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Citizens of the Empire: A Molding of Victorian Childhood Identity

Christopher B. Gallagher

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

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In

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Abstract

The Victorian Era in Great Britain was a time period of dramatic change. The Industrial Revolution was altering the social and economic fabric of society. Socially, Victorians were confronted with new theories that challenged their religious beliefs. The British Isles were progressing steadily in creating a national identity. Finally, the existence of the British Empire made imperialism a factor that cannot be ignored. Yet, many historians have pointed out that the history of the British metropole itself is often disconnected from the political and cultural history of the Empire. It is within this conversation that this project seeks to find a place.

This project advocates for the ideological existence of what made an ideal British citizen in an imperial context. The term “Citizen of the Empire” is being used deliberately in this context to describe this ideal British citizen, which existed in conjunction with imperial culture. This ideal identity was one that stemmed from middle class Victorian beliefs about morality, physicality, gender, national identity, and race. This paper attempts to utilize all of these thematic concepts in light of current trends in the fields of world history, British imperial history, and postcolonial discourses.

The Citizen of the Empire ideal can be found in numerous cultural sources. However, this paper will investigate two types of primary sources that deal with children. Victorian children were not isolated from these cultural trends. Rather this ideal was so strong that it was inherently embedded in the discourse surrounding various Victorian youth organizations. Furthermore, the Citizen of the Empire ideal can be found in countless examples of children’s literature.

This imperial ideal stemmed from a proper combination of middle class Victorian beliefs surrounding morality and physicality. Additionally, being a Citizen of the Empire meant conforming to middle class Victorian gender roles. All of these middle class expectations helped to create an ideal, proper, and thereby superior, model of a British citizen within the metropole. Finally, this superior model was used as a justification for the creation of a hierarchical relationship between the British and other cultures. Thus, the fusion of national identity and race produced a sense of cultural superiority which encouraged the civilizing mission and outright racism.

Introduction

The Victorian Era in Great Britain produced countless examples of children's literature that displayed the cultural ideal of being a "Citizen of the Empire" for middle class children. Take for example Robert M. Ballantyne's imaginary character of Ralph Rover, who was stranded in the middle of the islands of the Pacific Ocean far away from his British homeland. This young, pious boy was startled when another character exclaimed:

Now, I believe there's thousands o' the people in England who are such born drivellin' *won't-believers* that they think the black fellows hereaway, at the worst, eat an enemy only now an' then, out o' spite; whereas I know for certain, and many captains of the British...navies know as well as me, that the Feejee islanders eat not only their enemies but one another; and they do it not for spite, but for pleasure. It's a *fact* that they prefer human flesh to any other.¹

This quote conveys a negative view of Pacific Islanders by painting them as savage creatures whose desire for human flesh made them something less than human.

However, such passages were designed to do more than simply provoke a negative view of other cultures; rather authors used them as evidence and justification for imperialism and positioning British culture on top of a racial hierarchy. As soon to be Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli stated in 1872 at the Crystal Palace, "The issue is not a mean one. It is whether...you will be a great country, -an Imperial country- a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and obtain not merely the esteem of their countrymen, but command the respect of the world..."² The Victorian Era witnessed a developing British national identity, and consequently an imperial identity, which was

¹ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island*, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons LTD, 1961), 217. Emphasis original.

²T.E. Kebbel., ed, *Selected Speeches of the Late Right Hon. The Earl of Beaconsfield. Vol II*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), 534.

connected to a sense of racial superiority. Operating under this mindset, the British felt they would then be able to “command the respect of the world.”

The Victorian Era in Great Britain traditionally is interpreted as the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), however, for modern imperialism, it makes sense to extend the period through the Edwardian Era, 1901-1910, and even up to World War I. This “Long” Victorian Period is one in which imperial identity gradually became an amplified part of British identity as the nation became increasingly engaged abroad. An analysis of cultural sources, such as literature, illustrates an idealized identity that can be termed a “Citizen of the Empire.”³ In particular, Victorian children were exposed to this imperial identity. Therefore British children were “molded” into seeing themselves as British imperial citizens by means of literature and various youth organizations, such as the Girls’ Friendly Society and the Young Men’s Christian Association.

This paper will examine some of the literature and youth organizations which were used to create this cultural ideal among British middle class children. Whether individuals actually strictly adhered to this ideal, while an important question, is not the focus of this study. Being a Citizen of the Empire meant conforming to specific standards of morality and physical fitness, the focus of Chapter One. Being a Citizen of the Empire also meant conforming to contemporary norms concerning gender roles, the subject of Chapter Two. These middle class expectations helped establish an ideal, proper, and thereby superior, model of a British citizen within the metropole. Later, these

³ The terminology of “Citizens of the Empire” was used by historian Allen Warren in the title of an essay, “Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40” published in John M. Mackenzie ed, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986). However, his usage is restricted to the title and his version of “an imperial ideal” only refers to the Boy Scout movement of Baden-Powell. Additionally, his usage of the term does not encompass all of the thematic elements that this paper will discuss. Therefore, this project seeks to use the term Citizens of the Empire in a unique and meaningful way.

middle class expectations would be expanded within a strictly imperial mindset to provide a framework for what it meant to be a superior imperial citizen. In addition being a Citizen of the Empire meant believing in a hierarchical relationship between the British and other cultures, the topic of Chapter Three. The fusion of national identity and race produced a sense of cultural superiority which encouraged the civilizing mission and outright racism. All of these cultural components of being a Citizen of the Empire (religion/physicality, gender/class, race/nationalism) can be found in Victorian children's literature and youth organizations.

The use of the terminology "Citizen of the Empire" in this paper is quite deliberate. The term "citizen" is usually used in a context that highlights a discourse about political rights and responsibilities. This particular aspect of the definition does not seem to fit within the context of nineteenth century British society. Certainly this is the case with British women who were fighting for their own rights in the metropole as part of the suffrage movement. However, the word "citizen" also implies an acceptance into a certain identity, a recognition that one is part of a certain group. This aspect of the term justifies its usage over other possible choices such as "subjects" or "servants." Such words imply submission and that someone or something exists above oneself on a hierarchy. However, the imperial ideal that this paper seeks to establish is one in which the British identity is elevated as the pinnacle of human society. Therefore, the usage of the terminology "Citizen of the Empire" is a fruitful way of thinking about this British identity particularly since this was an ideal that all British citizens should strive to be. By adhering to the various components of the Citizen of the Empire ideal, one became "properly British" and thereby "fully" British. Therefore whether an individual Briton

had full political rights was less important than gaining access to what it meant to be “British” during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This realization is especially important when considering the influence that postcolonial historical theory has had on this project. Edward Said’s landmark monographs *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism* helped to establish the ideological separation that the “West” created from the “East.”⁴ Said and those historians who follow in his footsteps argue persuasively that this separation largely impacted countless aspects of world history and in particular the nationalistic and imperialistic discourses Western European countries utilized. The Citizen of the Empire ideal was certainly part of this discourse of exclusion, elevation, and national pride. However, this imperial ideal did not only exist as means of reflecting against the various “others” in the world for the British. While this was important component, it also existed as a result of norms and sentiments that middle class Victorians advocated as part of what made one properly British. These middle class Victorian sentiments laid the foundation for the Citizen of the Empire ideal which then resulted in a racial hierarchy of exclusion.

* * *

The historiography for the plethora of topics involved in this project is enormous. Therefore, it becomes necessarily to devote some time to analyzing the historiography and how this project seeks to claim a niche among preexisting works. Overall, previous treatments of this subject in the historiography fail to combine the thematic elements of religion, physical fitness, gender, race, nationalism and imperialism adequately. This is particularly the case when examining how a sense of imperial identity was intrinsically

⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); and Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (New York: Knopf, 1993).

connected to and required the components of Victorian culture in the metropole. The existing studies of British imperialism, particularly in reference to children's literature, fail to explore the connection to an implied standard of identity that Victorian youth would have naturally been encouraged to embody.

Yet, British imperialism is not an understudied topic.⁵ Furthermore, the extent of the secondary literature that broadly deals with the thematic elements of religion and gender during the Victorian Era or in relation to the British Empire is also vast and extensive.⁶ An excellent example is Joan N. Burstyn's *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*.⁷ Burstyn's thesis that women were relegated to a completely different sphere than men and her analysis of how middle class ideology created a role for women to be bearers of virtue is of paramount importance to the themes of this study.

Monographs dealing with the Victorian notions of health and physicality also are invaluable in understanding Victorian masculinity and the public school culture.⁸ Indeed,

⁵ Take for example: Ellis Wasson, *A History of Modern Britain: 1714 to present*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics c. 1880-1932*, (Harlow: Longman, 2000); or Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996). Additionally, for an excellent review of some of the scholarship in this area see D M Loades, *Reader's Guide to British History*, (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003). This work contains topical historiographic essays on a plethora of topics dealing with British imperialism.

⁶ For information on Victorian religion and morality see: Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel, and Social Change, 1740-1914*, (London: Longman, 1976); Lee E. Grugel, *Society and Religion During the Age of Industrialization: Christianity in Victorian England*, (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1979); Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971); Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); John Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945*, (London: Routledge, 1994); and Sue Zemka, *Victorian Testaments: The Bible, Christology, and Literary Authority in Early-Nineteenth-century British Culture*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). For more information on Victorian gender see: Philippa Levine ed, *Gender and Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

⁷ Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

⁸ Some examples: Herbert Branston Gray, *The Public School and the Empire*, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1913); Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); and J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, ed, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

Bruce Haley's *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* illustrates the complexity and diversity of Victorian health related obsessions.⁹ Furthermore, works dealing with various peripheries of the British Empire often deal with religious, gender or racial themes in relation to imperialism.¹⁰ E.M. Collingham's brilliant work entitled *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj. c. 1800-1947* investigates shifting notions of British superiority in relation to the Indian climate, geography, culture, and body.¹¹ Nevertheless, while such sources lay valuable groundwork, the exact nature of how imperialism, Victorian ideals, and identity are intermixed in cultural sources for British children is neglected.¹²

The historiography of Victorian children is not diverse. Most monographs on British children during this time period focus either on those living in London or on working class children.¹³ This treatment is a result of a historical emphasis on children's

⁹ Much of Haley's analysis revolves around Victorian literature. However, his focus is neither on children, nor explicitly how health relates to British imperialism.

¹⁰ Some examples include: E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001); Allen J. Greenberger, *The British Image in India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996); Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2001); Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane, *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa, 1875-1910*, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1996); Martin Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2007); Tilman W. Netchtman, *Naboobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher, and Alice Denny Alice, *Africa and the Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1961); and Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

¹¹ This work greatly enhances any analysis of Burnett's *The Secret Garden*.

¹² This is not to say that such studies are invaluable. Indeed, this particular project relies on their historical insights. Rather it is simpler to state that the focus of such monographs was in a different direction of analysis.

¹³ See for example: Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London 1870-1914*, (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Eric Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed: Working-class Children in Nineteenth Century England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Pamela Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined*

work in factories or mines due to the Industrial Revolution.¹⁴ Other works focus on the development of the concept of childhood over time. These monographs naturally devote time to Victorian children, an indication of the historiography's tendency to claim childhood's "invention" during this time period.¹⁵

Therefore, works claiming to be all encompassing illustrations of childhood during the Victorian Era are far and few between. Janet Sack's *Victorian Childhood* is one example.¹⁶ However, this extremely basic work yields only sixty-three pages of text, most of which are consumed by pictures. Another example would be Jordan E. Thomas' *Victorian Childhood: Themes and Variations*.¹⁷ Thomas produces a monograph true to its title in that he expands upon childhood while delving into countless themes such as education, the family, or health. However, Thomas' analysis is statistically based and does not investigate notions of imperial citizenry.

The hallmark example in this field is the relatively recently published *Victorian Childhoods* by Ginger Frost.¹⁸ Frost embarks on a cross-class investigation that expertly sheds valuable insight into the overall nature of what it meant to be a child during this time period in Great Britain. Using autobiographies as her main primary source pool, she even included a section of a chapter on imperial citizenry.¹⁹ Nevertheless, her examination of this specific topic is extremely limited. While she does investigate the

Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970);

¹⁴ Perhaps a notable exception would be Marion Lochhead, *Their First Ten Years: Victorian Childhood*, (London: Murray, 1956). This work relates the story of upper class Victorian children. However, this work is not only dated but also lacks historical conventions such as footnotes.

¹⁵ Take for example the following works: Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood*, (London: BBC Books, 2006); and Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600-1914*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹⁶ Janet Sacks, *Victorian Childhood*, (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010).

¹⁷ Thomas E. Jordan, *Victorian Childhood: Themes and Variations*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987).

¹⁸ Ginger Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, (London: Praeger, 2009).

¹⁹ Frost, 111-118.

Girls' Friendly Society and Young Men's Christian Association, this analysis relates to religion and is not connected to imperialism. Furthermore, her inclusion of literature is limited and avoids sources such as Ballantyne, Stevenson, and Haggard among others.²⁰ Her section on imperialism does deal with physical prowess and the public school system; however that is the extent of her connections.

The historiography of British youth organization varies depending upon the subject. For example, the Boy Scouts have received a fairly thorough treatment by historians.²¹ However, secondary literature dealing with the Young Men's Christian Association and the Girls' Friendly Society in Great Britain is extremely limited.²² Yet, several prominent works have been written that have sought to connect imperialism directly with British literature. A more specific examination of some of these works will show this project's placement within the historiography with more clarity.

Patrick Brantlinger's *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830 - 1914* seeks to shift the preexisting historiography.²³ Previous secondary literature made the argument that imperialism did not emerge as a theme or a cultural factor in British literature until after 1880. Brantlinger contends that this was not the case and proceeds to illustrate "how early and mid-Victorians expressed imperialist ideology in their

²⁰ The work contains only one passing reference to Haggard in which there is no analysis of the work.

²¹ Prominent examples would be: Robert MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1993); and Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

²² See Brian Harrison, "For Church, Queen, and Family: The Girls Friendly Society 1874-1920," *Past and Present*, 61 (Nov 1973): 107-138; or William J. Baker, "To Pray or to Play?: The YMCA question in the United Kingdom and the United States, 1850-1900," found in J.A. Mangan ed, *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 198-216.

²³ Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

writings.”²⁴ While some references are made to authors such as Ballantyne, Stevenson, or Haggard, Brantlinger’s main focus is on authors outside of the scope of this study. Furthermore, his investment is not in children’s literature at all, nor how imperialism in the examined works could lead to notions of imperial citizenry. Any references to cultural superiority occur in passing and are not considered part of an imperial identity.

In *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing* by Deirdre David the argument is made that race and gender together shaped British imperialism.²⁵ David argues that in order for middle class British ideologies to hide their motives of expansion for material gain, they instead focused on the ideal project of bringing civilization to the peripheries. In this regard British women became important pieces to the puzzle since they could act as defenders of the metropole’s superiority and up lifters of the needy victims of colonization. This creation of imperial power, she argues, can be seen in Victorian writings and she explores the “paradigm of reciprocal relationships between political and textual practices.”²⁶ Despite her inclusion of race and gender at the forefront of her argument (including a lengthy chapter devoted to Haggard) the work is again not focused on children’s literature, nor does she view these sources as part of identity formation.

Imperialism’s cultural impact on literature is at the forefront of Laurence Kitzan’s *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision*.²⁷ Kitzan discusses the existence of empire in British children’s books, while stressing that parents wanted

²⁴ Brantlinger, 8.

²⁵ Deirdre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

²⁶ David, 4.

²⁷ Laurence Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose Colored Vision*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001).

their children to read such books. He reasonably suggests that authors did not write such works with the explicit intention of promoting empire, but rather since empire was such a strong element of British culture, it would be implausible to not expect its thematic presence. Kitzan suggests that these works assumed that the British Empire was a beacon of goodness for a broken world in need of positive influence. Furthermore he argues that children, after reading these assumptions, came to see the British Empire as a natural phenomenon that was intended to elevate the lower races of the world. Therefore, Kitzan's main argument is that such perceptions created an imaginary ideal of empire that was as tangible for Victorians as the empire on the ground.

Kitzan asserts however, that such imperial visions were only "pro-British" and not "anti-other cultures." Therefore, he claims that references to 'inferior' races in children's literature were not meant to evoke a sense of cultural superiority, but rather to celebrate the beauty and wonder of the empire. He states that even though "racism and imperialism existed concurrently.... [they] were not necessarily related to each other; it is very likely that neither was the cause or result of the other."²⁸ While it is true that imperialism and racism perhaps do not have a direct cause and effect relationship, such a claim oversimplifies that complicated relationship that still existed within the context of Victorian imperial identity. Certainly references to 'inferior' people in literature were made to uplift the British to a higher level and celebrate the glory of the empire. However, Kitzan ignores the simple fact that whenever some form of identity is uplifted in a hierarchy another must be lowered, and such lowering is usually accompanied by negative perceptions.

²⁸ Kitzan, 16.

English professor M. Daphne Kutzer also examines children's literature in *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books*. Kutzer laments that "little critical attention has been paid to imperialism and its intersections with literature intended for those 'future rulers of the world.'"²⁹ For Kutzer, children's books were a main form of acculturation that parents directly intended.³⁰ While the work uses some similar sources, the monograph's emphasis is on the good of empire. For example, the first chapter of the work contains a lengthy discussion of Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*. However, her analysis of this work does not attempt to connect imperialism with Victorian ideas about morality and physicality. Furthermore, she states that "there is a supersensitivity to derogatory language about race, ethnicity, and gender in children's books."³¹ While the time period of literature does need to be taken into account in order to avoid anachronism, this does not change the fact that children reading this derogatory language would have been inclined to think in hierarchical terms.³²

The historiography of British imperial culture does not adequately incorporate the role of middle class Victorian norms in laying the foundation of imperial citizenry. Victorian notions of ethics, physicality, and gender norms are often left relegated to studies of the metropole void of any discussion of imperialism. Therefore, Victorian middle class norms need to be thought of as cultural layers which help to define a Citizen

²⁹ M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books*, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 2000), xiv.

³⁰ While certainly this work argues that adults tried to impose cultural codes with literature, the connection to imperial citizenry is absent. Rather adults, according to Kutzer, wanted to pass on their dreams of empire.

³¹ Kutzer, 11.

³² The time period of this work also spans later than a purely Victorian focus of study. Likewise, her focus on the transmission of values is not used in relation to an identity based on imperial citizenry.

of the Empire.³³ Additionally, works studying children and children's literature do not place enough emphasis on the role that nationalism and racism played in the development of imperial identity.

* * *

As the preceding analysis of the historiography shows, children's literature can be a valuable insight into gaining perceptions about culture. The Victorian Era in Great Britain was ripe with countless examples of works that illustrate the qualities of being a Citizen of the Empire. Authors such as Ballantyne, Hughes, Carroll, Sewell, Haggard, Stevenson, and Burnett all produced works with characters can be considered in some form "properly British" citizens.

It should be noted that not all of the works that this paper will analyze contain explicitly imperial themes. However, they still demonstrate various aspects, qualities, or parts of what made up the Citizen of the Empire ideal. This is particularly the case when investigating middle class Victorian norms or sentiments that provided the foundation for being a Citizen of the Empire. Works such as *Black Beauty* or *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* are examples that provide helpful analysis that, while not being explicitly imperial, nonetheless are necessary in understanding all of the cultural facets of being a Citizen of the Empire.

Additionally, many examples of Victorian children's literature stem from a rich pre-history of adventure novels. Perhaps the best example within this tradition was Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* published in 1719.³⁴ Defoe's work tells the tale of

³³ The terminology of cultural layers in being directly used from Daniel K. Richter's *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts*. Richter analyses six cultural layers which he claims are indispensable in understanding the formation of the American Republic.

³⁴ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1998).

Crusoe, a man trapped on a Caribbean island who experiences numerous trials, tribulations, and adventures alongside of his friend/slave Friday. The novel explores the themes of colonization, Protestant morals, and cultural superiority. The influence of the ‘adventure on the high seas’ genre on children’s literature is unmistakable, as seen by works such as Robert Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island*. Keeping this literary tradition in mind is essential in understanding the roots of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire.

The following paragraphs will briefly outline the works of children’s literature that this paper will analyze. Children’s literature was an extremely important industry in Victorian Britain. The recognition that childhood was a specific stage in life resulted in the manufacture of products such as books just for children. Therefore, while the genre is not confined to novels, this paper will focus on such. They were gobbled up by children at an unprecedented rate, many even waiting each week for the latest installment published in magazines. However, many of the works written during this time period for children would today be considered as young adult fiction. Additionally, works such those written by H. Rider Haggard, while certainly read avidly by Victorian children, were not originally intended for consumption by children. Another problem results from determining how to define childhood. Ginger Frost sets her cutoff age at fourteen, while acknowledging the arbitrary nature of such a choice. Children entered the workforce, had schooling, or left their parent’s care at a variety of ages depending on class, sex, and generation.³⁵ However, it is doubtful that a young person of fifteen who just left their parents house would immediately change habits and stop reading *Treasure Island*. It is for this reason that this paper uses works that would have been read by younger and older

³⁵ Frost, 4.

children/young adults. Regardless of how one wants to define the separation between children and adult, the important fact is that these books were read by many young, impressionable Victorians who would have picked up on their themes of imperial citizenry.

