is temporary, for he soon experiences a "breakdown" and runs back to Clive's mansion, where "he was violently sick" (188). By the novel's resolution, however, Maurice regains the perspective he had achieved during the cricket match; as a result, he overcomes his class prejudice and commits to a tender, passionate relationship with Alec that stands in stark contrast to his idealized but sterile relationship with Clive.

Forster's cricket scene in *Maurice* subverts the idealists' ideology in three respects. First, he disrupts idealist constructions of cricket as a marker of class and of "playing up" as the bravery and *esprit de corps* of public-schoolboys and imperial soldiers. Using a contemporary athletic idiom, we could say that Forster uses cricket to "level the playing field" by erasing class differences and uses "playing up" to signify homosexual solidarity. Second, Forster uses the parish priest, Mr. Borenus, whose name mocks his boring demeanor, in much the same way Kipling uses Rev. Bennett: as a symbol for the sanctimoniousness, hypocrisy, and violence of muscular Christianity that idealists defend but realists find offensive. Finally, Maurice's radical shift in perspective symbolizes the larger, societal shift which Forster advocates in much of his writing: from a hierarchy of class to a hierarchy of feeling, in which those who are most capable of sensitivity and love—such as Maurice and Alec, the upper middle- and working-class sons of a stock broker and a butcher, respectively—are poised at the pinnacle, regardless of their class status, while those who are less capable of sensitivity and love—everyone else in the novel—are ranged beneath them. The narrator of *Maurice* avers, "[if] the will

can overleap class, civilization as we have made it will go to pieces," and this is precisely what Forster is proposing, for only the shattering of "civilization as we have made it" (191) would free England from the shackles of its middle-class domination as enforced by the Church and the public schools.

Forster's critique of public schools in *Maurice* implicitly extends to a critique of imperialism through his subversive rendering of cricket, his criticism of muscular Christianity, and his proposed "aristocracy" of feeling. As Bailey has noted, Forster wrote *Maurice* in 1913-1914, just after having taken his first trip to India, so it is not surprising that *Maurice* contains "trace[s] of the imperial project" (5). Bailey observes, for example, that Forster figures working-class characters and homosexuals as "native."¹⁶¹ Bailey uses "trace" in the Derridian sense, but even without inserting such "traces" into a deconstructionist framework, one can see how Forster obliquely critiques imperialism in *Maurice*. One such "trace" is that Maurice's public-school education was designed to produce idealist imperial servants, and even though Maurice does not choose to become one, his bourgeois profession as a stockbroker, which Forster's narrator clearly disdains, was contingent upon the imperial economy. *Maurice* critiques the British Empire implicitly rather than explicitly, yet its subversion of idealist ideology and tropes lays a foundation for Forster's critique of the Raj in *Passage*.

¹⁶¹ See Bailey (5-6): When Maurice's affair with Clive ends, he tries to redeem himself through "punctuality, courtesy, patriotism, chivalry" (130) as well as his job and volunteerism. Alec's "bright brown eyes" (166) "sun-roughened skin" (214), and "fresh colouring" (219) are like those of a "native," and after Maurice has sex with him Maurice "goes native" himself, for he suddenly views Clive's family and their houseguests as "a race whose nature and numbers were unknown, and whose every food tasted poisonous" (185).

"Turttons and Burtons": Forster's *Passage to India*

Although no portion of *Passage* is set in a British public school, as is the case in *Journey* and *Maurice*, throughout *Passage* Forster critiques the public-school mentality that pervades the British Raj; moreover, Forster asserts, the public-school qualities that are already repugnant in England are inflated in India. The defects of the "English character" which Forster identifies in "Notes" develop into the more insidious "officialism," classism, sexism, and racism of the British Indians.¹⁶² Borrowing from the language of "Notes," when the "fairly developed minds and underdeveloped hearts" of public-school graduates leave England and enter "into a world of whose richness and subtlety they have no conception," they calcify in an immature state rather than developing properly. In *Passage* Forster offers three reasons for the exacerbation of public-school traits in India. The first is simply that Old Boys are ill-equipped to venture outside their public-school realm and therefore are incapable of developing their hearts and minds. The second is that because middle-class imperial servants are afforded greater class privileges in India than they had enjoyed back in England, they become intoxicated with their newfound power and allow their negative traits, including racism and violence, to escalate unchecked. The third is that public-school graduates bring their wives with them to India, introducing complications to Anglo-Indian relations, including the wives' adoption and embellishment of their husband's public-school attitudes. As a result of its compounded public-school qualities, Forster posits, the British Raj is intolerably oppressive and, ultimately, doomed to fail. Gilmour charges that Forster's

¹⁶² I have opted to use the term "British Indians" to denote British people living in India rather than "Anglo-Indians" because the latter term can also refer to mixed-race (Anglo and Indian) people of India.

portrait of British Indians is unfairly "one-sided," yet his citation of testimony in defense of Anglo-Indians ironically attests to the accuracy of Forster's portrait (49-53).

The ills of the Raj are signaled by the phrase "Turtons and the Burtons." In the novel we meet two characters named Turton (Mr. Turton, the "Collector," the highest-ranking British official in the city of Chandrapore, and his wife, Mrs. Turton) but none named Burton. Since the rhyming phrase "Turtons and Burtons" is used five times in the novel, the reader wonders who these elusive "Burtons" might be. My contention is that Forster adds "Burtons" to "Turtons" in order to create a rhyme that conveys the oppressive sameness of imperial personnel in the eyes of both Indians and English people who are outsiders to the Raj, and that in doing so he is drawing upon a linguistic device in Urdu, the language spoken by most of the Indian characters in the novel. A common practice in Urdu is to create a playfully or mockingly humorous rhyme by following an existing word with a rhyming nonsense word.¹⁶³ The rhyme "Turtons and Burtons," which is first introduced by the Urdu-speaking character Hamidullah, is an English version of this Urdu device. In employing an Urdu humor device in an English novel in order to mock British administrators and placing it in the mouths of both Indian and British Indian characters, Forster accomplishes the goal that his characters in *Passage* try but ultimately fail to attain: to "be friends" across racial lines, to "only connect."

Three different characters utter the phrase "Turtons and Burtons," all of them outsiders to the Raj: Hamidullah, Dr. Aziz, and Adela Quested. Hamidullah utters the phrase twice while discussing with Mahmoud Ali how Englishmen "all become exactly

¹⁶³ An example of one such humorous rhyme, which was used in my household when I was a child, is "nungi mungi," which means, roughly, "naked way-ked."

the same, not worse, not better" within two years in India and, therefore, are difficult to like or befriend (7, 299). Aziz likewise uses the phrase when, in the final scene of the novel, he declares his rejection of the Raj and, implicitly, of Fielding's friendship: "Clear out, all you Turtons and Burtons. We wanted to know you ten years back—now it's too late" (360). Indian characters are not the only ones who perceive Anglo-Indians as monolithically repugnant and oppressive, however, for the Englishwoman Adela also uses the phrase on two occasions as she contemplates how monotonous and isolated from the "true India" her life will be if she marries Ronny (48, 150). By attributing the phrase to both Indian and English characters and by repeating it five times, Forster establishes common ground between English and Indian people and also indicates the critical perspective he wishes the reader to adopt regarding the British Raj.

Although Hamidullah's assertion that all the British Indians in Chandrapore are the same is stereotypical, it is fairly accurate—enough so that the Turtons are representative of the majority of the English characters in the novel. Mr. Turton, also called "Burra [Big] Sahib," and, to an even greater extent, Mrs. Turton, exemplify all of the odious qualities that Forster attributes to public schools. Their inflated sense of importance despite being posted at Chandrapore, which, as the opening chapter of the novel establishes, is not a particularly prestigious post, comes from being treated as "little gods" by the British Indians serving beneath them and, out of obligation, by the local Indian communities. The narrator explains the slavish subservience of the British Indians to the Turtons as an outgrowth of monarchism: "A community that bows the knee to a Viceroy and believes that the divinity which hedges a king can be transplanted, must feel

some reverence for any viceregal substitute." With irony the narrator observes that the adoration in which the Turtons bask is only temporarily, for "soon they would retire to some suburban villa, and die exiled from glory" in England (27).

Like their peers, the Turtons isolate themselves from Indians, with whom they have little genuine sympathy, preferring to remain in the all-white confines of their club and cantonment. Even when Mr. Turton offers to throw a "Bridge Party" (a pun on the card game), it is not because he genuinely wants "to bridge the gulf between East and West," but rather because he chivalrously was "was concerned to give [Adela] a good time" (26).¹⁶⁴ Mr. Turton is less racist, at least outwardly, than many of the other British Indians, including the sadistic doctor, Major Callendar, who declares, "there's not such a thing as cruelty after a thing like this" (240), by which he means the alleged assault of Adela by Aziz has whipped the British Indian community into an hysterical frenzy by raising the specter of "the Mutiny" of 1857. Even so, Mr. Turton experiences racist feelings ("He wanted to flog every native that he saw"), though he keeps them in check out of prudence: "He longed for the good old days when an Englishman could satisfy his own honour and no questions [would be] asked afterwards" (203-3). Turton contrasts the "good old days," the years following the "Mutiny" when indiscriminate violence could be used against Indians with the excuse of protecting British women and children, with his present time when a British Indian like him might be faulted for using excessive force.

Turton here seems to be alluding to the questioning of General Reginald Edward Harry

¹⁶⁴ Forster's narrator claims the term "Bridge Party" was Turton's "own invention," intended to be amusing to his fellow British Indians (26); the term was actually used in India, along with the all-female equivalent, "*purdah* parties," and such parties really were occasions of obligation and awkwardness (MacMillan 61-2), though whether Forster coined the term or borrowed it from India is unclear.

Dyer by members of parliament regarding his conduct at the Amritsar massacre of 1919.¹⁶⁵

Mrs. Turton is a more definitive racist than her husband, and through her Forster suggests that memsahibs are even more of a problem in the Raj than sahibs. Mrs. Turton makes her husband squirm by ranting, "Why, they [Indians] ought to crawl from here to the caves on their hands and knees whenever an Englishwoman's in sight, they oughtn't to be spoken to, they oughtn't to be spat at, they ought to be ground in to the dust, we've been far too kind with our Bridge Parties and the rest" (240). On another occasion, as "the temper of Chandrapore was altering" due to the trial and the larger context of heightening Indian nationalism, Mrs. Turton chides her husband: "it's ridiculous to pretend they don't hate us; do give up that farce." In one sense, Mrs. Turton is correct: the notion that Indians love their oppressors is, on the whole, a "farce," yet Mr. Turton resists seeing it as such, for to do so would call into question his entire career:

He replied in an odd, sad voice, 'I don't hate them, I don't know why,' and he didn't hate them; for if he did, he would have had to condemn his own career as a bad investment. He retained a contemptuous affection for the pawns he had moved about for so many years, they must be worth his pains.

In this passage Forster adeptly steps into the shoes of the idealists he critiques, apprehending the rationalization they used to justify the imperial project and aptly using the language of economics ("investment") and the game of chess ("pawn") to articulate it. Secretly, Mr. Turton blames English women for the problems of the Raj: "After all, it's

¹⁶⁵ General Dyer ordered his Gurkha and Baluchi troops to fire upon an unarmed crowd that had assembled in protest of the Rowlatt Act, which permitted the detention of suspects without a trial, in Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar on April 13, 1919 (Bose 29). As Bose has contended, however, although General Dyer's conduct was debated in the House of Commons, these debates "never assailed colonialism and its reliance on deadly force" (43).

our women who make everything more difficult out here," he thinks, provoking the narrator to remark somewhat ominously, "beneath his chivalry to Miss Quested resentment lurked, waiting its day—perhaps there is a grain of resentment in all chivalry" (237). What Forster suggests here is that the chivalry embraced by idealists, such as Newbolt, was merely a veneer hiding their misogyny, bred over many years of excluding women from their public schools, clubs, and Empire.¹⁶⁶

If one were to position Ronny Heaslop, the City Magistrate of Chandrapore, in Forster's "aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate, and the plucky," he might rank just slightly higher than the Turtons. Because Ronny is the son of the open-minded and spiritual Mrs. Moore and once wanted to marry the (at least somewhat) intellectually inclined and culturally curious Adela, Ronny must have the potential to develop his "fairly developed mind and undeveloped heart" and resist becoming an typical administrator; instead, however, he is fulfilling Hamidullah's prediction that within two years "the red-nosed boy" (Ronny) would become "exactly the same" as all the other Englishmen in town (7). Readers learn how much Ronny has degenerated from his former self through the disapproving eyes of his fiancée and mother. After Ronny disrupts Fielding's tea party, Adela reflects on how Ronny has changed for the worse:

¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, at times in *Passage* Forster seems to agree with Mr. Turton's conclusion that memsahibs were a major problem of the Raj. For example, Fielding, a character to whom Forster was much more sympathetic than Mr. Turton, bars women from his College and avoids interacting with them because "[h]e had discovered that it is possible to keep in with Indians and Englishmen, but that he who would also keep in with Englishwomen must drop the Indians," and he preferred to drop Englishwomen (65-6). Forster's fellow realist, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, also placed much of the blame for Anglo-Indian tensions on memsahibs after touring India even though, as MacMillan has noted, he "usually liked women" (62). It is possible that Forster's opinion of memsahibs was shaped by his own public-school education and/or by his homosexuality, but given his largely sympathetic portrayals of female characters in all his novels, including Mrs. Moore and Adela, it seems more likely that his opinion sprang from his own observations in India and/or his conversations with Masood and his Indian friends.

India had developed sides of his character that she had never admired. His self-complacency, his censoriousness, his lack of subtlety, all grew more vivid beneath a tropical sky; he seemed more indifferent than of old to what was passing in the minds of his fellows, more certain that he was right about them or that if he was wrong it didn't matter" (85-6).

The negative qualities Adela identifies here are precisely those aspects of the "English character" that Forster critiques in "Notes," but the "tropical sky" has made them even "more vivid." Here Forster is inverting the Orientalist trope that the climate of the tropics degenerates the character of "natives" and can do the same to Westerners who fail to guard against it. Instead of spoiling Indians or making English people "go native," Forster's "tropical sky" is spoiling English people by making them even more English. Forster uses a tropical sky/sun metaphor repeatedly in the novel, most notably when the narrator is discussing the lingering anger of Aziz' Indian friends after the trial: "British officialism remained, as all pervading and as unpleasant as the sun" (289). Forster uses the tropical sun as a metaphor for "British officialism" instead of Oriental decay.

Even though Adela is an educated, reasonably intelligent woman, Ronny discredits her opinions because she lacks what he considers "expert knowledge":

A Public School, London University, a year at a crammer's, a particular sequence of posts in a particular province, a fall from a horse and a touch of fever were presented to her as the only training by which Indians and all who reside in their country can be understood; the only training she could comprehend, that is to say, for of course above Ronny there stretched the higher realms of knowledge, inhabited by the Callendars and Turtens, who had been not one year in the country but twenty and whose instincts were superhuman. For himself he made no extravagant claims; she wished he would. It was the qualified bray of the callow official, the 'I am not perfect, but—' that got on her nerves" (86).

What frustrates Adela is the paradox of arrogance coupled with subservience that Ronny exhibits now, which is the outgrowth of his acceptance of the social hierarchy of British

India. Ronny holds the idealist view that one must possess a middle-class educational pedigree, have risen through the ranks in India, and have suffered ("a fall from a horse and a touch of fever") in order to be part of the Raj and, moreover, to understand the culture of the Raj. Ronny's evocation of British-Indian suffering prefigures the trope of survival that, as Bose has observed, figured prominently in the British Raj revival narratives of the 1970s and 1980s and served to position British Indians as heroes battling a hostile environment (173). By belittling the alleged suffering of the British Indians, Forster resists the notion of their heroism. In a sense, Ronny is right about the prerequisites for understanding the British Indians, for their customs do indeed seem foreign to Adela and Mrs. Moore. At the same time, Forster mocks Ronny's confident belief that he and his colleagues "understood" Indians best and that the knowledge possessed by his superiors is both "instinct[ual]" and "superhuman." Ultimately, the relationship between Ronny and Adela fails out of their complete lack of passion of any sort—physical, emotional, or spiritual—and this lack stems from Ronny's being shaped by both public schools and the Raj.

Like Adela, Mrs. Moore laments Ronny's deterioration, and her views reflect Forster's. Her disappointment first becomes evident after the unsuccessful "Bridge Party," when she tells Ronny that "[Adela] doesn't think they [the British Indians] behave pleasantly to Indians." Ronny angrily retorts, "We're not out here for the purpose of behaving pleasantly! ... We're out here to do justice and keep the peace" (51). After the trial, the irony of Ronny's statement is heightened, for he and his colleagues have utterly failed to "do justice and keep the peace." Ronny thinks that his mother and Adela are

being "morbidly sensitive" in their sympathy for Indians, and he argues that he could not challenge the prevailing British Indian attitude toward Indians even if he cared to, which he does not: "[W]hat do you and Adela want me to do? Go against my class, against all the people I respect and admire out here? Lose such power as I have for doing good in this country because my behaviour isn't pleasant?" (51). Even though Ronny's comment is flippant and belittling, he has astutely assessed how the strictures of his class, his subordinate position in the governmental hierarchy, and his professed desire for "doing good in this country" have indeed rendered him powerless. Once again, Ronny's words are ironic, for by the end of the "Caves" section of the novel, it is painfully evident that Ronny and the other "Turtons and Burtons" have done more harm than "good" in India.

Ronny petulantly but "sincerely" summarizes for his mother his imperial purpose and, in the process, his politics and personality:

I am out here to work, mind, to hold this wretched county by force. I'm not a missionary or a Labour Member or a vague sentimental sympathetic literary man. I'm just a servant of the Government; it's the profession you wanted me to choose myself, and that's that. (52)

Ronny sees his imperial "work" in "this wretched country" as necessitating the use of "force" and precluding the kind of sympathy toward Indians that might be felt by "a missionary," who wants to save souls, "or a Labour Member," who questions the imperial project, "or a vague sentimental sympathetic literary man," like Forster himself. Forster makes Ronny a sympathetic character insofar as he takes seriously his work of "dispens[ing] justice freely, to protect the weak against the less weak" in a system plagued "by lies and flattery." Ronny "expected no gratitude, no recognition" from

Indians, but "he did expect sympathy from his own people," especially his own mother, who had encouraged him to be a "a servant of the Government"; hence he feels frustrated that "new-comers" to India like his mother and Adela are critical of his behavior. In viewing his "work" as "his duty," difficult but necessary, Ronny resembles many of Kipling's Anglo-Indian characters, and, indeed, Forster may have been satirizing these very characters through Ronny's comments; yet Kipling himself mocked the same sort of smug colonial administrators who felt sympathy for their British peers but not for Indians.

Mrs. Moore is troubled by her son's lack of sympathy for Indians and, even more, by his "self-satisfied" manner of speaking, a manner which he had adopted as a schoolboy but which she thought he had outgrown:

He reminded her of his public-school days. The traces of young-man humanitarianism had sloughed off, and he talked like an intelligent and embittered boy. ... One touch of regret—not the canny substitute but the true regret from the heart—would have made him a different man, and the British Empire a different institution. (52-3)

Ronny's public-school smugness has resurfaced, eclipsing his "young-man humanitarianism," which we can read as humanism, and handicapping his ability to connect with Indians and, in turn, to achieve some sort of "good" in India. Though Mrs. Moore, Forster voices the theme that because public schools drum the innate humanity and sympathy out of boys, "embitter[ing]" and hardening them, they have fashioned the wrong kind of Empire as men; hence, if people like Mrs. Moore, untainted by the public schools and feeling genuine, albeit clumsy, sympathy for colonized peoples and "regret"

for the past mistakes of the British, had been in charge of the British Empire, it would have been kinder and gentler and, moreover, might not have been doomed to fail.