Robert M. Ballantyne was a writer of juvenile adventure novels mainly for boys. He wrote over eighty works between the years 1848 and 1895. His adventure novels allowed young minds to transverse literally all over the globe. His most famous work was *The Coral Island* which was published in 1857.³⁶ This work tells the tale of three boys, Ralph, Jack and Peterkin, who are stranded on a Polynesian island. The beginning part of their story focuses on their attempts at survival and the rather idyllic life that they lived on the deserted island. Soon, however, a group of cannibals come to the island, and later Ralph is kidnapped by pirates. Ralph, with the help of a virtuous pirate, is able to escape and return to his friends after witnessing the cruel acts of vicious cannibals. Then the three boys sail to another island where they intervene with a local, indigenous population of non-Christian islanders and their political troubles. The boys end up finally being rescued by a missionary and can then return home. The novel treats the boys as ideal British citizens who employ the proper mixture of Victorian morality and physical fitness.

Thomas Hughes provided the epitome of children's literature written about the public school culture in Victorian Britain. *Tom Brown's School Days* was published in 1857, and tells the story of Tom Brown's experience at Rugby, one of the premiere

³⁶ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island*, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons LTD, 1961).

public schools in England.³⁷ Brown is an energetic and extremely athletic young man who goes to Rugby in order to become a man. He immediately makes friends with Harry East, and together revel in the athletic opportunities of the school, get in constant trouble, and stand up to immoral bullies. Eventually, Brown is given the task of looking after the fragile but moral George Arthur by the historic Dr. Thomas Arnold. Arthur lacks the physical strength of Brown and East, but instead claims superiority in terms of his intelligence and Christian morality. The result is that Brown undergoes a profound moral and religious transformation, while Arthur learns from Tom's physical strengths. This work highlights the intersection of religion, morality, physical fitness, and sports in Victorian public school culture. Brown becomes the ultimate Muscular Christian, and represents proper British manhood.

A novel that illustrates Victorian ideals regarding gender is Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*, written in 1865 and 1871 respectively.³⁸ Both tell of Alice's adventures in the magical lands of her imagination. Countless historians and literary scholars have pointed out numerous interpretations of the novel and its inherent symbolism of mathematics, linguistics, and philosophy. However, the character of Alice also provides an example of a young middle class girl who needs guidance in maintaining the Victorian ideals of separate spheres and morality. Therefore, this novel illustrates specific Victorian gender roles that middle class women and girls were expected to adhere to.

³⁷ Thomas, Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays: By an Old Boy*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD, undated).

³⁸ Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877) is a children's story that details the terrible and inhumane treatment that horses often went through in Victorian Britain.³⁹ The narrative follows Black Beauty through a progression of several owners, some of whom are kind and caring while others are cruel and often outright barbaric. The story's main agenda is an animal right's story; however the novel also provides examples of characters who display Victorian morality. The character of Jerry highlights how proper behavior and morality were fundamentally more important to many Victorians than traditional religion.

H. Rider Haggard wrote a telling example of imperialism in *King Solomon's Mines*.⁴⁰ This work, first published in 1885, is what he is most famous for writing, especially for his hallmark character Allan Quatermain. Quatermain is approached by Sir Henry Curtis and Captain Good to go to the interior of Africa to find Sir Henry's brother who was supposedly searching for the fabled King Solomon's Mines. After several adventures they reach the land of Kukuani, where King Twala with his witch like advisor Gagool rule a society of African people with an iron fist. The trio ends up helping Ignosi, the rightful heir to the throne, lead a rebellion and massive war against King Twala. Furthermore, they narrowly escape death in King Solomon's Mines, restore peace to the kingdom, and find Sir Henry's brother on their way home to live comfortable lives in England. This work is a prime example of how being a Citizen of the Empire resulted in racial hierarchies. In particular the idealization of the British identity over other cultures exhibits a justification for the civilizing mission.

³⁹ Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty*, (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1959).

⁴⁰ H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* found in H. Rider Haggard, *The Works of H. Rider Haggard*, (New York: Black's Readers Service Company, 1928).

H. Rider Haggard's *She: A History of Adventure* was first serialized from October 1886 to January 1887 in *The Graphic*.⁴¹ The work is a prime example of how imperial attitudes resulted in racism during the Late Victorian Era.⁴² The main characters of the novel, Horace Holly and his adopted son Leo, embark on a journey to a lost land in Africa where supposedly a white queen, Ayesha, rules and protects a source that can give eternal life. In the process they come across a group of people, the Amahaggers, who are ruled by Ayesha. By the end Leo and Holly barely manage to escape Africa with their lives. The work makes Holly and Leo out to be ideal Citizens of the Empire. Therefore, the novel provides an example of how British imperial identity manifested itself in an outright debasement of other cultures.⁴³

Robert Louis Stevenson's classic *Treasure Island* (1885) is the tale of an English boy named Jim Hawkins that takes place sometime in the 1700s.⁴⁴ Hawkins comes in possession of map to a lost treasure somewhere in the Caribbean. He joins several adults including Dr. Livesey, Squire Trelawney, and Captain Smollett on a voyage to find this treasure, which belonged to a legendary pirate named Flint. However, Long John Silver joins the crew as cook and recruits a legion of his own men to betray the captain. Silver and his men were past crew members of Captain Flint, and they want the treasure for themselves. A mutiny takes place once the island is reached, and Jim and his fellow loyal seamen are forced into several adventures while fighting the pirates and looking for the

⁴¹ *The Graphic* was a weekly newspaper published in Great Britain from 1869 to 1932, although it briefly changed its name to *The National Graphic* at the end of publication period.

⁴² H. Rider Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure* found in H. Rider Haggard, *The Works of H. Rider Haggard*, (New York: Black's Readers Service Company, 1928).

⁴³ Even though this work was not specifically written for children, does not mean that children did not have access to it. Indeed, it would have been more likely for male children to have read this book. The same can be said about *King Solomon's Mines*.

⁴⁴ Robert Lewis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* found in Saxe Commins, ed., *Selected Writings of Robert Lewis Stevenson*, (New York: Random House, 1947).

treasure. The novel displays a dichotomy between the virtuous seamen and the vile pirates. Thus Stevenson displays proper British citizens in an imperial context.

Francis Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* was not published in its entirety until 1911.⁴⁵ She tells the story of a young girl named Mary, who was born in India to British parents. Mary is a sour, disagreeable child, who is literally yellow with illness. After her parents die of Cholera she is sent to England to live with her uncle, Archibald Craven. There Mary comes across a garden of lost legend which for many years was locked away after Craven's wife died. Around the same time, Mary befriends a young boy named Dickon who shares his gardening knowledge. Together they sneak into the garden and gradually start to fix it up. Mary, due to her planting in English soil, literally begins to change in demeanor, both physically and in her character. Therefore, Mary is able to exhibit her role as a proper imperial female citizen by passing along this knowledge to Colin, a self-induced hysteric. By leading Colin down a tender path to masculinity, Mary is able to accomplish what her mother failed to do when raising her. *The Secret Garden* highlights how Victorians gender roles were expanded and included within the expectations of being a female Citizen of the Empire.

* * *

It now becomes necessary to briefly explore the political history involving the rise of imperialism during the Victorian Era. This political narrative is directly related to the creation of the cultural ideal of being a Citizen of the Empire. As Great Britain became more militarily active in Africa and began to directly supervise the administration of

⁴⁵ While this date does go beyond what is traditionally considered the Victorian Era, the thematic elements of imperialism of the Late Victorian Era in all reality lasted until World War I. This makes a discussion of *The Secret Garden* extremely relevant since it is part of the same discourse about imperial identity. Francis Hodgson Burnett, Gretchen Gerzina, ed., *The Secret Garden*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2006).

India during the Late Victorian Era, this imperial identity of being “properly British” was used to create a racial hierarchy. While this narrative will be examined over the course of this paper, the following section will briefly outline Great Britain’s imperial history.

Great Britain’s origins of empire extend far prior to the Victorian Era. Some historians divide British imperial history into two distinct sections. The First British Empire was a result of initial conquests during the era of exploration and conquest following the discovery of the American continents.⁴⁶ However, some historians contend that British “imperialism” originated with the Ireland conquests of the Tudor century. Indeed, England employed a racial and hierarchical mindset in regards to Ireland as far back as the Middle Ages. Historian J.H. Elliot details this outlook by stating, “Given what seemed to the English to be the vast disparity between their own culture and that of a Gaelic population...they sought to protect themselves from the contaminating influence of their environment by adopting policies of segregation and exclusion.”⁴⁷

The First British Empire is mainly associated with the colonization of the New World in the form of the Thirteen Colonies, which later formed the United States of America, the Caribbean island colonies (such as Barbados, Jamaica, and the Bahamas), and also some smaller colonies in what is present-day Canada. This era in British imperial history is often termed “colonization” rather than “imperialism,” often in order to create a separation between the two eras or “halves” of the British Empire.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ It has to be noted that prior to the 1707 Acts of Union, Scotland and England were two separate political identities. In this fashion, the First British Empire was an all reality an English Empire. Scholars nevertheless often exclude this distinction, despite its obvious historical fallacy, in an effort to make more direct comparisons between imperial mindsets along many centuries within the Anglo-Celtic Isles.

⁴⁷ J.H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 79.

⁴⁸ Most certainly this does not only apply to Great Britain. The French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and British possessions in the New World are all often classified under the term colonialism.

Historians such as Anthony Pagden nevertheless argue that the two eras are much more intrinsically connected on an ideological level than such a linguistic separation implies. He remarks, “But what often have been called the ‘First European Empires’ cannot be so easily distinguished from...later developments.”⁴⁹ Therefore notions of imperialism during the Victorian Era had roots that stretched back to the Early Modern Period. Despite such connections, most historians place a bookmark at the American Revolution of 1776, which began to mark a decline of British colonial power in the New World, and a transition to the Second British Empire.

The Second British Empire refers to later imperial efforts in Africa, Asia, Australia, and the surrounding Pacific area. However, these efforts differed than in previous centuries since failed endeavors in the New World resulted in learned lessons. Many Europeans realized and feared that when large scale settlement occurred a new population was formed that might later demand independence and sovereignty. This belief affected the British ‘conquest’ of India. Britain did not attempt to settle India, but rather sought to control trade and create a commercial society that benefited the metropole.⁵⁰ Therefore, the English East India Company, not the government, maintained trading rights in the subcontinent starting in the eighteenth century. However, Great Britain’s approach to empire changed around the middle of the Victorian period. The British metropole reverted to increased levels of direct intervention with its peripheries, mainly due to insecurities over its imperial identity.

The result for all of these powers is that the term imperialism is left for later European activities in mainly Africa, Asia, and Australia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

⁴⁹ Anthony, Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c. 1500-1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 6. He goes on to say that “The language of empire, and many of its fundamental anthropological assumptions, persisted from the sixteenth into the nineteenth century, and many cases into the twentieth.”

⁵⁰ Pagden, 5-7.

A vivid example of this transformation involved Great Britain's colonial relationship with India. The British crown directly took over interests in India in 1858 from the East India Trading Company. Queen Victoria was crowned as Empress of India, an indication of the shifting levels of importance for imperialism in the metropole.⁵¹ This transformation was even seen in how the British approached their relationship with Indian culture, as demonstrated by Collingham's *Imperial Bodies*. Collingham analyzes the transition from the notion of the nabob to that of the sahib. The British nabob blended British and Indian culture and was promoted as a symbol of extravagant lifestyle. However, as the nineteenth century progressed the British began to transform themselves into what were called sahibs. Sahibs represented British authority and superiority by distancing British culture from that of Indian culture. Collingham focuses on how the British viewed their physical bodies in relation to the environment of India and their Indian subjects. Therefore the British became invested in a hierarchy that exhibited the difference between their culture and environment and that of the Indian subcontinent.

The British fear of bodily degeneration not only related to imperialism, but also to the rise of scientific racism in the nineteenth century. This pseudoscientific approach was used to justify imperialism and racial domination by experiments such as the measuring of skulls. The result was a shift from cultural prejudice to biological racism. The movement's emphasis on biological traits relates to the middle class Victorian need to uphold physical strength. Boys were encouraged to cultivate physical strength in their bodies in order to combat such fears of bodily degeneration. This relates to the aforementioned reservations about the effects that the Indian environment might have on

⁵¹ Pagden, 9.

the British body. Therefore, scientific racism is an important cultural influence that played into Great Britain's Citizen of the Empire ideal.

The fervor for imperialism intensified in the Late Victorian Period due to the Franco-Prussian War, which lasted from 1870 to 1871. The war resulted in helping to consolidate the newly emerging Germanic state and validate its military power. Additionally, it brought an end to Napoleon III's power which ushered in France's third republic. Prussia and its accompanying Germanic allies beat France soundly in this war, which ended up setting off a wave of imperialism in the 1880s. France, stunned by its military losses, sought to regain its power via another source—colonies. If France was not able to show its military prowess against other European nations, then it could regain its pride by integrating non-European nations into its sovereign empire.

There were many ideologies that encouraged France to pursue this course and a new wave of imperialism to grip Europe during the 1880s. First, the desire for military gains stemmed from the centuries old European belief that having more territory made a state stronger and more legitimate. Secondly, ever since the French Revolution of 1789, nationalism was a dominant characteristic for most European states. For example, the unification projects of Italy and Germany during the late nineteenth century were fueled by nationalistic fervor. This zeal brought about a greater sense of self, and pride in one's own nation.⁵² Yet, nationalism's unifying force usually comes at the exclusion of those perceived as "others." Combined with scientific claims of time which claimed that

⁵² A nation is commonly defined as a group of people who share a common culture, history, language, and usually ethnicity that tend to also share a common geographic area. A state is a political term used to define a certain geographic area in which a certain government claims sovereignty and legitimacy. It is the combination of these terms that results in the commonly used term nation-state. However, while a nation and state are often one and the same, this is not always the case.

certain races were physically and intellectually superior to others, nationalism easily encouraged imperialistic ventures of domination.⁵³

Romanticism is a third ideology that played into both nationalism and imperialism. The Romantic Movement, which started in Germany in the late eighteenth century, had profound effects on the political dynamics in Europe. While the Enlightenment was mainly a movement for the elites which focused on rationalism, romanticism in many ways was the opposite. Romanticism placed a large emphasis on individuality, passions, and emotions. Likewise, the Romantic Movement focused on the language, customs, and folklore of one's "native land." Therefore, this would encourage and promote nationalistic and imperial ideologies.

France, after being drubbed in the Franco-Prussian War and being pushed by all of these ideological frameworks, began a new wave of imperialism with its entrance into Africa. While France had a colonial presence in Algeria previously, it staked its claim to what would become West French Africa. Furthermore, it strengthened its hold on northern Africa by creating a protectorate in Tunisia. This caused other European powers, especially Germany, Belgium and Italy, to join in what is commonly called the Scramble for Africa.

Great Britain did not initially become involved in this new African focus. After all, it had previous colonial possessions, including the African colonies of Cape Colony (South Africa) and British West Africa (Gambia, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone). However, eventually Great Britain became a part of this Scramble as well, since it did not want to be left behind. The Berlin Congress from 1884 to 1885 helped to usher in this period of

⁵³ Indeed, this project advocates the theory that certain ideologies, such as being a Citizen of the Empire, inherently advocate racism as a means of justifying imperialism.

renewed imperialism in the face of France's aggression and also Germany's newly found imperial and military power. Most importantly this international meeting set up the ground rules for how European nation-states would be able to claim land in Africa and participate in international trade. By the time that the twentieth century began only two African countries remained free of African control, Ethiopia and Liberia. Great Britain itself claimed the modern day African areas of Egypt, Kenya, and others.

The gradual rise in importance of imperialism during the Victorian Era corresponded with the creation of the cultural identity of being a Citizen of the Empire. This imperial ideal can be considered part of a cultural discourse about what it meant to be "properly" British. Both children's literature and youth organizations were an integral part of creating this identity. In order to understand the full complexity of this British imperial identity, the various aspects of being a Citizen of the Empire need to be broken apart and then analyzed.

Chapter One

“You’re a Briton”: The Proper Combination of Victorian Morality and Physicality

Being a Citizen of the Empire required the embodiment of several characteristics. A proper Citizen of the Empire can be divided into three parts: a Protestant Christian who displays proper physicality, an individual that adheres to their proper gender roles as described by middle class society, and a belief and embodiment of the superiority of the British race over other forms of humanity. However, these characteristics stem from what can be called Victorian norms or sentiments. These sentiments were qualities that existed in Victorian Britain and were deemed as a necessary part of one’s identity for middle class individuals. Subsequently these “proper” middle class standards would filter out to the rest of society. Two of the largest social themes for middle class Victorians were religion and health. Societal changes and concerns encouraged Victorians to cling onto their religious beliefs and promote Victorian morality, a strict definition of virtuous behavior. Obsessions over health resulted in Victorians emphasizing the importance of physical fitness and sports. These two elements, morality and health, combined together to form a model of what it meant to be a well-balanced and proper middle class British citizen. This identity was easily adapted into an imperial mindset which encouraged the colonization of “natives” who lacked Christianity and morality. All of these components can be seen in children’s literature, which would have encouraged Victorian youth to see themselves as Citizens of the Empire.

Religion was an inseparable part of what it meant to be a Victorian throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Much of the foundation for what Christianity meant for Victorians was laid in the eighteenth century with the work of John Wesley and

the Methodist movement. Methodism was one representation of a larger set of social changes known as the Evangelical movement. Similar to the Second Great Awakening which occurred in the United States around the 1830s, British Evangelicalism revolved around being incarnated by a spirit of religious fervor and enthusiasm. Furthermore, an individual's relationship to God became much more personal. Specifically this could be manifested by a more subjective reading of the Bible or by a more enthusiastic devotion to the need for conversions.¹ Evangelicalism had a dramatic impact on both the Church of England and Dissenters in debates over internal structures and also with how religion interacted with the outside world.

The conflict between Dissenters and the Church of England did not disappear during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless the century did to some extent see some strides towards an acceptance for broader inclusiveness based on Protestant Christianity.² While Roman Catholics did begin to have some political rights granted to them, overall Protestantism was an integral part of Victorian national identity.³ Such unity could be attributed to the numerous challenges that Christianity faced during the Victorian Era. Such challenges helped to attribute to the emerging notion of what historians call Victorian morality.

Emerging fears of different religious ideas and the perceived encroachment of secularism frustrated Victorians to a large extent. Perhaps this is best represented by the Religious Census of 1851. The Census revealed two major concerns for middle class

¹ The very nature of the idea of a conversion involves a change from one state to another which is perceived as better. This lent itself naturally towards becoming part of being a Citizen of the Empire in relation to hierarchy.

² For example, in 1828 the Test and Corporation Act was repealed. This meant that Dissenters could now legally participate in politics.

³ The Emancipation Bill of 1829 allowed Catholics to have a place in Parliament and even vote as long as they did not participate in any action that could be seen as going against the Protestant religion.

Protestant Christians. The first concern was the growing population of Roman Catholics who, despite the aforementioned strides towards religious tolerance, were still seen as outside of proper British norms. Secondly and more disturbing for many Victorians, the census revealed that five million British citizens, many of whom were part of the working class, did not go to any church at all. Therefore, such fears strengthened the resolve of middle class Protestant Victorians to promote religion and in particular moral behavior as part of their social views.⁴

Another challenge for Victorian Christians was the growing field of scientific enquiry based on concrete methods of experimentation and an understanding of the world from a logical analysis of empirical evidence. Due to the Evangelical Movement of the 1700s, many factions of British Christianity relied strictly upon Biblical evidence and authority.⁵ This was challenged by the emergence of Biblical Criticism, which particularly spread to Britain from German theological ideas. Ideas, such as those advocated by the German David Friedrich Strauss who argued for an historical investigation of Jesus, proved contrary to the Evangelical belief that the Bible was the only legitimate story⁶. The Bible's ability to portray "Truth" was weakened by others who argued that the Holy Scriptures were written to reflect individual responses to their

⁴ The Religious Census and its aftermath is described nicely and briefly in Lee E. Grugel, *Society and Religion During the Age of Industrialization: Christianity in Victorian England*, (Washington DC: University Press of America, 1979), 34-35.