In a rare display of assertiveness with her son, Mrs. Moore then proclaims the humanity of Indians: "The English *are* out here to be pleasant" because "God ... is ... love.... God has put us on earth to love our neighbors and to show it, and He is omnipresent, even in India, to see how we are succeeding." Ironically, Ronny has allowed his position as a judge in India to obscure God's position as the ultimate judge; hence, he is unmoved by his mother's argument, dismissing "this religious strain in her" as a mere "symptom of bad health" (53). Ronny's public-school attitude has been exaggerated and solidified to the point that he has lost the human qualities—and Christian values—of sympathy and regret. In an inversion of idealist rhetoric, Forster uses Christianity to critique imperialism rather than to justify it. Through Mrs. Moore, Forster also advocates humanism informed by a spirituality that transcends the boundaries of particular faiths rather than secular humanism.

The contrast between Mrs. Moore and Ronny in terms of religion and spirituality comes into even starker relief later in the novel, for Ronny fails to "only connect" with his mother, just as he does with Adela. After learning of his mother's death, for which he should feel at least partly responsible, Ronny shirks guilt: "He had behaved badly to her, and he had either to repent (which involved a mental overturn), or to persist in unkindness towards her. He chose the latter course." Apropos of his judicial, but not judicious, manner, Ronny opts to ignore his guilt because admitting it would require him

to "overturn" a previous verdict (his decision to "behave badly to her"). His musings about what will happen to her now that she is dead are disturbingly perfunctory:

What does happen to one's mother when she dies? Presumably she goes to heaven, anyhow she clears out. Ronny's religion was of the sterilized Public School brand, which never goes bad, even in the tropics. Wherever he entered, mosque, cave, or temple, he retained the spiritual outlook of the Fifth Form, and condemned as 'weakening' any attempt to understand them. Pulling himself together, he dismissed the matter from his mind. (286)

Unlike Ronny's other public-school traits, which "grew vivid beneath a tropical sky," his religion has remained unchanged since his schooldays; apparently, public-school religion is so "sterilized" that even the tropical sun will not cause it to spoil. Like the Old Sunningtonians at Cambridge in *Maurice*, Forster compares Ronny to a "Fifth Form" schoolboy, for he is too immature and shallow to reflect on spiritual matters and his exposure to religion has only been superficial. As a result, Ronny cannot contemplate either the metaphysical reality of or his culpability for his mother's death. Ironically, because of the advent of muscular Christianity, public school education did not foster the sort of thoughtful spirituality or commitment to good works that Thomas Arnold wanted it to do. Ronny's lack of spirituality is especially noticeable in contradistinction to his mother's spirituality, as shown in her interest in "enter[ing] mosque, cave, or temple" (though she never had the chance to enter the latter), her apotheosis during the trial through the Indian spectators' chant of "Esmiss Esmoor" (250-1), and her transformation into a mystical, ghostlike figure who cannot make the "passage" back to the West after her death. Forster depicts those who are inclined toward the spiritual, even if falteringly so (Mrs. Moore, Godbole, Aziz, and even Stella and Ralph), as superior to those who are

less spiritual (the "Turtons and Burtons," Ronny, Adela, and even Fielding), for the spiritual have developed their "hearts."

No character is portrayed as consistently heroic in *Passage*, but when characters do demonstrate some degree of heroism, however limited, it is by being diametrically different from the "Turtons and Burtons"; conversely, when characters fail to be heroic, it is usually because they have demonstrated a public-school type of flaw. Fielding, who comes closest to representing Forster's own views and experiences, is arguably the most heroic of the English characters in the novel because of his nonconformity. What the narrator articulates as Fielding's "creed" is also Forster's creed:

The world, he believed, is a globe of men who are trying to reach one another and can best do so by the help of good will plus culture and intelligence—a creed ill-suited to Chandrapore, but he had come out too late to lose it. He had no racial feeling—not because he was superior to his brother civilians, but because he had matured in a different atmosphere, where the herd-instinct does not flourish. (65)

Although Fielding may have been educated at a public school, "he had matured in a different atmosphere," perhaps because he had traveled widely and was over forty when he came to India, thereby escaping the "herd-instinct" fostered at such schools and preserved in imperial clubs and compounds. Fielding's absence of racism is therefore the result of his worldliness rather than his innate character, suggesting that racism is learned. Fielding's "creed" may be "ill-suited to Chandrapore," because the British Indians there cannot escape their exaggerated public-school attitudes, but it was Forster's own.

The British Indians, particularly their wives, "naturally" distrust Fielding because of his position as Principal of the Government College:

There needs must be this evil of brains in India, but woe to him through whom they are increased! The feeling grew that Mr. Fielding was a disruptive force, and rightly, for ideas are fatal to caste, and he used ideas by that most potent method—interchange. Neither a missionary or a student, he was happiest in the give-and-take of a private conversation" (64-65).

Forster contrasts Fielding with missionaries and students, who lecture or listen passively to lectures, respectively, rather than engage in reciprocal exchange. Through the narrator's mock-scornful tone, Forster makes clear his sympathy for Fielding as a man of "ideas" and "interchange" who is treated as an outlaw by the Raj. Forster is asserting that the English have created their own caste system in India, which the "evil of brains" and the "interchange" of "ideas"—what Forster considers true education, as opposed to the sham provided at public schools—threaten to collapse; such a collapse is, of course, precisely what Forster advocates in order that a new "aristocracy" of feeling may be built in its place. In the end, however, Fielding fails to "be friends" with Aziz and therefore to fulfill his heroic promise because he lacks spirituality and because he had assented to bourgeois pressures: "[h]e had thrown in his lot with Anglo-India by marrying a countrywoman" (358).

Of the remaining major English characters, Mrs. Moore and Adela are the next most heroic. They both demonstrate a genuine, if naïve, desire to "understand India." In addition, Mrs. Moore's willingness to explore a mosque in a respectful manner and to "connect" with Aziz make her heroic, whereas Adela's willingness to "renounce her own people" (257) by withdrawing her charges against Aziz makes her heroic. Neither character ends the novel a heroine, though, for they both retreat hastily to England; Adela's withdrawal is occasioned by her "nervous breakdown" (255) during the trial,

while Mrs. Moore's departure is spurred by the spiritual disillusionment she experiences in the cave. By abandoning their efforts to "only connect," they undermine their heroism; nevertheless, they are still superior to the "Turtons and Burtons," Forster suggests.

Even Ronny shows a glimmer of heroism when he stands up against the "Turtons and Burtons" to defend the impartiality of Das, the Indian magistrate trying Adela's case; as he had explained in an earlier conversation with his mother, it is risky to "go against [his] class." Shortly before the trial, when Ronny avers, "My old Das is all right," Mrs. Callendar responds, "Not one of them's all right," meaning Indians are all untrustworthy. Mr. Lesley snidely adds, "You mean [Das is] more frightened of acquitting than convicting, because if he acquits he'll lose his job." Although "Ronny did mean that, ... he cherished 'illusions' about his own subordinates (following the finer traditions of his service here), and he liked to maintain that old Das really did possess moral courage of the Public School brand" (239). Ronny is able to justify Das' impartiality and trustworthiness, both to himself and his peers, by viewing Das as an Old Boy of a British public school, which he may or may not be; hence Ronny calls him "old Das" and invests him with the "Public School" trait of "moral courage." Mrs. Turton then remarks to Ronny "with considerable heat" that she knows he disapproves of her having written a letter to Lady Mellanby, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, asking to have the case tried elsewhere, presumably by a white judge (239). The ill-founded concerns of the "Turtons and Burtons" regarding Das reflect the furor generated by the passing of the Ilbert Bill in 1884, which enabled Indian magistrates to preside over cases involving British defendants. The bill prompted racist fears among British Indians that their wives

would be assaulted by Indian men and also spurred the formation of the Indian National Congress. Another historical event to which Forster may have been responding in *Passage* was the 1921 trial of his friends, Mohammed and Shaukat Ali, leaders of the Khilafat movement, as Ganguly has explored (90-5); the real and the fiction trials share some similarities, including evidence trumped up by the British.

Later, during the trial, Ronny praises Das for a courageously refusing to let the "Turtons and Burtons" take charge by amassing on a platform next to Adela: "'Well done, Das, quite sound,' said Ronny with devastating honesty." Mrs. Turton is clearly devastated, both by Das' decision and Ronny's honesty, for she exclaims, "Climb down, indeed, what incredible impertinence!" but at the cajoling of her husband, she follows Das' order after all (246). As is appropriate for a judge, Ronny sides with Das, who has made a just and fair though unpopular decision; in doing so, Ronny proves himself to be more capable of impartiality than the "Turtons and Burtons." The greatest irony of the scene is that Das has proven that he does possess courage, though none of the British Indians recognize it except Ronny; Das' courage is not "moral courage of the Public School brand," the kind that motivates a cricket player or soldier to "play up" for the sake of his team or country, but rather the truly moral sort that enables a person to defy the "herd instinct" to do what is right, no matter the cost.

Among the Indian characters, Das, as we have seen, is heroic, as is Amritrao, "the eminent barrister from Calcutta" (245), who has come to Chandrapore from Calcutta to defend Aziz and who like Das, refuses to let the "Turtons and Burtons" bully him during the trial. Though he is intelligent, urbane, and Oxford-educated, Amritrao is not

respected by the provincial British Indians of Chandrapore, whose educational pedigrees are much less prestigious ("London University [and] a crammer's") and who hail from middle- rather than upper-class backgrounds. Likewise, Hamidullah is not appreciated by the British Indians even though he attended Cambridge and remembers with great fondness the reverend and his wife with whom he lived while he was a student there. Hamidullah's willingness to "only connect" across racial lines and his love of poetry are his heroic qualities. Forster paints all three of these characters as heroic in that they are able to beat the British Indians at their own game, albeit without recognition. A fourth Indian character, Professor Godbole, is heroic in a different way; through his Hinduism, he is able to "stand in the presence of God" (317) and therefore to comprehend metaphysical mysteries, such as that "[good and evil] are both of them aspects of my Lord" (198), positioning Godbole as a spiritual figure akin to the lama in *Kim*. As a result of his spiritual tranquility, Godbole does not feel obliged to "play the [British] game," as evidenced by his avoiding admitting to Fielding that the school he was charged with founding, King-Emperor George the Fifth High School, "had been converted into a granary" (355).

Aziz is another Indian character who, like Fielding, distinguishes himself as (partially) heroic in contradistinction to the "Turtons and Burtons." We know nothing about his formal schooling, but it is conceivable that he attended a British-modeled public school in India or the local Government College. Whatever his education, Aziz is free of a public-school taint and, consequently, has not renounced his religion and culture, as his

pleasure in being Muslim and reciting Urdu, Persian, and Arab poetry attest.¹⁶⁷ Like Mrs. Moore, Aziz possesses a spiritual side that makes him receptive to "connect[ing]" across racial and religious lines, and he does so with Mrs. Moore, a British subaltern, and Fielding, the last connection being the most important one in the novel. What prevents him from connecting to Fielding, ultimately, are his bitterness after the Marabar incident and his increased interest in nationalist politics.

Through Aziz, Forster rewrites the tropes of the idealist games ethic on two occasions. The first is when Adela and Mrs. Moore arrive at the train station in preparation for the Marabar outing, and Aziz is "moved ... deeply," for they had trusted him enough not to bring Fielding with them as a chaperone. He thinks to himself, "The guests had played up all right. They had no race consciousness" (142). Aziz uses the phrase "play up" to mean that the women had behaved graciously and without racism instead of following the "herd instinct," which is an inversion of the idealist meaning of the phrase. The second is when instead of attending the "Bridge Party," Aziz borrows Hamidullah's pony and practices polo on the Maidan (Chandrapore's open field). The activity serves as a release of "all human tension," allowing him to "forg[e]t the whole damned business of living." A subaltern who was also practicing joins Aziz, and "forces were equal" because the subaltern "had some notion of what to do, but his horse had

¹⁶⁷ Forster seems to have admired Urdu *ghazals*, perhaps having been introduced to them by Masood. The narrator not only refers to Ghalib, Hafiz, Hali, and Iqbal by name but also to classic *ghazal* imagery—tulips, roses, nightingales—as well as the central theme of desired but impossible union with the beloved (12, 113-4). The narrator describes one of Ghalib's *ghazals* as "a passing reminder, a breath from the divine lips of beauty, a nightingale between two worlds of dust [Ghalib's and the present one]. Less explicit than a call to Krishna, it voiced our loneliness nevertheless, our isolation, our need for the Friend who never comes but is not entirely disproved" (114). The narrator describes Ghalib's *ghazal* as giving voice to human sorrows and enabling "man [to] get into direct communication with the divine," an aim Forster articulated in "Notes."

none," while Aziz "could not play, but his pony could" (59-60). Through sport the two men are able to "connect": "Concentrated on the ball, they somehow became fond of one another, and smiled when they came to rest. Aziz liked soldiers—they either accepted you or swore at you, which was preferable to the civilian's hauteur—and the subaltern liked anyone who could ride." Aziz' appreciation of soldiers for their lack of "hauteur" (haughtiness), which plays on the phrase "haute école" (fine horsemanship), recalls Kipling's depiction of soldiers as more tolerable than civilian administrators. The fact that the subaltern can play polo suggests that he attended a British public school, for polo is an elite game played at such schools even today. The term "subaltern" indicates that the man is a commissioned military officer whose rank is below captain and in turn that his origins were middle rather than upper class. Through polo Aziz and the subaltern can interact as equals, regardless of their racial and class status, just as cricket enables Maurice and Alec to surmount their class barrier in *Maurice*; however, in *Passage* the connection ends once the game ends:

They reined up again, the fire of good fellowship in their eyes. But it cooled with their bodies, for athletics can only raise a temporary glow. Nationality was returning, but before it could exert its poison they parted, saluting each other. 'If only they were all like that,' each thought" (60).

Like idealists, Forster suggests that "athletics" engender "good fellowship," which is infused by homoeroticism; however, unlike the idealists, Forster asserts that games counteract, rather than solidify, "nationality," which he views as "poison[ous]," rather than patriotic.

Later, after the cave incident, when Mr. Turton tells those gathered at the club to refrain from "carrying arms about" until Aziz is found guilty, the same subaltern, who is "a little drunk" (203), exclaims in an effort to impress the "Burra Sahib," "The native's all right if you get him alone. ... You remember the one I had a knock with on your Maidan last month. Well, he was all right. Any native who plays polo is all right. What you've got to stamp on is these educated classes..." (204-5). The subaltern's comments reveal his confusion as a newcomer to India as well as irony; not only has he just reversed his position (moments earlier he advocated the use of force against Indians), but he does not realize that the "native" with whom he played polo was Aziz, the alleged rapist, nor does he realize that "natives" who play polo are likely from the "educated classes." The subaltern has allowed his obsequiousness to override his ability, as a newcomer, to "connect" with Indians. By making the subaltern look foolish, Forster demonstrates the "muddle-headedness" of even the soldiers in India.

Just as the heroism of the characters is established in opposition to characteristics of the "Turtons and Burtons," so are the novel's themes. Like the Walt Whitman poem to which it alludes,¹⁶⁸ Forster's themes center around the notion of union—of the West and the East, the human and the divine, the profane and the sacred, the body and the mind, art and daily life; however, Forster is not as optimistic as Whitman about the possibility of humans achieving such forms of union, given their many weaknesses. The "Turtons and Burtons" are the most handicapped by their weaknesses, but, as we have seen, the more

¹⁶⁸ Whitman's "Passage to India" (1871) celebrates the connecting of the peoples of the world through the First Transcontinental Railroad, the transatlantic telegraph cable, and the Suez Canal. As the refrain of the poem modulates from "Passage to India! To "Passage to more than India!" Whitman clarifies that physical travel is a metaphor for the metaphysical travel of the transcendent soul.

sympathetic characters are also flawed. Even during the Hindu Gokul Ashtami celebrations, the point in the novel when people seem closest to reaching a state of transcendence and union, human fallibility comes into play. One of the inscriptions at the Hindu temple in Mau reads "God si love," reflecting "an unfortunate slip of the draughtsman" and recalling Mrs. Moore's earlier comment that "God is love." The narrator asks, "God si love. Is that the first message of India?" (320), to which the answer is implicitly affirmative, for "There is fun in heaven. God can play practical jokes upon himself.... By sacrificing good taste, this [Hindu] worship achieved what Christianity has shirked: the inclusion of merriment" (324). Forster presents "God si love" as proof of human weakness as well as of Hinduism's superior ability to accommodate human weakness. As Singh has noted, Forster appreciates Islam for different reasons, including its order and majesty, yet he valorizes both Hinduism and Islam over Christianity because of their vitality, lack of pretense, and endorsement of love.

The famous last paragraph of *Passage*, in which every part of nature and the manmade environment "said in their hundred voices, 'No, not yet,' and the sky said, 'No, not here'" (362), does not eliminate the possibility of Fielding and Aziz, and by extension, England and India, becoming "friends," but it does defer it. Even the sky realizes that humans are not yet ready to overcome their individual and societal weaknesses. The pessimism of novel's ending may reflect Forster's awareness of how much more dangerous the political landscape in India had become since he had begun writing the novel. The ending also reflects Forster's skepticism about the value of the nation-state, as

Fielding's mocking comments attest: "India a nation! ... Last comer to the drab nineteenth-century sisterhood! She, whose only peer was the Holy Roman Empire, she shall rank with Guatemala and Belgium perhaps!" (361) Although "[th]e nations must understand one another, and quickly," the English viewed India as a "muddle" because they themselves were "muddleheaded." "One touch of regret ... would have made ... the British Empire a different institution," but, according to Forster the realist, public schools had turned regret into impossibility, at least for the present.

Chapter Five

"The Best School of All," Reprised: The Realism of Shyam Selvadurai

Selvadurai "Introduc[es Him]self in the Diaspora"

Shyam Selvadurai begins *Story-Wallah* (2005), the collection of short stories by South Asian Diasporic writers that he edited, with an autobiographical and critical essay entitled "Introducing Myself in the Diaspora." In it he answers the question frequently posed to him by readers regarding whether he considers himself a Canadian or Sri Lankan:¹⁶⁹ "My creativity comes not from 'Sri Lankan' or 'Canadian' but from the space in between, that marvelous open space represented by the hyphen" (1). As a writer he appreciates his biculturalism, but "in [his] day-to-day interactions with the world outside, [he] share[s] the irritation, the burden, the occasional danger of this visible otherness" (2). Selvadurai explains that while growing up in Sri Lanka, his cultural identity was shaped through his family, school,¹⁷⁰ and landscape yet remained "curiously unshaken" by Western influences or by rising tensions between Tamils and Sinhalese. Only when his family immigrated to Canada in order to escape Sri Lanka's civil war was he forced to ask himself, "What aspects of my culture made me Sri Lankan, [and] what aspects didn't?" Selvadurai then realized the answers to these questions "had been with [him] all along through [his] life in Sri Lanka. [He] just hadn't known it." By reading the writings of Sri Lankans who opposed both Sinhalese and Tamil nationalisms, Selvadurai learned

¹⁶⁹ Selvadurai lives in Canada and writes in English but is of Sri Lankan origin and writes about Sri Lanka.