⁵ Even the Church of England's Oxford Movement contained an element of reasserting a focus on the need and importance of religion in daily life, albeit on liturgical authority more so than Biblical. Nevertheless, the fact that this movement emphasized unity in the Church of England in terms of religious fervor and devotion speaks greatly to Protestant Christianity's overall stressing of hierarchical ways of thought.

⁶ See for example Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (*The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*) which portrays Jesus' miracles as purely myths. The work was published in two volumes from 1835-1836.

contemporary world and times. Advances in geology even threatened the traditional Biblical narrative of how the world was created.

By far the most serious threats for many Victorians were the implications of the theories of Charles Darwin, which were published in 1859 in *On the Origins of Species*.⁷ Darwin's theory of natural selection fundamentally challenged prominent views that God had created each and every species with individual care and attention, particularly humanity. Critics of Darwin charged that his scientific theories led to an atmosphere of randomness which detracted the Christian's role in aiding society along proper paths of progression. All of these elements merged together to bring strain on many a British citizen's religious beliefs.

For many Victorians this did result in a move towards secularism and atheism. However, for others it simply resulted in a renewed effort to strengthen the role that not only religion but even more broadly virtue and morality should play in someone's life. The result was the creation of an ideal of behavior that "proper" middle class Victorians were supposed to follow. Thus the perceived dangers of Roman Catholicism, secularism, Biblical Criticism, and natural selection helped fuse together a standard of what it meant to be a proper British citizen based upon "Victorian morality."

Victorian morality derived much of its fervor and devotion from the Evangelical Movement of the eighteenth century. The Victorian Era, for many, centered itself around a proper devotion to prayer life, Biblical readings, and liturgical devotions. More important than simply being a "proper" Christian however, was the need to exhibit proper, virtuous, and moral behavior. Middle class Victorians obsessed about what

⁷ There is much irony in this regard, for many Victorians also used Darwin's theories in the formation of social Darwinism. The tenets of social Darwinism can be seen as an important influence on what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire.

“proper behavior” looked like on a daily basis. Yet it was clear that proper behavior meant more than attending church on Sunday, saying one’s prayers, or reading the Bible. Even more so, middle class Victorians expected themselves to exhibit standards of behavior every second of every day. In order to adhere to such strict standards, Victorians prized obedience, duty, hard work, discipline, and self-control.⁸

The dominance of the middle class allowed these behavioral standards to symbolize what it meant to be a respectable “British” citizen. Therefore an ideal British citizen, no matter what class they belonged to, could be expected to obtain Victorian morality. This idealization of behavior around morality and virtue helped to create a cultural standard. This standard of national identity was part of what formed the foundation for what it would mean to have an identity that was imperial. A Citizen of the Empire adhered to Victorian morality.

Another Victorian sentiment that laid the foundation for being a Citizen of the Empire was a surging desire for good health and proper physicality. Victorians were extremely obsessive about their health as “the constant threat of illness in the Victorian home made people conscious of their bodies...and prepared to see a moral significance in the laws of life.”⁹ Illness and physical deterioration in general, started to be seen as social problems that spoke to possible deficiencies in British society. Thus, many Victorians became obsessed with “cures” such as bloodletting, having a “change of air,” visiting a spa, and hydropathy.¹⁰ Additionally this also meant that Victorians placed a

⁸ Victorian morality also was inherently tied to notions of proper behavior for men and women idealized in the concept of separate spheres. This concept, however, will be explored more in a later chapter.

⁹ Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 5-6.

¹⁰A “change of air” referred to the Victorian practice of spending time away from home usually at either beaches or mountains. The terminology is taken from Mitchell’s *Daily Life in Victorian England*,

great deal of emphasis on physical fitness, sports, and activities as a betterment of society. Indeed, middle class Victorian ideology embraced these aspects as part of its social culture. This resulted in the emergence of a vibrant Victorian sports culture at all levels of society.

Victorian beliefs involving physical fitness did not exist in a cultural vacuum. Most importantly, physical fitness became united with Victorian morality. This was because Victorians viewed health as not only referring to the physical body but also to the soul. Indeed, Victorians saw total health as when someone was in a state of unified wholeness; in other words when one's mind, body, and soul were completely balanced with perfection. Thus, physical fitness was needed to obtain morality and vice versa. The spirit and body were inseparable.

Perhaps the most prominent example of this view was demonstrated by Charles Kingsley and his writings involving Muscular Christianity.¹¹ Kingsley viewed the world in two separate spheres, the physical and the spiritual, both of which had specific guidelines. Thus the physical world needed to be nurtured as much as the spiritual. Muscular Christianity was an idealization, particularly for young men, in which the virtues of these two spheres could come together with perfection. This created the ideal of the 'gentlemen hero,' the man who had full control of his masculinity while at the same time spreading the gospel with Evangelical-like eagerness.¹² For Kingsley,

203. Hydropathy refers to the use of water to promote physical well-being and also as a cure for maladies. Various approaches and methods would be used ranging from immersing oneself in water at various temperatures to placing wet clothes on particular parts of the body.

¹¹ Kingsley is also known for penning his classic, *The Water Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby* in 1863.

¹² Muscular Christianity heavily borrowed from the Evangelical Movement in that it had a strong element of missionary appeal to it.

masculinity was the idealization of what it meant to be the perfect man, therefore its perfections best served the idealization of what it meant to be a proper Christian.

Darwin's theories of natural selection had a dramatic effect on Muscular Christianity and Victorian views on physicality in general. Therefore, despite the fact that Darwin's theories challenged contemporary British religious ideals, they nonetheless led to what modern day historians call social Darwinism. Writers such as Herbert Spencer promoted an extension of Darwin's theories into sociology with an extension to humans. This intellectual expansion lent itself as a foundation for the development of a hierarchy.¹³ Thus the British "race" in its success was seen as the top of the hierarchy and as a concept that needed to be preserved and promoted as superior. Victorians' idealizations of physical fitness could naturally become interconnected with and serve as a justification for social Darwinism. The result was a complicated mixture of religion, morality, and physical fitness that were all related to what it meant to be a proper middle class British citizen. This ideal even further explains the foundations of what it meant to be a proper Citizen of the Empire. However, one more element needs to be put into place as well.

Many historians have already made the comparison of Great Britain's public school system with Victorian morality and physical fitness.¹⁴ Manifestations of middle class British culture, Great Britain's public schools were training grounds to form young boys into proper British men. As part of this process, public schools encouraged a

¹³ It should be noted that Darwin never intended for this to be the case.

¹⁴ The term public school in the British context is not the same as used in modern day America. Public schools were not places of learning for the general "public." Rather they were schools attended by boys who were mostly upper class and whose parents could afford to send them there. Attending a public school was the ideal step in preparing oneself for a placement in a top notch British university. Public schools mainly trained young boys with a classical education in Greek and Latin. The nine residential public schools in Great Britain during the Victorian Era were Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St Paul's, Westminster, and Winchester.

culture that promoted physical fitness. Indeed, historian Ginger Frost explicitly makes the claim that they were training grounds for becoming imperial soldiers.¹⁵ Playing physical games and sports were an integral part of the culture of these residential schools. Therefore, sports such as rugby or football could be viewed as ‘training grounds’ for boys, who even if they did not enter the military could use these skills to become better and more properly ‘British.’¹⁶

However, public schools not only represented proper physicality, they also came to signify an example of appropriate middle class Victorian morality as well. The shift in public school culture to include religious and moral education was initiated by the Headmaster of Rugby school, Thomas Arnold.¹⁷ Arnold pursued a dramatic course of reform that eventually became a main component of what public schools in Britain stood for. When Arnold took over control of Rugby he became appalled at what he saw as inappropriate behavior and a need for virtue and morality among the students there. He blamed much of this on the lack of Christian principles and an improper ordering of priorities. Arnold implemented structures in which students would gain a moral foundation followed by gentlemanly virtues. Only after these had been accomplished would Arnold cede that intellectual development could take place.¹⁸

In order to accomplish this he removed himself from the daily view of the students. This had the effect of transforming Arnold into a figure that evoked fear and awe; a powerful force that could control their lives at a distance. The day to day moral

¹⁵ Ginger Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, (London: Praeger, 2009), 116-118.

¹⁶ For example it taught them to work together, and become a solidified unit like a military. Such a sense of unity was necessary not only for the military but for British solidarity. However, sports also promote notions of hierarchy. Someone always wins, while the other naturally loses.

¹⁷ Arnold was headmaster of Rugby school from 1828 to 1841.

¹⁸ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians: Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, General Gordon*, (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969), 212.

conduct of the school would be created and maintained by making the Sixth Form effectively into a means of administering authority. Older boys who had proven their worth and virtuosity would be removed from the world of corporal punishment that Arnold supported and become the enforcers of that punishment for the younger Forms.

The result was the creation of a system that promoted the changing of boys who lacked power and authority into men who did. However, this transformation did not just involve the moral development that Arnold advocated. It also inculcated Rugby's preexisting emphasis on the values created by physical fitness and sports. For example, Arnold's weekly chapel sermons fostered loyalty and unity, which were important aspects of this developing public school culture. These emotional speeches were the high point of the week for many students and created a great sense of attachment and loyalty between Arnold and his students. Furthermore, Arnold's sermons promoted a sense of hierarchy, for he often divided the poor into the categories of deserving and undeserving.

Arnold bemoaned the current state of Victorian British society. To fix this problem he believed that one needed to have an identity that strongly connected oneself, the church, and the British state. Thus, his emphasis on how to be properly British shows the connection between national identity, physicality, and Victorian morality. Arnold's promotion of idealized British men helped to lay the foundation for the promotion of the superiority of the British state in an imperial context. Often speaking the words of exclusion, Arnold helped to promote the needed characteristics of a Citizen of the Empire.

* * *

The following three examples of children's literature provide examples of Victorian morality, Victorian physicality, and how both of these concepts combine in an imperial discourse. Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* provides various examples of Victorian morality.¹⁹ Generically speaking, the children's novel teaches a lesson of injustice in reference to horses. Beauty is transferred to countless owners throughout the work. This allowed the reader to witness multiple types of human beings interact with Beauty, some virtuous and some cruel. Therefore, the work provides not only an example of how to properly treat a horse, but more broadly how one should act morally and with virtue.

Black Beauty also emphasizes the role that individuals play in their own moral development, which highlights the Evangelical and Victorian model of personal accountability and self-discipline. Ginger, a horse that Beauty meets, is a miserable creature who bites and snaps at every owner she has. Even though Ginger was previously ill used, this does not seem to provide her with an alibi for her miserable attitude.

Another horse describes the situation to Beauty:

Well, I don't think [Ginger] does find pleasure...it is just a bad habit; she says no one was ever kind to her, and why should she not bite? but I am sure, if all she says is true, she must have been very ill-used before she came here. John and James do all they can to please her, and our master never uses a whip if a horse acts right; so I think she might be good tempered here...there is not a better place for a horse all around the country than this...so that it is all Ginger's own fault that she did not stay in that box.²⁰

Notice that the end result of this personal reflection is that Ginger should be left the blame for the situation. No matter how she was treated before, her current environment

¹⁹ Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty*, (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1959). The work was originally published in 1877. Its time of publication shows the persistence of Victorian morality closer to what is commonly viewed as a time of imperialism for Great Britain.

²⁰ Sewell, 47.

and kind masters should produce in her a proper behavior.²¹ Indeed, this seems to be a logical line of reasoning for this character, who adds to his authority with the statement, “You see...I am twelve years old. I know a great deal...”²² After the previously quoted reflection the chapter ends, and Beauty does not seem to have any objections to the wisdom imparted. In short, Ginger has no excuse for her lack of self-discipline.²³

Black Beauty also explicitly imparts the importance of adhering to Victorian morality and religion. Chapter thirty-six is entitled “The Sunday Cab.” The entire chapter is a defense of why one should not be working on Sundays. Jerry, Beauty’s current owner and a London cab driver, loses his best customer due the fact the he will not drive her to church on Sunday. Jerry’s proclamation of, “I read that God made man, and He made horses, and as soon as he had made them, He made a day of rest, and bade that all should rest one day in seven...” is revealing in that he implies that he gained this wisdom simply from reading.²⁴ Clearly Jerry has the attitude that he should take information from Scripture and live his life around it. Indeed as the chapter progresses, Jerry begins to defend the entire Christian religion to his friends who doubt his wisdom at losing customers. One person in particular attacks Jerry by arguing that he sees no justification for having a religion since religious people do not seem to behave any better than nonreligious people. In defense Jerry proudly proclaims:

If they are not better...it is because they are *not* religious. You might as well say that laws are not good because some people break them. If a man gives way to his temper, and speaks evil of other people, and does not pay

²¹ This relates to contemporary views on the effect of the environment on individuals. Such views in relation to imperialism will be discussed in more detail in another chapter. However, this once again points out that traditional middle class Victorian norms are inherently intertwined with traditional imperial attitudes.

²² Sewell, 47.

²³ The same logic would be applied to working class individuals. No matter what hardships they previously had, they had no excuse to behave improperly.

²⁴ Sewell, 170.

his debts, he is *not* religious. I don't care how much he goes to church. If some men are shams and humbugs, that does not make religion untrue. Real religion is the best and truest thing in the world, and the only thing that can make a man really happy, or make the world any better.²⁵

The preceding passage is striking for several reasons. First, notice how the passage makes no allusion at all to the treatment of horses, the thesis of this work of literature. While this is not the only example in which Sewell does not incorporate horses, it is a rare occurrence throughout the novel.²⁶ This observance shows the importance that having a "proper religion" is for Sewell. Furthermore Jerry, whether he intends it or not, devises his own scheme of classifying individuals in a hierarchy. Religion, for Jerry, is not an identity that can simply be self-proclaimed. Neither is this identity one that is formed based simply on going to church. Rather certain actions must take place in order for one to be considered religious. One must show their religiosity through day to day actions (not losing one's temper, or talking negatively about people) and through a proper observance of justice (paying debts).

Therefore, according to Jerry the identity of a religious person and by extension a proper British citizen clearly required an adherence to Victorian morality and virtue. His assertion of what is "real religion" shows Jerry's ability to make a proclamation of hierarchy and superiority. Jerry does not seem to have a problem with exclusion. After all religion (Victorian morality) is 'best' and "*the only thing*" that will make "the world...better" and "a man really happy."²⁷ This line of argumentation shows how Jerry makes religion and morality something superior and necessary. Therefore, Sewell's

²⁵ Sewell, 172. Emphasis is in the original.

²⁶ Recall that Jerry's previous assertion of the importance of Sunday was accompanied by a reference to horses.

²⁷ Sewell, 172. Emphasis added by author.

Black Beauty illustrated how Victorian morality was a superior quality for a British citizen. Indeed, being a proper British citizen required being moral and virtuous.

The best example of children's literature that highlights the intersection of physical fitness and religion is Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays: By an Old Boy*.²⁸ The main character of the work, Tom Brown, serves as a vivid example of what it meant to be a proper British citizen.²⁹ While the narrative surrounding Brown is not explicitly imperial this does not mean that his character does not contain the proper attributes of a Citizen of the Empire; nor does it matter that Brown never set foot outside of Great Britain.³⁰ Tom Brown was painted by Thomas Hughes to be the pivotal and proper example of what a British man should be. This work shows how middle class Victorian norms of religion, morality, and physicality helped lay the foundation for being a Citizen of the Empire.

Hughes began by praising the contribution that the Brown family has made to the English nation along with their physicality. He states, "...much has yet to be written and said before the British nation will be properly sensible of how much of its greatness it owes to the Browns." Later he adds with earnest, "the Browns are a fighting family. One may question their wisdom, or wit, or beauty, but about their fight there can be no question."³¹ Hughes' juxtaposition of how the Brown family contributes to the greatness of Britain with their physical merit is not a coincidence and can be seen throughout the remainder of the work. While it may seem odd that Hughes points out areas that the

²⁸ Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays: By an Old Boy*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD, undated). It was originally published in 1857.

²⁹ Granted Tom Brown clearly represents the male counter-part to this equation. Certainly physicality cannot be separated from masculinity. However, the gender component of being a Citizen of the Empire will be discussed in more detail in another chapter.

³⁰ The metropole is after all part of the British Empire. Additionally, the element of superiority attached to the British mainland makes such an example even more important.

³¹ Hughes, 3-5.

Browns have deficiencies, it sets the reader up for later in the novel when Tom Brown acquires explicitly moral characteristics.

According to Hughes, much of what makes Tom Brown special is that he represents the heart and soul of proper British origins. For Hughes this is in reference to the country environment that Brown was raised in. Hughes goes on for pages praising the English countryside and takes the reader on a guided tour that imparts a sense of wonder and awe. What makes England's countryside so magnificent is its evident connection to its Roman past. Hughes mentions a "magnificent Roman camp...with gates and ditch and mounds, all as complete as it was years after the strong old rogues left it."³² This quote makes a vivid connection between England and its imperial Roman legacy. This connection helps to create a sense of legitimacy for the English countryside which the Brown family embodies.

Furthermore, the English countryside is portrayed as a land of morals and God. Hughes declares that this land "is sacred ground for Englishmen....for this is the actual place where our Alfred won his great battle...which broke the Danish power, and made England a Christian land."³³ This makes England and more specifically the land of Tom Brown's birth superior due to its connection to Christianity. Therefore, Brown comes from a land that represents the Christian and imperial origins of England.

Tom Brown fully represents the Victorian sentiment of physical fitness. Even from his birth this trait was exhibited by his ability to be "a hearty, strong boy" who was "given to fighting with and escaping from his nurse..."³⁴ It seems that Tom's physical abilities were something natural and inherent, thus bolstering the claim that he represents

³² Hughes, 11.

³³ Hughes, 12.

³⁴ Hughes, 19.

a proper British boy. For example, Brown's emergence as being physically superior to his youthful peers is viewed by Hughes as something expected. For Brown, "had conquered another step in his life—the step which all real boys so long to make: he got amongst his equals in age in strength...."³⁵ Such language imparts for readers a desire to be like Brown, if they want to be "*real boys*" that is. While for Brown learning to throw his weight around with other British boys is certainly a sign of his masculinity, it is also at the same time an indication of his fulfillment of his proper place in society and life.

However, the bulk of the novel deals with Brown's experiences at the public school of Rugby. It is here that the connection between physical fitness and morals and virtues is made explicit. Indeed, it is the acquirement of these characteristics that finally makes Brown entirely into the proper British citizen that he represents. For Hughes the environment of the public school (and the presence of Thomas Arnold at Rugby) is what makes this transformation possible. He states, that "the object of all schools is not to ram Latin or Greek into boys, but to make them good English boys, good future citizens..."³⁶ For Brown to become a proper British citizen he must add virtuous behavior to his physical fitness. For example, Tom receives an extremely passionate speech from his father before being sent off to Rugby:

If schools are what they were in my time, you'll see a great many cruel blackguard things done, and hear a deal of foul, bad talk. But never fear. You tell the truth, keep a brave and kind heart, and never listen to or say anything you wouldn't have your mother and sister hear, and you'll never feel ashamed to come home, or we to see you.³⁷

Notice that Brown's father does not encourage him to adhere to a certain religious denomination. Rather his concerns lie with whether Brown will be able to adhere to

³⁵ Hughes, 58.

³⁶ Hughes, 63.

³⁷ Hughes, 72.

Victorian morality in general. Nevertheless, this fatherly advice is tangibly practical and vague at the same time. While instructing Brown to not lie he also indistinctly alludes to his need to “keep a brave and kind heart.” However, the juxtaposition of being brave and kind serves as an allusion to Brown’s need to combine his physical fitness (brave) with his morality (kind). By doing such Brown will be adhering to his proper role as an emerging British man, since he will thus be never “ashamed to come home.”

However, Brown does not initially follow the advice of his father or acquire virtue. Brown does succeed at showing his virtue at sport, as he displays his “pluck” by rushing for the ball in a game of rugby his very first day.³⁸ However, despite Brown’s gradual success in this area, he departs down a course of immoral behavior: “Tom...had come up from the third with good character, but the temptations of the lower-fourth soon proved too strong for him, and he rapidly fell away, and became as unmanageable as the rest.”³⁹ Brown’s friendship with his new mate East has much to do with this transformation. Perhaps the smallest infraction is their desire to hide from their teachers during their lessons. Using a crib to essentially cheat at their translations homework, East and Brown even display a lack of virtue in their academic studies. Even Brown’s desires for sports interfere with his moral development to some degree. For example, he ends up trespassing on personal property so that he can have a better spot for his fishing.

However, Brown is not completely without hope. He and East are the spark for a strike against fagging for certain upper Form boys who abuse their privileges.⁴⁰ The fact that Brown is aware of this, shows that he still contains a certain level of virtue. Yet, he is not without assistance in bringing this part of him to light. Arnold takes a vested

³⁸ Hughes, 113.