¹⁷⁰ Selvadurai notes that his cultural identity was shaped by his school: "Various grand-uncles, cousins, and even my older brother had gone there before me and the teachers saw me in the context of this community (though negatively, always expressing their disappointment at my lack of sportiness, compared to my forbearers)" (2).

that idealized notions of an "essential, pure cultural identity" had arisen out of a need to rehabilitate such identities after they had been "suppressed and disfigured and distorted by the colonial masters" (3) and had led to the violence that forced his family's exile. At the same time, Selvadurai "beg[an] to come to terms with being gay" and wondered how to reconcile his gay and Sri Lankan identities given that "the pure notion of being Sri Lankan was based on rigid heterosexual and gender roles" (4) and homosexuality is illegal in Sri Lanka.

Selvadurai asserts that what enabled him to resolve his identity dilemmas was the notion of diaspora. Selvadurai acknowledges the pitfalls of the notion of a South Asian diaspora, such as its own tendencies toward essentialism and homogenization, yet he finds value in its inclusivity and flexibility as well as its acknowledgement of the often "hidden" histories of its members, the exposure of which can inspire collective resistance movements, and its recognition of the "trauma[ti]c" yet "transform[ative]" aspects of migration (5). In his essay Selvadurai "introduc[es himself] in the diaspora" (places his writing within the context of other South Asian diasporic writers) and also introduces the diaspora in himself (explains how the concept of "diaspora" helped him solidify his own cultural identity). By focusing on the South Asian diaspora, whose very name acknowledges the effects of colonialism, Selvadurai signals his interest in the legacies of British colonialism.

"Introducing Myself in the Diaspora" provides a framework for approaching Selvadurai's 1994 novel *Funny Boy*. The essay echoes the central themes in *Funny Boy*: coming of age, cultural identity, gay liberation, feminism, the lingering effects of

colonialism and ethnic nationalism, the pain of migration, and the refuge and opportunity offered by the Sri Lankan Diaspora. Ghosh has correctly observed that *Funny Boy* is unusual among immigrant novels because it focuses on departure rather than arrival, yet its view of the future is not as bewildered as Ghosh believes, for Selvadurai's essay suggests that a story of arrival is embedded within his story of departure in *Funny Boy*. Moving to Canada forced the author to think about his old experiences in new ways, thereby enabling him to explore his cultural identity. Selvadurai's essay foregrounds his interest in the effects of colonialism, particularly how the "suppress[ion] and disfigure[ation] and distort[tion]" of Sri Lankan cultural identities led to the rehabilitation of such identities through essentialism and ethnic violence. The essay also sheds light on autobiographical elements of *Funny Boy*, such as the protagonist's lack of athleticism, his nascent homosexuality, and his family's emigration from Sri Lanka. Finally, Selvadurai's essay reveals that his school—Royal College of Colombo, an elite government-run school founded by the British in 1835—played a key role in sculpting his cultural identity, ranking second only to his family and just above the Sri Lankan landscape.

This chapter explores how *Funny Boy* extends the trajectory of the British realists by critiquing public schools, imperialism, and the relationship between them. The pattern among British authors that was explored in the previous chapters holds true for Selvadurai as a post-Independence South Asian diasporic writer: the more directly an author has experienced British public schools and British imperialism—in Selvadurai's case, British-modeled public schools and the aftermath of British imperialism—the more critical he is of these institutions and their symbiotic relationship. Even more so than

Forster, Selvadurai extends his critique beyond public schools and empire to the larger forces of hatred, injustice, and oppression as experienced by Tamils, homosexuals, children, and women at the hands of Sinhalese, heterosexuals, adults, and men, respectively. Of course, Selvadurai writes from a dramatically different context than either Kipling or Forster, for by the time he was born the British Empire was defunct, yet its deleterious aftereffects persist in multiple forms in contemporary Sri Lanka. In *Funny Boy* Selvadurai proposes a causal relationship between British imperialism, as symbolized by British-modeled Sri Lankan schools, and the country's bloody civil war. Through his depiction of Sri Lanka's escalating ethnic violence, Selvadurai demonstrates how both Sinhalese and Tamils have constructed essentialist cultural identities in order to repair the identity-damage inflicted during colonialism. Finally, Selvadurai shows how both Sinhalese and Tamil nationalists have adopted the authoritarian structure and violence that was imposed through British-modeled schools.

Contexts and Criticisms

In the late 1970s and early 1980s when Selvadurai's novel is set, Sri Lanka was on the verge of a civil war between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.¹⁷¹ The seeds of this conflict were sown during British colonial rule when Tamils were brought from India to work on tea plantations in Sri Lanka's Hill Country, thereby displacing the Sinhalese residents of the region, and when divide-and-rule tactics were used by the British colonial government. Shortly after Ceylon gained its independence in 1948, the Sinhalese-dominated government disenfranchised the "India-Origin Tamils" (as opposed to the

¹⁷¹ For accounts of Sri Lankan history, see Clarence, O'Balance, Richardson, Ross and Savada, Senaratne, Spencer, "Timeline," and Wilson.

"Ceylonese Tamils," who predated British colonization). A period of Sinhalese nationalism ensued, during which the Official Language Act of 1956 established Sinhala as the national language and the Sri Lankan Constitution of 1972¹⁷² awarded priority status to Buddhism. In 1976 the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) formed with the goal of establishing a separate homeland for Tamils in the northern and eastern parts of the island. Ethnic violence flared in 1981 in the northern city of Jaffna and again in 1983 in the capital city of Colombo, sparking a full-fledged civil war. Selvadurai does not use dates in *Funny Boy* until the final chapter, "Riot Journal: An Epilogue," which is dated precisely from July 25 to August 27, 1983. Working backward, one can calculate that the events of the novel take place during the lead-up to the civil war, 1976-83, from the founding of the LTTE to the Colombo riots that led Arjie, like Selvadurai, to seek asylum in Canada.

British-modeled education has a long and controversial history in Sri Lanka.¹⁷³ British (and American) missionaries established schools for the Ceylonese starting in the late eighteenth century. The British colonial government began establishing English-medium schools in 1836, starting with Royal College of Colombo.¹⁷⁴ Upper-class, urban Tamils enjoyed the greatest access to English-medium education, in large part because English-medium schools had first been established in the Jaffna and Colombo regions

¹⁷² The 1972 Constitution changed the country's name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka.

¹⁷³ For accounts of Sri Lankan educational history, see Amarasekera, Clarence (31-2), Ross and Savada (102-8), Perera (251-2, 261), and the websites for Sri Lanka's Ministry of Education, Royal College, Trinity College, and St. Thomas College.

¹⁷⁴ Royal College began as Hill Street Academy, founded in 1835 by an Anglican chaplain as a private academy for upper-class Burgher children. In 1836, following the recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission (1831), the Governor of Ceylon converted the academy into Ceylon's first government school, modeling it after his own *alma mater*, Eton, and intending to educate upper-class Ceylonese children, as well.

where Tamils were concentrated. As a result of their English proficiency, Tamils had better access to government positions and, therefore, power. Sinhalese nationalists attempted to correct this power inequity after Independence. From 1956 to 1965, many private schools were "indigenized," converted to Sinhala-only institutions, and in the 1980s control of provincial schools was decentralized in order to further increase the number of students educated in their native languages. Some of the country's most prestigious schools, which had been founded by the British, initially avoided "indigenization" through the intercession of alumni who were influential politicians, but as these alumni were squeezed out of government posts, such schools found "indigenization" increasingly difficult to resist. Royal College, for example, changed its medium of instruction from English to Sinhala and Tamil; only recently (since 2002) has English been reinstated as a medium of instruction, apparently because English is once again perceived as the language of advancement.¹⁷⁵ In addition, during the 1970s and 1980s the Royal College community became factionalized over whether to rename the school after C. W. W. Kannangara, the Sinhalese educator who had introduced the idea of free education in Sri Lanka in 1945; however, unlike at Queen Victoria Academy (hereafter abbreviated as QVA), Selvadurai's fictional school in *Funny Boy*, at Royal College those who wanted to keep the school's British name won the battle.

¹⁷⁵ In a 2002 *Daily News* article, Kannangara reported, "Secretary of the Royal College Union Capt. Ajith Peiris requested the Principal Royal College Mr. Gomes to introduce the English medium at Royal College from Grade one for the benefit of a large number of students who are taking the leadership of the country tomorrow." Perhaps Capt. Peiris shares Amarasekera's concern that Sri Lanka is falling behind India, where English-medium education is more prevalent.

Selvadurai's depiction of QVA reflects the tensions experienced by British-modeled schools in the 1970s and 1980s. As Perera has proposed, QVA is a conglomeration of three of the most prestigious schools in Sri Lanka, all of which were founded by the British during the nineteenth century: Trinity College in Kandy, St. Thomas College in Mount Lavinia, and Royal College in Colombo, which is Selvadurai's *alma mater* (250, 261).¹⁷⁶ The reason that these three schools have been able to retain their British public-school character to a significant extent is that they have remained somewhat beyond the reach of Sinhalese nationalists. Both St. Thomas and Trinity College became private schools in the 1950s, controlled by the Anglican Church, so that they could avoid "indigenization." For the same reason, when Provincial Schools were separated from National Schools in 1987, Royal College was placed in the latter category. Even today, British founded schools like these are the most prestigious in Sri Lanka.

Like Forster, Selvadurai has attracted attention from scholars who approach *Funny Boy* as a queer or postcolonial text, or a combination of the two. Some critics¹⁷⁷ have interpreted the novel as offering solutions to problems of patriarchal and ethno-nationalist oppression through the resistive actions of its "queer" protagonist. These

¹⁷⁶ Perera notes QVA's similarities to these schools: Trinity's school song is "The Best School of All"; St. Thomas is located "on the sea side of Galle Road" (207), and the Royal College community was "divided into two factions" (215) during the 1970s and 80s over whether to rename the school after the educator who had introduced the idea of free education in Sri Lanka (Perera 261, footnote 2). Trinity (est. 1872) and St. Thomas (est. 1851) were established as Anglican mission schools, while Royal College (est. 1835) was founded by the then Governor of Ceylon, Robert Wilmot Horton (1831-7), as Sri Lanka's first colonial government school (Trinity; St. Thomas; Royal).

¹⁷⁷ Prakrti, for example, proposes that *Funny Boy* "stands apart as the work of the future" because it challenges patriarchy "to such an extent that it begs a redefinition of the gendered ethno-cultural parameters of the modern post-postcolonial nation state in crisis" (qtd. in Lesk 31). (I have been unable to obtain Prakrti's article, even through ILS.)

critics employ the term "queer" in the sense of opposition to normativity, especially but not exclusively heteronormativity (Turner 133-4), a definition that builds upon the ideas of Sedgwick and Halperin. In *Tendencies* Sedgwick uses "queer" in a fairly broad sense, focusing on its root meaning, "across," and its performativity (5-9), while in *Saint Foucault*, Halperin defines "queer" as "whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant" in the realm of sexuality (62). Arjie is queer in the Halperinian sense but not fully queer in the Sedgwickian sense. As Lesk astutely observes, critics have painted Arjie as more subversive than he really is, for "[Arjie's] engagement with transgressive difference—that is, his gender and sexual 'disobedience'—is mostly congruent with an expression of male prerogatives than can deliver a measure of power" (32). In other words, as a "funny boy" (an effeminate child and nascently homosexual adolescent) and a Tamil, Arjie occupies marginal positions in his family, school, and country, yet as an upper-class boy Arjie occupies dominant positions within these same structures; moreover, on multiple occasions he utilizes his "male prerogatives" to satisfy his individual desires. Still, although Arjie does not forge solidarity among the various oppressed groups presented in the novel—"funny boys," females, Tamils, and working-class people—he at least recognizes that they are all disempowered. In his novel *Selvadurai* points to the parallels among these groups' situations while at the same time acknowledging their distinctness. It would therefore be a mistake to approach *Funny Boy* in the way that many scholars of Selvadurai's and Forster's works have done, namely to collapse distinct categories into a single one ("Other") or to view one category as a substitute for another.

Perera is the only scholar who has addressed Selvadurai's representation of public-school education in *Funny Boy*. Using novels by Lamming, Thiong'o, and Selvadurai, Perera demonstrates the long-lasting effects of British colonial education on its former colonies as well as ways in which such education can be resisted. Perera uses Arjie's sabotage of his principal in *Funny Boy* to illustrate how such schools can be subverted through subterfuge as opposed to more drastic, direct, and traditional means, such as strikes and demonstrations.¹⁷⁸ Perera asserts that "Arjie engineers matters in such a way that the embattled principal is dependent on him for survival—rather like the Empire relying on the colonies for support in the great wars" (260). Perera's comparison is insightful but somewhat inaccurate: British colonies did not "engineer matters" such that Britain was dependent upon them during the great wars; rather, Britain engineered itself into a position of dependence, just as the principal places himself in a position of dependence upon Arjie—and Arjie then uses that dependence to his advantage, just as the colonies did after the wars. Perera correctly observes that "[v]iolence and brutality ... are endemic to the [Queen] Victoria Academy" and that "[t]he strains between Sinhalese and Tamils in school ... [are] reflective of similar tensions in the country" (251). What Perera fails to note, however, is that the "tensions in the country" reflect the "violence and brutality" that were "endemic" not only to British-modeled public schools in the colonies but also to public schools in Britain and to the British Empire at large; imperial personnel employed violence to maintain their dominance, and they also fomented violence among those they ruled through divide-and-rule tactics. Perera also omits that

¹⁷⁸ Perera explains that Arjie had no choice but to battle the school on his own and from within because he did not have enough of a "power base" among his fellow students to organize collective resistance (260).

while sabotaging his principal, Arjie simultaneously sabotages himself as a Tamil, an issue that will be explored later. This chapter will extend Perera's analysis by situating Selvadurai's novel within the context of realist literature.

The Education of a "Funny Boy"

In a 1996 interview with Marks in the *Lambda Book Report*, Selvadurai commented upon how *Funny Boy* grew out of a single short story: "When I got to the end of that story ["Pigs Can't Fly," now the first chapter in the novel] I thought I couldn't relate the boy's story without the political context, given that the communal situation was so complex and so volatile, and given that the political situation had really changed my life" (7). The impetus behind the novel was a desire to situate an individual and familial narrative within a communal and political narrative. Intertwined with all four of these narratives is the school narrative that is the focus of my analysis. The school narrative emerges in the penultimate chapter of *Funny Boy*, which presents Arjie's schooldays at QVA and the simultaneous development of his first homosexual relationship.

Selvadurai's chapter bears the ironic title "The Best School of All," an allusion to Newbolt's poem. Selvadurai alludes to two more Newbolt poems, "Vitaī Lampada" and "Clifton Chapel," during the chapter. Through these allusions as well as his ironic figuration of cricket and QVA, Selvadurai suggests that QVA was not, in fact, "the best school of all," either for Arjie or Sri Lanka, and, therefore, that the ideology that has been inherited from the British idealists is, in one sense, outdated and irrelevant and, in another sense, relevant and threatening to post-Independence Sri Lanka.

Funny Boy is a *bildungsroman*, for each chapter presents a new kind of education in conjunction with a loss of innocence as Arjie and/or people close to him are subjected to various forms of injustice. Ironically, though, Arjie's education is achieved not through formal schooling but in reaction against it, as well as through his relationships with family and friends. Over the course of the novel, Arjie becomes increasingly disillusioned with and alienated from his family, ethnic community, school, and nation. The first chapter "mark[s] the beginning of [Arjie's] exile from the world [he] loved" (5) at age seven when his family forces him to stop playing "bride-bride" (a wedding role-play game in which Arjie played the bride) with his female cousins for fear of his turning out "funny." In the second chapter, Arjie loses his "belie[f] that if two people loved each other everything was possible" (97) when his young aunt, Radha, decides to go through with the marriage arranged by her parents to a fellow Tamil rather than run away with a Sinhalese young man with whom she has fallen in love after she is injured by Sinhalese rioters. In the third chapter, Arjie becomes disillusioned with his mother and the Sri Lankan police when his mother's journalist lover Daryl, a Burgher who had been forced to emigrate from Sri Lanka to Australia, is murdered in Jaffna while investigating allegations of police brutality and torture and when his mother endangers herself, Arjie, and their entire family by trying unsuccessfully to bring Daryl's murderer to justice. In the fourth chapter, Arjie is disappointed by his father and his newfound friend, Jegan, the son of his father's best school friend who had come to live with Arjie's family after his father's death. Arjie's father hires Jegan to work for his multinational hotel business but fires him after Jegan is falsely accused of collaborating with Tamil Tigers in an

assassination plot, and Jegan angrily returns to Jaffna without bidding Arjie goodbye.

The fifth chapter, "The Best School of All," contains the novel's climax, Arjie's sabotage of his principal, which marks his disillusionment with his school and Tamil nationalism as well as his estrangement from his family through his newly accepted homosexuality.

The final chapter provides a resolution to the novel's climax by describing how the Colombo riots of 1983 precipitated Arjie's family's exile from Sri Lanka and the subsequent loss of fourteen-year-old Arjie's first homosexual relationship.

Selvadurai undermines the alleged "man"-making capacity of public schools by making QVA the point of origin of a homosexual love affair. "The Best School of All" begins in January of 1983, half a year before 1983 Colombo riots, as Arjie's father announces to Arjie, now fourteen, that he is transferring him from his present parochial school, St. Gabriel's, to QVA, which Arjie's father and uncles had attended and which Arjie's older brother Diggy presently attends. Arjie's father tells him, "The Academy will force you to become a man," and Arjie learns from Diggy that their father is "worried" because "[h]e doesn't want [Arjie] turning out funny or anything like that" (205). Arjie's father's decision will prove ironic, however, for while Arjie is a student at QVA, his "funny" tendencies are solidified rather than expunged because he falls in love and develops his first sexual relationship with a (male) classmate, Shehan Soyza. QVA, like the Sri Lankan government, forbids homosexuality, yet at least two QVA students, Shehan and the head prefect, are having sex. Judging by Diggy's disparaging attitude

toward the pair, though, homosexual sex is a relatively uncommon occurrence at QVA.¹⁷⁹

Arjie and Shehan gravitate toward one another because they are both, to some extent, queer in the Sedgwickian and Halperinian senses: they are perceived as outsiders, resist the status quo, and are homosexual, though Arjie does not yet realize it. Shehan's classmates at QVA treat him like an outsider because of his relationship with the head prefect, and they perceive Arjie as an outsider because he is the only Tamil in their Sinhala-medium class. Ever since he started school, Arjie was in Sinhalese-medium classes because his father wanted him to learn what he considered "the real language of the future" (60), given that the Sinhalese dominated the country; in fact, Arjie does not even speak Tamil (211), for he speaks English at home. Arjie decides he likes Shehan on his first day of school when Shehan defends him against the class bully, Salgado, who told Arjie, "We don't want you here" because he is Tamil (210). Shehan retorts sarcastically, "But Salgado, aren't you always saying that Tamils should learn Sinhalese?" (211), which causes Salgado to back down. Shehan has cleverly thwarted Salgado's Sinhalese nationalist aggression by reflecting his rhetoric back at him—a strategy that prefigures Arjie's sabotage of Black Tie at the end of the chapter.

"Black Tie's Bad Side," or "The Future Ills and Burdens of Sri Lanka"

Just as he calls into question the alleged "man"-making capacity of public schools,

¹⁷⁹ A further irony is that QVA, the British public schools upon which QVA was modeled claimed to turn boys into men, yet they were accused of fostering homosexuality through their same-sex isolation and their prefect and "fagging" systems. Forster's *Maurice* suggests that such schools retarded rather than encouraged homosexual boys' emotional and sexual development, but the issue of whether British public schools promoted homosexuality is still being debated (see Richards, *Happiest* 180), even though most public schools in Britain and the private schools modeled after them worldwide have yet to become very "gay-friendly."