³⁹ Hughes, 162.

⁴⁰ Hughes, 169.

interest in the boy and assigns to his care a fragile needy boy named Arthur. Arthur represents the exact opposite of Brown. He is small and scrawny, but his character contains the elements that Brown lacks. Arthur represents the embodiment of British virtue and morality. Gradually Arthur is able to have a positive influence on Brown. For in Arthur, Brown sees what is lacking in himself. After reflecting how he has often let his prayers go either unattended or said in hiding, Brown reflects to himself:

...the first and bitterest feeling which was like to break his heart was the sense of his own cowardice. The vice of all other which he loathed was brought in and burnt in on his own soul. He had lied to his mother, to his conscience, to his God. How could he bear it? And then the poor little weak, whom he had pitied and almost scorned for his weakness, had done that which he, braggart, as he was, dared not do.⁴¹

Here Brown describes himself as a coward. It is a moment of realization that Brown has not adhered to his father's instructions to have a "brave and kind heart." Thus Brown demonstrates the Victorian beliefs that physical fitness and virtue were intertwined and inseparable. The fact that Brown lacks morality in reality diminishes his manhood. Because of this realization, Arthur convinces East and Brown to even give up using cribs and vulgus-books. Gradually Brown is able to transform himself to contain both physical strength and moral behavior, thus being an example of a proper British man. He even attempts to help East in overcoming his fears at being confirmed and convinces him to receive holy communion.⁴²

The novel ends with both Arthur and Brown gaining the needed middle class Victorian standards that the opposite had at their meeting. Brown grows up into a fine example of manhood and attends a university. Likewise, Arthur himself is seen at novel's end to be invested in the game of rugby. This fact shows Hughes does not

⁴¹ Hughes, 227.

⁴² Hughes, 334-339.

abandon his assertion regarding the worth of athletics to the British state, despite Brown's religious transformation being the highlight of the novel. Arthur describes rugby as the "the birthright of British boys old and young, as *habeas corpus* and trial by jury are of British men."⁴³ Such a declaration shows the importance that Hughes places on sports and physical fitness in relation to what should make a proper Britain.

Victorian morality, therefore, is still only part of the equation; sports and physical fitness are just as important in showing Britain's greatness. Another character goes on, "the discipline and reliance on one another which it teaches is so valuable...It merges the individual in the eleven; he doesn't play that he may win, but that his side may."⁴⁴ With these lines Hughes encapsulates the relationship between sports, physical fitness, and the need to create a unified sense of "British-ness" to project to the world in the form of an empire. Furthermore, such statements show Brown's transformation from a selfish individual to a British man. When he first came to Rugby he and East used sports as a way to demonstrate their personal accomplishments. Now, not only does Brown have morals and virtues, but he also views his physical fitness as a representation of a united Great Britain.

The reason for this at its heart lies with Arnold, whom is praised throughout the novel for his insistence on moral development. This level of moral development is even connected by Hughes to the British Empire. A character remarks in relation to Arnold that, "Perhaps ours is the only little corner of the British Empire which is thoroughly, wisely, and strongly ruled just now. I'm more and more thankful every day of my life

⁴³ Hughes, 352.

⁴⁴ Hughes, 352.

that I came here to be under him [Arnold].”⁴⁵ Therefore, Arnold’s insistence on combining Victorian morality with physical fitness is pronounced as a model for what makes the metropole the best part of the Empire.

Even East takes the skills that he has learned at Rugby and applies them for use in the peripheries of the Empire and becomes an army officer in India.⁴⁶ The connection to Arnold’s approach to education and empire is highlighted by the fact that East’s “year in the sixth will have taught him a good deal that will be useful to him now.”⁴⁷ Therefore, the British identity that Hughes is detailing is something that is not separated from what is best for the metropole and the empire at large. Nevertheless, it is Brown’s aforementioned accomplishment that serves as the best example of the proper mixture of physicality and Victorian morality. For this reason Brown displays the Victorian qualities that are necessary for him to be considered a proper foundation for what it would mean to be a Citizen of the Empire.

Children’s literature, even during the early Victorian Era, often displayed outright allusions to imperialism. These works demonstrated the combination of physical fitness, Victorian morality, and British imperialism. A prime example for analysis would be Robert Ballantyne’s adventure tale for children *The Coral Island*.⁴⁸ What makes Ballantyne’s novel relevant is its evident combination of how religion and physicality provide an example of a British imperial identity. In light of this, Ballantyne’s portrayal of three stranded boys in *The Coral Island* serves as clear example for children of what being a Citizen of the Empire meant.

⁴⁵ Hughes, 353.

⁴⁶ Hughes, 359.

⁴⁷ Hughes, 359.

⁴⁸ R.M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island*, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons LTD, 1961). This is the piece of adventure literature that Ballantyne is most known for penning. It was originally published in 1858.

In *The Coral Island*, the stranding of Ralph, Peterkin, and Jack on an island somewhere in the Pacific serves as a testing ground for their ability to be proper British imperial citizenships; a test that they succeed at throughout the novel. Yet, even before Ralph reaches the islands, he proves his moral standing. Ralph notes before he goes on his journey that “my mother gave me her blessing and a small Bible; and her last request was, that I would never forget to read a chapter every day, and say my prayers; which I promised, with tears in my eyes, that I would certainly do.”⁴⁹ Not only does this passage show that Ralph has religious parents, but also emphasizes his honest desire to be a good person.⁵⁰ His assurance of keeping his mother’s request is a strong indication of Ralph’s moral placement. Furthermore, Ralph’s morality is appropriately centered on British Protestant morals. His instructions are to place time and effort into prayers and reading the Bible, prominent examples of what British Protestantism stood for especially after the Evangelical Movement.

Ralph continues to uphold his moral and religious convictions even after he loses his Bible in the shipwreck. The fact that he has just been stranded on an island certainly does not impede with his heartfelt sorrow at losing his Bible and conviction at continuing to say his prayers:

While thus meditating, I naturally bethought me of my Bible, for I had faithfully kept the promise, which I gave at parting to my beloved mother, that I would read it every morning; and it was with a feeling of dismay that I remembered I had left it in the ship. I was much troubled about this. However, I consoled myself with reflecting that I could keep the second part of my promise to her, namely, that I should never omit to say my prayers. So I rose quietly, lest I should disturb my companions, who were still asleep, and stepped aside into the bushes for this purpose.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ballantyne, 4.

⁵⁰ Indeed, Ralph’s character leaves the reader with a strong sense of trust. One would not be expected to doubt whatever claim that he is making.

⁵¹ Ballantyne, 32.

Ralph's ambition to keep his promise to his mother shows more about his level of acceptance of Victorian morality than it does about his particular religious denomination. Despite the fact that he is upset, he is able to quickly put away that sorrow by remembering that he can still say his prayers. This almost seems to be an indication that perhaps he places more emphasis on prayer than he would on reading the actual Bible, a belief that illustrates his embodiment of Victorian morality. Ralph also represents the Victorian ideal of self-discipline as evidenced by his rising early while the others are still sleeping to say his prayers. Significance can also be found in that he goes out into the bushes to say his prayers. Ralph does not need to separate his religion/morals from the outside world; rather it is one and the same for him.⁵²

Ralph allows his morality to shape his identity throughout the novel. Constantly considering what actions are proper in every situation, he provides a perfect example of how one should utilize their morality to inform the rest of one's life. However, Ballantyne's novel also emphasizes that being English is another important characteristic of being a Citizen of the Empire. Not long after the crash Peterkin remarks sourly at Ralph for not remembering all of the details, "What do I mean? Is English not your mother tongue, or do you want me to repeat it in French, by way of making it clearer?"⁵³ The remark is subtle and rather unimportant, however it nevertheless points out that the boys have a sense of English identity about themselves.

Importantly, this aspect of their identity is displayed as being positive. For example, Jack instructs Peterkin that he should climb up a tree and get a coconut for

⁵² This fact highlights Ralph's representation of total health. He contains the proper balance of physical and spiritual health.

⁵³ Ballantyne, 13.

drink. Peterkin doubts this wisdom, but after tasting the nectar inside he proclaims, “Nectar! perfect nectar! I say, Jack, you’re a Briton—the best fellow I ever met in my life. Only taste that!”⁵⁴ Peterkin’s declaration of Jack as a ‘Briton’ implies more than just that he literally comes from Britain. Rather there is a sense that he earns this distinction based upon his superior knowledge that will help in their survival. Indeed, Jack’s ability to provide them with nourishment is just another indication of why Ralph and Peterkin look to him as their leader.

While Ralph may best represent Victorian morality, Jack possesses the ability to lead. Ralph readily admits that Jack is the one, “whom we always looked in our difficulties” and who was the “wisest and boldest among us.”⁵⁵ Both Peterkin and Ralph have “implicit confidence in Jack’s courage and wisdom.”⁵⁶ Additionally as the previous example of the coconuts display, Jack’s ability to lead is tied into his identity as being British. This is further symbolized by a specific example early in the novel. Ballantyne provides an exposition of the clothes that each of the boys possessed after being marooned on the island. Neither Peterkin’s nor Ralph’s clothes seem to be of particular importance. However, Jack is left with the following outfit:

Jack wore a red flannel shirt, a blue jacket, and a red Kilmarnock bonnet or night-cap, besides a pair of worsted socks, and a cotton pocket-handkerchief, with sixteen portraits of Lord Nelson printed on it, and a Union Jack in the middle.⁵⁷

Peterkin’s declaration of Jack being a “Briton” matches his symbolic outfit. First, the handkerchief contains images of Lord Nelson and the Union Jack. Lord Nelson refers to Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) a famous Navy officer who served Great Britain during the

⁵⁴ Ballantyne, 26-27.

⁵⁵ Ballantyne, 29, 39.

⁵⁶ Ballantyne, 55.

⁵⁷ Ballantyne, 18.

Napoleonic Wars. He is best known for his actions in the Battle of Trafalgar where he lost his life. It is highly appropriate that a Navy officer would be on the handkerchief of a shipwrecked sailor. Paired with the imagery of the British flag, Jack (perhaps not so casually named) almost seems to be preordained in his role of a leader, indeed a proper British Citizen of the Empire. Even the colors of his outfit (red, blue, and white), encapsulate the colors of the British flag.⁵⁸ Later when Jack proves his worth by acting like a leader, Peterkin's exclamation serves only as a confirmation. "You're [You *are*] a Briton..."

Despite Jack's representation as a proper British leader, Ralph's embodiment of morality and religion are representative of what makes the British imperial mission necessary and superior. The three boys collectively possess an identity that is British and moral. As the novel introduces cannibals and pirates, this fact supports a profound message about imperialism and the role that Citizens of the Empire should play.

Additionally, throughout the novel the boys are portrayed by Ballantyne as embodying the Victorian sentiment of physical fitness. For example, both Jack and Ralph possess the ability to swim exceedingly well. Ralph even goes as far to say that Jack "was superior to any Englishman [he] ever saw" when it came to his swimming skills.⁵⁹ Ralph remarks about the "pleasant glow that usually accompanies vigorous exercise."⁶⁰ Like Tom Brown, the boys also possess the virtue of bravery and use their physical power to demonstrate that fact. Even though he possesses no weapons, when Ralph believes that he and his friends are in danger he puts his cowardice aside and

⁵⁸ This is assuming that Jack's "worsted" socks are white, which would have been a common occurrence. It also should be noted that both Peterkin and Ralph have quite bit of "Union Jack colors" in their wardrobe. However, the symbolic significance is not as pronounced as Jack's.

⁵⁹ Ballantyne, 34.

⁶⁰ Ballantyne, 90.

“buttoned [his] jacket, doubled [his] fists, and threw [him]self into a boxing attitude,” even though his thoughts were filled with “wild beasts and savages, torturing at the stake, roasting alive, and suchlike horrible things.”⁶¹ Thus, Ballantyne’s characters are excellent examples of Citizens of the Empire who exhibit bravery and physical prowess.

Ballantyne also uses Ralph as a voice in favor of hygiene or health. For example, the boys on the island take a “customary morning bathe.”⁶² However, speaking through the voice of Ralph, Ballantyne goes on:

I have often wondered very much in after years that the inhabitants of my own dear land did not make more frequent use of this most charming element, water...I mean in the way of cold bathing...when in England, my ablutions in the washtub, were so delightful, that I would sooner have gone without my breakfast than without my bathe in cold water...I have heard of a system called the cold-water cure...[It] is better to risk taking too much than to content one’s self with too little.⁶³

Such a passage show Ballantyne’s acceptance of Victorian perceptions about health.

“The cold-water cure” would be an example of hydrotherapy. Thus, Ralph displays the Victorian sentiment of total health.

Remarkably, the marooned boys naturally seem to know how to act like an imperialist, and treat their newfound island with imperial-like designs. For example, Ralph begins a scientific investigation by placing sea creatures in a small pool of water inland.⁶⁴ His experiments at acquiring proper levels of salt water result at first with failure and death. Yet, Ralph’s curiosity eggs him on. As the boys explore the island they name various locations as well.⁶⁵ Their ability to devise creative means of procuring needed supplies eventually allows for the production of weapons that they can use to

⁶¹ Ballantyne, 40.

⁶² Ballantyne, 89.

⁶³ Ballantyne, 89-90.

⁶⁴ Ballantyne, 59.

⁶⁵ For example they name a pool that they use for swimming “our Water Garden.” Ballantyne, 58.

submit their surroundings to their authority.⁶⁶ Most evidently, Peterkin display outright imperialism in his statements delivered shortly after being stranded on the island. While the others are trying to take in their situation Peterkin proclaims:

Do you know what conclusion *I* have come to?...I have made up my mind that it's capital—first rate—the best thing that ever happened to us, and the most splendid prospect that ever lay before three jolly young tars. We've got an island all to ourselves. We'll take possession in the name of the king; we'll go and enter the service of its black inhabitants. Of course we'll rise, naturally, to the top of affairs. White men always do in savage countries. You shall be king, Jack; Ralph, prime minister...⁶⁷

This proclamation has imperialism written all over it. Showing allegiance to England, Peterkin finds it extremely natural to establish a new design of hierarchy. The justification for this authority derives only from the fact they are white and British.

Ballantyne's insistence on colonizing the native populace of the Pacific Islands is directly related to their lack of Christianity. As a character informs Ralph, "every shipwrecked person who happens to be cast ashore, be he dead or alive, is doomed to be roasted or eaten."⁶⁸ Ballantyne spares no detail when it comes to describing the atrocious deeds of these islanders:

Why in some of the islands they have an institution called the *Areoi*, and the persons connected with that body are ready for any wickedness that mortal man can devise... [O]ne o' their customs is to murder their infants the moment they are born. The mothers agree to it, and the fathers do it. And the mildest ways they have of murdering them is by sticking them through the body with sharp splinters of bamboo, strangling them with their thumbs, or burying them alive and stamping them to death while under the sod.⁶⁹

However, these deeds are described as occurring because of their lack of Victorian morality. Ralph learns that it would be safe to land on the island of Tahiti, because "the

⁶⁶ See Ballantyne, 70 for example.

⁶⁷ Ballantyne, 15. Emphasis original.

⁶⁸ Ballantyne, 218.

⁶⁹ Ballantyne, 228-229. Emphasis original.

natives are all Christian; an' we find that wherever the savages take up with Christianity they always give over their bloody ways."⁷⁰ Therefore, missionaries are repeatedly praised for their ability to help the natives: "wherever the missionaries get a footin' all these things come to an end at once..."⁷¹ In fact, despite the boys' symbolism as Citizens of the Empire, they are captured by "savages" and are unable to escape. Their salvation only occurs when a missionary arrives on their island and converts their capturers. Ralph is therefore right to proudly exclaim. "God bless and prosper the missionaries till they get a footing in every island of the sea!"⁷²

Nonetheless, the ability of Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin to display imperial viewpoints along with the Victorian norms of virtue, physicality, and health allow the boys to serve as ideal examples for children of what it meant to be Citizens of the Empire. The stranded boys are able to represent the need for religion and Victorian morality, just like Beauty's owner Jerry. Additionally they follow the model of Tom Brown, who is able to combine morality with physical fitness in order to display true "bravery" in the form of Muscular Christianity. These Victorian sentiments promote their British and imperial identity. This proper identity as a Citizen of the Empire, contrasts directly with the evil pirates and cannibals who most importantly, lack morality as a means of guiding their lives. Therefore, the middle class Victorian norms of religion, morality, and physical fitness comprise important elements of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire.

⁷⁰ Ballantyne, 219.

⁷¹ Ballantyne, 229.

⁷² Ballantyne, 229.

Chapter Two

“That’ll make a man yet”: The Imperial Ramifications of Middle Class Gender Beliefs

The Victorian emphasis on religion and physicality was only part of what constituted being a Citizen of the Empire in Great Britain. In order to truly understand the complexities of British imperial culture, Victorian gender roles need to be taken into account as well. The idealized versions of the roles that men and women should play in Victorian society were an inherent part of middle class culture and identity. This identity laid the foundation for what it meant to be properly male or female in a British imperial context. British children were certainly exposed to this component of Victorian society in literature and youth organizations which would have encouraged them to be Citizens of the Empire.

Gender history and theory is a relatively new method of inquiry for historians. Indeed, the transition from what is traditionally referred to as men’s/women’s history to that of gender history has allowed historians to shape discussions beyond that of pure repression to gather meanings behind what it meant to be male or female during a particular time period.¹ Gender theory evolved out of and was informed by the postmodern movement, and thus contains the ability to express the complexity, fluidity, and elasticity behind prescribed roles throughout history. Nevertheless, even though gender roles are not static, historians have certainly been able to categorize such roles in a way to make better sense of historical themes.

¹ Women’s history refers to the movement to “write women back into history.” This was a necessity since most historical narratives focused on male agency. Gender history explores what gender roles meant and how they changed over time. Because of this gender history not only opens up studies of masculinity as a prescribed social role, but also how both male and female roles were constructed in tandem as part of a larger cultural framework.

Notions of imperial citizenry that existed during the Victorian Era in Great Britain existed in conjunction with prescribed gender roles for males and females. Victorian ideologies that middle class individuals espoused were inherently connected to very specific roles for men and women in society. Therefore, these characteristics were another necessary part of what it meant to be a proper British citizen according to Victorian norms.

The emergence of separate spaces based on gender in Great Britain was largely a result of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of middle class ideologies regarding proper behavior. Victorian ideals of purity, perfection, and moral hygiene became intermingled with expectations of what men and in particular women should do in society. Indeed, ideas of professionalism that emerged during this time period advocated that not only should men and women exist in separate spheres but that they should become masters and experts of their respective areas. This increasingly became possible due to the rise of industrialization and the bifurcation of public versus private. Generally speaking many British families in previous centuries, while still existing in a patriarchal world, nevertheless shared the home as a common ground. As more men left the home to work in factories (or as was the case with many middle class families, supervise the factories) a separation of public and private developed which helped to establish concrete expectations that differed for men and women. Men worked and existed in the public and open sphere which was out in the world. Women, on the other hand, became associated with the sphere of the domesticated home.

Sally Mitchell in her work *Daily Life in Victorian England* earnestly points out that there is a sharp difference between the reality of Victorian life and the ideals of

Victorian life.² Factually, many middle class women and men did not strictly adhere to such models. Yet, the existence of preferred ideals nevertheless shaped cultural expectations and how British culture was portrayed in children's literature and promoted by youth societies. These ideals, particularly for women, involved a very non-negotiable gender role. The domestic sphere for women dictated that their lives needed to revolve around the embodiment and preservation of virtues and morality. Because of this women were relegated to being the educators of children and the supporters of men. Therefore, Victorian women needed to have a firm grounding in moral education so that both young boys and girls could learn ideal Christian values both from their direct teaching and example. Even taking into account Arnold's renovation of the public school system at Rugby, the home was where Victorians expected children to learn their basic and fundamental values. Additionally, women needed to be a supporter for their husbands as well. Men, again who were invested in the public sphere, were exposed to the world and all of its vices. The home, with the woman at its head, was expected to provide relief, nourishment, and stability for world weary men.

These notions were also inherently tied into class expectations. Middle class women were not expected to work. In fact, an indication of how well off, prestigious, and successful a family was, involved whether or not the wife of the household worked and how much leisure all members of the house were afforded.³

While Victorians believed that women were weaker, hence their need for exclusion from the world, at the same time they were seen as purer than men as well. While men had superior knowledge of business and worldly reason, women had superior

² Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 265.

³ Again there is a sharp difference between the reality for most Victorian middle class families and the ideal that cultural expectations put forward.

and greater moral foundations.⁴ Indeed, women were seen as a necessary component of preserving traditional and proper social roles in the face of a world changing dramatically due to the forces of industrialization, and alterations in religion and politics. In a very real sense, women gained agency as being the bearers of Victorian morality. Because of this women did not have insignificant roles in British society, rather they were invaluable. As bearers of Victorian morality, women were intricately connected to the belief that the possession of this morality proved Great Britain's superiority. Therefore, women were expected to embody everything that was proper and great about Great Britain.

The Girls' Friendly Society (GFS) provides an example of a female organization that encouraged Victorian women and girls to embody morality and purity. The GFS was founded in 1874 by the Anglican Church.⁵ The goal of the society was to provide a safe haven for women and girls who had still held onto their "purity."⁶ Therefore, virtuous girls would continue to retain this purity by participating in various activities during their free time. Ideally such activities would discourage girls from participating in other behaviors that could be seen as less virtuous. However, it is important to focus on the fact that the GFS was only eligible to virtuous girls who never lost that sense of purity. This was the case no matter how hard they sought to regain it. For example, a work written by the Society stated, "The Society does not attempt the sad work of reclaiming the fallen, nor even of holding such as are already drifting away."⁷ The fact that purity

⁴ Hence why they were expected to be the bearers and instructors of morality in the home.

⁵ Ginger Frost, *Victorian Childhoods*, (London: Praeger, 2009), 113.

⁶ The Society is not entirely clear in defining exactly what it meant by purity. It obviously seems to allude to chastity. However, based upon the time period in which this society was formed, it also seems likely that it referred to some standard or measure as to how well women and girls adhered broadly to the standards of Victorian morality.

⁷ *The Need for the Girls' Friendly Society*, (London: Hatchards, Piccadilly, 1883), 3.

was stressed as something that had to be held on to and never lost shows the pressure to be viewed as an ideal example of a Victorian girl. As the same source bluntly states when addressing how to define the GFS: “It is a Virtue Society.”⁸

There were three main types of membership within the society. An Associate was an older woman whose “guarded homes have put them in a position to help others.”⁹ Secondly, Members would be those younger girls who stood the greatest potential of losing their purity. Children would be found within the ranks of the Members. Finally, in the 1880s the Society added what they called Candidates. Candidates could be seen as potential Members of the society, and the ranks of this group were filled mostly with young girls. By the start of the First World War, over 80,000 candidates existed within Britain.¹⁰ While the GFS was not a society that was purely constrained to Victorian young girls, it cannot be underestimated that a central goal of the Society was to reach out to young girls, particularly orphans. As Brian Harrison, an early writer on the GFS, states, “the founder of the G.F.S., Mrs. Townsend, had herself been orphaned. Her society sprang directly from her affection for young girls...”¹¹

In order to be involved in the Society three criteria had to be met, each of which sheds light onto the nature of the Society. Already mentioned was the requirement to have exhibited a virtuous character. Secondly, girls who wanted to be Associates had to be members of the Church of England. Third, girls had to pay a membership fee of at least two shillings and sixpence for Associates and at least sixpence for Members. Both of these second points deserve some attention.

⁸ *The Need for the Girls' Friendly Society*.2.

⁹ *The Need for the Girls' Friend Society*, 4.

¹⁰ Frost, 113.

¹¹ Brian Harrison, “For Church, Queen, and Family: The Girls Friendly Society 1874-1920,” *Past and Present*, 61 (Nov 1973): 108.

The membership fee that girls had to pay certainly could be seen as a hindrance for lower class girls to become members, since any fee could affect a family's budget. However, as Frost points out, "The heart of the GFS was the relationship between upper-class associates and lower-class members... [The] founders hoped that the cross-class relationships would ease class tensions and promote godly living."¹² To a certain extent the GFS was successful in this regard. In 1891, domestic servants, certainly members of a lower class, accounted for over fifty-five percent of all working members.¹³ This is important to realize since it shows a sense of unity amongst the Society that can related to a view of a united empire. True, the Society had stringent ways of barring some away, but young girls quickly learned that those who met the ideal, virtuous, model of a British citizen were welcomed despite what social class they belonged to.

Also, the fact that Associates, or the leaders of the Society, had to be members of the Church of England is very telling. The GFS with its model for British society, and thereby for young British girls, cannot be separated from the ideals of the Church of England, and by extension Protestant virtues. Even a source from America, where the GFS spread, states in conjunction with defining the original society in Britain, "the last great foundation stone is our Christian inheritance. The Girls' Friendly Society is distinctly A RELIGIOUS SOCIETY. It bears witness to the truth, that a personal religious faith is necessary to the fulfillment of life."¹⁴ Clearly, even once the Society had spread to other places than its British homeland it harkened back to its Anglican roots. For the GFS in Britain, the role of the Church of England was predominant.

¹² Frost, 113.

¹³ Harrison, 117.

¹⁴ *The Record of the Girls' Friendly Society in America*, 30:1 (Jan 1922): 33-34. Emphasis original.

The GFS serves as a vivid example of how gender roles along with religion worked in Victorian society. The society promoted the existence of separate spheres and the belief that women needed to be bearers of morality and virtue. Furthermore, possessing these Victorian qualities allowed young girls to think of themselves as properly British. This is evidence of how Victorian society thought that being a proper “British” woman and being bastions of morality were one in the same.

Works of literature also illustrated Victorian gender roles. Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass: What Alice Found There* both are excellent sources that provide a valuable window into upper-middle class perceptions about girls.¹⁵ Carroll specifically wrote his works for the amusement of Alice Liddell and therefore based his stories upon experiences that would have seemed familiar to his small female reader. Since both stories’ plots focus on the single character of Alice, they allow for a limited but nevertheless helpful view of what young readers would have been exposed to in Great Britain. Alice certainly comes from an upper-middle class family. While the narrative shows this explicitly, it can also be noted by the original illustrations, designed by John Tenniel, which confirm a well dressed and wealthy girl.¹⁶

The beginning sentences of *Alice’s Adventures* illustrate the middle class ideology of leisure. They state:

Alice was beginning to get very tired of sitting by her sister on the bank, and of having nothing to do: once or twice she had peeped into the book that her sister was reading, but it had no pictures or conversations in it,

¹⁵ Both novels are being cited from and can be found in Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

¹⁶ Recall that Carroll was writing for Alice Liddell, who was the daughter of Henry Liddell, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

‘and what is the use of a book,’ thought Alice, ‘without pictures or conversations?’¹⁷

Alice illustrates her proper middle class background, for she does not have chores or duties to adhere to during the day. Nor should she according to Victorian gender roles, for by doing work around the house she would have degraded her families social standing. Therefore, her boredom helps to show that Alice represents proper middle class Victorian ideologies. This passage also allows the reader to see her as adhering to the viewpoint of separate spheres. Alice is certainly familiar with books, for she has been exposed to enough books to recognize her own preferences. But it should be noted that her own preferences show a shallow nature that would not lead her to pick up a book of philosophy or higher “men’s knowledge.” Indeed, she is incapable of recognizing a greater value for books beyond pictures and conversations.

While Alice adhered to proper Victorian gender roles at the outset of the novel, she soon will be transported on an adventure that will test her femininity. Alice, despite thinking of herself as an adult, makes foolish and childish decisions. Alice’s failures serve as an example of how she represents how young girls and women *should* have acted as British citizens with proper Victorian gender roles.

Alice proves the limitations ascribed to women within Victorian gender roles. True, her boredom leads her to embark on an adventure in a mysterious land, but she overall lacks agency throughout the work. Many times she seems simply to be following the prescribed routes set ahead of her. For example, Alice was lounging around the grass when “suddenly a White Rabbit with pink eyes ran close by her.”¹⁸ After falling down the rabbit hole she immediately is forced to follow a series of directions (despite taking some

¹⁷ Carroll, 9.

¹⁸ Carroll, 9.

time to catch onto the situation) in order to enter through the miniscule door of her desires. Granted Alice made the decision that she wanted to get to the garden outside of the door, but she was provided by unknown forces with a bottle clearly labeled “DRINK ME” and a small cake clearly labeled “EAT ME.”¹⁹ Furthermore, it seems almost as if the ‘growing cake’ was left there with a purposeful knowledge that Alice would leave the needed key on the table after she shrank. Again, after eating the cake Alice is subjected to forces that prevent her from leaving the room again, and is only saved by a “shrinking fan” which the White Rabbit drops.²⁰

In reality Alice caused her own dilemma. She foolishly left the key on the table as she shrunk to an appropriate height to get out of the door. The result of all of this confusion is that Alice enters into a state of identity confusion:

I wonder if I have been changed in the night? Let me think: *was* I the same when I got up this morning? I almost think that I can remember feeling a little different. But if I am not the same, the next question is ‘Who in the world am I? Ah, *that’s* a great puzzle!...I’m sure I ca’n’t be Mabel, for I know all sorts of things, and she, oh, she knows such a very little...[and after failing to demonstrate her intelligence via math, geography and literature] I must be Mabel after all, and I shall have to go and live in that poky little house....If I’m Mabel, I’ll stay down here!’²¹

Alice clearly thinks of herself as being better, certainly within a hierarchy, than her friend Mabel. In reality Alice deems that becoming Mabel is really equated with becoming less intelligent. Alice’s sense of inferiority leads her to despair so much that she vows to never reenter the real world. This example helps to illustrate that Alice represents the need for separate spheres: one in the world and one in the home. When Alice leaves her comfort zone, she is either led around by forces outside of her control or she fails at using

¹⁹ Carroll, 12-15.

²⁰ Carroll, 20.

²¹ Carroll, 18-19.

her own newly found agency. Her dramatic and repeated failures to use her agency properly show that Alice is in need of direction and stability. Perhaps if Alice would have been engaging herself instead of being so bored she would not have entered into this problem in the first place.

Through the Looking Glass also illustrates the same tendency. Once again Alice has a goal: to get to the eighth square of the chessboard that makes up this world. Yet, despite her determination (which at many times seems confused) she often lacks agency as she is ushered from square to square. Take her transition from the fifth to the sixth square. Alice had no direct intention to make progress in the game. In fact, all that she was doing was trying to buy an egg. However, as she reaches for that egg she is transformed without purpose into a new square in which Humpty Dumpty lives.²² Furthermore, Humpty Dumpty later brushes Alice aside with his simple response of “That’s all...Good-bye.”²³

Alice also at times seems to represent a failure in terms of Victorian morality, for she is constantly chastised in her encounters for her moral standings. Humpty Dumpty, when Alice finishes his sentence due to her knowledge of the fairy tale that he is reciting, remarks with a cry, “You’ve been listening at doors—and behind trees—and down chimneys—or you could not have known it!”²⁴ Later Alice is reprimanded by the Red Queen with “Always speak the truth—think before you speak—and write it down afterwards.”²⁵ After this Alice declares that her meaning was misunderstood. To this the Red Queen replies, “That’s just what I complain of! You *should* have meant! What do

²² Carroll, 183-185.

²³ Carroll, 196.

²⁴ Carroll, 187.

²⁵ Carroll, 225.

you suppose is the use of a child without any meaning? Even a joke should have some meaning...”²⁶ Clearly Carroll is making use of puns here. Yet, at the same time Alice is being reprimanded for not fulfilling her proper place as a bearer of morality. Granted, Alice is often unjustly attacked by the characters for her lack of morals. Regardless, statements about what does or does not make a moral individual are evident. Alice, if she was a proper Victorian woman, should be well aware of such morals. Alice’s failings thus perhaps should not be interpreted as much as chastisements, but as lessons. Alice is being groomed to exist as an ideal Victorian female citizen.

These Victorian gender roles were a foundational part of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire. The nature of these gender roles expanded when juxtaposed with imperialism.²⁷ In other words, Victorian gender roles shifted in meaning in order to be placed within a more imperial framework during the Late Victorian Period.²⁸ For men, the Victorian ideal of occupying the public sphere now included being a visible component of the empire.

Likewise, women’s roles were expanded into the imperial scene as well. The ideal that Victorian women should be the guardians of morals and virtue was expanded to encapsulate imperial notions involving hierarchy. In other words, British women, by demonstrating their perfection of morality, could serve as an example of British supremacy to the colonized. By representing the ideal British women, colonial women existed as physical proof of what made Great Britain the wonderful nation-state that it

²⁶ Carroll, 225.

²⁷ This was certainly the case in reference to masculinity and being a visible soldier or adventurer for the empire. World history shows that the connection between masculinity and empire precedes the British Empire by many centuries.

²⁸ Recall that this project is utilizing the concept of the ‘Long Victorian Era.’ For the purposes of this analysis the thematic characteristic being discussed extended past the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 and continued until the advent of the First World War in 1914.

was. This helped to justify racial domination. Deidore David highlights this point in *Rule Britannia* as she seeks to show the overlapping discourse between Victorian gender codes and how the imperial nation was written in literature. She states, “this discourse deploys a constellation of overlapping race and gender ideologies that discloses their mutual constitution.”²⁹

The intersection of Victorian gender roles and empire can be seen within the Girls’ Friendly Society. The international nature of the GFS is essential in understanding how young girls were molded into Citizens of the Empire. Ginger Frost states in introduction to the GFS that, “unsurprisingly girls did not have many imperial-military clubs,” and also in relation to the GFS that “girls’ main roles were to be good mothers, producing godly soldiers for the future empire.”³⁰ While Frost is not incorrect, she downplays the fact that the GFS, while it did not promote girls to be involved physically in the military, was nonetheless organized around notions of a military fused with Christianity that cannot be separated from imperialism. Agnes Money, a member of the GFS, compiled in 1905 a history of the Society. Its opening sentences to a chapter entitled “Colonial Daughters” is telling:

Can the Girls’ Friendly Society become a link of Empire? Can it really band together women and girls of all classes, not only in the home country, but all over the world? These are questions that must press on all who really care about our work; and we should unhesitatingly answer ‘yes’ if our true function as a handmaid of the Church could be more constantly borne in mind, and our service as a real ministry of women could be more definitely recognized in the Church itself.³¹

²⁹ Deirdre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 5.

³⁰ Frost, 113.

³¹ Agnes Money, *History of the Girls’ Friendly Society*, (London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., LTD., 1905), 95.

The GFS, at the height of British imperialism, clearly made a claim to be part of what made the British Empire superior, namely an intimate connection between every (white) citizen of the empire around the world. Thus, the GFS viewed empire as a necessary part of its goal to create virtuous girls.

Despite Frost's assertion that the GFS was not an "imperial-military club," the Society combined military language with its Christian language. For example, *The Need for the Girls' Friendly Society* stated that "Now it is the endeavour of the Girls' Friendly Society to offer a centre to rally to, to lift a standard—royal indeed—the standard of the King of kings, and in His Name to enroll an organized army those who...would support and encourage one another in the battle."³² Not only is Christian language employed (King of kings) but also language of a military (army, battle, centre to rally to). The GFS was playing into the ideals of a "Christian soldier."³³ By doing such the GFS was no different than other societies that stressed an active military role for boys. Young girls were molded into seeing themselves as a member of an army, a soldier who was fighting for the purity of womanhood. Recall the previous quote from the *History of the Girls' Friendly Society*, and its reference to the GFS as a "handmaid of the Church." This certainly harks to Mary's, the mother of Jesus, words in the Gospel of Luke: "Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be done to me according to your word."³⁴ Just as Mary was the carrier of the Savior for Christians, perhaps the GFS saw itself as the carrier of not only proper Victorian gender roles but also a standard of imperial perfection.

³² *The Need for the Girls' Friend Society*, 3.

³³ Harrison, 126.

³⁴ Luke 1:38 (RSV).

The ability for Victorian women to become a standard of imperial perfection within a hierarchy was due to a class based hierarchy that already existed in the metropole. The feminine expression of Victorian morality allowed for a middle class sense of superiority. As stated in the first chapter, this sense of superiority was connected with what it meant to be a proper “British” citizen. However, women living abroad in various peripheries were expected to uphold the same virtues that they did in the metropole. This is what separated “British” women from other cultures. Therefore, the same ideological line of thinking that separated working and middle class Victorians allowed British females to represent British cultural superiority.

The class based hierarchy that existed in Victorian Britain separated the working class citizens from middle class individuals. Victorians believed that individuals were born to a certain place within a preexisting class system. If one was born poor, then they were meant to be poor, with the same being said for the wealthier classes. This ideology helped to fashion a discernible and justified sense of superiority for middle class individuals over their working class associates.³⁵ Take for example Charles Dickens, the famed English novelist from Portsmouth who certainly fell within middle class stratifications. Dickens traveled to the United States in 1842 and wrote a book called *American Experiences*. Here he described the working class women employed in the Lowell factories: “They were well dressed, but not to my thinking above their condition; for I like to see the humbler class of society careful of their dress and appearance.”³⁶

³⁵ The connection to social Darwinism is undeniable here. Social Darwinism was discussed in more detail in the first chapter of this project.

³⁶ Quote taken from an excerpt of Charles Dickens, *American Notes* found in William Dudley ed, *The Industrial Revolution: Opposing Viewpoints*, (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1998), 48.

Dickens illustrated middle class Victorian views of how working class individuals needed to fall within their proper “condition.”³⁷

Confusingly, Victorian society also stressed other notions that appear contradictory to such aforementioned stratifications. The age of industrialization fostered the idea that hard work and individual perseverance could bring about a betterment of one’s quality of life. Victorian society and morality highly valued education, hard work, and having a strong individual character. These notions led to the large proliferation of Victorian self help literature.³⁸ However, ideas involving individual improvement should not be taken as a direct antonym to Victorian stratification beliefs. Victorian middle class ideology, with its focus on religion, morals, and virtues, was the ideal or endpoint for what self help literature sought to foster within the working class. Remember that the purpose of increased wealth was not only to better one’s quality of life, but also to financially make it possible for families to live a proper middle class life. The most prominent example would be to have wives that did not perform manual labor so that they could focus on the moral education of the children and the household. Middle class individuals who could live according to such prescribed notions within the British metropole’s hierarchy were those individuals who had therefore reached their potential via ambition.³⁹ Therefore the Victorian sentiment of self help did not unite Great Britain outside of the confines of hierarchy.

³⁷ Dickens also uses the terminology “station” in this source.

³⁸ See for example, Samuel Smiles who wrote numerous self help manuals the second half of the nineteenth century.

³⁹ Whether most individuals in reality worked diligently and earned a middle class lifestyle solely from the sweat of their brow is another story. The fact that they had done so, in whatever means appropriate, helped to justify the ideals of self help.

Middle class ideology used the idea of feminine perfection to create a desired ideal of how British society should exist. Indeed, as bearers of virtue and purity middle class women represented what all working class women *should* want to be.⁴⁰ However, believers in such Victorian ideologies of British supremacy had only to look out their windows and walk down the street to see the abhorrent reality of society due to industrialization and the working class wage system. Class tensions within the metropole therefore could be lessened or glossed over by instead focusing on those who totally lacked Victorian norms, namely British colonial subjects. By such an ideological shift, a sense of British unity and superiority could be accomplished. The way of life, religion, and culture of “native people” all pointed to reasons why such groups of people not only were inferior but also in need of British assistance. In this regard, Victorian class based norms were completely intermixed with justifications for Britain’s imperial presence.

This ideological shift further helped to justify how British women could be seen as a model of imperial superiority. The model of the ideal Victorian women was expanded and now encompassed the need to show British superiority in relation to the colonies. British imperial women were seen as exemplifying what made Great Britain great, wonderful, and worthy to be the rulers over other people.⁴¹ Because of this sentiment, the pressure on British women living in the colonies, such as India, to be able to conform to these expectations was incredible. This was particularly the case due to predominant views of how the environment interacted with one’s health and identity

⁴⁰ The reality that many working class individuals did not have aspirations to be “middle class” does not impinge upon the epistemological reality that Victorian women supposedly represented. Middle class Victorians were not particularly invested in notions of relativism.

⁴¹The transition should not overspread the bounds of the imagination. After all if the proper way to be British was to adhere to these middle class ideals, then why should these ideals not represent the way that proper humans in general should act?

during this time period. Collingham, in his monograph *Imperial Bodies*, remarks that European beliefs at the time suggested that climate had an extremely direct impact on a person's bodily foundation. In relation to India, its tropical climate could lead to negative associations such as being too lazy or feminine. On the other hand, Britain's environment made individuals tough and autonomous, which was associated with the proper amount of masculinity.⁴²

These beliefs suggested that British women (and men) had a supposed disadvantage and potentially damning adversary in retaining their culture in a foreign environment.⁴³ Yet, in order for Victorians to become true Citizens of the Empire, they needed nevertheless to embody Britain's superiority. Culturally speaking, Collingham highlights the transition the British made from the nabob to the sahib while ruling India. Originally, British officials allowed large elements of Indian culture to intermix with their own in order to establish legitimacy. However, such cultural elements began to be seen as a moral problem which encouraged laziness, gluttony, and the abuse of the British healthy body. As the Victorian period progressed the British transformed themselves into the role of the sahib, an official that was distinct and separate from the Indian culture.⁴⁴ This stratification highlights how Victorian notions of hierarchy, played out in the historical events of the British Empire. Individually, British women needed to possess Victorian gender roles in order to help justify British rule.