Selvadurai parodies British idealism, for he figures QVA as an intolerably authoritarian and oppressive site. Arjie is reluctant to transfer to QVA, in part because he is "a little frightened" of the QVA students he has observed, whose "swagger[ing]" and "loud confidence" make them seem "so grown up" (207). The Sri Lankan QVA boys demonstrate the same sort of British public-school arrogance and bravado that Forster critiqued in his works. Arjie is also frightened by Diggy's unexaggerated warning about QVA's cruel principal, Mr. Abeysinghe, nicknamed Black Tie "because he always wears one": "Once you get on his bad side, that's it." Black Tie punishes boys for "negligible wrongs," such as wearing their hair too long, leaving shirt buttons open, blinking (interpreted as winking), and licking their lips, the last two of which he perceives as mockery; moreover, Black Tie's punishments are excessive and brutal: "Once, he slapped a boy and broke some of his teeth. Another boy in my class got caned so severely his trousers tore. Then he made the boy kneel in the sun until he fainted" (206). When Arjie wonders why students do not complain to their parents about the principal, Diggy admonishes him, "Never complain.... Once you come to the Queen Victoria Academy you are a man. Either you take it like a man or the other boys will look down on you" (207). Diggy's comment demonstrates the patriarchal, hierarchical, and stoic attitude fostered by the British-modeled school.

Through the character of Black Tie, Selvadurai suggests that although the British have long since left Sri Lanka, their authoritarian and abusive attitudes have been perpetuated in Sri Lankan public schools and, in turn, in Sri Lankan society. As Arjie will later learn, Black Tie was an orphan raised by the Academy's previous, apparently

British principal, Mr. Lawton; therefore, Black Tie upholds with a vengeance the public-school traditions that Mr. Lawton had taught him, such as the importance of team games, a prefect system, and corporal punishment (240). Black Tie's Anglophile habiliment marks him as a symbol of British imperialism: he wore "a sola topee, that white domed hat ... only seen in photographs from the time the British ruled Sri Lanka.... [and] a carefully pressed white suit that also belonged to another era, a white shirt, and, of course, the black tie" (209). Even Black Tie's language is a vestige of the colonial period, such as when he calls boys "hooligan[s]," "scallywag[s]," and "the future ills and burdens of Sri Lanka" (218). Perera has argued that Black Tie's attire and cruel punishments are anachronistic, "improbable" yet not "impossible" for a principal in the 1980s, and therefore that "Selvadurai has made maximum use of his artistic license"; however, I would contend that Selvadurai exaggerates Black Tie's attributes not simply out of "artistic license" but in order to emphasize the longevity of British influence, the source of the biggest "ills and burdens of Sri Lanka."

Like Forster's "Turtons and Burtons," Selvadurai's Black Tie represents all that is wrong with the legacy of British public schools and imperialism, for the principal is a man of misguided principles. Black Tie abuses his power over both Arjie and Shehan; indeed, it is his mistreatment of them that cements their relationship. Shehan "get[s] on [Black Tie's] bad side" for having long hair, which he had pinned up to look short. Black Tie slaps Shehan forcefully, cuts his hair jaggedly, and relegates him indefinitely to the benches outside his office designated for "ills and burdens" (218-9). Shortly afterward, Arjie, too, is subjected to Black Tie's wrath. Black Tie orders Arjie to memorize two of

the principal's favorite poems, Newbolt's "The Best School of All" and "Vitaī Lampada," to recite at the end-of-the-year "prize-giving" ceremony.¹⁸⁰ Mr. Sunderalingam, the drama and English teacher, had selected Arjie out of all the students at QVA for this "honor" (225), apparently because of his oratory skill. With difficulty Arjie commits the poems to memory, but the next day in Black Tie's office, Arjie bumbles his recitation, jumbling together the two poems, because he is unnerved by the cane Black Tie has placed threateningly on his desk. Black Tie then canes Arjie for having "lied" about memorizing the poems: "Falsehood is the biggest malaise in this country, the cause of all its problems. If most of the politicians today had received a good thrashing, we would not be having the problems we currently have" (232). Here Black Tie unfairly displaces his frustrations with the political situation upon Arjie; moreover, he voices one of the British justifications of their Empire, namely that without a British paternal presence to maintain order and discipline, its colonies would dissolve into childish ethnic squabbles. Black Tie's comments are ironic given that most of the country's politicians had attended British-modeled schools and therefore had probably "received a good thrashing" already. Through this irony Selvadurai suggests a larger one: that the post-independence ethnic violence in Sri Lanka and other former colonies was a result of, rather than a justification for, British imperialism.

The only means through which Arjie can end Black Tie's punishments is subterfuge. For two days Black Tie punishes Arjie and Shehan, whom Black Tie had

¹⁸⁰ "Prize-giving" ceremonies continue to be important occasions in elite schools in Sri Lanka. During these events, students are awarded substantial monetary prizes endowed by outside organizations, and high-level politicians are invited to serve as masters of ceremony and/or deliver speeches.

allowed to cue Arjie on the poems, by caning them and forcing them to kneel on his balcony until Arjie memorizes the poems. Such punishments might have continued indefinitely had Arjie not pretended to need to use the restroom so that he could leave Black Tie's office and entreat Mr. Sunderalingam to intercede on the boys' behalf. The drama teacher explains to Arjie, "[Black Tie] belongs to the old school that believes you can beat knowledge into a student.... The values he was taught are the ones he still holds on to, so you must not blame him too much for what he did to you." Mr. Sunderalingam ascribes and, in turn, tries to excuse Black Tie's behavior through his "old school," meaning British public-school idealist, views, and we can see how persistent such views have been, despite being outdated. Although Mr. Sunderalingam does not succeed in convincing Arjie that Black Tie "is not cruel" (240), he does persuade Black Tie to stop punishing Arjie if he wants him to recite the poems. Through Arjie's subterfuge, in which he works within the system to resist Black Tie's oppression, Selvadurai suggests that subtle subversion may be the only way to combat an empire or other authoritarian regime.

"The Best School of All," Reprised, or "This Fellow Really Loved School"

Arjie resists Black Tie both as an authority figure and as a representative of British idealists; moreover, by including Newbolt's poems in *Funny Boy*, Selvadurai highlights the illegibility and irony of their idealism in post-Independence Sri Lanka. Arjie struggles to memorize Newbolt's poems, for "[t]here were many expressions and words [he] wasn't familiar with, and the precise meaning of the poems eluded [him]. They spoke of a reality [he] didn't understand" (227). Selvadurai invests Arjie's observation

with several layers of irony. First, the public-school "reality [that he] didn't understand" was more of an idealist fantasy than a "reality," as the realist literature discussed in Chapters Three and Four attests. Second, Arjie cites his "[un]familiar[ity]" with "many words and expressions" as a source of his incomprehension, yet Arjie is fully fluent in English, which he speaks at home and may have been his first language; moreover, like Selvadurai himself, Arjie has grown up reading English literature, including Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* series, Franklin W. Dixon's *Hardy Boys* series, and Enid Blyton's *Famous Five* series (302), so Newbolt's language should not be very "[un]familiar." Similarly, although Arjie's temporal and cultural distance from Newbolt helps explain his incomprehension of Newbolt's poems, we might expect him to "understand" them better than he does for two reasons. One is that Arjie and his siblings have gleaned at least some understanding of British (and American) culture by reading English literature: "We would often discuss what fun it would be to go abroad, make snowmen, have snowball fights, and eat scones and blueberry jam" (302). The other is that Arjie has been exposed to the British public-school ethos at QVA. By rendering Newbolt's diction and ideas ironically unintelligible to Arjie even though we might expect him to "understand" them, Selvadurai emphasizes both the esoteric aspect of the idealists' language and the obsolescence of their ideas.

Selvadurai's inclusion of Newbolt's poetry in *Funny Boy* serves as a reminder of the functions of public-school education, both in Britain and its colonies. During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, British public schools employed a pedagogy which fostered intellectual passivity and in which rote

memorization was a common technique. Such passivity was useful in the Empire in that it trained future personnel to submit to professional and social hierarchies. British-modeled schools in the colonies pursued a similarly passive pedagogy and with a similar aim of submission. As Viswanathan has persuasively argued, the field of English literary studies emerged out of a British desire to control Indians through education. Along similar lines, Perera has asserted that "[p]oems like [Newbolt's *"Vitaï Lampada"* and *"The Best School of All"*] and others like *"Casabianca"* and *"The Charge of the Light Brigade"* were taught to generations of colonial students to inculcate British values" (259). Hence, through his inclusion of idealist poems in his novel, Selvadurai emphasizes the lingering effects of British and colonial education.

Like Forster, Selvadurai subverts idealism by challenging the sanctity of schooldays and cricket. Arjie continues reflecting on Newbolt's poems as he memorizes them:

"*Vitae Lampada*" was about cricket, but not the way I understood it. It said that through playing cricket one learned to be honest and brave and patriotic. This was not true at the Victoria Academy. Cricket, here, consisted of trying to make it on the first-eleven team by any means, often by cheating or fawning over the cricket master. Cricket was anything but honest. *"The Best School of All"* was no better. In this poem, the poet looked back on his school days as the best days of his life. I found it puzzling that one would be nostalgic for something one had longed to escape. (227-8)

Although Arjie's reflections are circumscribed by the limitations of an adolescent viewpoint, through them we can read Selvadurai's adult critique of idealism. When Arjie makes the observations above, he has been at QVA only a few months and has not yet been punished by Black Tie, yet he considers Newbolt's "nostalgia" to be "puzzling"

because his feelings about school are diametrically opposed to Arjie's. Indeed, Arjie longs for his schooldays at St. Gabriel's "when school had been looked forward to rather than dreaded" (239) as it is at QVA. In a similar vein, Arjie observes that cricket at QVA encourages "cheating [and] fawning" rather than "honest[y] and brave[ry] and patrioti[sm]." As an adolescent, Arjie is unaware of cricket's historical use as a means of inculcating imperial values among colonizing and colonized boys and men in the British Empire, but he nevertheless grasps the hypocrisy of people like Black Tie who valorize cricket. In these ways, Selvadurai undermines the idealist construction of public schools as idyllic and cricket as character building. Like Kipling and Forster, Selvadurai was himself an outsider to the iconic public-school sport of cricket, enabling him to subvert it.

Selvadurai's subversion of cricket begins earlier, in the novel's first chapter, "Pigs Can't Fly."¹⁸¹ As a young boy whenever Arjie attended "spend-the-days" at his grandparents' house, he opted to play "bride-bride" (the enactment of a wedding) with his female cousins rather than cricket with his male cousins, for "[t]he pleasure the boys had standing for hours on a cricket field under the sweltering sun, watching the batsmen run from crease to crease, was incomprehensible to [him]," whereas "the primary attraction of the girls' territory was the potential for the free play of fantasy" (3-4). By contrasting the "incomprehensib[ility]" of cricket with "the free play of fantasy," Selvadurai critiques the rigidity of gender roles and cricket's masculinity;¹⁸² he also points out the inanity of the

¹⁸¹ The title refers to his mother's response when Arjie asks, "Why do I have to play with the boys?": "Because the sky is so high, and pigs can't fly, that's why" (19). The title conveys the perceived fixity of gender roles.

¹⁸² Lesk has convincingly argued that even while transgressing gender role boundaries, Arjie employs his male privilege in playing with girls, "adopt[ing] a coercive male attitude to get his way" (38).

transplantation of an outdoor game as lengthy as cricket in a tropical climate. During the brief period when Arjie's parents force him to play cricket with the boys because his relatives have labeled him as "funny," he dislikes cricket's hierarchical nature and its pretense of fairness, as illustrated by the boys' use of an elaborate system to determine batting order randomly, yet "the older and better players always went first, the younger cousins assenting without a murmur" (26). As soon as he can maneuver it, Arjie provokes his team members so that they will banish him from the cricket pitch, "forever clos[ing] any possibility of entering the boys' world again" (28). Like Forster, Selvadurai constructs cricket as a decidedly masculine game, yet unlike Forster he does not refashion it into a redemptive, transcendent homosexual one. In Sri Lanka, Selvadurai suggests, the cricket pitch, whether located inside or outside the school grounds, is not a place where males can "only connect."

The spaces where queer boys can gain intimacy, Selvadurai posits, are behind closed doors in their homes as well as, ironically, in their principal's office (as mentioned earlier) and in the British Council Library in Colombo. After his first caning, Arjie angrily tears up his copies of Newbolt's poems. Horrified at the potential repercussions of Arjie's rash gesture, Shehan suggests that they go to the British Council Library, where he has a membership,¹⁸³ to obtain new copies. Surveying books of Newbolt's poetry, the boys move beyond Arjie's initial bewilderment into mockery:

"Gosh," [Shehan] Soyza said, after he had read a few [poems], "this fellow really loved school."

¹⁸³ Why Shehan has a membership to the British Council Library while Arjie does not is never explained; however, the fact that Shehan's mother has abandoned him to live in England with her new husband (247) could perhaps indicate that she, and in turn Shehan, might be of British ancestry.

"Must have been a teacher's favorite," I said bitterly.
"Or must have been cricket captain or something," Soyza added.
We looked at each other and smiled.
"Must have been on the rugger team," I said.
"No, no," Soyza cried. "Must have been a rugger *captain*."
"Do you think tennis captain too?"
"Of course. Triple colorsman at least."
Now we were chuckling, and it was a relief to be able to hold up for
ridicule all that was considered sacred by the Queen Victoria Academy. (235)

As recipients of the principal's scorn and misfits among their classmates, the boys can only make sense of Newbolt's school nostalgia by imagining that his schooldays were less torturous than theirs because he had been in a position of authority as "a teacher's favorite" and a captain of the cricket, rugby, and tennis teams. Though Newbolt may have possessed more power at Clifton than Arjie and Shehan do at QVA, he was not a star athlete; rather, his idealist valorization of cricket was a form of wish fulfillment that was underwritten by the prevailing games ethic. By "ridicul[ing]" Newbolt the boys move from "bitter[ness]" to levity, and, at the same time, from tentative acquaintances to nascent lovers. Right after they leave the library, the boys shift from calling each other by their last names, as was the longstanding tradition at public schools, to using their first names, demonstrating their increased intimacy. As in Forster's *Maurice* when Maurice re-imagines cricket as a battle between Alec and him and the rest of England, queer characters are able to establish intimacy by subverting idealist icons from within—in this case, the boys are subverting Newbolt's poems from within the British Council Library. Forster and Selvadurai both suggest that idealism is an oppressive force that must be resisted in order for queer love to thrive.

Through the boys' "ridicule" of Newbolt's poems, Selvadurai implicitly critiques

imperialism's aftermath. Arjie and Shehan seem unaware of the imperialism underpinning Newbolt's poems, but readers can recognize it when Shehan mocks "Clifton Chapel": "He peered at the book, then held up his finger authoritatively and read in a sonorous voice, 'Qui ante diem periit: Sed miles sed pro patria.'" Arjie laughs at "the expression on [Shehan's] face, as if he understood what he was saying" (235). Through gesture and tone, Shehan parodies Newbolt's authority, which is tantamount to Black Tie's and their teachers' authority. The boys cannot translate Newbolt's Latin, just as they cannot recognize his imperialism. At QVA the boys study English rather than Latin, but, in effect, one imperial power's foreign language has been exchanged for another's, and a rhetoric of domination has been maintained. Selvadurai does not identify the poem as "Clifton Chapel," nor does he translate its Latin. By omitting these details, Selvadurai mirrors the way British imperialism lurks beneath the surface of both English literature and contemporary Sri Lankan politics, and he advocates its discovery. The Latin expression Shehan recites means, as we learned in the first chapter, "[those] who died before their day. But [they died] as soldiers, and for their country." Shehan's omission of Newbolt's first Latin clause, "Qui procul hinc," meaning, "[those] who [died] far away from here," enables Selvadurai to tailor the expression to Sri Lanka's post-Independence situation. British soldiers are no longer dying "far away" in Sri Lanka; instead, "[those] who died before their day" are Sri Lankan Tamils and Sinhalese, "soldiers" and innocent civilians, including Arjie's Tamil grandparents, whose car is set on fire during the 1983 Colombo riots that are depicted in the novel's next and final chapter, "Riot Journal: An Epilogue." Hence, Selvadurai posits, the idealist notion of dying "for [one's] country"

becomes fraught with irony in the context of post-Independence ethnic genocide.

A Genealogy of Ethnic Genocide, or "Prize-Giving" in Sri Lanka

In tracing the genealogy of ethnic genocide in Sri Lanka, Selvadurai identifies two related ancestors, British-modeled schools and British imperialism, which work together to enforce social hierarchies through violence. Perera contends that "Selvadurai's fascination with violence," as expressed in the omnipresent violence at QVA, demonstrates that "a school, even a privileged school, can no longer be insulated from the pressures taking place in the rest of the country" (251); however, Perera is conflating the two kinds of systemic violence at QVA and is ignoring how both kinds pave the way for state-sanctioned and ethnic violence. We have already seen one kind of systemic violence at QVA, Black Tie's direct discipline of students, which is so harsh and unrelenting that it can only be resisted through subterfuge, such as Shehan's clipping up of his long hair and Arjie's claiming to need to use the toilet so he could seek help. An extension of this kind of violence is Black Tie's indirect discipline of students through his personal prefect, who fetches and prepares students for Black Tie's punishments. While Black Tie's violence against students reflects his British public-school upbringing, it is also a displacement of his frustration over his power struggle with the school's vice-principal, Mr. Lokubandara, which brings us to the second kind of systemic violence.

The second kind of systemic violence at QVA is the students' discipline of other students, a form of ethnic violence sanctioned by Mr. Lokubandara. This violence is facilitated by the hierarchy within the student body which is dominated by prefects, class leaders, and bullies and which is enforced by students, teachers, and administrators;

whereas such hierarchies in British public schools were based primarily on age, the QVA pecking order adds the additional criteria of language/ethnicity. After Arjie witnesses a gang of boys led by Salgado, the bully of Arjie's Sinhala class, forcibly dragging Chelia, "leader of the Grade 9 Tamil class," into a bathroom stall to harass him in some unspecified way, Arjie flees the bathroom in terror. Shehan then explains to Arjie that "Salgado and others like him are in high favor with Lokubandara. They can do whatever they like" (214) to Tamil students without penalty. Though we are not told how the bathroom incident ends, we can presume that it provoked a desire for revenge in Chelia, thereby perpetuating a cycle of ethnic violence within the school that mirrors what is happening in Sri Lanka as a whole; in this sense, the school is in fact the microcosm of the nation, as British idealists had claimed. Mr. Lokubandara is a "political appointee" whose cousin is a cabinet minister and who is using his political clout to pressure Black Tie to resign (208). Mr. Lokubandara aims to turn Queen Victoria Academy into a Buddhist—and, therefore, exclusively Sinhala—school and to change the school's "too British" name to honor "a Buddhist priest who had done much to preserve traditional, vernacular education" (215).

The intra-school power struggle between Lokubandara and Black Tie represents an intra-national power struggle between Sinhalese nationalists and those who subscribe to an older, British-influenced nationalism. Unlike Lokubandara, Black Tie wants to maintain the status quo at QVA. Although Black Tie is Buddhist, "[h]e want[s] the school to be for all races and religions" (215). As Mr. Sunderalingam explains to Arjie when he seeks the teacher's help against Black Tie, "our principal is losing the battle and

if he is overruled, Tamils like us will suffer. Our loyalties must therefore be with him."

In a last-ditch attempt to retaliate, Black Tie is trying to win the sympathy and influence of a cabinet minister, "an old boy of the Victorian Academy" who is "rumored. . . [to be] next in line for the [Sri Lankan] presidency" (240). This minister, who as a student had won the All Island Poetry Recital Contest with Newbolt's "The Best School of All" and "Vitaī Lampada," will be attending the school's upcoming "prize-giving" event. Black Tie hopes that by "remind[ing] the minister of his school days" through Arjie's recitation of the two poems and his own speech based upon them, he will persuade the minister to "take some action" to "save the school" (241), thereby winning the ultimate "prize": control of the nation.