⁴² E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 25. Also, keep the previous chapter's analysis of *Tom Brown's School Days* in mind, and Hughes' emphasis on how the British country-side helped make Brown a proper masculine figure.

⁴³ Disease was also a constant physical danger for British colonizers.

⁴⁴ Collingham, 7-10.

The intersection of Victorian gender roles and imperial ideology can be seen in the work of Francis Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*.⁴⁵ Published in 1910, this novel helps to summarize many of the themes of gender and class which would have encouraged British children to be Citizens of the Empire. The novel begins with a description of Mary, the main character:

When Mary Lennox was sent to Misselthwaite Manor to live with her uncle everybody said she was the most disagreeable-looking child ever seen. It was true, too. She had a little thin face and a little thin body, thin light hair, and a sour expression. Her hair was yellow, and her face was yellow because she had been born in India and had always been ill in one way or another.⁴⁶

Mary's description cements the exact insights that Collingham provided. There are multiple reasons why Mary is described as physically unpleasant. While the reason for this is specifically vague and Burnett gives no further elaborations later in the text as to *exactly* why Mary is so sickly that she is yellow, it would be common knowledge for the British reader that her ailments referenced malaria.⁴⁷ However, the answer seems more complicated than that, and harks to British perceptions of foreign environments: Mary is sick because she has never been outside of India.⁴⁸ It is of special importance that Mary's physical description also yields information about her character as well. She is described as "disagreeable-looking" and has a "sour expression" to match her yellow color.

The result of Mary's internment in India is that she experiences a sense of identity confusion. This is evidenced by her lack of knowledge as to her proper place in British

⁴⁵ Frances Hodgson Burnett, and Gretchen Gerzina, ed. *The Secret Garden*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2006).

⁴⁶ Burnett, 3,

⁴⁷ Jaundice always occurs once an individual contracts malaria.

⁴⁸ Collingham notes that British children were sent back to the metropole during important childhood years in for their own personal development. See Collingham, 81.

society. She did not have any meaningful relationship with her mother, and instead was purely spoiled by her “Ayah.” In fact, Mary does not even seem to realize that she is English. Basil, a young boy, remarks to Mary that she is “going to be sent home.”⁴⁹ Mary proceeds to respond in confusion revealing that she does not know where “home” is. Basil replies with scorn and surprise stating, “She doesn’t know where home is!...It’s England of course.”⁵⁰ Mary’s lack of affinity is certainly painted as a negative characteristic. The blame for this, while never explicitly stated, is partly due to the negative influence of India. Not only did India negatively affect her physique and behavior, but also her identity.

Once Mary is transported back to England to live with her uncle, Archiblad Craven, her laziness is further illustrated as a negative attribute. Indeed, Mary’s inability to perform basic duties for herself helps to illustrate the fine line between having a servant and still having Victorian self-help. For example, the character of Martha is certainly meant to represent a servant for Mary. However, the expectation is still present that Mary should be able to perform certain activities for herself, such as putting on her own clothes. When asked by Martha if she is able to do such Mary replies, “No...I never did in my life. My Ayah dressed me, of course.”⁵¹ Mary’s inclusion in her response, “of course,” does not rectify her failure. She is easily painted as overly pampered and unable to take care of herself. Mary’s lack of self-help further distances her from what her proper roles as a British woman should be.

Mary’s backwardness is also evident in her lack of Victorian morality. As the novel progresses, her lack of virtues and proper behavior become more and more

⁴⁹ Burnett, 8.

⁵⁰ Burnett, 8.

⁵¹ Burnett, 17.

apparent. Indeed, Mary seems to have a deficient understanding of what her proper place in society should be:

Why shouldn't she go and see how many doors she could count?...She had never been taught to ask permission to do things, and she knew nothing at all about authority, so she would not have thought it necessary to ask Mrs. Medlock if she might walk about the house, even if she had seen her.⁵²

Mary does not comprehend the hierarchy that she should be operating within. Her very vocabulary lacks the needed concept that would have resulted in her making proper decisions. However, this fact shows that the true fault for this does not lie inherently within Mary's character. Rather she was not properly socialized, for her parents, and mother in particular, did not give her the educational attention that she needed. As one character remarks in reference to Mary's disagreeable looks and nature:

Perhaps if her mother had carried her pretty face and her pretty manners oftener into the nursery Mary might have learned some pretty ways too...many people never even knew that she had a child at all. [and another character responds]...I believe that she hardly ever looked at her...When her Ayah was dead there was no one to give a thought to the little thing.⁵³

No character ever suggests that Mary did not receive the proper care or socialization that she should have from her Ayah. The British would not have expected such an occurrence, in fact it would have been impossible.

The fault lies in reality with Mary's mother, who clearly is to blame for Mary's lack of character. During the first part of the book Mary constantly treats everyone with disdain, rudeness, a false of superiority, and often anger. Nothing pleases Mary, and she is constantly bored; not because she misses India, but because her character was never nurtured and brought forth by her mother. Likewise, her mother failed because she did

⁵² Burnett, 33.

⁵³ Burnett, 8.

not inculcate a pride in her true home, England. Apparently even the lack of her mother's literal presence resulted in Mary's apparent physical deterioration. This fact does not serve as a contradiction to idea that the Indian environment is to blame for Mary's deterioration. Rather, it further illustrates the failure of Mary's mother. True, Mary was in danger from the Indian climate, but her mother, as a proper Citizen of the Empire, should have shielded her from such dangers and trained her to be a well-behaved, moral British girl. Therefore, Mary's mother does not fulfill her proper Victorian gender role in relation to empire.

Luckily for Mary, there are elements of "magic" that abound. Bored Mary is eventually forced to wander around outside. Between eating more and exposing herself to the outside elements, Mary gradually begins to recover. She slowly starts to gain weight and lose her yellow color. A gift of a skipping rope proceeds to help Mary accomplish this goal.⁵⁴ Not only does Mary's physique change that but a transformation in her character begins as well. Mary becomes gradually more pleasant. However, the key moment in this transformation is her discovery of a garden that has been locked away for years after the death of Craven's wife. Mary's curiosity is aroused by this mysterious story, and she proceeds to find the fabled garden.⁵⁵ Mary's gradual transformation is further helped by her association with Dicken, a young boy who has a canny knack and unusual ability to communicate with animals. While sharing his intimate knowledge about gardening, the two children decide to bring the neglected garden back to its former glory.

⁵⁴ Mary's physical transformation also demonstrates her ability to become immersed in Victorian beliefs regarding physical fitness. See Chapter One.

⁵⁵ A certain degree of curiosity, if properly measured, is a hallmark trait of a proper woman according to Victorian models of middle class ideology.

Literary considerations of the symbolism behind the meaning of the secret garden are vast. However, it seems clear that Mary's immersion in nature and the earth are fundamental to her physical and moral recovery. More importantly, the fact that Mary becomes fascinated with the English environment is an important part of this process. While no one directly begins to teach Mary to be a nicer little girl, the transformation happens naturally as a result her growing physically stronger and immersing herself in nature. Her newfound love for soil is never explicitly referenced as being due to its *Englishness*; however, considering the numerous remarks early in the novel about India's negative effects, this consideration cannot be ignored. However, Mary's transformation is more than just a betterment of her own physical and moral existence. Instead, her greater purpose comes with her unknowing acceptance of her proper gender role as moral guardian.

Mary illustrates this with her interactions with the character of Colin, the son of Craven, who is ignored by his father due to the memory of his mother's death. As a result, he lives a miserable life isolated in bed in a darkened room. Colin, truly believing that he will become a hunchback like his father, simply awaits the day that he will die. Colin completely lacks any assertiveness and is therefore a boy in desperate need of finding his inherent masculinity. Raised by servants (like Mary) he did not have the proper socialization that he should have gotten from his mother. His irrational fears results in hysterics that he simply brings upon himself.

Mary, however, is able to break Colin from his spell.⁵⁶ She sneaks Colin into the garden and exposes him to the same English nature and air that helped her. Learning

⁵⁶ Mary does not need to change Dicken, for he already contains his proper amount of masculinity as evidenced by his connection with the English environment.

from her own transformation process that is not even complete, Mary is able guide Colin down his needed path to recovery. When Colin is having one of his unnecessary fits of hysterics, Mary is the only one who is able to do exactly what Colin needs: harshly break him out of crying fit. She screams at him:

You stop!...You stop! I hate you! Everybody hates you! I wish everybody would run out of the house and let you scream yourself to death!...Half that ails you is hysterics and temper—just hysterics—hysterics—hysterics!...You didn't feel a lump!...If you did it was only a hysterical lump...There's nothing the matter with your horrid back!⁵⁷

The reality is that Mary did not hate Colin, but her forceful words and stark realism for the first time break through Colin's hard exterior. Because of this she is able to get Colin to see that his ails are mostly in his head.

Mary is then able to guide Colin down a tender path towards masculinity, to his proper place as a British citizen. Very early in their relationship Mary sees a glimmer in Colin that makes her think of an Indian Rajah. The quality in Colin's personality that sparks this connection is the way that he speaks with authority to his servants. "Once in India I saw a boy who was a Rajah...He spoke to his people just as you spoke to Martha. Everybody had to do everything he told them—in a minute."⁵⁸ Mary's association of Colin with authority is no accident. It is almost as if she could sense that he had the potential to reclaim his masculinity that he never was able to find.

The end result is that Colin is able to fully embrace his newly found form of masculinity, and Mary is the guiding force behind that transformation. This transformation is summarized in the following passage:

So long as Colin shut himself up in his room and thought only of his fears and weakness and his detestation of people who looked at him and

⁵⁷ Burnett, 103.

⁵⁸ Burnett, 84.

reflected hourly on humps and early death, he was a hysterical half-crazy little hypochondriac who knew nothing of the sunshine and the spring and also did not know that he could get well and could stand upon his feet if he tried to do it. When new beautiful thoughts began to push out the old hideous ones...strength poured into him like a flood.⁵⁹

This strength resulted in Colin coming to exist as a symbolic Rajah full of power.

Burnett continues to describe Colin as a Rajah as his strength progresses. Furthermore, Colin's newly found agency is directly compared to his ability to be a man. After seeing Colin stand for the first time Ben Weatherstaff states that "That'll make a mon [man] yet. God bless ye!"⁶⁰ Colin embraces his newfound masculinity and authority so much that he often comes off as rude to Mary, but she nevertheless continues to encourage his transformation. With his pristine authority Colin even is able to develop his own quasi-theology which revolves around "magic."

Colin undergoes an entire transformation, both physically and with his character. This transformation only happens because Mary takes an invested interest in him. In the end Mary is able to demonstrate her ability to be a proper British woman and help Colin embrace his own identity. This is the exact role that Mary's mother failed to provide for her, that of British socialization. Therefore, Mary falls directly in line with the gender role that women should be the supporters and educators of Victorian norms involving physicality, religion, and morality.

However, Mary's ability to accomplish this only occurred because of her deliverance from the Indian environment. Her immersion in English nature produced a physical and internal change that then allowed her to spread this wisdom to others.

Therefore, Burnett's at times subtle and at times vivid juxtaposition of England against

⁵⁹ Burnett, 163.

⁶⁰ Burnett, 130.

India make this novel about more than just Mary acquirement of the Victorian gender roles that Alice sometimes struggled with. Rather, Mary, like the purity driven members of the Girls' Friendly Society, represents a clear picture of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire—an imperial identity based upon the middle class Victorian norms of religion, physicality, and gender.

Chapter Three

“I was an Englishman”: How Being a Citizen of the Empire Created Racial Hierarchies

Perhaps the most hierarchical part of being a Citizen of the Empire, especially during the Late Victorian Era, involved notions of superiority in reference to other races and cultures. Certainly some historians have argued that racism and imperialism are not necessarily connected.¹ While the two are not always interrelated, the reality is that imperialist justifications for domination often are accomplished by a lowering of subjected people. Such debasing may happen broadly on cultural terms rather than being strictly racial. For Europeans however, whose definitions of nationalism were largely characterized by an ethnic lens, the association between culture and race were synonymous. Therefore, the idea of European “races” and their innate superiority was utilized by imperialists to rationalize domination and implement the white man’s burden. For Victorians, the very idea of being British naturally carried with it the weight of imperialism. However, as with many hierarchies, the elevation of ‘British-ness’ resulted in a debasement of other cultures and ethnicities. Cultural sources such as children’s literature or the writings of youth organizations highlighted this exaltation and depression. Being a Citizen of the Empire and embodying what it meant to be proper British citizen involved an acceptance of one’s superiority at the expense of others.

To fully understand the establishment of racial hierarchies, the rise of scientific racism in the nineteenth century needs to be briefly explored.² In order to justify cultural

¹ See for example Laurence Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001).

² Some of the best known works dealing with the intersection of scientific racism and imperialism during the Victorian Era are Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971); Greta Jones, *Social Darwinism and English Thought: The Interaction between Biological and*

and racial superiority, scientific racism used pseudoscientific approaches to classify individuals in certain racial categories. These “races” would be compared to each other in order to create a hierarchy of attributes. A prominent example involved the measuring of skulls in order to determine the relative and comparable intelligence of individuals and racial groups. This “proof” of racial superiority existed alongside of ideas involving social Darwinism and generic cultural superiority. In this sense the discourse of scientific racism is often seen in the Citizen of the Empire ideal. In fact, nineteenth century racial theories argued that many different racial groups also existed in Europe. Therefore, the British “race” could be seen as culturally and biologically superior in terms of national and imperial identity.

However, outright racism should not always be conflated with cultural superiority. As the upcoming analysis shows notions of cultural superiority were an integrate part of British imperial ideology. Yet due to the influence of scientific racism, biological superiority and outright racism can also be seen. In this sense racism complimented cultural prejudices aiding in establishing discourses such as the civilizing mission.

Youth organizations such as the Girls’ Friendly Society (GFS) and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) demonstrated this component of imperial citizenship. The international nature of the GFS is essential in understanding how young girls were molded with an eye to global classifications. As previous analysis yields, it appears that a goal of the Society was to reach out to all women everywhere regardless of class. Recall the following quote from the *History of the Girls’ Friendly Society*: “Can it

Social Theory, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980); and George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, (New York: Free Press, 1987).

really band together women and girls of all classes, not only in the home country, but all over the world?"³ However, by no means was the GFS intended to unite women of all classes of all *ethnicities* around the world within their ranks. A further quote from the *History of the Girls' Friendly Society* reveals such explicitly:

We shall always think that, however much amongst us may and should assist in spreading the Gospel amongst the heathen, yet our true mission as a Society is to those of our own people and tongue who have gone out from us to colonize our vast Empire.

‘Bear on, bear on Life’s gushing wave
To heathen souls athirst,
To all whom Jesus died to save,
But feed the children first.’⁴

A clear mixture of Christianity and elements of social Darwinism emerges in the mindset of the GFS. True the goal of the GFS was to unite women of all classes; however there was a clear divide between *white, Christian* women and *heathen* women. While it may be argued that this passage refers solely to those who did not accept Christianity (a key tenet of the GFS), the usage of words such as ‘our own people and tongue’ point to more than just a lack of Christianity, but rather whether one was inherently British. Being British and Christian (a synonymous identity for the GFS and many Victorians) entitled one to be regarded before those in need of evangelical attention. Thus the language of the GFS shows its desire to designate members of their society above others within a hierarchy of exclusion couched in imperial terms.

Such imperial language is also seen explicitly in various lectures that were delivered for members of the YMCA at events. A clear divide existed between British Christian citizens and ‘others’ in the rhetoric of the YMCA. Reverend John Cumming

³ Agnes Money, *History of the Girls' Friendly Society*, 95.

⁴ Money, 95. Emphasis original.

delivered a lecture entitled “The Age We Live In.”⁵ Cumming began his talk with a summary of the different ages that the world has gone through until the present day. His description when he came to the emergence of Islam sheds light onto the hierarchy displayed within the YMCA:

We have read of the age of Mohamed, when the fierce apostle of a new and dark superstition, concocted out of Rabbinical Judaism, Romish Christianity, and Pagan philosophy, a new and deleterious compound, whose Saracenic missionaries rushed out, like the locusts of Egypt, into Christendom...⁶

It perhaps comes as no surprise that a specifically Christian organization would have sponsored a lecture that took a negative viewpoint of Islam. However, attention needs to be paid to how Cumming created a sense of hierarchy with his use of language. First of all, he did not even give Islam the recognition of a religion, instead debasing it into a mere ‘superstition.’ Additionally, he provided an inaccurate historical context for the rise of Islam by placing it within the realms of mainstream Judaism, Roman Catholicism (‘Romish Christianity’) and pagan beliefs. Finally, Cumming degraded Islam in analogy to mere locusts, not only a Biblical reference, but additionally a dehumanization of Islam’s members throughout history.

Cumming’s placement of Islam in relation to pagans, Roman Catholics, and Jews was no coincidence. Cumming throughout his lecture praised the notions of Protestant Christians.⁷ For example, he saw Martin Luther as a hero who fought against the atrocities of the Roman Pontiff.⁸ However, as his lecture progressed it became clearer

⁵ Rev. John Cumming, “The Age We Live In,” found in *Lectures Delivered Before the Young Men’s Christian Association 1847-1848*, (London: James Nisbet and Company, 1873).

⁶ Cumming, 342-343.

⁷ Again this shows the particularly Protestant flavor that being a Citizen of the Empire often employed.

⁸ Cumming, 343.

what in particular he viewed as being the highlight of modern progress: the Christian *British Empire*. Cumming praised the British Empire as being the highlight of civilization and emblematic of the ‘current age’. He stated:

The age we live in is coloured more by our own country, that is, Old England...than any other. Its religion, its liberty, freedom, power, are stamping the impress of Old England upon the currency of years, and the age we live in receives an English hue. I do not think that the sun, after all, shines on, or the age sweeps over a finer country...Our literature, our science, our depressions, our successes, our exertions, our influences, are all felt by the world...⁹

Cumming, while distinctly revealing his bias for the British Empire, described the influence, both good and bad, that it had over the entire world. Such a hierarchical placement evokes feelings of national pride, not only over other cultures which Britain colonized, but also over other European nations as well. Taking into account his previous debasement of Islam, it is clear that Cumming sees British identity as having certain characteristics which produce such wondrous achievements. Simply being British is part of the equation, but being a certain *type* of Britain is what seems to evoke the greatest justification for superiority.

With this in mind, Cumming while elevating the British Empire also debased those lands which the British brought ‘civilization’ to. He compared a native New Zealander to a European: “What a contrast to the New Zealander is afforded at this day! The New Zealander’s whole stock of trade is a club and a canoe, and they are his only means of subsistence; but a European sails across the sea, by day and night, by steam or by sails, at the rate of ten miles an hour.”¹⁰ Once again this example provides a clear contrast of cultures with a hierarchy for Cumming. The British Empire was elevated by

⁹ Cumming, 349-350.

¹⁰ Cumming, 351.

Cumming to represent a pinnacle of achievement, while other cultures (Muslims, New Zealanders) were lowered in comparison. Cumming's continual praises of British technology, government, religion, and many other facets of life would not have gone unnoticed by young Victorian boys. Therefore, such sources show a more blatant molding of Victorian youth with notions imperial citizenry that included ethnic and cultural superiority.

Another lecture delivered to YMCA youth will further help to illustrate this point. The lecture which will be examined was delivered by Lt.-Col. Sir Herbert B. Edwards. Delivered somewhere between November 1860 to February 1861, his lecture was entitled "Our Indian Empire: It's Beginning and End."¹¹

Edwards' lecture was about the history of India as part of the British Empire. He discussed how India came under British rule, the current state of India under British rule, and then some speculations about the future. Early in his speech he remarked, "There came a handful of white men across the Western sea to be lords over those dark Indians, supposed to be 200,000,000 in number; that these little British isles of ours have dominated for a hundred years over that vast continent fourteen times their size."¹² Already one can see Edwards' bias that was displayed for Victorian youth. Britain's superiority is demonstrated by its small land size and population having dominance over a far larger land and many more people.

Edwards made several interesting remarks about the origins of British rule over India. First he remarked how Portuguese rule in India in earlier centuries represented a

¹¹ Lt.-Col. Sir Herbert B. Edwards, "Our Indian Empire: It's Beginning and End," found in *Lectures Delivered before the Young Men's Christian Organization, in Exeter Hall, from November 1860, to February 1861*, (London: James Nisbert and Company, 1861).

¹² Edwards, 5.

“bad empire.”¹³ This distinction allowed him to justify the British motives of imperialism as being superior to the Portuguese’s. He continues, “Who... could possibly believe that we went not to the East for Empire, if history did not establish beyond dispute, that we went simply for cinnamon and cloves, for pepper....in short, for *honest commerce?*”¹⁴ By elevating the British as a “good empire, such an argument helps to justify that the British had a rightful, albeit reluctant dominance over other cultures. To bring this point to a close Edwards remarked:

...on the whole I do give it to you as my thankful and sincere belief that the Indian Empire of our country was not got by design, or policy of ambition—was not a thing that England coveted, but *was* got against our will...dull indeed must be the brain that is not struck with the utter inadequacy of the means employed to the results that have been obtained; and dull indeed the heart that does not cry aloud, ‘This thing is of God!’¹⁵

Edwards again he stressed that Britain did not come by the Indian subcontinent by malicious designs or even designs in the first place. Rather he places the blame, so to speak, on God, who provided the British with India. This intersection of Christianity, imperialism, and justification provided the youth of the YMCA with an example of the White Man’s Burden philosophy.

Britain’s presence in India therefore resulted in a betterment of Indian society. He remarked how the British Indian Government had delivered more public works improvements than any other government in the entire world.¹⁶ Such structural evidence allows Edwards to become more explicit about his racial hierarchy. He states, “The whole Western life and civilization of the English rulers has been an educating influence constantly at work, revolutionizing Eastern ideas, and breaking down that ignorance of

¹³ Edwards, 7.

¹⁴ Edwards, 10. Emphasis original.

¹⁵ Edwards, 14.

¹⁶ Edwards, 17.

the outer world, which is the very rampart of error.”¹⁷ Therefore, “Eastern ideas” are portrayed as backward in comparison to the educational experience of British civilization. This intellectual framework helped support a British imperial philosophy that was steeped in notions of superiority.

Edwards concluded with speculations about India’s future and need to separate from the British Empire. Rather than allow India to either be taken from the British by a foreign power or from an internal rebellion, Edwards would rather see India be given freedom. However, this freedom came with certain conditions. India must first be modernized and contain all of the proper elements of Western (British) culture. Yet, one single element of culture is needed most by Indians—Christianity. He declared:

Till India is leavened with Christianity she will be unfit for freedom...England may *then* leave her; with an overthrown idolatry, and a true faith built up; with developed resources; and an enlightened and awakened people, no longer isolated in the East, but linked with the civilized races of the West.¹⁸

Thus Edwards’ vision of freedom for Indians was still couched in imperial designs. The “proper” British citizen’s ability to embody Victorian morality and religion was contrasted with India’s religious faith. This framework debased Indian culture, as their future freedom depended on whether or not they could become “enlightened.” His use of language certainly suggests that the Indians lacked this characteristic in comparison with the “civilized” West. Thus Eastern races are ‘isolated’ presumably meaning separated from modernity, which for Edwards is synonymous with British culture. Being a Citizen of the Empire involved the ideology of the civilizing mission.

¹⁷ Edwards, 20.

¹⁸ Edwards, 32.

These same themes can be seen in Victorian children's literature as well. The adventure novel set on the high seas was a common part of this genre.¹⁹ Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* is an example from the Victorian Period which highlights the renewed interest in imperialism in later decades.²⁰ The main character of the novel, Jim Hawkins, provides an example of a child who contains proper British characteristics. Not only does he embody the adventurous spirit of the high seas, but he proves himself to be a virtuous fighter who displays imperial characteristics. The novel itself revolves around a conflict between two factions of British society: pirates versus loyal seamen. This allows Stevenson to set up a dichotomy that displays what it meant to be a proper British citizen in the context of imperialism. Therefore while this novel does not illustrate the establishment of racial hierarchies, it nonetheless shows how being "properly British" was connected to national pride within the context of imperialism.

Hawkins joins in with several seamen in order to find a buried treasure on a far away island.²¹ However, it turns out that some of the members on board the ship are really pirates. One of those men, Long John Silver, becomes the leader of these pirates and mutineers. Ironically, even the character of the squire is fooled by Silver. He believes Silver to be honest and instead calls the captain of the expedition an "intolerable humbug" whose "conduct [was] unmanly, unsailorly, and downright un-English."²² It turns out that the exact opposite is true. Once Hawkins realizes the truth about Silver he notes that he has "taken such a horror of his cruelty, duplicity, and power."²³ Thus

¹⁹ See for example the analysis of Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* in a previous chapter. Another prominent example from before the Victorian Era would be Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719).

²⁰ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* found in Saxe Commins ed, *Selected Writings of Robert Louis Stevenson*, (New York: Random House, 1947).

²¹ This in itself is a quasi-imperial quest.

²² Stevenson, 51.

²³ Stevenson, 63.

Stevenson paints the pirates as the exact opposite of the loyal seamen, who represent virtue and morality. However, the loyal seamen are more than just the virtuous heroes of the story, they are properly British.

The sections that connect the actions of the loyal seamen to their British identity occur when their fort is being viciously attacked by the pirates. One of the characters, Tom, had just been killed in the attack. Stevenson paints Tom with the language of a fallen hero, for “he had followed every order silently, doggedly, and well; he was the oldest of [the] party by a score of years; and now sullen, old, serviceable servant, it was he that was to die.”²⁴ Tom, a minor character in the novel, nevertheless displayed the proper characteristics of a loyal British imperial citizen. Therefore, this tragic death of an honest British man urges the captain to produce within himself a strong sense of national identity. For:

He had found a longish fir-tree lying felled and cleared in the enclosure, and with the help of Hunter, he had set it up at the corner of the log-house where the trunks crossed and made an angle. Then climbing on the roof, he had with his own hand bent and run up the colours.²⁵

The captain’s new found pride in claiming the loyal seamen as British “seemed mightily to relieve him.”²⁶ Previously in the novel the loyal seamen were painted by Stevenson to be fighting on the side of virtue and morality, for the pirates were underhanded thieves who lacked character. However, now the loyal seamen were not just virtuous sailors, they were virtuous *British* sailors.

The captain extends this part of his identity even further as he “had an eye on Tom’s passage for all that; and as soon as all was over, came forward with another flag,

²⁴ Stevenson, 89.

²⁵ Stevenson, 90.

²⁶ Stevenson, 90.

and reverently spread it over his body.”²⁷ Tom’s inherent virtuosity allowed him to claim this honor which highlights his British connection. Stevenson goes even further to make clear that the loyal seamen are fighting for a British cause. After their “house” or fort is being hit with gunfire the squire exclaims, “the house is quite invisible from the ship. It must be the flag they are aiming at. Would it not be wiser to take it in?”²⁸ The captain does not show any weakness in his national identity even though it puts the company in more danger. He replies, “Strike my colours!...No, sir, not I.”²⁹ Rational thinking holds no sway in this situation, for the other characters agree with this decision. Stevenson allows the doctor to narrate, “I think that we all agreed with him. For it was not only a good piece of stout, seamanly, good feeling; it was good policy besides, and showed our enemies that we despised their cannonade.”³⁰ This placement of national identity over safety demonstrates how the loyal seamen viewed themselves as fighting for the moral, righteous, and properly British cause. Such an expression of self-sacrifice falls right in line with ideas of imperial citizenry.

Therefore, Stevenson wants to make it clear that the non-virtuous pirates are not fighting for a properly British cause. As Jim is wandering through the woods with Ben Gunn he sees the British flag in the distance. At first Jim fears that the pirates had taken possession of the loyal seamen’s fort. However Ben assures Jim that, “Why, in a place like this, where nobody puts in but gen’temen of fortune, Silver would fly the Jolly Roger, you don’t make no doubt of that. No; that’s your friends.”³¹ Ben’s statement implies that Silver would falsely declare himself to be a proper British citizen in other

²⁷ Stevenson, 90.

²⁸ Stevenson, 91.

²⁹ Stevenson, 91.

³⁰ Stevenson, 91.

³¹ Stevenson, 92.

circumstances, but since no one else is around to see his duplicity he would not even think about flying the Union Jack. The Treasure Island therefore is a place in which a man's true nature is displayed. Separated from the metropole, the lack of virtue and morality of Silver and the mutineers shines exposed. Yet Hawkins and his compatriots, when exposed to the wild untamed imperial world, naturally become emblems of proper British citizenship. Therefore Stevenson's adventure novel shows its imperial colors subtly by advocating the possession of British national identity.

Stevenson also hints at imperialism with his character of Ben Gunn. While the novel does not contain direct juxtapositions between colonial subjects and the British, Gunn's character nevertheless highlights an imperial theme. Gunn was left stranded on the island by the group of pirates that buried the treasure. The result is that Gunn's identity becomes a point of question. Hawkins's reaction to seeing Gunn doubts his humanity: "I saw a figure leap with great rapidity behind the trunk of a pine. What it was, whether bear or man or monkey, I could in no wise tell. It seemed dark and shaggy; more I knew not. But the terror of this new apparition brought me to a stand."³² Gunn after being left alone on the island for three years has lost his sense of humanity and become more like an animal. This "lurking nondescript" has tremendous speed and dexterity.³³ However Hawkins eventually notes that Gunn "was a white man like [him]self, and that his features were even pleasing."³⁴ Just as the wild untamed island brought about proper national characteristics in the loyal seamen, the island also changed Gunn as well. He admits that he once was a pious man before he joined with the pirates,

³² Stevenson, 74.

³³ Stevenson, 75.

³⁴ Stevenson, 75.

and that now he is “back on piety.”³⁵ Throughout the rest of the novel, Gunn is a righteous ally of Hawkins and the loyal seamen. Yet, Gunn has also taken on negative animal-like characteristics over the years. Hawkins notes that “his skin, wherever it was exposed, was burnt by the sun; even his lips were black; and his fair eyes looked quite startling in so dark a face.”³⁶ Stevenson is making a racial classification about Gunn’s identity. While he has become wilder, indeed “black,” his “whiteness” is still visible to Hawkins in his eyes. Gunn’s first words to Hawkins were, “I haven’t spoken to a Christian these three years,” and later adds that “my heart is sore for Christian diet.”³⁷ This implies that Gunn’s identity confusion was caused by his separation from Christianity. Since the loyal seamen represent proper, virtuous, British citizens, Gunn’s problems, even his semi-racial ones, spark from his separation from this ideal.

Therefore, Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* becomes more than a casual tale about fighting pirates. Its embedded imperial tone demonstrates a proper British identity. This identity contains the Victorian qualities that make one properly British—manliness, piety, virtue, and physical strength. However, these themes are also embedded in an international, imperial framework. Hawkins and the loyal seamen represent proper imperialists who go out on an adventure for treasure. However, they are not greedy and lacking in virtue like the pirates. While both go out into the unknown world, only Hawkins and the loyal seamen do it properly. These heroes of the novel not only possess ideal morality, but also have a *British* identity. Unlike Gunn, they do not fail at losing that identity in the process of fulfilling their quasi-imperial mission. Indeed, they portray their British identity (raising the flag) even at the cost of their own safety. Broken apart,

³⁵ Stevenson, 77.

³⁶ Stevenson, 75.

³⁷ Stevenson, 75-76.

Stevenson's novel displays the imperial attitudes of the time it was written. Hawkins and his compatriots can be viewed as proper Citizens of the Empire.

The intersection between race and imperialism can be clearly seen within the context of the civilizing mission. Being a proper British imperial citizen meant being a vessel of privilege and superiority to those lesser peoples in need around the world. A prime example of this is H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885).³⁸ While Haggard's classic piece of adventure literature does not contain as many blatant examples of racism as his other work, *She: A History of Adventure* (1887), a more focused analysis based around the theme of the civilizing mission reveals important aspects of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire.³⁹ *King Solomon's Mines* exists as a prime example of a work of literature that highlights imperialism within the contexts of racial hierarchies for Victorian children.

An examination of Haggard's works reveals conflicting presentations of other cultures, particularly in reference to African characters. At times Haggard is clearly painting Africans in a negative light; however certain African characters display characteristics and attributes that are positive. Rather than being a counter argument to the existence of imperialism and racial hierarchies in works such as *King Solomon's Mines*, such occurrences in all actuality support British superiority. Those characters that are "positive" represent the potential that other cultures can reach if they are properly civilized by the British in light of the civilizing mission.

³⁸ H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* found in H. Rider Haggard, *The Works of H. Rider Haggard*, (New York: Black's Readers Service Company, 1928).

³⁹ H. Rider Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure* found in H. Rider Haggard, *The Works of H. Rider Haggard*, (New York: Black's Readers Service Company, 1928).

The character of Umbopa from *King Solomon's Mines* is one such example. Umbopa's first introduction is telling: "Presently a very tall, handsome-looking man, somewhere around thirty years of age, and very light colored for a Zulu, entered..."⁴⁰ Quatermain's impression of Umbopa is initially based purely on physical characteristics, particularly the shade of his skin. Umbopa's light colored skin is viewed as a positive attribute, not just because he is physically similar to Europeans, but also because of his symbolic importance. Additionally, Umbopa's positive physical description shows the influence of scientific racism. As later analysis will show, Umbopa is not just any Zulu.

As the three main European adventurers, Quatermain, Sir Henry, and Good, continue on their quest for Sir Henry's brother and the lost mines of Solomon they gradually realize that there is something special about Umbopa. At first Umbopa's seemingly narcissistic attitude rubs Quatermain the wrong way: "There was a certain assumption of dignity in the man's mode of speech, and especially in his use of the words 'O white men,' instead of 'O Inkosis' (chiefs), which struck me."⁴¹ This feeling of usurpation invokes Quatermain to chide Umbopa with, "You forget yourself a little...your words come out unawares. That is not the way to speak. What is your name, and where is your kraal? Tell us, that we may know with whom we have to deal."⁴² Quatermain, while noting that Umbopa wears adornments that signify a place of privilege in African culture, nonetheless sees himself at the top of hierarchy. Indeed, Quatermain

⁴⁰ Haggard, 372.

⁴¹ Haggard, 373.

⁴² Haggard, 373.

also deems himself to have enough privilege to assert his authority into the traditional African system of the kraal.⁴³

Umbopa's assertiveness also coincides with an acknowledgement of his masculinity. When referring to his stature in comparison to Sir Henry's Umbopa remarks, "we are men, you and I."⁴⁴ Umbopa regards himself as an equal with his white masters. For example, Umbopa calls Sir Henry by the name given to him by the Zulus, Incubu.⁴⁵ This angers Quatermain greatly and he lashes out with an authoritative, instructional tone. However, at the same time Quatermain is definitely intrigued by Umbopa: "I was angry with the man, for I am not accustomed to be talked to in that way by Kaffirs, but somehow he impressed me..."⁴⁶ As it turns out Quatermain's impressed attitude is justified, although he does not know it at the time. Umbopa in reality is Ignosi, the rightful king of the Kukuanas. Kukuanaland is the kingdom that Quatermain's group of adventurers find as they journey into the heart of Africa on their quest. However, additional analysis is needed in order to fully understand the significance of this fact.

In order to get into this land, the characters must pass over a mountain that is not very subtly named "Sheba's breasts." The description of this mountain is erotic:

For there, not more than forty or fifty miles from us, glittering like silver in the early rays of the morning sun, were Sheba's breasts... These mountains standing thus, like pillars of a gigantic gateway, are shaped exactly like a woman's breasts. Their bases swelled gently up from the plain, looking at that distance, perfectly round and smooth; and on the top of each was a vast round hillock covered with snow, exactly corresponding to the nipple on the female breast.⁴⁷

⁴³ A kraal is a term used to describe a South African settlement of people. Also, the term comes from Portuguese roots which signified an enclosure for cattle.

⁴⁴ Haggard, 373.

⁴⁵ According to Quatermain this is an insult.

⁴⁶ Haggard, 381.

⁴⁷ Haggard, 389-390.

Forced to cross these mountains in order to gain access to Kukuanaaland, it does not seem unfair to state that the characters' very masculinity is tested as they almost die attempting to "conquer" these mountains. The ability of the manly characters of the novel (Quatermain, Good, Sir Henry, and Ignosi) to do such is connected to their race.⁴⁸ For example, while they still suffer they do not fair as badly as a regular Zulu, Ventvögel. Haggard places Ventvögel's inability to cross over the mountains in racial terms by pointing out that his race "cannot stand cold."⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Englishmen find the fabled Portuguese José da Silvestra. Silvestra's skeleton, which was preserved in the cold, remained as an example of failure and a lack of masculinity in conquering these breast shaped mountains. The fact that Silvestra was Portuguese, representative of the original European power in Africa, was surely no accident on the part of Haggard.⁵⁰ As stated above the theories of scientific racism posited that there were even multiple European racial groups. The Portuguese, seen as southern Europeans, would have been placed lower on the racial scale. Therefore, the fact that Quatermain and his British allies were more successful than the Portuguese makes sense in terms of British racial superiority. Additionally, this particular section shows how the racial elements of being a Citizen of the Empire were intricately connected to the proper gender role of masculinity.

The power dynamics of Kukuanaaland provide a telling analysis of the benefits of the civilizing mission. The idea of the civilizing mission was justified by the notion that one culture was superior to another. Thus this doctrine insists that progress can be made

⁴⁸ Or with the case of Ignosi, his representation of a proper African.

⁴⁹ Haggard, 393.

⁵⁰ Perhaps Haggard is alluding that the old day of imperialism in Africa, represented by the Portuguese have "gone cold." However, the new age of imperialism, represented by the political actions of the British in the 1880s, is fresh

by those ‘lesser’ peoples towards civilization.⁵¹ A character comparison between Ignosi, the rightful heir of the Kukuanas, and King Twala, the evil usurper of his throne, reveals a stark contrast between an African who is a proper product of the civilizing mission and therefore needs to be supported and one who simply needs to be destroyed due to his lack of moral foundation.

Twala represents the supposedly destructive and savage nature of Africans if left to their own devices. A usurper to the throne of Kukuanaland, he is painted as brutal, barbaric, and outright evil. Haggard does not hold much back when he describes the appearance of Twala:

Then the gigantic figure slipped off the karross and stood before us, a truly alarming spectacle. It was that of an enormous man with the most entirely repulsive countenance we had ever beheld. The lips were as thick as a negro’s, the nose was flat, it had but one gleaming black eye (for the other was represented by a hollow in the face), and its whole expression was cruel and sensual to a degree.⁵²

The physical description of Twala is the exact opposite of Ignosi. He is not an example of physical splendor nor similar in hue to Europeans. Rather he is described with stereotypical and racial imagery of Africans (thick lips). The juxtaposition of Ignosi to Englishmen and Twala to savages further illustrates the differences that each of these two characters represent. Additionally, Twala’s negative physical description relates to scientific racism and its emphasis on how biology can be an indication of superiority. Twala rules his subjects with an iron fist. He is a dictator whose rule is corrupt and lacking in righteous. When asked if Twala was a cruel leader, another character describes him in the following manner:

⁵¹ The definition of ‘progress’ here rests upon the idea of becoming more like the ‘superior’ culture.

⁵² Haggard, 414.

It is so, my lords. Alas! the land cries out with his cruelties. To-night ye will see. It is the great witch-hunt, and many will be smelt out as wizards and slain. No man's life is safe. If the king covets a man's cattle or a man's life, or if he fears a man that he should excite a rebellion against him then...he will be killed.⁵³

Twala is painted by Haggard as the exact opposite of what the righteous English stand for.

Twala's lack of proper qualities is further enhanced by his association with the character of Gagool. Gagool is a seemingly ageless "monkey-like figure" who possesses the ability to supposedly prophesy.⁵⁴ She is described as a dark, ancient evil power that could easily be taken to be a corpse. Gagool, in many ways, is the real power that has led Kukuanaaland into darkness. She strikes fear into the Englishmen and exhibits an ability to sway Twala with her twisted words. As Haggard states, Gagool "projected a skinny claw armed with nails nearly an inch long, and laid it on the shoulder of Twala, the king, and began to speak in a thin piercing voice."⁵⁵ Twala allows himself to be corrupted by Gagool's ancient evil, and because of this leads all of Kukuanaaland into a time that lacks virtue and morality.

The aforementioned witch hunt is the best example of how Kukuanaaland is plunged into darkness. Existing in a vacuum totally devoid from European influence and guidance, the land is led by Gagool and Twala into a sick, dark, and twisted existence. Even Gagool admits that "never for ages upon ages has a white foot pressed this land."⁵⁶ Not only is the witch hunt an example of Twala eliminating his rivals, it is incorporated

⁵³ Haggard, 418-419.