As in *Stalky and Co.* when the "jelly-bellied flag flapper" MP visits the school, the exterior world of politics might seem to be intruding upon the interior world of the school, for both Black Tie and Lokubandara use their political influence to shape QVA; however, as both Kipling and Selvadurai have asserted, the worlds of school and politics have been closely intertwined since the start of the British Empire. Just as British public schools trained Britain's politicians and imperialists, Sri Lanka's elite schools trained (and continue to train) Sri Lanka's politicians and nationalists. Traditionally, such schools have fostered authoritarianism and social hierarchies enforced through violence, as Black Tie does; more recently, they have used authoritarianism and social hierarchies to pit ethnic groups against one another, as Lokubandara does. As a result, at QVA, just like at Selvadurai's real-life *alma mater* in the 1970s and 1980s, "the teachers, clerks, prefects, a few older students who were in the know, and even the canteen aunties were divided into

two factions: supporters of Black Tie and supporters of Lokubandara" (215). Of course, Sri Lanka's ethnic violence has also been fostered outside its elite schools. For example, Jegan, who was not educated at an elite school, solidifies his Tamil nationalism through his experiences as a volunteer for the Gandhiyam Movement, as a Tamil Tiger, and as an employee of Arjie's father. Still, if the country's leaders are being educated at such schools, then their impact is bound to be significant. Furthermore, both kinds of violence (principal-and-prefect-on-student and student-on-student) incited by Black Tie and Lokubandara, respectively, tend to escalate: Chelia will want revenge on Salgado, and Arjie will want revenge on Black Tie.

"How to Play the Game," or Love in a Time of Ethnic Nationalism

Through the ending of "The Best School of All" and the subsequent chapter, Selvadurai posits that neither the old British-modeled order, represented by Black Tie, nor the new Sinhalese-nationalist order, represented by Lokubandara, is the solution for "the ills and burdens of Sri Lanka." Selvadurai does not endorse a third option, a separate Tamil state, either. The only solution he presents, at least for "funny boys" and non-militant, wealthy Tamils like him, is to escape Sri Lanka and join the Sri Lankan Diaspora in Canada. As a result of Mr. Sunderalingam's intercession, Black Tie stops punishing Arjie, but not Shehan. Without Arjie by his side, Shehan can no longer "stand the constant punishments" (265), so he contemplates taking desperate action, including escaping to England to live with his mother, who had abandoned him, and even, the reader can infer, committing suicide. On his way home from visiting Shehan, Arjie stops by QVA, which looks "peaceful and stately" at sunset, and recalls the refrain from "The

Best School of All."¹⁸⁴ He begins to understand how it is possible to become nostalgic, as his father and Newbolt have, about one's *alma mater* once one is "no longer its captive," but he vows that he will never remember QVA "washed in the coral pink of memory" (266-7). As he contemplates how many boys like Shehan have "been [QVA's] prisoner" for breaking "a code that was unfair," he recognizes for the first time patterns of oppression and injustice, not just at QVA but in Sri Lankan society: "Right and wrong, fair and unfair had nothing to do with how things really were." Having recently concluded that "loving Shehan [was not] bad" even though it was dangerous,

[he] thought of how unfair this was and [he] was reminded of things [he] had seen happen to other people, like Jegan, or even Radha Aunty, who, in their own way, had experienced injustice. How was it that some people got to decide what was correct or not, just or unjust? It had to do with who was in charge; everything had to do with who held power and who didn't. ... But did we always have to obey? Was it not possible for people like Shehan and [him] to be powerful too? (267-8)

In reaction to his fleeting moment of idealist reverie, Arjie comes of age in terms of his awareness of injustice. Through Arjie's coming of age, Selvadurai figures idealist nostalgia as revisionist and childish.

Arjie can now see beyond his own situation to link the "injustice" experienced by students, "funny boy[s]," and Tamil men and women. The oppressed group noticeably absent from Arjie's musings is working-class Sri Lankans, despite the fact that Arjie has had extensive contact with domestic workers and limited contact with "hostile" (144) villagers outside Colombo.¹⁸⁵ Arjie has a blind spot when it comes to perceiving class-

¹⁸⁴ "For, working days and holidays, / And glad and melancholy days, / They were great days and jolly days / At the best School of all."

¹⁸⁵ Arjie accompanies his mother to a village outside Colombo to locate Daryl Uncle's former servant, Somaratne, to see if he can shed light on Daryl's murder. Somaratne's mother is hostile to Arjie's mother,

related injustice, as does Selvadurai in both *Funny Boy* and "Introducing Myself in the Diaspora."¹⁸⁶ While the above passage does not provide a blueprint for achieving solidarity among the various oppressed constituencies in Sri Lanka, as some critics have supposed, it does suggest affinity among these groups and, therefore, the *potential* for collective resistance. Arjie has gained a better understanding of the dynamics of power, which functions the same way inside and outside QVA because of the colonial heritage of Sri Lanka. In addition, Arjie has begun to recognize his own agency.

Arjie uses his newfound agency to sabotage Black Tie's plan to save QVA; through this sabotage Selvadurai signals his rejection of British-modeled authoritarianism and of ethnic nationalism, the old Sri Lanka and the new. A week before the "prize-giving," Arjie is finally able to recite the Newbolt poems correctly for Black Tie, for the principal refrains from placing his cane on his desk as a threat. Arjie then "realized that any fear of [the principal] had disappeared," for "Black Tie needed [him], and because he needed [him], power had moved into [his] hands" (270). Arjie shortly thereafter formulates a "diabolical plan": to jumble his recitation at the "prize-giving" like he had initially done in Black Tie's office in order to render Black Tie's speech nonsensical, thereby preventing him from garnering the visiting minister's favor. Black Tie would then be forced to resign, bringing desperately needed relief to Shehan. Arjie's plan is bold, for it entails embarrassing himself in front of the entire school, his family, and a

for the latter had done nothing to protect Somaratne from police questioning, and now his arm is paralyzed. Somaratne's mother tells Arjie's mother, "To people like you, we are not even human beings" (143). Hence Arjie could have equated the injustice experienced by working-class people with the other injustices he links, but he did not.

¹⁸⁶ Selvadurai leaves his domestic worker characters underdeveloped in both works.

cabinet minister as well as defying Mr. Sunderalingam's assertion that Tamils must be loyal to Black Tie; nevertheless, Arjie follows through with his plan, which works exactly as he had imagined. After Arjie "mangled those poems, reducing them to disjointed nonsense" (274), the flustered Black Tie angrily denounces Arjie as "a perfect example of what this school is producing, ... The kind of scoundrel who will bring nothing but shame to his family and be a burden upon society.... a prime illustration of what our country is coming to, of the path down which this nation is being led" (275). Black Tie attempts to proceed with his speech but gives up after the audience begins to laugh at him. Because readers are not told what happens next at QVA, they are left to presume that Lokubandara wins the "prize" of controlling the school.

Black Tie's denouncement of Arjie is fraught with irony, through which Selvadurai issues his grim prognosis for Sri Lanka. Arjie is not "a perfect example of what this school is producing," for in the eyes of QVA, his family, and Sri Lankan society, he is queer in all senses of the term. Nor is Arjie a "scoundrel"; however, he will likely "bring ... shame to his family" through his homosexuality, of which they would not approve. Already, at the end of the "prize-giving," he realizes that as a result of his budding relationship with Shehan, "[He] was no longer a part of his family in the same way. [He] now inhabited a world they didn't understand and into which they couldn't follow [him]" (278). Black Tie is correct in believing that "what [his] country is coming to," ethnic genocide, is tragic; however, the real "burden upon society" is not Arjie or Shehan or the lack of "discipline" in schools or the nation, but rather injustice in general and ethnic violence in particular, which themselves are the re-inscription of the injustice and

violence inherent in colonialism and its ally, colonial education. Selvadurai emphasizes the importance of injustice as a theme of the novel by using the words "injustice," "justice," "fair," and "unfair" on fifteen occasions.¹⁸⁷

The implications of Arjie's sabotage are complex and important. Selvadurai positions this event as the climax of the novel, indicating that it is the most significant moment in the plot; indeed, the sabotage is the turning point in nearly all of the novel's central conflicts, namely Arjie versus himself, his family, Shehan, Black Tie, and QVA, as well as Black Tie versus Lokubandara and the Tamils versus the Sinhalese. The event marks Arjie's coming of age, his moment of greatest personal growth in this *bildungsroman*. Arjie has proven that it is, in fact, "possible for people like Shehan and [him] to be powerful too," for he has empowered "funny boy[s]" and Black Tie's "ills and burdens"; however, he has simultaneously disempowered Tamil teachers, alumni, and students of QVA, including himself. Earlier in the novel, Arjie's father had given Jegan advice that Arjie had overheard: "As a Tamil, you have to learn how to play the game. Play it right, and you can do very well for yourself. The trick is not to make yourself conspicuous. Go around quietly, make your money, and don't step on anyone's toes" (169). In other words, if a Tamil wants to be a successful businessman, he must avoid arousing Sinhalese attention and hostility, as Arjie's father has done. Jegan ultimately refuses to "play the game,"¹⁸⁸ and so does Arjie, though in a somewhat different sense. In a novel in which Newbolt's "Vitaī Lampada" figures so prominently, Arjie's refusal to

¹⁸⁷ See pages 26, 27, 37, 148, 183, 219, 238, 263, 267, and 269.

¹⁸⁸ Jegan refuses to accept Arjie's father's offer of a job in the Middle East and instead returns to Jaffna to pursue "other alternatives" (200), perhaps rejoining the Gandhiyam movement or the Tamil Tigers.

"play the game" at QVA signals his, as well as Selvadurai's, rejection of Sri Lanka's inherited British idealism, yet Arjie is refusing to "play [other] game[s]," too: the games of subservience to school and familial authorities, of heteronormativity, and of ethnic violence, though this last refusal is the least straightforward. Like Jegan, Arjie refuses to cooperate with those in power, and at significant personal risk; however, unlike Jegan, while resisting one power, the faltering British-modeled Old Boy elites, Arjie effectively cooperates with another power, the ascendant Sinhalese nationalists.

Arjie's cooperation with Sinhalese nationalists should be interpreted in the context of Selvadurai's overarching critique of colonially inspired injustice and misuse of power. Throughout the novel Selvadurai draws the reader's attention to the destructive effects of violence, no matter who commits it or however seemingly justifiable the reason. For instance, by describing Arjie's retaliation against Black Tie's violence as "mangl[ing] those poems," Selvadurai suggests that violence, even verbal violence, furthers a destructive, self-perpetuating cycle. In addition, Selvadurai depicts both Sinhalese and Tamil nationalism as authoritarian and violent and, therefore, dangerous and untenable for Sri Lanka. In the chapter "Small Choices," for example, Jegan tells Arjie that he had quit the Tamil Tigers because, "If you become a Tiger you cannot question anything they do. Recently they killed a social worker because he disagreed with their opinions." Jegan describes the Tamil predicament in Sri Lanka as "small choices of rotten apples," for although the Tigers are oppressive, "what is the alternative? [Tamils] cannot live like this under constant threat from the Sinhalese, always second-class citizens in [their] own country" (172). The difficulty of this same predicament is reinforced later in the same

chapter, when two men whom Jegan tells Arjie are "old school friends"(173) are caught "planning to assassinate a prominent Tamil politician because he is considered a traitor by the Tigers" (177); Arjie had seen a newspaper photo of this government minister "distributing awards at a school prize-giving event" (174). Through these passages Selvadurai demonstrates that Tamil Tiger nationalism, like Sinhalese nationalism, is fostered in schools and also reproduces the injustice and violence of British colonial rule; therefore, while understandable, it is no more a viable alternative for Sri Lanka than Sinhalese nationalism or Anglophile pluralism.

In addition to justice, Selvadurai, like Forster, offers what could be called queer love as the solution to the problem of communal hatred, yet through the novel's ending he suggests that, tragically, the world is "not yet" ready to embrace it. What makes the love in both authors' novels queer is that defies social norms; in Forster's novels the characters' love transgresses boundaries of sexuality, race, and class, whereas in Selvadurai's novel ethnic boundaries are substituted for racial ones and class boundaries are not transgressed at all. When characters pursue queer love in *Funny Boy*—Arjie, a Tamil, loves Shehan, a Sinhalese; Radha, a Tamil, loves Anil, a Sinhalese; and Arjie's mother, a Tamil, loves Daryl, a Burgher—they at last feel happy and fulfilled, but when social pressures force them to abandon their queer love, they become embittered and lose their innocence. Arjie's love for Shehan is doubly queer, for it is both cross-ethnic and homosexual, and perhaps because of this doubleness it seems the strongest and most likely to succeed; however, despite Arjie's prioritization of this love over his family, school, and Tamil ties, his relationship with Shehan is truncated by his emigration to Canada. Arjie's

interactions with Shehan, which predominate the novel's penultimate and climactic chapter, "The Best School of All," paradoxically occupy only two pages out of the final twenty-six page chapter, "Riot Journal: An Epilogue"; in addition, the boys' parting love-making is "almost passionless." The anticlimactic end of Arjie and Shehan's relationship is in part a reflection of their having "withdrawn" from each other "for fear of the pain" of parting (303); moreover, it suggests that even queer love may not be strong enough to overcome the ethnic hatred that has been engendered through colonialism and over centuries. For Forster, writing *Passage* as Indian opposition to British rule was peaking, and for Selvadurai, writing *Funny Boy* as the civil war in Sri Lanka had been raging for over a decade, love and justice must have seemed like distant possibilities in South Asia, but ones worth endorsing nevertheless.

As this chapter has demonstrated, Selvadurai's *Funny Boy* expresses a realist perspective, for it condemns the influence that British-modeled public schools have had upon Sri Lanka. In a sense, however, Selvadurai is an idealist, albeit of a different sort than Newbolt or the contributors to *The Boy's Own Paper*. Selvadurai's notion of queer love is idealistic, as is shown when love proves unsustainable in the face of violence. The love that Arjie feels is individual, not communal, and therefore it proves to be no match for ethnic violence. Similarly, in rejecting the corrosive influence of British public schools, Selvadurai has embraced the notion of diaspora, yet not all Sri Lankans have the means to leave Sri Lanka, and if they did, what would be left of Sri Lankan cultural identity within Sri Lanka? In other words, the Sri Lankan diaspora holds promise for

some, but not all, Sri Lankans, just as Selvadurai's novel illuminates the injustice experienced by some, but not all, oppressed groups within Sri Lanka.

Even though Selvadurai's realism is undermined at times by his particular version of idealism, the commentary he offers in *Funny Boy* on injustice and violence is as relevant today as when he published the novel fifteen years ago. Although Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa declared victory over the LTTE in May of 2009 after Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran was assassinated, it is highly unlikely that injustices have ceased. At least 250,000 Tamils are still being held in guarded refuge camps—the same people who were used as human shields by the LTTE and whose children were forcibly recruited as Tigers in the last months of the war. Now that the Sinhalese majority has won the "prize" of controlling Sri Lanka, the oppression of Tamils and other minorities, including Burghers and Muslims, may be on the rise, as recent elections suggest. In August 2009, the government held the first Northern elections in eleven years despite concerns that it was too soon after the war and that campaign restrictions unfairly targeted opposition party candidates. The ruling United People's Freedom Alliance wrested control from the pro-LTTE Tamil National Alliance in Jaffna, where voter turnout was very low, estimated at only ten or twenty percent, in part because many people did not receive their voting cards and refugees had to apply to vote (Parameswaran; "Upset"). Any injustices committed by the government are likely to remain hidden from the world given the limited freedom of the press in Sri Lanka, as the January 2009 murder in of outspoken critic of the government and editor of the *Sunday Leader* Lasantha Wikramatunga attested. Like Arjie and Selvadurai himself, Tamils may

feel that emigration is their only alternative, and even that option is available only to those who can afford it. Authoritarianism, violence, and elitism—the legacies of British imperialism and public schools—continue to plague Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

"Dangerous Books" for Boys and Girls?: Idealist Literature's Twenty-first Century Comeback

This dissertation has explored literary representations of the confluence of two influential institutions: British public schools and British imperialism. I have contended that authors of what I call imperial school literature should be divided into two groups, idealists and realists, based on their assessment of the worth of the imperial project and of public schools. Poems by Newbolt and selections from *The Boy's Own Paper* published by the Religious Tract Society have illustrated the idealists' perspective and aims, most significantly to recruit imperial personnel from the middle and working classes, but they also have attested to the heterogeneity of the idealists. In addition, the literary debate between Newbolt and Kipling that I brought to light has served as a reminder of the interplay between idealists and realists and of the complexity of turn-of-the-twentieth century views of public schools and imperialism. Novels, poems, short stories, and essays by Kipling and Forster exemplified the realist perspective; moreover, I asserted that Kipling and Forster belong in the same category, thereby challenging the perception that these writers were diametrically different. Extending the realist category to the contemporary South Asian diaspora, I discussed one of Selvadurai's novels, which examines the profound and lingering impact that British-modeled public schools have had upon former British colonies. The works of these idealists and realists have testified to the central role played by of literature in both reinforcing and resisting social institutions, be they schools or empires. Issues of religion, class, race, gender, and

sexuality were integral to the idealists' and realists' perspectives and aims. The scope of my project in terms of geography, time span, types of literature, and range of audiences attests to the pervasive influence of British public schools and, in turn, the importance of studying imperial school literature.

As we have seen, the trajectory of the realists extends outside Britain and into the present time, but what about the trajectory of the idealists? Idealists and realists have always coexisted within imperial school literature; in fact each position energizes the other, yet the balance between idealists and realists has shifted back and forth over time. From the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, British idealists were ascendant, but for the next half century, from the Second Boer War to the Second World War, the pendulum swung the other direction and, at the same time, the category of school literature dwindled, reflecting the simultaneous decline of the British Empire and British public schools. During the same period, South Asian authors began writing school literature, though the category never blossomed as fully as it did in Britain, and typically such authors were realists who were skeptical or even fearful of the effects of British-modeled education. In the second half of the twentieth century, British and South Asian realists kept their lead, though these two categories expanded to include South Asian diasporic authors. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the *Flashman* series and, to a much greater extent, the *Harry Potter* series have kept the category of school literature alive, though both of these series take school literature in a new direction and are focused on entertaining readers more than on persuading them take a particular position regarding the worth of imperialism or public schools. At the same

time, nineteenth-century British idealist literature as well as contemporary literature imitating the older literature has been gaining ground in certain circles. It would seem that the conservative backlash against the liberalism of the 1960s and 1970s—not just in Britain but in the United States and elsewhere—has increased encouraged the rehabilitation and recycling of idealist literature.

Some of the literary works written by the idealist authors discussed in this dissertation are making a comeback of one sort or another, one of which is *The Boy's Own Paper*, although in a recycled form. The circulation of *The Boy's Own Paper* declined by the end of the nineteenth century, in large part as a result of competition from the burgeoning number of copycat publications. The First World War marked the next major decline in the paper's readership, yet the periodical hung on until 1967 (Richards 105-6, 116). Fifty years later, however, British authors Conn and Hal Iggulden published a copycat version of the paper called *The Dangerous Book for Boys* (2006), which proved to be an immediate bestseller. The book's cover, illustrations, content, and targeted audiences ("boys from eight to eighty") all imitate *The Boy's Own Paper*. The slick and successful marketing campaign for the book plays upon parents' nostalgia for their (simpler) childhoods along with their concerns regarding the rise in childhood obesity and the prevalence of violent videogames. Clearly the book and its aggressive marketing campaign have been successful, for it has sold widely and spurred various sequels and spin-offs including *The Daring Book for Girls* (2007), not to mention an interactive website and a school curriculum to go with the book. Readers may not be aware of the book's predecessor, *The Boy's Own Paper*, but their parents and grandparents might be;

even if they are not, the fact that the book has been so popular indicates that some sort of nostalgia for the previous century has social currency at the present moment.