⁵⁴ Haggard, 417.

⁵⁵ Haggard, 417.

⁵⁶ Haggard, 418.

into a world of dark magic. Witch doctors come rushing out to literally smell out evildoers. They are described in a terrifying manner:

As they drew near we saw that they were those of women, most of them aged, for their white hair, ornamented with small bladders taken from fish, streamed out behind them. Their faces were painted in stripes of white and yellow; down their backs hung snakeskins, and round their waists rattled circlets of human bones, while each held in her shriveled hand a small forked wand.⁵⁷

These witches begin to seek out ‘traitors’ by smelling their blood. They convulse like one possessed by a demon and then creep like animals to point out their victims. An indication that the society of Kukualand has been contaminated by this darkness is the fact that after one of the warriors is chosen for death, “instantly two of his comrades, those standing immediately next to him, seized the doomed man, each by one arm, and advanced with him towards the king.”⁵⁸ This implies a lack of hesitation on the part of this man’s “comrades” to commit him to death. Surely this is an indication of not only these people’s relief at not being the one chosen, but also how their morals have been compromised by the evil society that they live in. Indeed, “as [the victim] came, two of the villainous executioners, stepped forward to meet him...one man had driven his spear into the victim’s heart, and, to make assurance doubly sure, the other had dashed out his brains with his great club.”⁵⁹

Granted not all of Kukuanaland society is trapped in darkness. Once Ignosi reveals himself to be the true heir to the throne, large segments of people come to his aid. The result is that Kukuanaland is divided into a civil war between those who support Twala and those who support Ignosi. However, what really fuels this conflict onward is

⁵⁷ Haggard, 423.

⁵⁸ Haggard, 424.

⁵⁹ Haggard, 424.

the opportune presence of Quatermain and his Englishmen allies. Throughout the novel they are painted by Haggard as the needed presence to drive this African society in its proper direction. Thus, they provide for readers an ideal example of Citizens of the Empire who promote the civilizing mission.

First of all, their relationship with Ignosi is one of semi-equality and also takes on the tone of a teacher to a student. Sir Henry, before Ignosi's real identity is given, instructs him like a pupil. He coaches him in the way of manhood with, "There is no journey upon this earth that a man may not make if he sets his heart to it. There is nothing, Umbopa, that he cannot do....if love leads him..."⁶⁰ While Ignosi is the rightful heir to the throne, the only reason that he is able to make it back to his kingdom is because Quatermain and the other Englishmen take him there, for he is entirely dependent on them. Importantly, Ignosi is not painted by Haggard in a positive light because he debunks the idea that Africans are inferior to Englishman. On the contrary it is because Ignosi represents a successful example of the civilizing mission. He was driven out of Kukuanaland at a very young age, and was therefore separated from this corrupt land that lacked European influence. Instead he matured into masculinity in the company of Europeans.⁶¹ Symbolically speaking Ignosi's separation from Kukuanaland is the significant reason why he has been spared from what makes other cultures "uncivilized." It is for this reason that Ignosi is painted in a positive light.

Besides being a positive influence on Ignosi and allowing him to return to claim his throne, Quatermain and his friends directly participate in forming a rebellion against Twala. When they first come across the Kukuanas they pretend that they are magical

⁶⁰ Haggard, 381.

⁶¹ Granted he did not leave Africa in order to be educated in England, but he nevertheless was in the company of Europeans.

men who come “from the biggest star that shines at night.”⁶² Furthermore, they ‘prove’ their magical powers by their use of technology. Quatermain’s representation of an ideal imperial citizen is represented by the fact that he is a hunter and frontier man. Using such manly qualities, Quatermain and the others deliberately involve themselves in the affairs of Kukuanaaland.⁶³ Seemingly, the only indication that they should be involved in this emerging civil war is their own moral convictions. When asked if they will join in the revolution Sir Henry replies:

...a gentleman does not sell himself for wealth. But, speaking for myself, I say this: I have always liked Umbopa, and so far as in me lies will stand by him in his business. It will be very pleasant for me to try to square matter with that cruel devil, Twala.⁶⁴

A sense of moral justice pervades Sir Henry’s explanation of joining the revolution. Furthermore, Sir Henry is moved out of personal conviction for Umbopa/Ignosi. This is certainly fitting, seeing that he represents an African affected positively by the civilizing mission.

Consequently, the Englishmen set out to restore the African kingdom to its proper place within their views of society.⁶⁵ Part of Quatermain’s plan is to use to their advantage an eclipse in order to move Ignosi out of Twala’s reach and into the rebel’s camp. Only the Englishmen are able to do this, since only they contain the superior knowledge of science. Furthermore, they are able to confirm that they are indeed “white men from the stars” since they claim to cause the darkness by their own powers. Indeed, Quatermain and his friends never eliminate this false story even from their African allies.

⁶² Haggard, 402.

⁶³ These actions are entirely contrary to the original intentions of their journey.

⁶⁴ Haggard, 420.

⁶⁵ The events that take place in the novel take the tone of a greater power placing a personal selection on the throne of another country.

This symbolically represents the English character's view that they are outsiders who have superior knowledge and skills over other cultures. These qualifications certainly warrant the need for Quatermain and the others to interfere in events that they really have nothing to do with.

Quatermain, Sir Henry, and Good are viewed as morally superior even by their African allies. After detailing how they will supposedly darken the sky the falling day Ignosi replies, "It is strange...and had ye not been Englishmen I would not have believed it, but English 'gentlemen' tell no lies."⁶⁶ Additionally, they use this morally superior stance to instruct Ignosi how he should run his kingdom if the revolution is successful: "...if you ever come to be king of these people you will do away with the smelling of witches such as we have seen last night; and that the killing of men without trial shall not take place in the land."⁶⁷ Therefore, Ignosi is supposed to create a kingdom that resembles an English one, as identified by the need to give men trials. However Ignosi is unsure, and in his skepticism he shows his "moral weakness" with the reply, "The ways of black people are not as the ways of white men...nor do we hold life so high as ye. Yet I will promise it."⁶⁸ This is an interesting passage for it shows Ignosi's inability to understand something that Quatermain and his followers hold up as a virtue. Yet, within the same line of thought he agrees to change his philosophy in order to gain the support of three single white men despite the fact that he has an army of suitable African rebels on his side. Gaining justification in the eyes of Englishman again demonstrates Ignosi's representation as a success of the civilizing mission and also Quatermain and the other's representation as proper imperial citizens.

⁶⁶ Haggard, 429.

⁶⁷ Haggard, 429.

⁶⁸ Haggard, 429.

As it turns out Ignosi's promise in order to gain the support of the Englishmen is a wise decision. As stated, they use their knowledge of science to help the rebellion. However, in addition to science they also exhibit superior personal strength with the character of Sir Henry. Ignosi is a strong warrior, but no one can match Sir Henry's strength. He uses his large frame and fierce fighting skills to change the tide of the battle in favor of the rebellion. Furthermore, Sir Henry, not Ignosi, competes in a final showdown with Twala. Thus after Sir Henry is able to decapitate Twala, Ignosi is literally placed on the throne by the actions of the "white men from the stars." In light of the previous analysis Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* was an example of Victorian literature that created racial hierarchies in light of the civilizing mission.

Another one of Haggard's pieces, *She: A History of Adventure*, displays elements of cultural superiority in much more blatant terms. While *King Solomon's Mines* focused more on that the civilizing mission aspect of Britain's imperial identity, this work highlights a justification of imperialism by directly illustrating a negative association with other cultures while raising that of the metropole. Namely the entire novel of *She* was set before the background of two British citizens who go out into the wild unknown of the world in an attempt to master it. Additionally the work, despite the complication of Ayesha being a white queen, helped to create a bifurcation between British national identity and other cultures. Perhaps the following excerpt when Holly meets "She" for the first time is the clearest example that shows a British imperial mindset:

I halted, and felt scared. Indeed, my knees began to give way of their own mere motion; but reflection came to my aid. I was an Englishman, and why, I asked myself should I creep into the presence of some mere savage women as though I were a monkey...I would not and could not do it, unless I was absolutely sure that life or comfort depended on it. If once I

began to creep upon my knees I should always have to do so, and it would be a patent acknowledgment of inferiority...⁶⁹

Haggard sets up a precise passage that displays a hierarchy based on identity. Holly directly refers to himself as an Englishman, and it seems that this is enough justification to not bow before someone whom he was previously warned could blast him into pieces. However, being inferior to anyone, no matter how much they may have physical power over one's life, is apparently unacceptable to an Englishman.

The previous passage also made reference to acting like a monkey. Derogatory animal references were used throughout the novel in reference to the Amahagger people. Indeed this form of reference may only have been surpassed by the common usage of the word 'savage.' Ustane, an Amahagger who loves Leo, in a moment of near death "twisted her legs around his, and hung on like a bullfrog."⁷⁰ Even Ayesha described the Amahagger in animal language. She remarked to Holly, "Were I to show mercy to those wolves, your lives would not be safe among these people for a day. Thou knowest them not. They are tigers to lap blood, even now they hunger for your lives."⁷¹ Another time Ayesha did not even give the Amahagger the decency of an animal when she asked Holly, "O stranger, does thou think that I herd here with barbarians lower than the beasts?"⁷² Such references, which could be paired with countless others, made derogatory references to the Amahagger people. These references help to place the Amahagger people as something inferior. Therefore, such symbolic language displays the influence of scientific racism. By comparing the Amahagger people to animals, Haggard shows how they are lower on the racial ladder than British Holly and Leo.

⁶⁹ Haggard, 249.

⁷⁰ Haggard, 227.

⁷¹ Haggard, 271.

⁷² Haggard, 255.

Indeed, the Amahagger people were crafted by Haggard to be the perfect savage. They were barely clothed, participated in cannibalism, and had a culture that contained elements that were painted as shocking by Haggard. Most notably the Amahagger people had a ritual where they took a burning hot pot and placed it on the head of their victims. Death literally came from one's head melting and burning underneath a simplistic and crude architect of death: a pot.

The following is a description of a landmark that Holly and Leo used to find the area of Africa in which to look for the mysterious white queen, a mountain shaped like the head of an African:

I perceived that the top of the peak...was shaped like a negro's head and face, whereon was stamped a most fiendish and terrifying expression. There was no doubt about it; there were the thick lips, the fat cheeks, and the squat nose...there, too, was the round skull...and, to complete the resemblance, there was a scrubby growth of weeds or lichen upon it which against the sun looked for all the world like the wool on a colossal negro's head.⁷³

The description of the mountain is telling in several ways. First of all, it was defined by using stereotypical traits of Africans such as thick lips, fat cheeks, etc. Secondly, the physical description shows the influence of scientific racism. Finally, it described the expression on the face of the African as "fiendish and terrifying." This picture invoked not only a stereotyped perception of Africans for Victorian children, but also of Africans being something unnatural and worthy to be treated with apprehension. Such a broad classification helps to further create a distance between the main British characters and other cultures.

Another character in the novel that illuminated the differentiation between the British and other cultures was that of Mahomed, an Arab who accompanied Holly and

⁷³ Haggard, 199-200.

Leo during the beginning stages of their journey as a servant. Mahomed displayed the characteristics of a stereotypical Arab in more than just his name. He carried a curved sword, was easily suspicious and startled, and was constantly blurting out random entreaties to “Allah” for his safety all the while cursing the unbelievers.⁷⁴ However, Mahomed was also treated extremely differently by other characters. While Holly and Leo got to sleep in the middle of an African jungle, Mahomed was chosen to be the sole look out for the rest of the night.⁷⁵ Also, somewhat astonishingly even the “savage” Amahagger treated Mahomed as a second class person. While Leo and Holly are carried along by the Amahagger in litters, Mahomed was forced to walk alongside the litters.⁷⁶ In fact, after “She” sent out word not to harm the “white men” Mahomed was then differentiated and became a victim of an attempted hot pot attack. Again, another culture was treated in less than equal ways for Victorian children to see themselves as part of a privileged group justifying imperialism.

As already alluded to, the person of Ayesha, the white evil queen of the Amahaggers, is complicated in terms of ethnic superiority. However, despite her white color, Ayesha was constantly alluded to in terms of ancient practices, harking to the days of when Egypt was a power. Ayesha therefore was not viewed in equal terms with modern European whites represented by Leo and Holly.⁷⁷ Rather Ayesha represented something evil, a ruler of ‘savage’ people, who was versed in sorcery and had personal beauty on a level of pure almost witch-like immorality. Her language of choice was Arabic, and she had no knowledge about the modern conventions of Christianity or

⁷⁴ Haggard, 208.

⁷⁵ Haggard, 206.

⁷⁶ Haggard, 212.

⁷⁷ Indeed, Leo’s ancestry is traced to the ancient Greeks, acting as a representation of authority and legitimacy for the British Empire.

European imperialism. Indeed, Haggard constantly referred to Ayesha in animal terminology as well, a snake.⁷⁸ Finally, at her death, Ayesha is described in the most common terminology for a ‘savage queen’ by another character: “*Look!-look!-look!* she’s shriveling up! she’s turning into a monkey!”⁷⁹

Finally, the novel speaks greatly to general notions of empire building and the glory of the British. Generically, Holly and Leo came from the land of civilization and journey into the depths of unknown Africa in search of danger, evil, and magic. Holly impressed the Amahagger by his knowledge of guns, representative of technology.⁸⁰ Even Ayesha demonstrated knowledge of maintaining power in her ‘empire’ with Machiavellian notions of using force and terror when necessary to justify rule.⁸¹ The entire tone of Haggard’s novel imparts a notion of power, of masculinity, of using force to achieve great things, of going out and facing one’s fears against all odds. Such notions were tied directly with the fact that Holly and Leo were Englishmen.

Indeed, Victorian children found in this novel an example of how great their land was. Ayesha asked Holly about England, “And now tell me of thy country—‘tis a great people, is it not? with an empire like that of Rome?”⁸² Holly praised England and its queen to Ayesha displaying extreme devotion to the empire. He pointed out that people love the queen, and how England had the greatest system of governance, a democracy. Furthermore, Holly pointed out that England was properly civilized and would not tolerate Ayesha’s “blasting” people due to its modern system of law.⁸³ Finally, Haggard

⁷⁸ Haggard, 259, 278 etc.

⁷⁹ Haggard, 340.

⁸⁰ Haggard, 241.

⁸¹ Haggard, 271.

⁸² Haggard, 317. Again a reference to an ancient imperial power that was constantly invoked by countless empires (Byzantines, Russians, Ottomans) to gain a transfer of legitimacy for rule.

⁸³ Haggard, 317.

ends this section of the novel with Ayesha laughing with scorn at Holly and claiming that she would take over England and by analogy the world. The result is that Holly and Leo were now being framed not only as adventurers but as savers of England. All of a sudden Haggard made their adventure less about personal ambition, and more about a duty to save England (and again thereby to save the world). Victorian children would have seen in Holly and Leo a proper example of imperial citizens doing their duties for the empire. Indeed, they were ideal examples of Citizens of the Empire.

The final component of being a Citizen of the Empire in many ways meant embodying the Victorian norms of religion, physicality, gender, and class in a way that made one truly and properly British. Within the political climate of the Late Victorian Era this sense of identity carried with it a message of superiority on more than a national level. Internationally, colonialism and imperialism became thematic components that allowed for a hierarchy with the British on top and other cultures on the bottom. Being British, indeed being *properly* British, allowed for a sense of superiority that manifested itself in many ways. It contributed to an outright elation of British culture and Western civilization. The idea of the civilizing mission was created, along with the White Man's Burden. Finally, other cultures are not only lowered, but dehumanized and painted as inadequate in comparison to the British in order to justify imperialism. All of these themes can be found within youth organizations and children's literature. Victorian children were not exempted from being culturally exposed to the ideas of being a Citizen of the Empire.

Conclusion

Characters such as Tom Brown, Ralph Rover, Horace Holly, Allen Quatermain, and Mary Lennox all demonstrate aspects of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire during the Victorian Era in Great Britain. They all existed as fictional representations of a cultural ideal in which individual aspects of British culture came together to form a unified identity. This cultural identity, that of being a Citizen of the Empire, was used by the advocates of empire to justify Britain's control over faraway places and peoples. The Citizen of Empire ideal established what it meant to be a proper British citizen while reinforcing notions of British superiority.

This paper has examined the various components of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire in Victorian Britain within the context of children's literature and youth organizations. The treatment of this subject within the historiography often results in an artificial separation between the British culture of the metropole and its peripheries of empire. Therefore, it does not show that middle class Victorian culture directly fueled imperial traditions. Middle class elements such as religion, morality, physicality, and gender roles laid a foundation for what it meant to be a proper British citizen. This foundation was an inherent part of what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire. This ideal of a Citizen of the Empire enabled British citizens and colonial subjects to have a framework for what was expected of them, including a clearly established racial hierarchy.

Traditional religion was greatly tested during the Victorian Era in Great Britain. Fears regarding secularism, Biblical Criticism, and challenges by science provoked many Victorians to value traditional religion and particularly to stiffen views of moral behavior.

Middle class Britons advocated what historians call Victorian morality, a strict behavioral code that they believed worked for the betterment of society. Victorian morality became a standard of what it meant to act as a proper British citizen. Additionally, Victorian society was obsessed with having proper health and physical fitness. The active life represented by the public school system promoted a key piece to this puzzle with theories such as Charles Kingsley's Muscular Christianity and how reformers such as Thomas Arnold helped to fuse proper, moral behavior with physicality. The result was a vision of a proper British citizen that was completely balanced between body and soul.

The character of Jerry in *Black Beauty* provides an example of someone who takes the notions of Victorian morality to heart. He declared that proper religion resulted in righteous behavior. He saw that adhering to Victorian morality was the only way to make the world a better place. Tom Brown, from the novel *Tom Brown's School Days*, is the literary example of what it meant to be a Muscular Christian. Brown was instinctively a manly British boy who needed the guiding touch of Arnold in order to find his moral and religious side. Robert Ballantyne's stranded characters of Ralph, Peterkin, and Jack demonstrate how these middle class Victorian standards coincided directly with an imperial ideal.

Middle class Victorians created idealized visions of what it meant to be a proper male or female within society. The notions of separate spheres and the Cult of Domesticity created a vision that women should be the educators of children and the supporters of men. This standard was justified since women were viewed as the bastions of morality and virtue. This framework created an idealization that helped justify a separation between working and middle class individuals. Yet, the harsh realities of

industrialization, such as increased poverty, were starkly different than the ideal society that middle class individuals wanted to exist. Therefore, British imperialists helped to defuse this tension by focusing on those individuals who totally lacked proper Victorian elements: the colonized citizens in the peripheries. This ideological shift allowed for women to become not only the bastions of middle class virtue for the working class, but also the bearers of British virtue to the colonized.

Alice, the roaming character of Carroll's novels, serves as an example of what characteristics middle class girls needed to embody, namely morality located properly within their sphere. Her apparent lack of agency and the fact that other characters occasionally chastise her lack of morality provide an example of a girl who needed nurturing. Organizations, such as the Girls' Friendly Society, encouraged young girls to retain their purity. Finally, the character of Mary Lennox, the yellow colored girl from India, provides an example of what it meant to be a proper female Citizen of the Empire. By planting herself in English soil, she becomes the proper woman that her mother never was, and helps the sickly Colin find his masculinity and imperial-like power.

British imperial culture promoted the creation of a hierarchy between the citizens of the metropole and the colonized. Therefore, being a Citizen of the Empire meant embodying notions of cultural superiority. This elevation of British culture naturally resulted in a debasement of other cultures seen as lacking proper characteristics or qualities. Both youth organizations and children's literature, as a result of this cultural identity, promoted the civilizing mission and racism.

The Young Men's Christian Association provided lectures for its youthful audiences that promoted this sense of superiority. Furthermore, writers such as Robert

Louis Stevenson and H. Rider Haggard produced novels that children read and characters that exemplified this cultural ideal. Stevenson's loyal seamen created a juxtaposition between those that were properly British and those that were not. His novel, *Treasure Island*, shows how nationalistic attitudes of empire were intrinsically connected to the Victorian ideals of morality, physicality, gender, and class. Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* promoted the notion of the civilizing mission and his *She: A History of Adventure* elevated the British at the expense of other cultures. All three novels provided strong examples of what it meant to be a proper Citizen of the Empire.

British imperial culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can serve as an excellent teaching tool for students trying to connect the past with the modern world. Postcolonial and imperial history can be enhanced by a renewed emphasis on understanding the cultural factors behind European imperial actions. Fully grasping what it meant to be a Citizen of the Empire, especially in the context of childhood, is a necessary task in constructing a world history narrative that connects modernity with a meaningful past and shows the various ways that countries constructed imperial identities.

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