A similar but more troubling development is the increasing popularity of Henty's novels among American home-schoolers, who tend to be conservative and evangelical. In the case of Henty, it is precisely his idealism that has enabled his works to experience a resurgence in interest in recent years: in search of tools to teach history, literature, and Christian morality all at the same time, home-schoolers have created a new market for Henty's juvenile novels. Henty's novels were popular into the 1950s, but in the subsequent decades, as the British Empire disintegrated and civil rights movements began to change people's attitudes about race, class, and gender, the novels fell out of favor. From the 1960s to the 1990s, Henty's writing received much scrutiny from British and American scholars, who used it to demonstrate prevailing views of late Victorians, particularly their racism, jingoism, and sexism. Starting in the late 1980s and continuing to the present, however, American conservatives have attacked what they call "political correctness" and "revisionism," and it is out of this conservative backlash that the renewal in interest in Henty has arisen. In a 2002 article in the conservative American journal *The New Criterion*, reviewer Brooke Allen discusses "[t]he home-schoolers' effort to revive Henty" and praises it as "both admirable and touching" (24). Allen identifies three American publishers—Preston-Speed Publications, Lost Classics Book Company, and Memorial Press—that have begun reissuing Henty's books for the home-school market (24). Preston-Speed, which is based in Pennsylvania and offers the largest array of Henty's novels, advertises itself on its website as "the home of books by G. A. Henty and

more" and claims to have spent ten years researching and preparing to reissue Henty's books in 1996. Lost Classics Book Company, which offers a smaller number of Henty's novels—those set in the United States—touts itself on its website as "resurrecting the values of an earlier, more enduring America, free from the modern trappings of "political correctness" and "revisionism."

Allen takes a similar position in her *New Criterion* article, praising Henty's juvenile fiction as an antidote to the "cultural relativism and political correctness dominating children's publishing" today (20). Allen defends Henty as "comparatively liberal, even politically correct according to the standards of his day" when considered against, for example, Charles Kingsley's anti-Catholic sentiments in *Westward Ho!* (21). Allen also claims that "far from administering a simpleminded dose of imperial rhetoric, Henty's books do indeed prompt young readers to draw their own conclusions rather than parrot received opinion" (22), for "a feature of every Henty books is that both sides of a given issue, no matter how objectionable one of them might be, are always given due respect" (21). Allen goes so far as to suggest,

If we had all been reading Henty's *To Herat and Kabul* instead of *The Babysitters Club* as children, we might have been better prepared [for the September 11 terrorist attacks on the U.S.]! And how many of the people struggling to understand the unprecedented crimes of Osama bin Laden remember or have even heard of the Mahdi? (23)

In other words, if we had been reading Henty's novels, Allen claims, we would not have been taken aback by the September 11 attacks, for we would have already been familiar with Afghanistan's history as well as the putative bloodthirstiness of Muslims. Henty's racial and historical biases, born out of his particular Victorian mindset, resonate with

contemporary American conservatives like Allen, home-schoolers, and the new publishers of Henty's novels, who feel threatened by multiculturalism and by fundamentalist Islam. Such conservatives are willing to ignore Henty's imperial and racial biases as an historian, claiming instead that he is fair-minded—not unlike the way Fox News touts itself as "fair and balanced." Henty's idealist literature is therefore appealing to and influencing readers one hundred years after his death.

A third example of resurgent idealist literature is the featuring of five of Henry Newbolt's poems on "Wondering Minstrel," a daily poem email service and web archive, between 1999 and 2003. The most recent statistics available on the website indicate that as of October 2003, 2,265 recipients were receiving daily emails, and as of January 2006, 1812 poems had been issued. Anyone may submit a "guest poem" for consideration by the "Minstrels," as they call themselves, who may then opt to distribute the poem to their list of subscribers. The creators of "Wondering Minstrels" are three men in their early thirties who met each other while they were undergraduates at the Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay in the late 1990s. The "web archivist," Sitaram Iyer, is the only one of the three who is originally hails from India; the two "anthologizers" who post and comment upon the poems, Abraham Thomas and Martin DeMello, are American.¹⁸⁹ The fact that these three men met each other as students at an Indian university signals a major reversal in the flow of education between the East and West; instead of British-modeled public schools and universities being established in India to educate—and

¹⁸⁹ Iyer earned a doctorate in computer science from Rice University in 2003 and currently works for Google. Thomas is a bond trader in New Jersey and DeMello is a self-proclaimed "open-source hacker and filker currently working in Dubai, UAE."

subjugate—Indians, an Indian university is drawing American students because the education that it provides is seen as more technologically advanced. This inversion of the turn-of-the-twentieth century educational paradigm signals a shift in economic, and therefore cultural, power.

Newbolt's "Vitaī Lampada" was posted to "Wondering Minstrels" by Thomas in November 2001 as part of a group of cricket-themed poems, and it spurred a flurry of commentary. Thomas remarked:

Newbolt is not, unfortunately, a poet with whose ideology I sympathize; he's too much the imperialist, buying into the "white man's burden" argument without displaying the sensitivity to other cultures of, say, Kipling or even Tennyson. That said, he does have a knack of coining memorable phrases ... It's not enough to ever elevate him from minor poet status (the third eleven¹⁹⁰, so to speak), but it's sufficient for him to be remembered. And what more could anyone ask, really?

Thomas' assessment of Newbolt's poetry is fair and accurate, in my estimation, but it sparked a heated electronic debate. Seventeen different people posted a total of twenty-one comments. All of the respondents were male except for one woman who had learned the poem from her father, and a number of them were British in heritage. A number of the respondents remarked that they had learned the poem in school or from their fathers, at least one of whom had fought in the Second World War. Two respondents, agreeing with Thomas, criticized the poem's "imperialism," racism, and elitism. In contrast, nine respondents nostalgically defended the poem's advocacy of "duty," "schoolboy notions of honor and 'keeping one's word,'" "unselfishness and a greater cause," "principles learned at an impressionable age applied to fraught situations in later life," and doing one's best;

¹⁹⁰ "Third eleven" is a cricket term approximately equivalent to "third string." The best players are assigned to the "first eleven," the second best players to the "second eleven," and so forth.

all but one of these supporters viewed the poem as a symbol of Britain's lost imperial glory. Respondents also discussed Newbolt's literary merit and milieu and how translate the poem's title, but with much less emotion than they discussed his "imperialism."

The first person to comment was "surendranathc," apparently a man of Indian ancestry, who agreed with Thomas' assessment of Newbolt's poetry but added it was also elitist:

Newbolt's definition of the 'white man's burden' does not even extend to the common gardner [sic] / labor class" His 'white man' is the starched pucca sahib imperialist, educated at Eton/Harrow/Oxbridge, and well versed in the ways of the sahib, cricket, tennis and an education in the classics, with a ingrained belief that somehow, the English gentry was put at the pinnacle of creation, to liberate and uplift the rest of humanity. The notions of the Victorian British were finally buried in the trenches of WWI.

Although this assessment by "surendranathc" is insightful and historically valid, it prompted defensive, passionate comments from many respondents, demonstrating that the "Victorian British notions" espoused in "Vitaī Lampada" were not "buried in the trenches of WWI" after all, at least not completely. Graham Michael Payne, apparently a male, probably British, was the first person to respond to "surrendranathc," and his comment below is representative of later postings by the poem's most ardent supporters:

I was taught this poem at school and it should be put back on the curriculum straight away, [sic] the sentiments are noble and the fact that they can now be ridiculed is a sad comment on how far we have allowed our noble past to be forgotten. I lived in France for many years and they knew how to respect the achievements of their Empire. Half the world laughs at us for what we are but half the world would be uncivilised without us.....[sic] or however the quote goes.

Payne is lamenting the collapse of the British Empire and its subsequent re-evaluation in the eyes of the world. His use of the term "uncivilised" indicates the longevity of

Victorian notions of racial superiority in the context of imperialism. Another supporter, Phillip Taylor, highlighted the poem's emotional appeal: "It's one of the few poems that moves me to tears whenever I read it — how anyone can think of it as 'Imperialist' simply defeats me."

Other comments by supporters of "Vitaī Lampada" demonstrated the poem's appeal beyond elderly alumni of public schools. A recent graduate of a British public school, G. Edward Cartwright, who had played on the Clifton close (cricket field) "for an away team" six years before, praised the games ethic espoused by Newbolt's poem and lamented the lack of this ethic in state-sponsored schools:

I feel that there is no imperialism in the poem, just an ethic that whatever one does one 'plays the game' and does so playing up the pitch (an offensive shot, for the uninitiated). This quality is still taught in public schools ... but is sadly lacking from modern state education.

Cartwright's comment demonstrates that the nineteenth-century games ethic still has currency and that the "character-building" aspect of public schools is still being vaunted nearly a century and a half after the 1870s, when middle-class Victorians put public schools on a pedestal and, at the same time, state-sponsored education was established in Britain. Another supporter, Peter, asserted that one does not have to be a public-school graduate to love Newbolt's poem:

I am an Englishman lost in the colonies for over 35 years. I was taught this poem when a child 55 years ago and love it with a passion. I claim pride in what it says and try to measure myself with its words. I am not well read or clever with fancy words but that is the beauty of the poem, [sic] from colliery worker to King it reminds us of who [sic] we really should be rather than who we are.

Peter's seems to be a working- or perhaps lower middle-class man who has lived in "the colonies" (we do not know which one) with his daughter (he used the email account of someone named Lynette Dixon) since the mid-1960s but feels "lost" there, displaced from his homeland. One wonders if he felt especially "lost" because by the mid-1960s many British colonies had already gained independence and sent their former imperial servants back to Britain. Peter's declaration that the poem "reminds us of who we really should be rather than who we are" has two levels of potential meaning: one is that the poem inspires its readers to strive to reach their full potential, and the other is that the poem puts all imperial servants on an equal playing field, so to speak, no matter their class. Peter's love of the poem proves that even today "Vitaī Lampada" continues to appeal to people whose class status differs from that of the public-school elites who are the subject of the poem, echoing the poem's historical appeal to the working classes.

The final respondent in the "Vitaī Lampada" thread, Greg Cugola, asserted that "Sir Henry Newbolt was a Jew" and that he was mentioned in C.A. Stonehill's *The Jewish Contribution To Civilization* (1940). As mentioned previously, Newbolt's maternal grandmother was Jewish, but his mother converted to Christianity and his father was an Anglican priest, so Newbolt was raised as a Christian, as best I can discern; however, because Jews believe that one's Judaism is passed through one's mother, Newbolt could be considered "a Jew" through bloodline, if not through religious practice. In his posting Cugola recalls, "My father often used to recite this poem to me and like [for] Phillip Taylor it also had the power to reduce me to tears. It has a wonderfully stirring quality, full of pathos, melancholia and loss." Cugola does not identify himself as Jewish, but his

tone throughout his lengthy posting, which includes a bibliography of Newbolt's works, suggests that he is proudly claiming Newbolt, as well as Newbolt's son Francis, who wrote one book of poetry, and Newbolt's grandfather, Samuel Solomon, who was a doctor, as his own. Cugola is similar to other supporters of the poem in that he associates it with his father and finds it "stirring"; however, he differs from the others in that what stirs him is neither the poem's patriotism nor its advocacy of values like duty and honor but rather its evocation of "pathos, melancholia and loss." This atypical reading of Newbolt's poem might be an outgrowth of Cugola's marginal position in society (as a Jew), as opposed to a central position (as a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant former public-school boy). If Cugola is Jewish, then the fact that he finds the poem as "stirring" as a non-Christian suggests that the "Christianity" aspect of the muscular Christianity which underpinned the games ethic has been submerged beneath the "muscular" aspect, making it less apparent to later readers of "Vitaï Lampada" than it must have been to earlier ones.

The inclusion of Newbolt's poems in the archive of "The Wondering Minstrels" and the responses the poems have elicited from readers have multiple implications. The first is that even a century after Newbolt's poetry reached the apex of its popularity, it continues to command a presence in popular culture, albeit a minor one, and this presence testifies to the staying power of the late-Victorian values enshrined in the poem. The second implication is that readers' responses to Newbolt's idealism regarding imperialism and public schools are dramatically affected by their age, ethnicity, gender, and, to some extent, religion. The many responses to Newbolt's poems reveal fissures, some of them quite deep, dividing the perspectives of young and old, female and male, English and

non-English, public- or state-school educated, Christian and Jew. Yet despite these fissures in perception, the number of different people to whom Newbolt's poetry appeals is broader than one might expect, given its roothold in a particular time and place in history.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from the "Wondering Minstrels" commentary was skillfully articulated by Bill Whiteford, editor of BBC Scotland's Newsdrive program, in his post regarding "Vitaī Lampada." Whiteford pointed out the relevance of the poem to present-day American and British neo-imperialism:

The last line of each verse is well known (at least in the UK), though I think the whole poem is less so. The sentiments seem particularly apposite at a time (Feb 03) when the prospect of war in the desert looms large. You could read all sorts of parallels into it: the idea of empire; the concept of war as sport; the elevation of honour. Even, the projection of power abroad: "England's far". But most of all there's the overweening arrogance that the civilised upbringing of the man will inevitably result in victory.

By "the prospect of war" Whiteford was apparently referring to the then impending invasion of Iraq by the United States and its allies, including the Britain, in March of 2003. Whiteford's point about "parallels" to the present is well taken: today's neo-imperialists make the same sorts of claims in their propaganda—"the idea of empire; the concept of war as sport; the elevation of honour ... the projection of power abroad"—that British imperialists made in their propaganda just over a century ago. Whiteford is correct in asserting that late-Victorian idealist literature, such as that which I have examined in this dissertation, provides an essential lens through which to analyze present-day American neo-imperial propaganda. With wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, we would all be wise to read the literature not only of the idealists but of the realists, as well

Appendix A: Selected Poems of Henry Newbolt

"Vitaï Lampada" (1897)¹⁹¹

There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night —
Ten to make and the match to win —
A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
An hour to play and the last man in.
And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,
Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
But his Captain's hand on his shoulder smote
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

The sand of the desert is sodden red, —
Red with the wreck of a square that broke; —
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks,
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

This is the word that year by year
While in her place the School is set
Every one of her sons must hear,
And none that hears it dare forget.
This they all with a joyful mind
Bear through life like a torch in flame,
And falling fling to the host behind —
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

"The Best School of All" (1899)¹⁹²

It's good to see the School we knew,
The land of youth and dream,
To greet again the rule we knew

¹⁹¹ I have punctuated and formatted this poem exactly as it appears in the original 1897 publication of *Admirals All*, which is slightly different than it appears in contemporary publications (20-1).

¹⁹² "The Best School of All" was republished in *The Sailing of the Long Ships* in 1902 (61-3). I have formatted, indented, and punctuated the poem as it appears there, not as it appears in Richards' *Happiest Days*, in which the second stanza, the italics, and the line indentations are omitted.

Before we took the stream:
Though long we've missed the sight of her,
Our hearts may not forget;
We've lost the old delight of her,
We keep her honour yet.

*We'll honour yet the School we knew,
The best School of all:
We'll honour yet the rule we knew,
Till the last bell call.
For, working days or holidays,
And glad or melancholy days,
They were great days and jolly days
At the best School of all.*

The stars and sounding vanities
That half the crowd bewitch,
What are they but inanities
To him that treads the pitch?
And where's the wealth, I'm wondering,
Could buy the cheers that roll
When the last charge goes thundering
Beneath the twilight goal?

The men that tanned the hide of us,
Our daily foes and friends,
They shall not lose their pride of us
Howe'er the journey ends.
Their voice, to us who sing of it,
No more its message bears,
But the round world shall ring of it
And all we are be theirs.

To speak of Fame a venture is,
There's little here can bide,
But we may face the centuries,
And dare the deepening tide:
For though the dust that's part of us
To dust again be gone,
Yet here shall beat the heart of us—
The School we handed on!

We'll honour yet the School we knew,

*The best School of all:
We'll honour yet the rule we knew,
Till the last bell call.
For, working days or holidays,
And glad or melancholy days,
They were great days and jolly days
At the best School of all.*

"Clifton Chapel" (1898)¹⁹³

This is the Chapel: here, my son,
Your father thought the thoughts of youth,
And heard the words that one by one
The touch of Life has turned to truth.
Here in a day that is not far,
You too may speak with noble ghosts
Of manhood and the vows of war
You made before the Lord of Hosts.

To set the cause above renown,
To love the game beyond the prize,
To honour, while you strike him down,
The foe that comes with fearless eyes;
To count the life of battle good,
And dear the land that gave you birth,
And dearer yet the brotherhood
That binds the brave of all the earth—

My son, the oath is yours: the end
Is His, Who built the world of strife,
Who gave His children Pain for friend,
And Death for surest hope of life.
To-day and here the fight's begun,
Of the great fellowship you're free;
Henceforth the School and you are one,
And what You are, the race shall be.

God send you fortune: yet be sure,
Among the lights that gleam and pass,
You'll live to follow none more pure
Than that which glows on yonder brass:

¹⁹³ I have formatted and punctuated the text of this poem as it appears in *The Island Race* (1898).

"Qui procul hinc," the legend's writ,—
The frontier-grave is far away—
"Qui ante diem periit:
Sed miles, sed pro patria."

"An Essay on Criticism" (in *Songs of Memory and Hope*, 1909, and *Poems: New and Old*, 1921; the later version was longer)

1 'Tis hard to say if greater waste of time
2 Is seen in writing or in reading rhyme;
3 But, of the two, less dangerous it appears
4 To tire our own than poison others' ears.
5 Time was, the owner of a peevish tongue,
6 The pebble of his wrath unheeding flung,
7 Saw the faint ripples touch the shore and cease,
8 And in the duckpond all again was peace.
9 But since that Science on our eyes hath laid
10 The wondrous clay from her own spittle made,
11 We see the widening ripples pass beyond,
12 The pond becomes the world, the world a pond,
13 All ether trembles when the pebble falls,
14 And a light word may ring in starry halls.
15 When first on earth the swift iambic ran
16 Men here and there were found but nowhere Man.
17 From whencesoe'er their origin they drew,
18 Each on its separate soil the species grew,
19 And by selection, natural or not,
20 Evolved a fond belief in one small spot.
21 The Greek himself, with all his wisdom, took
22 For the wide world his bright Ægean nook,
23 For fatherland, a town, for public, all
24 Who at one time could hear the herald bawl:
25 For him barbarians beyond his gate
26 Were lower beings, of a different date;
27 He never thought on such to spend his rhymes,
28 And if he did, they never read the Times .
29 Now all is changed, on this side and on that,
30 The Herald's learned to print and pass the hat;
31 His tone is so much raised that, far or near,
32 All with a sou to spend his news may hear,---
33 And who but, far or near, the sou affords
34 To learn the worst of foreigners and lords!
35 So comes the Pressman's heaven on earth, wherein

36 One touch of hatred proves the whole world kin---
37 "Our rulers are the best, and theirs the worst,
38 Our cause is always just and theirs accurst,
39 Our troops are heroes, hirelings theirs or slaves,
40 Our diplomats but children, theirs but knaves,
41 Our Press for independence justly prized,
42 Theirs bought or blind, inspired or subsidized.
43 For the world's progress what was ever made
44 Like to our tongue, our Empire and our trade?"
45 So chant the nations, till at last you'd think
46 Men could no nearer howl to folly's brink;
47 Yet some in England lately won renown
48 By howling word for word, but upside down.

49 But where, you cry, could poets find a place
50 (If poets we possessed) in this disgrace?
51 Mails will be Mails, Reviews must be reviews,
52 But why the Critic with the Bard confuse?
53 Alas! Apollo, it must be confessed
54 Has lately gone the way of all the rest.
55 No more alone upon the far-off hills
56 With song serene the wilderness he fills,
57 But in the forum now his art employs
58 And what he lacks in knowledge gives in noise.
59 At first, ere he began to feel his feet,
60 He begged a corner in the hindmost sheet,
61 Concealed with Answers and Acrostics lay,
62 And held aloof from Questions of the Day.
63 But now, grown bold, he dashes to the front,
64 Among the leaders bears the battle's brunt,
65 Takes steel in hand, and cheaply unafraid
66 Spurs a lame Pegasus on Jameson's Raid,
67 Or pipes the fleet in melodrama's tones
68 To ram the Damned on their Infernal Thrones.

69 Sure, Scriblerus himself could scarce have guessed
70 The Art of Sinking might be further pressed:
71 But while these errors almost tragic loom
72 The Indian Drummer has but raised a boom.
73 "So well I love my country that the man
74 Who serves her can but serve her on my plan;
75 Be slim, be stalky, leave your Public Schools
76 To muffs like Bobs and other flannelled fools:

77 The lordliest life (since Buller made such hay)
78 Is killing men two thousand yards away;
79 You shoot the pheasant, but it costs too much
80 And does not tend to decimate the Dutch;
81 Your duty plainly then before you stands,
82 Conscription is the law for seagirt lands;
83 Prate not of freedom! Since I learned to shoot
84 I itch to use my ammunition boot."

85 An odd way this, we thought, to criticize---
86 This barrackyard "Attention! d--- your eyes!"
87 But England smiled and lightly pardoned him,
88 For was he not her Mowgli and her Kim?
89 But now the neighbourhood remonstrance roars,
90 He's naughty still, and naughty out of doors.
91 'Tis well enough that he should tell Mamma
92 Her sons are tired of being what they are,
93 But to give friendly bears, expecting buns,
94 A paper full of stale unwholesome Huns---
95 One might be led to think, from all this work,
96 That little master's growing quite a Turk.

97 O Rudyard, Rudyard, in our hours of ease
98 (Before the war) you were not hard to please:
99 You loved a regiment whether fore or aft,
100 You loved a subaltern, however daft,
101 You loved the very dregs of barrack life,
102 The amorous colonel and the sergeant's wife.
103 You sang the land where dawn across the Bay
104 Comes up to waken queens in Mandalay,
105 The land where comrades sleep by Cabul ford,
106 And Valour, brown or white, is Borderlord,
107 The secret Jungle-life of child and beast,
108 And all the magic of the dreaming East.
109 These, these we loved with you, and loved still more
110 The Seven Seas that break on Britain's shore,
111 The winds that know her labour and her pride,
112 And the Long Trail whereon our fathers died.

113 In that Day's Work be sure you gained, my friend,
114 If not the critic's name, at least his end;
115 Your song and story might have roused a slave
116 To see life bodily and see it brave.

117 With voice so genial and so long of reach
118 To your Own People you the Law could preach,
119 And even now and then without offence
120 To Lesser Breeds expose their lack of sense.
121 Return, return! and let us hear again
122 The ringing engines and the deep-sea rain,
123 The roaring chanty of the shore-wind's verse,
124 Too bluff to bicker and too strong to curse.
125 Let us again with hearts serene behold
126 The coastwise beacons that we knew of old;
127 So shall you guide us when the stars are veiled,
128 And stand among the Lights that never Failed.

Appendix B: Rudyard Kipling's "The Islanders" (1902)

*No doubt but ye are the People—your throne is above the King's.
Whoso speaks in your presence must say acceptable things:
Bowing the head in worship, bending the knee in fear—
Bringing the word well smoothen—such as a King should hear.* [4]

Fenced by your careful fathers, ringed by your leaden seas,
Long did ye wake in quiet and long lie down at ease;
Till ye said of Strife, 'What is it?' of the Sword, 'It is far from our ken';
Till ye made a sport of your shrunken hosts and a toy of your armèd men. [8]
Ye stopped your ears to the warning—ye would neither look nor heed—
Ye set your leisure before their toil and your lusts above their need.
Because of your witless learning and your beasts of warren and chase,
Ye grudged your sons to their service and your fields for their camping-place. [12]
Ye forced them glean in the highways the straw for the bricks they brought;
Ye forced them follow in byways the craft that ye never taught.
Ye hampered and hindered and crippled; ye thrust out of sight and away
Those that would serve you for honour and those that served you for pay. [16]
Then were the judgments loosened; then was your shame revealed,
At the hands of a little people, few but apt in the field.
Yet ye were saved by a remnant (and your land's long-suffering star),
When your strong men cheered in their millions while your striplings went to the war.
Sons of the sheltered city—unmade, unhandled, unmeet—
Ye pushed them raw to the battle as ye picked them raw from the street.
And what did ye look they should compass? Warcraft learned in a breath,
Knowledge unto occasion at the first far view of Death? [24]
So? And ye train your horses and the dogs ye feed and prize?
How are the beasts more worthy than the souls, your sacrifice?
But ye said, 'Their valour shall show them'; but ye said, 'The end is close.'
And ye sent them comfits and pictures to help them harry your foes: [28]
And ye vaunted your fathomless power, and ye flaunted your iron pride,
Ere—ye fawned on the Younger Nations for the men who could shoot and ride!
Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals. [32]
Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie,
Ye saw that the land lay fenceless, and ye let the months go by
Waiting some easy wonder, hoping some saving sign—
Idle—openly idle—in the lee of the forespent Line. [36]
Idle—except for your boasting—and what is your boasting worth
If ye grudge a year of service to the lordliest life on earth?
Ancient, effortless, ordered, cycle on cycle set,
Life so long untroubled, that ye who inherit forget [40]

It was not made with the mountains, it is not one with the deep.
Men, not gods, devised it. Men, not gods, must keep.

Men, not children, servants, or kinsfolk called from afar,
But each man born in the Island broke to the matter of war. [44]
Soberly and by custom taken and trained for the same,
Each man born in the Island entered at youth to the game —
As it were almost cricket, not to be mastered in haste,
But after trial and labour, by temperance, living chaste. [48]
As it were almost cricket—as it were even your play,
Weighed and pondered and worshipped, and practised day and day.
So ye shall bide sure-guarded when the restless lightnings wake
In the womb of the blotting war-cloud, and the pallid nations quake. [52]
So, at the haggard trumpets, instant your soul shall leap
Forthright, accoutred, accepting—alert from the wells of sleep.
So at the threat ye shall summon—so at the need ye shall send
Men, not children or servants, tempered and taught to the end; [56]
Cleansed of servile panic, slow to dread or despise,
Humble because of knowledge, mighty by sacrifice ...
But ye say, 'It will mar our comfort.' Ye say, 'It will minish our trade.'
Do ye wait for the spattered shrapnel ere ye learn how a gun is laid? [60]
For the low, red glare to southward when the raided coast-towns burn?
(Light ye shall have on that lesson, but little time to learn.)
Will ye pitch some white pavilion, and lustily even the odds,
With nets and hoops and mallets, with rackets and bats and rods? [64]
Will the rabbit war with your foemen—the red deer horn them for hire?
Your kept cock-pheasant keep you?—he is master of many a shire.
Arid, aloof, incurious, unthinking, unthanking, gelt,
Will ye loose your schools to flout them till their brow-beat columns melt? [68]
Will ye pray them or preach them, or print them, or ballot them back from your shore?
Will your workmen issue a mandate to bid them strike no more?
Will ye rise and dethrone your rulers? (Because ye were idle both?
Pride by Insolence chastened? Indolence purged by Sloth?) [72]
No doubt but ye are the People; who shall make you afraid?
Also your gods are many; no doubt but your gods shall aid.
Idols of greasy altars built for the body's ease;
Proud little brazen Baals and talking fetishes; [76]
Teraphs of sept and party and wise wood-pavement gods—
These shall come down to the battle and snatch you from under the rods?
From the gusty, flickering gun-roll with viewless salvoes rent,
And the pitted hail of the bullets that tell not whence they were sent. [80]
When ye are ringed as with iron, when ye are scourged as with whips,
When the meat is yet in your belly, and the boast is yet on your lips;

When ye go forth at mornings and the noon beholds you broke,
Ere ye lie down at even, your remnant, under the yoke?

[84]

*No doubt but ye are the People—absolute, strong, and wise;
Whatever your heart has desired ye have not withheld from your eyes.
On your own heads, in your own hands, the sin and the saving lies!*

[87]

Works Cited

- Adas, Michael. "Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology." *Journal of World History* 15.1 (Mar. 2004): 31-63. Print.
- Advertisements, *The Boy's Own Annual 1892-1893*. Part 176 (Oct. 1893). End papers. Print.
- Aflalo, Frederick G. "The Study of Modern Languages." *The Boy's Own Annual, 1892-1893* Part 167 (Dec. 1892): 207. Print.
- Allen, Brooke. "G. A. Henty & the Vision of Empire." *The New Criterion* April 2002: 20-4. Print.
- Allingham, Philip V. "The Initial Publication Context of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* ('Maga'): February, March, and April, 1899." *The Victorian Web: Literature, History, and Culture in the Age of Victoria*. Updated 6 Dec. 2000. Web. 3 April 2010
<<http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/conrad/pva46.html>>.
- Amarasekera, Gunadasa. "The Tamil Problem." *Sinhaya.com*. Web. 12 Aug. 2009
<http://www.sinhaya.com/tamil_problem.html>.
- Anderson, Olive. "The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain." *English Historical Review* Jan. 1971: 46-72. Print.
- Arnold, Guy. *Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty, Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980. Print.

Arnold, Thomas. Ed. T. W. Bamford. *Thomas Arnold on Education: A Selection From His Writings With Introductory Material by T. W. Bamford*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970. Print.

Ayers, Roger. "Introductory Notes" and "Notes to the Text." Part of "Fuzzy Wuzzy" entry in "Reader's Guide." Kipling Society, 18 May 2006. Web. 11 Jun. 09 <http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_fuzzywuzzy1.htm#fuzzy>.

Bailey, Quentin. "Heroes and Homosexuals: Education and Empire in E. M. Forster." *Twentieth Century Literature* 48.3 (Fall 2002): 324-47. Print.

Baldwin, Shauna Singh. *What the Body Remembers*. 1999. NY: Anchor-RandomHouse, 2001. Print.

Bamford, T. W. *Thomas Arnold*. London: Cresset P, 1960. Print.

"The Ballad of the Berkshire Regiment." *The Farmers Boys*. Web. 7 Jul. 2009 <http://www.farmersboys.com/Songs_and_Poems/tofrekpoem.htm>.

"A Ballad of the Berkshire Regiment." *Punch* 88 (11 Apr. 1885): 171. Print.

"The Battle of Tofrek - 22.March.1885." *Victorian Wars Forum* 1 Apr. 2009. Web. 7 Jul. 2009 <<http://www.victorianwars.com/viewtopic.php?f=16&t=465>>.

Bilsing, Tracy, "The Process of Manufacture: Rudyard Kipling's Private Propaganda," *War, Literature, & the Arts* 12.1 (Sp.-Sum. 2000): 74-98. *Google Scholar*. Web. 5 Aug. 2008.

Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen. *India under Ripon: A Private Diary by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt*. London: Chiswick P, 1909. Print.

Bose, Purnima. *Organizing Empire: Individualism, Collective Agency, and India*.

Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.

The Boy's Own Annual: Thirty-Eighth Annual Volume, 1915-1916. Ed. Arthur Lincoln

Haydon. London: "Boy's Own Paper" Office. Print.

The Boy's Own Paper/The Boy's Own Annual. London: Religious Tract Society. 1884-8

(asst. nos.), 1887-8, 1891-2, 1892-3, 1894-5, 1896 (asst. nos.), 1900 (asst. nos.),

1901 (asst. nos.). Accessed through Harry Ransom Center, UT-Austin: Sep.

2005.

Bratton, J. S. "Of England, Home and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and

Edwardian Juvenile Fiction." *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Ed. John M.

MacKenzie. 73-93. Print.

Bristow, Joseph. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. London: Harper-

Academic, 1991. Print.

Burke, John. *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain*

and Ireland, Enjoying Territorial Possessions or High Official Rank: But

Uninvested with Heritable Honours. London: Henry Colburn, 1835. *Google*

Books. Web. 29 Jul. 2008.

Castle, Katherine. *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books*

and Magazines. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996. Print.

Chitty, Susan. *Playing the Game: A Biography of Sir Henry Newbolt*. London: Quartet

Books, 1997. Print.

- Clarance, William. *Ethnic Warfare in Sri Lanka and the UN Crisis*. London: Pluto P, 2007. Print.
- Clark, Gail S., "Imperial Stereotypes: G. A. Henty and the Boys' Own Empire," *Journal of Popular Culture* 18.4 (Sp. 1985): 43-51. Print.
- Clark, Peter. *Marmaduke Pickthall: British Muslim*. London: Quartet Books, 1986. Print.
- "Clive, Robert, 1st Baron Clive of Plassey." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2008. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Web. 31 Jul. 2008 <<http://search.eb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/eb/article-1368>>.
- Copley, Terence. *Black Tom: Arnold of Rugby: The Myth and the Man*. London: Continuum, 2002. Print.
- Cox, Jack. *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!: the Story of the Boy's Own Paper*. Guildford: Lutterworth P, 1982. Print.
- Desai, Kiran. *The Inheritance of Loss*. NY: Atlantic Monthly P, 2006. Print.
- de Souza, Alfred. *Indian Public Schools: A Sociological Study*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1974. Print.
- Dickinson, Patric, ed. *Selected Poems of Henry Newbolt*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981. Print.
- Discovery Channel School. *Great Books: Lord of the Flies*. Exec. Ed. Walter Cronkite. 2004. DVD.

- Doll, Rob. "Remembering Mohammed: E. M. Forster, Cavafy, and the Nexus of Memory." *Pharos* 2002. Web. 16 July 09
<<http://www.emforster.info/pages/cavafy.html2002>>.
- "The Doon School Home Page." *The Doon School Website*. Web. 29 Oct. 2004
<<http://www.doonschool.com/index.htm>>.
- "Dulce et Decorum Est." *First World War Poetry Digital Archive*. Oxford: U of Oxford, 2008. Web. 2 Jul. 2009
<<http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/education/pathways/users/ww1lit/paths/q38o9n/viewer/>>.
- Dunae, Patrick A. "New Grub Street for Boys." *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Ed. Jeffrey Richards. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1989. Print.
- Ellis, Frank. Pseud. Frank Elias. "Run It Out!" *The Boy's Own Annual: Thirty-Eighth Annual Volume, 1915-1916*. Ed. Arthur Lincoln Haydon. London: "Boy's Own Paper" Office. 91. Print.
- "Esquire, n.1." Defs. 2 and 3. *Oxford English Dictionary*. Web. 21 Jan. 2010.
- Forster, E. M. *Maurice*. 1914. London: Edward Arnold, 1971. Print.
- — —. "What I Believe." *Two Cheers for Democracy*. NY: Harcourt Brace, 1951. 77-85. Print.
- — —. "Notes on the English Character." *Abinger Harvest*. 1920. London: Edward Arnold, 1936. 3-14. Print.
- — —. *A Passage to India*. 1924. San Diego: Harvest-Harcourt, 1984. Print.
- — —. *The Longest Journey*. 1907. Norfolk, CT: New Directions-Knopf, 1922. Print.

- Fraser, George MacDonald. *Flashman; from the Flashman Papers 1839-1842*. 1969. NY: Plume-Penguin, 1984. Print.
- Fyfe, Aileen. *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004. Print.
- Gardner, Brian. *The East India Company*. 1971. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1997.
- Gilmour, David. *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling*. NY: Farrar, 2002. Print.
- Ghosh, Amitav. "The Greatest Sorrow: Times of Joy Recalled in Wretchedness." *The Kenyon Review* 25.3-4 (Sum.-Fall 2003): 86-99. *KROnline*. Web. 2 April 2004 <<http://www.kenyonreview.org/issues/sf03/ghosh.php>>.
- Golding, William. *Lord of the Flies*. 1954. NY: Riverhead-Penguin, 1997. Print.
- Gray, Donald. "Rudyard Kipling." *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 330: Nobel Prize Laureates in Literature, Part 2: Faulkner-Kipling*. A Brucoli Clark Layman Book. Gale, 2007. 485-504. Accessed through Univ. of Texas Libraries.
- Green, Martin. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. NY: Basic Books, 1980. Print.
- Green, Roger Lancelyn. "Stalky and 'The Brushwood Boy,'" *Kipling Journal* 115 (Oct. 1955). "Reader's Guide." *The Kipling Society*. Web. 4 Oct. 2009 <http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_brushwood_green.htm>.
- Halperin, David M. *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995. Print.
- Hamilton, Ian, ed. "Newbolt," *The Oxford Companion to Twentieth-Century Poetry in English*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994. Print.

- Harlow, Barbara and Mia Carter, eds. *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999. Print.
- — —. *Archives of Empire, Volume I: From the East India Company to the Suez Canal*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.
- Haydon, Arthur Lincoln. "The League of Friendship." *The Boy's Own Annual: Thirty-Eighth Annual Volume, 1915-1916*. London: "Boy's Own Paper" Office, 1916. 703. Print.
- — —. "A Talk to Boys. By an Old One." *The Boy's Own Annual: Thirty-Eighth Annual Volume, 1915-1916*. London: "Boy's Own Paper" Office. 468. Print.
- Henty, G. A. *With Clive in India: Or, the Beginnings of an Empire*. London: Blackie, 1884. Print.
- Heussler, Robert. *Yesterday's Rulers; The Making of the British Colonial Service*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1963. Print.
- Holland, Steve. "British Juvenile Story Papers and Pocket Libraries Index." 10 Oct. 2005. Web. 28 July 2008 <<http://www.philsp.com/homeville/BJSP/0start.htm>>.
- Honey, John Raymond de Symons. *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the English Public School in the Nineteenth Century*. NY: Quadrangle/NY Times Book Co, 1977. Print.
- Hood, Jack. *The Heart of a Schoolboy*. London: Longmans Green, 1919. Print.
- Horace. *Ode III*. Posted by Jose Dejalma Dezotti. *The Latin Library*. Web. 3 July 2009 <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm3.shtml>>.

Howarth, Patrick. *Play Up and Play the Game: The Heroes of Popular Fiction*. London:

Eyre Methuen, 1973. Print.

Hughes, Thomas. *Tom Brown's School Days*. 1857. New ed. Ed. Winifred Quincy

Norton. Riverside Literature Series, No. 85. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931.

Print.

Indian Public Schools Conference. *The Indian Public School: An Outline of the Aims of*

Members of the Indian Public Schools Conference, with a Preface by John

Sargent. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1942. Print.

James, Louis. "Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons." *Victorian Studies* 17 (1973): 89-99.

Print.

Jephson, D. L. A. "The Old School." *The Boy's Own Annual: Thirty-Eighth Annual*

Volume, 1915-1916. Ed. Arthur Lincoln Haydon. London: "Boy's Own Paper"

Office. 703. Print.

Johnstone, C. E. "England." *The Boy's Own Annual, 1892-1893* Part 167 (Dec. 1892):

190-1. Print.

— — —. "Boarding School Ballads: The Refined Academy." *The Boy's Own Annual,*

1892-1893 Part 167 (Dec. 1892): 206. Print.

Jones, William (1795-1855). *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society:*

Containing a Record of Its Origin, Proceedings, and Results, A.D. 1799 to A.D.

1849. London: Religious Tract Society, 1850. Print.

Kannangara, Ananda. "Royal Felicitation to Old Royalists." *Daily News* (Sri Lanka) 12

Feb 2002. Web. 12 Aug. 2009

<<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~lkawgw/rcob.html>>.

Kipling, Rudyard. "The Brushwood Boy." *The Day's Work*. 1894. NY: Doubleday & McClure, 1899. 385-431. Print.

— — —. "The Islanders." *A Choice of Kipling's Verse Made by T. S. Eliot: with an Essay on Rudyard Kipling*. 1941. NY: Anchor-Doubleday, 1962. 135-9. Print.

— — —. *Kim*. 1987. London: Penguin, 1989. 7-46. Print.

— — —. *Schoolboy Lyrics*. Lahore: Privately printed, 1881. (Accessed in HRC) Print.

— — —. *Something of Myself: For My Friends Known and Unknown*. New York: Doubleday, 1937. Print.

— — —. *Stalky & Company*. NY: Doubleday, 1899. Print.

— — —. *War Stories and Poems*. Ed. Andrew Rutherford. 1987. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.

The Kipling Society. Updated 10 Mar. 2009. Web. 4 Oct. 2009

<http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_brushwood1.htm>.

Kucich, John. "Sadomasochism and the Magical Group: Kipling's Middle-Class Imperialism." *Victorian Studies* Aut. 2003: 33-68. Print.

Lea, John. "Chronicles of Clay House: Some Humorous Records of School Life." *The Boy's Own Annual: Thirty-Eighth Annual Volume, 1915-1916*. Ed. Arthur Lincoln Haydon. London: "Boy's Own Paper" Office. 26-8, 89-91, 160-2, 233-6, 303-5, 347-9. Print.

- Lelyveld, David. *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*. NJ: Princeton UP, 1978. Print.
- — —, and Gail Minault. "The Campaign for a Muslim University." *Modern Asian Studies* 8.2 (1974): 145-89. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Jul. 2008.
- Lesk, Andrew. "Ambivalence at the Site of Authority: Desire and Difference in *Funny Boy*." *Canadian Literature* 190 (Aut. 2006): 31-46.
- Lewis, Stephen. "Officers Died S." *Officers Died: Memorials and Information about British and Empire Forces Officers*. Web. 21 Jan. 2010
<<http://glostern.tripod.com/offzdieds.htm>>.
- Lost Classics*. Lost Classics Book Co. Web. 21 July 2008 <www.lostclassics.com>.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington. "Lord Clive." *Edinburgh Review* 70.142 (Jan. 1840): 295-362. Reprinted in Harlow and Carter. *Archives*. 59-71. Print.
- MacDougall, David. *The Doon School Quintet*. 2004. Berkeley Media. DVD.
- — —. "The Social Aesthetics and the Doon School." *Sights—Visual Anthropology Forum*. Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, Australian National University. 9 May 2000. Web. 22 Oct. 2004 <<http://cc.joensuu.fi/sights/david2.htm>>.
- Mack, Edward Clarence, and W. H. G. Armytage. *Thomas Hughes: The Life of the Author of Tom Brown's Schooldays*. London: Benn, 1952. Print.
- Mack, Edward C. *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780 to 1860: The Relationship between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution*. 1938. NY: Columbia UP, 1939. Print.

- — —. *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860: The Relationship between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution*. 1941. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1971. Print.
- MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. 1984. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1986. Print.
- — —. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Ed. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1986. Print.
- MacMillan, Margaret. *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India*. NY: Random House, 2007. Print.
- Mangan, J. A. *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*. Middlesex: Viking, 1986. Print.
- Marks, Jim, "The Personal is the Political: An Interview with Shyam Selvadurai." *Lambda Book Report: A Review of Contemporary Gay and Lesbian Literature* 5.02 (Aug. 1996): 1, 6-7. Print.
- Marsden, William Edward. *The School Textbook: Geography, History, and Social Studies*. Routledge, 2001. Print.
- Martin, Rev. R. D'O. "Indian Boys." *The Boy's Own Annual, 1892-1893* Part 173 (Jul. 1893): 621-622. Print.
- Martyn, Madie. *Martyn Sahib: The Story of John Martyn of the Doon School*. New Delhi: Dass Media, 1985. Print.
- Marx, Karl. "The Future Results of British Rule in India." *New York Daily Tribune* 8 Aug. 1853. Reprinted in Harlow and Carter. *Archives*. 123-128. Print.

Masani, Zareer. "The Secret World of E. M. Forster: The Novelist's Letters Reveal His Private Passions." *The Independent* 15 July 2007. Web. 23 July 2009

<<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/the-secret-world-of-e-m-forster-the-novelists-letters-reveal-his-private-passions-453119.html>>.

Mason, Philip. Pseud. Philip Woodruff. *The Men Who Ruled India*. NY: St. Martin's, 1954. Print.

McDowell, Frederick. "E. M. Forster." *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 34: British Novelists, 1890-1929: Traditionalists*. A Brucoli Clark Layman Book. Ed. Thomas F. Staley. NY: Gale Group, 1984. 121-151.

Mehra, Parshotam. *A Dictionary of Modern Indian History, 1701-1947*. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1985. Print.

Michell, A. T. *Rugby School Register. Volume I. From April, 1675, to April, 1842*.

Rugby: A. J. Lawrence, 1901. Print.

— — —. *Rugby School Register, Volume II. From August, 1842, to January, 1874*.

Rugby: A. J. Lawrence, 1902. Print.

Minault, Gail. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*. NY: Columbia UP, 1982. Print.

— — —. "Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement." *Modern Asian Studies* 8.4 (Oct.1974): 459-71. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Jul. 2008.

Ministry of Education. "The British Period (1796-1948)." Govt. of Sri Lanka. Web. 12 Aug. 2009 <http://www.moe.gov.lk/Education_his_1.3.html#>.

- — —. "Period after Independence (1948-Date)." Govt. of Sri Lanka. Web. 12 Aug. 2009 <http://www.moe.gov.lk/Education_his_1.3.html#>.
- — —, "Present Education System and Management Structure." Govt. of Sri Lanka. Web. 12 Aug. 2009 <http://www.moe.gov.lk/Education_his_1.3.html#>.
- Morris, Henry. *A History of India for Schools*. [Accessed in HRC]. Print.
- Mott, C. C. "A Golden Rule of Cricket." *The Boy's Own Annual, 1881-1882* Pt. 162 (Aug. 1892): 635. Print.
- Murtuza, M. Athar. *Without Benefit of Clergy: Kipling's Religious Views and Imperial Beliefs*. Diss. Washington State U, 1978. Pullman, WA: WSU, 1978.
- Murtuza, Miriam. "Farang or Maghrib?: Iqbal's Use of Language and His Views of the West." Paper submitted to Prof. Syed Akbar Hyder. UT-Austin, 12 May 2003.
- — —. "Sophisticated Satire: Re-Assessing Akbar Illahabadi's Urdu Poetry." Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, WI, Oct. 2007. Unpublished conference paper, 2007.
- — —. "Poems by Akbar Illahabadi," trans. *Urdu Language-Learning Resources: A Wide Variety of Tools*. Frances Pritchett. Web. 7 Mar 2010 <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00urduhindilinks/hu_urdu_learning.html>
- Musgrave, P. W. *From Brown to Bunter: The Life and Death of the School Story*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985. Print.
- Naidis, Mark. "G. A. Henty's Idea of India." *Victorian Studies* 8.1 (Sep. 1964): 49-58. Print.

- Narayan, R. K. *The Bachelor of Arts*. 1937. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980. Print.
- — —. *The English Teacher*. 1945. 1st pub. as *Grateful to Life and Death*. Chicago: U of Chicago P-Heinemann, 1980. Print.
- — —. *Swami and Friends*. 1935. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980. Print.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *An Autobiography*. 1936. New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund-Oxford UP, 1980. Print.
- Nelson, James G. "Henry Newbolt." *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 19: British Poets 1880-1914*. Ed. Donald E. Stanford. Gale, 1983. Web. 19 Oct. 2005.
- Nield, Christopher. "A Reading of 'Vitae Lampada' by Henry Newbolt." *The Epoch Times* 26 Aug. 2009. Web. 10 Jul. 2009
<http://www.theepochtimes.com/n2/content/view/15972/>.
- Newbolt, Henry. *Admirals All and Other Verses*. London: Elkin Mathews, 1897. Print.
- — —. "The Best School of All." *The Sailing of the Long Ships*. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1902. Print.
- — —. "Clifton Chapel." *The Island Race*. NY: John Lane, 1899. 28-9. Print.
- — —. "An Essay on Criticism." *Poems: New and Old*. London: John Murray, 1921. 256-60. Rep. in electronic form in *English Poetry, Second Edition*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1992. Web. 1 July 2009
http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/openurl/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:ilcs-us&rft_id=xri:ilcs:ft:ep2:Z200680069:2.

- — —. *The Island Race*. NY: John Lane, 1899. Print.
- — —. *My World as in My Time: Memoirs of Sir Henry Newbolt, 1862-1932*. London: Faber & Faber, 1932. Print.
- — —. *The Sailing of the Long Ships*. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1902. Print.
- — —. *Studies in Green and Gray*. Rep. of 1926 ed. Ayer Co. Pub., 1977. *Google Books*. Web. 25 Jun. 2009.
- — —. "Vitai Lampada." *Admirals All and Other Verses*. London: Elkin Mathews, 1897. Print.
- O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Cyanide War: Tamil Insurrection in Sri Lanka 1973-88*. London: Brassey's, 1989. Print.
- Ogilvie, Vivian. *The English Public School*. London: Batsford, 1957. Print.
- Orwell, George. "Boys' Weeklies." *A Collection of Essays*. 1946. San Diego: Harvest-Harcourt, 1981. 279-308. Print.
- — —. "The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius." 1940. *The Complete Works of George Orwell*. Web. 2 Feb. 2010 <http://www.george-orwell.org/The_Lion_and_the_Unicorn:_Socialism_And_The_English_Genius/0.html>.
- — —. "Preface to the Ukranian Edition of *Animal Farm*." 1947. *Charles' George Orwell Links*. Web. 2 Feb. 2010 <<http://www.netcharles.com/orwell/articles/ukrainian-af-pref.htm>>.

Parameswaran, N. "Sri Lanka Holds First Post-War Polls in North." *Reuters* 8 Aug 2009. Web. 11 Aug 2009

<<http://www.reuters.com/article/asiaCrisis/idUSCOL461692>>.

Pakenham, Thomas. *The Boer War*. 1979. NY: Avon-Hearst, 1992. Print.

Perera, S. W., "Some Responses to Colonial/Neo-colonial Education in *In the Castle of My Skin*, *Petals of Blood*, and *Funny Boy*," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 37:1/2 (1998). 242-62.
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17449859808589304>> Accessed through UT-Austin. 24 June 2009.

Pickthall, Marmaduke. *Sir Limpidus*. London: W. Collins Sons, 1919. Print.

Preston-Speed. *Preston-Speed Publications*. Web. 21 July 2008 <www.preston-speed.com>.

"Prize Competitions." *The Boy's Own Annual 1892-1893* Part 176 (Oct. 1893): 783, 815, 830, 839. Print.

Quigly, Isabel. *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1982. Print.

— — —. "'Slaves of the Lamp,' Part I: Notes on the Text." *The Kipling Society*. 31 Jan 2004. Home> Readers' Guide. Web. 1 Nov 2009
<http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_lampfirst_notes.htm>.

Rahman, Tariq. "Syed Ross Masood and E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India*." *ANQ* 4.2 (Apr. 1991): 78-81. *Academic Search Alumni Edition*. EBSCO. Web. 14 July 2009
<<http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a2h&AN=9709173192&site=ehost-live>>.

- Ranson, Nicholas. "G. A. Henty." *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Gale. Web. 19 Oct. 2005.
- Reed, John. *Old School Ties: The Public Schools in British Literature*. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1964. Print.
- Rich, P. J. *Chains of Empire: English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*. English Public Schools and Ritualistic Imperialism. London: Regency P, 1991. Print.
- Richards, Jeffrey. *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988. Print.
- — —. *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Ed. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1989. Print.
- — —. "Spreading the Gospel of Self-Help: G. A. Henty and Samuel Smiles." *Journal of Popular Culture* 16 (1982): 52-65.
- Richardson, John. *Paradise Poisoned: Learning about Conflict, Terrorism, and Development from Sri Lanka's Civil Wars*. Kandy, Sri Lanka: Intl. Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2005. *Google Books*. Web. 2 Mar. 2010.
- Richardson, Robert. "A Boy's Own Creed." *The Boy's Own Annual 1892-1893* Part 171 (May 1893): 426. Print.
- Ricketts, Harry. *Rudyard Kipling: A Life*. NY: Carroll & Graf, 1999. Print.
- Ross, Russell R., and Andrea Matles Savada, eds. *Sri Lanka: A Country Study*. Country Studies—Area Handbook Program. Wash. D.C.: Library of Congress, 1988. Print.

Royal College. *Royal College, Colombo*. Home> About Royal > Founder. Web. 31 Jul.

2009 <<http://www.royalcollege.lk/>>.

Said, Edward. *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*. NY: Columbia UP, 2004. Print.

— — —. "Introduction." *Kim*. 1987. London: Penguin, 1989. 7-46. Print.

— — —. *Orientalism*. 1978. NY: Vintage-Paperback, 1979. Print.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Tendencies*. 1993. Durham: Duke UP, 1994. Print.

Selvadurai, Shyam. "Coming Out." *Time Asia* 162.7 (18 Aug. 2003): n. pag. Web. 5

Aug. 2009 <http://www.time.com/time/asia/2003/journey/sri_lanka.html>.

— — —. *Funny Boy: A Novel*. San Diego: Harvest-Harcourt, 1994. Print.

— — —. "Introducing Myself in the Diaspora." *Story-Wallah: Short Fiction from South Asian Writers*. Ed. Shyam Selvadurai. NY: Houghton-Mifflin, 2005. 1-14.

Print.

Senaratne, Jagath P. *Political Violence in Sri Lanka, 1977-1990: Riots, Insurrections, Counterinsurgencies, Foreign Intervention*. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit UP, 1997. Print.

Singh, R. P. *The Indian Public School*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1972. Print.

Smith, Janet Adam. "Boy of Letters." *The Age of Kipling*. Ed. John Gross. NY: Simon & Schuster, 1972. 7-17. Print.

Smith, Reginald Bosworth. *Life of Lord Lawrence, in Two Volumes with Portraits and Maps*. Vol. 2. London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1883. *Google Books*. Web. 10 Jul. 2009.

Smith, Zadie. "E. M. Forster, Middle Manager." *New York Review of Books* 55.13 (14 Aug. 2008): n. pag. NYRBooks. Web. 4 April 2010

<<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/21692>>.

Spencer, Johathan, ed. *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*. London: Routledge, 1990. Print.

Srivastava, Sanjay. *Constructing Post-Colonial India: National Character and the Doon School*. London: Routledge, 1998. Print.

St. Thomas' College. St. Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia. Home> College Profile> About College. Web. 31 July 2009

<<http://www.stcmount.sch.lk/collprofile/aboutcoll.html>>.

Stanford, Donald. Ed. R. W. Crump. *A Critical Study of the Works of Four British Writers: Margaret Louisa Woods (1856-1945), Mary Coleridge (1861-1907), Sir Henry Newbolt (1862-1938), R. C. Trevelyan (1872-1951)*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen P, 2006. Print.

Staunton, Howard. *The Great Schools of England; an Account of the Foundation, Endowments, and Discipline of the Chief Seminaries of Learning in England; Including Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's, Charter-House Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Etc., Etc.* London: S. Low & Marston, 1865. Print.

Steiner, Zara. "Views of War: Britain Before the 'Great War'—and After." *International Relations* 17.7 (Mar. 2003): 8-33. Sage Publications. Web. 23 Jul. 2008.

Stephensen-Payne, Phil. "Magazine Data." *Galactic Central*. 51. Web. 22 Aug. 2009

<<http://www.philsp.com/data/data051.html>>.

Suleri, Sara. *The Rhetoric of English India*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1992. Print.

Tennyson, Alfred. "The Charge of the Light Brigade." *English Poetry, 2nd Ed.*

Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1992. Web. 4 Apr. 2010.

Thompson, Jason. "Burton, Sir Richard Francis (1821–1890)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP,

2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. May 2006. Web. 1 Aug. 2008

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/4136>>.

"Thug, n." *Oxford English Dictionary*. Web. 2 Apr. 2010.

"Timeline: Sri Lanka." *BBC News*. Web. 11 Aug. 2009

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/country_profiles/1166237.stm>.

"Tonbridge School." Home Page. Tonbridge School, UK. Web. 23 July 09

<<http://www.tonbridge-school.co.uk/>>.

Trinity College. "A Brief Account of the History of Trinity College." Home> History>

History in Brief. Web. 10 Aug. 2009

<<http://www.trinitycollege.lk/history/account.php>>.

Turner, William Benjamin. *A Genealogy of Queer Theory*. PA: Temple UP, 2000.

Print.

United Services College Chronicle, 1878-94, Containing Original Contributions, &c. by

Rudyard Kipling. Bideford: Wilson Bros., 1878-94. Print.

"Upset in Sri Lanka Post-War Polls." *BBC News* 8 Aug 2009. Web. 11 Aug. 2009

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8191031.stm>.

Viswanathan, Gauri. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*.

London: Faber & Faber, 1989. Print.

Watson, Nick, Stuart Weir, and Stephen Friend. "The Development of Muscular

Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond." *Journal of Religion and Society* 7

(2005). Web. 14 Feb. 2010 <<http://moses.creighton.edu/JRS/2005/2005->

2.html

Wilkinson, Rupert. *Gentlemanly Power: British Leadership and the Public School*

Tradition; a Comparative Study in the Making of Rulers. London: Oxford UP,

1964. Print.

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. *Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism: Its Origins and Development in*

the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. London: Hurst & Co, 2000. Print.

Wilson, Angus. *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Works*. New York:

Viking, 1977. Print.

"Wollaston's House." Clifton College. Web. 9 June 2009

<<http://www.cliftoncollegeuk.com/prep/pupilcare/houses/wtp/>>.

"The Wondering Minstrels." Anth. Abraham Thomas and Martin DeMello. Archiv.

Sitaram Iyer. Web. 21 Jul. 2008 <<http://www.cs.rice.edu/~ssiyer/minstrels/>>.

Yousufuddin, Muhammad. *Mazameen-e-Yousuf [The Essays of Yousuf]*. Ed. Rahat

Mahmooda. Hyderabad, India: Rahat Mahmooda, date unspecified.

Zimbardo, Philip. *The Lucifer Effect*. 2006-2009. Web. 29 Dec. 2009

<<http://www.lucifereffect.com>>.

Vita

Miriam Rafia Murtuza attended Flagstaff High School, Flagstaff, Arizona. She attended Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, where she majored in English and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Magna Cum Laude. During the following eight years she was employed as an English teacher and, subsequently, an administrator at St. Stephen's Episcopal School in Austin, Texas. In September of 1999, she entered the Graduate School at the University of Texas at Austin, and in May of 2001, she received the degree of Master of Arts in English. In August of 2006 while still a doctoral candidate at the University of Texas at Austin, she returned to St. Stephen's Episcopal School as an English teacher.

Permanent Address: 510 E. Mary Street, Austin, Texas 78704

This manuscript was typed by the author.